The Cultural Complex

Contemporary Jungian perspectives on psyche and society

Edited by
Thomas Singer and
Samuel L. Kimbles

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Based on Jung's theory of complexes, this book offers a new perspective on the psychological nature of conflicts between groups and cultures by introducing the concept of the cultural complex. This modern version of Jung's idea offers an original view of the forces that prevent human attempts to bring a peaceful, collaborative spirit to conflict between groups.

Leading analysts and academics from a range of cultural backgrounds present their own perspective on the concept, demonstrating how the effects of cultural complexes can be felt in the behavior of disenfranchised, oppressed and traumatized groups across the world. Ultimately, a clearer understanding of the source and nature of group conflict is reached through discussion of central subjects including:

- Collective trauma and cultural complexes
- Exploring racism: a clinical example of a cultural complex
- Cultural complexes in the history of Jung, Freud and their followers

The Cultural Complex represents a valuable contribution to analytical psychology and will undoubtedly also stimulate dialogue in the fields of sociology, political science and cultural studies.

Thomas Singer is a psychiatrist and Jungian analyst in San Francisco. He is chair of the Extended Education Committee of the C.G. Jung Institute of San Francisco and editor of *The Vision Thing: Myth, Politics and Psyche in the World*, Routledge 2000.

Samuel L. Kimbles is a clinical psychologist, Jungian analyst and organizational consultant. He is an associate clinical professor at the University of California and maintains a private practice in Santa Rosa and San Francisco.

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Thomas Singer

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Samuel L. Kimbles

Introduction

Thomas Singer and Samuel L. Kimbles

Since the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the binary world view of conflicting superpowers that it symbolized, an endless parade of ethnic, racial, religious, gender, national and regional factions have emerged on the world stage with their long simmering feuds bubbling over. Everywhere, disadvantaged and/or disenfranchised groups – whether representing a minority or a majority – have been crying out for justice, healing or vengeance – or all three simultaneously. It seems as if peoples from every continent have been caught in an endless round of conflicts that run the gamut from familial and tribal skirmishes to international hatreds. As these group conflicts flood relationships with highly charged emotions at every level of human exchange – from local to global – we seek explanations, understanding and remedies. More often than not, such seeking leaves us feeling powerless in the face of the intractable nature of these feuds. Political theories, economic theories, sociological theories, religious theories and psychological theories – all provide a partial glimpse of the truth as to what underlies and fuels these conflicts. This book offers a new perspective on the psychological nature of conflicts between groups and cultures. This new perspective is based on an old theory – Jung's theory of complexes which he developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Our modern version and new application of Jung's old idea make no special claim to having the answer to what causes – or might heal – group and cultural conflict, but they offer a point of view that may be useful to some as they ponder the forces that invariably seem to thwart most human attempts to bring a peaceful, collaborative spirit to the unending strife between groups of people. In our ripe time or *kairos*, when understanding both the uniqueness and commonality of cultures from around the world has become essential for the well-being of the global community itself, shedding more light on what tears us apart is an essential first step. Much of what tears us apart can be understood as the manifestation of autonomous processes in the collective and individual psyche that organize themselves as cultural complexes.

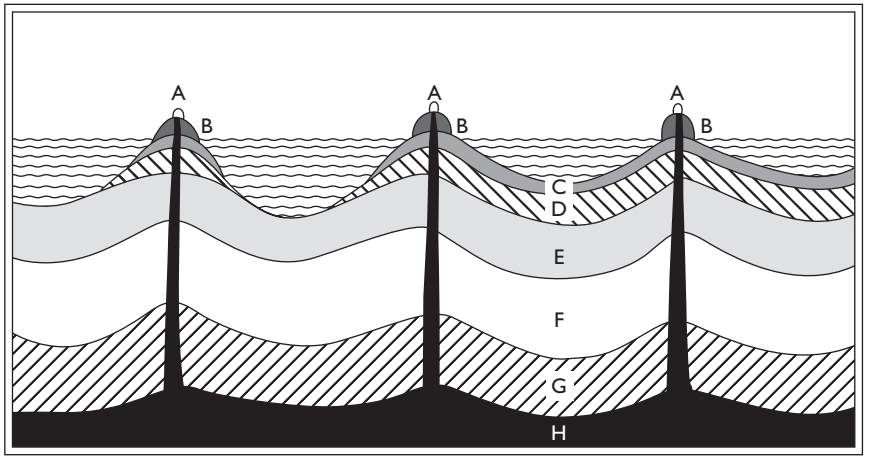
This book sets out to explore a single notion – what we have called "the cultural complex." The very name of the notion is a synthesis of two very potent words – "cultural" and "complex" – each carrying a long and important history of research, speculation, and multileveled meaning. The notion of a "cultural complex" is a

synthetic idea, i.e., it springs from a particular tradition – analytical psychology – and draws on different strands of that tradition to build a new idea for the purpose of understanding the psychology of group conflict. Over and over again in this book, we will underline the premise that the psychology of cultural complexes operates both in the collective psychology of the group and in the individual members of the group. Each chapter in the book should be read as part of a collaborative effort to give flesh and bones to the theory of the "cultural complex." By exploring the notion of a cultural complex in a variety of contexts and cross-cultural settings, the reader will be exposed to the concept as it applies to both groups and individuals. In a very real sense, the separate contributions in this book can be thought of as a group effort to define the notion of the cultural complex.

Jungian theory at its best is open and evolving, with a long and meaningful history of modification and adaptation. Jung himself was never static in the development of his ideas and as a result, there are several different "theories" in his life's work that exist side by side: complex theory, the theory of psychological types, the theory of the archetypes and the collective unconscious and ultimately, Jung's theory of the Self. These theories taken together form a whole, but were never intended to be a tight, carefully constructed architectural gem. One can think of the loose collection of separate theories that have grown up to become known as "analytical psychology" as being a bit ramshackle like an old New England farmhouse. Many additions to the original structure have been made over time as different needs emerged. Our theory of cultural complexes is just such a new addition and we like to think of it as being built in the style of a farmhouse addition – we hope as a "great room," although some may see it as a "mud room." Whatever scale and value is given to it, it is clear that we need a new room (see Figure 1).

Jung's complex theory was his first original contribution to the young science of psychoanalysis. It is still a vital part of how Jungians understand and formulate the inner and outer experience of individuals. Although Jung included the cultural level in his schema of the psyche, his theory of complexes has never been systematically applied to the life of groups and to what Jung and his followers have been fond of calling the "collective." Applying Jung's theory of complexes to the cultural level of the psyche and the life of the group (and how the life of the group exists in the psyche of the individual) is the new addition that we propose to build and it is hoped that this book will be part of the design and construction of the new room. Those knowledgeable about Jungian psychology will already be protesting that Jung and Jungians have always had a keen interest in the collective and have actively explored diverse cultures, making enormous contributions to understanding the role of the collective in the psyche. Of course, this is true. But when it came to understanding the psychopathology and emotional entanglements of groups, tribes, and nations, Jung did not take advantage of his original theory of complexes and this has left a major gap in analytical psychology.

To understand collective psychology, Jung went straight to the archetypal level of the psyche – often quite compellingly. For example, in his seminal 1936 essay "Wotan," Jung warns of the primitive, mercurial god of lightning and



A = Individuals
B = Families
C = Clans
D = Nations
E = Large group (European man for example)
F = Primate ancestors
G = Animal ancestors in general
H = "Central fire"

Figure 1 Diagram of the psyche as formulated by Jung

destruction that was seizing the German psyche. But, by leaving the social, economic, and political level of the German psychological experience out of his analysis in "Wotan," Jung opened himself up to profound misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Had he included a more careful analysis of the historical and cultural aspects of the German experience and perhaps been able to frame it in terms of the activation of a cultural complex in the German psyche, he may not have been subject to the accusations of anti-Semitism and intoxication with Wotan that naturally attached itself to him and his essay. Analytical psychologists have for the most part followed Jung's model so that when it has come to individuals, Jungian psychology has relied on the theory of complexes. When it has come to broader collective experience, Jungian psychology has turned to the theory of archetypes.

As we have stated, Jung was intensely curious about the differences between groups of people and their varying cultures. He was keenly attuned to what we now call the cultural unconscious or the cultural level of the psyche. He traveled to the Americas, to Africa, to Asia and he was constantly exposing himself to the sacred traditions and mores of other peoples. Certainly, Jung and his followers have taken careful note of different cultural types which is evident, for example, in Jung's discussion of national personality characteristics (Jung 1963: 246f.). On the other hand, Jung was so suspicious of the life of groups and the danger of archetypal

possession in collective life that he tended to divorce the development of the individual from the individual's life in groups.

Clearly, a substantial part of Jung's genius was his sensitivity to the perils of the individual's falling into the grips of collective life. Like all who lived through the twentieth century, Jung witnessed the terrible side of collectivity. Beginning with the deadening effect of collective religious life on his father's spirit, Jung went on to dream and then see the map of Europe and much of the rest of the world bathed in blood, violence, and terror (Jung 1925/1989: 41–42). In the later part of his life, he shared in the nightmare horror of imagining nuclear holocaust. It is easy to see why Jung had such a dread of the individual and group psyche falling into possession by collective and archetypal forces. For these very good reasons, collective life more often than not has fallen into the Jungian shadow – so much so that it is easy to feel within the Jungian tradition as if the life of the group and the individuals' participation in it exists in a no man's land, suspended in the ether somewhere between the much more important and meaningful individual and/or archetypal realms. This tendency for collective life to fall into the Jungian shadow has done a great disservice to the tradition of analytical psychology and its potential to contribute to a better understanding of group forces in the psyche.

Jung's natural introversion (and his appeal to other introverts) and his fundamental focus on individuation had an unacknowledged tendency to set the individual up against or in opposition to the life of the group. Living in "the collective" is most easily seen by Jungians as monstrous and magically destructive. In the Jungian tradition (as in the more general Western tradition), the individual has been given the heroic task of slaying the group's devouring hold on him or her. Individuation and whole-hearted participation in the life of the group do not fit together easily or naturally. There is something in the tension between the individual and the group that is wholesome and natural, but the Jungian tradition has magnified that tension beyond perhaps what is healthy for either the individual or the group. Maybe this is, in fact, a "cultural complex" of the Jungian tradition. Whether that is true or not, it is our hope that the notion of a "cultural complex" will lead to an enhanced capacity to see more objectively the shadow of the group in its cultural complexes, rather than the Jungian tendency to see the group itself as the shadow. We may even begin to become more aware of the positive value of living in the collective. We may also begin to get better at differentiating cultural complexes from individual complexes.

As personal complexes emerge out of the level of the personal unconscious in their interaction with deeper levels of the psyche and early parental/familial relationships, cultural complexes can be thought of arising out the cultural unconscious as it interacts with both the archetypal and personal realms of the psyche and the broader outer world arena of schools, communities, media, and all the other forms of cultural and group life. As such, cultural complexes can be thought of as forming the essential components of an inner sociology. But this inner sociology does not claim to be objective or scientific in its description of different groups and classes of people. Rather, it is a description of groups and

classes of people as filtered through the psyches of generations of ancestors. It has all sorts of information and misinformation about the structures of societies – a truly, inner sociology – and its essential building blocks are cultural complexes.

Cultural complexes are not the same as cultural identity or what has sometimes been called "national character," although there are times when cultural complexes, cultural identity and national character can seem impossibly intertwined. For instance, those groups emerging out of long periods of oppression through political and economic struggle must define new identities for themselves which are often based on long submerged traditions. This struggle for a new, group identity can get all mixed up with underlying potent cultural complexes which have accrued historical experience and memory over centuries of trauma and lie slumbering in the cultural unconscious, waiting to be awakened by the trigger of new trauma. In the fierce and legitimate protest for a group identity freed up from the shackles of oppression, it is very easy for groups and individuals within the groups to get caught up in cultural complexes. And for some people, their complexes – cultural and personal – are their identity. But, for many others, there is a healthy cultural identity (or "cultural ego") that can clearly be seen as separate from the more negative and contaminating aspects of cultural complexes. Jung was getting at the idea of a cultural identity in his discussion of national character, but that notion took an ugly and controversial turn when the discussion of national character got confused with the controversy around Jung and anti-Semitism. One can see Jung struggling with this controversy in his March 2, 1934 letter to A. Pupato:

> The question I broached regarding the peculiarities of Jewish psychology does not presuppose any intention on my part to depreciate Jews, but is merely an attempt to single out and formulate the mental idiosyncrasies that distinguish Jews from other people. No sensible person will deny that such differences exist, any more than he will deny that there are essential differences in the mental attitude of Germans and Frenchmen. Again, nobody with any experience of the world will deny that the psychology of an American differs in a characteristic and unmistakable way from that of an Englishman. To point out this difference cannot possibly, in my humble opinion, be in itself an insult to the Jews so long as one refrains from value judgments. If anyone seeking to pin down my peculiarities should remark that this or that is specifically Swiss, or peasant-like, or Christian, I just wouldn't know what I should get peeved about, and I would be able to admit such differences without turning a hair. I have never understood why, for instance, a Chinese should be insulted when a European asserts that the Chinese mentality differs from the European mentality.
>
> (Maidenbaum 2002: 232–233)

In this letter, Jung's rather hurt tone and his feeling of being misunderstood suggests that the topic of national character itself became contaminated by the

swirling emotionalism activated by a cultural complex. These same cultural complexes can lead to fascism, racism and all of the other horrors committed in the name of perceived differences between groups of peoples. So, it is important to be clear at the outset that the notion of cultural complexes is not the same as either cultural identity or national character, but can easily be confused with them.

Another way to make this most important distinction between cultural complex and cultural identity and/or national character is to use the idea of the "bipolar complex" that John Weir Perry (1970) introduced in his seminal article on complexes in the individual psyche. Perry spoke of the everyday ego as being quite different from the ego which has been taken over by a complex. When a complex is activated in the unconscious, one half of its bipolar content (for instance, rebellious son and authoritarian father) with its potent affect and one-sided perceptions of the world takes hold of the everyday ego and creates what Perry called "the affect-ego." The other part of the bipolar pair is projected out onto the person with whom one is caught in the complex and they, in turn, become what Perry labeled an "affect-object." Hence, you get the ragged and highly charged interactions between an "affect-ego" and an "affect-object." Neither party in this unholy pair usually fares very well. This same notion of "affect-ego" and "affect-object" can be carried over into our discussion of cultural complexes to help make the distinction between cultural identity and cultural complex. An individual or group with a unique cultural identity that is not in the grips of a cultural complex is much freer to interact in the world of people from other groups without being prey to the highly charged emotional contents that can quickly alter the perception and behavior of different groups in relation to one another. Once the cultural complex is activated in an individual or a group, however, the everyday cultural identity can be overtaken by the affect of the cultural complex, often built up over centuries of repetitive traumatic experience. At that point, the individual and/or the group has entered the territory of what Perry called "affect-ego" and "affect-object" – but at the level of the cultural complex rather than personal complex.

Intense collective emotion is the hallmark of an activated cultural complex at the core of which is an archetypal pattern. Cultural complexes structure emotional experience and operate in the personal and collective psyche in much the same way as individual complexes, although their content might be quite different. Like individual complexes, cultural complexes tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness, and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view. And, as already mentioned, cultural complexes tend to be bipolar, so that when they are activated, the group ego or the individual ego of a group member becomes identified with one part of the unconscious cultural complex, while the other part is projected out onto the suitable hook of another group or one of its members. Individuals and groups in the grips of a particular cultural complex automatically take on a shared body language and postures or express their distress in similar somatic complaints. Finally, like personal

complexes, cultural complexes can provide those caught in their potent web of stories and emotions a simplistic certainty about the group's place in the world in the face of otherwise conflicting and ambiguous uncertainties.

To summarize, cultural complexes are based on repetitive, historical group experiences which have taken root in the cultural unconscious of the group. At any ripe time, these slumbering cultural complexes can be activated in the cultural unconscious and take hold of the collective psyche of the group and the individual/collective psyche of individual members of the group. The inner sociology of the cultural complexes can seize the imagination, the behavior and the emotions of the collective psyche and unleash tremendously irrational forces in the name of their "logic."

Everywhere one turns today, there is a group that seems to be feeling the effects of a cultural complex in its behavior and relationships to other groups, in its feelings about itself and its sense of place in the world. Group complexes are everywhere and one can easily feel swamped by their affects and claims. To suggest that a group is in the grip of a complex in its behavior or affect – particularly if there is merit to the claim and the group has been discriminated against by a colonial power or a white power or a male power or a black power or a female power etc., etc. – is to risk being attacked with the full fury of that group's psychic defenses. Mostly these group complexes have to do with trauma, discrimination, feelings of oppression and inferiority at the hands of another offending group – although the "offending groups" are just as frequently feeling discriminated against and treated unfairly. Group complexes litter the psychic landscape and are as easily detonated as the literal land mines that scatter the globe and threaten life – especially young life – everywhere.

Structure of the book

In constructing this book, we wanted to make sure that the reader gets a clear and well-rounded idea of how we imagine the "cultural complex" to function. As a new room on an old house, we wanted the structure of this book to reflect how the new idea relates to the old body of knowledge. One way to accomplish this is to bring many different kinds of crafts people to lend their talents to the task of defining the cultural complex. Our authors bring very different styles and approaches to the job and we think this makes for a real *circumambulatio*, i.e., a real "walk-about" the topic with layers of meaning building up as each author circles around the notion. These chapters are alternately personal, meditative, impressionistic, research oriented in a scientific model, historical, clinical, poetic, political, literary, anthropological and mythological.

In choosing our contributors, we wanted the book to reflect the fact that the cultural complex is a world-wide, psychological reality and an integral part of the structure of the psyche. Therefore, we asked people from many different countries and every continent (except Antarctica) to contribute chapters in order to reflect the fundamental premise that the cultural complex takes many forms in many

places and, at the same time, has basic common characteristics. We have been fortunate to gather authors from Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America and South America. We hope that our choice of contributors reflects both diversity and commonality.

The book is divided into four parts. Although it will become clear to the reader that there is a broad spectrum of foci in each of the parts and some contributions could easily fit into more than one part, the chapters are organized in groups that underline basic themes of the "cultural complex."

The cultural complex in the psyche of the group

In this part, the authors have focused their attention on the cultural complex as it expresses itself in the psyche of a group of people. Part I includes historical and contemporary examples of cultural complexes. Authors from several different countries have identified what they consider to be the most potent and disruptive cultural complexes in their respective countries including Australia, Mexico, the United States, England, Japan and Brazil. The focus in these chapters is on the cultural complex as it exists in "the collective psyche" of the group.

The cultural complex in the psyche of the group and the individual

In this part, the authors have focused their attention on the cultural complex as it expresses itself in the psyche of both a group of people and individual members of that group. In Part II, the reader will be able to see how the cultural complex is both a group and individual phenomenon.

The cultural complex in the psyche of the individual: clinical cases

In this part, the authors have focused their attention on the cultural complex as it lives in the psyche of the individual as revealed in clinical case material. In Part III, the reader can see how the cultural complex takes on a life in the psyche of the individual and can cause considerable disturbance. It is an enormously important topic because it offers the psychotherapist and others the possibility of differentiating personal complexes from cultural complexes as they appear in the clinical material of patients.

The cultural complex and individuation of the group

Originally, we did not include the topic of the "cultural complex and the individuation of the group" as one of our parts for the structure of the book. But it became clear that many authors were concerned with "healing" and with the idea

that complexes – individual or cultural – can be the cutting edge of individuation, whether it be in the individual or the group. This theme emerged as we began to receive contributions from various authors. How does a complex lead to growth or development? How can a complex be healed? There are some suggestions in these chapters and it is certainly a worthy topic. What is the fate of cultural complexes? Can they lead to healing or transformation for a large group of people?

Acknowledgements

Diagram of the psyche as formulated by Jung reprinted from McGuire, W. (1989) *Bollingen: an adventure in collecting the past* by permission of Princeton University Press © 1989.

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Part I

The cultural complex in the psyche of the group

In this part, the authors focus on the cultural complex as it expresses itself in the psyche of the group. Part I includes historical and contemporary examples of cultural complexes. Authors from several different countries have identified what they consider to be the most potent and disruptive cultural complexes in their respective countries including Australia, Mexico, the United States, England, Japan and Brazil. The focus in these chapters is on the cultural complex as it exists in the collective psyche of the group.

Each author has a unique way of understanding and describing the reality of cultural complexes. Thomas Singer sketches the development and central themes of the theory of cultural complexes and gives historical and contemporary examples of its application. Jacqueline Gerson goes to the history and legend of the Conquest of Mexico to understand a deep sense of inferiority and betrayal in the Mexican psyche. Craig San Roque tells a wild, poetic, impressionistic tale of a weekend in Alice Springs, Central Australia. He takes the reader into the "eye of the storm" of a cultural complex that is devastating the Aboriginal people. Out of the initial sense of confusion and chaos emerges the author's intuitive creativity reflecting through its own deep responsiveness the profoundly disorienting and destructive effects of the clash of two cultures and their complexes.

Joseph Henderson sees the folly in the eternal, Western "Foot-race for a Prize" which originates in the archetypal pattern of the Olympic games and easily becomes frozen in a cultural complex. Manisha Roy makes a most important distinction between a "cultural archetype" and a cultural complex in her analysis of the perfectionism of the Puritan tradition.

Luigi Zoja elegantly demonstrates the onset of a cultural complex in the encounter between the eternal time of Montezuma and the linear time of Cortés. Toshio Kawai utilizes the novels of Haruki Murakami as a psychological frame to look at postmodern consciousness in Japan. He portrays this postmodern consciousness and its dissociative states of being as symptomatic of a loss of connection to the stable and enduring worlds of mythology and the containing structures of culture and family. Denise G. Ramos dissects the cultural complex of corruption in Brazil in a careful analysis of its collective psyche. Finally, Andrew Samuels takes a careful and critical look at the practice of Western psychotherapy itself as the unwitting carrier of its own cultural complexes.

Chapter 1

The cultural complex and archetypal defenses of the group spirit

Baby Zeus, Elian Gonzales, Constantine's Sword, and other holy wars (with special attention to "the axis of evil")

Thomas Singer

Introduction

Much as an airline pilot gives the passengers a brief synopsis of the flight plan, I would like to provide an itinerary for this intuitive flight so that some of the landmarks along the way have a context. The series of seemingly unrelated historical and contemporary episodes which I will be highlighting are linked together by a kind of intuitive logic that seeks to sketch an extension of traditional Jungian theory. Indeed, this chapter is meant to be a "sketch" in the same way that an artist or architect would render a preliminary drawing of a work in progress which will be elaborated over time.

Jung's earliest work at the Burghölzli led to the development of his theory of complexes which even now forms the foundation of day-to-day clinical work of analytical psychology. In fact, there was a time when the founders of the Jungian tradition considered calling it "complex psychology." Later, Joseph Henderson created a much needed theoretical space between the personal and archetypal levels of the psyche which he called the "cultural level of the psyche." This cultural level of the psyche exists both in the conscious and the unconscious. Elaborating Jung's theory of complexes as it manifests itself in the cultural level of the psyche – conscious and unconscious – is the goal of this chapter. In the effort to sketch this idea, we will be taking a tour which includes stops at Jane Harrison's study of early Greek religion, Elian Gonzales' gripping story of loss and political upheaval, James Carroll's study of anti-Semitism in the history of the Catholic church, current manifestations of the primal psychoanalytic split between Jung and Freud, and finally a comment on the al-Qaeda attack on the West and George W. Bush's "axis of evil" response. All of these episodes help illustrate the reality of cultural complexes and elucidate a specific type of cultural complex in which archetypal defenses of the group spirit play a primary role.

Jane Harrison's *Themis*

Almost 100 years ago, Jane Harrison published *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, her stunning exploration of matriarchal, pre-Olympian Greek religion (Harrison 1912/1974). Jung's notion of archetypes and the collective unconscious had not been conceived yet and one can almost feel those seminal insights struggling to get born as Harrison pieces together threads of anthropology, classical studies, archeology, sociology and psychology. Her book reads like a detective story as she seeks to discover the origins of early Greek religion. Her work is named for, inspired by and presided over by the goddess Themis, who embodies the earliest Western ideas of civility and community. Mention of Harrison's book is a fitting place to begin this contemporary piece of psychological theory making, because not only is it in her spirit of the detective piecing together bits and pieces of "evidence" to get at a whole that this chapter is undertaken, but also one of the central images from her work actually gave birth to this project.

Baby Zeus and Elian Gonzales

The contemporary context of this inquiry begins in exactly the same place as Jane Harrison's: with a fascination about the origins, underlying meaning and power of collective emotion. Harrison was gripped by the force of collective emotion in its capacity to create gods, social order and a meaningful link between humans, nature and spirit in pre-Olympian Greece. I am equally fascinated by the power of collective emotion to create gods, devils, political movements and social upheaval/transformation in our times. Harrison did not have the concept of the collective unconscious and its archetypes in which to ground her ideas about the origin of social and religious life in early Greece. But she was a keen observer of art, ritual and especially the degree to which collective emotion and its enthusiasms seemed to generate a coherent mythos that linked the natural and social order into a coherent whole. At the epicenter of her quest was the glorious mystery of "The Hymn of the *Kouretes*." Through Harrison's eyes, the image of Baby Zeus surrounded by the protective young male warriors, the *Kouretes*, comes to life and the very foundations of early Greek religion are unveiled (see Figure 2).

> Io, *Kouros* most Great, I give thee hail, Kronian, Lord of all that is wet and gleaming, thou art come at the head of thy *Daimones*. To Dike for the Year, Oh, march, and rejoice in the dance and song,
> That we make to thee with harps and pipes mingled together, and sing as we come to a stand at thy well-fenced altar.
> Io, etc.
> For here the shielded Nurturers took thee, a child immortal, from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid thee away.
> Io, etc.
> And the Horai began to be fruitful year by year and Dike to possess mankind, and all wild living things were held about by wealth-loving Peace.

In this terracotta relief from the Greco-Roman era we see the baby Zeus surrounded by his shieldbearing protectors, the *Kouretes*, also known as the Daimones. Had it not been for them, according to the myth, this child of Rhea and Kronos would have been devoured by his father, who was in the habit of swallowing his children. A Cretan hymn tells the story: "For here the shielded Nurturers took thee, a child immortal, from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid thee away." (Image courtesy of the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism [ARAS], C. G. Jung Institute of San Francisco, San Francisco, California)

Figure 2 The image of Baby Zeus surrounded by the *Kouretes*

> Io, etc.
> To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase.
> Io, etc.
> Leap for our Cities, and leap for our sea-borne ships, and leap for our young citizens and for godly Themis.
>
> (Harrison 1912/1974: 7–8)

Baby Zeus, who is here referred to as "*Kouros* most great," was secretly stolen away from his nursery and handed over to the *Kouretes* for protection by his mother Rhea, wife of Kronos. She did not want him to suffer the same fate of his older brothers and sisters – namely, to be eaten by his father, Kronos. The young god was shielded from destruction by the *Kouretes* who, in their youthful energy, leap for the gods and secure the safety and renewal of the crops, the animals, the cities, the ships, the "young citizens," and for godly Themis.

Several thousand years later in our time, young Elian Gonzales – a Cuban boy – was miraculously plucked from the very sea south of Florida in which his mother had just drowned. She perished trying to flee the economic and political hardship of Castro's Cuba and start a new life in the "promised land" of the United States. Within a very short period of time, Elian Gonzales became the center of a psychic and political drama that stirred the emotions of at least two nations. The response of Elian's Cuban American relatives and friends who had already settled in Miami made little sense to most Americans, who do not share the same historical experience or mythic story of their origins, survival, and renewal.

Most well-intentioned, non-Cuban Americans seized by this tragic story felt that the motherless child should be reunited as quickly as possible with his loving father, even if he happened to live in Castro's Cuba. Most people found themselves thinking: "These Cuban Americans are crazy. Isn't it obvious that Elian should be returned to his surviving parent?" Indeed, it was the extraordinary power of the non-rational, collective emotion of the Cuban Americans that caught my attention. "Why are they behaving so 'irrationally'?" I asked myself. It wasn't until I happened by chance to glance again at the image of Baby Zeus from Jane Harrison's book that I was able to find a missing link to the story which allowed me to make some sense (at least for myself) of what seemed so irrational and yet was being deeply felt not just by the Cuban Americans, but all the other people caught up in this extraordinary drama. What if Baby Zeus and Elian Gonzales are part of the same story? What if they are linked by a mythic form or archetypal pattern out of which are generated a story line, primal images and deeply powerful, non-rational collective emotion? Elian Gonzales' miraculous second birth or rebirth as he was plucked from the waters puts him in the realm of the divine child (like Moses), and he becomes the young god who carries all the hopes for the future of a people that sees itself as having been traumatized by a life of cruel oppression. Like Baby Zeus, Elian Gonzales, too, in his vulnerable state of youthful divinity, needs to be protected from destruction by his warrior cousins who rally to his defense. For Elian Gonzales' "shielded nurterers" to willingly return him to Castro's Cuba (because now, as a young god, he belongs to all his people, not just his personal family) would be equivalent to the *Kouretes* sending Baby Zeus back to Kronos. In the mythic imagination of the Cuban American collective, Fidel Castro is the same as Kronos – a destructive father god who would eat his own son, the youthful god. Elian Gonzales' "crazy cousins" are not so crazy after all. They are the *Kouretes*, dancing in the frenzy of a collective emotion that seeks to form a protective circle or shield around their young god. The force/libido providing the energy to fuel these incredible sagas comes from the collective emotion mobilized by the plight of a gravely endangered, vulnerable (divine) child who symbolizes the hopes of an entire people. The inevitable, archetypal coupling of the endangered divine child and the protective, warrior *Kouretes* who surround him are at the heart of the story I want to tell and the theory I want to advance. This old and modern story allows us to jump ahead to anticipate a central thesis of this chapter: an archetypal pattern has formed the core of a contemporary cultural complex.

Donald Kalsched and the Archetypal Defense of the Personal Spirit

Donald Kalsched's (1996) ground-breaking work in *The Inner World of Trauma: Archetypal Defenses of the Personal Spirit* forms the next major building block of this chapter. In the summer of 2000, I participated in a conference with Dr. Kalsched in Montana. His paper focused on the inner world of trauma, while my presentation was more about the outer domain where myth, psyche, and politics intersect – a subject which I have explored with others in *The Vision Thing: Myth, Politics and Psyche in the World* (Singer 2000). I had just stumbled into an imaginal connection between Baby Zeus and Elian Gonzales and was using the image of Baby Zeus surrounded by the *Kouretes* to illustrate the reality of the collective psyche and the power of collective emotion to generate living myths. Kalsched had not seen this particular image before and he startled with both surprise and instant recognition at the lively representation of the warriors defending Baby Zeus. He immediately knew who they were, correctly identifying them as the *Daimones*. Indeed, the *Kouretes* are also known as the *Daimones*: "Io, *Kouros* most Great . . . thou art come at the head of thy *Daimones*" (Harrison 1912/1974: 7).

These prototypes or original *Daimones* surrounding Baby Zeus are in the same lineage as those characters whom Kalsched a few millennia later would identify as the "archetypal defenses of the personal spirit." If one thinks of this image psychologically as a portrait of the endangered psyche, one sees clearly that the *Daimones* have the intra-psychic function of protecting a vulnerable, traumatized youthful Self – be it Baby Zeus, Elian Gonzales, or any other less famous wounded soul. As Kalsched has elaborated, the *Daimones* have the function of protecting the "personal spirit" when the individual is endangered. In this chapter, I am suggesting that these same *Daimones* also have the function of protecting the "collective spirit" of the group when it is endangered – be it Cuban-Americans, Jews, blacks, gays or any other traumatized "group soul." The *Daimones* are as active in the psychological "outer" world of group life and the protection of its "collective spirit" as they are in the inner, individual world of trauma and the protection of "the personal spirit." Perhaps they even found their earliest historical expression in group life rather than that of a single person, when the psychology of the individual was less developed and the survival of the group more in the forefront. We have come to appreciate the *Daimones* again through the Jungian route of recognizing their role in the inner world of trauma. Whether it be in the inner/outer world of the individual or the inner/outer world of the group, the *Daimones* can serve both a vital self-protective function and can raise havoc with the fury of their attacks directed inwardly in self-torture and outwardly in impenetrability, hostility and ruthlessness. The fortuitous recognition of the connection between Baby Zeus and Elian Gonzales led me to consider an extension of Kalsched's insights into what might best be summarized in this reformulation of his book's title: "The group world of trauma: archetypal defenses of the

collective spirit." Extending Kalsched's ideas into the realm of group experience and linking these ideas with the notion of a "cultural complex" is the goal of this chapter.

I will briefly summarize the central elements of Kalsched's formulations in order to lay a foundation for considering them in relation to group processes.

1 Trauma alone does not shatter the psyche. The psyche shatters itself through its own self-defense system. In a sense, the psyche's defense system is as traumatogenic as the original trauma because its focus is on survival and it interprets any attempt to grow and individuate as dangerous and needing to be punished. According to the *Daimon*-Protector defense system, reaching out beyond a closed system of certainty exposes the personal spirit to further traumatization.
2 This occurs because the *daimonic* defense system is unleashed against the psyche for the purpose of converting annihilation anxiety into a more manageable fear. This self-protective mechanism preserves a fearful ego in the face of shattering trauma rather than permitting the ego to be annihilated altogether. This self-protective mechanism which results in self-attack can be likened to the auto-immune system having gone haywire when it turns its substantial arsenal of defenses back on one's own tissues. Fragmentation of the psyche is the result.
3 The *Daimon*-Protector defenses are internalized representations of the original perpetrators of the trauma. Even more than that, they are archaic, typical and archetypal.
4 Following the psyche's fragmenting, a false self takes up residence in the outer world which can function well enough in ordinary situations, although it is most likely to break down in intimate relationships. This false self can take on a caretaker function as well as becoming a compliant, good adult.
5 On the other side of the fragmentation, the true self goes into inner hibernation behind the ferociously protective barrier of the *Daimones* – which can be alternately protective and torturing.
6 The individual has very little access to effective aggression in the world.
7 The shadow of being a traumatized victim is the tendency towards an imperious sense of entitlement and its accompanying demands for reparation. A false, imperial self can take root that demands love, respect, sexual pleasure, freedom and happiness.
8 At the heart of this fragmented psychic "balance" resides a vulnerable, wounded child surrounded by an archaic defense system that can alternate between sheltering protection and ruthless torturing of the self and others.

What if this highly schematized outline of the psyche's response to trauma applies as much to a group's response to trauma as it does to the individual's? The same

dynamics so elegantly described by Kalsched (1996) may come alive in the traumatized group psyche as well as in the private horror of a traumatized individual. The traumatized group may develop a cohort of protector/persecutor leaders who function like the *Kouretes* protecting Baby Zeus or the Cuban American relatives protecting Elian Gonzales. The traumatized group spirit may well be subject to the same nurturing protection and/or violent torture at the hands of its *Daimones* leaders. All of the group's defenses are mobilized in the name of a self-care system which is designed to protect the injured divine child of the group identity, as well as to protect the group "ego" from a terrifying sense of imminent annihilation.

The group may develop a defensive system akin to the individual, but in this case its goal is to protect the group or collective spirit rather than the individual spirit. Such a traumatized group presents only a "false self" to the world, and the world cannot "see" the group in its more authentic and vulnerable identity. The rest of the world which is not part of the traumatized group may see only the more hardened "*daimonic*" front men or women and respond to their aggression and impenetrability as if they were the whole group. Such a traumatized group with their defenses of the collective spirit may find themselves living with a history that spans several generations, several centuries, or even millennia with repetitive, wounding experiences that fix these patterns of behavior and emotion into what analytical psychologists have come to know as "complexes." The group complexes create bipolar fields in the same way that personal complexes activate or constellate in external reality the very splits that have splintered the inner world. The traumatized life of the group gets incorporated into the inner life of the individual through a group complex – which may be mistaken for or get confused with a personal complex. How do we learn to distinguish the cultural or group level of the complex from the more "personal" level of the complex with its archetypal core? Before we address the implications of these assertions, there is a missing building block in the argument that we are assembling.

Joseph Henderson: the cultural level of the psyche and the reality of group complexes

One of Joseph Henderson's many seminal contributions to analytical psychology has been to delineate more carefully the space in the psyche between the personal and archetypal levels of psychological experience. He has called this the "cultural level" of the psyche and has elaborated a typology for that level of reality: social, aesthetic, philosophic and spiritual (Henderson 1984). For Jungians, Henderson's work has opened the theoretical door to the vast realm of human experience that inhabits the psychical space between our most personal and our most archetypal level of being in the world. For example, there is surely something in cultural life that nourishes us like a mother but is neither our personal mother nor archetypal Demeter. Henderson's elaboration of the cultural level of the psyche has made greater space for the outer world of group life to have a home in the inner Jungian

world and allowed the inner Jungian world to recognize more fully the outer world of social and cultural experience.

Extending Henderson's notion of the "cultural level" of the psyche, Sam Kimbles introduced the term "cultural complex," and since then Kimbles (2000) and Singer (2002) have been developing the concept. These complexes function in that intermediate realm between the personal and archetypal level of the psyche, partaking of both but also being absolutely unique in that their content and activity is the bridge and link between the individual, society, and the archetypal realms. "Cultural complexes" are at the heart of the conflicts between many groups and are expressed in group life all the time: politically, economically, sociologically, geographically, religiously. For example, one simply has to think of the struggles between Christians and Jews, blacks and whites, gays and straights, men and women, to begin to imagine how potent are the individual and collective processes activated by "cultural complexes." When these complexes are triggered, all of the emotion of the personal and archetypal realm gets channeled through group life and its experience. "Cultural complexes" are lived out in group life and they are internalized in the psyche of individuals.

Just as Henderson opened up the vast intermediate realm between the personal and archetypal, we hope that our work can help us begin to recognize the difference between individual and cultural complexes. For many analytical psychologists, Jung's theory of complexes and its subsequent elaboration forms the cornerstone of the day-to-day work of psychotherapy and analysis. Like the Freudian theory of defenses, Jung's notion of complexes provides a handle for understanding the nature of intrapsychic and interpersonal conflict. Complexes express themselves in powerful moods and repetitive behaviors. They resist our most heroic efforts at consciousness, and they tend to collect experience that confirms their pre-existing view of the world. Complexes are the psychological equivalent of the vegetative biological systems, such as those that carry out digestion or maintain blood pressure. An activated personal complex can have its own body language and tone of voice. It can operate beneath the level of consciousness; we do not have to think about complexes for them to carry out their autonomous processes of structuring and filtering our experience of ourselves and others. A further characteristic of complexes, elegantly elaborated by John Perry (1970), is that they tend to be bipolar or consist of two parts. Most often, when a complex is activated, one part of the bipolar complex attaches itself to the ego and the other part gets projected onto a suitable other. For instance, in a typical negative father complex, a rebellious son inevitably finds the authoritarian father in every teacher, coach or boss who provides a suitable hook for the negative projection. This bipolarity of the complex leads to an endless round of repetitive skirmishes with the illusory other – who may or may not fit the bill perfectly. Finally, complexes can be recognized by the simplistic certainty of a world view and one's place in it that they offer us, in the face of the otherwise very difficult task of holding the tension of conflicting and not easily reconcilable opposites. A colleague likes to tell a story about herself that well illustrates this psychological fact. After a day of "holding the opposites"

in the office with her analysands, she enjoys watching John Wayne movies in which it is clear who the bad guys and the good guys are. She points out that it is far easier to settle for the certainty of a complex than wrestle with the emotional ambiguity of inner and outer reality that is constantly challenging the ego. Cultural complexes structure emotional experience and operate in the personal and collective psyche in much the same way as individual complexes, although their content might be quite different. Like individual complexes, cultural complexes tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness, and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view. Cultural complexes also tend to be bipolar, so that when they are activated the group ego becomes identified with one part of the unconscious complex, while the other part is projected out onto the suitable hook of another group. Individuals and groups in the grip of a particular cultural complex automatically take on a shared body language and postures or express their distress in similar somatic complaints. Finally, like personal complexes, cultural complexes provide a simplistic certainty about the group's place in the world in the face of otherwise conflicting and ambiguous uncertainties.

Because of its primary focus on the individuation process, the Jungian tradition has tended to emphasize the development of the individual out of his or her particular collective experience, but has not been particularly clear or helpful in differentiating individual from cultural complexes. Certainly Jung and his followers have had a sense of different cultural types which is evident, for example, in Jung's discussion of national personality characteristics (Jung 1963). But this perception of different cultural types has never adequately been linked to Jung's theory of complexes or to how these differences get incorporated into the psyche of the individual and the group. Both in the clinical work of individual analysis and in the broader Jungian tradition of archetypal and cultural commentary, it is of enormous potential benefit to begin to make clearer distinctions between an individual complex and a cultural complex. It offers both the individual and groups the opportunity of not having to telescope or condense everything into the personal or archetypal realm – but to recognize the legitimate cultural and group contributions to their struggles, suffering, and meaning.

One can easily imagine how the individual's ego can identify with a cultural complex as a defense against a more painful and isolating personal complex. It is far easier to split off one's individual suffering (or to see it all as a result of group trauma) and get caught up in a mass movement than it is to carry the burden of one's individual pain. Within analytical psychology itself, there is a growing tradition of archetypal commentary on cultural experience which tends to neglect how the individual relates to the culture through more personal experiences and complexes. Archetypal commentary on the culture's underlying myths and failings can easily camouflage the need to work hard at grappling with individual complexes. Differentiating the personal, cultural and archetypal level of complexes requires careful attention to each of these realms, without condensing or telescoping one into the other, as if one were more real or true than the other. Finally, cultural

complexes are based on repetitive, historical group experiences which have taken root in the collective psyche of groups and in the individual/collective psyches of individual members of the group. One can think of cultural complexes as the fundamental building blocks and content of an inner sociology.

Cultural complexes and archetypal defenses of the collective spirit: Constantine's Sword

Donald Kalsched's (1996) work offers a compelling model of how the individual psyche responds to trauma in its defense of the self. Can his model be extended to include specific categories of group behavior and allow us to see a bit more clearly the structure and content of certain types of group or cultural complexes? Of course, I am not suggesting that all cultural complexes behave in the particular model of a traumatized, vulnerable child and protective/torturer *Daimones*, as described by Kalsched. But many of them do. There are two separate but related points that I want to emphasize here.

First, there is a continuum in the content and structure of complexes that ranges from the personal to the cultural to the archetypal. At the same time, some complexes have become such a part of a group's identity over time and repetitive experience that the cultural level of the complex becomes dominant or paramount, even in the psyche of an individual. Individuals are frequently swallowed whole by the group complex that has come to define their ethnic, religious, racial, gender, or other primary sense of identity.

Second, sometimes groups as a whole behave as if they are in the grip of a specific type of cultural complex. This type of cultural complex mobilizes in the group's behavior, emotion and life a defensive self-care system akin to that described in individuals by Kalsched. In the group version of the complex, however, the goal of the self-care, defensive system is the protection of the collective spirit, not the personal spirit. The *Daimones* are mobilized to protect the traumatized divine child or other symbolic carrier of the collective spirit of the group and can do so with a mixture of sheltering kindness and persecutory attack, which directed inwardly results in self-loathing and directed outwardly results in impenetrability and hostilities to other groups.

One has only to glance at the daily newspapers to see the proliferation in popular culture of these group complexes at work. Indeed, it has almost become a national sport for traumatized groups to send out *Daimones* (attorneys and others) to attack the general public for neglecting the entitled interests of their particular victimized group. A large part of the public has grown weary of this institutionalization of group defenses of the collective spirit. Frequently members of the victimized group are so identified with themselves as wounded divine children that it is hard for them to understand how their *Daimones*/protectors, embodied in public spokespersons/attackers, are perceived as an aggressive, destructive, hostile turnoff by those who are not identified with their plight. In the psychic arena of our global group life, it is as if every group is "loaded for bear" – out there with their group

trauma, their group divine child, and their group *Daimones* (protectors/persecutors) ready to swing into action.

I have already offered one such contemporary example of a cultural complex that was activated in the defense of the collective spirit – that of the Cuban Americans and Elian Gonzales. But to further amplify this cluster of ideas, I want to focus on another stunning example of the dynamic interplay between cultural complex and archetypal defenses of the collective spirit. In this example one gets a rare glimpse at the continuum of complex from individual to cultural to archetypal, and one can also see how the defenses of the collective spirit became a monster. It would be easiest to focus on groups such as gays, blacks, women, disabled persons and other obviously disenfranchised and historically traumatized peoples, to see how the dynamics of cultural complex and defenses of the collective spirit play out. But a book by James Carroll (2001), entitled *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews: A History*, suggested to me that the same dynamics can be seen in the Catholics, a group that few would now characterize as a disenfranchised and traumatized minority.

Constantine's Sword is a history of Christian – more specifically Catholic – anti-Semitism. Starting with the old Christian belief that Jews were the "Christ-killers," Carroll (2001) systematically examines layer upon layer of historical event, political context, emotional climate, theological justification and psychological consequence. He begins his narrative by describing Catholic and Jewish reactions to a memorial cross placed at Auschwitz as the latest episode in a stormy and violent two-millennia relationship. His reflections on the Auschwitz cross are placed in the context of his memories of growing up in Germany right after World War II and his own early childhood belief that Jews were in fact the "Christ-killers." After carefully probing the details of his Catholic upbringing, Carroll opens up to an in-depth exploration of the entire historical sweep of Catholic–Jewish relations. Obviously, Carroll does not claim to tell the whole story of the development of Catholicism or Judaism or of the relations between the two religions. Let us briefly follow the thread of Carroll's work. On the personal side, the early development of his faith took place in the epicenter of the most traumatic event of modern Western history – the Holocaust. Carroll's father was commander of the US airforce in Germany immediately following World War II. The family lived at headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany. Accompanying his devoutly Catholic mother, an adolescent Jim Carroll traveled to many of the important Catholic shrines of Western Europe. Through his deep love of his mother and his intimate knowledge of her suffering because of the crippling illness (polio) of his brother, Carroll developed a faith rooted in the cross, the mother and the suffering son. Growing up in post-Nazi Germany, Carroll saw a lot of the great Catholic tradition and the devastation of World War II, but learned little of the Holocaust and the suffering of the Jews at that time. To the Catholic boy, Jews were still identified simply as the "Christ-killers."

This is where Carroll's personal complex and the cultural complex get all mixed up – not just in his history but in the 2000-year history that he sets out to explore

in this book. The Christian religion that nurtured a youth aspiring to the priesthood placed suffering and traumatic death at the center of the Western collective experience, indeed at the center of all human history. And right at the very heart of that story, as he heard it, was the belief that the Jews were responsible for the suffering and traumatic death of the young god. This belief – reinforced through a long history of theological amplification and political, social and religious persecution – has fueled a virulent collective emotion of loathing and rage that has burned without interruption for centuries. Collective emotion fuels the *Daimones*' dance around Baby Zeus; collective emotion fuels the Cuban-Americans' dance around Elian Gonzales; and two millennia of collective emotion demanding vengeance on the "Christ-killers" fuels a long line of *Daimones* from the Crusaders to the Nazis.

One of the many surprising revelations of Carroll's historical journey is that the suffering and traumatic death of the young god for which the Jews have been held responsible as the "Christ-killers" has not always been at the center of Christian faith. Indeed, the cult of the cross does not seem to come to center stage until the time of Constantine in the early part of the fourth century C.E. Even today, the Eastern Orthodox Church places more emphasis on the mystery of the resurrection or rebirth than the traumatic death symbolized by the crucifixion. Imagine for a moment what the history of the Western world might have been like if suffering and trauma had not been at the center of the story that the West has told about itself since the time of Christ. Of course, the fact is that the traumatic death of the crucifixion has been at the center of Western orthodoxy since the time of Constantine.

When Constantine was crossing the Milvian Bridge to attack Rome in 312 C.E., he had a vision and a conversion experience in which his sword and the cross became one. Carroll writes:

> The place of the cross in the Christian imagination changed with Constantine. "He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline" – this is Eusebius's account of Constantine's own report of what he saw in the sky on the eve of the battle above the Milvian Bridge – "he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription CONQUER BY THIS." The story goes on to say that Constantine then assembled his army – "He sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen" – and gave them the new standard to carry into battle. "Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it." As we saw, the army behind this standard did conquer, and Constantine, so Eusebius heard him say, was thus convinced of the truth of Christianity. "The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies."
>
> (Carroll 2001: 175)

Constantine became a Christian and the Christian faith found a protector/persecutor/*Daimon* of the first order. At that moment, the symbol of traumatic injury – the cross – and its avenging protector in the form of Contantine's Sword got married. I would argue that this symbolic marriage of cross and sword is an example of the historical emergence of an "archetypal defense of the collective spirit." It might be helpful at this point to reiterate what I said about Baby Zeus in the early part of this chapter: the inevitable, archetypal coupling of the endangered divine child and the protective, warrior *Daimones* who surround him are at the heart of the story I want to tell and the theory I want to advance. Christ is not Baby Zeus and he is not a child, but in the mytho-religious imagination of the West, he is in that lineage of divine beings who has found potent *Daimones*/protectors who commit unimaginable atrocities in his name. Groups go on the attack in defense of their collective spirit when they fear being annihilated, especially if there is a history of trauma at their beginnings. The Christian story begins in trauma. Some three hundred years after the crucifixion of Christ, the suffering divine being finds his archetypal and historical *Daimon*/protector/persecutor in Constantine, from whose sword Carroll traces a direct line to the Crusades, the Inquisition and finally the Holocaust. One can argue, in summary, that at the heart of the central cultural complex and narrative event of the Western Christian psyche is the emergence of an archetypal defense of the collective spirit, the central features of which include

- traumatic injury to a vulnerable divine being representing the group spirit
- fear of annihilation of the group spirit
- emergence of avenging protector/persecutor defense of the collective spirit.

In the Christian coupling of cross and sword, the archetypal defense of the collective spirit turned all of its more shadowy aggressive energy outward and one sees self-righteousness rather than self-hatred. (Note: obviously this is not the whole story of Christianity or of Judaism since Constantine. Rather, it is following one thread only that has contributed to a particularly potent/virulent cultural complex.) The Jews bore the brunt of the aggression that seemed to flow endlessly from this 2000-year archetypal defense of the collective spirit and to some degree mirrored its aggressiveness in self-hatred, until Zionism and the Holocaust gave birth to a generation of Jews that could say with equal aggressive self-affirmation "Never Again." "Never Again" grew out of unimaginable human suffering and the resolve to protect the Jewish collective spirit at any cost, giving birth to a whole new generation of Jewish *Daimones* which the Palestinians and Israelis know quite well.

Carroll's book, from one perspective then, can be viewed as the extraordinary effort of an individual to unravel his personal complexes from a cultural complex which, until consciously examined, are in fact so interwoven and continuous that it would be impossible to know where the personal part of the complex ends and the cultural complex begins. Carroll would not describe his effort in the language

of Jung's complex theory and analytical psychology, but it is clear that all of his considerable emotional and intellectual passions have been devoted to teasing out the different levels of personal, cultural and archetypal conflict that are at the heart of his history of the Catholics and the Jews. Carroll's personal journey to free himself from the myth of the Jews as "Christ-killers" and all of the collective emotion that has been ignited in the name of that belief, is deeply entangled with the 2000-year history of animosity, misunderstanding, persecution and trauma that characterize Jewish–Christian relations. One of the most important aspects of his book from a Jungian perspective is that he gives us an X-ray of the layering of the personal, cultural and archetypal dimensions of the complex he is probing. This approach opens him up to criticism from the more "objective" historians, some of whom have dismissed his work as too "personal."

Indeed, Carroll's search for historical objectivity begins with an examination of his own subjectivity. In my opinion, the objectivity he gains from the hard introspective work of looking at his own personal and family history is more authentic than the carefully cultivated dispassionate objectivity of a conventional historian who is trained to refrain from injecting his own experience and biases into the story. Carroll's method is truer to our own experience of how the personal and cultural get all mixed up in the unconscious of our family lives and in the cultural and religious history of humankind. Paradoxically, by publicly wrestling with the personal dimensions of his development as a devout Catholic, he leads us to a profound consideration of the unfolding of the historical relations between Catholics and Jews. This is because Carroll's personal revelations naturally evoke and invite us to consider our own personal and cultural complexes in relation to this history. And through the window of his story opening our story, we are initiated or reinitiated into a horrifying story of the last 2000 years. From one point of view, then, this book is a history of a personal complex set in the context of a two-millennia cultural complex, as well as a two-millennia cultural complex set in the context of a personal complex.

"Never Again" and the history of Jung and Freud: a cultural complex even closer to home

Of course, the traumatized (i.e., crucified) Christ as the carrier of the collective spirit in need of archetypal defenses in the form of the sword, the Crusades, the Inquisition, the pogroms, and ultimately the Holocaust are just one side of the history of this horrific cultural complex. Like other personal and cultural complexes, it is part of a bipolar pair and the other side – the Jewish – has its own story of trauma, fear of annihilation and the emergence of avenging protector/persecutor/*Daimones* who defend the collective spirit. One has to look no further than our own tradition of psychoanalysis – Jungian and Freudian alike – and how it gets told from one generation to the next to see the power of such cultural complexes (stories) in which the archetypal defenses of the collective spirit have been mobilized – this time in the defense of the Jewish collective spirit rather than

the Christian collective spirit. An example of this potent phenomenon flared at a recent history of psychoanalysis conference. Seen from the perspective of the Christian/Jewish complex detailed in Carroll's book, the Jung–Freud conflict and its historical unfolding is just a short chapter in the ongoing saga of how not just individuals but the whole history of groups gets swallowed by even larger cultural complexes and their archetypal defenses of the collective spirit.

Thomas B. Kirsch, a past president of the International Association for Analytical Psychology and a Jew, is particularly sensitive to the Christian–Jewish component of the conflict between Jung and Freud (see Kirsch's Chapter 12 in this book). Kirsch literally grew up with it as part of his childhood. He knew well that Jung had been anointed the Christian "Crown-Prince" of psychoanalysis by the Jewish psychoanalytic father Freud. He knew well that Freud had hoped Jung would take the psychoanalytic word from his small Jewish circle in Vienna to the non-Jewish, Christian world of Zurich and beyond to the West. Kirsch also knew that Jung's bitter split from Freud, seen through the lens of the Jewish–Christian cultural complex, could be viewed as one more betrayal and "murder" of a Jew by a Christian. Kirsch's own father, James Kirsch, had had to spend much of his professional career explaining in a careful, scholarly way that Jung was not a Nazi.

Part of what must have motivated the elder Kirsch's lifelong, passionate defense of Jung had to be his desire to make it absolutely clear that he had not betrayed the Jews by following Jung. This must have been acutely painful for the elder Kirsch, because not only was he a Jungian and Jewish, but also he was a German Jew. How can you be German, Jewish and Jungian?

Once you fall into the grip of a cultural complex, guilt by association rules in the collective psyche. The Kirschs knew this as German, Jewish Jungians. Jim Carroll knew this as an Irish Catholic who began to discover in his adolescence what had been done to the Jews in the name of Christ and the cross. The "logic" of a cultural complex has the same non-rational collective emotional power that led the Cuban Americans to a fierce defense of Elian Gonzales. The goal of this emotion and "logic" is to protect the collective spirit. In the case of Jung, the "logic" of the Jewish argument against him and the emotional drive to dismiss his followers is primal and, stated bluntly, runs something like the following:

> Jung was a Nazi. If you follow Jung, you are anti-Semitic at best and participated at least indirectly in the Holocaust. Jungians favor the annihilation of our people. We must vigorously defend ourselves against them and, as they would annihilate us, we must deny their existence.

Put in the broader perspective of the Christian–Jewish conflict explored in Carroll's book, it has been common for traumatized Jews to dismiss Jung and his followers as part of the long line of those who followed Constantine's sword and initiated the Crusades, the Inquisition, the pogroms and the 2000-year history of anti-Semitism. Such is the primitive "logic" and powerful emotion of a cultural complex.

Tom Kirsch has been attuned to this deeply painful cultural complex all his life, not just from his father's experience but also from his mother's. She was German, Jewish and Jungian as well. Having lived the early history of the Jungian tradition so intimately, Kirsch has pursued an interest in the history of the early psychoanalytic movement as a whole and has worked "cross-culturally" with many Freudians over the years to develop a better sense of the seminal ideas, founding personalities and social context of its origins. His work led to an invitation to speak at a History of Psychoanalysis Conference in Versailles, France (Kirsch 2001). Keenly sensitive to the easily provoked historical animosity between Jungians and Freudians, he tailored his remarks to this primarily Freudian group in the most careful and least inflammatory way possible. He did not go looking to activate the primal split, but to promote mutual understanding and consideration of a shared, early history. Shortly after Kirsch's remarks and a few friendly questions, a Freudian analyst in the back of the audience rose and said: "Look – there is an elephant in the room. Jung was an anti-Semitic Nazi. He was indirectly responsible for the death of relatives of people sitting in this room. How can we go on talking about the theoretical?" Kirsch, shaking almost as if a bomb had been dropped in the room, reacted by telling his personal story. He related his parents' experience both as German Jews and as early students of Jung. But, the "elephant in the room" was even bigger than what was being discussed. If possible its scale was even more monumental than the Holocaust and the question of Jung's anti-Semitism. The cultural complex triggered was the accumulated two-millennia history of the persecution of Jews, originating in the belief that the Jews were "Christ-killers." Naturally, it swallowed any further meaningful dialogue at the conference in an instant. *Daimones* beget *Daimones* and the defenses of the collective spirit in both Freudians and Jungians remain the most potent force preventing significant dialogue about the history of psychoanalysis or a real rapprochement between Jungians and Freudians. The cultural complex and its archetypal defenses of the collective spirit put Jungians and Freudians in "sea-borne ships" similar to those of the early Greeks in the "Hymn of the *Kouretes*" or the "crazy" Cuban-Americans who sailed to our shores. They protect Baby Zeus from Kronos, Elian Gonzales from Fidel Castro, Christians from Jews and Jews from Christians, Jungians from Freudians and Freudians from Jungians. It's an old story.

Other holy wars (with special attention to "the axis of evil")

In my formulation of the so-called archetypal defenses of the group spirit, as activated in some cultural complexes, the *Daimones* can certainly direct their primitive aggression back onto the wounded spirit of the group. The self-mockery and self-denigration entrenched in the humor and self-perception of any number of oppressed, minority groups attests to this phenomenon. But these same *daimonic* archetypal defenses of the group spirit can just as easily turn their savage aggression out onto whomever or whatever appears to be a threat to the spirit, basic value, or

identity of the group. I see this response as automatic, reflexive, impersonal and in some ways the most natural way for the group psyche in the grips of a cultural complex to react.

A new chapter of this type of old story literally exploded into our collective consciousness on September 11, 2001 with a most horrific Muslim/Christian/Jewish eruption of *daimonic* forces which deserves a comment from the perspective of the theories advanced in this chapter. In the face of a monstrousness such as 9/11, it is the natural human tendency to want to make sense of the outbreak of these awesome destructive forces – to understand what is incomprehensible. Economic theories, sociological theories, theories of history and religion – even theories from analytical psychology such as the one I am advancing here – are put on parade in an attempt to reassure ourselves that we understand what is happening. In such a context, George W. Bush's "axis of evil" idea makes sense, in its very attempt to make sense to the Western world of what, in fact, makes no sense. Although I think Bush misidentified Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the "axis of evil," in naming an "axis of evil" at all, I think he has come close to an archetypal truth about the kinds of situations that lead to and grow out of an event like 9/11. By the end of this section, the reader should have a clearer, alternative idea to George W. Bush's of what might constitute an "axis of evil."

Let's consider the rise of radical Islamism in terms of the model I am proposing. Islamism and its terrorist agenda can be understood as an expression of archetypal defenses of the collective spirit, set off by the activation of a cultural complex with more than a thousand years of accumulated historical experience. From this point of view, Osama Bin Laden and the Mujahideen are *Daimones* – human but terrifyingly impersonal incarnations of archetypal defenses of the collective spirit. Their Islamist dream of creating a new "caliphate" can be interpreted as a geographic projection of a wish to restore a wounded, collective Muslim spirit through the creation of an empire that transcends national boundaries. The traumatized collective spirit of the Muslim world suffered centuries of humiliation at the hands of a rapidly expanding Western civilization that captured the scientific, technological and materialistic initiative that once belonged to the Muslim world. But, by the most ironic of historical twists, the Muslim world – deeply wounded in its collective self-image – ended up with the richest share of the world's oil that is the current fuel for the materialistic advances of Western civilization. This is a perfect example of how cultural complexes beget cultural complexes.

Bin Laden and the al-Qaeda conceive themselves to be the avenging angels of the deeply and long traumatized spirit of the Muslim world. As *Daimones*, they may well end up further wounding and torturing the very traumatized Muslim Self that they have set out to defend. Some Muslims themselves are aware of the self-destructive dimension to the process set in motion by al-Qaeda, as revealed in the following statement: "'Islam has been the victim of September 11,' said Amad Turkistani, a Saudi living in Virginia who made the pilgrimage to Mecca." In addition to the awful tragedy of inflicting further injury to the Muslim spirit that the self-appointed *Daimones* seek to protect is the psychological fact that

possession by a cultural complex automatically triggers it bipolar, reciprocal opposite, namely the response of the Western world. It is no accident that George W. Bush made a slip of the cultural unconscious when he first referred to a "crusade" as the Western world's response to the World Trade Center and Pentagon bombings. Bush's slip was reflexive and automatic; it was backed up by a centuries-old memory. A crusade is our cultural complex's answer to a holy jihad and puts us right back into the world of Constantine's Sword. When such forces are unleashed in the collective psyche of nations, we are in the same situation that Jung observed in his 1936 essay about Nazi Germany, "Wotan":

> Archetypes are like riverbeds which dry up when the water deserts them, but which it can find again at any time. An archetype is like an old watercourse along which the water of life has flowed for centuries, digging a deep channel for itself. The longer it has flowed in this channel the more likely it is that sooner or later the water will return to its old bed. The life of the individual as a member of society and particularly as part of the State may be regulated like a canal, but the life of nations is a great rushing river which is utterly beyond human control . . . Thus the life of nations rolls on unchecked, without guidance, unconscious of where it is going, like a rock crashing down the side of a hill, until it is stopped by an obstacle stronger than itself. Political events move from one impasse to the next, like a torrent caught in gullies, creeks and marshes. All human control comes to an end when the individual is caught up in a mass movement. Then the archetypes begin to function, as happens also in the lives of individuals when they are confronted with situations that cannot be dealt with in any of the familiar ways.
>
> (Jung 1936/1970: 189–190)

The ancient, archetypal riverbed of rivalrous conflicts between the Christians, the Jews, and the Muslims is once again overflowing with a gushing torrent that threatens to flood the world.

For many in the West, the Islamic fundamentalist terrorists have become the *Daimones* – what Bush calls "the evil-doers." And, for much of the Muslim world and many in the Western world as well, George Bush – also self-appointed in his role – has become the arch *Daimone*. It is precisely at this intersection – where the *Daimones* or archetypal defenses of the spirit of one group's cultural complex trigger the *Daimones* of another group's cultural complex – that I think we can most accurately locate "the axis of evil," – be it the *daimonic* forces of Sharon aligned against the *daimonic* forces of Arafat, or the *daimonic* forces of Bush aligned against the *daimonic* forces of Saddam Hussein. These negative alignments truly form an axis in the sense that a direct line or connection is drawn between the *Daimones* of one group, protecting their sacred center, and the *Daimones* of a rival group, protecting their sacred center. Such negative alignments or axis create the conditions for the eruption of incomprehensible violence, destruction, and the impulse to destroy. Through the linking of the demonic defenses in one group with

the demonic defenses of another, the cultural unconscious in both groups becomes ripe for the wholesale emergence of evil. Out of such potent negative alignments spring the real "axis of evil."

As we see from the radical Islamist movement and the response of the West to it, cultural complexes that trigger archetypal defenses of the group spirit tend to have long, repetitive histories. In terms of inter-group conflict, Christians, Jews, and Muslims have been at it for 2000 years. Blacks and whites in the United States have been at it for over 300 years. Freudians and Jungians have been at it for almost 100 years. What makes the complexes that drive these conflicts so potent is that they take on a life of their own, not only in the group's response to attacks on its collective spirit, but also in the way that they seem to take up permanent residence at the cultural level of the psyche in the individual.

Thinking about these intractable, recurring conflicts in terms of cultural complexes enables us to avail ourselves of the discoveries of complex theory more generally and that can bear the fruit of insight, with the potential for greater consciousness. Most modestly, it prepares us for the difficulty of finding quick or easy resolution to the complexes; for the accumulation of stereotypical memory and behavior that accrues around any complex; and for the seemingly endless autonomy and perplexing unconsciousness of the phenomena involved. In speaking of the resolution of personal complexes, Jung warned, "A complex can be really overcome only if it is lived out to the full. In other words, if we are to develop further we have to draw to us and drink down to the very dregs what, because of our complexes, we have held at a distance" (Jung 1954/1959: 184: 98–99). Applying that same wisdom to cultural complexes, we certainly have had recent experience about the need to drink "down to the very dregs" our cultural complexes. For more than a quarter century, the Balkans and the Middle East have been reminding us almost daily of the impossibility of easily treating or resolving cultural complexes. Formulating these phenomena in terms of cultural complexes is thus a heavy prescription, rather than a panacea, but it also allows us to appreciate and make more room for a level in the individual's psyche that belongs neither to personal experience nor to the archetypal depths and permits us a way to work toward deeper understanding of the role of cultural complexes in structuring the psychological responses of the individuals and the group in the face of particular conflicts.

Even more importantly in my mind, the theory of cultural complexes and defenses suggest that Jung was not entirely correct when he said "nowadays particularly, the world hangs by a thin thread, and that thread is the psyche of man" (Jung 1977: 303). An important piece was left out of that otherwise remarkable – one might even say – primal insight. The fate of the world does not in fact hinge on the thread of the individual psyche. Rather, the emergence of a theory of cultural complexes suggests that an understanding of the individual psyche through its consciousness will not be enough. The group itself will need to develop a consciousness of its cultural complexes. Perhaps each injured culture – be it Balkan, American, Black, White, Palestinian, Israeli, Iraqi, Catholic, Jewish,

Jungian, Freudian, men, women (the list is endless once you begin to think in terms of cultural complexes) – needs to learn how to drink to the dregs its own complexes, as well as those of its neighbors, allies and enemies. To settle down the archetypal defenses of the group spirit, the collective psyche itself and its often traumatized, sometimes immature or stunted, spirit needs to individuate, and this is not the work of an individual alone or of analysis alone.

These reflections on cultural complexes and the holy wars that are sometimes their hideous offspring lead to the obvious conclusion that there is not a ready antidote to the nightmare of terror and violence or to the will to destroy many of us feel at one level or another in our superheated collective psyche. I think we would all do well to acknowledge the reality of these *Daimones* or archetypal defenses of the group spirit which dwell inside and outside of us. That might be the beginning of not letting them lead us "willy nilly" into more violence, terror and destruction. At a minimum, we can try to limit their destructive potential in any number of "axis of evil" conflicts that are ready to flare. It is hard to imagine drinking the dregs of all the hair-trigger cultural complexes that are waiting to fire off at any given moment anywhere in the world. They litter the global psychic landscape like so many landmines – tribal, racial, ethnic, gender, religious, political, economic landmines left undetonated but ready to explode. These landmines are the residue, reminder and carrier of past unresolved conflicts that have accumulated in the collective memory and emotion of generations of so many people that carry deep wounds to their collective spirits – almost as if it is part of their genome.

Such a world geography, history, and collective psychology of explosive and exploding cultural complexes makes one long for a more positive relationship to the group spirit – a time and place when one might join in singing "The Hymn of the *Kouretes*" that I mentioned earlier in this chapter. This song celebrates the most generative spirit of the group – which is perhaps why many Americans are now singing "God Bless America" during the seventh inning stretch at baseball games.

Conclusion

We hold up strange mirrors to ourselves and to one another when we start to explore cultural complexes as part of our personal and historical development. Our cultural complexes get all mixed up not only with our personal history and complexes but with other cultural complexes as well. These intermingling complexes take strange twists and turns over a lifetime and generations, creating exotic permutations and combinations within ourselves and between us and others, creating what I have come to think of as "recombinant visionary mythologies." The highly publicized story of a young Catholic boy from Marin Country, California, converting to Islam, journeying to Pakistan for religious instruction, becoming a foot soldier for al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, eventually being captured in a flooded basement by US troops during the war against the Taliban and brought back to trial and imprisonment in the United States is a compelling example of

how personal and cultural complexes can get entangled in a "recombinant visionary mythology."

In the other relatively straightforward personal stories I have been telling, Jim Carroll, an Irish Catholic, spent his adolescence growing up in post-Holocaust Germany while Tom Kirsch, a Jew born of German parents, spent his Jungian adolescence in Los Angeles. Both found themselves expending tremendous psychic energy sorting themselves out in relation to these cultural complexes – Kirsch as a Jewish Jungian, Carroll as a former Catholic priest wrestling with the Church's historical relationship to Jews. What a burden it must have been for Tom Kirsch as a child of German Jewish Jungians to sort out the question of whether he has indirectly betrayed his people and supported the Holocaust. What a burden for Jim Carroll to have realized that as a devoted Catholic he could be held responsible for the "Christ-killer" myth that has resulted in the Crusades, the Inquisition and the Holocaust? If we do not sort through our cultural as well as personal complexes carefully, we end up – at a minimum in the unconscious – feeling responsible for, identified with, or traumatized by events that belong to our cultural complexes far more than our personal complexes.

Failure to consider cultural complexes as part of the work of individuation puts a tremendous burden on both the personal and archetypal realms of the psyche. Placing such a burden on the personal and/or archetypal dimensions by ignoring the careful sorting out of cultural complexes does not allow for the freeing up of the tremendous energy held in the grip of cultural complexes and making it available for the development of healthier individuals and groups, who are able to have positive interaction with other groups and cultures. Too often the Jungian notion/bias of "differentiating out from the collective" in the service of individuation does not take into account either the role of cultural complexes in development or the need to make a place for oneself in the life of the group or a place for one's group in relation to other groups.

The young *Kouretes* or *Daimones*, leaping for godly Themis – the spirit of the community – have taken us on a rather circuitous journey from Baby Zeus to Elian Gonzales to Catholics and Jews, Jung and Freud, and finally a glimpse at radical Islamism, the West and "the axis of evil." Collective emotion and its enthusiasm, in leaping for the communal spirit and securing its protection, not only guarantees the health of crops and cities but can also destroy many citizens and communities along the way. For those reasons, one is well advised to give equal consideration to the personal, the cultural and the archetypal dimensions of our life experience when considering human value, history and meaning.

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Chapter 2

Malinchismo

Betraying one's own

Jacqueline Gerson

Years ago, visiting the United States, I went shopping in an outdoor mall. I found, in one of the stores, the most beautiful pair of shoes. They were really nice, in their combination of leathers and their different style from what I was used to. They were so new and comfortable that I decided to get them. When I arrived at my hotel, I tried them on once again and loved them even more. I was ready to put them in my suitcase to bring them back home, when I found a very small tag on a side that said: "Hand made in Mexico." I still remember my surprise at finding out that I was actually taking back to my country, Mexico, a beautiful pair of shoes from there that I had managed to find only in the United States.

This episode stirred up a lot of feelings in me. At first I asked myself: had I been in Mexico, would I have found these shoes, by which I meant, would I have been able to see the beauty in them, the beauty that I saw so easily outside of Mexico, under the illusion that they were not Mexican? Sadly, I did not have the answer. The fact was that I went to look for them in another country, so most likely I wouldn't have found them in my hometown, Mexico City, because my eyes, my view, and my heart were already set to search for value on a foreign stage. I had looked outside my own country, and I had wanted to find them in another place, where the shoes were going to be beautiful, different, and special. Now I was proudly holding my pair of shoes, feeling amazed at what had operated in me at a totally unconscious level. I really had felt and believed that shoes this wonderful would never have been found at home. Still, the tag said: "Hand made in Mexico."

Reflecting on this irony, I thought of the common, talked-about Mexican phenomenon of *malinchismo*, which refers, in my country, to disliking one's own and preferring the other – giving oneself to the foreigner and abandoning and betraying one's own. "But I was only buying a pair of shoes!" I thought. "It was just a matter of luck finding them and liking them so much!" I had been totally unaware that anything else was taking place in me. Seeing this episode in the light of the psychology advanced by Tom Singer and Sam Kimbles, however, I would have to say that I was in the grip of a cultural complex, that is, a complex in the Mexican psyche that operates not only on a personal level, but at a collective level too. It has the power to possess any Mexican, since it operates throughout our

population, arising as it does out of the very essence of our culture (Singer 2002; Kimbles 2000).

The term *malinchismo* refers to the story of an Aztec Indian princess who lived at the time of the Conquest (the beginning of the sixteenth century), known to history as La Malinche. She was originally Malintzin, the daughter of an Aztec village lord, and because of that, she was allowed to be educated before her father's death. After the tragic episode that led to his demise, her mother remarried, gave birth to a son, and decided that this boy would be the one to rule instead of her daughter, who really deserved the honor. In order to achieve this end, the mother turned her daughter over to some passing traders and proclaimed her death. The traders sold her as a slave in Tabasco, one of the southern states. During the time that she spent as a slave, she learned several local languages besides her own native *Náhuatl*, among them, the Mayan. When she was 14 years old, the Tabasco people offered her as a present, along with nineteen other young women, to Hernando Cortés, Mexico's conqueror.

Up until then, to communicate with the native Mexicans, Cortés had had to rely on Jerónimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard shipwrecked off Cozumel, who had learned the Mayan language. Cortés found, however, that as he moved north and west into Mexico, he could no longer depend on the Mayan language to communicate. He now discovered that one of the women given to him spoke other languages. So the captured Princess Malintzin became known as Malinche, the interpreter of Cortés. When she first started in this role, she worked alongside Aguilar, who spoke Spanish and Mayan. Aguilar would translate Cortés's speech to Malinche in Mayan, and she would then translate to the needed dialect of their present location. She would ultimately become a keystone in the success of the Mexican Conquest, in the process learning Spanish herself.

It was she who stood besides Cortés convincing other Indian nations to join him in his quest to conquer Tenochtitlán, the great Aztec nation, and she was with him when he finally arrived and stood in front of Montezuma, Tenochtitlán's king. By then, she was already seen as being in total union with Cortés. Malinche had become, not only Cortés's interpreter and deeply committed assistant, but also his loyal mistress, who loved her master. She bore Cortés a son, Don Martín Cortés, and for this reason, even though many Indian women were impregnated by Spaniards at the time of the Conquest, it is she who is considered to be the mother of the *mestizo* race, the people whose heritage blends Spanish and Indian blood. Her son, Don Martín Cortés, is traditionally considered to be the first *mestizo*, and certainly he is the first whose life and deeds are recorded in history.

Even though it is important to recognize the invaluable help she gave the Conquest through her talent at communication and help in establishing friendly relationships as a basis for negotiation with the Indians, Malinche cannot be held responsible for the Conquest. To a large degree, the Conquest came about because of the brutality the Aztecs had brought to bear against their oppressed neighbors, who needed relief from the Aztec's constant demands for tribute and sacrificial victims. In history, however, La Malinche has been identified as the person who

betrayed her own people, her race, and her native country. Today, the word *malinchista* refers to individuals who turn their back on their own culture; it describes those Mexicans who dislike other Mexicans or anything related to Mexican culture (Wood 2000: 33).

In the Mexican population today, the *malinchismo* complex can be seen in different ways. One, of course, is the preference for buying articles that are not made in Mexico. Among Mexicans, buying imported shoes, clothing, toys or food is highly valued; giving a foreign name to a restaurant or a store is seen as a way to attract people into the business, particularly people belonging to the elite, upper class. Using certain words in other languages even when there is a readily available translation in Spanish, far from signifying a poor knowledge of our own language, is appreciated as a sign of culture. Sometimes the names given to newborn children – even when the parents and grandparents are and have always been Mexicans – are either foreign names that have nothing to do with Mexican heritage or Mexican names that are pronounced or spelled as if belonging to a different language – Monique instead of Mónica, Mark instead of Marcos. A more subtle example of our *malinchismo* can be seen in the way products that are made in Mexico are presented. Often the inscription on the package and even directions for how to use the product will be written in English. Sometimes the legend is added, "Exportation quality," meaning that this is a high quality product, something that one might obtain in a foreign country. It doesn't totally belong to Mexico.

Nowadays, when we are all talking about globalization and Mexico is making itself part of a larger world, such a presentation of Mexico's products could be seen as making room for their possible integration into a global culture. There is, however, a substantial difference between fostering the idea of living in the one and same world which belongs to all of us and being ruled by the feeling that prevails under the domain of the *malinchismo* complex, where the world is not seen as being the same for all, but as a place where everything is better than mine. Then globalization as an ideal is shadowed by an inferiority complex, which creates the feeling that the other is better, a psychology in which whatever is one's own is always being degraded and devalued and whatever the other has done or made is chosen as being best.

In this lack of recognition of the value of what is one's own, the possibility of rescuing the people, the land, and the language is not considered. I would like to give an example of what happened recently in relation to the Mexican attitude towards the US-led war against Iraq. In one of the most important streets in Mexico City, hundreds of people gathered in order to march for peace. Money was collected in order to support the peace campaigns. Watching this phenomenon, even though I was strongly in support of peace, I realized that we live in a country where poverty is a prevailing issue. People in the southeast of Mexico are literally dying from severe malnutrition. Indians in Chiapas were killed. Women in Ciudad Juárez are being raped and tortured, or disappear, to be discovered later as dead bodies. We Mexicans have not gathered, marched or organized ourselves as a cohesive body politic on behalf of our own people. What happens in the broader world is certainly

important to all of us. It is our world too. But, from a *malinchista* standpoint, it is noteworthy that among Mexicans, concern for Mexico, for the Mexicans, comes second to concern for the world. We turn our back on our own even as we care for the global other, and in the process we have no eyes, no heart, no mind for our own cruelty or for our own beauty, our value, and selves.

Interestingly, the term *malinchismo* appeared only in the 1930s, after Mexican oil was nationalized. The concept and feeling of nationalism was born and entered the Mexican collective. A new and urgent importance was given to our resources, our land and our heritage as being our own and having a value. Mexico, the Mexican things – art, history, culture – started to be appreciated and rescued. The *mestizo* folk started to discover among themselves wonderful painters, writers, musicians, and intellectuals, who became, and still are, very important.

To derive the pejorative term *malinchismo* – the Mexican dislike of one's own and preferring the other – from the negative attitude that would deny all this creativity from the story of Malinche, mother of the *mestizo* people, is to concentrate on only one aspect of her story and to ignore her enormous contribution to the national identity. The part of the story that the Mexican nationalist movement has asked us to look at so critically is the fact that she was the one who turned her back on her own people in order to help the conqueror. For Mexicans today, Malinche is mainly memorialized in the way we use the word *malinchismo*, to refer to the attitude of the traitor who helped to deliver Mexico to the foreign invader. But the part of the story that is left out in this view of Malinche is the fact that she herself was betrayed by her own mother. We have to remember that it was the Princess Malintzin's birthright to be the one to rule over her village, and that possibility had been taken away from her by her mother in order to make it possible for her half-brother to come to power. Therefore, joining with Cortés was her chance – inadvertently – to regain the status that had been denied to her of being the mother of her people.

The Mexican writer and poet Rosario Castellanos sounds the depth of Malinche's traumatic motivation in a beautiful poem in which she imaginally evokes Malinche's view of herself at the moment of the betrayal by her mother:

> From the chair of power my mother said: "She died"
> Allowing herself to fall down, as if she was depressed
>
> In the arms of the other, usurper, stepfather
> Who holds her not with the respect
> That a servant gives to the majesty of a queen
> But mutually lowering themselves
> In the humiliation of accomplices, lovers
>
> Thrown, expelled
> From the kingdom, the palace and the warm entrails
> From the one who gave me birth in legitimate bridal bed

And who abhorred me, because I was her equal
In figure and in rank
And contemplated herself in myself and hated her image
And destroyed the mirror against the floor.

I walk towards destiny among chains
And leave behind what I still hear:
The gloomy rumors with which I am being buried.
And my mother's voice with tears, with tears!
Decreeing my death.

(Castellanos 1972: 324, courtesy of Fondo de Cultura Económica. J. Gerson's translation)

From this empathic perspective, the theme of betrayal that pervades Malinche's story originates in the fact that her very existence was betrayed by her own mother. Malinche simply repeats the wounding, passing it on to her people throughout the Conquest during which native Mexicans everywhere were betrayed and forced into slavery, as Malinche had been. Foreign rulers usurped all power and reigned over Mexico for the following 300 years.

Throughout history, there have been countless examples of one man betraying another to achieve an illegitimate transfer of power, but Malinche's story begins with a woman betraying a woman. But just as Eve was blamed for being the traitor in the biblical myth of Creation, in the folklore surrounding the creation of *mestizo* identity, once again it is a woman – whether Malinche or Malinche's mother – who is assigned the role of the traitor, as if to affirm that women are not to be trusted. Perhaps what we should focus on is not gender *per se* – what is wrong with women – but rather the question of whether there is an archetypal human need to betray, which women have been carrying for years as if it was the shadow only of our gender.

It is true that when power is taken away from women, it tends to reappear in its most shadowy way, repeating and perpetuating the endless female cycle of self-devaluation and resentment of other women who have managed to get power – the typical pattern of the negative mother complex. But not every archetypal betrayal involves the negative mother. Wasn't Moses betrayed by God the Father, who did not allow his prophet to enter the promised land to which he had led the chosen people? And wasn't Jesus betrayed by that same Father who allowed his only Son to be crucified?

It is useful in contemplating such stories of betrayal to look at the archetypal role being played by the betrayer, which is beyond gender. The act of supreme betrayal is serving an archetypal human need for getting out of paradise, out of the containment of the mother's womb and out of the reliability of the father's promise of existence under the sanction of the divine.

Betrayal is a very painful experience for both betrayer and betrayed, out of which several emotional roads can be taken. In his extraordinary essay "Betrayal," James

Hillman points out the psychological dangers that can beset the person who has been betrayed. The first one that Hillman mentions is the tendency of the betrayed person to deny the value of the betrayer. Resentment in the betrayed person fuels the denial of the humanity of the betrayer who was previously trusted (and usually had been idealized). An even more destructive consequence for the betrayed person, says Hillman, is the development of cynicism, which involves the tendency to generalize the situation that had to do with one's own betrayal to a description of the human condition itself. The betrayal of trust and love, the promises that were broken, overshadow everything, and we start rejecting humanity itself. But perhaps the most dangerous outcome for the person who has been betrayed is *self-betrayal*, by which Hillman means the act of turning ourselves against our own experience – acting in the same blind and sordid way that one attributes to the other, and justifying one's own actions with an alien value system. One is truly betrayed, handed over to an enemy within. This alienation from one's self after betrayal is largely defensive and self-protective (Hillman 1965: 67–68).

The young Malinche was certainly betrayed. She was given away and later sold as a slave. There was no pride expressed by her mother in having her as a daughter. The younger male sibling was preferred. Both Malinche's birthright and her personal value were denied. They were handed over, as it were, to another. Following Hillman's notion of betrayal, Malinche later acted "in the same blind and sordid way," handing over Mexican identity to the conquistadores. She herself ended up accepting an alien value system, language, and religion. She did to herself what she also did to her people, betraying the original Mexican identity. Malinche, mother of the first *mestizo*, repeated her own wounding, and it remains alive in the *mestizo* Mexican psyche today, in the cultural complex that we now know as *malinchismo*. The *malinchismo* cultural complex is the "disrespectful appellation that came to stand for everything that does harm to itself or its own: La Malinche" (Krauze 1997: 51). This is an identification that accords with Hillman's description of the most deleterious consequence of betrayal–self-betrayal: "turning ourselves against one's own . . . justifying one's own actions with an alien value system. One is truly betrayed, handed over to an enemy within" (Hillman 1965: 67).

Since the term *malinchismo* appeared only when nationalism was born, we should ask ourselves how the two phenomena are related. Particularly, we should ask if there is any recognition of one's own worth, any pride in existing, any care for our selves, in the phenomenon of *malinchismo*? That question can also be framed in the context of this book's central inquiry: is there any light or purpose to be found in a cultural complex? On the other hand, since nationalism and the notion of *malinchismo* arose simultaneously, we should also ask if there is a shadow to nationalism, just as there may be a bright side to the cultural complex of *malinchismo*. Where is the lack of care for ourselves in the mindset of nationalism? Since *malinchismo* and nationalism have something to do with each other, we have to ask if one did not also bring the other. In the traditional legend of her life, La Malinche is identified not only as the traitor but also as the mother of the first *mestizo*. The native Mexicans today are *mestizos*, people with Spanish as well as

Indian blood running in their veins. Could we think that by her mating with Cortés, Malinche was also assuring a future to the Indian people? Certainly in the extreme conditions of the Conquest, when the original native Mexican identity had no chance of surviving in its pure form. To carry forward the old identity, Malinche had to create a new race – the *mestizos*, who would eventually be recognized as the Mexican people.

It is a matter of historical record that the son Malinche bore Cortés was named by the Conquistador himself, Martín, after Cortés's father. Furthermore, Cortés "legitimized him through a papal bull of 1529" (Krauze 1997: 51). In that fact alone there is a recognition of the new *mestizo* identity, through which the "Indians" were unwillingly and unconsciously integrated. The theme of betrayal of one's own was thus passed into the new Mexican identity even as that identity was recognized as legitimate. The birth of Martín, therefore, signifies the creativity of Malinche in producing a Mexican identity that fostered both nationalism and *malinchismo*. In this way, by working out her own personal complex, the former princess paradoxically enabled her culture to go forward. She reversed the disempowerment of her own early story, regaining power and recognition not only for herself and her son, but ultimately for her people. Through the *mestizo* blend that she literally participated in creating, she rescued her people from being wiped out by the Spaniards, which was so often the fate of the "Indians" in other parts of Latin America.

The seminal historian of Mexican political identity, Justo Sierra (1848–1912), wrote that Mexican nationality was born "from the first kiss of love" between Cortés and Malinche (quoted in Krauze 1997: 51). The *mestizo* identity born of this kiss still prevails in Mexico today, decades after the nationalist movement put forward the notion that it is the "true" Mexican identity. The Conquest of Mexico by Europe was brutal, which is often history's way. In the midst of this brutality and betrayal, Malinche embodied a "complex creativity" – in every sense of the phrase. She assured the continuity of the native Mexican culture and of the *mestizo* blend which define Mexican cultural identity even today. Malinche's story represents the creativity in the psyche that allows a historical trauma to become a cultural complex, with both light and dark aspects.

As we have already seen, this is a cultural complex with the archetype of the negative mother at its core. Though identified with the negative mother, La Malinche is still a mother. She had a most important role to play in fostering the survival of her offspring. To point out this historical and psychological fact is not an attempt to transform her story into that of an embracing, nurturing mother. On the contrary, as the negative mother who in essential ways turns her back on her children, she is the mother who, instead of nurturing, consumes and devours. Although La Malinche allows life to continue, she does not enhance the flow of life. She drains it. We know from analytical work that in the presence of the negative mother, one is defleshed and faced with extinction and death. The Aztec people must have felt this devouring force as they watched one of their own princesses work so ruthlessly for Cortés and the Conquest. We must then ask,

how can there be any mothering in this phenomenon? Is any light to be seen? Is there anything to be learned when one's very culture is so strongly confronted by the darkness of an annihilation that has been furthered by the betrayal of one's own?

I believe that there is both a potential for light and learning in the exploration of the Malinche cultural complex. The story of Malinche's "betrayal" – first by her mother and then her own betrayal of her people – teaches us that it is essential that the group remains alive, that it finds a way to survive. From this perspective, the continuity of life is itself a most sacred aspect of life. In the course of a people's history, the forms that its culture takes – relationships, traditions, costumes, languages, religion, "racial" identity – can change. Many of these forms are shaped by the fathers' hands. But for the culture to exist at all, there is one condition, *sine qua non*, that only a mother can finally guarantee to her people: to be born and remain alive. The negative mother threatens life itself. She destroys life. But, in the case of Malinche, her story of the negative mother and the cultural complex built into the Mexican psyche as a consequence of its unfolding, shows both the destructive power of the archetypal core and its complex as well as its paradoxical blessing, namely the very survival of her people.

In doing to her people what had been done to her, Malinche was as much a betrayer as her mother had been to her, but in a more conscious and psychologically creative way. In her new form of life, as the partner of Cortés, she was able to find recognition and love that made it possible for her to reverse her story rather than remain a resentful slave, acting only out of spite. She became, in fact, one of the most transcendent figures in the history of the Mexican Conquest. She was able to fulfill her creative task as a mother of her people, ensuring not only that a new race of people would come into being, but also that they would survive.

Patrizia Michan – who has looked at this story from the standpoint of power and surrender – has written in her study of its continuing hold on the Mexican psyche:

> Both La Malinche's betrayal of her people and her violation were experienced by the indigenous people as an effective challenge to the prevailing masculine authority of their native culture. This threat makes her a symbol of female sexuality that is both denigrated and controlled in the Mexican psyche.
>
> (Michan 2003: 34)

Michan notes that: "According to Octavio Paz, the symbolism of Cortés and La Malinche represents a secret conflict at the heart of the Mexican identity, still unresolved today" (Paz 1985: 87). Michan observes that: "The progressive part of this conflict has yet to be fully claimed" (Michan 2003: 34).

Perhaps another way to look at Malinche's relationship with Cortés is as a love story, not a romance in which "they lived happily ever after," but as an alchemical drama of *coniunctio*, appropriately shadowed by *mortificatio*. The members of the pair, Malinche and Cortés, took care of each other. Their natures merged, died in their combination, and were finally able to fulfill their destiny as an archetypal

couple engaged in a creative *opus*. She, Malinche, through the survival of her people and he, Cortés, in kindling the spirit of a new world in order to illuminate the darkness of his Inquisitorial original country, united to create a new cultural opportunity in the form of the *mestizo* people. At the same time, they burdened the new people with the task of sorting out a formidable cultural complex.

It is interesting to note that although many native Mexican women were raped during the Conquest and its aftermath (the tragedy of this ongoing atrocity could be illustrated in the figure of Malinche herself), Malinche's story is not confined to violation. It moves toward *coniunctio* and the promise of a conscious relationship with the violator. Malinche, after all, stayed next to Cortés, loving him and participating with him in the rulership of her country so long as he stayed in Mexico. He, correspondingly, valued her. He was a one-woman man. Not only did he take care of her son, including seeing to his education and future in government, but also when he went back to Spain, he made sure to secure a husband – one of his trusted captains – for Malinche so that she would be protected.

We Mexicans are left, in the wake of this dramatic cultural history, with the strong *malinchista* attitude that prevails in the Mexican people. The bright aspect in La Malinche's story can be recognized only if we realize that for betrayal to happen, there also has to be love. Unfortunately most people have taken the familiar, one-sided view of the story, emphasizing how La Malinche betrayed her ancestors. They fail to recognize that her betrayal led to their survival.

Our denial of the wisdom in Malinche's solution actually perpetuates the trauma of self-betrayal and its consequences, which we see in the pain of the self-undervalued Mexican people. Our denial of her wisdom as a Mexican has permitted us to go on overestimating the "Other," who then goes on conquering us from within. We then remain caught by our cultural complex, because we have not deeply enough understood the archetypal story at its core.

As can happen with any neurotic complex in the individual or group psyche, we Mexicans have become unconsciously caught in a very narrow view of life. We have not been able to move out of being possessed by this cultural complex. A complex that holds people in this way tends to be static. Within the individuals of the group, there is little reflection, little analysis, and no search for new possibilities. Rather, they become stuck in a repetitively stereotypical point of view without a real tension of opposites that can permit psychological movement.

Within the *malinchismo* complex and its self-destructive attitude, a differentiated evaluation of our place in the world disappears. Everything foreign seems better than Mexican. As opposed to being caught in the complex of nationalism – where there is always an over-appreciation of one's own country – to be caught in the *malinchismo* complex is to be unable to find anything of value in one's own culture. In this form, the complex is like a totalitarian regime that takes over and simply colonizes the psyche. One could speak of this as the possessing regime of the Other.

Let me give a recent example of how the cultural complex limits our vision as Mexicans. For the last several years, a wave of crime and kidnapping has plagued

Mexico City, creating widespread fear and insecurity (Gerson 2003). As a result, a group of individual citizens took the initiative with the approval of Mexico City's mayor of issuing an invitation to Rudy Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City, to come to Mexico as a consultant. He was well-known for his leadership in restoring law and order to New York during his term of office even before the 9/11 emergency. But when Giuliani actually arrived in Mexico City, the most important newspapers were severely critical of the decision to invite him. They editorialized that bringing Giuliani to Mexico only served a "*malinchista* attitude," i.e., it only reinforced the belief that we Mexicans need someone from outside to solve our problems.

Here we can see how the *malinchista* complex operates to polarize and splits our vision for ourselves. On one side of the polarity, we feel that no one should or can know better than we Mexicans how to rule ourselves; on the other side, we believe that everyone manages to do everything better than we do. Identifying exclusively with either pole of the complex creates a static position, fostering cultural paralysis. There is then no room for a process that would include analyzing and evaluating the intervention of the other. Rather, we either unconditionally approve of the other's intervention or reject it in a total and passive way. We are conquered once again – this time by the totalitarianism of our own cultural complex which takes over the regime of our minds.

To continue with the example of Mayor Giuliani's recent consultation to Mexico City, I believe that the success of his work will be directly related to the active participation of the Mexican people at the various levels at which our society is actually run: the government, the police, the law, and also the citizens. Rudy Giuliani can't do anything alone. He can only help with a task that belongs to the Mexican people. If we remain passive, thinking that Giuliani can "save" us, and in fact that he is the one and only figure that can do so, his consultation will not help us improve our skills at self-governance. When we bring the Other into our lives in such a way, we become passive-dependent, making the same sort of unconscious assumption that Montezuma did before Cortés, that the Other must be the God who came to save us. Then, as a people, we will be empowering Giuliani in the same self-defeating way that we once gave our power to Cortés, the supposed God, and have given it to so many governments that have ruled over Mexico. Ultimately we will prove only that we are the betrayed, perennially let down by the recurrently broken promise of redemption.

To stop the repetitive cycle of the *malinchista* cultural complex and get our work done as a people, we have to sacrifice the wish for being redeemed by another and come out of the paradise of unconsciousness where all solutions come from the gods. The Mexican poet, Jaime Sabines, writes of the static quality of such a mindset: "We were in paradise. In paradise nothing ever happens. We don't know ourselves" (Sabines 1991: 121). This "paradise" is actually a space where we are passive victims of a statism, and a stasis, in which we don't get to know ourselves. In this paradise of total veneration for the Other, there is no work to be done by the self. Things are decided for one, no matter how painful they are. There is no

movement, no risk to take, no active participation, and no contrast between light and shadow. This is the "paradise" of passivity.

The Mexican Conquest, as everyone knows, was a profoundly traumatic cultural event that has continued to resonate in the Mexican soul. I believe that we need a wider context in which to understand the cultural complex that has resulted. We need to find a meaning in what we didn't choose as our destiny but still is such an integral part of shared historical experience. Nostalgically, we Mexicans long for the lost "Indian" world with its flourishing culture, its fabulous wealth and forgotten wisdom. We blame those who took it away from us, not least ourselves. Malinche's betrayal and destructiveness, the negative mother acting through her, has been deeply suffered and severely condemned by most of us, but we have not really understood what her story portends for us since, in fact, she helped Mexico move beyond its rape to become a country. In the ruthlessness of her response to a terrible trauma, a new cultural form was created, one in which her native birthright survives and flows in her descendants as a vital potential.

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Chapter 3

A long weekend

Alice Springs, Central Australia

Craig San Roque

Author's note

This piece has a meditative tone. The writer uses events in a remote area of central Australia to weave a story that connects mythic patterns with personal and professional incidents. He refers to Aboriginal Australian dreaming, traumatic memory and geographical sites in an effort to represent and dramatize the experience of living inside a detonating cultural complex. The author's interest is in identifying psycho-cultural structures which undergird a cultural complex. He suggests that ancient, habitual, mythically reinforced psychic structures may be repeating themselves autonomously from a basic pattern, rather like a DNA system. Such patterns may be encoded into legends or hieratic dramas associated with specific sites and can be detected by analysing mythologized stories embedded in cultural sites, by analyzing how a culture developed (and perverted) the use of primal tools and by noting what cultural groups do with human bodies, death, justice, and sexual coupling.

The writer suggests that the living reality of a cultural complex is revealed at locations of conflict between cultural groups. He describes his experience of this happening at the interface of indigenous/non-indigenous Australia where a cultural complex of absent-mindedness has taken hold and a mood of psychic decomposition pervades relationships. This may be the psychological byproduct – even excrement – of voracious colonial expansion, which the author likens to cannibalism. Observing an evolving, partially unconscious cultural complex is inherently difficult and even harder to represent. The attempt to portray a cultural complex is undertaken here by describing a series of incidents which evoke that mood, or a feeling tone which can be thought of as the emotional effect of the cultural complex on the group and individual ego (including the writer's). In this sense, cultural complexes generate moods in national groups in the same way that an activated personal complex can fuel conflicted dreams in an individual who, on awakening, finds him- or herself in the grip of a potent mood. To discover the specific (cultural) complex the moods may have to be analyzed.

Friday night

A woman sitting

I can see the campfire in our backyard. An old Aboriginal woman, Janie Whistle, is hunched beside it, her black clothing, her black skin make her almost invisible. She is the widow of Jungarai Morris, a good man who won an award and then died of heart failure and alcoholic repossession. It is dark enough now for the fire to mean something. It is collecting profiles and silhouettes. Earlier, in the quiet sunset the smoke was drifting through the orange trees, a romantic eloquence of nature, but it didn't mean much to Janie; now the cooking has hold of her attention. Lamb chops, tomato ketchup, sliced bread, hot tea; comfort in a life that has no foreseeable development, no progress, no economic vitality.

It is Friday, the beginning of a long weekend. There are others around the fire. The yard fills and flows like a tide pool. There are six or seven bush people down from Warlpiri country. Ruth, an Aboriginal health worker, is talking to her mother about computers and blood pressure and the health hazards of fried chicken. Janie, the widow, hasn't spoken about her deceased husband; she will not mention his name but she has a clutch of Polaroid photos in her plastic handbag. In the morning, sometimes, she takes them out, ponderously gazing into the images of her husband; she fondles them, then slips them back into the bag.

Burnt skin

Celine walks in through the gate with two young black men. One an almost hunchback cripple. A petrol sniffer who played with a can of gasoline over a campfire. It blew up in his face, in defiance at his defiance of the reality of petroleum behaviour. He was too intoxicated to foresee the consequences. I have a list of boys like this. Looking after them is my work. He's been skin grafted, tracheotomied, amputated and restored, like the incinerated pilot in Michael Ondaatje's novel *The English Patient*. Celine found him tonight in another camp, being tormented by drunks. With uncharacteristic consideration she brought him here to be looked after. Her mother and sister are sitting by the fire. She knows that. She wants her mother to see her display of care. She won't stay herself, because I have banned her as an habitual drunk; but she is sober enough at this moment, this evening, and her care for this boy is authentic enough. The others deal with him, finding food and blankets. I try to stay at my table, the doors opened out on to the courtyard and the scene. I am trying to get to a theme for Tom Singer's study of cultural complexes and I feel interrupted by these incidental Bacchic visitations. Distorted bodies of young men coming into the focus of the firelight. Then I realize that I don't have to think any more about the problem of "cultural complex" which Tom is troubling us about. I have only to sit here and describe what is happening around the fire and the mind's eye. If there is a cultural complex at work in Alice Springs it will reveal itself if I observe and think locally.

Therefore, I set myself a boundary. I will write no more than it is possible to describe in this weekend in Alice Springs (Queen's Birthday weekend, June 2002). I will set down what the place makes me think. There will be enough happening as people from the bush converge on the town. Football, family business, maybe a few fights. Stories will unfold.

A dry wind rolling in from the northwestern desert country, windows and doors open for breeze, the Aboriginal visitors smoking, drinking tea, rolling into blankets, chatting in the crow-like cadence of Warlpiri language.

Questions

Tom Singer in his psychological language says:

> Cultural Complexes structure emotional experience . . . tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view . . . automatically take on a shared body language . . . or express their distress in similar somatic complaints and . . . provide a simplistic certainty about the groups place in the world in the face of otherwise conflicting and ambiguous uncertainties.
>
> (Singer 2002, 15)

I do not know how to think about these things. I do not really know how to represent the action of a cultural complex to myself. I can look at what is going on in other countries and observe the incredibly senseless things that one mob of people are doing to another mob, and I can say "Ah, there is a cultural complex in action." With the wisdom of distance I can point out the mote in another's eye, but the really hard thing is to see the mote in my own eye; to be able to notice what complex is being played out in my own backyard.

Something happens to my consciousness when a complex operates; sharpness of awareness or self-awareness drops. At a mob level it is as though a population becomes dazed and addicted to a state of intoxication. A somnambulism operates which simultaneously silences voices of contradiction and revelation. I can discover where a complex is operating in my own backyard by noting when and where I am most inarticulate. When I am fascinated by something but am almost unable to think about it and almost unable to speak. This weekend I sat down to think and it was as though shades came to visit with a purpose.

Names of the dead

Among Australian Aboriginal groups there are customs that structure the emotional experiences of coupling, justice, death. Among them is the custom that the name of the recently dead should not be spoken. Perhaps speaking the name will summon or trouble the spirit of the departed. But I wish to mention those names because if we forget them we will forget what has gone on here.

I mention the names of Wally Morris, Barry Cook and Smithy Zimran. Three among hundreds of local men who had a role in maintaining the integrity of indigenous cultural life. They slipped away to death, not in a state of satisfaction, but in resignation. Men who suffered a peculiar kind of depression, enduring as long as they could a vigorous way of life being domesticated by the West. The webs of a cultural memory system developing too many gaps, a cultural body losing vital organs, losing critical bone mass, giving up and giving way to diabetes, heart disease, tobacco, cynicism and misunderstanding. The depression became a kind of disorder. An analysis of the lives of those three men will reveal much of what has gone on in this native country.

This morning in the court house a group of lawyers pause between briefings. "Did you hear? Jako is dead." A quiet, wan smile and a prosecutor turns back to the long list of further abuses needing judgement. Jako has been through that courthouse many times. He helplessly committed acts of violence; spontaneous, unregulated, without insight or reflection. He had no ability to integrate his experience. He lived a nomadic life of random acts of assault and now he has lived a random death. Jampijimpa Jako is dead from petrol sniffing. He died on a cold morning, sitting up in the driver's seat of an abandoned vehicle. For many, the death of this man is a relief.

I am in the court to give psychological evidence in a case about a fight between cousin/sisters. I look at the court list to see when they are summoned to face a magistrate who has to mediate in what is essentially a psychological problem. Both dark-faced sullen girls suffer an undiagnosed fluctuating borderline personality disorder. Such disorder is a part of living in a culture which is on the borderline of a peculiar disintegration.

Dog

Later in the morning, I hear news that outside town, on the south highway,[1] a man is sitting in a 1952 Ford Cortina, the body of a dog wrapped in a blanket. The dog has been in the car for three days. The police officer says that the man is "one sandwich short of a picnic." He needs a psych. assessment. "He won't give up the dog," says the policeman, "it's a job for a shrink."

The gray Ford quietly glimmers in eucalypt shade near the dog pound on the edge of town. The man is sitting in the front seat. We approach slowly and let things unroll. I offer him a sandwich. Everyone takes time. We roll a cigarette. After a while the story unfolds. He confides cautiously the list of troubles encountered on the 1700 km route up from the south. He has been molested, beaten, locked up. Someone sabotaged his vehicle at a truck stop. He whispers, in passing, that he is the exiled king of Iraq. I listen to him unravelling. The animal, who is almost human and quietly deceased in the back seat, begins to illumine a sensation of grief which shares us all. He rolls and smokes and smokes again. I lose track of time. Or time stands still. I remember Sumeria. The king Gilgamesh and his part animal companion Enkidu, trekking up the Tigris-Euphrates river

valley and across to Lebanon for cedar wood. This man needs grief counselling, a living animal companion and assurance of immortality.

In the heat, my attention drifts to the matter of cultural complexes. I am trying to work out if certain culturally defining events that happened in the past continue to take place in the present, as a psychological inheritance. I am wondering if certain collective human complexes got wound up a long time ago and are still unravelling.

We inhabit the present but perhaps we incarnate repeatedly the patterns of seminal events constructed thousands of years ago. Do we reincarnate the pathologies of former influential cultural events? DSM-IV lists psychopathologies of the human individual; perhaps there should be a DSM listing the psychopathologies of culture.[2]

I look at this man who is traversing the country, carrying a three-day-deceased animal body on the back seat of his vehicle. He cannot bury it.

Is the man with the dog simply his own and present problem or did something about exile, displacement and grief-burdened wandering begin a long time ago? Has he been seized by a collective disorder? Is he awaiting some kind of restoration of life or a resurrection? He tells me that he was locked out from his rightful lands and now the Ford is broken down. Gilgamesh has no money. He could be sitting here for weeks. The practical thing is to persuade a mechanic to set the king on his way. Sometimes psychological work is just a bit of engineering.

Map, stone tools and book

The consultation with Gilgamesh and his dog happened Friday morning and now it is night and the Warlpiri are asleep. On the table before me are assembled a few objects with which I try to hold this elusive meditation to its purpose. A book, a map and two stone tools.

A book

The book, *Exterminate all the Brutes* by Sven Lindquist, is a background companion to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the exploration of an insanity which seized Kurtz, the commander of a colonial trade expedition in the Congo. *Heart of Darkness* is an iconic account of the European/African apocalypse. Lindquist outlines the acts of the apostles of the British South Africa Company and the essential role of the instrument of European empirical success – the gun. Lindquist bespeaks the litany of the rifle – Enfield, Martin Henri, Mauser – and the refinement of the rifle's capacity as a tool to overcome thinking that depends on stone, steel blades and "black-skinned" divinities. *Exterminate all the Brutes* lays bare the covert ideology of the nineteenth-century commercial agents resolve to exterminate native peoples whenever and wherever it suited trade.

A map

I love this map. It is a map of the Middle East made by the British in the early 1900s. It belonged to my father-in-law, W.C. Wentworth, a politician. He inherited the map (and politics) from his father. They have added red pencil lines, marking new boundaries from the partitions after World War I. There is a pencilled boundary line for Palestine, the country yet to be reinvented as Israel. Lines making partitions, confinements, cutting tribal pathways and Bedouin tracks, indications of camels lines giving way to truck lines and petroleum; cuts across the skin of country; evidence of the Seth/Osiris complex; the compulsion for cutting royal bodies into pieces.

Stone Tools

A stone knife from an Aboriginal site, discarded in the red sand. Gracefully chipped and sharp enough to cut the sinews and skin of a kangaroo.
A grinding rock for pounding seeds. An implement carefully smoothed from quartzite to make it rounded and balanced enough to fit the hand of an Aboriginal woman working at the grinding stones to produce native seed cakes.

These two remnants of the hunter-gatherer phase, about fifty years past; cutting tool and grinding tool with an age from fifty to five thousand years. Civilization is founded on the coupling of stones like this. They sit uneasily on the table beside the map of the Middle East and the book on the rifle and the colonial exploitations of Africa.

Sites

The modern town of Alice Springs is built on the site of a mythic event, a rape and a dog fight. Serious dark men whisper the details, adding sometimes that this event is always being lived out on this place. You can't get away from it, they say. The dreaming story explains the trouble in town, they say.

It is well enough known that there is an intricate network of sacred sites woven into the fabric of the Australian country. A principal dreaming (mythic story) for the site of Alice Springs concerns the wild dog that comes in from the south, passing through a gap in the mountain range. It attacks the incumbent male dog and ravages the mother and puppies. The dog fight belongs in dreaming time and thus, the town and its inhabitants dwell in archetypal time. Sites do things to people.

If a site repeats its story in a town like Alice then I wonder if old Semitic and Caucasian cultural sites are still emanating psychic influence. In Sumeria, location of archetypal Gilgamesh, might there not be places regurgitating the fundamental acts of the drama of Gilgamesh/Enkidu . . . hubris, confrontation, catastrophe, lament, and the reparative quest for immortality . . . Might Iraq still be caught in the Gilgamesh complex? Might the country still be haunted by the

acts of Queen Inanna's descent through underground chambers to an ignominious death suspended on a hook?

In what sense are great primal hieratic beings still "turning and turning in the widening gyre" over the Middle East?[3] Still sucking others into their mythic vortex?

Perhaps that sort of thing happens only here in Australia, in a country occupied consistently by the logic of the Dreaming/Tjukurrpa.[4] But as I look at the map of the Middle East I trace sites along the old Lebanese coast. Phoenicia: Byblos, Tyre, Beirut. And I see signs of old stories which still seem to be happening and perhaps the serious dark men would not be surprised if old events were still being lived out on those sites. A phenomenon known as Ishtar/Astarte/Adonis used to hang around the Phoenician shoreline. Ishtar had a young lover who went hunting at the wrong time in the wrong place and wild pigs killed him. Adonis down. Something still kills the young men along that eastern Mediterranean coast and women still enact the ancient rite of lamentation. Something continuously forms and destroys Lebanon, that most beautiful of bodies. Wild pigs are replaced by iron tanks. Is it a cultural complex of "grief between lovers" which continues to download upon that war-torn shoreline? It does seem to be what Singer wrote to me about cultural complexes: "repetitive, autonomous, resists consciousness and collects experience that confirms its historical point of view." The loss of young men. The Adonis Cultural Complex?

Saturday

Cultural DNA

I go back to the map to get some geography down for this idea about the psychological significance of sites in the ancient world. I note sites linked over place and time. The link is also the thing that counts, how the bits are put together like alleles combined to make a cultural genome on a DNA-like system.

The Aboriginal dreaming system works by geographical linkages, making a kind of neural pathway system of travelling women, travelling men, reptiles, mammals and birds who go overland, underground and through the sky. Their activities are bound by a logic of landform and narrative which is both poetic and pragmatic.

In mythology, Dionysos, Osiris, Gilgamesh, Inanna, Demeter and other great travelling icons of Western civilization take generative journeys. They spread seeds, vines, mysteries, instructions on life, death and awakening. Something has in fact laced together sites from the Nile to the intricate Mediterranean and Aegean intercourses. From the Black Sea/Caspian seed bowl and the sites of the Deluge to the fertile spiral of the Tigris/Euphrates. There are trek lines across Iran to the stone lingam sites of the Himalayas and from thence who knows?

Of course, these places mark pragmatic trade and invasion routes, and yet there is something poetic to be tracked along this web of sites which is also a stretch of

the imagination. I have this nagging idea that at each major site something aberrant also happened and a cultural liberation converted into a cultural complex. It would be useful to do some detective work along the site routes. The major dreaming "songs lines" of ancestral cultures might be seen to interconnect in such a way as to put the psychological behaviour of our present world into an ancestral perspective. We may discover hordes of primal crimes as Freud did in *Totem and Taboo*, but I suspect that the forensic history of civilization is nowhere near as formulaic as white, Oedipal, psychoanalytic anthropologists dreamt when they were dreaming Darwin's dream.

It is very early morning. The fire still smolders, a police siren troubles drunken sleepers in the river bed. The morning breeze rustles the pages of Strehlow's *Songs of Central Australia*.[5] I feel that last night I was instructed by ghosts on how to analyze my own culture, as though something important has been forgotten. I have been instructed to give up trying to understand indigenous culture. Aboriginal business is not my business, although the area of overlap between the Aboriginal and my culture is indeed my affair. I live in it. But first I must attend to something that has come adrift in myself. Like the petrol sniffer who fell out of the government of his mind, I too have been displaced from my integrity by the very act of displacing others from theirs.

An old man from the western desert sits stirring the fire, humming bits of traditional song. He does this now and then. He comes and sits or asks for a lift or five dollars and mentions something which stirs and suddenly I am thinking new thoughts. The old man is humming about an eagle hunting for mice; well, not for mice, exactly, but for stories. He is telling me to mind my own mice. And then he laughs a little.

I suppose all this talk about ancient history is just another way of saying that the collective unconscious was put together at a series of truck stop meetings on a long highway through time. I'd like to know what went down at each truck stop. Trucks from the past are still delivering.

Saturday afternoon

Or "This is where the cowboy rides away"[6]

I inherit the consequences of the effort which Conrad and Lindquist describe as extermination of humans without souls – "The blacks." A web of disordering complexes has evolved as a consequence of the psychopathology of colonization. Obedience to God and surrender to Allah becomes justification for the use of the Martin Henri as agent. There is nothing new about noticing this, the question for a psychologist is about noticing how such cultural procedures infect oneself and one's patients, subliminally. How righteousness becomes terror. How ordinary, mild-mannered Australian Christian folk unwittingly inject unspeakable depression and psychic disorder into mild mannered, ordinary, desert-dwelling tribes people – and suffer the consequence as a chain reaction.

I am home from an afternoon visit to a friend in the psychiatric ward. A 19-year-old Aboriginal girl is trapped in THC hydroponic overload – cannabis-induced psychosis. These people survived the desert for thousands of years; they never really had drugs and now drugs from the Asian East infest like a plague.

The scene flashes of Oedipus approaching Thebes. The dog-faced Sphinx has a new riddle for him to solve. She utters a list of names asking him to identify their composition, effects and purpose: "Amphetamine, morphine, tolulene, benzene, ethanol." Oedipus now has a psychiatry degree. He answers her with confidence and approaches the queen's bedroom.

The girl in the hospital is confused. Her eyes roll; she clutches her stomach saying, "I have a belly ache." She looks with a dumb kind of appeal, almost like an animal knowing it is trapped, expecting death. She hears voices, which confirm that she is a "bad girl." She has a white plastic crucifix hanging from her dark-skinned velvet neck, the beads and the white emblazoned shape catch the attention of the nurses. Teresa spent years sniffing petrol/gasoline. She refused her mother's entreaties to put it aside. Her younger brother and her young husband still fondle the petrol can with dedication, ignoring all urgencies and urging to stop. These three young people of the one family seem devoted to the demise of themselves and their holding container, which has shifted from that of a culture of relationships to that of desire for a simple single object, a tin can holding petrol vapours. It is not so much suicide as an abnegation of the responsibility of being human. They have been encompassed by a force of destiny which does not admit insight as a way of release from its possessive inevitability. Autonomic, insistent, repetitive.

It may be that this is a case of enculturated traumatic memory, but the memory is not of a clearly definable event or a single war.[7] The maddening, deeply unfathomable matter is the loss of access to primary mental process. I mean, there has been a detonation in the chain of being. This absent-mindedness is what happens to an indigenous psyche ripped from its bedding in native country.

Dust and country music roll through the darkened streets of Teresa's home settlement. An Aboriginal community much like any other – badly designed, badly built, badly serviced, subject to idiosyncratic heroes and missionaries of one ideology or the other, an expression of the pathology of the Australian psyche. The treaty with Jesus spelled out in sermons on salvation and eternity have had little impact on Teresa and despite the hundred or so funerals which she has witnessed, the spectre of death is not a deterrent to her sniffing. Grandmother's voice rolls away with wind-blown plastic bags. There is no substance in this so recently created nightmare. Nothing stops her drift. A decomposition of self.

And the alcohol keeps coming into town, past the prohibition signs at the border. Her own uncles and cousins bring it and sell it and drink it and kill with it. The police do what they can. The (tribal) council president insists it is a "family problem"; he turns away with a shrug and goes on singing country and western music. "Unsatisfied love" is his message and explanation. He is right. The tragedy here is not about massive conflicts and brutal invasion. It is about experiencing the decomposition of self through the successive erosion of access to loving bonds

with family, country and integrity of cultural practice. The human psyche has a love of processing its own deep thoughts. Contemplation of the flow of primal process. Indigenous Australians developed an artful way of doing this in relationship with the country – they "dreamt" the landscape and the landscape "dreamt" them. When the form of processing one's psychic and spiritual life is lost, then psychic integrity falls helplessly out of being.

The girl in the hospital ward has no conceptual frame for what is troubling her, neither does her mother and neither perhaps do I. The immediate cause of her apparent but temporary psychotic breakdown is cannabis induced. But the cannabis is not alone and something in the cultural lobe of her brain allows her psychic demise. It welcomes it. Something in her cultural mind does not protect her enough. Her psychic immune system is down. And thus, a multiplication of individual breakdowns has reached the critical mass of a self-fulfilling cultural complex. What is going on in this country? It is at the point of clash between the indigenous and settler cultures that we see the embedded complexes exposed and perhaps the evolution of new complex. Autonomous, unconscious, driven and unamenable to rational intervention.

This is a legacy of the British empire and Jesus' kingdom in central Australia. A state of alienation which in fact has fulfilled a desire of the nineteenth-century European for extermination of all those perceived to be without souls.

Stone tools and body parts

The Warlpiri are home and everyone is cooking, chatting, telling stories and having a good time. I have said enough about Lindquist's desolating rifles. I touch the life-giving grinding stone used for crushing native seeds for those small coal-baked cakes. I remember the times I have happily eaten bread and kangaroo tail and lizard flesh at the fires of indigenous family.

The evolution of hand-tools is a strand in the net of our cultural history. The tools used for this activity have not been made into gods, as such, but something has gone on for aeons in our minds with these primal tools. Blade, grinder, container, fire. Tools form us mentally as we form them.

I think it was Lévi-Strauss who traced the operations of the primal structures of the mind to the actions of the primary signifiers: the body parts – vagina, breast, penis, belly, mouth and ear, limbs, skin, internals, blood, fluids. Perhaps a way to solving the mystery of how cultural complexes are formed is to begin with how primary body parts interact with each other to make mental events; to note how imagination works on and work with the primary body parts; how the body parts interact with cutting edges, and with the primary tools; net, pot, enclosure, boat, etc. As far as I can see all cultures are organized around a limited repertoire of effective tools. These tools are used to do things to and for people in very particular ways.

The analysis of the structure of a cultural complex might be reached by an analysis of the way tools are used to serve it: the way bodies are dealt with, how

they are put together, taken apart, hidden, revealed, excised or restored. The way grinding, for instance, is used to make flour and then suddenly, people are ground. There is a switch in the brain that substitutes people's bodies for seed and a delusion is perpetuated that being ground up is good for you and that, somehow, oppression (being crushed) is nourishing.

The fire in the yard has settled. The darkness gathered around a pile of smoking ironwood logs. Several are hunched over in blankets. Someone is talking about the Milky Way. With mellowing quietness the turbulent desert town is slumbering toward our version of Dylan Thomas's Welsh village, *Under Milk Wood*. There are shooting stars tonight, and I remember Enkidu coming down by meteor to confront, at last, the bullying king of Iraq, Gilgamesh.

In some obscure desert camp at a midnight hour a man I know, and love ambivalently, killed his mother-in-law. He had taken up an axe in drunken rage seeking his wife. He stumbled in the dark into the cold campfire and seeing the sleeping form wrapped in blankets, mistook it for his wife and slew the dark shape. When released from prison, this bemused but now sober man puts a question. "What made me to do this thing?" "What is in alcohol which makes me murder?" I reply, "What is it in your mind which lets you murder; and in such a manner?" I watch his eyes wrestle with this question. We both do. And I say, "What is it in our brain that allows us to take axes to our sleeping women and murder our mothers-in-law?"

From what strange nub in the minds of men do these repetitive, autonomous acts of violence unfold?

Sunday morning

Hunting trip

Sunday morning: mugs of tea, bits of white bread crushed into sand, blankets bundled and then a flurry of activity as another branch of the family converges on the yard. No one told us they were coming and we were planning other things. It is not always like this. Maybe it's because people are coming to tell Tom Singer something. They have arrived with no blankets, no food, little money and no prior arrangements to get the next 400 km home, unless the Land Council Toyota happens to pick them up, maybe on Tuesday. Traveling with no load depends upon the customs of the country. Sadhus rely upon alms and the temple Dharamsala. Here travelers rely upon family obligation, concrete floors, food from someone else . . . transactions of dependence.

There are maybe twenty people now swirling about, black, white kids, men, women. My family want to go on a picnic, some go that way some another. They indulgently leave me alone to finish this and I am blissfully in peace for an hour and then it is mid-morning. Rachel Jurra, Pamela and two kids walk in through the gate. With a glance at the fire ash, billy, blankets and debris they calculate who and how many people are camping here and if it is safe for them to enter. They are

thinking about going hunting for porcupine or lizard or honey ant. Hunting is the thing. Come on Jungarai, they say, take us. OK, I say, but I need a man for company, I'm gonna pick up Amos. OK, says Rachel, and then we go out to the creek where your wife mob are. OK, I say, and drive the Toyota past Amos' place. He comes out from his shaded house. Amos, solid, bearded, of patriarchal appearance. A man who knows politics and history. A man of middle European and Israeli lineage, a bit stranded like the rest of us in this desert location. I want to talk to him about the old sites and European history. He comes, willingly, lifting himself and his son into the cab beside the two Warlpiri kids, Dingdong and Renata.

Later in the sandy creek, Rachel gathers the children, black and white, and opens up the kangaroo/*malu* traveling story for them; how kangaroo man traveled from up north right down south to Uluru. Traveling occupies the neural pathways of Rachel as easily as the glove of Queen Victoria fitted the command of empires. Rachel has survived Queen Victoria's empire with a kind of buoyant exploitation of the resources which Queenie's mob (the British) brought to her. I am one of those resources.

As she maps the trek of animal beings in the sand, she tells the kids' version. I know that there are deeper layers to these animal stories which involve incest and murder and flight. In a kind of reverie my mind fills with the geography of Europe and the tracks of similar mythic, part animal, part inhuman, part divinized beings. I know the kids' version and the deeper, violent and regenerative versions used by mature, initiated adults. The dramas of Troy, of Thebes, of Scylla, Calypso and Circe. The murders and retribution of Orestes, Electra, Oedipus, Antigone, Medea. The acts of Cybelle, Adonis, Isis, Osiris, Set, Horus and their consorts, pre-Egyptian Africa, Tasilli, the Red Sea, Babylon, the Deluge, Ararat, the Black Sea, and the discovery of apples, grapes, harvesting and fermentation, female focal settlements, Catyl Huyuk, horse led invasions across the steppes, arrows. Dummuzi, Innana, Gilgamesh, Uruk, Ahura Mazda, Zoroaster, Shiva, Brahma. Ramayana. The Lightning Brothers, the Walag Sisters. The Morning Star and the Milky Way. Names to remember. We have our song lines. They travel a long way, connecting across borders and transient empires. I have seen and heard hundreds of these encipherments of human and natural phenomenon that have noted, remembered and narrated us. Such activities have made us mentally human. And what has it to do with our own generation and the global economic order?

I try to explain this to Amos, sitting with us in the sand as Rachel murmurs to the kids about kangaroos. I am still trying to respond to the question about cultural complexes and get it over with by the end of the long weekend. I am looking for a way to uncover the archeological roots of the cultural complex system. Aboriginal people say often enough that the dreaming did not come out of the minds of the humans. The humans are the custodians and perhaps incarnations of that which exists in the geographic sites. It is the site which makes and remakes the human mind. The sacred sites conduct and monitor the life force of a tribal nerve system.

While Rachel is mapping kangaroo tracks to Uluru in the sand, I sketch for Amos (who as an Israeli might understand these things) a string of sites at key places across the old terrain of Europe and the Middle East. Maybe, I say, they make our people behave in specific ways. Jerusalem is doing it even now. What is encoded at Jerusalem? Is the city site so active because of where it is; or is it because Yahweh, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and company did their cosmic business there and left its effect hanging around with an iconic luminosity?

I say to Amos: Maybe we can get out red pencils and mark the European/Semitic sacred sites. In every encircled site there may be condensed an archetypal drama that made us human and keeps us behaving in fixed patterns of generation, dismemberment, integration, regeneration and so on. This might be how we can arrive at a systematic grid of cultural complexes.

Well, says the Australian Israeli, the Romans shifted tribes about to control the resistance of those tribes. The Romans knew well enough that the source of resistance was in the bond with country and the memory of tribal history in sites. The places might have been hated or loved, but nevertheless they were owned by the blood of the people. Shift the people from the place and you break down their resistance. But you might also improve their memory. Amos says, glancing across at Rachel and the kids, raptly attentive to her story: So long as there is a generation to listen. The Romans and their Aryan successors in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, and British Northern Ireland and British Australia succeeded in creating intended cultural breakdown by shifting people from their land. Everyone seems to have been vulnerable except, maybe, Gypsies and Jews. They learned to use cultural memory in a special nomadic manner. But, for many Aboriginal people, memory is coded in the actual sites. Without the sites they might forget who they are. It is hard to carry country with you. That is what is happening now, isn't it? Isn't the depression of memory what is causing the malaise that is infecting you and I and Rachel and the sniffers?

The indigenous Australians are a victim of their own system. Now the government is sending funds to repair the psychological damage. Incompetently, of course, which is the subconscious intention. Anyway, the sites (which are actually inside the mind not outside it) have been turned into commodities, like Uluru.

I add: These are cultural processes set going by the big guys with the psychological purpose of breakdown and assimilation of the little guys. It is a form of cannibalism. Cannibalism is a cultural complex of the Americans, I think. It is the other side of the motherhood statements about caring for peace and freedom.

Maybe, says Amos, throwing some more wood on the cooking fire. But shifting people and recycling the sites for commerce might also stimulate memory. My family are Polish and Jewish. We are always being eaten, so we have invented ways to make us taste nasty and preserve our structure, so as to make us indigestible to the cannibals. We might live in the bellies of the host nations but they don't consume us. Kosher food is to remind us not to be eaten. Your Queen Victoria took our God, Yahweh, and made him into a cannibal father too. That

is why the primal Christian ceremony is about eating the body of the son. She (Queenie) says, in code, that it is good to be eaten by our God the Father. That is love. That is how Africa got eaten up by the European posing as Christian. The primal cultural complex is about eating other people. Or their country. It is all about nutrition.

Amos, who is a good cook, is making lunch while he says this. The women have come back from hunting, carrying two big perentie lizards to eat. Big smiles of satisfaction, as people ease themselves down on the sand and begin gutting the lizards.

Amos goes on ruminating. More Aboriginal families will come to your backyard, foodless and penniless, enacting refugee status. This is a show of desperation which gets under your skin, as is intended. You have made them into refugees in their own country and deprived them of their food sources. Logically you must take on the responsibility of feeding them. If you can't do that, you should leave. Because you are British you are trapped in the British cultural complex. The British complex was never about the joy of living; they know nothing about loving other people. You are right, the British Empire was about cannibalism and having badly cooked meals on the tables at the right time.

The women have prepared the lizards and flung them onto the hot coals to bake. Their little claw feet curl up in the heat. The kids are excited.

What with the Germans and the Russians hunting us, says Amos, we Poles got so hungry for so long that we forgot our stomachs. We became poetic, whereas the Russians became paranoid and alcoholic, says Amos, laughing. Those are both ways of ignoring the reality of cold feet. We had nothing left of our country to defend so there was no point in being paranoid. But because I am Jewish also, I am in a state of contradiction. I have something in Israel to defend.

I add: "The healthy man is not so much the one who has eliminated his contradictions as the one who makes use of them, and drags then into his vital labours."[8]

The displaced Israeli/Polish/Australian is gazing at the barbecue sausages sizzling beside the lizards, two forms of meat dragged into the same cooking fire. Anyhow, he says, politics is depressing, why not seek out a poetical history of humanity? If you are interested in how certain dreams completely transformed human behaviour, smiles Amos, stroking his beard, you must look up the *Dictionary of the Khazars*.[9] We can save ourselves with imagination.

Monday night

The long weekend is over, the lizards have been eaten. A day and night passed. In the courtyard people come and go . . . The Warlpiri visitors have left, the ashes are cold, the refrigerator empty, there is no food in the house.

I had big questions from Tom Singer. I sat in my own backyard and tried to see what was happening close to home. I caught only moods because I feel an insidious cultural complex creeping through Australia, but it is composed of

obscurations, emptiness of mind, denial, disavowal and the somnambulism of a dark people. It is not as starkly dramatized as are the repetitive, reactivated dramas of the Middle East. Nor is it as heroic as the American self-seeking delusion. Australia is a country in the grip of colonial afterglow. Everything looks comfortable. There is nothing substantial to trouble us, we assert. Except refugees at the border and terrorists in the air. We believe we are individualists, but we have already been swallowed by stomachs bigger than ourselves. These are the cultural complexes. We are in the belly of them but cannot quite see who or what has eaten us.

There is an old Ford parked on the outskirts of Alice with a man in the front seat, a deceased dog on the back seat, a psychologist and a policeman talking to him. A different dog out of the dream time is trotting along the bitumen strip from the south. He trots through the gap in the range and on into town. He is sniffing the wind. A fight is brewing. It will always be brewing. He will keep coming through the gap forever. This mythic dog will outlive the generations of humans.

Acknowledgements

All incidents and people in this story are actual; some changes in names and details have occurred in the interests of discretion and sense.

With thanks, acknowledgement and perhaps apologies to all those who took part in our life in the backyard that weekend. This story is dedicated to Barry Cook and Wally Jungarai Morris and families.

Notes

1 Stuart Highway. This is the highway that bisects Australia, coming up from Adelaide, South Australia, to Darwin. It passes the tracks of the old Afghan/Pakistani cameleers whose transport system opened up the arid Centre. The highway passes through surrealistic underground town of Coober Pedy, reminiscent of Cappodoccia, and thus on past the turnoff to Uluru, the iconic rock and thence to Alice.

2 DSM-IV, a diagnostic manual, is the psychiatric handbook which categorizes and gives case examples of all the psychiatric disorders considered significant by the dominant custodians of that profession. The criteria laid out reveal what constitutes accepted individual/bio medical evidence re mental health diagnosis and recommended treatment approaches. A cultural DSM might excite drug companies because they could work out different variations of psychotherapeutic drugs to export to different countries to solve their specific cultural pathologies.

3 Oblique reference to W.B. Yeats' poem "The Second Coming."

4 Tjukurrpa is a term used in some central desert languages for the existence, activity and phenomenon known popularly as "The Dreaming." The Tjkuurrpa psychologically is the foundation of being for indigenous people. Structurally the Tjukurrpa is a massive orchestrated network of geographical songlines recounting the actions and thoughts of mythical beings whose presence is alive and active. There is complex system of ownership, rites, rights, and uses of the Tjukurrpa. From an Aboriginal point of view the Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus etc. all have their own Tjukurrpa, which is woven as a tangible combination of sites, events, ontological messages, and the basis for law. Tjukurrpa influences minds. An appreciation of how Tjukurrpa works on

minds is essential for comprehending indigenous Australian life, in all its variations and "aberrations." Understanding Tjukurrpa may help Europeans, Americans and nouveau Islamists comprehend how and why they act collectively according to ingrained preconscious cultural complexes.

5 *Songs of Central Australia* is a monumental text by T.G.H. Strehlow (1971), an Australian anthropologist, elucidating the view that Aranda songs and ceremonial forms are of the same high cultural stature as the foundation songs and epics of European civilization such as the Icelandic Saga and those of the Greeks.

6 Title of a country and western song by George Drake.

7 Enculturated traumatic memory is a concept developed by Russell Meares. My use of it here is based mainly on conversations with Glenda Cloughley and Leon Petchkovsky.

8 From Merleau Ponty, quoted by Barry Hill (2002).

9 *A Dictionary of the Khazars* is a mysterious book emanating from the Balkans. Its actual authorship is rightly elusive.

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Chapter 4

The foot-race for a prize

Joseph Henderson

The title of this chapter expresses in one image the origin of a tradition of competition and rivalry in human affairs that goes back to a time when patrilineal dominance over a previous all-embracing condition of matrilineal heredity had itself supplanted the original hunter-and-gatherer social condition of paleolithic times. From this patriarchal root these fathers found their way between the clashing rocks of achievement and folly and we are still doing this today. But if we can observe these activities in depth we may discover that imagery from the cultural unconscious may bring into focus a more revealing pattern to unify these opposites.

In preparation for my research in *Thresholds of Initiation* (Henderson 1967) I found that symbolism of the ancient Greek father-god and of the mother-goddess were inextricably bound together in a harmony of ambivalence rather than a conflict of opposites, and which allowed each to find its place in an all-containing mythologem (the expression of a culture-complex). Common to both I found an image of a ritual foot-race for a prize, which originates in the story of Rhea, the mountain mother of Crete and her holy child, Zeus, who had to be protected from his alien father Cronus. The infant Zeus was guarded by the *Kouretes*, young men-in-arms who executed a leaping dance or ran in a race. In Jane Harrison's (1912) *Themis Menis* I found the full account of the tradition and it gave me the material I needed to explain the dream of a modern man in Jungian analysis. In an early dream he was in a procession led by one who carried a bust of what he described as the "Queen Mother"; he himself was impelled to run to the head of the line and, seizing the statue, become the leader himself just like the ancient Greek Kouros or leader of the band of *Kouretes* (Harrison 1912). This marked the beginning of a process of understanding and ultimately of healing his mother-complex for which he came to be treated.

Later on this same patient had a dream in which a strong mature man was leading a procession of men and was carrying a symbol in the form of a cross (not necessarily Christian) which represented a transition from a mother-oriented to a father-oriented state of being – all in contrast to the previous dream of the Queen Mother. The procession in the later, father dream stood out from the earlier, mother dream procession. I understood it as a reconciling element which seemed

to prefigure a wholesome new development in my patient's treatment. This too had its Greek prototype, as I found in F.M. Conford's (1912) essay, "The Origin of the Olympic Games" and celebrated the rites associated with Zeus as the mature father-god. In the first dream the infant is simply the "son-of-the-mother" while in the second he is grown and has become "all for the father."

But there is no conflict between these two traditions. The mother's son grows up to take his place at Olympia as Kouros. Zeus retains a significant memory of his infancy in Crete and in Olympia when the participants of the Olympic Games "slept on green leaves and received a prize of a branch of the wild olive."

Let me shift to another ritual which I witnessed myself in Arizona at the time of the Snake Dance Ceremonial at a Hopi Indian Pueblo in 1931. Here it is not a holy child as at Crete but an Indian youth who has attained the stature of a Kouros and he too is surrounded by a band of young men but instead of a youth the central figure to be guarded and symbolically renewed is a snake. In the snake myth the youth, Tigo, was able to transform a snake into a woman, Temamana, who became the mother of the snake clan. The high point of the Snake Dance Ceremonial is a procession of men of the snake clan carrying a live rattlesnake in their mouths as they march around the plaza. The snake dancers are themselves guarded, and to some extent prevented from being bitten by the snakes, by another group called Antelope priests who serve that more Apollonian function, while the snake dancers are more like followers of Dionysos who perform their task in a state of trance-like frenzy.

The whole ritual had begun early in the morning when a group of young men raced over the desert at dawn toward the Hopi mesa reaching it as the first light of the sun arrived there also. As the men reached the top of the mesa they were met and then challenged to take armfuls of corn and other vegetables from the arms of specially chosen young women who give them up reluctantly. It is impossible not to recognize the close correspondence between the ancient tradition and its modern equivalent, whether in ritual action or in archetypal dream language. The Hopi Indians belong to a matrilineal society which is strange to us, but it was strong enough to make its appearance in the cultural unconscious of my patient who found in it a rescuing cure for his maternal one-sidedness. But just as his personal psyche had been suffering, so had the patrilineal tradition been exaggerated and might easily represent modern man's need for renewal of the feminine principle of growth and transformation to limit one kind of greed and aggressive ambition in the trade of our father-world, by changing our way of understanding it by consciously relating to the culture-complex from which it came into being.

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Chapter 5

When a religious archetype becomes a cultural complex

Puritanism in America

Manisha Roy

Introduction

Since September 11, 2001, the usual complaints of everyday life in my practice of psychotherapy have given way to serious concerns and anxiety about bigger issues of safety and security. I notice a sense of vulnerability and helplessness that is not just personal but of a larger scale. More articulate people express continuing frustration with the government's failure to raise deeper questions about the reasons for al-Qaeda's monstrous attack on innocent people. "Why are we hated so much? What have we done to deserve this? Are they so jealous of our prosperity and freedom that they have to destroy what we value so much?" Some spend most of their therapeutic hour with me on such questions. It is clear that these people are not necessarily interested in hearing trite political and historical explanations, but are looking for something deeper, something which will encompass more than self-serving justifications that the deprived and poor want to destroy the richest nation of the world out of envy.

Even ordinary people who are far away from the power center of politics of the country, where policies are made and decisions are executed, have been shaken up by the event. The fact that nearly four thousand innocent people were killed, two of the highest symbols of American material prosperity were demolished and the Pentagon, the seat of military power, was partially destroyed, all hit hard at the foundation of people's trust and confidence. It is even more puzzling because such an enormous act of atrocity was accomplished by a highly coordinated plan – the cunning and fearless action of a mere nineteen terrorists, for whom suicide was the primary weapon. The sheer magnitude of the attack's atrocity hit to the core of what the United States has believed in and felt secure about. Faith in the infallible power of the government to protect its people has been shaken, as has the sense of personal confidence in wealth, prosperity and technology which has also been shattered by the separate but synchronistically related plummeting value of the stock market. These events have led many to conclude that 9/11 and its sequellae cannot simply be dismissed as the destructive act of "evildoers." And among many, the event has precipitated anger because of the failure of military intelligence and high-powered technology to protect the country, which is in the forefront of scientific and technological inventions and application.

Instead there is an anger that masks deep-seated fears for the safety of one's life and the destruction of the American dream – a dream that includes not just material prosperity but faith in the ideals of democracy, personal freedom and technological achievements. In my opinion, these fears are being systematically exploited by the present government's promoting a false promise of protection and security through its elaborate plans of war against terrorism at home and abroad. Billions of dollars are being budgeted and spent to establish foolproof measures for homeland security as well as in developing more sophisticated "weapons" against possible nuclear and biochemical attacks.

I am reminded of a story from Hindu mythology. It is about Durga's (the goddess with ten arms) killing of Mahishashura, a demon born of a water buffalo, symbolizing primitive and animal power. Through his enormous destructive power this demon threatened creation and the gods, who felt totally helpless to control Mahishashura. Finally out of the gods' energy of anger and frustration was born the ten-armed goddess Durga who was given weapons by the gods and was urged to fight the demon. In a fierce battle of ten days and nights countless additional demons were born with every drop of blood from the wounded demon that touched the earth. Powerless against such enormity, Durga manifested her dark version of fury, Kali. Kali, herself a ruthless killer of darkness and evil, succeeded in lapping up the demon's blood before it reached the ground.

This story gives us two messages. One, attempting to slay one demon can give rise to countless more. A recent example of the vitality of this mythologem is evident in the wish of many in the Middle East who wished such a fate on the United States when they gave expression to the hope that the attempt to kill Saddam Hussein would give birth to myriads of Osama bin Ladens. Two, only the ferocious and destructive feminine energy may succeed in subjugating primitive and destructive power. Of course, this is a myth from Hindu India, not the Judeo-Christian West where mythology records repeated tales of a male hero who slays the dragon with a weapon and his sheer physical power. The cultural and religious histories of the two hemispheres are different enough to give rise to two very different fantasies and mythologies as solutions. Clearly, the Hindu myth instructs us that physical strength and courage without the collaboration of archetypal energy cannot eradicate evil. Further, the Hindu myth reminds us that archetypal forces incorporate both good and evil, and that evil can be used to combat evil. In human terms, countries at war, for instance, would be well advised to acknowledge their own relationship to archetypally destructive forces, otherwise the "foreign enemy" carries the total projection of the invincible dark power, which, of course, happens far more often than not. Once aware of this reality, the attacking nation can no longer pose as the all-good force and a negotiation may be possible provided both sides acknowledge their share of the darkness within. However, this split of the archetype between good and evil goes back over 3000 years of Western religious history (to be elaborated further later in this chapter) and healing of this split will not be easy to achieve on a collective level.

Perhaps this is the right moment to mention my personal background since, as C.G. Jung reminded us, that the validity of all psychological observation is contingent upon the personal equation of the observer (Jung 1960: para. 213). Having been brought up in the Hindu religious mythology, my approach to the problems of dealing with evil and darkness is bound to be different from most Westerners. At the same time, my forty-odd years of living in the United States and Europe has put a layer of Western education and adaptation over my ancient cultural heritage which is steeped in a polytheistic religious mythology. My academic training as an anthropologist has taught me to observe events from the point of view of an inductive methodology based on careful observation, whereas my training in analytical psychology has taught me to consider emotions and personal experience based more on intuitive and symbolic thinking. Put another way, my education and experience have been a lifelong effort to negotiate a marriage between the inductive and the intuitive/symbolic. It has been an exciting journey walking along two very different paths side by side – one culturally inherited, the other learned. Whatever observations and analysis I attempt to make about American culture and psyche are bound to be influenced by my background which includes being a trained observer in the study of anthropology, a non-native, active participant in American life for decades and deep roots in ancient Indian, Hindu tradition.

The fear of the American people is well founded if its leaders sincerely believe that they can crush the enemy by sheer military power. The Hindu goddess, Durga, had to bring forth her own darkness, Kali, to achieve her goal. What my patients and I are looking for is some kind of understanding that frees us from the ever-escalating vicious circle of attack, revenge and counterattack. (The Middle Eastern scene has already shown us how futile that is.) In my confusion I turn to Jung, who has helped me in the past to find meaning in the chaos of my personal life. Most fundamentally, he helped me discover the archetypal foundation of my culture and heritage so that my actions, reactions and values could be understood in a larger perspective. Such an understanding also activates a healing process because it combines thinking and emotions born out of experience in life.

Etymologically, healing and wholeness come from the same roots. In old English and Germanic origin the root of "whole" is *hal* and the root of the word "heal" is *halan*, which means that which makes whole (*Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*). When wholeness brings the opposites together, healing is activated. In the final analysis life's goal is to find the healing that is brought forth by facing, tolerating and hopefully transcending the opposites in both outer and inner life. When we understand a situation meaningfully or in plain language – we make sense of a tragedy – we begin to heal. However, to do the same for a whole nation is another matter.

My goal in this chapter is to use Jung's approach to analyze the motivations and behavior of the United States' political leaders as far as they represent the collective consciousness and carry the projections of the collective psychology

unconsciously. Put another way, I wish to explore the historical, religious and psychological conditions, which have fostered the development of a particular American "cultural complex" over the past three centuries (Kimbles 2000: 157–169; Singer 2002: 4–28). Such an inquiry may help uncover the archetypal foundations of this cultural complex. An understanding on that level not only helps to broaden our view beyond superficial blaming and helplessness, but also may help in effecting some healing which is now desperately needed. This, I hope, will be the second and additional goal of this chapter.

Terms and concepts

Since the central thesis of this chapter deals with the archetypal foundation of collective values and behavior, I need to differentiate the way the term "archetype" is used here. Each Jungian emphasizes different aspects of the term. As I see it, although an archetypal form is like an "eternal idea" in the Platonic tradition, archetypes also have formative functions, which can contain various images and contents that change with time and space. We, therefore, need to distinguish between the term archetype *per se*, and its content, i.e., images and experience, the latter being culturally conditioned, and therefore, changeable over time and space. I like to designate the archetypal experience in a given time and space as "cultural archetype," which is framed and expressed by symbols specific to each culture. The culture in which we are born and brought up offers us the tools and means to know the collective unconscious. For example, the purpose of religious practice around the world is to facilitate a relationship between the archetypal world and any given people. Gods and sacred beings are among the various forces that speak to and form the archetypal world.

Mythology is one of the creative ways a culture expresses its imagination about the archetypal realm – whether in its religious or secular form. Cultural symbols such as language, art, literature, music and media, all participate in this endeavor. Religious rituals provide a particular vehicle for mediating between the two worlds, the mundane everyday life and the sacred world of the supernatural. Rituals also bring together the community, nature and the cosmos. I like to call these symbols – myths and rituals – "cultural archetypes" because they are the means as well as carriers offered by a particular culture to its members for experiencing archetypal energy. Let me give an example.

I was brought up in a Hindu family where my mother had a household shrine with her favorite gods that she worshipped every day. That shrine was the sacred spot in the house and in our everyday life. In addition, once a year during the span of my childhood, we went to our ancestral home, a village where the whole extended family gathered to participate in the celebration of the goddess Durga, mentioned earlier. As children we watched how her image was created by an artist from scratch to finish after which the priest ordained life into the image, transforming the life-like clay sculpture into the living incarnation of the divine figure. From that point on, we were forbidden from going inside the temple where she

was placed and dwelled for the remainder of the festival. We were her children, her worshippers. She was invoked to protect us. This celebration went for four days and nights with a lot of festivity, food, gifts and music. I had attended this celebration only four or five times in my childhood. But Durga became so deeply internalized that nearly thirty years later when I went into analysis with a Swiss analyst, a brief dream brought her back to my consciousness. The dream was as follows:

> I am wiping clean a mud floor in a simple hut to prepare to serve food to guests. To my surprise I notice that tiny silver jewelry are studded on the inside skin of each of my ten fingers. I'm concerned that the jewelry may scratch if I touch faces.

Neither my analyst nor I could make heads or tails of the symbols in the dream for several weeks until one night I awoke from a fever and the message of the dream hit me like a flash. The jewelry which was studded on the inside of my ten fingers looked exactly like miniature weapons that the goddess Durga carried in her ten arms to fight the buffalo demon. As her human worshipper, I inherited only miniature weapons which are now ingrained in my psyche and they may also scratch. I had to acknowledge this archetypal legacy as a gift of strength and power available to me no matter how miniscule in proportion to that of Durga. Whatever the interpretation of this dream may be, it is clear how my unconscious picked symbols offered by my religion and culture despite the fact that I have moved away from the Hindu religious rituals for many decades. This dream and many others took me back to the archetypal roots of the psyche via my specific cultural symbols, which offered a strong source of security and well being. Similarly, to a devout Catholic from the Italian countryside, a roadside Madonna becomes a cultural archetype, an image that brings emotional healing and security to the devotee. The ego remains connected to the archetype through emotion, which is framed in prayers and rituals, learned within a particular cultural tradition.

Living in more than one culture has also made me keenly aware of the cultural dimension of the archetypes. Enduring social institutions, cultural norms and customs are expressions of archetypal energy which are essential for human life. Therefore, the business of living in accordance with one's prescribed roles in society makes the initial connection to the archetypal world.

Joseph Henderson introduced the concept of "cultural unconscious" to refer to a psychic space that lies between personal and archetypal levels of the objective psyche. I suppose my term "cultural archetype" is of a slightly different order. But the general idea is similar in the sense that both these concepts allow us to invite cultural experience to enter between personal and archetypal levels. Personal experience is, of course, imbedded in cultural history and tradition and uses cultural symbols. One significant example is "language." As an individual I think, dream and express myself in a language that I have been brought up with and is in the context of a culture, its history and psychology. Taking off from Henderson's

cultural levels, Sam Kimbles and Tom Singer use the term "cultural complex" as a tool to analyze inter-group and intra-group conflicts as well as the dynamic process that connects ego and culture to their archetypal root (Kimbles 2000; Singer 2002). Conflicts between various groups – for instance, Christians and Jews, Protestants and Catholics or simply women and men – are activated by "cultural complexes" with powerful emotions charged by archetypal energy and shared by individuals of a particular group. Like an individual complex, a "cultural complex" can be thought of as an emotionally charged group of ideas and images which has an archetype at the center. Out of this archetypal core are generated emotions and associations that take their specific forms through a culture, its history and religion. In other words, one might think of what I call a "cultural archetype" as being at the core of a "cultural complex."

Having laid out the underlying concepts that inform my understanding of more day-to-day behavior, I want to now discuss the psychological mechanisms that contribute to the creation of a cultural complex. It is difficult enough a task to understand the "why" and "how" of the tenuous and intricate connection between the individual and her/his culture. Over the past 100 years we have come to understand a bit about how personal complexes are formed. But to unravel the origins of a cultural complex is a challenging exploration indeed. The collective psyche cannot be thought of as just the sum total of all its individual psychologies. The collective psyche is not reducible to rational calculations. In that sense, it is like the individual psyche – unpredictable, even at times capable of unexpected wisdom, but more often than not in recent history dangerously destructive.

Psychological mechanism, observations and analysis

In "Two Essays on Analytical Psychology," C.G. Jung (1953) talks about the danger of identification with the collective psyche, especially when individuals are seduced by a God-like will-to-power that has been contaminated by religious, philosophical and mythological contents of the collective unconscious. Elsewhere in the same volume he observes how much our "so-called individual psychology is really collective" and "very special attention must be paid to this delicate plant 'individuality' if it is not to be completely smothered" (Jung 1953: para. 241). Similar lines are scattered throughout his writings in various contexts and one wonders if Jung neglected or was unable to develop a more comprehensive analysis of why and how the individual identification with the collective psyche becomes smothering to the ego. Granted that the collective psyche precedes individual psyche and an "identification" of the individual with the collective psyche is inevitable and natural. However, in the process of maturation and gradual development of consciousness, the individual must learn to separate from such identification for the sake of its emotional health. Otherwise the ego fails to gain a separate identity and remains merged with the collective mythology and images.

In what follows I shall try to discuss the "why" and "how" of the process by which a religious archetype becomes a cultural complex. Before we go any further, it may be a good idea to remind ourselves of a few basic psychological processes, which are of crucial importance for this discussion. These are "identification," "projection" and "integration." These are natural psychological mechanisms that work inside us individually and collectively and are essential for our maturation and for the ego's relationship to archetypal energy. A child begins its life by total identification with the mother and gradually separates its ego from the object of identification and then projects further. This process continues throughout our lives, giving room for newer identifications and projections, hopefully leading to "integration" or "assimilation" by the ego of some of the unconscious contents which are projected. Social institutions and cultural norms offer frameworks for these processes to take place, although we must not forget that all three processes happen unconsciously and autonomously.

It seems to me that unconscious identification captures an immature ego (as in a non-ego of a child) more readily, and for a normally growing ego, projection becomes a natural process along with occasional and hopefully only temporary identification with an ideology or cause. While the experience of projection and its withdrawal both can be equally pleasurable and painful (e.g., "falling in love"), projection is essential for healthy psychology. Consider the following statement about "falling in love" by Jung:

> If a soul-image is not projected, a thoroughly morbid relation to the unconscious gradually develops. The subject is increasingly overwhelmed by unconscious contents, which his inadequate relation to the object makes him powerless to assimilate or put to any kind of use, so that the whole subject–object relation only deteriorates further.
>
> (Jung 1974: para. 811)

Speaking of the positive effect of projection, one can go so far as to say that our whole civilization is a creation of the projected imagination of the collective unconscious mediated and led by gifted individuals who have learned to work creatively with the unconscious. Integration is, however, a whole other matter. It is a rare happening and takes place through conscious suffering. Each successful episode of integration of contents from the unconscious allows the ego to become stronger, healthier and more capable. The tendency to project unconscious contents lessens with each developmental stride in integrating material from the unconscious.

While these are essential steps toward maturation, I would suggest that a weak and/or traumatized ego may easily remain stuck in an archetypal identification or fall into carrying an archetypal projection from the collective for a long time, causing disastrous effects. History abounds in such examples. The illusion of power that is obtained from the identification with an archetype serves as a defense for a narcissistically wounded personality against emptiness and insecurity of the

soul. However, when the ego gets identified with an archetype such as the Self – which incorporates both light and dark – it inevitably proves too inadequate to hold such powerful and paradoxical energy. Leaders such as Adolf Hitler or Osama bin Laden do not identify with the complete image of the Self. They tend to consciously identify with the positive side only, but carry the negative side unconsciously where it appears in projection on their enemies. The carrier of such monumental negative projection feels compelled to act demonically. That is why in all religions the ultimate Self is projected onto some culturally available concrete form such as an image, an idea, a sound, a word. This allows the collective and individual imagination to create and recreate various expressions of this ineffable entity while at the same time keeping individuals away from the contamination of identifying with the Self. Such was the experience I had at the goddess festival as a young girl in India where I was able to see the goddess come alive and yet was kept at a safe distance by not being allowed into the temple where she dwelled during the celebration. All religions of all times, therefore, have images or words to depict God that must remain separate from the ego. It is beyond the ego's capacity to incorporate such an entity, although an unusually integrated human being may be able to assimilate many of the divine traits. Elaborate mythologies are created by every culture to talk about the powerful archetypes, which must remain objects to be projected out, not identified with. And rituals mark the boundary by distinguishing the sacred from the human world.

With the erosion of the sacred world through the triumph of scientific rationalism, the boundary between the human and the archetypal realm, or the worshippers and the gods, has been obliterated. The possibility of the identification with the Self-image or God-image has increased manifold as have other kinds of unlikely mergers. In the world of psychotherapy one hears a lot about the breakdown of boundaries between the human and archetypal realms which are undoubtedly connected to ethics violations as well.

Going back to the topic at hand, when identification with an archetype takes place, a normal ego loses its bearing, is overwhelmed and may even face a psychotic breakdown. In the current post-enlightenment era the collective tendency is to question and reject the validity of the existence of such unconscious entities. This very denial creates a countertendency towards unconscious identification with such archetypal forces in a fundamental fashion. Religious groups, for example, interpret and misinterpret the scriptures to support and justify their claims, while encouraging blind faith in their followers. In some extreme cases, the fundamentalist cults identify with the dark aspect of God in the name of purity (e.g., the Unification Church led by Rev. Moon). Ordinary people find individuals onto whom they can project these powerful archetypal forces, creating God-like personalities to whom they can surrender themselves. The leaders can do anything with the followers. In addition to political figures, many cult leaders are able to seduce their followers into committing atrocities including homicide and suicide.

It serves human beings best to stay at a distance from archetypal forces, and this is most frequently accomplished by creating outer images of the archetypes and then staying at a respectful distance while placating them by prayers and rituals. Mythologies of ancient civilizations – Greek, Egyptian, Indian – show us over and over again the disastrous consequences when a mortal as much as looks directly at a divinity. In Greek mythology one such example is the death of Semele, a mortal and daughter of the King of Thebes and mother of Dionysus. When Hera found out that Zeus was "visiting" Semele at night, she disguised herself as a handmaiden of Princess Semele and convinced her to find out who her lover was. To keep his promise that he would not deny Semele any of her wishes, Zeus shows her his real form as the thunderbolt. Immediately Semele burned to death and Zeus snatched out the foetus of Dionysus from her womb and put him in his thigh to mature.

A religious archetype becomes a cultural complex

The central thesis of this chapter can now be stated succinctly: the Judeo-Christian God-image has become the core of a unique cultural complex, namely Puritan perfectionism. To help the reader follow the logic of the argument I am making, one might say that an archetype of the Self has taken a specific form in a "cultural archetype" which in turn has become the core of a cultural complex. A very brief discussion of the development of the Judeo-Christian God-image may throw some light on this sequence of events and demonstrate how a very current Amercian cultural complex took shape. I quote from an unpublished thesis on the Yahweh complex written by Randall Mishoe, a theologian and analytical psychologist:

> The image of Yahweh emerged over the course of Israel's religious history from 1200 B.C.E. until 600 B.C.E., established prominence in the post-Exilic period of the Jews from 520 B.C.E. onward and occupied center stage in the Protestant Christian fundamentalist theology of the twentieth century until the present. Other Jewish and Christian God-images arose as well during this period . . . The alchemists and Gnostics, in particular, challenged orthodox portrayals of God with philosophically and mystically inspired visions of the Godhead. But to a great extent, the fundamentalists ignore these rich and informative sources as if they never existed, preferring instead to draw upon the Old and New Testaments for material to reveal and defend their God-image.

It seems that from the beginning Yahweh's image had been fraught with a tension between "perfection" and "wholeness." Yahweh has been identified with the Law – a divine teaching and proscription as revealed by God. Holiness and perfectionism became naturally associated with his attributes. Even Christ had to carry the same burden of the projection of a perfect god. Thus Yahweh's

righteousness and Christ's perfection created a God-image that demands perfection, which in Jung's opinion runs counter to the archetype of the Self that "fulfills itself in completeness." Jung writes:

> The Christ-image is as good as perfect (at least it is meant to be so), while the archetype (so far as known) denotes completeness but is far from being perfect . . . The individual may strive after perfection . . . but must suffer from the opposite of his intentions for the sake of his completeness.
>
> (Jung 1959: para. 123)

For a Christian this conflict between the archetypal urge toward "wholeness" that incorporates the light and dark, on the one hand, and the loyalty to the all perfect God who preaches purity, on the other, is a serious one. While the Yahweh God-image has become a cultural archetype that forms the center of many American complexes, the deeper archetypal need for individuation or wholeness remains an illusive irritant and a fascination at the same time. Hence, the fascination and attraction to C.G. Jung's teachings which addresses the question of God's shadow and concentrates on the quest for wholeness as a paramount archetypal drive that propels human life on the path to individuation. I believe this is why so few try Jung's path of individuation and why the school of Jungian psychotherapy remains marginal and suspect by the larger collective, especially in the United States. The journey of individuation, as C.G. Jung saw it is not only *contra-naturum*, but also contrary to the Judeo-Christian cultural archetype and its central teaching.

To say that the Judeo-Christian archetype of "perfectionism" is the only legacy the modern adherents of these two traditions reckon with is simplistic. There have been many twists and turns even in the early Jewish and Christian history when the conflict between "perfection" and "wholeness" surfaced in varying forms including the visions of different prophets. In fact, Christ's appearance signifies an attempt toward individuation incorporating the opposites, but his death signifies an attempt to resolve this conflict by sacrificing him as a "sweet-smelling sacrifice to God" (Ephesians 5:1). Anything that opposed a moralistic perfect life must be sacrificed. In order to placate a God who punishes failings with little mercy, one has little choice but to repress instinctual desires or any thoughts akin to impure and imperfect. A self-image that is a helpless sinner can never be rewarded by God's love.

But human beings cannot live partially and provisionally denying the Self for too long, no matter how strong the fear of reprimand may be. In Europe many religious movements and reformations took place that rebelled against such moralistic injunctions and life-negating commandments. One group tried to resolve the conflict by openly rejecting the church and religious practices altogether and shifting their allegiance from the punishing God to a new god of reason and science instead. Eventually the Enlightenment followed and an unprecedented scientific and material progress resulted. And that brought a sense of freedom from the moral imprisonment. A small group, however, remained faithful to the Old

Testament teachings and went against the church of England. This persecuted group was one among the first groups to venture a voyage across the Atlantic in search of a new home and landed on the coast of Massachusetts. The landing of the Pilgrims on the American East coast nearly 400 years ago not only heralded the beginning of the birth of the new America politically, but also began a paradigmatic shift in the culture and psychology of the New World. The Pilgrims clung to their puritanical faith zealously in the face of severe political and environmental obstacles. I need not go into the details of the expansion of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts founded on strict puritanical morality and discipline.

The hardship of outer circumstances proved fertile ground for the repressed religious belief in "perfectionism" to resurface and to be nourished. The repressed cultural archetype became the center of a cultural complex, which remained dormant in the unconscious until these outer circumstances offered symbols and energy for it to draw from. I like to call it the "complex of Puritanism." The old religious archetype of perfectionism was now transformed into a cultural complex and because it was largely unconscious it gathered enormous energy. This brand of Puritanism, although flourishing mostly in the northeast of America, had enormous influence – conscious and unconscious – on the rest of white America. A combination of social, political and psychological factors fostered this new American Puritan cultural complex and it took root and spread. For the majority it remained a complex, because unlike in Massachusetts, the rest of the country denied its existence in the psyche.

One needs to look at political and social decisions and actions with a psychological lens to see how the Puritan cultural complex still controls many facets of American life from behind or beneath the scenes. Among many characteristic traits of Puritanism, let me mention two particularly virulent "standards":

- strict judgement of others' sexual and ethical morality punishable by law
- the absence of any awareness of one's power shadow.

These "standards" are being played on the local and national stage everyday. One can trace the direct links between the "cultural complex" of American puritanical repression, the "cultural archetype" of a judgemental Judeo-Christian God, and the pure archetypal experience of a law giving God. One is reminded of the demand for perfectionism by the punishing God of the Old Testament. Perhaps the most paradoxical victim of the Puritan cultural complex is the Catholic Church itself, which now has to deal with the sexual transgression of its priests and the merciless judgement of the legal system. A whole nation seems to be outraged by the betrayal of a projection that expected the men of God to be as perfect as God himself.

In the political arena we see a different playing out of the Puritan cultural complex. Leaders are expected to be "perfect" and to appear to be fully in control

of the destiny of the people. Some presidents buckle under such high expectations and try to govern from a pseudo-power that is fed by a highly trained military, which gives the impression of invincible power. Trust in one's power to control oneself and the desire to control others (including the enemies who stand for all impurity and darkness) is another characteristic of the Puritan complex. At least the Pilgrim fathers owned up to their imperfections and tried to control their impure thoughts by extreme discipline. They felt eternally guilty for their inability to be perfect. Today most of our leaders are psychologically unconscious enough to systematically project their own shadow onto whoever happens to be the enemy at the time. Self-righteousness and arrogance often help to keep up the illusion of perfection. It appears as if no other positive aspect of the unconscious such as a wise counsel of the anima or a positive voice of the Self has a chance.

Conclusion: can a cultural complex be creative and healing?

In this chapter I have elaborated on why and how a repressed religious archetype, namely, the God-image of perfection, has become the core of the cultural complex of Puritanism, a dominant force that underlies the American approach to life's problems. By isolating one particular cultural complex, I do not mean to say that Puritanism is the only cultural complex operating in the American psyche. However, it seems to be a significant one which, I suggest, works as a powerful energy that may contribute to other institutionalized patterns of behavior as well – including race relations, gender relations, business relations, and especially the media narrative of how life is supposed to be lived in the United States.

The United States is a big nation with a racial and cultural mixture of enormous complexity, each group having brought their unique cultural complexes to the "New World." The variety of cultural traditions has become a source of tremendous creativity. Creative ingenuity and original inventions in science, technology, art, music, and films in the United States have a lot to do with the positive energy of the variety of cultural archetypes that different ethnic groups carry within themselves. But we also know the simple and painful psychological fact that the more unconscious a complex is the more energy it can hold and the more likely it is to have negative and destructive effects. The only way such an unconscious force can be utilized positively is by becoming conscious of its existence and by integrating it as much as possible into the individual and group consciousness. The individual and cultural ego must acknowledge it, face it, live it, suffer in it. If the majority population agree on the existence of such a complex, only then the rest of the cultural systems may work together to temper it and turn its energy positively. The power of a complex is only demonic as long as it remains unconscious.

However, every complex has an archetypal core as its source of energy. One way to make sure that the archetypes do not become repressed energy, is to keep a conscious connection to them. We may not be able to return to the times when

archetypes were considered divine figures and when it was easier for us to worship them from the distance of a safe boundary. However, if we understand the situation psychologically, perhaps we can use imagination to rethink how this boundary can be reestablished. When teenagers admit that by watching a violent video they feel a contaminating identification of power and invincibility with the character in the video and go out to act out the role of a killer, they are caught by a demonic archetype which is not respected enough to be kept separate. The video manufacturers exploit the fascination for the dark in a tender psyche and make a profit. With all our advanced rational thinking we must not forget that the unconscious psyche has its own logic and is not so easily controlled by our conscious ideas, no matter how sophisticated they may be. Hence a safe distance is advisable.

I have already given examples from my own life to show how even a repressed cultural archetype can remain helpful and healing if the ego is willing to keep a respectful ritual connection to it. A connection through ritual protects the fragile ego from the powerful energy that is constellated in an encounter with the archetype. For a rational person who rejects outright the existence of the collective unconscious, the danger comes through complexes, which control his/her actions. However, a creative attitude can keep a conscious ego connected to the archetypal world.

Highly creative and talented people have a connection to the collective unconscious. They are nourished by the wealth of unconscious material, which they use as ingredients for their creative expression. If we look at the world of art, literature, music, media, and even comics, we see how cultural complexes offer ideas for the artist to recreate, replenish and embellish by using new symbols from the culture in some form or other. For instance, in a satirical piece of writing, a character, who is driven by the puritanical attitude, may run into series of problems with her family and friends. Finally she may not have a choice but to confront herself and face the consequences of having lived out the Puritanical complex. In this way the author uses her imagination to work on a cultural complex with cultural material and transforms it to another level, even leading to the possibility of transcending (or at least lessening the effects) of the complex. Both the author and the readers reconnect with the complex in a new and creative way. At the same time the archetypal energy blocked in the complex, finds expression in human life and need not burst forth negatively. Archetypes need to live through human experience as much as the humans need the archetypal energy in their lives.

Great artists do not create for sensationalism or just to shock the world with the horror of the unconscious. Their purpose is to bring the darkness and the light together and hopefully transcend the dualism to the third level of synthesis. This is what C.G. Jung called the "transcendent function," and when that happens healing is activated. Perhaps the best examples of integrative and healing archetypal experience are found in mythological symbols. Mythology is a creative expression of the chaos of the collective unconscious that transforms as it is recreated in each generation. Mythology tries to answer existential problems such as illness, suffering, ageing, death, alienation and loneliness and deal with the

eternal problem of good and evil. I cannot think of a better way to conclude this chapter than with a reminder of a Greek myth that is well known to all of us.

I choose the myth of Psyche and Eros, because it is symbolic of the relationship between human psyche and divine eros. In a sense this chapter has tried to discuss how humans can reestablish connection to the gods who have been pushed into the unconscious. In the myth Psyche is married to Eros in an unconscious union, until her shadow figures make her break her promise to her husband and look at him when he is asleep. She finds out that he is the god of love himself. This disobedience costs her highly and she has to go through four painful tasks to appease her mother-in-law Aphrodite. Finally she succeeds with the help of animals and supernatural aid and wins Eros back. Psyche and Eros are married formally and she is accepted into Olympus as a divinity herself. Thus, Psyche (as in psychology) has to go through a heroic struggle before she can be reunited with her opposite, the god of love. Perhaps all psychology – including working through entrenched cultural complexes – is a heroic and arduous quest for the reunion with the archetype of love. At least I like to think so.

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Chapter 6

Trauma and abuse

The development of a cultural complex in the history of Latin America

Luigi Zoja

> Oh! Before this moment, I existed. My heart is deadly wounded.
>
> *Codice Fiorentino*, VI

In Mexico, as in no other place, the encounter between natives and Europeans takes the shape of trauma and collapse for the preexistent society. While, for instance, the war against the Incas and their empire lasted forty years and the campaign against the Mayas almost a century and a half, the one against the Aztecs was over in less than two years, and much less than that if one counts only the period of effective military activities. It seems that the Spaniards, getting into a vast and impervious country, the language and geography of which they did not know, barely had time to cross it by foot, carrying along their heavy supplies.

In no other place is the cataclysm so hard to explain by normal logic. The Aztec empire, besides being large and highly organized, was built precisely upon military invincibility; and it was a young state, in full expansion, nothing like a decadent institution.

On the other hand, if one adopts the point of view of myths and archetypes, in no other place does the collapse of the preexistent society become so explainable. Prophecies, rites, transcendent beliefs – everything prepares the Mexicans to renounce not only fighting but also surviving with their own identity when the Spaniards arrive.

In no other place perhaps (and here the "perhaps" is necessary because the reconstruction is entirely psychological) does the identification of a whole people with the emperor (because of the absolute role he plays and the almost complete identity between politics, astrology, and myth) seem to have favored the psychic contamination of society as a whole, disseminating his own personal collapse through it.

In no other place, finally, and in no other time in history, do a collective depression and renunciation of the will to live (when not an explicit will to die) seem to have contributed (along with hunger, diseases and massacres, of course) to a people's cultural and almost physical disappearance. According to some calculations, by the end of the sixteenth century – the century of the Conquest

– the native population went from 25 million to 1 million, a survival rate of 4 percent, and shrank to less than 3 percent during the two decades that followed. That corresponds to the disappearance of over 97 percent of a whole subcontinent's population (Cook and Borah 1971).

Something is broken, high up; it doesn't matter if in heaven or in Montezuma's personality, because heavens reach down to the common man through Montezuma and the priests who surround him. And the distance separating the common man and Montezuma is infinitely greater than the one separating Montezuma from heaven. This rupture is communicated to the whole people as a process of contamination that was not instantaneous but certainly very fast – if it is true that Montezuma was actually killed by the very ones who wanted to resist.

What interests us here is that this deep wound stays open throughout the following centuries, to the point of being considered the basis of national identity – a national identity that, in the context of this book's thesis, can be said to have fused or become one with a cultural complex. This negative identity, sour and repressed, was described by Octavio Paz in one of Latin America's most famous essays, *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (Paz 1950). The violence of this negative identity forcefully struck me, as a European visitor, at the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City. This museum is built upon that fracture, but in such a way that the cleavage remains implicit and is never named. Everything simply stops at the arrival of the vessels from Europe. That is, the National Museum of Anthropology itself conveys to the visitor the idea that those vessels and that Europe do not take part in the gradual formation of the Mexican *anthropos*. One doesn't know what they are; they are something other, excessively "other." The visitor at the museum is led along a path suggesting that Mexico's anthropology and the Mexican nation are to be grasped in that fracture. This interpretation implies that the Spanish vessels wanted to trespass a frontier, and instead they brought the frontier with them. That frontier has become an unbridgeable split between past and present, a flagpole of otherness stuck in the heart of Mexico.[1]

History's circularity and linearity

European visitors, as ignorant as myself, may be deeply disturbed by this revelation. They then get a car and drive to the north, to visit Teotihuacan, and, not far from there, the monastery of Acolman. They cross a peaceful pre-Columbian town and a religious center. In doing so, they hope to unite both worlds, at least in their own personal experience. But they fail. The fracture becomes deeper when visiting all those places which unite in narrow space a Spanish church and a pre-Hispanic archeological site. Facing each other, we find in fact two opposite conceptions of time, never to be reconciled: the time of natives and the time of conquerors. Circular time and linear time.

The time of the natives is alternation, rotation, and return of the stars, of the gods and also of worldly events which are known in advance, because inseparable

from those superior powers. The conquerors' time seeks perfection, is assigned to will power, and has been codified in a sacred text; but that goes on without ruptures into lay modernity: the craving for individual improvement and collective construction of history that characterizes the peoples of the Bible and the Western world.[2]

The circular conception of time is known to us especially thanks to the work of Eliade (1949), who related it to simpler populations and their dependence on agricultural cycles. Mexican society represents something much more complex, but its idea of time remains obsessively bound to an original moment in which everything was already predicted.[3] Everything is contained in the cosmogony and everything has been decided and made sacred by it. Without a concept of history and becoming, without an effective writing system to register it, and without a sacred text from which to seek guidance, the Aztecs do not overcome the idea of the eternal return: they transfer this "primitive" concept to a level of complexity more in accord with their society and religion. To know what is right and what is wrong, what shall and what shall not happen, it is not enough to know the year and its agricultural cycles. They are, in turn, part of the cycles of the years and the stars. This way, everything becomes predictable and unchangeable because it has been foreseen, or at least minutely prearranged, in the past. But this knowledge is not accessible to the common man – being restricted to the old (since the Aztec "year" corresponds to fifty-two of our years), to priests, to astrologers – and is cultivated by obsessive repetition and tradition's ritual (in the literal sense of recitation of ancient truths which form the core of the education of the young).

Todorov (1982) has brought to light very well the relationship between the absence of a sacred written text and the craving for continuity through oral repetition, which presupposes the reoccurrence of some basic events. It seems to us, however, that the lack of writing actually reveals something much deeper and widespread: a preexisting anxiety, not caused by the lack of writing.[4] In the Aztec world, the craving for continuity and collective identity had to be expressed in a frenzy that we can hardly imagine,[5] since they could not rely on writing as an outer object to register the past or the passing of the seasons, as happens in other cultures.

Surrounded by the ruins of Tula, Montezuma tries to listen to the voices of stones, which whisper to him old tales about the greatness of the Toltecs, who were there before the Aztecs: the obsession for the return of the god Quezalcoatl is not only part of a fixation in that greatness but also an absolute need for revival of the past. There is no identity without the permanence of what has been. Even more: there is no existence without permanence. Since continuity cannot be found in outer records – written texts – it is sought in an inner, mental record; that is, in that part of psychic experience that we call archetype. In the absence of outer means of continuity, the decisive factor is the psychic experience whereby all that is already known will one day return. This experience becomes the single truth.

The surviving Aztec wise men, forced to confront Franciscan friars, would not think to enter a theological debate, something inconceivable to them. Displaying

great modesty, they would not argue in favor of their own religion. They would just say that it had always been the way it was. Their faith was the same their parents and their forefathers had always had. The reassuring experience of the archetype repeating itself is the proof that their religion is valid, and not the other way round. Aztec religion is not a theological system, but an experience and an archetypal emotion that one cannot dispute with abstractions. And if this religion is made up of archetypes, its essential outward manifestation will take place where the great archetypes are projected: in dreams and visions to which a prophetic value is attributed, or in astrology.

For Montezuma, the arrival of the Spaniards is the rupture of that continuity that ruled the world. For him, the strangeness of the newcomers is not the inconceivable aspect – even if horseman and horse were taken as a single being, what would be so inconceivable about that? Just call them gods and everything becomes reasonable; the Aztecs were used to even stranger gods. The inconceivable is that their arrival should be a novelty, and not a repetition. A new-type and not an archetype. Thus, Montezuma's first concern is not to know what will happen next, but to discover what has already happened. He frantically consults elders all over the empire. He stops only when he finds one who possesses ancient drawings where similar beings are depicted: proof that the Spaniard's arrival was predicted (foreseen, actually).

We were not able to look at those pictures, but we are not convinced that they resembled the newcomers: for instance, some of those figures were riding eagles instead of horses. However, we are convinced that Montezuma had found exactly what he wanted: not explanation, but preexistence; not resemblance, but archetype; not verification (that is, verity's control) but the emotion of continuity.

We realize, when we study Montezuma's biography, that the frightened surprise in face of a radical novelty is the first traumatic rupture of his life. At this point, we are taking another step, starting to couple the general notion of rupture to that of psychological trauma; not a personal trauma, though, but the collapse of the Aztec psyche as a whole. This event reminds us how a common myth, an archetype that appears in many different cultures, is precisely the one referring to a catastrophic event that disturbs cosmic order and puts the world in danger, driving it off its axis (de Santillana 1963). The regular rotation of the cosmos is interrupted. The axis is dangerously tilted.

If for Montezuma the meeting of the two hemispheres amounts to a disturbance of the world's axis, for the Spaniards, on the other hand, the same meeting corresponds to its reorientation according to the Tordesilles' Treaty (1494): a perfect vertical line, a perfectly new one. Like all perfect verticals, this one ideally unites earth and heavens – how could we expect anything else, since it just brings the pope's voice to perfection?[6]

This readiness to cut the world in two with the blessings of God seems to us something modern and profane, not so much due to its materialism as to the capacity to remain undisturbed in the face of absolutely new events and even to take hold of them. This capacity seems to have left behind the sense of continuity

based on archetypal repetition. The conquest concerns *new* lands. But this readiness belongs mainly to people devoted to action, to the adventurers who will increasingly dominate the world. Under the surface, the majority of Europeans still need archetypes, and that makes them not so different from Montezuma. A very clear example would be the Valladolid debate (1550), where the proper treatment of the subdued native populations was discussed. The confrontation placed Bartolome de las Casas, who is known to have dedicated his life to defending the Indians, against Gines de Sepulveda, who stood for a point of view that today would be called imperialist. Las Casas won the debate, although centuries of oppression might have made us forget it. It is not the conflict between good natives and evil Europeans that is registered by history, but the starting point of that uninterrupted debate which eventually leads to Western complex, lay, and pluralist society. We can go without interruption from those apparently naive debates to today's theology of liberation and international law.

Las Casas espoused extensively the view that an event such as America's discovery should have been announced in the sacred scriptures.[7] Sepulveda, who favored a radical submission of the Indians, invoked Aristotle's authority (the author who, so to speak, described the archetype of enslavement in *Politics*). Both Las Casas and Sepulveda tried to prove their vision of truth, maintaining that it corresponded to an ideal and preexistent model, and was therefore eternal.

Friar Bernardino of Sahagun, to whom we owe an extensive work dedicated to preserving Aztec memory, followed in his turn Gioachino da Fiore's utopia and used to "read" the meeting between Europe and America as the sign that the new utopian times were coming. Even those, like Sahagun, who dedicate themselves to history, the most characteristic result of human action, insist upon inserting the event in a chain of necessary, inevitable, and long foreseen recurrences. In fact, for Christians too it is the fact of having been *announced* that makes Christ be Christ. One of the central traits of the Western world is the intertwining of history's mundane character – that humans are free to live day by day, without divine intervention – with certainties, truth, and preexistent prophecies. Not even Marxism has escaped this tradition.

Trauma and abuse

Remember Hamlet's utterance "The time is out of joint. O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right?" When the axis of his world gets out of joint, Montezuma feels that a similar malediction has befallen him. Just like Hamlet – to whom he has been compared, during his phase of enigmatic uncertainty – Montezuma, head of the army, becomes depressed, anxious, apathetic, hesitant. Like Hamlet, Montezuma is alone. Like Hamlet, he is still respected, but feels that someone plots against him. Unlike Hamlet, however, he has no autonomous, lay thinking: all is magic, prophecy, prescribed deed.

In Montezuma, astrology blends with a certain "historical" knowledge of his own society. He knows how recent the Aztec state is, and wants to strengthen it

by emphasizing his descent, on the maternal line, from the vanished Toltec state. Montezuma must have had in his hands the illustrated pre-Columbian text that we know as *Codex Windobonensis*. This document tells the story of the Toltec god Quezalcoatl, who for the Aztecs was just a secondary deity. Quezalcoatl is the feathered-serpent god who, disappearing *in illo tempore*, has generated the morning star (Venus) and will return one day, coming from the East.

According to most accounts written soon after the conquest, the landing of the Spaniards was preceded by many prophecies of doom for the Aztec empire. Following those texts, Montezuma would have immediately interpreted Cortés' arrival as Quezalcoatl's return, and, to a greater extent, would have treated the Spaniards as gods. We know that around 1550 the belief had spread through subdued, disoriented, and humiliated Mexicans that the Conquest had been announced. But we don't know to what extent those prophecies were known *before* the Conquest, nor if Montezuma believed in them. It may be meaningful, however, that the oldest of those sources – the *Tlatelolco Annals*, written by an anonymous Indian living there in 1528 – does not mention it at all. It is also clear that Cortés did all he could to retroactively endorse this belief, which provided a religious and inexorable basis for his power.

From a psychological point of view, this belief could have been gradually disseminated following the defeat – a possibility that Todorov (1983), too, leaves open – supported by the Spaniards, who controlled information more and more. The Mexicans could have tried, in turn, to unconsciously elaborate the trauma, reestablishing its transcendent meaning and reconnecting their mythic and circular time to the historical and linear time into which they had been forcefully thrown.

From a psychological point of view, Montezuma's personal behavior can also be considered the result of trauma. He seems in fact to dissociate into contrasting attitudes. On the one hand, he sends gifts and ambassadors to honor the arrival of the new gods; on the other, he sends magicians to annihilate them with spells. According to certain sources,[8] he even combines his contradictory attitudes into one single action: he sends word to the Spaniards that he will offer them whatever gift they might desire if they will abstain from seeing him. (Naturally, in so doing, he excites their cupidity and gets the opposite effect.) The magicians declare that their arts are powerless, and this too may have strengthened Montezuma's belief that he was dealing with true gods.

To the extent that Quezalcoatl's return attracts all attention and the sense of events is lost, the magical mind of Montezuma realizes that the world is sick and its axis – to use Santillana's image – could have been broken already *in illo tempore* with the god's disappearance. In this case, the very return of the god in Spanish attire could have sent him back to his rightful place. The effort to exorcise the newcomers is not a military one: against a few hundred Spaniards, Montezuma could have used hundreds of thousands of warriors, but he hesitates too long to use them. It is, on the contrary, a mental fight. Montezuma tries to compress a new event into an old cast, to reintroduce historical time into cyclical time, and to turn the trip of Cortés – who was in Mexico for the first time – into the idea of return.

That being the state of affairs, however, time still belongs to the Aztecs, but the land belongs to the returning god. Montezuma exchanged land for time, sold out the sovereignty of a country for that of a calendar, but the latter soon turns out to be useless without the former.

Too many things were not predicted by the Aztecs, and the "return of the gods" became meaningless. The deities arriving on the vessels reveal themselves to be increasingly cruel, greedy, and mean. Of the new facts, this is the more determinant. At the end the Spaniards won't be called gods by the Mexicans anymore, but *popolocas*, a word that means more or less the same as "barbarians." The new event is truly new and could not be compressed in preexistent molds.

And why couldn't Montezuma make up his mind about a coherent, organized military defense? Again, the explanation can only be a psychological one. All our sources describe Montezuma becoming more and more depressed, anxious, apathetic. Instead of living the conflict externally, as would be adequate for a warlord, he internalizes it to the point of immobility, paralysis. By then, Montezuma may have had his doubts about the divinity of Cortés. But inside the emperor's soul an omnipotent, invincible creature, a deadly and monstrous god, had already taken root. He had been duped, imprisoned, abused, and yet Montezuma went on alternating between attempts at ineffective reaction and efforts to ingratiate the Spaniards with concessions or gifts. Montezuma – and through osmosis probably an increasingly large number of his subjects – acts like a person who has suffered the most catastrophic of traumas: someone who has been abused by someone else he trusted without reserve.

The traumatized Mexicans may have experienced a wound even more lacerating than that of being betrayed and abused by a parent: *they have been abused by their gods*. All the symptoms that followed correspond to this original catastrophe and will remain petrified for centuries in a large number of descendants: loss of self-confidence, loss of initiative, introjection of conflicts without any sign of visible aggressiveness, inclination to self-destructive behavior (addiction, suicide) and to reenactment of the abuse. In effect, this trauma constellated a cultural complex in the Mexican psyche. It has all the hallmarks of a complex – whether it be personal or cultural. It remains largely unconscious; it expresses itself in powerful moods and repetitive behavior; it collects experience which confirms its preexisting, historical experience of the world; it is autonomous and lives a relatively uninterrupted life in the unconscious which seems to fire off according to its own rules and timing; and finally, it tends to activate its bipolar opposite in North American and European "others" who can very quickly and unconsciously fall into the cultural complex by looking and feeling like Cortés.

If a trauma is ever to be elaborated and reassimilated, it happens through the hard examination and innovation that is characteristic of linear time, not of cyclical time. The fixation on cyclical time was the first self-defeating, masochistic symptom of the Mexican emperor. This trauma, however, is not only an individual event, but also a historical one. Accordingly, cyclical time is not only the general form of pre-modern time, opposed to the European form, but also an individual

experience that can last as an unreachable island inside our modem world. The cyclical experience of time is actually the regressive container in which we seek refuge after suffering unbearable trauma. As a vicious circle, trauma reproduces precisely the existential conditions that generated it. But now the circular, reassuring time does not correspond to stability and insertion in a society; on the contrary, it represents isolation and pathology.

Trauma and history

We have not focused our attention on a historical event, as it is often the case, to amplify a clinical analysis. We have, on the contrary, turned to the clinical, hoping to attain a better understanding of this cataclysm, perhaps the largest of all human history.

According to Kalsched (1996), to whom we owe the only real study of trauma from an archetypal point of view, trauma can be defined as what happens when a negative experience cannot be dealt with through normal psychic defenses. Then, a second line of defenses comes into play, defenses that are invincible and archetypal (in the sense they are not personally elaborated and cannot be personally controlled). They are also demonic, or diabolical, because absolutely autonomous and capable of producing a complete separation – *dia-ballo*, from which we have the word diabolical between the Self and the external world. The purpose of such defenses is actually the ultimate and complete protection of the Self when it is attacked by something that threatens its psychic survival. But the same defense against the unbearable wound tends to become unbearable in its turn. From then on, the faintest sign of danger may evoke the archaic defensive demon. The psyche becomes almost unchangeable, does not learn from external experience, and no longer interacts with it. The secondary defense resulting from an occasional event becomes the only event. Just as in auto-immune diseases, the defensive mechanism has gone out of control and attacks the very organism it is supposed to defend. Similarly, on the psychological level, an excess of defense means that someone who has suffered traumatic abuse is ready to commit suicide, if by so doing he or she prevents the repetition of trauma, or even the mere evocation of it (since it is psychic experience we are talking about).

In general, analysts tend to focus upon individual trauma suffered during childhood. Maybe because it is already the insurmountable event by definition, few occupy themselves with the collective trauma that falls upon the adults.[9] But collective trauma that befalls upon both adults and children and is remembered for generations can become the nidus around which a cultural complex forms and it might be better if analysts became more aware of and concerned with cultural complexes. The fact that we have been able to apply modern views of trauma, like the one developed by Kalsched (1996), to an event and a culture that are so remote from us, seems to confirm that the psyche reacts to trauma by regressing to an archetypal pattern. The manifestations of the reaction will of course vary individually and culturally. Yet, the basic model cannot vary because

this reaction consists of an activation of psychic layers that are neither personal nor cultural but archetypal. In turn, the archetypal pattern may well express itself in a cultural complex or a personal complex or both.

We are often impressed by the fact that the reaction to trauma of *highly* individual personalities in different historical circumstances can be astonishingly similar. When we think of Primo Levi, Odette Rosenstock or Hans Mayer (better known as Jean Amery), we don't think only of three survivors from extermination camps or of three authors who transformed, with tremendous effort, their experience into narrative, in Italian, French, and German.[10] Above all, we think of three persons who, in spite of achieving such heroic sublimation, one day obeyed, after so many decades, the command from the demon of absolute defense, and killed themselves.

We know that the abused lose their will to live. And we can, through intuition, understand why so many Mexicans committed suicide, infanticide, or simply stopped fighting disease during the decades that followed the Conquest. It was not because they did not want to face a life of suffering which was already the fate awaiting most of them even under the reign of Montezuma, in any case. Their problem was not suffering but the impossibility of incorporating into their psyches the abuse practiced by the gods. And the defense against the psychic presence of abuse must be at least as big, absolute, and divine as the forces behind the abuse itself. The defense against remembrance in life must be a total one, even at the cost of becoming defense against life itself.

During the decisive sixteenth century, the Aztecs enact their own historical suicide (Paz 1950). First was a phase in which extinction was a real threat, due to a combination of organic and psychic pandemics; then, for centuries the population remained apathetic, as happens with the abused. The demonic archetypal defenses, which averted memories but also vital impulses, had clearly impregnated what Jungian psychology calls the cultural unconscious. Nothing assures us that those defenses are only individual, that they cannot spread throughout society as a whole.

As we know, the abused forget precisely the things that matter most (Kalsched 1996). This helps us to understand what I will call the "paradox of Octavio Paz": the Mexican people, whose past is largest of all American populations, do not seem to be conscious of it, do not seem to have a history (Paz 1950: 4).

Kalsched (1996) tells us, agreeing with other researchers, that trauma tends to reproduce itself, and the victim tends to favor occasions for its reproduction. In dreams of abused patients, the demonic archetypal defenses manifest themselves, again and again, as powerful beings, especially as magical animals dedicated to protecting the Self but who at the same time separate the Self from life.

Language itself gradually ends up reproducing the experience of this short circuit, repeated inevitably when memories approach consciousness. In the mind of Primo Levi, for instance, there was the autonomous repetition of the morning command: "*Wstavac*!" (in Polish: "Stand up!"). And he repeats it in his writings.[11]

Or when the speech of Elie Wiesel (1958), describing the first night at Auschwitz, interrupts itself and turns from linear into repetitive: "I will never forget that night, the first night in camp that have made of my life a long night, seven times shut. Never . . . " And the words "night" and "never" become a lullaby that run through his book.

Can't we say that this anguish, closed in a vicious circle, so characteristic of survivors from concentration camps, is the same expressed by the Aztecs when facing the Spaniards? "Their lances of iron, it was as if they set things afire. And their spades of steel waved like sea foam. It was as if they clanged their vests of steel, their helmets of iron. And others come, all equally covered with iron" (*Codice Fiorentino*, XI). Or when they are ambushed: "Oh, worthy warriors! Oh! Mexicans! Come and help! There, they are dead already, the worthy warriors have perished! They are dead, they were betrayed, they were destroyed! Oh! Mexicans! Oh! Worthy warriors!" (ibid., XX). We may agree with Todorov that the tales of oral tradition tend to be repetitive, as a means to help fix them in memory, but we cannot help noticing that repetition becomes obsessive precisely when the trauma is described. Such obsessive repetition is not only characteristic of oral tradition, particularly when a tale of trauma is recalled, but also characteristic of how a complex behaves in the psyche – whether it is a cultural or individual complex. Every time the cultural complex is activated, there is repetitive memory and emotion that evokes the primal trauma. Trauma, memory and emotion recur repetitively and are linked through the cultural complex to archetypal, cultural and personal levels of the psyche.

Let us now go back one step, to the moment when Cortés and the Spaniards started to behave in ways that were increasingly cruel, ways incompatible with those of a god. We were asking ourselves when Montezuma stopped seeing them as gods. But does this question make sense, from a psychological point of view? We have said that at this point the antagonism with Cortés is being transferred inside the soul of Montezuma, becoming an internal conflict. He is gradually paralyzed by it. Is there any sense in trying to discriminate whether the emperor believes that Cortés is a man or the god Quezalcoatl? From a psychological point of view, the ironman Cortés and the feathered serpent Quezalcoatl are both expressions of the demoniacal archetype that is activated in psyche following a trauma, intending to protect the Self while at the same time isolating it. In the external world, Cortés treated Montezuma exactly the same way: he went on honoring Montezuma as emperor, when he had already imprisoned him. Cortés-Quezalcoatl (that is, the archetypal demon) keeps enchained in autism the emperor Montezuma (that is, the Self).

Why should it make a difference to know whether, for Montezuma, the god Quezalcoatl had really returned? All available sources tell us that, after the arrival of Cortés, Montezuma was dominated by the eternal return of invincible monsters inside himself: "Oh!" he shouts. "Before this moment, I existed. My heart is deadly wounded" (*Codice Fiorentino*, VI). How can we help not remembering Lifton's description of the traumatized in Hiroshima: *Death in Life*?

From a psychological point of view, what has happened is beyond remedy or repair. It will transmit itself to what remains of Montezuma's life, to his subjects, and, to an extent that is probably underestimated, to his descendants, in what has become a truly monstrous cultural complex.

From a psychological point of view, the mythic, preannounced exterior or return of Quezalcoatl is just the same thing as the autonomous, inevitable experience of interior repetition that refers to trauma and its monsters.

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Notes

1 We might call this the "Mexican" interpretation of the events. There is also a "Parisian" one. Todorov emphasizes in his works the novelty and the strength of the sight that Cortés directs to Montezuma and the Mexicans. In contrast to Columbus, who remains attached to his prejudices, Cortés confronts openly the problem of the *other*: he looks for informants, interpreters, intermediaries. He knows he's facing an absolute novelty and wants to understand it, even if his final goal is one of domination. Serge Gruzinski, in *La Colonization de l'imaginaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), suggests a problem of encounter and assimilation: more precisely, the gradual incorporation of Mexican imagination into the Western and Christian one. Then we have Alicia Dujovne Ortiz (born in Argentina but living in Paris) reevoking the horrors of the meeting between the two worlds and concluding: "It is not the American continent that became hybrid in 1492: it's the world . . . Europe doesn't risk becoming hybrid . . . it has been so for five centuries, at least in its soul" ("Le mépris, la méprise et le métis, *Magazine Littéraire* 296 (February 1992): 56–58). The European world speaks of hybridism because it doesn't have to fear assimilation. The non-European world is afraid of disappearing while giving sense to this hybridism.

2 I have developed this topic in *Growth and Guilt: Psychology and the Limits of Development* (London: Routledge, 1995).

3 See Chapter 1, "The nahuatl conception of time and space," in E. Florescano, *Memoria mexicana* (Mexico: Contrepuntos, 1988, p. 29):

> The essential was not the flux of things, but the founding act that had eradicated chaos and created order in the Universe, establishing harmony in the world and conjuring the dangers of its disruption. Which amounts to saying that to maintain order, foundation and duration, all human creations had to repeat the creating act *par excellence* . . . *All* creation is then a repetition of the creation.

4 The anxiety of inserting the new event into the continuity of all that has already happened – or at least been written or described – is always and everywhere to be found. Couldn't we see our own Jungian culture almost as a kind of oral culture

transmitted through analysis, never to be entirely substituted by the written text? And doesn't it consist of the rediscovery of this reassurance, this victory of what's been there forever over what is new, a longing for the archetype and its cyclic repetition – even though an individual and individuating one?

5 The relationship between continuity, identity, and a situation of collective conflict has been focused on very well by R. Papadopoulos (1997) "Individual Identity and Collective Narratives of Conflict," *Harvest* 43: 2.

6 The Alexandrine Line and the seal *Inter Coetera* from Pope Alexander VI (1493).

7 In his largest work *Historia de las Indias* (1553–1561). See also Todorov (1982).

8 Munoz Camargo (1585/1892) *Historia de Tlaxcala*, book II, chapter I, Mexico. The chapter also includes a detailed list of signs and prodigies that supposedly preceded and predicted the Spaniards' arrival.

9 See the classic studies of R.J. Lifton (1969) *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*, New York: Vintage, and (1973) *Home from War: Vietnam Veterans*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

10 See P. Levi (1989) *Se questo e un uomo*, 3rd edn, Torino: Einaudi; for Rosenstock, see O. Abadi (1995) *Terre de détresse*, Paris: L'Harmattan, and J. Amery (1977) *Jenseits von Schuld and Sühne: Bewältigungsversuche eines Ueberwältigten*, 2nd edn, Stuttgart: Klett.

11 Levi, *Se questo e un uomo*, "Le nostre notti"; see also the epigraph of *La tregua*, published in the same volume with it.

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Chapter 7

Postmodern consciousness in the novels of Haruki Murakami

An emerging cultural complex

Toshio Kawai

Commentary and psychology

In this chapter I would like to approach the novels of Haruki Murakami. His famous novels are *Norwegian Wood* (2000), *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* (1997), *Sputnik Sweetheart* (2001) and, most recently, *Kafka on the Shore* (2002a). These are stories with deep psychological and philosophical dimensions and, at the same time, they have sold millions of copies. In this sense, they seem to reflect the collective in modern Japan and grasp its depth. In terms of cultural comparison and encounter it is also advantageous that the works have been translated into sixteen languages. Most of Murakami's works are available in English.

First, I would like to discuss the methodological question regarding the psychological interpretation of novels. The first, and most common, method is to ask which aspects of psyche appear in the novel and what kinds of personalities are shown. One of the favorite questions to consider is pathology. The Oedipus complex (*Kafka on the Shore*) or dissociation (many novels of Murakami) is responsible for the development of events, or behaviors of the persons, in novels. The trauma theory might be summoned up for the explanation of behaviors of certain persons in stories. This way of seeing tends to reduce the world of a novel to the personal psychology of its hero, or other persons, and then to that of its author, who might have the same psychological problems. This seems to me to be too personal and narrow.

The second way is to see novels as the unfolding process of individuation; union with the anima, processes of initiation, etc. Murakami's novel *Dance, Dance, Dance* (1993a) might be interpreted as a process of union with the anima. In this way we might avoid entirely personalistic reduction. However, we still reduce the story to a psychological model and development. In this way the world of each novel is not grasped in its own right.

The third approach goes the other way round. Novels become models for psychology and psychotherapy. In the novels of Haruki Murakami there are very interesting relationships among people. The hero of *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* has lost his wife and made an acquaintance with a unique teenage girl named Mei Kasahara. Such a relationship might be understood as a model for the psychotherapeutic relationship.

My position is different from these three approaches which always see the novel and psychology as two separate entities. My understanding of psychology consists in commentaries, i.e., the novel as such is psychology, if it is reflected upon, elucidated, and unfolded (Giegerich 1999: 36f). Actual psychotherapy or case studies are not enough to qualify as psychology or psychotherapy. Psychology is based on psychological thinking, viewing and attitude. In this sense, psychology is a commentary. Whatever material psychology has to do with, it is psychology if the way of seeing the material is psychological. Jung's work on alchemy is a typical example of psychological thinking. So I would like to see Murakami's novels from and toward a psychological point of view.

Interpretation of contemporary novels is different from that of myths and fairytales which are favorite themes in Jungian psychology. In this sense, we are not coping with an eternal "archetypal structure" but rather with historical consciousness which I would like to call postmodern consciousness.

Whenever an actual situation and consciousness are discussed, there is a tendency to try to resolve the actual situation and problem and to heal the actual consciousness. But as Jung said, "We do not cure it [the neurosis] – it cures us" (Jung 1934/1964: 157–173). It is important to be immersed in the actual consciousness and to catch up with it. The problem lies not in the content of consciousness as such, but in the discrepancy between the collective consciousness or the soul of the times and our own individual consciousness.

Among many interesting novels of Haruki Murakami, I would like to concentrate mainly on *Sputnik Sweetheart* and refer to other novels in connection with specific points. The reason for this choice is that the work is a recent production which can show the present position of the author in a relatively cohesive way. *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* is surely a very important work but is extremely long and difficult to discuss in a limited space. The most recent work, *Kafka on the Shore*, could also be good material, but was not chosen because there is no English translation.

Sputnik Sweetheart

> In the spring of her twenty-second year, Sumire fell in love for the first time in her life. The person she fell in love with happened to be seventeen years older than Sumire. And was married. And, I should add, was a woman. This is where it all began, and where it all wound up. Almost.
>
> (Murakami 2001: 3)

The novel starts in this way. Sumire, who was a unique and somehow unrealistic girl, wanted to become a novelist. The woman she fell in love with was called "Miu." Originally Korean, but born and raised in Japan, Miu studied music in France. She worked as a kind of international agent for organizing concerts, importing wine, etc.

The person who narrates this novel in the first person singular, identified only

as K, a school teacher, was in love with Sumire. He met her by chance in a bookshop as both loved reading novels. She was irreplaceable for him. "Without even trying, we grew close. Like a pair of young lovers undressing in front of each other, Sumire and I exposed our hearts to each other" (ibid.: 177). They are, so to speak, soul mates. Because Sumire could not understand his sexual desire – as she told him clearly, she could not understand sexuality in general – he did not dare tell her of his feelings and dated two or three girlfriends. Most recently, his girlfriend was the mother of one of his pupils.

In comparing this situation with the lives of young people in Japan today, we might say that many live in the style of the narrator of this novel, but probably without noticing the dimension Sumire held for him. This is an indication that this novel is not only reflecting the collective in Japan superficially, but also grasping its depth, its unconscious dimension.

The word "Sputnik" was coined for the love for Miu when Miu called a literary movement "Sputnik" instead of "beatnik." But this might be an important "Freudian slip" because "Sputnik" means not only "lonely journey," but also "traveling companion." Sumire met Miu at a wedding party and was asked to become a kind of secretary for her. In the moment that Miu touched her hair, Sumire fell in love, which was, for her, a totally new experience.

Sumire and Miu went to Europe on business and afterwards took a vacation on a small Greek island. There, Sumire disappeared suddenly. K was called by Miu and came to the island to help her look for Sumire. Miu explained that Sumire was in a panic one night and wanted to have sexual relations with her. Miu wanted to and tried to respond to her, but her body did not move at all. Sumire disappeared afterwards without saying anything. K discovered a floppy disk, with two documents, in Sumire's suitcase. In one document her repeated dream was reported: "Sumire went up a long staircase to see her mother, who was about to leave this world." The other document was about a strange experience which befell Miu fourteen years ago:

> She was accidentally caught in a Ferris wheel for a night while in a small Swiss town, and observed herself in her own apartment, through binoculars, from the gondola. The person, Miu herself, in her apartment had sexual relations with Ferdinando, a Latin type man, about fifty years old, whom she had met in the town. It was dirty and obscene. Miu lost consciousness. After this one night, Miu became white-haired and stopped playing the piano. She married her husband with the promise of having no sexual relations.

In spite of an intensive search, Sumire was not found. K came back to Japan. On one Sunday, after summer vacation, K had to go to a supermarket because the pupil, whose mother was his lover, was caught shoplifting. K told his pupil what he had experienced in Greece and decided to leave his lover. K caught a glimpse of Miu once again. She was driving her Jaguar beside his taxi. She was

white-haired and passed by without noticing him. At the end of the novel there was a phone call from Sumire, which seemed to be like a vision.

Dissociation and sense of lack

In this novel the narrator, called only K, loved Sumire, who liked him, too, but was not sexually interested in him. Sumire loved Miu who could not have any sexual relationship or respond to her. K had a lover with whom he could not feel a deep connection. "For whatever reason, that unconditional, natural intimacy Sumire and I had just wasn't there. A thin transparent veil always came between us" (ibid.: 78). Everyone was like a Sputnik going around and passing by. At the end of the novel Sumire disappeared, a motif which is to be noticed in many stories of Haruki Murakami.

These difficulties should not only be understood in terms of problems in human relationships. A discrepancy in one's own attitude and personality is also rather noticeable. To take the narrator K as an example, he had an unrealizable love for Sumire and a sexual relationship with another woman, although without love. He had a deep soulful relationship with Sumire, but no bodily relationship with her. He had sexual contact with his lover, but no soulful relationship with her. In this sense we can speak about a dissociation which is situated in one's own personality and requires a feeling of internal unity first; something is missing.

Miu said, "what happened in Switzerland fourteen years ago may well have been something I created myself" (ibid.: 160). This statement implies that what happened to her was not a pure accident, but rather a creation, a neurotic dissociation (Giegerich 1999: 41f.). The dissociation of Miu was reflected on Sumire and K. Sumire said, "I am in love with Miu. With the Miu on this side . . . But I also love the Miu on the other side just as much. The moment this thought struck me it was like I could hear . . . myself splitting in two" (Murakami 2001: 161).

From the expression "on the other side" we can hear a nuance which is different from that of a personal dissociation. The second document of Sumire said that Miu lived as a mere shadow of her true self, her body was on the other side. After Sumire had suddenly disappeared in the Greek Islands, K concluded that "Sumire went over to the other side." The dissociation is not about human relationship, not about personal splitting, but the dissociation of the world, "*the loss of great relationship*" *(Verlust des großen Zusammenhangs*) (Jung 1934/1964: 367). There is no connection between this world and the other world. The dissociation of the world into two sides is a theme which can be seen in many novels of Murakami. In the novel *Dance, Dance, Dance*, there is another world on the other side of the wall or in the other hotel. *In Hard-boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* (1993b) and *Kafka on the Shore*, two different parallel stories go on; in one chapter one story, in the next chapter the other one. The other world has the clear implication of a mythological world, the world of Gods and of the dead. The connection to and dissociation from the other side is an important theme in Murakami's

novels. As Sumire, the soul mate for the narrator, had gone over to the other side, it symbolizes that something essential is lacking.

Sumire said, "Maybe I'm lacking something. Something you absolutely must have to be a novelist" (Murakami 2001: 15). Miu said, almost in the same words, "I understood that something was missing from me. Something absolutely critical, though I did not know what. The kind of depth of emotion a person needs to make music that will inspire others" (ibid.: 158). These words do not mean that they have a dissociated, depersonalized and pathological personality. They refer to a fundamental understanding of modern being and consciousness as it is shown in Murakami's novel. Something essential is lacking and is probably on the other side. Because of the missing essential, this side is not complete; literature, music, and love are not true. And reality, as such, is not complete. This is the central understanding shown in our novel for the present world and, especially, for present-day Japan. One can think of this as the cultural complex that Murakami is exploring.

Mythological world, modern consciousness and postmodern consciousness

In *Sputnik Sweetheart* the connection to the other side is sought. In the mythological world there was great connection. The other side was the world of Gods and the dead and had its own reality. People could be related with the other world by way of rituals and symbols, and were embraced by the mythological world. The shaman could even have direct access to the other world (Gehrts 1985).

In this novel K told a story in replying to Sumire, who was in search for "something for a true novelist." He explained how the ancient Chinese built a gate. At the entrance of the city they'd construct a huge gate and seal in bones that had been gathered in old battlefields. "When the gate was finished they'd bring several dogs over to it, slit their throats, and sprinkle their blood on the gate. Only by mixing fresh blood with the dried-out bones would the ancient souls of the dead magically revive" (Murakami 2001: 16). He added, "Writing novels is much the same . . . a story is not something of this world. A real story requires a kind of magical baptism to link the world on this side with the world on the other side."

Owing to sacrifices, Gods and novels can appear with full reality. It is not a mere idea or belief. Through sacrifices things become ensouled; novels become real. Connecting to the other world makes things in this world real and complete first. This moment is real because it has the mythological world in the background. Persons are united to their dead ancestors. The emperor is real, a real ruler, if he is truly rooted in mythology and the Gods.

We can observe many motifs and images of the mythological world, and those of initiation, in the novels of Haruki Murakami. There are many motifs, such as "the other side of the wall," "being in the well," "the killing of animals," and "the skinning of living persons." In his early novel *Pinball in 1973* (1983) there is

the funeral of a switchboard. The funeral is necessary because each thing has its own soul. It is also important to mention that the other world does not exist objectively. An act is needed to open up and to be linked with the other world. The ritual for the construction of a gate in ancient China is a good example. As is also the case in this example, the blood very often plays a definitive role. In *Kafka on the Shore* the other world opens up through the blood of menstruation and the drawing of blood.

But these novels are not advocating a return to the mythological world. They allude, rather, to the sense that the mythological world is already over; they describe it as something already gone. In the novel *A Wild Sheep Chase* (2002b) a special sheep with the sign of a star was sought. It might be regarded as a totem or guardian spirit. But the sheep was not found and was totally lost. In our novel, Miu could not reach her other half on the other side. Sumire went over to the other side and did not return. The mythological world is always described as something lost.

The loss of the mythological world does not mean that this world has become only rational and boring. Because rituals and sacrifices, which are full of violent images, do not link us with the other world, naked violence without meaning appears. Some call the characteristic of Murakami's novels "detachment." But we can notice violence as well. I have already mentioned the Chinese ritual in the novel *Sputnik Sweetheart*. In the long novel *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* a living Japanese soldier was skinned until he died. A slaughter in a Chinese zoo was reported. The outburst of violence has to do with the loss of the mythological world. The violence is not connected to the mythological world. It does not lead to it. The dissociation can also be noticed in this regard. The role of sexuality in Murakami's novel is similar to the role of violence. It appears almost as the last attempt at being real and being linked to the other world, although in vain.

In some of Haruki Murakami's novels we might get the impression that the other side could be rediscovered and reunited. But most of Murakami's novels suggest that the mythological way of being is over for the present world. If the mythological way were still possible, we could look for and find a suitable image, symbol, ritual and story for ourselves. This might be the path C.G. Jung hoped we would take. But such symbols, and such a logical status, no longer have any reality.

In the novels of Haruki Murakami, experiences of fantasies and dreams are very frequent. Mysterious happenings are also very often reported. Stories are open to coincidences. What happened in dream and vision seems to correspond to and to influence reality. "Dreaming on and on" is stressed (Murakami 2001: 136). We might conclude that we can reach the other side by way of dream. But, at the same time "the reality is different." "But it [the dream] doesn't last forever. Wakefulness always comes to take me back" (ibid.: 207). The novel suggests that our consciousness is already awake, there is no way back to the mythological world.

As the movement of the Enlightenment clearly shows, the consciousness which has awakened from the mythological world is the modern consciousness. It denies the other world and fantasy. It believes only in the rational world. Is the awakened consciousness in Murakami's novel the modern consciousness? In my understanding, the consciousness depicted in Murakami's novels is different from modern consciousness. Modern consciousness is characterized by the liberation of the individual from the embrace of nature, myth and community. This liberation leads very often to conflicts. A typical example is the conflict with community and family, which was originally protective, but became a burden and restriction for the independent individual. The family is a favorite battlefield for establishing modern consciousness. In this novel, however, the family does not play an important role. Sumire's mother had died when she was very young. Her father is a noble and polite but distant person. Neither Sumire nor K have conflicts or resentments against their families. Such conflicts are typical for the neurotic and hence modern consciousness. K said, "My family isn't anything special. So blandly normal, in fact, I don't know where to begin" (ibid.: 55). It is typical for Murakami's novels that family members are not described clearly.

In the battle against the restrictions of community, romantic love and sexuality have a symbolic meaning for modern consciousness and stand at the center of many novels. There are themes of the transgression of taboos, the restriction of individual desire within the collective value system, and secret love. But such themes are no longer an issue in Murakami's novels.

Conflict with the community leads to an internal conflict between desire and ethics within an individual, among psychic agencies. This might be an indispensable condition for psychoanalysis. Realness could be felt because of the restriction and taboo, as Lacan's theory ascertains. Or we might say that modern consciousness could be connected with the other world by way of conflict, by way of concrete negation. By denying myths, it was still linked to the mythological world. By fighting against family and community, modern consciousness was still caught in them.

The consciousness in Murakami's novels is different from the modern consciousness. K described his experience on a trip while he was still a student. He met a young woman who was also traveling alone and she asked him to share a hotel room. They had a night together. She said she was getting married in two months with a man from work. "He's a very nice guy." There was no conflict – which person she loved more, rebellion against the marriage as a restriction, no guilty feeling, etc. It is interesting that K mentioned Natsume Soseki's famous novel *Sanshiro* in comparison (Natsume 2002). In the beginning of this novel Sanshiro shared a hotel room with a woman who was obviously seductive. But he did not have a sexual relationship with her. This is probably typical for the modern consciousness which has come into being in Japan after the encounter with Western culture in the Meiji era. In case of the mythological world, it is self-evident that a man and woman fall in love immediately when they meet. In a village, a girl could have a one-night sexual experience with a visiting stranger

who was regarded as god. In the modern consciousness there is an ethical conflict; one should have only one partner, there should be a continuity of personality, etc. A direct encounter became impossible; the restriction enforced the ethical ideal. In this context I would like to mention that Natsume Soseki's novels describe the difficult path of establishing modern consciousness in modern Japan. He went to study in London, where he experienced a clash of two cultures, and felt feelings of inferiority. He was suffering from anthropophobia, a typical Japanese symptom which shows alienation, and liberation, from the embracing community. In his novels, the theme of mysterious but unreachable women is very often noticeable; this indicates that an immediate encounter and union has become impossible.

To illustrate the difference from modern consciousness, I would like to call the consciousness in Murakami's novels "postmodern consciousness." There is no battle, no conflict, any more. Nature, Gods and community have neither protecting nor restricting power any more. Anything is possible, anything goes. It is arbitrary. Sumire loves a person who is seventeen years older – age does not count. A Korean – the country borders mean nothing. Married – social restriction is not valid. And a woman – heterosexuality, biology, is not self-evident. Because everything is possible, there is no moment of crossing a border, encountering other or otherness. In this sense there is no union with spirit, god, or other worldly beings any longer. Everyone, everything, can be united, but is, in truth, dissociated. A total affirmation leads, paradoxically, to a total negation. Immediate union on the surface is, in truth, a total dissociation.

The mythological world had, as the example of the Chinese gate shows, both vital reality and meaning. But these aspects are dissociated in the postmodern consciousness. So there is a meaningful but sexless relationship on one side and a meaningless sexual relationship on the other side. This dissociation might be reflected in modern Japanese society where teenaged prostitutes and couples in sexless relationships are often reported.

According to Murakami's novels it is typical for postmodern consciousness in Japan that there is still a sense of lack and longing for that which is lost. Seen superficially, people live in a world where anything is possible and nothing is important. But in the depths, people can still feel the mythological world as missing and lost. The Japanese soul is still between postmodern consciousness and the lost mythological world. This dissociation is possible because modern consciousness, in the Western sense, has never been established in Japan. Without destroying the mythological world totally, and without establishing modern consciousness in the fullest sense, the Japanese soul has gone over to postmodern consciousness. Murakami's novels probably have great success in Japan because they reflect, so exactly, the state of the Japanese soul today. In many ways, Murakami's novels and the postmodern consciousness of his characters reflect the emergence of a cultural complex in the Japanese collective psyche.

Union with dissociation

We have seen a dissociation which is central to postmodern consciousness in Japan. To put it more accurately, there is dissociation between the mythological world and postmodern consciousness in Japan today. The question which now arises is whether this dissociation can be overcome and united again? In the novel *Dance, Dance, Dance* the hero went over to the other side of the wall and then came back. He was united with a young woman in a hotel. The hero, who lived in a state of loss and detachment, seemed to grasp the realness again. But in many novels of Murakami the moment of loss is stressed. In the novel *Sputnik Sweetheart*, Sumire was definitely lost. Is such a loss to be understood as failure?

It is probably a misunderstanding to try to overcome the dissociation and find literal union again. As Jung says, we should not try to overcome the dissociation, but to be taught by it (Jung 1934/1964: 361). The narrator K, and also Miu, had lived in compromise with the dissociation. K did not dare to declare his love to Sumire and to ask her for a sexual relationship. He was resigned from the beginning. In the case of Miu, her husband was sympathetic, had a great respect for her world, and did not request a sexual relationship. In this way, the dissociation remained. They were making compromises. But Sumire could not put up with compromises. She did not respect the dissociation, but tried to overcome it. Indeed, this commitment led to a dialectic movement.

In her dream, her mother appeared. Might we suspect that her lack of realness derived from the absence of her mother, from her mother–child relationship? A mother might be an origin for the sureness and realness. Birth and death is the border to the other side. But Sumire lost her mother when she tried to approach her in her dream.

This is, however, not a question of her personal problem and life history. The realness is already lost for everyone in the present time. Miu said, "Just a single mirror separates us from the other side. But I can never cross the boundary of that single pane of glass. Never" (Murakami 2001: 157). It is not only Miu's personal problem. Everyone is now alienated by a pane of glass like the one experienced by Miu. Everything is virtual and encapsulated in the present world. Even the teenager prostituting herself is not a significant, real experience because it costs a certain amount of money for one encounter and the act is encapsulated in an economic system. However we might try to obtain the realness (again), it only leads to a burial of the realness and a sending of the realness to the other side. It is paradoxical because we lose the raw realness by looking for it.

This was also the case for Sumire and Miu. Sumire tried to reach Miu, the Miu on the other side. In one of the discovered documents she wrote about the sacrifice. "Did you ever see anyone shot by a gun without bleeding?" "Blood must be shed. I'll sharpen my knife, ready to slit a dog's throat somewhere" (ibid.: 141). She looked for the realness, tried to be on the other side, and to be united with Miu on that other side.

In this way she clearly realized that she could not have an immediate, sexual relationship with Miu and so lost her. But there was no considered deception and refraining from recognizing and communicating feelings as with K toward Sumire or that of Miu's husband toward Miu. Sumire could not solve the dissociation literally, could not be united with Miu concretely, but did overcome it by being united with the dissociation itself. The dissociation was solved not on the immediate, literal level, but on the *sublated* level. I would like to analyze this in more detail.

Sumire wrote, "What I have written here is a message to myself. I toss it into the air like a boomerang" (ibid.: 141). She could not discover a sacrificial animal, like a dog for the ancient Chinese gate. She knew that she herself was meant as sacrifice, which is, in fact, the real meaning of sacrifice, because the one who sacrifices is also the one who is sacrificed. The sacrifice returned to herself, and she was sacrificed. That was neither why the dog, as object, was sacrificed nor Miu, as object, disappeared. She herself disappeared. She incarnated the dissociation herself. The question was not the loss of the object, as is often the case in psychoanalytic theories, but the disappearance of ego. This was an important moment in the development of postmodern consciousness.

What Sumire had killed was herself. Because she had sacrificed herself, her ego, and disappeared, she could write two documents. Sumire who wanted to become a novelist and was not capable of it could finally write documents with true authenticity and meaning. Now she had the "something" that she needed. But this was not an acquisition of the ego, because the ego was gone.

If I follow the development of Sumire again, she had first a phase where she did not know her own other, did not know sexual desire. She could write novels, but was aware that something was lacking in her. She wrote novels without being satisfied by them. In the next phase she loved Miu and could not write anything. She said, "I don't have any confidence anymore in the act of writing itself." She was united with her own other without being aware of it. Or, she fell into a delusion of being united, of the immediacy. In the last phase it became clear for her that she could not be united with her own other by attempting to come closer to Miu. Through this trial and commitment, she made herself the sacrifice, and was able to write. This was the unity with dissociation, or unity of unity and dissociation.

What Sumire had written was, so to say, a novel in a novel. This is the essence of this novel. Sumire is both author and heroine of the story. And the author and the heroine had disappeared. The two things that were left, the two documents written by Sumire, are real. In this sense there is no immediate reality anymore. But in this way, reality in postmodern consciousness was shown. It is neither the realness of the mythological world where gods appear proximately, nor the realness of modern consciousness in which the ego feels and achieves. The realness in postmodern consciousness is mediated, *sublated*, and without ego.

Afterwards, Miu no longer dyed her hair. K said farewell to his girlfriend after the shoplifting incident of her son. "I'd only done what was necessary for me"

(ibid.: 201). Miu and K did not come closer. Both felt something very close to romantic love, but they did not meet again. Everything should have been possible. But they clung to the dissociation. There is no natural, raw realness. The negation is prevailing.

If negation and dissociation are dominant, how can people be connected? In this novel, phone calls and letters are important. In other novels of Murakami, the computer plays an important role. It is not the problem of media to be understood. The point is that there is no directness. Even Miu saw herself through binoculars. But there is a connection. Sumire could write documents because she was connected with the other side. It did not mean a direct relationship with Miu.

There is also connection by way of dream and vision. Like in a vision or a dream, K received a call from Sumire who said, "I really need you. You're a part of me; I'm part of you" (ibid.: 209). Dissociation was overcome, there was a real *conjunctio*. Despite these words, K returned to everyday reality. But these words, this recognition is real. He stared at his hands. "No scent of blood, no stiffness. The blood must have already, in its own silent way, seeped inside" (ibid.: 210). This seems to suggest that we do not need any immediate sacrifice and reality anymore.

His pupil, called Carrot, seemed to understand his words. There was a real encounter between them. Sputnik is a lonely metal piece in the cosmos. Each piece passes by the other without encounter. But, as the meaning of Sputnik suggests, it is a traveling companion. There is no encounter, neither in the mythological way of being as there is no god or other world anymore, nor in the modern way of life where the encounter happens between social ethics and personal desire. But we are encountering each other in an ongoing way, without producing any fixed point, neither in this world nor on the other side.

This novel shows a convincing vision of postmodern consciousness in Japan. But there is still a slight doubt that it may be attempting to stick to the old world in a very tricky way. It offers neither a nostalgic nor utopist concrete image of the lost essential. But it still preserves a topos and structure for the lost mythological world, though without presenting any concrete image or object. I would like to wait for the further development of Murakami's novels and then address this problem on another occasion.

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Chapter 8

Corruption

Symptom of a cultural complex in Brazil?

Denise G. Ramos

A group is recognized as a cohesive entity, locally and internationally, when it is located in a physical area and identifies itself by means of its culture. Culture is an aggregating event and includes factors such as symbols, gestures, history, behavior, customs, myths and art (DaMatta 2003). Since it is an extremely complex phenomenon, consisting of numerous variables, the study of the effects of culture on the psyche has remained at a superficial and descriptive level. Until now, Jungian psychology has not developed a concept that could offer a fuller understanding of the factors that determine social behavior. Consequently, the concept of a cultural complex (Singer 2002) broadens our potential perception and understanding of social phenomena in individual and group life. It offers a new way of understanding cultural experience from a Jungian perspective. However, since it is still a concept that is in part intuitive, the absence of instruments to investigate it makes using this concept, at times, a challenge.

To apply this concept to a particular group or culture, the researcher must undertake a study that inquires about the symptoms and psychopathology of a group with the assumption that such behavior and self-perception reflects an underlying complex as originally defined by Jung over one hundred years ago. Most simply, a complex is an emotionally charged group of ideas and images that cluster around an archetypal core. Jung wrote:

> Complexes are autonomous groups of (feeling toned – ed.) associations that have a tendency to move by themselves, to live their own life apart from our intentions . . . We like to believe in our will-power, and in our energy and in what we can do; but when it comes to a real show-down we find that we can do it only to a certain extent, because we are hampered by those little devils the complexes.
>
> (Jung 1935/1976: 73)

Thomas Singer and Sam Kimbles have subsequently extended Jung's concept of complex to include "cultural complexes." The task at hand, then, is to identify the symptomatology shared by a group of people and see if these common symptoms do indeed cluster around a central, underlying complex.

Thinking about Brazilian culture and the diversity of the Brazilian identity,

this cultural complex research has been focused on a "symptom" that is considered by many to be one of the greatest problems in Brazilians' everyday life: corruption. The phenomenon of corruption as part of Brazilian history is an endemic shadow, which seems to be rooted in its culture. Corruption may be defined here "as the misuse of power for private benefit or advantage" – a power that may, but need not, reside in the public domain. Besides money, the benefits derived from corruption can take the form of protection, special treatment, commendation, promotion, or the favors of women or men (Leisinger 1996).

Therefore, considering corruption within this focus, we may ask what are the psychological factors that could encourage this type of behavior in a culture. If it is true that corruption is universal, why is it more common in certain countries? What are the factors that encourage this type of behavior?

Almost every day in Brazil we read in the newspapers about new public affairs involving corruption, and quite often the news talks about millions of dollars that have been unduly transferred to private cash accounts in some tax haven in an overseas country. Brazilians are troubled, on a daily basis, by lawbreaking or small bribes. In order to avoid appearing a "fool," some Brazilians assume the role of being "smart" and corrupt or accept corruption as an acceptable means for surviving or making a living. The Brazilian citizens who resent such behavior are frequently considered "imbeciles" and rarely feel rewarded for their honesty. This destructive behavior appears to be so engrained in the Brazilian culture that we have lost sight of its origin.

In 2002, from research undertaken by Goettingen University and Transparency International, Brazil was ranked the forty-fifth most corrupt country on a world scale for national corruption.

In an article published by DaMatta (2003), one of Brazil's most important anthropologists, he questioned why Brazil suffers from the persistent and recurrent plague of corruption and impunity by public figures in authority. The author, treating corruption as a universal phenomenon with multiple solutions, reflects on the difficulty of getting to the "core of the problem," and inquires into its roots and recurrences.

In fact, the majority of research into corruption focuses on variables related to a system dynamics models of corruption, i.e., the effects of corruption on politics, welfare, development projects, etc. The causes of corruption in a country are generally related to its legal system and ethics, its social, economic and educational level of development and the forms of repression and restraint used to maintain civil order. When the psychological question about the origin of corruption is raised, reference is usually made to social and educational problems. The majority of discussions and articles written on the subject has a moralistic tone and highlight the economic gain and lack of ethics, as the main reasons for this evil. The lack of psychological research that analyzes in depth the unconscious determinants of this pathology is surprising. The little research that has been undertaken focuses on the study of criminology, delinquency, questions of power and social-pathological mechanisms.

Therefore, one of the main tasks required for the development of this chapter was to find and elaborate a thread in the Brazilian history that will help us understand why and how corruption has become so deeply rooted in the Brazilian psychological landscape. As we are going to see, corruption is not just a question of ethics or greed, but also a pathological symptom in the collective identity of Brazil, which at least partially originates from a cultural complex of inferiority.

Locating the cultural complex

At the time of celebrating the five-hundredth anniversary of the "discovery of Brazil" (in April 2000), a wide number of debates, articles and books were published as an attempt to explain the multiple aspects of Brazilian identity. In a country that comprises such a vast territory and which is made up of three distinct races (indigenous, white and black), with migratory currents that include Japanese and Korean, talking about a "national identity" is indeed a difficult task.

Nevertheless, by reviewing the most relevant literature concerning this theme, a quite intriguing subject stands out and indicates the path for our investigation: the implicit feeling of inferiority in the Brazilian people, something that is often referred to as "the cucaracha complex" or "the underdeveloped Latin-American stigma." Although this is not always explicitly stated, examples of this feeling of inferiority are more than evident in daily life, literature, myths, films and TV shows, specially when the middle-class Brazilian people compare themselves with foreigners. Taking into consideration these various ingredients in the "Brazilian pot", our question is whether corruption can be considered a symptom of this marked feeling of inferiority? In this sense, is corruption – as evidenced by the compulsive and chronic behavior of tricking the law and authority – the expression of a people that unconsciously feels too infantile, weak or impotent to openly make a claim for its rights?

Bearing these questions in mind and based on psychological and sociological studies and on articles published by the media, three approaches have been adopted in order to explore our hypothesis: field observations, anthropological and sociological research, and research with the analysts.

Field observations

Brazilian people according to themselves

It is common among the upper and middle classes in São Paulo (Brazil's biggest city, which has approximately 15 million people), and most likely among the Brazilian upper and middle classes in other cities as well – to observe the constant use of derogatory adjectives when referring to their own nationality. Jokes and examples of Brazilians denigrating their own image are easily found on Brazilian television and can also be heard in expressions used by Brazilian people every day. Comparisons are constantly being made with people from the "first world,"

with Brazilians portraying themselves as incompetent, ignorant, arrogant and corrupt.

Two simple, personal examples of incidents that illustrate this typical Brazilian self-perception are provided below. Both took place at the airport upon arriving back in Brazil from a European city.

> This only happens in Brazil! We have to walk all around the place, instead of going in a straight line! Ahh . . . land of the stupid people!

shouted a young Brazilian woman shrilly as she left the airplane. This passenger was complaining about having to walk no more than 100 meters to the escalator that would take her to the airport lobby. The other passengers nodded their heads, apparently agreeing with this irritated woman. It is interesting to note, however, that this same passenger had walked approximately 1500 meters to the embarkation gates without complaining, passing through the long corridors of a European airport, where the escalators were not operating.

> Heck, what a long line! It's ridiculous that we have to queue up! Not even these guys – the police – know how to organize a line to check our passports!

complained another passenger about having to present his passport at the Brazilian immigration office, even though the line moved quite quickly. We soon passed through the federal officers, who hardly looked at our passport pictures. In less than fifteen minutes of queuing we were free. It is most likely that this same passenger upon arriving in Europe after a long and tiring night flight had to stay at least two hours (as I did) in line for passport control, while smiling passengers from the European Community passed through directly without having to stay in line.

Although brief anecdotes, these two scenes are quite revealing. In both cases, the Brazilian people recently arriving from the "first world" reject their homeland, unconsciously resenting the differences and the discriminatory treatment they may have suffered. Unknowingly, they imitate the "superior" people by repeating the discrimination towards their own compatriots, now acting as the agent of such pouting remarks. Although these two examples are trivial in one sense, they represent in a condensed form the experience of a large number of Brazilians.

There is a joke that appears on the Internet repeatedly, which illustrates this Brazilian flaw (by the way, a colleague from North America told me that she heard the same joke from two tourist guides while visiting Brazil):

> They say that when God created the world there were a series of complaints. Inhabitants of other countries said that He had been unfair in creating Brazil as such a rich country, full of natural beauty. A country eternally bathed in sunshine, which did not have hurricanes, storms, snow, earthquakes, deserts or vicious animals. "This is not fair," they said unanimously to God. But He

> put a stop to their envy by replying, "I agree! But wait and see the type of people that I am going to put there."

Among other things, this anecdote assumes an inverse relation between nature and culture, i.e., the more bountiful is nature, the less human effort is necessary, which may lead to indolence. In the same vein, one hears over and over again phrases such as "Brazil is a waste of time" or "Brazil is not a serious country" (this phrase was originally attributed to the French General De Gaulle). Often uttered in moments of crisis, these comments indicate some sense of embarrassment about being Brazilian.

Another famous quotation was made by the Brazilian novelist Rodrigues: "The Brazilian continues being an inverted Narcissus, who spits on his own image. Our tragedy is that we do not have a minimum amount of self esteem" (Rodrigues 1993: 272).

According to Kujawski, Brazilians have an obsessive preoccupation with respect to their own collective incompetence that mixes with self-contempt and lack of information.

> This national feeling of inferiority results apparently from our comparison with developed nations, highlighting our continuous economic failures, our economic instability, technological backwardness and social inequalities. However, the real roots of this collective self-abjection, and this general embarrassment of being Brazilian, can be found in our historic origins.
>
> (Kujawski 2001: 35)

The theme of the historic origins of "this general embarrassment of being Brazilian" will be picked up again later in this chapter.

Brazilian people according to foreigners

Although a detailed study of how Brazilians are viewed overseas is not appropriate here, some observations are relevant, since they have been incorporated more or less consciously by the Brazilian culture. Pike (2001), in his article on North American myths and stereotypes on Latin America, demonstrates that while the United States is generally associated with culture, Latin America is associated with nature. In North America there is the symbol of "Uncle Sam," a white male, an inveterate fighter who dominates savagery and nature. On the other hand, we have the images of blacks, Indians, children, women and poor people – individuals who are incapable of dominating nature – representing Latin America. These stereotypes still remain present, although they probably reached their peak during the "Good Neighbor" policy of Franklin Roosevelt, between 1933 and 1945. At that time, North American cartoonists usually caricatured their neighbors from the South as a dreamy people who were not concerned with work, clearly conveying the impression of the inferiority of the Latin American.

Along the same lines, during World War II, the Walt Disney studios created a personality called Joe Carioca, who appeared in the movies alongside Donald Duck to represent the Brazilians. Joe is a parrot who does not speak properly. He is weak, clumsy, lazy and a coward. He compensates for these failings with megalomaniac fantasies. (Ramos *et al*. 2000)

More recently (in 2002), the US television channel Fox presented a cartoon in which an American family, the Simpsons, come to Brazil to look for a boy from the slums of Rio. Their eldest daughter had "met" him through an email correspondence over the Internet. They were high-tech pen pals. When the Simpsons arrive in Brazil they discover that the boy has disappeared. So the family decides to go in search of the poor Brazilian boy who has been abandoned and needs to be saved by the American family. (The theme of the abandoned child will come up again in our discussion of the origins of corruption.)

Thus, Brazil, despite its natural wealth, is presented as a country full of vagabonds or bandits, portrayed as a society that is corrupt, dominated by criminals, and weakened by poverty and economic despair. Noteworthy here is that foreigners' projections onto Brazil are fixed in a depreciating manner, further distorted by the all too easy stereotype of Rio de Janeiro as the land of mambo, rumba, and conga. For those who are not familiar with Brazilian cultural traditions, mambo, rumba and conga are typical in some Spanish-speaking countries. These popular expressions are entirely alien to Brazil, where Portuguese is spoken and samba and bossa nova are the original popular rhythms.

On the other hand, the following statements were made by foreigners (in Brazil) concerning their view of the Brazilian people and are typical of many others sampled:

> "Brazilians are very good and very creative. The problem is that they lack self-esteem" – M. Sorrel, an important British businessman, owner of several advertising agencies and international research and marketing companies.
>
> (Published by *Veja* magazine, May 8, 2002)

> "Brazil has almost lost its identity" . . . "Brazilians think only foreigners have the solution. Brazil has lots of resources . . . self-esteem ought to be recovered. I have spent 40 years studying Brazil, particularly this question of pessimism and optimism . . . this habit of saying that Brazil is a waste of time." – T. Skidmore, an American sociologist and author of several books about Brazil.
>
> (Published by *O Estado de São Paulo* daily newspaper, October 6, 2002)

Anthropological and sociological research

Research (SEBRAE, 2002) undertaken by twenty-five specialists from different areas of the human sciences has sought to define the "profile" of "Brazilness" by analyzing the traits unique to the cultural, esthetic and communication styles of

Brazilians. Although this research was commissioned by export companies with the objective of identifying the characteristics that could offer Brazil a competitive advantage on the international market, interesting psychological qualities were highlighted. Brazil's strong points are rated in decreasing order of importance as follows:

- racial and cultural pluralism
- the cultural elements resulting from traditions and experiences of authentically popular life
- lightheartedness and optimism
- the pluralist and syncretic characters of the culture
- the emphasis on personal relationships
- hospitality and cordiality
- creativity.

Brazil's weak points in decreasing order of importance are:

- lack of self-esteem, valuing only what is imported
- lack of confidence in the authorities and the government, which is reflected in general mistrust in relation to public companies
- a certain contempt in relation to technical questions
- the idea that trickery is needed to take advantage of everything and everyone – above all, taking advantage of the poorest
- the scarce publicity of Brazilian cultural work in all sectors
- arrogant personalism, which is placed above the law
- the conviction that everybody tricks just to earn more money
- ignorance as "profession of faith" ("if I can earn money without even reading a book, then . . . ")
- dishonest in the name of the family and friends
- lack of commitment to agreements made.

One of the most significant conclusions was that contact with the so-called developed nations often increased the feeling of inferiority. Thus, in Brazil there is a strong, unfounded belief that what comes from abroad is always better. The authors also consider that the lack of information will continue to reinforce this tendency towards contempt for what is Brazilian and higher valuation of what comes from abroad. They concluded that Brazilians are also victims of a latent inferiority complex. Creativity is seen as "trickery" or *jeitinho*.

Consequently, this report confirms our previous observations regarding the belief that Brazilians do not honor their own cultural value. This has led to a severe lack of self-confidence that only increases the risk of a sudden unconscious compensation leading to a national self-overvaluation. In Jungian terms this creates the conditions for an "enantiodromia," resulting in an excessive nationalism and dangerous ego inflation.

The SEBRAE research concludes with an emphasis on the need to make Brazilians more aware of the value of their own creativity and to provide greater awareness of the specific positive qualities of Brazilian culture. However, we know that a real balance with respect to one's own individual or group image cannot be reached just by reinforcing positive values. Without psychological work aimed at getting in touch with the collective shadow (i.e., without greater awareness of the inferiority complex), any work that is approached only from an educational point of view will not be particularly effective.

Research with the analysts

In order to further confirm the preceding perceptions regarding the nature of the Brazilian cultural complex, research was conducted among a pool of Brazilian analysts, which included members of the Brazilian Society for Analytical Psychology (SBrPA) and Jungian Association of Brazil (AJB). This research was carried out by means of a questionnaire comprised of questions related to evidence of behavior symptomatic of a cultural complex in Brazilian daily life. The questionnaire also sought to elicit ways in which the existence of a cultural complex was reflected in Brazilian myths, tales, common sayings, art, etc. For instance, one of the questions required that the analysts make an effort to examine Brazil as a patient (Galliás 1998). By considering the "symptoms" of the patient, the analysts were asked to identify the underlying complexes. The analysts were also asked whether they could identify in themselves the emergence of strange feelings while traveling abroad. They were encouraged to note which foreign cultures produced such effects and the nature of the feelings aroused.

The questionnaire was sent to 144 analysts and trainees from the two Brazilian Jungian societies that belong to the International Association for Analytical Psychology (IAAP). A total of 33 questionnaires were returned (32 analysts and 1 trainee). According to some colleagues, the low response rate was attributed to the difficulty of the questions. Some seemed to feel that each question had to be answered almost as if it were a dissertation, while others said that they needed a lot of time to do field research, and therefore abstained from replying. One analyst said that his first reaction was:

> I didn't understand a thing. I felt rather stupid, but looking again at the title I realized that this feeling of inferiority or resistance to filling out the questionnaire when faced by its very abstract questions could be the cultural complex itself talking (an interpretation of my own countertransference).

As we will see, this initial confession of one respondent foretells the main cultural complex revealed by the questionnaire. And the results of the study, despite the resistance to it, present interesting data that corroborates the field observations and other studies of Brazilian culture reviewed in this chapter. The responses to the

questionnaire were sorted out on the basis of content. Six separate but interrelated categories of symptoms observed by the analysts emerged from the analysis of their responses.

Inferiority feelings

The responses for this category were unanimous: 100 percent of the respondents described typical and frequent feelings and behavior that are directly related to Brazilian's low self-esteem. These include dependence; insecurity; devaluation of folklore and its mythical expressions; jokes against themselves (Brazilians); speaking in a derogatory manner about Brazil (frequently comparing Brazil negatively in relation to other countries from the Northern Hemisphere); devaluation of the language (when referring to the vocabulary of indigenous origin) and overvaluation of foreign languages; embarrassment for not having a European ancestry; investigation and overvaluation of European ancestry; embarrassment at being Brazilian; feelings of impotence and incapacity; feelings of being internally "colonial" and not having developed an elite culture; devaluation of the Brazilian government and their organizational systems (as noticed in common sayings such as "in Europe everything works", "these things only happen in Brazil"); the sensation that everything still needs to be developed and accomplished in Brazil; envy of foreigners' nationalism (a group of North American traders once stated that it was easy to deal with Brazilians because they didn't fight for their rights or defend their country); belief in the classification of Brazil as third world, third class, still (eternally) under construction.

Another corollary within this category, evident in a great number of replies (90 percent), is the overvaluation of foreigners and foreign products. Believing that everything one owns or does is inferior, the typical Brazilian tends to imitate foreigners, to overvalue foreign goods and openly accept any foreign material or cultural product without considering the possibility of investigating or appreciating what is made in Brazil.

Transgression of laws and corruption

About 80 percent of the respondents noted a category of behavior that Brazilians refer to as "Gerson's law." Gerson was a famous football player who, in the 1970s, advertised cigarettes on TV, associating the brand that he smoked with "smart behavior." His final line became quite popular among the Brazilian people: being smart is "taking advantage of everything." The impact of this TV advertisement was very surprising at the time and what is even more surprising is that several years later "Gerson's law" was still recognized as a typical trickster-winner behavior. It took some time for this advertising to be considered anti-ethical, but even now, a person of doubtful character is spoken of as someone who follows Gerson's law. The label is applied with an ambiguous mixture of admiration for the trickster (smart guy) and moral criticism.

This category also includes the common behavior of tricking the law ("there are laws that stick and laws that don't") and taxes (because "they are not fair" or because the money goes into the politicians' pockets). Offering bribes, disobeying the hierarchy, finding loopholes for every law – each being an expression of an overall pattern of widespread corruption – are the consequences of such attitudes. In several replies the analysts considered corrupt behavior to be associated with a feeling of impotence. People who perceive themselves as having no power to change their social status or to change their legal situation may believe that the only means available to avoid becoming victimized is to join the lawbreakers. By doing so, the feelings of impotence and frustration might be reduced.

Puer aeternus

Around 70 percent of the respondents considered that the lack of respect for limits – whether it expresses itself in the sheer pleasure of disregarding traffic lights or the lack of commitment to social responsibilities or simply the legendary unpunctual behavior of Brazilian people – to be a type of infantile protest against excessive authoritarianism. Standing behind and fueling this boundless disrespect for the established order of things is, of course, the archetype of the *puer aeternus*. Disrespect for the law in all its aspects is tied to a feeling of weakness, which is negatively expressed when faced with patriarchal power. In other words, the laws are seen as "ridiculous" or unfair and disobedience is seen as the "smart way," or a means of outwitting authority.

Lack of heroes

About 60 percent of the replies made reference to the lack of mythical and historical heroes in the Brazilian culture. Some considered this absence to be a contributing factor in making it difficult to develop a national identity, as well as adding to the feeling of inferiority. The strange thing, however, is that Brazilian culture has plenty of characters in literature and in folklore that could have been identified as heroic, but none of them has ever been recognized as such. This is possibly due to the fact that these "prospective heroes" are usually associated with the indigenous Brazilian population, or refer to the stories that were told by former black slaves – both groups of which are undervalued and not likely to be seen as producing heroes.

Narcissism, exhibitionism, excessive permissiveness

There were less unanimous replies for this category, with 30 percent of the respondents referring to narcissism, exhibitionism or excessive permissiveness as compensatory mechanisms for the symptoms described above. The extravagance of folkloric parties (the *Boi-bumbá* – a Brazilian mythological bull in the northeast region) and Carnival (which is celebrated throughout Brazil) could indicate a collective wish to overcome these inferiority feelings.

Typology

Some 20 percent of the analysts identified typological styles as generating cultural conflicts and complexes. Brazilians, with the typology of feeling-extrovert, may feel inferior when judged by members of a culture that bears the typology thinking-introverted.

Conclusion

The results of the questionnaire coincide with the observations of the theologian Leonard Boff (personal communication 2002) who asserts that Brazilians suffer from an "underdog complex" and that of Dias and Gambini (1999), who, based on their analysis of the formation of Brazilian identity, said that Brazilians suffer from an inferiority complex as a result of lack of awareness of themselves.

Therefore, we can affirm that the analysts have unanimously identified a Brazilian cultural complex of inferiority that has various manifestations including low self-esteem and embarrassment about one's cultural identity. The pathological behaviors of corruption, cheating and disobeying the law may be a consequence of this inferiority complex.

Based on these observations and the results of the researches, it is time to speculate about the origins and underlying conflicts that have given rise to this cultural complex.

Possible causes of the inferiority complex

In the search for the basic conflict that may give rise to this complex, the history of the creation of the Brazilian nation is extremely revealing. The nation of Brazil was born out of trauma with two dominant threads: colonization and slavery. However, a significant projection onto Brazil existed even before its founding in 1500, thus affecting the basis upon which the collective identity was structured. Is Brazil indeed a tropical paradise? Myth of origin: Brazil and paradise – medieval projections on the unknown land. According to Von Franz (1972), creation myths are the deepest and most important of all myths. In many societies they are an essential teaching in the ritual of initiation and become the foundation for building a collective identity.

If the question "Where did I come from?" creates anxiety, the myth that replies to it gives significance and an axis to existence. Repeated in moments of crisis, the creation myth helps to restore identity and to recover self-esteem. If we transfer the mythical question to the historical founding myth, various characteristics come to mind revealing a problem from the start that has not been resolved even now.

The name

When the Portuguese baptized the recently discovered land "Terra de Santa Cruz" (Land of Saint Cross), in 1500, it was an act that constellated in the collective unconscious the wish to dominate and later extinguish almost all of the native populations. In effect, the new name forcefully submitted the native populations to the Christian faith.

> The discoverers transported the cross across the ocean and thrust it into fresh land, but were never able to carry it on their own shoulders . . . The Europeans made the Indians carry the cross whilst they dedicated themselves to . . . the plenitude of their winnings in the free zone south of the equator.
>
> (Gambini 2000: 42)

However, over time, the name Brazil came to predominate and now its origin has been the subject of numerous discussions. The oldest texts available, such as *Ho Brasile* and *O'Brasil*, demonstrate that it refers to a Celtic name, which means "Land of the Fortunate," "island of happiness" or "promised land," since the root *bres* in Irish means "noble, fortunate, happy, charming." This name appears on maps prior to the discovery of the land and would certainly be appropriate, in the medieval mentality, for an imaginary island west of the known world (Funari 2002). Others maintain that the word "Brazil" meant a person who lived at the foot of a tree the color of *brasa* (hot red), namely "pau-brasil," a wood which, at the time, was exported heavily to Europe.

Brazil in the medieval imagination

Reference to Brazilian territory as a Garden of Eden, as "marvelous possessions," was ripe in the European imagination at the closing of the fifteenth century. We can also find fantastically positive images or terribly threatening images of the new land in literature, which tried to attribute an identifying characteristic to the country (Oliveira 2000).

In general, the new lands are portrayed as a shelter for untouched nature – virgin land – and are described by the Portuguese as a dangerous, luxuriant, splendid, frightening and mysterious universe (Oliveira 2000; Gambini 2000).

The cartography and texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reveal the meeting of two civilizations and record the differences that were confirmed over the centuries (Santos *et al*. 2000). Even the use of the term "discovery" for a land inhabited by millions of people at the time of its discovery (calculated between 6 million and 12 million and more than 1000 indigenous ethnic groups) is extremely controversial (Brito 2001).

Furthermore, the construction of the world map based on the logic of the colonizer created the concept of two worlds, the old and the new, the exploiter and the exploited. At the time, the legality of exploitation was based on the concept that what existed in the new world was inferior.

Ventura (1991) identifies the ambivalence of European attitudes at the time of the "discovery" which oscillated between a positive image of the natural happiness and the innocence of the inhabitants of the American land and a negative image that condemned its barbarous customs. Ventura also highlights the existence of a very negative attitude towards the indigenous people and physical environment of America, which legitimized the extremely invasive and indiscriminate European expansion into the newly discovered lands. This negative view included a European discussion of the "degeneration" of the animals, plants and people of the new continent, which gave further permission for white people to civilize the Americas. The resultant action was aimed exclusively at exploitation and was incredibly blind to the cultural wealth of the native populations.

First inhabitants

At the beginning of the conquest there was actually a question as to whether or not the natives had a soul. Despite a papal decree that proclaimed Indians to be human, the actual practices of wielding power affirmed that Indians belonged to an inferior anthropological level. This view of the social inferiority of the Indians was buttressed by the belief that the very biological structure of Indians was also different – and inferior. According to Quijano (1993: 169), these ideas contributed to a "deep and long lasting cultural complex, a matrix of ideas, images, values, attitudes, and social practices, which continue to be evident in the relations between peoples." This "inferiority of origins" is also compounded by the fact that Brazil, unlike Mexico or Peru, cannot point to important pre-Columbian societies that had made qualitative and long-lived cultural achievements. This lack of powerful pre-Columbian civilizations as precursors made it all the easier for Europeans to deny the existence of the indigenous cultures of the millions of natives occupying Brazil in the sixteenth century. This contributed to the formation of a Brazilian identity that denies its origins and is cut off from its ancestral soul (Gambini 2000).

By denying the indigenous myth of origin, Brazilians look at the myths of other cultures and adopt them as their own, not taking into consideration the history and geography of their own region. Again, according to Gambini, the Brazilian soul seems to have been born of a crossed projection:

> Whilst the Indians projected the savior onto the Portuguese, the Europeans saw in the discovered land a paradise inhabited by naked beings, who were carriers of innate evil and sins since they did not know the truth of the religious Revelation of Christianity.
>
> (Gambini 2000: 166)

As a result of these confused and conflicted mutual projections that were never integrated into a collective identity, Brazil never had a coherent origin myth or history as a nation. On the contrary, the Brazilian indigenous culture remained

isolated and protected on faraway territories. Furthermore, no collections of origin myths or recognized, indigenous heroes exist that have been assimilated as part of the process of forming a Brazilian culture and identity.

Implementing colonization

Portugal never intended to establish a new nation. It sought to own new lands, driven by the desire for riches. The attitude of the colonizers was basically to extract wealth from the country through its control and predatory exploration, taking no consideration for the land and its inhabitants. This domination established by the Portuguese lasted for centuries (Oliveira 2000).

According to DaMatta (1993), the economic history of Brazil mirrors an attitude on the part of the colonizers to nature that reflected their personal adventurism, extreme individualism and unbridled anarchism. It is within this social and economic framework, with its destructive cycle of predatory exploitation, that the original Brazilian society took shape.

While the first colonizers of the United States of America aimed to construct a new nation guided by ethical and religious principles, the first colonizers in Brazil came with the sole intention of taking its riches back to the king who needed them to settle the Portuguese debt with England. There was never an intention to engage in "nation building" (as it is called today) or to integrate the people, the riches, and the natural marvels of the new land into the orbit of civilized Europe. In fact, it is reported that the actual first European immigrants to Brazil were two degenerates, abandoned on the Brazilian coast when the vessels of Pedro Álvares Cabral, the "discoverer" of Brazil, returned to Portugal with news of the Land of Santa Cruz in 1500. The mission of these accidental tourists was to investigate the indigenous population and evaluate their habits in order to establish the basis for the religious instruction to be undertaken by the missionaries (Brito 2001).

According to Moog (1981), the first colonizers of Brazilian land were subjects of the Portuguese king. They came alone, leaving their families and friends behind. Their sole motivation was to exploit the new land and return to Portugal. They did not have an economic plan for the responsible development of Brazil, nor were they public spirited or civic minded. They had no concept of political self-determination for the indigenous peoples. Instead of remaining on the territories they traveled through, they depopulated rather than populated the land. While the first North American settlers swore to establish a civil and political body, adopting viable economic practices while settling and building towns and cities (often after conquering native populations as well), the Europeans who moved to Brazil came as conquerors and later became smugglers of gold and precious stones.

Those early immigrants that journeyed to North America came with the intention of becoming Americans, of belonging to a new religion and to a new motherland. In contrast, those born of Portuguese blood in Brazil (the *mazombo*) sought to reclaim their birthright in the monarchy. They were – most of them

– bastards, abandoned by their European fathers and rejected by their mothers' tribes. To reclaim their Portuguese citizenship they had to study in Coimbra. They were always looking back towards Portugal and later towards Paris. They were misplaced Europeans. So the first people born in Brazil were neither Portuguese nor Brazilians, but contradictory beings who didn't belong. They were traumatized in their very birthright and were unable to find dignity, patriotism, decency, composure, a clean life, honesty, high ambitions and noble intentions (Moog 1981: 135).

The other major thread of the trauma in forming Brazilian identity is slavery, which together with colonization, resulted in

> almost complete domination, whereby all decision making power is abolished and sane individuals are reduced to the state of things. Brazil was born out of this situation, and has never been able to come to terms with these experiences, which remain in some sub level as a trauma.
>
> (Ribeiro 2000: 58)

Black slaves were brought to Brazil to do the exhausting manual labor required on sugar cane plantations. When slave families arrived in the colony, they were separated and distributed to many locations in order to break apart the populations who spoke the same dialect. Thus, the colonizers' treatment of slaves created a rupture in the natural cultural ties of sharing a native tongue.

The new land was then populated by persons who spoke several languages: besides the European colonizers, who brought Latin and Portuguese, and the African slaves, who contributed with their many dialects, the indigenous Brazilian tribes themselves had various idioms. It is only from the eighteenth century onwards that a unique language slowly developed, a phenomenon, which is considered a unifying cultural force (Lucas 2002).

Another important factor that added to the formation of a sense of nationalism was the fact that the Portuguese as a colonizing agent tolerated diversity and had learned to incorporate the characteristics of many different peoples from African and Asian lands. This talent for cultural syncretism was brought to their Brazilian experience, contributing to the construction of a society based on a blend of different cultural systems. Therefore, what happened in Brazil was the combination of three basic ethnic groups (Indians, whites and blacks), each of which is characterized by both their plurality and at the same time by the uniqueness of their origins.

It is also worthwhile noting that the growth of Brazilian nationalism was not marked by episodes of internal or external warfare and other grand enterprises, which might have awakened intense nationalistic emotions, as was the case in many European nations. Rather, Brazilian nationalism was the fruit of territorial loyalties and nostalgia for the origins of the different people who make up Brazil. "Still in the depth of the Brazilian collective unconscious there is a nagging feeling, a product of the powerful genocide against Indians and blacks that the

Portuguese and dominant class in Brazil perpetrated over the years" (Lucas 2002: 152).

Part of the "nagging feeling" that lingers like a hangover in the Brazilian psyche is the residue of nineteenth-century racial theories that were built around the positivism of Comte, social Darwinism, and the evolutionary theory of Spencer. All of these ideas lent justification to the widely held belief in the superiority of European civilization. For instance, the combination of a tropical climate and the mix of races – white, Indians and black people – could be offered up to explain the supposed indolent nature, apathy, and moral and intellectual disequilibria of the Brazilians (Ortiz 1994).

According to the historian Carvalho (2000), Brazil's national consciousness appears only with the Paraguayan War (1864–1870), when, for the first time, a conflict with an external enemy took on a national dimension. The trauma and excitement of war led to an intensified identification with patriarchal symbols such as the national hymn and flag, previously unknown to the majority of the population. However, a national feeling resulting from large scale, positive, constructive collective experiences is still non-existent in the majority of the population. The fact that the proclamation of independence, the abolition of slavery and the formation of the republic all occurred without war meant that Brazilians did not have the experience of participation in a conflict that led to the creation of their country. As a result, nation building was not seen as the fruit of their own efforts and sacrifice – an achievement to be proud of with which they could identify. Thus, in Brazil, the hero or heroine myth was not activated in the collective psyche. Although Brazilian mythology is rich in indigenous *caboclo* and African symbolism, there is not a single historic personality or even regional group that stands out and is identified with as heroic.

From the nineteenth century onward, people from many other national, racial and ethnic groups have migrated to Brazil – particularly Spanish, Italians, Germans, Arabs and Japanese. They have brought with them their customs, principles and values, which have strongly influenced Brazilian culture through their myths and traditions which have developed over thousands of years. In this way, recent generations of Brazilians have felt the need to look for their identity in European grandparents. Like the *mazombo*, they have turned to their original heritages as a source of pride and also of differentiation from other Brazilians. This tendency, coupled with the already preexisting, unintegrated plurality of the Brazilian people, has not helped to create a more unified, harmonious collective identity. Rather, the positive values and morals inspired by the immigrants are experienced by their descendants more at the individual and family level, but not at the level of a national, Brazilian collective identity.

Conclusion

The hypothesis of the existence of an inferiority complex in Brazilian culture has been confirmed by the three approaches adopted here. Not only the field

observations but also the social research and the results of the analysts' questionnaire are congruent in the description of more or less conscious behavior, which invariably reveals a profound feeling of disdain and abjection in relation to one's own citizenship.

The field observations were confirmed by extensive literature that identifies this phenomenon as the cause of ill feeling in the culture. The harmful consequences of this self-contempt are reflected in various areas, including the evaluation of intellectual and economic production, in the perpetuation of social inequalities, in the excluding nature of social stratification (in relation to Indians, blacks and the poor population in general) and also in ethical questions.

In the search for the original conflict, which is at the core of this inferiority complex, certain principal factors are evident in the formation of Brazil: creation myth, foreigners' projections, slavery and colonization. We can also see how the trauma of birth is repeated compulsively in various types of behavior including corruption, which is particularly highlighted in this chapter. The myth of Brazil as a paradise is continually reenacted in a pervasive attitude of permissiveness that is reproduced by corrupt individuals, who have disdain for the law and feel a delight in civil disobedience. Meira Penna (1972), in describing the typology of countries, places Brazil in the category of "everything is permitted, even that that is prohibited," comparing it, for example, with England, where "everything is permitted, except that that is prohibited."

Paradoxically, the founding Edenic myth contributes to the establishment of a feeling of inferiority in the earliest formation of Brazilian identity by emphasizing as primary the values of sensuality, carnal attractiveness and natural riches in the new lands and its inhabitants. And since, according to existing standards of civilization, what comes from nature is judged to be inferior to what is produced because these resources can be harvested without industrious or creative effort, there appears to be little way out from this feeling of inferiority. As we have seen, the projections of numerous foreigners since the sixteenth century until the present date reinforce this attitude. What is worse is that Brazilians, in the search for a positive identity, assimilate this projection of inferiority and incorporate it as their own valuation of their land and themselves. Thus, a neurotic mechanism is repeated in the attempt to find a solution to this dilemma.

Even the sociological and anthropological studies presented here have proposed that – for commercial, export purposes – Brazilian products should be associated with the characteristics of being natural rather than produced or manufactured. Some authors have gone so far as to suggest that the feeling of inferiority can be overcome with the increasing valuation of ecology and natural resources, which are extremely abundant in Brazil. However, this apparently new attitude will only reinforce once again the myth of the tropical paradise: Brazil, the exuberant and cordial carnival country. The intellectual qualities, the advances in Brazilian technology, or even the Brazilians' ability to find rational solutions to their problems, for example, are not recognized as national achievements.

Thus, it appears there is a certain blindness with respect to recognizing the

collective value of scientific and cultural achievement in Brazil. Or there might be an unconscious feeling of superiority that would prevent an adequate evaluation of the actual capacity of the Brazilian production, by always establishing negative comparisons with the production and cultural characteristics of other countries.

Here, it is probable that a compensatory mechanism is at work in the Brazilian psyche which embraces only "the best" or "nothing at all," rejecting the infinite intermediary realities.

Further compounding the Edenic myth's contribution to Brazilian corruption and its inferiority complex is a particular structure of parental archetypes that are common to Brazil. On the one hand, we have the image of a European father who has just recently left the Middle Ages and whose only objective is to exploit the country and to become as rich as possible. Fascinated by the nudity and liberty of the indigenous population, the repressed European male abuses the ingenuity of the native. On the other hand, we have the image of an Indian mother who gives birth to a bastard child, which is subsequently abandoned by the father and rejected by the maternal tribe. The endless repetition of this pattern also has contributed to the creation of the *mulatto* which makes up 38 percent of the Brazilian population according to the 2000 census (IBGE). The *mulatto* historically originates from the violence and lasciviousness of the plantation owner towards the women slaves. The image of someone of mixed race as being the child of an abusive father is reflected most evidently in the prejudices and continual social stratification in Brazil.

Therefore, the inability to create an identity consistent with Brazil's productive reality leads to shame and stifles any possible articulation of a positive nationalism. Both the shame and abandonment can be viewed as further symptoms of the same inferiority complex that has given rise to corruption.

Some figures of authority seem to escape the shame by incorporating and reproducing the father-bandit roles. They assume an arbitrary and bravado persona, communicating to the world around them "nobody messes with me – not even the law." Unconsciously reproducing the exploitative mercantile behavior of "the fathers," these corrupt individuals use the land and environment in a predatory way. Nothing is to be established, built, or produced. He (or she) does not respect history and even less, its constructions. The goal is to "take advantage," "be smart" – to create a false superiority. Discussions of morality are swallowed up by the negative paternal complex, and therefore are ineffective. There is no real esteem for the father, and there is insufficient self-esteem to assimilate any proposal based exclusively on educational, moral or ethical values.

The search for a way out of this impasse is made even more difficult by the absence of a living, culturally relevant hero myth. A culturally viable form of the hero myth is an essential precursor to healthy ego development in any society. As we know, the hero's task is to contest the existing order and encourage the assimilation of new archetypal forces in the collective conscious. In a patriarchal culture, the youthful hero challenges the established father figure and brings into being new values.

But, how does a son contest an abandoning father who does not recognize his son? – an unknown father who cannot be admired even for a day. Different from the English colonizer who has been praised and respected by North Americans, the Portuguese "father" provides ample justification for scorn. Brazil is full of jokes that, in a clear compensatory mechanism, portray the Portuguese "father" as an inferior, stupid and incompetent being. By ridiculing him, Brazilians can feel superior and at the same time deny any possibility of assuming him as the model for a parental figure.

Therefore, it is possible that the traumatic structuring of Brazilian identity – including disowning the Portuguese "fathers" who rejected and abandoned the sons – has inhibited the development of suitable mythical or historic heroic images. This lack of appropriate hero images with which to identify is all the more striking because of the rich mythological and symbolic variety present in the culture, which ranges from the biblical genesis to *Yorubá* (African) cosmology and which includes various indigenous ethnic groups, equally rich in mythological adventures and personalities.

The lack of an affectionate bond between father and son may partially explain recidivism in delinquency as well as corruption and authoritarianism in leaders. As a shabby replacement for genuine affection between father and son, their cynical use of "affectionate protectionism" impedes complaints and uncovering of their corruption. How is it possible to complain about someone who abuses power while at the same time extending his hand in the offer of protection? History is full of examples of how dictatorial regimes have filled the gap of the absent father. In this way, political power imposed by force, by the firm and repressive hand can be more "affectionate" than certain democratic regimes, where affection has been displaced from parental complexes to an attitude of alterity. "Affection is not very evident in a democracy, since there is no all powerful father who is going to look after the needs of the people" (Ribeiro 2000: 66).

The option of a democracy and its equality created by reason is difficult to maintain in a people who are needy of parental identity. The abandoned child has abandoned brothers and sisters, who are united in the shadow against the abusive father. The fraternity of Titans silently revolts against paternal tyranny, resorting to trickery and client protectionism or favoritism in the absence of enough power to take on the father more directly. As a result, they try to take advantage of every situation possible, rather than obeying the impartiality of the law, whose goal, at least in theory, is to guarantee civil and moral values with fairness.

Plots designed to injure the father (projected onto the government or the law) are one of the only ways found by those that feel impotent to openly express their opposition. Another, healthier form of protest would be for the brothers and sisters to come together in a new union, to forge a different kind of government based on a sense of otherness, in a new level of consciousness where the existence of a patriarchal hero is not imperative.

The Brazilian inferiority complex and its pervasive symptom of corruption also activate a more negative pole of the *puer aeternus* archetype. It fosters the image

of the eternally young country, full of wealth, tropical beauty, and unlimited potential about to be realized. It feeds on the *puer* illusion that tomorrow will certainly be magically better than today. This illusion was strongly imprinted and reinforced in the Brazilian psyche during the 1970s when the nationalist phrase was promoted: "Brazil is the country of the future." The belief implicit in this phrase – like many *puer* visions – remains unfulfilled and may sound like a hollow creed.

The belief of the impossibility of overcoming the destructive father and the lack of knowledge about what constitutes the real, present strength of Brazilians are evident consequences of the national inferiority complex, which, in turn, are compensated by fantasies of grandeur and wild behavior. For instance, the bastard child tends to reproduce his or her illegitimacy by oscillating between low self-esteem and more manic fantasies that are expressed in grand government projects and gigantic, carnival-like parties. Thus, a vicious circle is created, where the impossibility of realizing grandiose fantasies increases the feeling of inferiority. Jung understood this individual and group phenomenon when he wrote: "conscious megalomania is balanced by unconscious compensatory inferiority and conscious inferiority by unconscious megalomania (you can never get one without the other)" (Jung 1963: 304).

It is worth mentioning that although corruption as a symptom of a cultural complex affects all Brazilians, it is not the usual behavior in the majority of the population. It is a symptom of a cultural pathology that causes widespread suffering. In general, the majority does not accept this behavior. On the contrary, many groups from large educational institutions to governmental and non-governmental organizations have discussed this problem in the search for educational and remedial measures. Unfortunately, as long as there is no real awareness of the unconscious factors that contribute to the pathology of this cultural complex, public and private efforts will have only a temporary and repressive effect. In this case, a puritan persona would be established whereas the neurotic core would remain untouched.

A real change will occur only when the underlying conflicts are painfully faced, including the emotional acceptance of the tension between the inferiority–superiority polarities that are so prominent in the Brazilian psyche. Such consciousness will require the collective ego to tolerate an enormous increase in anxiety as it faces the cultural inferiority complex that gives rise to corruption. And, as John Beebe has pointed out in his study on integrity, the collective ego will need to be able to sustain vigilance. "Because of the continuous activity of the complexes, integrity cannot survive without an attitude of vigilance" (Beebe 1992: 40).

It is hoped that with some conscious assimilation of the original conflicts around abandonment and rejection, the archetypal energies of the *puer aeternus* – so powerful in the Brazilian psyche – may be freed up to lend their potential for creative renewal to shape a new collective self-image. One can at least speculate that by tapping into such energies the constellation of new forces in the collective

Self will help diminish the role of corruption in public and private life. Perhaps then – rather than being a pathological symptom of a cultural complex – corruption in Brazil might be once again restored to its natural role in the age-old drama between good and evil. But that is another story.

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Chapter 9

What does it mean to be in "The West"?

Psychotherapy as a cultural complex – "foreign" insights into "domestic" healing practices

Andrew Samuels

> Cultural Complexes structure emotional experience . . . tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view . . . automatically take on a shared body language . . . or express their distress in similar somatic complaints and . . . provide a simplistic certainty about the group's place in the world in the face of otherwise conflicting and ambiguous uncertainties.
>
> Tom Singer

Introduction

"Here," in "the West," we are the midst of collective agonizing over just what we mean by the West. The cultural complexes that made reference to Western civilization possible have lost a good deal of their political and psychological energy. We seek to restore the values within these cultural complexes by attempting to define them in contradistinction to the values of a supposedly fanatical Islam, even while at the same time recognizing that such an entity is itself a political and media concoction.

What it means to be Western is a topic that cries out for a multidisciplinary treatment that would involve depth psychologists. Jung saw himself as a sort of therapist for Western culture (Stein 1985) and he despaired of its one-sidedness, materialism, overdependence on rationality, mind–body split and loss of a sense of purpose and meaning. (He even, in a characteristic moment of imaginative genius mixed with psychological inflation, tried to be the therapist of the Judeo-Christian God, in his iconoclastic book *Answer to Job*.)

What happens if, instead of taking Western approaches to psychotherapy as inspiring sources of new ideas and languages about politics (my habitual approach, I must admit), *we see psychotherapy more as part of the problem*, as contributing to rather than healing all the problems that Jung identified as afflicting us "here," in "the West"?

In Western countries, since the early 1950s, we have seen the growth of trans-cultural psychotherapy in which the ethnic, religious and national backgrounds

of therapist and client differ. We have also witnessed the export of Western models of psychotherapy to foreign places. In this chapter, I suggest that an exploration of these phenomena may reveal – and heal – the cultural complex or complexes that underpin what Western therapy practitioners typically do domestically, especially when there appears to be homogeneity of therapist and client.

There is a tradition in analytical psychology wherein these thoughts should be situated. As is well documented, Jung went on several journeys outside Switzerland – to North and East Africa, to India, and to the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest (Jung 1963; Adams 1996: 63). Jung has been criticized for idealizing, distorting and inferiorizing what he found in these far-off locales. But, though there is clearly a degree of substance to the criticism, I think we should recall what his project was. He was interested in exploring what his experiences abroad did to his experience of being European (Western), in finding remedies for the malaise of Western civilization, in running his domestic data through a foreign programme.

In multiethnic cities like London, New York, Paris, Rome and Berlin, therapists work in a "domestic" setting with "foreign" clients (and "foreign" or foreign-seeming therapists work – in scandalously low numbers, it has to be said – with "domestic" clients). This has led to the growth of transcultural and intercultural therapy in which, as Renos Papadopoulos put it, foreigners are not regarded as ill merely because they are foreign. But there is little mention in transcultural therapy texts of the applicability of the ideas they contain concerning transcultural therapy to ordinary psychotherapy (Papadopoulos 1999: 163–188). For example, Zack Eleftheriadou makes the pertinent observation that the prime requirement for the successful practice of transcultural psychotherapy is that the therapist "examine their relationship to their own culture" (Eleftheriadou 1994: 31). She makes it clear that this is not the same as becoming generally self-aware or conscious and that the consequent knock-on effect is to produce greater sensitivity to cultural *difference* held by a potential client on the part of the therapist. Yet it is not hard to see that the analysis by the therapist of his or her own cultural complexes that is being proposed has relevance right across the board of clinical practice in psychotherapy.

Similarly, in his paper "Countertransference in cross-cultural psychotherapy," Michael Gorkin offers ways of managing countertransferential errors that occur when working with a client from a different cultural background (Gorkin 1996: 170). These include the therapist's "familiarizing himself with [the other] culture" and "examining candidly his motives for choosing [to work with someone from another culture]." Gorkin goes on to suggest that an important technical problem is "whether and when the therapist needs to initiate with the patient an exploration of their cultural differences." As with Eleftheriadou's wise counsel, these are surely important matters for the conduct of any therapy, whether there are overt cultural differences between therapist and client or not; context and combination are crucial.

In countries whose culture is generally influenced by the West, like Japan, therapists whose training orientation and inspiration has been foreign are constructing a domestic psychotherapy scene. But, once again, a review of texts that touch the history of psychotherapy reveals almost nothing about the possible relevance of the changes and improvements that have been made in locales foreign to the West to standard practice back home (e.g., Borossa 2000; Homans 1989; Kirsch 2000). (One can almost say that the West has influenced everyone else and hardly been influenced by anyone else.) This is in one sense perfectly understandable in that such a concern may have fallen outside the ambit of these books and papers, but there is also something suggestive about the omission. It is as if English literature were to have been denied the fertilizing and flourishing presence of Irish, Indian or African writers and their inspiring presence in and influence over the home-grown scene. Whereas, in fact, as Timothy Brennan pointed out, English is no longer an English language (Brennan 1990: 54). In sum, the underlying cultural complex of Western psychotherapy is its lack of interest in anything else.

In this chapter, I suggest that it is worth trying to find out what would happen if all psychotherapy were to adopt several of the key practices and focus on several of the key concerns of transcultural therapy, or to import some of the features of psychotherapy in non-Western settings. It is a deliberate reversal of the usual flow of traffic, an incitement to the displacement of the center by the peripheries. We do not need to make the claim that all psychotherapy is transcultural in some sense to see that there are implications for theory and practice of unsettling the habitual distinction and relations between domestic and foreign practice in a given field. I will suggest that the main implication of making this move is to resituate the idea that there is an omnipresent political dimension to psychotherapy. It ceases to be an (important) *aperçu* and what is discovered at the margins of therapy practice and in the frontier regions of therapy endeavor becomes of critical importance to the *ancien régime* at the center which often seems to lack the energy to regenerate itself.

Transcultural therapy experience suggests that power, the experience and exploration of the negative and positive aspects of difference, struggle between therapist and client over resources and methods (including information), and conflict between competing visions of the future (all markedly political as well as psychological themes) are also the nodal ones for personal transformation (D'Ardenne and Mahtani 1999; Sue 1998). Diversity, and what Adams calls the "diversity of diversity," are pressing contemporary political images as well as being apt descriptions of the multiple selves or plural psyches that exist within the postmodern or late-modern citizen (Adams 1996: 5). (See Samuels (2001) for a fuller treatment of the relationship between psychotherapy's language and today's political dilemmas.)

In this chapter, I argue that the ideal goal of approaching each client with a fresh theory minted for that client and his or her needs can be more closely achieved when the domestic client is reframed as always already a foreigner.

Instead of making the exotic familiar, we render the familiar exotic – thereby moving each and every therapy in an individuated direction (see Papadopoulos (2002) for an account of how the exotic other can subjugate the familiar other and Plaut (2001) for views on the dynamics of analysis with apparent similars who turn out to be very other to the analyst). What we have learned from clinical encounter with real foreigners we can apply in our work with this other kind of foreigner; what we have learned from hearing what happens when we export therapy to non-Western countries we can apply in the wholly domestic setting. Multiethnic living underscores this understanding that "here" and "there" are not always clear-cut binary opposites. By fleshing this out psychologically, we may also do something interesting to the opposition between "us" and "them" in the social realm. (See Sreberny (2002: 294) for her account of how globalization increases the number of "others," thereby "challenging old identity structures.")

I have written extensively (Samuels 1993, 2001) about the ways in which therapy thinking can refresh the political vocabulary of Western societies that, seemingly, has lost the confidence of many citizens. But a concern with the political dimensions of the psychotherapy process itself, the ground covered in this chapter, has also been present (see Samuels 1997c, 1999). By "political dimensions of the psychotherapy process," I do not mean to refer to the professional politics of psychotherapy (addressed in Samuels 1997a, 1997b) but to the increased understandings of the situation in depth of client and therapist that can be gained by attention paid to the micropolitics of psychotherapy process as they unfold within the session itself. In this connection, these issues of difference, power imbalances, and the conspectus of transcultural psychotherapy mentioned earlier can function as resources for and goads to further refinement of thinking about the clinical – and hence about personality and psyche itself. The cultural complex of psychotherapy itself comes into the limelight.

As far as the personal raw material for what is developed herein is concerned, my participation in the export of ideas and practices of Jungian analysis to countries such as Japan, Brazil, South Africa, Australia, Ireland, Poland and Russia, as well as working clinically in London with persons who display some obvious differences from me, form the personal raw material for what is developed herein. When I was at school, I learned the following maxim from one of my teachers, who taught economic history. He made us aware that what look like intellectual *discoveries* are often descriptions of the most potent and progressive contemporary *practices*. Niccolò Machiavelli did not write a handbook for princes, containing smart new ideas; rather, he described what the most enterprising princes were already doing (see Samuels 1993: 78–102). Adam Smith did not invent the theories of capitalism – he described what the new joint stock company capitalists were doing. Herein, I try consciously to move from practice to theory on the basis that there is nothing so conceptually elegant and original as an effective practice.

But if the driving force for this chapter is practice, it is still going to be an undeniably theoretical offering. The Greek world *theoria* means "looking about

the world," "contemplation," "speculation." In that sense the chapter is a theoretical one. But the ideas are also a distillation of my experience as a sort of *theor* going about psychotherapy business in foreign parts. Although the root is the same, the meaning is tangential to *theoria*. *Theors* were emissaries sent by the Greek states to consult a distant oracle or to participate in important far-off religious rituals. They also disseminated and collected information, bringing ideas and news home. Putting together the lesson I learned from the economic historian and the function of a *theor*, the chapter contains my attempt to describe practices and ways of thinking encountered abroad.

The location of psychotherapy

Merely to speak of transcultural psychotherapy is immediately to introduce ideas of location and movement into our thinking about what can seem like an exceedingly settled and static activity – though, as Henry Abramovitch (1997) has pointed out that, even when still technically intact, the therapeutic vessel or *temenos* is not always as containing or predictable as we assume it to be. Psychotherapy as we know it today has very specific geographical starting points (Vienna, Zurich, Europe, the West) despite its affinity with other and older systems of healing the soul. It has also had particular client groups in its sights at various times (hysterics, neurotics, psychotics, borderline personalities, depressives). But in general terms the assumption has been that these client groups have come from the same or a broadly similar cultural location as the psychotherapists with whom they work. But, as readers of this book will not need reminding, today's circumstances are very different in that the cultural identity of therapist and client can no longer be assumed and the practice of therapy has spread over the globe. However, we should be careful before claiming therapy as a global activity; as Julia Borossa (2000: 80) has shown, the international spread of psychoanalysis, for example, has been extremely uneven and this raises interesting questions in and of itself about inherent limits on the movement of the movement.

Can Western psychotherapy just be moved to another place – like Japan, for example? Even with all the careful attention to rendering the foreign import suitable for home consumption (e.g., Kawai 1996; Oda 2001), there still has to be a question mark over the viability of the project. Is the spread of Western psychotherapy into countries like Japan (or, to give another example in only a slightly different vein, South Africa) a kind of Euro-American imperialism, a new colonial regime that will end in a bloody liberation struggle, an expression of a very specific and destructive cultural complex of the West itself? On the other hand, we in the West who nurse these kinds of doubts about the globalization of psychotherapy should remember that our colleagues in places like Japan are satisfied with the authenticity and efficacy of what they do, confident that, far from aping colonial masters, they are putting down local roots that make their work a genuine hybrid, to adapt Bhabha's (1990) term to a new context – not the first time

an import from cultural studies helps in a consideration of an aspect of a healing profession (cf. Samuels 1993: 343).

Those writers who have delineated the main obstacles to the trouble-free relocation of psychotherapy list Eurocentric assumptions and cultural complexes concerning family patterns, the relations between individual and social group, the cultural relativity of affects in terms of what may be expressed and what is thereby understood. (For reviews of these problems, see Eleftheriadou 1994; Luepnitz 1988; Totton 2000.) Others, including myself, have noted that political as well as psychological assumptions have to be borne in mind – psychotherapy is not neutral as regards society's values and mores and cannot ever really be so (see, for example, Pilgrim 1997; Totton 2000). Psychotherapy's theories and even its languages are inherently cultural constructs determined by the landscape in which they arise. Western notions of child development are saturated with the ideology of that other kind of development – economic development. Capitalistic societies punish economic failure harshly and it is therefore not surprising that Western developmental psychology has stressed milestones and attachment in terms of failure and success rather than in more modulated and nuanced terms that would have a less judgemental flavor and refer less to some kind of bottom-line or hard-and-fast outcome. Western developmental psychology may itself be usefully seen as a symptomatic expression of a cultural complex based on capitalist and free-market values (Tom Singer, personal communication, 2002).

As far as childhood generally is concerned, we can see the rise of what might be called the global child, one whose features are assumed to be invariant due to biology, neurology and so forth. This worldwide cultural complex, in which all children are taken to be the same and to have the same needs, is, quite rightly, resisted by many political activists and therapists in developing countries where it can be understood as a colonial import from the West (or North). This discourse of childhood rests on ignoring cultural difference and, in keeping with its Western roots, often contains a denial of cultural ambivalence towards children. For these reasons, the global child can seem to observers worldwide to be morally and politically objectionable. After all, theorists like Melanie Klein and Jacques Lacan are decidedly unsentimental about childhood. Similarly, many therapists in developing countries agree that the global mother as depicted in Western psychotherapeutic approaches is not an adequate representation of "mother" for the complexities of poverty-stricken societies. I remember vividly the reactions of colleagues in London to my account of *mingua*, a maternal attitude to the high levels of infantile mortality found in the *favelas* of Brazil (see Scheper-Hughes 1992). *Mingua* involves a kind of maternal indifference and even neglect – but, as many Brazilian commentators have noted (e.g., Ferreira de Macedo 1996) it is in such circumstances an appropriate and certainly an understandable response. But such a response unsettles Western ideas of what constitutes a good-enough mother. The point, though, as it has been throughout this chapter, is not to reprise transcultural criticisms of Western psychotherapy and developmental psychology but to import into Western settings such criticisms from the foreign and frontier

lands where psychotherapy has migrated. The introduction of *mingua* into the discussion definitely affected the terms and content of debate, moving abstract discussion of maternal ambivalence (Parker 1995) in a more concrete direction leading to an understanding of its culturally derived features. But – and this is an example of my overall point – what if we run our domestic data through a foreign programme? Then the phenomenon of maternal ambivalence may be looked at in a more thorough-going manner.

So there exists a critique of Western psychology's various claims to universality, moreover a critique that is of use to us in the West. Objections to the claim for universality cannot be rebutted simply by asserting that the affects (or the archetypes) are universal (because founded on biological or neurological bases) and so a system of therapy founded on them will be more portable than other systems (see Burman (1994) for a refutation of the universality thesis). In fact, the universalizing assertion is literally utopian in that a psychological approach that exists everywhere will find itself existing nowhere. For, as Adams has pointed out, for every bit of archetypal universality, there is a bit of archetypal particularity – the particularities of person, time, place, culture and so on (Adams 1996: 49–50). Movement and context change everything. This is underscored by empirical evidence derived from studies of the movement of persons. Japanese people born in the United States perceive things more like Americans generally than do Japanese people born in Japan who subsequently relocate (Krause 1998). Again, let us consider refreshing the psychotherapy we do at home by eschewing universal claims that have been shown not to work overseas.

A problem shared is a problem that, while not exactly halved, may be reduced. A high proportion of the problems that attach to therapy as an overseas export from the West exist here in the West as well. Many of us in the West are as alienated from a good deal of conventional psychotherapy as those struggling to make sense of it in the non-Western countries. With the passage of time, it becomes clear that the cultural assumptions of Freud and Jung are as foreign, or even as uncanny (*unheimlich*), to us now as our ideas about the psychology of family organization are in India. Feminist psychotherapists (e.g., Eichenbaum and Orbach 1982), or those writing from the perspective of their own experience as lesbians or gay men (Magee and Miller 1997; Davies and Neal 2000) have long recognized that "establishment" psychotherapy, mainly but not only psychoanalysis, is other to their concerns and perspectives. But, up to now, there has been little recourse to what has been evolved in the transcultural sector. In terms of many of Western therapy's ideas and practices, we are all "Japanese," or at least in the position of a potential Japanese practitioner or consumer of psychotherapy; it has now become foreign to us, this strange process in which so little appears to happen and so much does happen. Maybe the widespread suspicion of therapists, even in countries that are supposed to have a psychotherapeutic or psychoanalytic culture like France (Turkle 1979), suggests that therapists are irremediably foreign; the alienists are themselves alien. We might emulate ways in which Japanese therapists address

the problems of relevance and sensitivity to locale that they have with Western therapy (e.g., Doi 1985, 1989).

Let me review some examples of how Western practitioners and clients are cut off from psychotherapy as it has evolved in the West. Our idea of the "individual" remains one of the most startlingly limited and limiting cultural complexes at work in the West today. The individual stands alone, with his soul deep inside him (and it is still very much a "him" in that independence is more demanded of males than females, even today), full of passions – positive and negative – and struggling to ease the rupture he feels with others, the natural world and himself. Scholars (e.g., Whitbeck 1989) have shown how this Romantic notion is quite a recent invention. Without it, there would be no depth therapy as we know it. Other approaches to the individual that make use of a transpersonal or socialized psychology struggle to get off the ground, bedevilled respectively by accusations of excess spirituality or redundant political ideology. The question of how people are connected *a priori* is one that therapists who work with individuals have not handled well. Ideas of a preexisting psychological connection between people who are not in intimate relationships with each other need to be expressed with great caution. The tradition begins in religious or mystical conceptions such as that of the *mundus imaginalis* (imaginal world) (Samuels 1989) and, in depth psychology, is illustrated by one possible reading of C.G. Jung's notion of a collective unconscious. But, in general, these ideas struggle to find widespread acceptance. This not only demonstrates that one distinguishing psychosocial characteristic of the West is loneliness but also may make a contribution to the phenomenon. For, as I have argued elsewhere, depth psychology is both a reflection and a motor of the cultures in which it resides (Samuels 1989: 16–77). Those who have studied the issues involved in moving psychotherapy away from its Western roots have noted the centrality of the problematic of individualism. They point to a plethora of different ontologies – mostly with a far greater accent on connectedness and a privileging of the space between persons rather than the move between what has been inside and what will become outside the person.

These alternative ontologies of connectedness can offer assistance to Western psychotherapy as it struggles to find ways to recognize the synchrony of what appears to be "in here" and what appears to be "out there," and the ineluctable linkage of what appears to be "above" and what appears to be "below." Although lip service is paid to the need to honour external and internal perspectives equally, allowing for the two-way influence of these perspectives, this particular philosopher's stone is as elusive as any other. We can see the problem, and the anxiety it causes, most strikingly when trying to hold the symbolic and concrete aspects of sexuality in the same frame. A tip to the literal and the metaphorical coagulates; a tip to the metaphorical and the literal slips through the fingers. This can have profound practical implications. For example, a failure to negotiate the line between literal and metaphoric understandings of sexuality complicates attempts to initiate national discussions in Britain about the line between appropriately physical aspects of parenting and child sexual abuse. Similarly, psychoanalysis

and psychotherapy founder when it comes to reviewing and codifying the literal and metaphoric aspects of the erotics of the clinical encounter (see Samuels 1996; 2001: 101–121).

Power and the therapy relationship

From a historical perspective, perhaps the most worrying and destructive way in which Western psychotherapy has become foreign to us in the West is its overall reluctance to engage with power dynamics in its actual practices. Obviously, I am not saying that all therapists ignore the presence of power dynamics and power issues in therapy and I think that, in a halting way, moves are being made, mostly within integrative psychotherapy, to grapple with power relations in therapy. In transcultural psychotherapy, meaning therapy of any kind in which there is explicit recognition of and response to the psychological dynamics of the cultural backgrounds of the participants and the mixture of these, such a concern is necessarily widespread and fundamental due to the uneven spread of power between communities and the way in which ethnic and national strife become animated in the transference–countertransference relationship (see Kareem and Littlewood 1992). But in therapy work done between similars, instead of a frank concentration on power, we often find the issue given an instant interpretative (and psychopathological) spin so that it is claimed to be a question of an omnipotent breast or the Law of the Father or the Terrible Mother, not to do with the process of psychotherapy itself. Sometimes, the power dynamics within the therapy session are overlooked in favour of a consideration of whether or not the client is or feels empowered – which is not really the same thing.

Many practitioners do not realize that therapy institutes a relationship that involves power as a primary and ubiquitous feature. Experiences in transcultural therapy suggest that we can make creative use of what often seems in the beginning to be an ugly and unjust scenario. Many people have been wounded precisely because of abuses of power, ranging from refugees to those brought up in standard issue middle-class British families. Recovery from such wounds will be impeded if the transference–countertransference power dynamic is insufficiently explored. Power issues in therapy often follow the lines of an inferior/superior dance in which the starting pose is that the therapist is up (idealized) and the client is down. Perhaps this is the cultural complex that can explain why so many clients either try to please the therapist or, conversely, spend their time fighting the therapist's system. In my experience, it is essential to challenge the manner in which many power issues take on this inferior/superior tone so quickly. The vertical axis encourages a kind of spurious morality and denies that there is also a horizontal axis of interpersonal power which calls out for some kind of struggle on the part of the client (see Samuels 1989: 194–215).

The question of power is not only a matter for a particular therapy situation; it is a central feature of the cultural complexes that make psychotherapy practice what it is. For, as an institution in culture, psychotherapy has cultural power. If

I am a client and you are my therapist, the power you have over me is the crystallization of institutional power and authority that has come into being as the result of years of professionalization. And there is more: psychotherapy does not go on in a power vacuum. As an institution, it is itself subject to the power of other institutions – the state, insurance companies, the husband who has made his wife "get therapy," the professional body to which the practitioner belongs. Transcultural therapy experience suggests that merely asking for help is a highly charged social act that is very difficult to decode, whatever its individual psychological significances. Many apparently parental transferences are equally likely to be transferences to "the expert" or "the professional" and the dependency that ensues is, therefore, not regressively "infantile" at all – it is structured into the social reality of the therapy situation.

The most dramatic example of the workings of power within psychotherapy is that of sexual misconduct. Although we know that this is not only a problem with male therapists and that there are abuses that take place within therapy conducted by females (Samuels 1996; Schaverien 1995), the stereotypical situation in which the therapist is male and the client female ("she talks, he listens") still requires special recognition. Female clients who find that they cannot say "no" are victims of the abuse of power, and therapists who misuse their position are increasingly being understood as suffering from some kind of deficiency or shortfall in a feeling of authentic potency. But the necessary pathologization of such therapists should not be allowed to disguise the political implications of what they have done.

In situations where sexual misconduct takes place, and in situations where therapists would do anything rather than run the risk of committing misconduct (and hence overreact, running the risk of depriving their clients of much-needed involvement), we see a good example of my point about the manner in which psychotherapy has become foreign to its domestic constituency. When the style of therapy adopted is distinctly anti-libidinal, the result can be a repression of sexuality within psychotherapy carried out by the very institutions of psychotherapy itself (Samuels 1996). The client and the therapist are deprived of *eros*, a major source of life, creativity and transformation in their work together. While the deleterious impact on the client may not be as severe as in cases of actual sexual misconduct, the spread of the practice of excessively safe analysis and psychotherapy is wider and it would be foolhardy to ignore this complementary problem. Here, terms developed by postcolonial discourse are useful. When considering psychotherapy and analysis that have repressed sexuality as a part of their discourse, one could say that it is now the domestic consumer of psychotherapy who is being flooded with an inferior product. Sexual misconduct, or its opposite, repression of the benevolently erotic are going on at home but the methodology would be familiar to anyone living in a less developed country used to the receipt of out-of-date dumped goods or products too dangerous to sell at home. Anecdotal reports of a psychoanalytic conference in Cape Town in the 1990s, addressed by many British and American luminaries, at which the

"imperialists" were accused by African therapists of bringing "frozen turkeys" into a refrigerator-less hot climate, make the same point rather well.

Transcultural psychotherapists have learned to respect difference and to make the exploration of difference a key theme in their work with clients who display obvious differences. The same ethical attitude is clearly needed in all psychotherapeutic work and I am sure that most therapists accept this. But we are only beginning to find literature that pays attention to difference when the difference is not so obvious – meaning when it is not a matter of "race"/ethnicity/religion, sexual orientation or working with the young or very old. For example, there have been very few texts that focus on the specific issues that arise when the client is working class or living in poverty and the therapist is much better off (but see Altman 1995; Foster *et al*. 1996). Even difference stemming from the sexual composition of the therapy dyad has not been looked at in a convincing way (but see Schaverien 1995). I am suspicious of simplistic generalizations of a psychological kind about the dynamics of two males working together as opposed to two females, or any other combination. Certainly, a claim that the actual sex of the participants in therapy is irrelevant is as risible as the claim that differential ethnic combination has no effect on therapy work. But a claim to know in advance what happens in each particular instance – sexual or ethnic – is equally problematic.

My overall point in this section of the chapter has been that the sensitivities and practices of the transculturally oriented practitioner have not yet spread as deeply into ordinary practice as they could – or should. Hence the cultural complexes at the back of Western psychotherapy remain untroubled and unanalyzed. Let me briefly summarize for you what I have already mentioned as characteristics of the cultural complex of Western psychotherapy:

- the lack of interest in anything else
- the spread of Western psychotherapy into other regions as a sign of Euro-American imperialism
- Western psychotherapy's claim to universality
- the Western idea of the individual standing alone with his or her soul deep inside
- the power in Western psychotherapy residing in the therapist, creating a superior–inferior dance.

I will now move on to look at what can be learned from a consideration of psychotherapy practices in non-Western locales where there has been an importation of Western therapies.

Training at the frontier

Since the late 1980s, I have been involved in setting up courses in analytical psychology and Jungian analysis in countries where, for various reasons, such

courses have not existed before. In Russia and Poland, this was due to the hostility of the communist regimes to analytical psychology. The absence of established training structures in these countries led to intense debate within the sponsoring body, the International Association for Analytical Psychology, as to the best way to proceed (see Crowther and Wiener (2002) for a fascinating account of how they, as organizers of a course in Jungian psychology in St Petersburg struggled to come to terms with issues of cultural diversity, making use of what they term an "interactive field of strangeness").

Returning to our debates in the West about how best to move East, at one extreme, the view was that we should do our best to bring talented individuals "out" to the West, where they could undergo the usual type of analytical training. Here, we see the cultural complex of the innate superiority of Western ways: a total lack of sensitivity and respect for what is "foreign." The worry was over how to select these individuals and whether or not they could be expected to return to their countries of origin where life was much harder than in Zurich or San Francisco. A second viewpoint was that the most comprehensive training possible should be mounted in the "frontier" country, a training that would take nothing for granted even if its participants were already established mental health professionals. The worry now becomes that this would imply disrespect for local standards of basic training. At the other end of the spectrum, a third idea was simply to put on seminars and lectures of interest to psychotherapists in the former communist countries and allow them to incorporate the material into their practices according to their wishes and inclinations. The worry here was that this could lead to a huge increase in the practice of "wild" Jungian analysis. That there are arguments for and against all of these positions is beyond doubt, but my purpose in summarizing the debate is to show how it illumines some key questions about psychotherapy as a cultural complex in Western countries.

Specifically, what is highlighted is the degree to which the practice of psychotherapy does or does not need to conform to some kind of external standard and the degree to which it can be left to find its own level, trusting to people's innate sense of responsibility. These are important questions when it comes to access to training opportunities for therapists. It has become a commonplace, in progressive therapy circles, to note that the absence in the psychotherapy world of persons of colour and those belonging to minority communities is holding back the responsible development of the profession, inhibiting in a severe way its capacity to be of use to the widest possible cross-section of the population (Fernando 1995).

I mean no disrespect to the range of excellent established training in the various psychotherapy traditions in the West by saying that it has become clear to me from experiences in Russia and Poland, just to give two examples, that one simply does not need the degree and intensity of training to practice effectively as a psychotherapist that is usually assumed to be the case in the West. Nor is it necessary to ask for specific and high level academic and other qualifications as prerequisites for the successful undertaking of therapy training.

I recall my work as a training therapist with a client who left school at 15. He had enormous trouble in writing the course paper and hence was at risk of not completing the training. Here was someone who was, through no fault of his own, for socio-economic reasons simply not able easily to manage what was involved in writing the paper. Yet the client was apparently getting pretty good reports from supervisors and seminar leaders. On the basis of accounts like this, I think there is a crucial question concerning openness in respect of psychotherapy training that can be illumined via the factoring in of lessons learned from experiences in foreign parts.

The socio-economic factor needs to be addressed when we consider this vexed question of educational qualifications for psychotherapy. Could we create a climate in which, in the run-up to application and entry for psychotherapy training, an individual can become what I would call an "imaginal core professional"? That is to say, if a talented person with non-relevant background and no educational qualifications wants to be a psychotherapist, we as a profession have the potential to make it possible for them to acquire what is felt to be needed to become a core professional (which is one way in which prerequisites for many psychotherapy training have been expressed in the United Kingdom and United States). This strategy, followed with success in non-Western settings, would dramatically increase the possibilities for ethnic minorities and those of working-class background to train to be therapists.

Pluralism and integration

One of the most exciting developments in the psychotherapy field in the West is the growth of integrative approaches. Such approaches arose in part from the realization that no one method of psychotherapy appears to have massive overall advantages over the other methods – i.e., a shift in psychotherapy's own cultural complex. These days, practitioners can more easily understand that it is not an admission of failure to note that their particular approach has limitations. The needs of clients can sometimes be met by going outside the school of psychotherapy in which the therapist was primarily formed. Of course, integrative psychotherapy can become a school of its own, with the dangers (as well as advantages) of that, as Lapworth *et al*. (2001) have pointed out. While integrative psychotherapy is arguably the cutting edge of psychotherapy theory and practice, it is clear that integration is a very difficult position to achieve – not least because, up to now, integrative psychotherapy has tended to move in but one direction, in which non-psychoanalytic people integrate psychoanalytic material but not vice versa. Psychoanalytic practice itself has probably suffered from this one-way street, which has come about largely through uncritical internalization of professional politics with its spurious hierarchies. Apart from such problems, integration (whether psychotherapy integration or integration of the warring elements discerned in one's own personality) is always emotionally stressful as well – it is far less wearing to be a believer.

In psychotherapy's frontier areas, a form of integrative psychotherapy also exists and has come into being for very different reasons. It shows no sign of falling into the trap of scholastic desiccation, nor does it seem particularly stressful to plug into this kind of integration. One young Muscovite therapist told me that her two main loves were Winnicott and Neurolinguistic Programming (NLP). She presented cases in group supervision in which she moved between these two perspectives with an ease that startled me – one could just not imagine hearing that kind of thing in London where the cultural complexes are so different. What was amazing to me was that she had not the slightest embarrassment in telling me this; she had no idea at all that it is still extremely unusual, to put it mildly, to find such a pot-pourri of loves in Western psychotherapy circles where, despite the growth of integrative approaches, the historically existing schools continue to exert considerable power and fascination.

It was when thinking about the Russian therapist that I began to see how, alongside the more formal, ambitious and far-reaching project of integrative psychotherapy, there may be the possibility to develop, here in the West, a simulacrum of the innocent atmosphere that had allowed this Russian therapist to pick and choose without inhibition. From a mythic standpoint, the Greek god Hermes, who begins life by stealing the cattle belonging to his brother Apollo, would be the presiding deity of this revised cultural complex for psychotherapy. The problem with integrative psychotherapy may be that it requires so much responsible commitment on the part of the practitioner, who has thoroughly to familiarize him or herself with the various approaches to be integrated. Inspired in part by the Russian therapist, I began to develop a rather different, yet thoroughly hermetic approach to the same issue, which involved what I called a pluralistic approach to psychotherapy (Samuels 1989). Pluralism, as I will explain it, is deliberately intended to work at a less elevated level than integrative psychotherapy, though be part of the same overall ethos. Hence I am happy with the suggestion of Lapworth *et al*. (2001: viii) that integration be regarded as the umbrella term. I believe, though, that it is *the pluralistic strand within the integrative project* that will help us to realize the full benefits of psychotherapy integration, overcoming resistances that derive from the fact that integration is so demanding. Pluralism, as I understand it, is simply far less demanding than integration. It may not be beautiful but, in its promiscuity, it works in a rough and ready fashion.

The paradox is that, while the Russian was liberated by ignorance of psychotherapy's rules, the pluralistic psychotherapist, like Hermes, has to be very worldly wise and attuned to what is going on in the field – but will choose to ignore those rules and make a bid for independence. The pluralistic therapist is usually extremely disillusioned by the field, yet daunted by the integrative desideratum that he or she learn so much about such a wide range of therapeutic modalities. It can sound shocking to see it in print, but pluralism does not require a particularly high level of adherence to "the real thing" – the Russian therapist was neither a genuine Winnicottian psychoanalyst nor a genuine NLPer. It did not matter – and

that is the point. We need to remove an unachievable realness or genuineness from the professional superego of therapists in the West and encourage (judiciously) imitative and performative clinical practices in which, in true postmodern style, it is understood that no one has a settled professional identity any more. You do not have to be a genuine psychoanalyst to use psychoanalysis nor a genuine Gestalt therapist to use Gestalt. Actually, these days, I think that only those therapists who think and work integratively or pluralistically are working authentically. Deliberate ignoring or eschewing of foreign ways of working is both inauthentic and irresponsible.

Pluralism recognizes that each school of psychotherapy is relatively autonomous from the other schools and has its own strengths and weaknesses. But as the Russian therapist demonstrated in her case presentation, rather than integrating the different perspectives, pluralism means taking it in turns to be the dominant school and accepting that, in some ways and in some situations, another approach will be more useful. Pluralists speak in several tongues without smoothing out the many differences between languages. I think many therapists are suspicious of hegemonistic attempts to impose a false resolution of differences upon the field. If we do that, we will lose sight of the unique value of each position.

So the therapist learns to sing more than one song and the expansion in her repertoire compensates for the lack of a perfect rendition of any one of them. I hope it is clear that this is not the same as fully integrating other points of view. It has been visits to lawless Russia or unstable Poland that have underscored the importance of playful acknowledgement of the need to steal, just as Hermes needs to steal to establish himself in his full creative potency as the god of transformation and the messenger of the gods. Hermes is in fact a highly social god, interested in trade, commerce and exchange, befriending men on numerous occasions – for example he helps Odysseus find the magic plant that will help him resist Circe, accompanies Herakles on his descent into Hades and guides Perseus in his quest for the Gorgon. He is a joker and, it is true, but most experienced therapists know that, at times, one simply cannot and must not take the theories too seriously (i.e., literally), converting them into dogmas Trickster (Samuels 1993: 78–102).

The important goal of psychotherapy integration inevitably brings with it many of the weaknesses associated with eclecticism in that eclecticism and integration are rather violent in their selection of the best bits out of context, tending to ignore the inconsistencies and contradictions between systems of thought. Pluralism accepts such irregularities and celebrates the competitiveness that is thereby constellated by using ideas and methods that at one level are incompatible. The Russian therapist knew perfectly well that Winnicott and Neurolinguistic Programming were not smoothly compatible – but she had a good time struggling with the wrinkles so as to make them both part of her own individual brand of practice. In fact, she had in all probability encountered these two highly different approaches when travelling teams of teachers espousing one or the other had

visited Moscow. She knew she was in a marketplace (and she knew about the overt franchised aspect of NLP and the covert franchise aspect of psychoanalysis). She knew that she could never be the real thing in someone else's eyes – but she was content to be the real thing in her own eyes. She had an individuated attitude (if I might be forgiven for using such a culturally specific compliment) to psychotherapy and she was 25 years old.

An intellectual point which is relevant here is that we tend to forget that those big and attractive theories with which we feel at home have got a history of their own. They arise from a pluralistic matrix in which things did not fit together neatly and where competitive struggle between theorists and schools was rife. For example, the Kleinian corpus was not a single, time-bound, unchallenged, piercing vision. This was something D.W. Winnicott noted in a letter to Klein in November 1952 – a quite agonized and remarkable letter. Among many other complaints, Winnicott wrote strongly against "giving the impression that there is a jigsaw of which all the pieces exist" (Winnicott 1987: 35).

I do not believe I am idealizing the blissful ignorance of that Russian therapist who had done what she had done without considering the matter at all. I want to use the fact that she could do good-enough work with her melange of approaches as an inspiring image to enable Western therapists to drop their rigid adherence to a single modality of psychotherapy and to make the achievement of integrative psychotherapy less demanding on all of us.

Closing remarks

In *The Political Psyche*, I tried to make long overdue reparation for what I see as Jung's anti-Semitic statements and positions in the 1930s (Samuels 1993: 287–336). The intention was, in a sense, to destabilize the cultural complex that had made it very difficult to establish the bona fides of analytical psychology and Jungian analysis in circles concerned with a culturally sensitive and informed psychology. Jung was certainly trying to make a contribution in those areas, yet the overall effect was also highly destructive and injurious to the overall acceptance of his ideas about psychology and psychotherapy. What had got obscured was Jung's protest at the imposition (in his view, by psychoanalysis) of one "universal" system of psychology on everyone. This anticipates what present-day transcultural psychologists and therapists are saying when they hold that such a universal system, outside of a particular social context with its equally particular accompanying cultural complexes, cannot exist.

I showed how Jung's ideas about the existence of differing national psychologies (cultural complexes of the nation) chimed with anti-Semitic Nazi ideology about the necessity to preserve such differences in the face of Jewish intentions, via the international agencies of capitalism and communism they allegedly dominated, to "bastardize" the life of healthy nations. Controversially, perhaps, I also suggested that much can be done with the notion of "national

psychology" that need not excite the quite understandable fears of liberals who associate the term with fascism or nationalism in its pernicious and murderous forms (these ideas are expanded in Samuels 2001: 186–194). Jung can be read as making the first coherent protest against any claim for the existence of a universal psychology (for him, it was psychoanalysis that had the goal of world "psychological" domination). It was Jung's clinical experiences with an extremely international selection of clients that led him to recognize what we would now call the transcultural factor at work in the psyche. My experience has been similar in that it has been clinical work with persons of a different background to my own and active participation in psychological discussions about the nation and nation building in South Africa, Brazil, Poland, Russia and Israel, that convinced me of the worthwhileness of moving accounts of national psychology off the anecdotal level. When working with clients from all backgrounds, we can see that nationality is one powerful factor at work in the formation of social and psychological identity. It seems suspect that something as powerful as ethnicity and religion should be so overlooked.

Having trailed the tabooed possibility that the question of national psychology should be revisited, I want to highlight a very different ethos that I also sketched out in *The Political Psyche*, again as my personal response to what I see as the huge problems with Jung's excursions into political and cultural psychology (Samuels 1993). Jung wanted to sit at the top table, whether political or psychotherapeutic. Present-day Jungians, and other Western therapists as well, need to restrain their desires to influence politics and politicians at the highest levels. They have first to stand alongside the materially disadvantaged and the socially frightened, as well as sit down with their educated analysands. To do this, they must open their hearts and minds to that which is foreign.

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Part II

The cultural complex in the psyche of the group and the individual

In this part, the authors have focused their attention on the cultural complex as it expresses itself in the psyche of both a group of people and individual members of that group. In these chapters, the reader will be able to see how the cultural complex is both a group and individual phenomenon.

Eli Weisstub and Esti Galili-Weisstub take the concept of the cultural complex into the heart of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. By taking a careful look at its impact both on the collective psyche of the Israeli population as a whole and on the psyche of a single, traumatized Israeli boy, they show how the cultural complex in both Israelis and Palestinians fuels this most destructive and persistent conflict.

Betty Meador takes us back to the earliest poetry of an ancient priestess and her goddess to help unravel and transform the impact of a cultural complex on her earliest childhood experiences of what it is to be a girl and a woman.

Thomas B. Kirsch shows how cultural complexes influenced and became part of the relationship between Jung and Freud and subsequently the groups that formed around them. Kirsch's story includes his own family history and its individual and group experiences of these cultural complexes.

Chapter 10

Collective trauma and cultural complexes

Eli Weisstub and Esti Galili-Weisstub

Introduction

This chapter explores the experience of trauma and the formation of complexes, not only in the psychology of the individual but also in the psyche of the group. Elucidating the intricate and dynamic interplay between trauma and complex as it arises in the individual and group psyche is a multilayered task that requires slowly circling around the topic as the subtitles of this chapter's component sections suggest:

- Traumatic realities and the inner world of dreams
- Trauma and cultural complexes
- Personal and cultural complexes
- Interrelationship of personal complexes and cultural complexes
- Collusion between personal and cultural complexes
- External trauma and inner trauma: defenses of the ego of the group and archetypal defenses of the group spirit
- Father archetype, superego and collective depression
- Trauma, loss and the development of cultural complexes
- Persistent cultural complexes and the "inability to mourn"
- Personal and collective shadows

External trauma causes damage to the inner world. Repetitive trauma to a group of people results in the creation of cultural complexes which, in turn, often fuel further traumatic events. A vicious cycle of trauma leading to complex, precipitating further trauma that reinforces a complex inexorably cascades in a natural, albeit destructive progression. In the contemporary world the Palestinian–Israeli conflict bears unrelenting witness to this tragic cycle of collective trauma begetting cultural complex begetting collective trauma.

Traumatic realities and the inner world of dreams

In his research on the effects of trauma on the inner life of children, Bilu collected more than 2000 dream reports from Jewish and Arab fifth to seventh graders living

in various settings in Israel and the West Bank (Bilu 1989: 365–389); 212 of the dreams dealt with encounters with the other side, i.e., of the Israeli child dreamer with a Palestinian figure in the dream and vice versa. He called these "encounter dreams" and in the report on these dreams, Bilu analyzed their manifest content. The content analysis supported Calvin Hall's "continuity hypothesis" (Hall and Nordby 1972), which states that there is continuity between reality and dreams. The intensity and pervasiveness of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis as well as its harsh realities were registered in the children's dreams. This tends to contradict Freud's contention (in his classical dream theory) that reality events play a minor role in the construction of dreams (Freud 1900/1957).

Trauma described in most psychoanalytic literature emphasizes severe psychic injuries of early childhood, caused by various forms of child abuse or psychological deprivation. There has been much less attention given to the psychoanalytic study of trauma due to terrorism and other forms of collective violence. Children who have undergone the stress of prolonged conflict, as in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, internalize the contents of the cultural conflict (Bilu 1989; Nashef 1992). The aggression and violence evident in their dreams are the direct result of the conflict, terrorism and military violence, which surround them and impinge on their daily life. From the study of children living under these traumatic circumstances, it appears that the traumatic external reality and cultural conflict have a considerable influence on their inner lives, as expressed in the manifest content of their dreams. Individual trauma, which is the result of collective violence, is part of a shared cultural trauma.

According to Mattoon (1978):

> a reactive or traumatic dream is one that recalls a life-threatening situation such as war or natural catastrophe . . . It is always a recurring dream. It is not compensatory because it is unrelated to the conscious situation of the dreamer (except for his conscious preoccupation with the traumatic experience), and "conscious assimilation of the fragment [of the psyche] reproduced by the dream does not . . . put an end to the disturbance which determined the dream."
>
> (Jung 1960: para. 500, cited in Mattoon 1978: 142)

In Bilu's (1989) and Nashef's (1992) extensive studies of children's dreams, inner trauma reflects the trauma of the outer world. It was rare to see evidence of what Kalsched (1996) refers to as the self-traumatizing "protector–prosecutor" archetypal defense system. In all of Kalsched's cases there was a history of early childhood trauma. In children who are traumatized at a later stage of childhood, by terrorists or by military violence, and who do not have an earlier history of trauma, defenses are generally mobilized against the perpetrator of the trauma, rather than being turned against the ego or some other "innocent" aspect of the self (Kalsched 1996: 12). The "diabolical" source of the trauma is experienced intrapsychically as an external threat, and generally not in the form of a protector–persecutor complex.

In the study of children in Israel and the West Bank, hostile interactions dominated the scenes of encounter dreams (Jewish–Arab encounters) (Bilu 1989). Almost 50 percent of children in the Arab sector and 20 percent of children in the Jewish sector reported at least one encounter dream (19 percent of the total dreams of Arab children and 7 percent of the dreams of Jewish children). From the dream content it is obvious that the encounter dreams are culturally influenced or determined and the dreams provide evidence for the existence of cultural complexes. Previous studies have also shown the connection between cultural group interactions and dream content. In the dreams of the Mehinaku, an Amazonian Indian group, more than one-third of the dreamed assaults for both sexes were by Brazilian men, "reflecting the deep-seated insecurity that the Mehinaku have toward Whites" (Gregor 1981: 384, cited in Bilu 1989).

> In accord with Hall's "continuity hypothesis" aggressive interactions in the dreams were informed by and modeled on the actual violence that fuels the Israeli–Arab conflict. The basic structural features of the dreams and the roles adopted by the dreamers were surprisingly the same in all groups, irrespective of ethnicity and residence. For instance, rather than taking the role of detached observers, both the Arab and Israeli child dreamers were actively involved in the aggressive interactions. They tended to perceive themselves as the victims of aggression, usually initiated against them by adults. In most cases the aggression escalated to high levels of violence, as assailants, whether initiators or retaliators, sought to inflict physical injury and death upon their adversaries. Given these basic characteristics, it is not surprising that many of the encounter plots bore distinctive nightmarish qualities. From this common matrix aggression took different routes in Jewish and Arab dreams.
>
> (Bilu 1989: 376–377)

Jewish Israeli children perceive themselves and their dream-companions as the recipients of unprovoked aggression, leveled at them by Arab perpetrators. "The sheer lack of self-initiated assaults in the dreams of the Jewish children is congruent with the Israeli deep-seated view of the Arab side, particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the source and perpetrator of violence" (Bilu 1989: 377). This has become even more marked in recent years with suicide bombings and other terrorist activities of more extremist terrorist groups such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. The typical context of violent dream interactions was an Arab terrorist attack (58 percent of the encounter dreams). The attacks were often launched at the children in locations normally deemed safe, such as the dreamer's house, neighborhood and school. When the attacks were distanced from the dreamer's home territory, "beyond a fence" or across a border with an Arab territory or country, the sense of vulnerability was exacerbated by the fact that the assaults found the children without the protection of their parents or other adults.

In the typical violent dream in the Jewish group, the assailing terrorists were eventually killed or captured, while the dreamers and their companions, although not spared a terrible ordeal, were eventually saved. Here is an example:

> Terrorists force their way into the apartment. Dreamer, equipped with knife and bottle, attacks one of them and retrieves his gun. He shoots another terrorist; the others run away but get caught by the police. Dreamer receives an award for his courage (boy, middle-class community).
>
> (Bilu 1989: 378)

In about one-fourth of the aggressive interactions there was no deliverance or relief from the ordeal and the assaulted dreamer became the terrorists' victim. This was especially true for children of West Bank settlers. For example: "Arabs kidnap dreamer and friend. They bring them to a dark hideout and cut off their arms and legs. The girls are crying for help, but to no avail (girl, settlement town)" (Bilu 1989: 379).

In the dreams of Arab children the basic pattern of dreamer-as-victim in aggressive interactions was dominant. But, in 17 percent of reports, the dreamers or their companions assaulted the Jews without any immediate provocation (although it is likely that the aggression would be perceived as legitimate retaliation to long-standing oppression). In refugee-camp children, the aggression was "brutally physical," with several of the children, boys and girls dying in their dreams, sometimes as martyrs (*sha'idin*) in a Muslim holy war (*Jihad*). This is more evident at present because heroic martyrdom in the form of suicide bombers has become a prominent part of Palestinian culture (Masalha 2003). For example: "An imperialist (Israeli soldier) enters school. Dreamer stabs him with scissors. He shoots her and she dies as a *sha'ida* (martyr) (girl, West Bank)" (Bilu 1989).

In more than half of the aggressive interactions the Arab dreamers depicted themselves as victims of violence, mainly instigated by Israeli soldiers. Support of fathers or other authority figures was almost non-existent during these plights (Bilu 1989: 381). This has been substantiated by Masalha's (2003) study, indicating that

> the adults are not able to help, and the parents themselves are hurt in one third of the dreams. This finding raises questions about the lack of a basic sense of security and about a perception of the parents as impotent.
>
> (Masalha 2003)

In the dreams of Israeli Arab children, parental intervention was effective in resolving aggressive clashes with Jewish Israelis and no aggressive interaction resulted in the dreamer's death, in contrast to the West Bank Arab children's dreams. Another type of aggressive encounter, similar to the previous example,

was designated "compensatory." There is an optimistic outcome enacted on a larger group level, not attributable to any personal or familial factor. It usually involves the emergence of an independent Palestinian state, often following a heroic and victorious clash with the Jews. "Some of the dreams are imbued with Muslim religious apocalyptic themes, the ultimate battle broadened in scope to become a regional, or even a world war, involving Iraq, Iran, European nations and the United States" (Bilu 1989: 382). In contrast to the pervasiveness of aggression in the encounter dreams, acts of friendliness were rare, appearing in only 4 percent of the reports. Arab children of the refugee camp and Jewish children coming from ideologically "purist" settlements had no dream experiences of friendliness with the other side.

In Masalha's (2003) study, a high percentage of the reported dreams of West Bank Palestinian children were political dreams (about two-thirds). Only a small percentage deal with personal wishes. He concludes that "the wish of the Palestinian child is a collective national wish. The meaning of this is that there is a loss of borders of the individual and a blending with the collective" (Masalha 2003). Cultural complexes often take precedence over personal concerns and complexes; 13 percent of the children see themselves as *sha'idin* (martyrs) in their dreams, many actively blowing themselves up, in Israel. "We can see this phenomenon in the perspective of the giving up of self for the sake of the group" (Bilu 1989). The strong influence that culture exerts on children, which is reflected in their unconscious through dreams, provides evidence for a cultural unconscious. It is also obvious that in many of the children studied, cultural-political influences have "taken over" much of their inner world. Dream reporting may be influenced by cultural expectation, but there is enough evidence to suggest that the cultural unconscious itself may be informed structurally (projective processes), as well as in content, by external factors. The dream content contains more cultural stereotypes than archetypes.

The turbulent cultural/political environment the children live in is reflected in their dreams. There seems to be only a minor compensatory function operant in the children's psyches. The dreams have more reality content in them than archetypal symbolic content. It could be argued that the reality these children live in is so extreme, that they are encountering the archetypes in their everyday life. It is as if they don't need the psyche to produce symbolic archetypal representations. The trauma of their cultural context is definitely reflected in their dreams in a very real way:

> It is surprising and upsetting that every fifth (Jewish) child and almost every other Arab child reported at least one encounter dream; that dream characters of the other side, stereotypically perceived and pejoratively labeled, were uniformly stripped of their individuality, if not their humanness; that nine out of ten encounter dreams involved aggressive interactions, often highly violent, while friendliness in dreams was almost nonexistent; that in the overwhelming majority of the reports the dreamer was the recipient of adult

> aggression, of which he was the victim (more often in Arab children's dreams) or eventually spared (more often in Jewish children's dreams).
>
> (Bilu 1989: 386)

The internalization of the conflict and its corresponding affects indicates deep-seated cultural influences on children's psyches. There were only minor individual deviations from the predominant cultural influences. Even if one allows for a cultural bias in dream reporting, distinct cultural patterns could be distinguished in the two major groups of children studied. As the author remarked in 1989: "Since today's preadolescent dreamers are the politicians and soldiers of the coming decades, these firm, well-established schemes and images, if taken seriously, bode ill for the stability and persistence of the conflict" (Bilu 1989: 386). Since the dreams were collected in the late 1980s, the situation has deteriorated.

The tenacity and futility of the ongoing, seemingly endless conflict is as relevant now as it was years ago, when it was recorded for the study. This is expressed in the following dream:

> Two terrorists, Bedouins in red *kefiyehs*, seize the dreamer. She manages to escape and run away to her home, chased by the Bedouins; then she turns around, confronts her chasers, and beats them up. They run away, but after a while become the assailants again. Now she flees . . . and the dream goes on with no end.
>
> (Bilu 1989: 386)

Trauma and cultural complexes

Henderson (1984) introduced the concept of the cultural unconscious as a level of the psyche between the personal and collective unconscious. Morgan (2002: 579) proposes that this psychic layer "underpins the archetypal forms or predispositions, and it is as the archetypal moves through the social, cultural and personal filter of the unconscious that it is filled out into an image or an idea that emerges into consciousness." Kimbles (2000) and Singer (2002b) extended the concept of the cultural unconscious to include the idea of "cultural complexes" which Singer defined as follows:

> Like individual complexes, cultural complexes tend to be repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness, and collect experience that confirms their historical point of view. Cultural complexes also tend to be bipolar, so that when they are activated the group ego becomes identified with one part of the unconscious complex, while the other part is projected out onto the suitable hook of another group.
>
> (Singer 2002b: 15)

Cultural complexes express themselves in group life and are causal factors in group conflict.

In terrorism or war, the traumatogenic agent is a culturally identified enemy. The defenses evoked are not only personal but also part of a cultural complex, experienced not only by the victims themselves, but also by others belonging to the attacked group. Singer has identified three components to this particular type of cultural complex which is activated when the group spirit is threatened:

1 Traumatic injury to a vulnerable person, group of people, place or value that carries or stands for the group spirit – like the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.
2 Fear of annihilation of both the personal and group spirit by a "foreign other."
3 Emergence of avenging protector/persecutor defenses of the group spirit.

(Singer 2002a)

Personal and cultural complexes

Building on the notions set forth in the first two sections (namely, that traumatic realities shape the inner world and give rise to cultural complexes) we will now turn to our own clinical observations and understandings. These are based on the evaluation and treatment of over two hundred children and adolescents seen in the Hadassah University Hospital Emergency Room in Jerusalem and seventy who have been admitted for more intensive treatment at the Hadassah Pediatric Trauma Center of the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry. The children were trauma victims of suicide bombings or other terrorist attacks. In the more severely symptomatic children, cultural complexes rarely exist in a pure form and are admixed with elements of personal complexes. The following case illustrates how cultural and personal complexes may interact in the psyche (Ben Harosh 2002).

Clinical example: boy, victim of terrorist attack

D., a 12-year-old boy, the youngest of five from a Jewish religious family living in northern Israel, was returning from school, when he was caught in a terrorist attack at the central bus station in his home town. The terrorist was dressed in an Israeli army uniform. He shot and killed several civilians and wounded others. The boy stood behind the attacker. While not shot at by the terrorist, he was in danger of being shot by the police and soldiers, who were shooting at the terrorist. He was afraid of the terrorist and fearful of being shot by the rescuers. The terrorist was killed. The boy remained at the scene, while the dead and wounded were being evacuated.

In the first days following the attack, apart from a few nightmares, he did not have significant symptoms of anxiety or distress. The family, particularly his father, was proud of their son's "courage" and ability to "carry on" with his life. The father took his son to practice shooting in an open field, in an attempt to strengthen him and give him a sense of power and fighting spirit. His mother took

him to the site of the terrorist attack, to light a memorial candle for those who were killed.

In the second week the nightmares became more frequent and intense. He started suffering from flashbacks. He began having seizure-like episodes where he fell, lost consciousness and was thrashing about on the floor. He had no recall for these episodes which occurred at home and at school.

Another week passed and suddenly, while at school, D. went into a dissociative state. He ran about aimlessly, making loud machinegun shooting sounds and gesturing. He seemed to be in a trance, not recognizing or responding to anyone and appeared simultaneously terrified and terrifying. This event repeated itself a few times, lasting between fifteen and thirty minutes. On one occasion he ran around outside the school grounds, dangerously unaware of his surroundings. On another occasion, he accidentally knocked over a fellow student. His parents were very concerned that their bright and talented son was "going crazy." It was decided to hospitalize him in an inpatient child psychiatry unit. On admission, there were no signs of dissociation or psychosis. The only notable feature was a 12-year-old boy curled up on his father's lap during the evaluation.

Prior to the present terrorist attack, D. and his sister were almost involved in another attack. They were in the close vicinity, when a suicide bomber exploded in a restaurant. Apart from seeing the horrible sights of dismembered and dead and wounded bodies, D. was almost run over by an ambulance. All of this evoked feelings of fear and weakness in him, which caused him to feel shame.

The father had been traumatized on two different occasions during the Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising). Twelve years previously, during the first *Intifada*, he made a wrong turn on his way home from army reserve duty and was stoned by an angry Palestinian mob. He managed to escape with only minor injuries. Several years later he had another close call, when he was almost killed by a sniper. He never developed any explicit stress symptoms and continued to function "normally," suppressing the incidents and any associated fear. He believed that the best way for his son to cope was to think ahead, leave the traumatic event behind him and not to dwell on thoughts and memories associated with the event which the father believed would weaken his son.

The hospitalization enabled the child to express and legitimize his feeling of fear. D. was overwhelmed by the invasion of memories and images from the traumatic event. On one occasion, he lost contact with his present reality and relived the event, but this time, rather than being "frozen" in place behind the terrorist, he became active in his own defense. During this dissociative state, D. was running and shooting apparently identifying with the aggressor (Ferenczi 1933: 156–167). D.'s relived response was similar to that frequently observed in the study of traumatic dreams of Jewish Israeli children which

> typically commenced as a gruesome experience in which the dreamer was the recipient of an unprovoked assault initiated by an adult adversary . . . The problem was resolved, the tension relieved, as the terror instigated by

> the assailant was met with more effective, no less ferocious countermeasures. This reversal of passive to active indicates that the dreamers were able to retain a sense of security and mastery vis-à-vis the adversities around them.
>
> (Bilu 1989: 379)

Another theme which emerged during D.'s treatment was that of "survivor guilt." He stressed that given a second chance, if a terrorist would stand in front of him and ask whether to kill him or someone else, "of course he would answer, 'shoot me.'"

Even though D.'s father represented strength and power over weakness, the internalized father was not sufficiently strong to overcome the destructive power of the terrorist. In one drawing he did, while on the ward, three male figures – D., D.'s father and the terrorist – are playing catch with a gun. Suddenly the terrorist breaks the rules of the game and shoots D. In the top left, the father is being burnt at the stake, surrounded by a crowd of Palestinians. The shadow figure of the terrorist has more power than his father. He also had a dream where terrorists take over most of his brain and control it through a control panel. There was the threat that the boy's psyche would be possessed by this evil force. In certain cases of intractable posttraumatic stress disorder, there is a real danger that the traumatized person will become a permanent victim of the traumatizing agent, unable to overcome the effects of the trauma, which dominate their mind and don't allow them to "live." In these cases, the goal of treatment is not integration of the shadow; the goal is to reestablish ego autonomy and help rebuild a destroyed hero myth. The new "hero" is able to encompass weakness as well as strength, being the victim as well as being a hero.

In D.'s treatment, the father complex was problematic. His father had denied his own feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness and wanted his son to do the same. D.'s father expected him to repress any signs of weakness and to remain in control. D. had shown prior signs of difficulty with control. Until just a few months prior to the traumatic event, he had suffered from primary nocturnal enuresis (infrequent). He was generally fearful that he couldn't live up to his parents' expectations, such as wanting him to transfer to a higher achieving boarding school.

After a few weeks of treatment and significant improvement in his functioning, he told his therapist that he continues to sense the presence of the terrorist. The terrorist has returned to "get rid of" all the weak ones, the emotionally traumatized victims. D.'s feelings of weakness and shame had resulted in the fantasy that he would be punished further and even killed. This could explain what led him to "identify with the aggressor."

Towards the end of the hospitalization (a month after admission), he did a drawing of a boy his age, eating a candy. The boy was kidnapped but manages to find a hiding place of arms and bombs, belonging to terrorists. He finds a phone and calls his parents, who come to get him. The army is able to destroy the

weapons. If the boy would not have warned about the arms, many people would be killed. This indicated a stronger ego which had mobilized an internal well-functioning hero.

Interrelationship of personal complexes and cultural complexes

In the case of D., the personal father complex dictated that the boy should deny any weakness and fear and remain in full control. The stories of his father's heroism – which included his escape from death/massacre, his ability to overcome dangers and the strength to continue his life without fear – became part of the family's myth. The boy was more closely identified with his mother's suppressed depression. He had internalized his father's values and consequently felt ashamed; in his weakness, he did not feel understood or supported by his father.

His deep-seated vulnerability can be explained by what Winnicott (1960: 140–152) referred to as the development of a "false self" and what Neumann (1990) called a "distress ego." The false self/distress ego collapsed after the terrifying trauma, and resulted in feelings of helplessness. The preexistent aspect of a harsh and punitive superego could help explain some of his guilt and shame and his attempt to overcome his weakness by identifying with the aggressor. The diabolic figure of the terrorist and a violent superego aspect, which Neumann considers part of the patriarchal *uroborus*, contribute to the archetypal core of the boy's problematic "father complex" (Neumann 1990).

The parents, second generation Holocaust survivors, were concerned with producing the next generation. They had not allowed themselves to mourn the death of their first-born child. They denied the trauma of the loss and went on to have five children. They were part of a new Israeli generation, determined to be different from the Diaspora Jews, and they regarded excessive feelings of vulnerability as signs of weakness. When they feared that their son was "going crazy," the earlier trauma in their life resurfaced and the mother exclaimed, "I lost a child. Now I am losing another one." This was also evident through the father's example and through his encouraging his son to go shooting (to fight back) after the terrorist attack. The emphasis was on regaining control and coping.

The cultural complex of this generation values the brave Israeli soldier and looks down on those who are not prepared to fight to protect themselves. Fear is a sign of weakness. The trauma embedded in this cultural complex was passed on to D. via his father. Throughout Jewish history, the Holocaust and from the traumatic experiences of several recent wars, Israelis have suffered repeated serious injuries, activating what Singer has called "archetypal defenses of the group spirit" which, in their extreme, become a militant "never again" (Singer 2002b). The internalized cultural hero complex arising out of this long history of trauma and the refusal to suffer such humiliation and annihilation can result in the expectation to be a war hero of mythical proportions. Such a strong inner, cultural hero image can become a harshly critical and punishing figure in the psyche of a

boy such as D. who felt weak and frozen in his response to a terrorist attack. Seen from the perspective of this inner hero figure, D. could not tolerate the weak victim within himself.

The heroic critic of D.'s weakened ego is paradoxically joined in its attack on his ego by the Palestinian terrorist/suicide bomber. The Palestinian terrorists' goal is to undermine the security and defenses of the Israelis. The Palestinian "hero", the *sha'id*, will go to the extreme of suicide bombings in his or her determination to destroy the Israeli "hero." The archetypal defenses of the Palestinian suicide bombers can be understood as protecting the wounded collective Self of the Palestinian people, even when it means "killing the host personality in which the personal spirit is housed (suicide)" (Kalsched 1996: 3). A majority of the Palestinians have been in favor of the suicide bombings. Their youthful suicide bombers have become living incarnations of the "archetypal defenses of the group spirit." Through the sacrifice of their personal lives they become protectors and/or defenders of the "true" spirit of the would-be Palestinian nation and of their religion. They go to their death shouting *Allah Akbar* (God is great)! That which is eternal will be protected by the "archetypal defenses of the group spirit" (Singer 2002b).

The Palestinian terrorist who, in reality, attacked D. was not alone in his assault on and in D.'s psyche. At the level of the cultural complex, the terrorist was joined by a whole host of "enemies" that can be thought of as part Palestinian terrorist, part Nazi, part all other historical persecutors of the Jewish people.

In the boy's psyche, Palestinian terrorists, the Nazis and all the other historical persecutors of the Jewish people join forces against his young ego (hero complex) and terrorize him. Just as the boy's individual, youthful hero/ego complex is undermined by these outer and inner assaults, the Israeli group "hero complex" is assaulted and undermined by the ongoing terrorism and violence throughout Israel.

The same "cultural complex" that seized D.'s psyche is also operative in the psyche of the Israeli collective. For example, in Israeli political life the aggressive archetypal defenses which protect the group spirit (and are mirrored by the Palestinian terrorist archetypal defenses) may be mobilized to attack those members of the broader community and political spectrum who are seen to be weakening the group spirit (for instance, by dismantling newer Israeli settlements). In Israeli culture, the militant "right" attacks what is perceived to be the demoralizing forces of the "left" and "peace now" groups. Both "right" and "left" represent group ideals incorporating different aspects of the culture and the cultural unconscious.

An example of the destructive power of these all too concretized archetypal defenses of the group spirit occurred when "extreme right-wing" religious nationalists in Israel could not tolerate the moderate compromise-seeking position of the Israel government and focused their anger and hatred on Yitzchak Rabin, the prime minister. They identified Rabin as the enemy of the nation because of his disregard for their deep religious and cultural values. The primitive "archetypal

defenses of the group spirit" were unleashed against Rabin, a cultural hero of the secular "left," and he was assassinated after a pro-peace rally in November 1995.

Collusion between personal and cultural complexes

To return to the case of D., the 12-year-old boy, a further dimension of the interplay between personal and cultural complex should be noted. The boy's father and the terrorist who attacked him join forces in his psyche and act as punitive introjects. The boy is at once the victim of the murderous terrorist who seeks to destroy him as a symbol of the Israeli hero and he is also a victim of his father's harsh judgement through whose eyes he is seen as weak and injured, not heroic. In turn, the boy cannot accept his own weakness as it will serve to weaken him further in his own eyes and those of his father. He cannot acknowledge his vulnerability in the society in which he lives because he will be a shame to the heroic standard which the culture expects of him. His superego is constellated by the cultural ideal, and through the patriarchal standard expected of him through his father complex which is a mixture of personal and cultural complexes. The personal father complex and the cultural father complex joined forces in the boy's psyche to create a primitive, punitive superego which makes him feel intolerably bad.

Mixing all of these conflicting forces together in one cauldron created tremendous pressures within this vulnerable 12-year-old boy. On the one hand, there is a virulent, centuries old "enemy" – part Palestinian, part Nazi, and part every other age-old persecutor of Jews – always ready to torment or destroy him. On the other hand, there is the warrior, "never again" Israeli hero image identified with his father and with whom D.'s youthful ego is hardly aligned as a firm identity. D. is under attack – both by the "enemy" and by the Israeli group or cultural hero complex. And the Israeli cultural hero complex and the "enemy" are locked in an unending embrace of terror and trauma.

External trauma and inner trauma: defenses of the ego of the group and archetypal defenses of the group spirit

Trauma to an autonomously functioning ego with more differentiated defenses has a different significance than trauma to a relatively undifferentiated and unprotected psyche. In the undifferentiated psyche, the significance of archetypal defenses is relatively greater. When the ego is not developed, the damage is more catastrophic. The psychic defenses, such as splitting and projective identification, are more primitive and archaic. The inner world is full of rage and violent aggression, which is split off or dissociated into fantasies or archetypal forms, which threaten to turn

against the self and others. There is not an adequate ego to deal with the rage or with the split off forms which are invested with aggressive, destructive energies. The self is constellated in a basically negative way and does not provide positive guidance. It is as if the good god-image does not exist or at best cannot be relied on.

The case of D. illustrates how primitive defenses may be activated, resulting in psychic dissociation. "Dissociation appears to involve a good deal of aggression – apparently it involves an active attack by one part of the psyche on other parts" (Kalsched 1996: 13). The appearance of diabolical figures in the dreams of victims of unbearable, traumatic childhood experience dissociates the psyche in an attempt to "prevent the dream-ego from experiencing the 'unthinkable' affect associated with the trauma." Kalsched contends that this is part of the "archetypal defense of the personal spirit." Ferenczi (1933) understood the appearance of aggressive diabolical figures as a compensatory reaction of the psyche, avoiding unbearable psychic pain and helplessness through the ego identifying with the aggressor. The attack on a weak and helpless aspect may also be understood as the ego's attempt to disidentify with being the victim. The ego is striving to maintain its role as personal and cultural hero, in the attempt to overcome its experience of humiliation and defeat. Therefore, in many instances of traumatic psychic experience the ego is continuing to cope with the trauma, even when temporary dissociation occurs. Response to severe psychic trauma is not necessarily reflective of deeper and earlier damage to the Self, with consequent activation of the more archaic, archetypal defenses of the Self. It is important to carefully assess the level of psychic vulnerability, and what defenses are being evoked, i.e., defenses of the ego or the more archaic defenses of the self.

This mode of assessment can also be applied to the cultural level of the psyche, i.e., determining whether we are dealing with the cultural ego and its defenses or the cultural self and its archetypal defenses. This implies that defenses of the cultural ego are closer to consciousness, whereas defenses of the cultural self are deeper and more archetypal. One might think of trying such an assessment with regard to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. Cleverly aimed at the core of the American psyche, al-Qaeda chose as their targets the World Trade Center and the Pentagon as central symbols of American commerce and defense. As such, these buildings clearly embody a part of what we might call the American self. The "American self" as target would have been enhanced exponentially if the allegedly planned attack on the White House had also been successful. At the same time, one could also argue that the terrorist activities were aimed as much at the level of the everyday collective American ego as they were at whatever Self center exists in the United States. Perhaps it is most complete to say that defenses of the American cultural ego and archetypal defenses of the American self were both mobilized by the 9/11 attack.

The American collective psyche has been rallied in the name of the fight against terrorism to protect "freedom." Evoking the defense of "freedom," an archetypal value at the core of the American self, serves to activate and enlist the heroic

group ego in the struggle. Fighting against terrorism and for freedom not only enlists the heroic group ego, but also mobilizes a religious fervor in the name of the American collective self. Still, one can suggest that the historic damage to the American self has been less traumatic than the accumulated injury to the Muslim self which has endured centuries of defeat and humiliation. It has been hard for Americans to appreciate that for much of the Arab world, the US attack on Iraq in 2003 was far less about the tyrant Saddam Hussein than its being viewed as another assault of the West on the Muslim self.

A severe and prolonged injury at the level of the cultural self (vs. cultural ego) can result in the activation of extreme archetypal defenses of the group spirit. One can speculate that this may be the case in the group psyche of extremist Muslim terrorist groups. When triggered these archetypal defenses can lead to acts of terrorist violence which in turn trigger retaliatory violence, which may similarly be archetypally-based. Such archetypally-based actions and reactions are not prone to moderation. They are reflexive, automatic, and self-replicating.

Kalsched recalls Jung's earlier contention that "fantasies can be just as traumatic in their effects as real traumata" (Jung 1912: para. 217). Both Freud and Jung emphasized the importance of unconscious intrapsychic phenomena, often excluding the significance of "real" extrapsychic factors, such as real traumas of physical and sexual abuse (see Masson's (1984) critique of Freud's seduction theory). Among analysts, inner psychological factors are still considered to be of greater importance than outer trauma. Again, traumas to an autonomously functioning ego with more differentiated defenses have a different significance than traumas to a relatively undifferentiated and unprotected psyche. In the undifferentiated psyche, the significance of archetypal defenses is relatively greater. When the ego is not developed, the damage is more catastrophic. The psychic defenses are more primitive and archaic, such as splitting and projective identification. The inner world is full of rage and violent aggression, which is split off or dissociated into fantasies or autonomous archetypal forms, which threaten to turn against the self and others. There is not an adequate ego to deal with the rage or with the split off forms which are invested with aggressive, destructive energies. The cultural self is constellated in a basically negative way and does not provide positive guidance. It is as if a good god-image does not exist or at best cannot be relied on.

Because he is dealing with very early psychic trauma, Kalsched attributes most destructive trauma to the archetypal psyche and uses primitive, archaic, archetypal images to provide evidence for the inner origin of severe psychic trauma. These figures personify "the terrifying dismembering rage of the collective psyche and, as such, represent the dark side of the Self" (Kalsched 1996: 17).

It is important to distinguish outer trauma from inner trauma and to recognize that *real* diabolic figures in the outer world can exert powerful destructive effects on the psyche, no less than that which is attributed to inner diabolical fantasy or archetypal figures. External trauma may also undermine the authority of the good Self and its centeredness in a good God-image. The dark or diabolical Self may

become the predominant intrapsychic force, making it difficult to rely on, or put one's faith in the good Self. This may manifest as a loss of faith in God or in life itself. One sees this in posttraumatic stress disorders, where previously adequately functioning individuals become non-functional, losing motivation for life, after suffering from a severe traumatic experience. Another consequence may be the vulnerability to domination by dictatorial and diabolical, archetypal outer figures which may lead one to destruction – self destruction or the destruction of others. An inner diabolical figure may be the internalization of an outer diabolical figure such as the terrorist in the case of the 12-year-old boy described earlier or it may have its origin in an archetype representing a diabolical instinctual force.

Father archetype, superego and collective depression

The cultural level of the psyche fortifies itself against inner or outer "diabolical" threats through the formation of superego constructs. The cultural superego maintains law and order and obedience to authority. It may be sanctioned and supported by religious belief in a "god" or "his" representative, such as a prophet, priest or by a political system and its representatives. In patriarchal cultures, the father archetype is the source of the cultural superego. When the cultural superego is weakened by attacks on its authority, the culture and its values are threatened. The failure to maintain a sense of collective confidence and belief in the central authority of the cultural superego may result in collective depression.

Neumann (1990) regards the human tendency to create culture and laws as a drive, evidence of which is found in ritual actions and the tendency to form a society, found in the earliest human beings. He identifies the father archetype as the main force behind the development of culture and its law-giving function, which subsequently becomes the superego. "In his law-giving the god creates and imposes orders of life that restrict nature: this is archetypal." By "law" Neumann means:

> every traditional norm that the group observes, regardless of whether its giver is an ancestor, a god, or someone else . . . In the course of development the god-image now becomes largely identified with the culture-conditioned superego and the numinous god-image of the father archetype is devaluated. Whereas originally the father archetype combined masculine and feminine, positive and negative traits and for that very reason had a mysteriously overpowering character to the human ego, now, in the course of the patriarchal development, this primordial character of the numen gradually recedes and the divine principle becomes an unambiguous god of ordering, law-giving reason, a representative of the good, the true and the just.
>
> (Neumann 1990: 200)

The law of the superego, representing the traditions of the fathers, prevails. The patriarchal culture is in lasting conflict with human nature. "For this reason the law of the superego in every cultural canon is manifested as hostile and superior to nature, because it is the higher, spiritual demand of a traditional duty" (Neumann 1990: 201). This conflict between superego and the instinctual/archetypal aspects of the psyche is at the source of many cultural complexes. These complexes are present in cultures where minority groups are regarded as inferior, something closer to the "instincts," as contrasted with the ruling class, which identifies itself with the cultural superego.

The superego serves to protect and maintain cultural values, moral and ethical standards, yet it also metes out punishments and demands conformism to societal norms, laws and expectations. Certain cultural complexes can be regarded as superego complexes (see Manisha Roy's Chapter 5 on Puritanism in this book). Superego rules and laws can be justified on the basis of defending the nation, through God-given archetypal directives, claiming to represent or defend a god, savior, messiah or prophet or a concept such as freedom or communism. Essentially, these defenses are archetypal defenses of the masculine spirit of a patriarchal culture. In a patriarchate, solutions based on love and non-violence (including defenses of the collective self) are identified as feminine or maternal, and are scorned. If exhibited by men and boys, these "maternal" defenses of the cultural self, which aim to avoid war and conflict may be regarded as shameful signs of weakness and cowardice. The cultural self lacks wholeness and does not represent its constituent parts, "feminine spirit" as well as "masculine spirit." On the collective level, in a culture dominated by a patriarchal superego which admires power and looks down on weakness, victimization due to terrorist attacks is experienced as a defeat for the collective ego, resulting in depression.

Trauma, loss and the development of cultural complexes

The German experience in the Nazi era provides an extreme example of the destructive effects of cultural complexes which developed, at least in part, in response to trauma and loss.

> By the end of World War I Germany had suffered six million casualties; approximately 10 percent of its population (1.8 million dead, 4.2 million wounded, 618,000 prisoners). The Versailles peace pact dictated the loss of land, huge reparation payments, and occupation of the industrial Ruhr as guarantee. The Versailles pact was felt to be a great humiliation. In order to save Germany's pride the "stab in the back" (*Dolchstoss-Legende*) was invented. Had it not been for such traitors as Erzberger (a Catholic) and Rathenau (a Jew) – both were subsequently murdered by ultra right-wing militants – Germany would not have lost the war.
>
> (Wangh 1996: 286)

The graver the post-World War I economic crisis became, the more people of Hitler's generation and younger, gravitated toward the National Socialist movement or toward other similar groups founded on the basis of revenge. Wangh writes:

> A call for revenge filled the beer halls and the ranks of paramilitary organizations . . . Revenge replaces mourning. As it incites the "defeated" side that has suffered greater loss to start hostilities anew, it eternalizes conflict. The externalization of conflict thereby functions as the most noxious form of defense against mourning. It is nursed most profoundly by mythos and fantasy, and therefore is blind toward reality. It is limitless and stirs up the most regressive emotions and forms of aggression.
>
> (Wangh 1996: 286)

Jung's tendency to romanticize the archetypal awakening which was occurring in Germany under Hitler and the Nazis has been criticized (Weisstub 1993). Although Jung (1936) recognized the power of the archetypal to possess a people, he tended to view the archetypal process as inevitable and did not warn about its grave consequences. The Nazi phenomenon can be regarded as an "archetypal defense of the group spirit," attributing a totally "defensive" meaning to a phenomenon which was to a great extent, an inflated, archetypal expression of cultural and racial superiority, an "archetypal offense of the group spirit". Archetypes can manifest offensively as well as defensively. The offensive manifestations are characterized by feelings of cultural, racial, national, political and religious superiority and righteousness. Offensive and defensive archetypal manifestations may be seen in both aggressor and victim groups.

Stated another way, any damaged group spirit can lead to a mobilization of archetypal defenses which can become very offensive.

An archetype can serve to inflate the Self and result in a megalomanic identification with a dictator or tyrant, who represents the "pure" and "true," archetypally based Self of a people. The cultural mass can be possessed by a complex which offers them salvation, pride and power and most of all redeems them from a sense of failure and defeat. The defeat of World War I had brought about

> an enormous depreciation of the fathers and of authority, which could only be mastered by denial and the desire to undo the facts through vengeful action. These two methods were the building blocks of Nazi ideology and practice . . . loss, defeat, shame, and humiliation were to be erased.
>
> (Wangh 1996: 287)

All things negative would be purged and the archetypal purity of an Aryan nature god (Wotan) would be restored. This cultural complex was bipolar, containing within it shameful defeat with consequent spiritual and economic depression, and

on the other hand, the inflated, manic denial inherent in the fantasy of being saved by the "archetypal" figure of the Führer. Jung described this as a "mass movement which is to sweep the German people in a hurricane of unreasoning emotion on and on to a destiny which perhaps none but the seer, the prophet, the *Führer* himself can foretell – and perhaps, not even he" (Jung 1977: 118).

We can see the effect of longstanding oppression on the Palestinian people (which much precedes that of the Israeli presence) and the resulting sense of loss, or "nothing to lose" attitude exemplified by the suicide bombers. Islamic fundamentalist culture utilizes this sense of futility, promising the suicide bombers a glorious afterlife in heaven, complete with seventy virgins (for the males) and rewards their families financially. On a cultural level, the terrorist is engaged in achieving a victory over the Israeli "hero," even if he or she dies in the process and even if the victims are innocent people. For the terrorist and terrorist supporters, the victims represent the enemy, the powerful, decadent infidel. They are out to humiliate the Israelis and show them to be weak victims, much like themselves. The bipolar cultural complex is evidenced by an inflated sense of "holy" heroism and alternatively, by denied shame about the cowardice of their acts, i.e., the killing of innocents in buses, cafes, youth discotheques and other public places.

Persistent cultural complexes and the "inability to mourn"

Cultural traumas and the complexes which develop in response to the traumas are linked to a group's inability to mourn. Both internal and external adaptation to and genuine acceptance of loss is possible only after a prolonged work of mourning (Freud 1917). Volkan uses the term "chosen trauma" to refer to

> an event that makes a large group feel helpless and victimized by another large group, and share a humiliating injury . . . It reflects a group's unconscious choice to add a past generation's mental representation of the event . . . to its own identity. The event in question becomes psychologized, and the way the people share mental representations of it marks their ethnic identity. Once a historical event becomes a "chosen trauma," the historical truth about it is secondary to the power it exercises in the group – the way it continues to be perceived and experienced. Mental representations connected with it are usually condensed with memories of other group injuries and passed on from generation to generation . . . Findings from the psychoanalytical study of individual patients make us more sophisticated in considering what kinds of "psychological genes" are conveyed, how the process occurs, and its significant influence on group identity. Intergenerational transmission is more than retelling of old history; the simple awareness of past events in one's group does not incite that group to try to massacre their neighbors in circumstances of conflict, but a threat to one's ethnic identity in which

> "chosen traumas" are intertwined does, whenever it induces intolerable anxiety.
>
> (Volkan 1996: 270–271)

Cultural complexes can exert their power for centuries. Volkan recounts how the Serbs commemorated the trauma they suffered when the Turks conquered them at Kosova, in 1389. On the six-hundredth anniversary of this event, in 1989, the ambitious Communist leader, Slobodan Milošević, speaking at Kosova, shouted "Never again!" and the coffin of the long-dead Serbian King Lazar was taken on a year-long pilgrimage, passing through every Serbian village in the country. On an earlier anniversary of Kosova, the Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated at Sarajevo, precipitating World War I. This cultural complex would give rise in the 1990s to atrocities committed in the service of "ethnic cleansing."

Singer (2002b) has referred to the "archetypal defenses of the collective spirit" which are activated in response to traumatic injury to a divine being representing the group spirit. He associates the emergence of these defenses with a fear of annihilation of the group spirit. Archetypal defenses also serve to protect the cultural group from experiencing loss. When Freud defined "mourning" he referred to cultural as well as personal loss. Mourning was defined as "the reaction to the loss of a beloved person or of an abstraction which has moved into its place like fatherland, liberty, an ideal, etc." (Freud 1917).

When the beloved person is a charismatic political leader such as Hitler, who was imbued with archetypal qualities, the mourning process is made much more difficult. Hitler as archetypal hero figure of the German people constellated a cultural complex, which has not been adequately dealt with to this day. A leading German psychoanalyst, Alexander Mitscherlich, said: "Only when we recognize and confess what happened and why it happened, and how we were participants in the planning of it, can we, Germans, be healed" (cited in Wangh 1996: 283). Margarete and Alexander Mitscherlich (1975) summarized their work *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior* as follows:

> The inability to mourn the loss of the *Führer* is the result of an intense defense against guilt, shame and fear, a defense which was achieved by the [abrupt] withdrawal of previously powerful cathexes. The Nazi past was de-realized. The occasion for mourning was not only the death of Adolph Hitler, as a real person, but above all his disappearance as the representative of a collective ego-ideal . . . The Germans . . . had received a blow to the very core of their self-esteem, and the most urgent task . . . was to ward off the experience of a melancholic impoverishment of the self.
>
> (cited in Wangh 1996: 285)

"Self inflation" (Weisstub 1993) can occur through being "possessed" by a culturally or religiously based archetype such as "Wotan" in Nazi Germany (Jung

1936). The opposite pole of the complex would be a deflated cultural self, characterized by depression.

> The Mitscherlichs believed that the manic rebuilding of war-destroyed Germany, "*das Wirtschaftswunder*," supported as it was by the Marshall Plan, together with the denial of reality contained in the formula "the Third Reich was only a dream," prevented the whole German population from falling into a melancholic state.
>
> (Wangh 1996: 284)

It takes a strong ego, personally and culturally, to contain the opposing poles of a cultural complex and to enable the necessary working through of the depression and mourning entailed in giving up archetypally based projections and possessions.

Personal and collective shadows

An Israeli man dreams:

> I see a small Arab boy crawling on his knees in the street, screaming in despair, "My hand is cut off." It is on the grass, some meters away from where he is crawling. At the crossroad of the street are four cut-off hands, reaching up through the asphalt. The sight is too frightening for me to approach. I don't dare reach out a helping hand to bring his hand back to him, to the Arab boy. On the opposite side of the crossroad there is an overturned van. Underneath it, also on his knees, there is a Jewish man, dressed in a blue overall. His hands are tied together and bandaged. It is *Intifada*.
>
> (Shalit 1999: 92)

In this dream, personal and cultural shadows are admixed. On the personal level, the Arab boy represents a shadow aspect of the dreamer. The severed hand is part of a shadow aspect of the dreamer's suffering, which is too frightening for him to deal with. Unless the dreamer connects with his own suffering and severed aspect, he cannot be whole. On the "positive" shadow side of the dreamer's psyche, the Israeli hero ideal of farmer and fighter is "bound" and wounded. Thus the ego ideal (cultural hero) has also been rendered ineffective. The ego is having difficulty dealing with both the wounded idealized aspect (Israeli farmer/fighter) and with the wounded negative shadow aspect (Arab boy). The self, as represented by the "quaternity" of four hands at the crossroads, cannot emerge when the ego is not functioning effectively.

"The dream carries a personal message for the dreamer to relate to his own inner, emotional upheaval, *Intifada*. But the collective soul is, as well, reflected in the dreamer's private conflict" (Shalit 1999: 92). The suffering of the personal spirit is intimately related to the suffering of the collective. The dream figures are

symbolic of collective heroism and woundedness. The image of the wounded child is a symbol for the suffering of the Palestinians as is the wounded *Sabra* for Israelis. On the collective level of the psyche, both the Arab child and the Israeli man are on their knees, wounded and unable to function. The dreamer (Israeli man) must deal with the wounded Arab boy and help restore wholeness to the boy and through recognizing and incorporating this shadow element within himself, restore wholeness to himself.

> Empowerment of the enemy, of the shadow, is frightening, but it is necessary for the full functioning of the ego . . . However frightening and agonizing, without empowerment of the shadow – whether collective or individual – and without relating to it, there can be no process of individuation, i.e., no vital and meaningful relationship between ego and Self. The despairing hands of the Self in the crossroads, reaching up from the earth, are oppressed by the asphalt, by the layer of collective norm and culture, collective consciousness.
> (Shalit 1999: 92)

Aspects of the "cultural ego" (which cover the earth with asphalt) block the "cultural self" as the self strives to emerge from its natural depths (the earth), to bring about necessary wholeness.

The collective/cultural unconscious represented by the wounded ego-ideal of the Israeli *Sabra* and the wounded shadow (of the dreamer), the Arab boy, express the cultural woundedness which is at the heart of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. The wounded aspects have to be acknowledged, related to and attended to. It is the *Intifada* or uprising from within the deeper levels of the cultural unconscious which brings the suffering, internal as well as external, to our conscious attention. The enemy may act to terrorize us – Arab suicide bombers for Israelis and the Israeli military for the Palestinians – yet the shadow enemy may also serve a mutual need for both Palestinians and Israelis. Shadow aspects of the cultural collective may initially appear in the form of a cultural collective enemy threatening to attack and destroy the cultural ego-ideal or hero. "The enemy, in fact, is that element of the shadow that disturbs and aggresses the ego, which evokes the Martian warrior-energy, enabling self-defense and self-assertion" (Shalit 1999: 93).

When the cultural shadow is recognized as part of oneself, it is also easier to recognize that both sides of a cultural conflict may be threatened, wounded and suffering. The shadow, as represented by the Arab boy, relates to a larger cultural issue. Recognizing that the wounded Arab boy represents a vulnerable, wounded aspect not only of the Palestinian culture but also of the dreamer's culture may enable understanding and empathy for the suffering of both sides of a cultural conflict. This recognition of cultural shadows could lead to a more comprehensive cultural understanding. A culture which can incorporate and accept shadow aspects of its identity as well as idealized aspects, is more likely to be "collectively individuated" and socially responsible.

Conclusion

Esti Galili-Weisstub, one of the authors, participated in an international conference sponsored by Swedish physicians, which took place at the Karolinska Medical Institute in Stockholm in June 2002. Following the conference a Palestinian colleague, Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj, who had spoken on the same panel, published an article in the leading Palestinian daily newspaper, *al Qouds*. The author, a psychiatrist, was Director of Mental Health Services in Gaza and had been a member of the Palestinian delegation to the Camp David meetings of President Clinton, Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat. In the article El-Sarraj writes about his own personal impressions: "The presentation of the child psychiatrist attracted his attention and invoked feelings of anger and awe in him. She was an Israeli; and she was talking about the effects of war, death and suicide bombings on Israeli children."

When his turn came to speak, El-Sarraj pushed the paper he had prepared aside and said:

> During her presentation on the suffering of Israeli children, my Israeli colleague has succeeded in describing what Palestinian children are suffering from to a large extent . . . they are the eternal victims of wars and conflicts. If Israeli children experience fear of going to school because of suicide bombings, Palestinian children are frightened of going to school out of fear of coming back to find one of their relatives killed or their homes bulldozed or bombarded . . .
>
> It was a scientific conference. But it also gave me the chance to learn something about the Israelis. I have discovered that the Israelis and us could be a mirror image! When they talk about the suffering of their children, it is as if they are talking about our children. When we talk about feelings of victimization, they express the same feelings.
>
> (El-Sarraj 2002)

Singer writes:

> We hold strange mirrors up to ourselves and to one another when we start to explore cultural complexes as part of our personal and historical development. Our cultural complexes get all mixed up, not only with our personal history and complexes, but with other cultural complexes as well.
>
> (Singer 2002b: 27)

Distinguishing cultural complexes and recognizing their effects in individuals and groups enable a deeper understanding of group psychic life. They provide the key to dealing with destructive aspects of the collective psyche. The analysis of cultural complexes, if applied seriously, could contribute significantly to the resolution of conflict in warring groups.

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Chapter 11

Light the seven fires – seize the seven desires

Betty Meador

> Man is estranged from that with which he is most familiar.
>
> Heraclitus[1]

Irony would have it that I begin a chapter, focused on women's bodies, with wisdom from a Greek who uses the inclusive "man" in this insightful sentence.[2] What is "that with which [we are] most familiar" if not the intimacy we each have with our separate bodies? Heraclitus' understanding acts as a bridge between famous Greek rationalism that continues to inform and dominate Western culture and the utter familiarity of the irrational in the body's appetites, emotions, and the imagery of desire. That which is most familiar, housed in the human body, is a unique view of the world, a palpable sense of what it feels like to be me. Words, thoughts, ideas can estrange us from a form of knowing that is instinctual in the body, a form of knowing that has been with us since the first humans contemplated the landscape of our African homeland.

Tom Singer and Sam Kimbles have expanded our understanding of "what it feels like to be me" by describing the cultural complex. The traditional focus of psychoanalysis has been the effects of family and life events on the shaping of the individual. Jung added to our understanding of the individual by translating the imagery in dreams, fantasies, and spontaneous thoughts into personally meaningful insights, connecting imagery and emotion to inherent patterns. Jung says, in effect, that we each carry into the world at birth deep psychological structures, what the psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion called "inherent preconceptions," thought-structures that shape and influence our development throughout our lives (Grotstein 1985: 298). Jung called these fundamental structures archetypes and connected them to inborn instincts. Further he described how the archetypes portray themselves in the human psyche in the form of powerful imagery and emotion. Simply put, classical Freudian psychoanalysis tends to focus on the personal aspects of the individual psyche, while Jungian analysis, born out of Freudian analysis, includes the effects of fundamental instinctual, archetypal structures along with the individual's personal psychology.

Singer and Kimbles have added to Jung's conception of the individual an

intermediary level of influence that is molded primarily by the external culture into which a person is born. The influence of the culture is so great that the individual internalizes its precepts and expectations to such an extent that they become an unconscious and pervasive influence in everyday life, hidden like the blood in our veins, but shaping our identity, opinions, and behavior. A cultural complex consists of unquestioned assumptions, underlying beliefs held to be true by most of the members of the group, certainly by the group's power elite. These beliefs are long lived, lasting for many generations. Unquestioned assumptions create an unconscious anchoring of the present to the past, so that "what has always been true" in a particular culture carries an almost indomitable weight. The human infant experiences years of dependence on its caretakers, ample time for penetration of the cultural precepts to take place. This web of beliefs serves to hold and to contain the dependent young child in the security of the family and the community into which she or he was born (Singer 2002; Kimbles 2000).

Fortunately or unfortunately, I was born into a narrow band of Protestant middle-class, Euro-American culture, in a rough, unsophisticated, small town in north Texas, a city on the Red River that flows (occasionally) between Texas and Oklahoma. Fortunately, I say, because the overriding machismo of the cowboy and the rule of wildcat oil men was so obviously constricting to anyone with sensitivity and an internal sense of self, particularly to women and people of color, that there was no way I could ever have joined this ruling elite in mind or spirit. Nevertheless, without question the culture of Texas and of the nation in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s was a formidable adversary to a young woman, and the pockets of rebellion were small, hidden, and ineffectual. Not until the emergence of the Women's Movement did I begin an active search for a different paradigm, a mythology more compatible to my growing sense of myself as female. Along with many other women, I asked myself whether or not a culture ever existed that was based primarily on women's perceptions of the meaning of human existence in the cosmos (see for example Stone 1976; Gadon 1989; Gimbutas 1989).

The pursuit of a new cultural paradigm within one's culture of origin poses obvious problems. Rebels can be effective in their insistence on social change, as we have seen in the Civil Rights Movement, in the Women's Movement, and in the attempts in the 1960s at leveling the hierarchy of the establishment. However, the fundamental power structure prevailed. An individual could either embrace the values of the power elite or kick against them, but the basic solidity of the construction of Euro-American culture remained the same.

As a woman, I am particularly sensitive not only to the ingrown discrimination against women, but also to the inferior place in our culture of feminine values. Using Jung's archetypal model, these values include listening to intuitions and irrational thoughts from a private inner self, respecting eros and relatedness, opening to an inclusiveness of individuals and societies that are outside and different from one's own, and heeding the instinctual rhythms of the body. To my great surprise, it is from this last element, the relation of a woman to the rhythms of her body, that I learned of the essential foundation of an entirely different

cultural paradigm. The cultural complex Singer and Kimbles describe is not a permanent structure, but a set of beliefs that can and has changed over the course of human history.

The earliest evidence of a large cultural "story" comes from Paleolithic Europe, the Upper Paleolithic period around 30,000 B.C.E.; this "story" is based on menstrual synchrony, the rhythmic alignment of women's menstrual periods with the phases of the moon. Here was a culture based exclusively on the familiar physiological facts of a woman's body, an ironic twist from the phallocentric cultures in most of the world today.

Alexander Marschack, a research fellow at the Peabody Museum of Archeology at Harvard University, puzzled for years over the strange markings found all across Europe on Paleolithic mammoth and elephant tusks, reindeer antlers, and bones of all kinds. After examining hundreds of these pieces, Marschack confirmed his intuition that the markings were calendars noting the procession of the moon's phases over months, and sometimes years of time. This widespread occurrence of the moon calendars led Marschack to conclude that the moon was the central symbol of a traditional story or myth around which the prehistoric community was organized (Marschack 1972: 87).

Given their meticulous observation, we can be sure the Paleolithic Europeans noted that women's monthly bleeding occurred in synchrony with the 29.5-day-cycle of the moon. Of all the species humans are the only mammals whose cycle can be in exact synchrony with the cycle of the moon (Knight 1991: 246–249). This synchrony must have posed a profound mystery for the developing consciousness of our ancestors. British anthropologist Chris Knight proposes that this synchrony between women's menstrual cycles and the phases of the moon "provides the key to an understanding of symbolic culture – not in the abstract, but in the specific, puzzling ritual and other forms in which it first actually leaves its traces. *The myths allege that ritual power originally belonged to women*" (Knight 1991: 283, original emphases). Ritual was the structure giving expression and form that contained and expressed the people's basic viewpoint of their place in the universe, not something peripheral to the underpinning of beliefs that held the community in a consensual whole. Knight concludes that from observing the timing of women's menstrual cycles and their parallel with the moon's phases, our ancestors developed symbolic culture. In this way they developed a culture that defined itself in relation to the phases of the moon. The moon with its very apparent intimate connection to women's blood mysteries became the central organizing influence in the culture.

Marschack, like Chris Knight after him, postulates that our Paleolithic ancestor "told a story . . . against the phases of the moon." He told many stories, Marschack says, and eventually the interplay of these stories with the society allowed our ancestors to structure their "practical, social, cultural, and biological life" (Marschack 1972: 136). We can imagine that in this structuring of their ordinary life, our ancestors developed the first known instance of the formation of a cultural unconscious.

Knight emphasizes with italics "*that ritual power originally belonged to women*." Through ritual acts, through dress and body decoration, and through proscribed behavior, women created the symbolic forms that made the community conscious of its origin story. In her book *Blood, Bread, and Roses: How Menstruation Created the World*, poet and philosopher Judy Grahn expands the reach of these ideas back to the origin of consciousness itself:

> Our menstrual-minded ancestress stepped out of her excellent net of animal intelligence into the potentially chaotic external mind, the mind unique to human beings . . . Our originators could not have stepped across the Abyss without simultaneously finding a way to hold the first few ideas in place, since they disappear in the absence of culture. Neither instinct nor the central nervous system stores such imagery. It has to be externalized, and it is fragile. It has to be taught; and to be taught, it has to be remembered. This required techniques resembling metaphor but much more extreme; the metaphor somehow had to be actualized, acted out in the physical.
>
> (Grahn 1993: 19–20)

Going back to a beginning of human consciousness, Grahn imagines a scenario in which the first humans learned and taught each other to hold in mind the set of ideas that gave them a structure of beliefs strong enough to contain the fragile, vulnerable perceptions of external mind. Culture formed around these first perceptions of meaning. The certainty with which the people ultimately held these beliefs secured the culture in place and eventually reinforced the cultural unconscious of the community.

In Grahn's elegant development of this original origin story, the "metaforms," as she calls them, served to organize, repeat, and remind the community of their perilous crossing from the chaos of isolation and unconsciousness to the relative safety of a conscious story that articulated their place in the cosmos. These metaforms became part of everyday life. Grahn describes the physical acting out of the drama of the creation of consciousness in menstrual seclusion rites that "enacted the creation of the world and its elements, forming them as conscious ideas before there was language or sense of narrative enough to make them into a story" (Grahn 1993: 25). The repetition of the rites themselves secured the ideas of an origin story in which the reminder of darkness and chaos the young and old women entered in menstrual seclusion was followed by a securing of the light of consciousness at the end of the ritual.

During the ritual the young woman at menarche must not touch water, must not see light, must not touch the earth. These and other taboos served to protect precious elements from the dangers of chaos and disintegration of consciousness that the potency of her status implied. The bodies of the young women were numinous and therefore dangerous. "The men must not look at her in her numinous phase, lest they die, and lest Chaos close around human consciousness" (Grahn 1993: 74). Menstrual instruction was displayed on women's bodies – *cosmetikos*

– a Greek word that means "ordering of the world" (Grahn 1993: 72). She marked her face with tattoos and colored her lips red to remind everyone of her bleeding vulva. She covered her body with red paint or red earth in some traditions. She wore her hair in a prescribed fashion to announce her status. Her clothing changed with the onset of menstruation. Her body, dress, and demeanor became a text, long before literacy, that informed the community of her place in the society and reminded its people of their cosmic beliefs, so that, as an example, for the Dogon people of Africa "a fiber skirt becomes the first Word" (Grahn 1993: 94).

Inherent in the human mind, Grahn says, is the need to define and order the universe, to create conscious understanding out of the seeming chaos of the inexplicable outer world. Every human community accomplishes this task by linking its particular experiences to natural phenomena, thus anchoring its fragile psyche in a web of "certainties," namely the consensual beliefs of the culture. The cultural unconscious of any community derives from the set of beliefs that make up its own web.

"Texts" of these early cultures can be read only from the artifacts that remain. In a Chalcolithic culture in central Europe, 6000 to 5000 B.C.E., archeologists have discovered hundreds of female figurines marked with consistent and repetitive signs that have been interpreted as a form of writing (Gimbutas 1989). However, for posterity to know a culture's story, the story had to be preserved and elaborated on a long-lasting material. This was accomplished in the fourth millennium by the Sumerians, who invented cuneiform, a usable script that they wrote on wet clay. The first tablets so far discovered come from Uruk, 3400 B.C.E., at that time a prosperous city on the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia.

The Sumerian culture evolved directly out of Chalcolithic cultures in southern Mesopotamia (Oates 1960). Even in the Chalcolithic, 6000 to 3000 B.C.E., these ancestral cultures were building large temples for their goddesses and gods. Ur, the city from which Abraham migrated, was the city of the Sumerian moon god Nanna, who lived with his wife Ningal in an impressive temple complex, the Ekishnugal. Throughout the 3000-year history of Mesopotamia, the ritual year in all cities was set by the cycle of the moon. The month began at the moment just after sunset that the new crescent appeared in the west. Scholars assume that a city official was designated to sight the moon at its first appearance, and only after this sighting did the new month begin (Cohen 1993: 4). In Ur it was said of the moon god, iti u4-sakar gi-né mu ki-bi-sè an-[gar], "[Nanna], fixing the month and the new moon, [setting] the year in its place" (Sjöberg 1983: 32).

The moon couple were parents of the sun god Utu as well as of his older sister Inanna, goddess of love, sexual desire, and battle. While the Mesopotamians were aware of the difference between the lunar and solar year, the lunar year set the calendar and consequently all rituals and festivals. Mark Cohen reminds us that some time "during or after the Judean exile in Babylonia, the Judeans adopted the Standard Mesopotamian calendar" as did a number of "other Aramaic-speaking people," and this calendar continues to be used in Judaism (Cohen 1993: 299). In Ur a festival was held on the first, seventh, and fifteenth day of each month, the

ès-ès festival, at which Nanna received offerings of a bull, sheep, and sometimes dates or pomegranates in baskets (Hall 1985: 290–291). The significance of the seven-day intervals in this festival is based on the phases of the moon in its first and second quarters. The moon goddess Ningal's menstrual period was observed as was her daughter's, Inanna. A hymn to Inanna describes her ritual cleansing at the end of her menstruation:

> On the seventh day when the crescent moon
> reaches its fullness
> You bathe and sprinkle your face with holy water
> You cover your body with the long woolen
> garments of Queenship
> You fasten combat and battle to your side;
> You tie them into a girdle and let them rest.
> (Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 95–96)

Beginning in the latter part of the third millennium, and for 500 years thereafter, a high priestess, usually the daughter of the king, served in the moon god temple at Ur. She lived in her own quarters, the gipar, a building that also housed the temple of the moon goddess Ningal. The high priestess at Ur held the most important religious office in the land. One of the first high priestesses, if not the first, was Enheduanna, daughter of King Sargon, around 2300 B.C.E. Enheduanna was a brilliant poet as well as an influential priestess and theologian. Three long poems to her personal goddess Inanna survive (Meador 2000), as well as forty-two hymns to various temples throughout Sumer (Meador, in press). She is the first author of record.

In *Temple Hymn 8* written to the temple of Nanna at Ur, Enheduanna wrote these lines:

> [in] the gipar the priestess' rooms
> that princely shrine of holy cosmic order
> they track the passage of the moon
> waning moonlight spreads over the homeland
> the sweeping light of noon fills every country

The hymn tells us that in this influential temple at Ur in the gipar, the space reserved for women and for the moon goddess, "they," presumably the priestesses, were tracking the phases of the moon, and that this moon tracking was related to "holy cosmic order." The temple in Sumer had become the center of community life. Those who preserved order and meaning in this culture were the priestesses and priests who served in the temples and followed the ritual practices that were designed to please the goddesses and gods. These essential practices that maintained order and prevented chaos and disintegration were now centered in the temples of each city. One can easily draw the parallel of the function of the temple

in Mesopotamia with the function of menstrual seclusion ritual of prehistoric times. Ritual practice in Mesopotamia was timed with the phases of the moon. In Ur responsibility for insuring order and good will was vested with one exemplary woman in the moon temple. Evidently, only she and few other privileged officials could enter the dark holy of holies, the sacred cella of the temple, and there contain the darkness and chaos and ritually transform it into the light of consciousness and order. Enheduanna describes the dark holy shrine "where the god lives":

> and the chamber where the god lives
> whose dining hall lets no light enter
> *Temple Hymn 1:*
> *The Eridu Temple of Enki*

> O Kesh, like holy Aratta
> your inside is a womb dark and deep . . .
> inside the light is dim
> even moonlight (Nanna's light) does not enter
> *Temple Hymn 7:*
> *The Kesh Temple of Ninhursag*

> ancient place
> set deep in the mountain artfully
> a mother's breast frightening and red place
> safe in the dark womb
> no one can discover
> your mighty hair-raising path
> *Temple Hymn 15:*
> *The Gishbanda Temple of Ningishzida*

> your princess is the sacred mother
> strewn with precious jewels
> who sprinkles purifying water in the shining cella
> [and] sets up the dark inner chamber
> in that holy place
> where she binds the mùs crown for the sacred woman
> *Temple Hymn 30:*
> *The Isin Temple of Nininsina.*

In the *Temple Hymns* we see that the Sumerians had developed their version of a necessary pattern of human consciousness, which prescribes that periodically we must approach the dark mystery of existence – a mystery inhabited only by the goddesses and gods – and in that place renew our belief in and experience of "holy cosmic order." This pattern that Enheduanna describes in the *Temple Hymns* evolves from a similar sensibility as that which moved our Paleolithic sisters and women in the many cultures studied by anthropologists in the twentieth

century, to create and elaborate rituals of menstrual seclusion at the dark of the moon. Jung explains this very pattern in his depiction of individual psychological development. He says the individual approaches the dark and possibly turbulent, chaotic experiences in her or his own unconscious, and, facing this darkness over time, may build the capacity to assimilate and transform the darkness and gradually increase her or his ability to hold and contain in consciousness both dark and light, good and evil, life and death, the mysteries at the heart of human existence.

How did these profound truths pass out of the hands of women and away from their source in women's bodies, and fall into the hands of men? The history of the development of civilization in the West, which surely began in Mesopotamia, is dominated by male mind and prowess, particularly after the expansion of warfare in the second millennium B.C.E. This development in Mesopotamia parallels the evolution in Western cultures of men's control over women's bodies.

The prejudice against women's sexuality has an interesting history involving the myth and politics of a number of cultures. The creation myth of the Sumerians placed divinity not in the sky or on the earth, but in the water. She, the Creatrix, was the self-procreating goddess Nammu whose origin was at Eridu, a city on the Euphrates. The first temple at Eridu dates back to the late sixth millennium B.C.E., and Nammu may belong to an even older stratum of the pre-Sumerian deities from a matrilineal society of the Neolithic, 10,000 to 6000 B.C.E. Nammu lived in a subterranean source of water called the abzu, a sweet water ocean that surfaced in wells and springs. Self-procreating, she was the dark primal womb of abundance, the inherently fertile and fertilizing waters of the abzu. She was the singular source of life.

By the time of written records, in the last quarter of the third millennium, Nammu's son Enki ruled the abzu. Enki became the phallic creator god, the god of wisdom, magic, and fertility. Perhaps envying his mother's self-procreating powers, Enki's self-generated ejaculation filled both the Tigris and the Euphrates with his fertilizing water/semen. In the Sumerian language the sign read by the single letter "a" is the word for both water and semen. The original pictographic sign was drawn with two parallel wavy lines depicting the two banks of a river.

The origin story of the West was written down in the book of Genesis a thousand years after the Sumerian literary tablets appeared. At about the same time that Genesis was being written, a Babylonian creation myth replaced the Sumerian story of Nammu. In the Babylonian version, the self-contained, watery Nammu is split into two components, Absu, the male, and Tiamat, the female. In the course of the mythic story, the female of the original couple, Tiamat, poses the most serious threat to the younger generation of gods, after her husband, Absu, had been vanquished by his own grandson, Ea, the Babylonian counterpart of the Sumerian Enki. Tiamat is cut to pieces by the young gods, and only after this violent overthrow of the female element can the ordering of the universe take place.

This violent overthrow has a parallel in Hebrew legend. According to this story, Adam had a wife before Eve named Lilith, a woman who demanded equality.

She refused to lie beneath Adam in sexual intercourse. "Why must I lie beneath you?" she asked. "I also was made from dust, and am therefore your equal." Because Adam tried to compel her obedience by force, Lilith in a rage uttered the "ineffable name of God, rose in the air and left him" (Graves and Patai 1964: 65–66). Lilith escaped to the Red Sea where God punished her by killing one hundred of her demon children every day. Adam's second wife, Eve, submitted to God's demand, and in Carol Meyers' translation, God says to Eve, "For to your man is your desire / And he shall predominate over you" (Meyers 1988). From this point until now in the West, woman's desire has been bent away from her own natural urges, to be subsumed under the law of the father God and his representatives on earth.

My first awareness of the Sumerians came in a dream in which two crusty, traditional, know-it-all Jungian analysts had died, and I with the help of a group of women was digging their graves, ceremoniously placing on each grave two strange stick figures, six feet tall, curved into a circle at the top. Along with the stick figures, we were to arrange on the graves tied bundles of palm fronds. This we did as though performing a familiar ritual. Some months after the dream, I discovered that the stick figures were the symbol of the ancient Mesopotamian goddess Inanna, and the palm fronds related to Inanna as goddess of the date palm. Traces of Inanna's iconography reach back into Chalcolithic Mesopotamia. In the Bronze Age, she held the position of the most important goddess in the ancient Near East, her dominance stretching from the fourth millennium almost to the Common Era, around 600 B.C.E. Because the divine beings of Mesopotamia are direct precursors to Judaism, Christianity, and Greek religion, they are latent in the Western psyche as the shadow of an overly exclusive masculine god.

I had never heard of Inanna before the dream, and I set about searching for her stories and myths. The first mention of her I found was in the journal *Parabola* (Wolkstein and Kramer 1980: 86–89). The well-known Assyriologist Samuel Noah Kramer had published a number of poems about Inanna in which she sings praises to her vulva. Here is my translation of one of these poems:

peg my vulva
my star-sketched horn of the Dipper
moor my slender boat of heaven
my new moon crescent cunt beauty

I wait an unplowed desert
fallow field for the wild ducks
my high mound longs for the floodlands

my vulva hill is open
this maid asks who will plow it
vulva moist in the floodlands
the queen asks who brings the ox

the king, Lady, will plow it
Dumuzi, king, will plow it

plow then man of my heart
holy water-bathed loins
holy Ninegal am I

Poems to Inanna's vulva and her erotic sexual pleasure belong to a collection of so-called Love Poems in Sumerian literature. These poems were literary compositions that apparently had some cultic use, probably in the Sacred Marriage ritual. In other words, the poems are part of the sacred cannon. In the beginning verse of the poem above, Inanna says she sings this song in the sanctuary as a holy prayer. Another of the vulva poems begins with this line: "This song is holy." It continues:

An
fit me out
with my vulva

I live right here
in this soft slit
I live right here

my field wants hoeing
this is my holy word
a dazzling palace
without its sun
I want you Dumuzi
you belong in this house
I looked at everyone
Dumuzi I call you
it's you I want for prince

Dumuzi, beloved of Enlil
even my mother and father adore you

listen!
I will scrub my skin with soap
I will rinse all over with water
I will dry myself with linen
I will lay out mighty love clothes
I know how exactly
I will look so fine
I will make you feel like a king
(*my translation*)

In all the Love Poems the female experience of sexuality and the female perspective is dominant. This has led scholars to deduce that the poems were written by women.

The cuneiform sign for "vulva," the familiar triangle known all over the prehistoric world as the symbol for female, could also mean "woman." The vulva as the locus of a woman's sexual identity was for Inanna the *pars pro toto* for the goddess herself as deity of sexuality. In Mesopotamia the vulva, according to Gwendolyn Leick in her comprehensive book *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature*, "seems to have predominantly positive associations; it is not feared or spoken of as shameful or contaminating. The nubile girl rejoices when her pubic hair appears" (Leick 1994: 96). Leick illustrates citing an ancient poem:

> Now my breasts stand up,
> Now hair has grown on my vulva,
> Going to the bridegroom's loins, let us rejoice!
>
> O Baba, let us rejoice over my vulva!
> Dance! Dance!
> Afterwards they will please him, will please him!
> (Leick 1994: 84)

Inanna's vulva is holy. The penis of the god Enki is particularly fertile but never called holy, unlike that of Shiva. In later omen texts semen is said to be highly polluting, whereas the juice of the female is said to taste sweet. To the Mesopotamians the vulva was the primary focus of not only female sexuality but also of eroticism in general; its various stages of excitement were carefully observed and undoubtedly taught to boys and girls alike.

This Mesopotamian sensibility was so utterly foreign to my coming of age along the Oklahoma border of north Texas that I could only delight in Inanna's audacious, brazen sensuality. I did not know the word "vulva" until after I was married. We called it "down there." Easy to see the compensatory purpose of the dream I had of Inanna.

The erotic urge of the goddess was an imperative to the man of her choice. His duty was to satisfy her, to comply to her wishes. In one myth, as reported by Leick, Inanna / Ishtar desires Ishullanu, an indefatigable gardener, and invites him to make love to her, saying:

> let us enjoy your strength, put out your hand and touch our vulva!

But the man rudely refuses:

> Me? what do you want from me? Did my mother not bake for me,
> and did I not eat?
> What I eat (with you) would be loaves of dishonor and disgrace,
> Rushes would be my only covering against the cold.

On hearing this, Inanna turns him into a toad (Leick 1994: 53).

In another myth, Inanna and Shukalletuda, the man, also a gardener, takes Inanna while she is sleeping. She is enraged. "As far as the goddess is concerned," says Leick (1994: 53) " . . . intercourse during a deep sleep is not what she would call an erotic experience worth having." In both these instances, the offense is the failure to give the goddess pleasure.

A memory I carried for many years with excruciating shame involved sex play with two young neighbors, Podgy and Billy. I was probably 5, and they were around 6 and 8. I'm guessing that Podgy, aged 6, instigated our first encounter, whereupon I enlisted Billy, whom I liked a good deal better. I do not know exactly what we did, but I remember the excitement of summer evenings when the three of us would slip away into the dark of a neighbor's small horse shed. I can only imagine the mutual showing of "down there," maybe some touching. But the most distinctive memory is the thrilling feeling of autonomy, emancipation, and agency, an experience of individual initiative. I could make something unbelievably exciting happen outside the dreary world of the rule-bound household. I had discovered my own will, if not my true self. At some point Podgy wanted to bring in another boy, Malcolm, an incredibly handsome neighbor not in our immediate clique and I said no. I had my principles. Finally, just before first grade, I decided to stop going off to the barn. I remember clearly the moral decision related to the feeling that I was big and responsible and going to first grade now. I knew what we were doing was "bad" in the adult world. Entering the real world of first grade, I had to be a different person and live by the rules of the adults.

I do not have to elaborate for you who also grew up in this culture, so repressive to women and sexuality, the innate splitting of instinctual urges young women must accomplish in order to survive with any remnant of self-esteem. I can look back now, with Inanna as my model, and recognize in the experience with Podgy and Billy the birth of a creative will, the ability to shape my life in harmony with its forceful and delightful urges. It wasn't just that I had discovered sexual pleasure, although that was part of it. The crux was that I had discovered my separate ability to make my life happen from an inner source of agency, from the psyche. It is this source of agency that is crushed by the terrible weight of centuries of repression, the consequence of the culture's attitudes towards women's bodies.

I remember an event when I was on the cusp of adolescence. Sitting in one of my girl friends' cars with my gang, we were at our usual hang-out, Evans Pharmacy on Seymour Road. We must have been 14, driving age at that time in Texas. Way too shy to get out of the car and brave the swarms of the glamorous older high school boys and an occasional celebrated girl that blocked the sidewalk in front of Evans, we gawked from the safety of the front seat or back seat of the old Buick. I was unbelievably ignorant of sexual matters and had never considered the topic my girlfriends were talking about, virginity. The cute boys, they said, wouldn't even look at you if you weren't a virgin, much less marry you. A pain like lightning went through me. In a wave of horror I realized I was not a

virgin. Had I not had sex with Podgy and Billy in the horse stall? For the first time I hit that despicable core of shame and the realization that I was irretrievably bad.

I don't really think my experience at age 5 marked me for life, and I'm almost certain I was still a virgin at 14. However, it is hard for me not to believe that that despicable core of shame I have visited again and again and that I find in almost all of my women patients, comes into being and remains viable because of the culture's thousands-of-years-old attitudes toward women and women's bodies. The cultural imperative to control women's bodies is embedded in the unconscious assumptions in Euro-America, in the Muslim world, and in many of the cultures of Africa and Asia. This is truly a cultural complex!

My young adult grandchildren would read of my experience at Evans Pharmacy with humor and disbelief at the archaic attitudes toward sexuality in the 1940s. They enjoy more open attitudes toward sexuality, freely live with their girlfriends or boyfriends. They are devoted to their partners and responsible in their relationships, however long or brief they may be. A sea change has taken place in the culture in the frankness with which we deal with sexual behavior. Sexuality has become almost an obsession in the popular culture. We are experiencing a fundamental shift in the cultural unconscious, in the beliefs and precepts that have been the web of safety for many thousands of years. Now it is possible for a woman to know and experience desire freely and openly, desire that can lead her ultimately to her own creative uniqueness. The new freedom wipes away the old forms once thought to be necessary to an ordered society.

Where, then, can we find the underpinning in the culture that can hold women safely in their new freedom? Where is the sense of "holy cosmic order?" How can we safely cross the landscape of this enormous change in attitudes toward women, women's bodies, women's desire, women's sexuality? In order for this to take place we must first shift our thinking away from ingrained customs and values and grasp the enormity of a woman-created world view. We must understand that a woman-created culture is possible and actually existed to some extent for thousands of years in those ancient cultures that oriented themselves by the moon's cycle. This recognition allows a woman to shift her unconscious envelopment in the given culture and opens for her the possibility of discovering an inner source of her own uniqueness and agency. Next, after we grasp the enormity of the change required, we must realize that this change will not come about by way of a large overturning of existing beliefs. Its creation depends on individual women (and men) being consciously committed on a daily basis to affirmations of womanliness, of women's bodies, of the harmony of their bleeding with the moon, of their ardent desire. This change will not take place with fanfare and militancy. Rather, it will happen in the inner crevices of a woman's soul, in the soft thrill of her rediscovery of the power of her own will and the validity of her desire. This new woman-centeredness will not quickly, if ever, replace the existing world view, but will live side-by-side with respect for manliness and male-oriented values. We, women and men, will be thrown back on ourselves; we will affirm our

uniqueness and difference and thereby clear the air between us in order finally to admire and love one another for the individuals that we are.

Notes

1 See Maier (1983).
2 The title of this chapter is taken from Sumerian *Temple Hymn 16*, "The Uruk Temple of Inanna," my translation.

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Chapter 12

Cultural complexes in the history of Jung, Freud and their followers

Thomas B. Kirsch

The term "cultural complex" arises from two different aspects of Jung's psychology. Let us start with the term "complex," because this was the first area of research for Jung. Through the word association test Jung noted that there occurred a delayed reaction time to certain words which was experimentally repeatable. Jung observed that the delay was caused by the arousal of particularly strong emotions in connection with specific trigger words. He coined the term "complex" to account for this phenomenon. Indeed, it was Jung's pioneering work on the word association test and the development of the complex theory that led Jung to first make contact with Freud. Now the term "complex" is used in ordinary language to define an individual's particular sensitivity to a place, person, or thing. It is part of his or her personal psychology. When we speak about a cultural complex, we are moving away from an individual psychology to the psychology of the group – which can dwell both within the "collective" psyche of the group and the group level of the psyche embedded within the individual.

Let us now try to locate the term "cultural" in the context of Jung's psychology. We begin with Jung's notion of the archetype. Briefly, archetypes are the inborn, innate predispositions of the psyche. Jung describes them as the "self-portrait of an instinct," and they are the factors which an individual brings to any given situation, internal or external. It is rare that one sees an archetypal experience without it being embedded in historical or cultural patterns. Although the historical and cultural context has always been assumed in analytical psychology, the delineation of this level of experience has not been emphasized. In general terms, Jungians have spoken either of the personal psychology or the archetypal psychology of the individual, but have not emphasized the cultural context. In 1962 Joseph Henderson presented a paper at the Second International Congress for Analytical Psychology entitled "The Archetype of Culture" where he defined this layer of the psyche which he postulated as existing between the personal and the archetypal (Henderson 1964). Dr. Henderson's paper was received with great enthusiasm, but the cultural level of the psyche is still not frequently referred to. In the last few years Tom Singer (2002) and Sam Kimbles (2000) have coined the term "cultural complexes" to elaborate on this level of psychological experience.

With the goal of further elaborating the concept of cultural complexes by applying it to the specific "case history" of Jung and Freud and their followers, I am going to focus on the relationship between these psychological pioneers and the groups that developed around them as seen from the perspective of cultural complexes. First, there are the underlying "cultural complexes" that Jung and Freud each separately brought to their intensely creative and destructive relationship. Second, there are the "cultural complexes" among the Freudian and Jungian groups that were actually generated by the early Jung–Freud coming together and falling out. In this chapter, I will address both of these separate but interrelated categories of cultural complexes.

The central thesis of this chapter can be stated as follows: how we carry the relationship between Freud and Jung inside our individual and group psyches – their collaboration, their fight, the subsequent history of the groups that formed around each of them, and the theory and practice that grew out of their work and their "schools" – constitutes and has contributed to the creation of "cultural complexes" that dwell inside each of us and the groups we identify with and/or see as our rivals. These "cultural complexes" of the Jung–Freud traditions that we carry within ourselves and our groups help define our professional identities and how we interact with our professional world – for better or worse. The "cultural complexes" brought to and born of the Jung–Freud relationship have been a most heated subject for almost one hundred years and have touched the deepest levels of emotion in those who practice psychoanalysis and analytical psychology. We can be certain that we are in the realm of complexes because of the intense reactivity that any mention of the topic usually provokes. A contemporary word association test administered to psychoanalysts and analytical psychologists which included the names of Jung and Freud would quickly demonstrate this fact. Although the backdrop for the tension between Jungians and Freudians goes back to the very beginnings of a Christianity born out of Judaism, my own attention in this chapter will focus on the different cultural backgrounds of Freud and Jung, and then on my own experience as a Jew and Jungian in a predominantly Freudian psychoanalytic culture since the early 1960s.

Freud was born in Bohemia in 1856, and his family moved to Vienna when he was a still a very young boy. During the time of his growing up, Vienna was strongly anti-Semitic, and there were few professions that a Jew could enter. Freud studied medicine, became a neurologist and did some of the pioneering research in discovering the anesthetic properties of cocaine and related substances. He was a docent at the University of Vienna medical school, which meant that he was at the lowest level of the academic hierarchy, and he knew that as a Jew his chances for promotion were slim. In 1895 Freud and Breuer published their pioneering studies entitled *Studies in Hysteria* and the field of psychoanalysis was born. A small group of individuals, all of whom were Jewish, formed around Freud, and they began to meet on a weekly basis. Freud's theories on the nature of infantile sexuality were being roundly criticized in both the medical and lay press. Both the nature of his ideas and his being Jewish led him to feel ostracized and an outsider.

Jung's background was entirely different from that of Freud's. In Jung's family there had been many generations of Protestant ministers. Only in the preceding two generations had his father's family moved from Germany to Switzerland where Jung was born in 1875. On his mother's side the family had lived many generations in Switzerland, and several members had written about their psychic paranormal abilities. When Jung was growing up in the rural countryside surrounding Basel, there were just a few Jews in the entire canton of Basel. It was only in the late 1800s that Jews were allowed to live within the city walls of the Swiss cities. Prior to that they had to live outside the cities, and they were allowed to come into the cities to do their business only during the day. One does not know when Jung met a Jew for the first time, but it most likely would have been at the university in Basel during his studies between 1895 and 1900 (Gossman 2000).

Through Jung's work on the word association test and complex theory, he became acquainted with Freud's theories of the unconscious. Jung utilized Freud's theories to explain the results of his own research. In 1906 Jung sent his papers on the word association test and complex theory to Freud, and in March of 1907, Jung, his wife, and Ludwig Binswanger, a colleague at the Burghölzli and later founder of Existential Psychoanalysis, visited Freud in Vienna. There was an immediate fascination between the two men, and very quickly Jung was anointed as the "crown prince" of the psychoanalytic movement, much to the chagrin of Freud's Viennese colleagues. Freud saw in Jung an established psychiatrist from a famous institution, the Burghölzli, who was not Jewish and who came from a central part of Europe, who would make an excellent representative for psychoanalysis to the world. Meanwhile, Jung saw in Freud the father that he had been looking for since the disillusionment with his own father, and so the relationship blossomed quickly.

The Freud–Jung correspondence documents the tremendous hopes and expectations that the two had of each other. It also demonstrates the eventual demise of their relationship, which has been a sad chapter in the history of psychoanalysis and analytical psychology. By the end of their relationship in 1914, mutual accusations were made of the other, including Freud asserting that Jung was anti-Semitic, and Jung accusing Freud of being materialistic and stereotypically Jewish. Freud wrote in "On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement" that "he [Jung] seemed ready to enter into a friendly relationship with me and for my sake to give up certain racial prejudices which he had previously permitted himself" (Freud 1914/1957). There is no question as one reads the letters that both men suffered deeply from the loss of the relationship. Jung withdrew from many of his psychiatric activities and went through a period of profound introversion and disequilibrium, and one sees in Freud's writings and correspondence a bitterness that one seldom sees elsewhere in Freud. Ernest Jones, Freud's biographer, remarked that "his [Freud's] daughter tells me that it [the break with Jung] was the only time she remembers her father being depressed" (Jones 1953–1957: 99). The two men were never to meet again.

Ever since that time, many professionals have mourned the fact that the two men had to split. The consensus is that if the two men had been able to continue their work together, many of the issues which split psychoanalysis and analytical psychology would not have happened. Although we can fantasize what might have happened had the two been able to continue their collaboration, it is noteworthy that they were able to come together in the first place. Given their differences in cultural backgrounds and upbringing, the fact that they could have worked together for the time that they did is remarkable. Freud continued to be active in developing a strong psychoanalytic organization in many European countries and in the United States. Most of those attracted to Freud's work were Jewish, and the early psychoanalytic association was more than 90 percent Jewish. On the other hand, Jung withdrew from organizations, but he did slowly develop a group of students around him. No formal international Jungian professional association was organized until 1955, when Jung was 80 years old.

Between 1914 and 1955 Jung did become involved in one other professional organization, and the nature of his participation in that organization has negatively influenced his reputation up to the present. Jung was made honorary vice-president of the German Medical Society for Psychotherapy in 1931. This society was formed in 1926 in order to provide a forum for medically trained psychotherapists who were interested in psychoanalysis but who did not wish to become members of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. The German Medical Society for Psychotherapy put on yearly conferences which attracted participants from the rest of Europe and the United States. In 1933 the president of this group was Ernst Kretchmer, a professor of psychiatry at Tübingen, who resigned because he did not agree with the Nazi philosophy. The group was in a predicament about who the new president should be, and as Jung was the honorary vice-president, he was urgently asked to take over as president. He eventually agreed to become president with the stipulation that the organization change its name to the International Medical Society for Psychotherapy, and that Jewish members in Germany could retain their membership as individual members. All Jewish members in Germany had been excluded from the national German group as part of the then new Nazi ideology. In 1933 in his introductory remarks to the newly resuscitated Zentralblatt (the official organ of the German Medical Society for Psychotherapy), Jung made the following statement:

> The differences which actually do exist between Germanic and Jewish psychology and which have been known to every intelligent person are no longer to be glossed over, and this can only be beneficial to science. At the same time I should like to state expressly that this implies no depreciation of Semitic psychology, any more than it is a depreciation of the Chinese to speak of the peculiar psychology of the Oriental.
>
> (Jung 1964: 533–534)

This statement of Jung's has been picked up by psychoanalysis and scholars of other disciplines interested in this period to demonstrate that Jung was both anti-Semitic and a Nazi sympathizer. There is no question that the tone of Jung's comments and the timing of them could not have been worse. One can see how Jung's statement could be melded into Nazi propaganda, although those familiar with Jung at the time knew of his interest in national character and differences in cultural heritage.

A second problem associated with this organization is that the German president was Matthias Goering, a distant cousin of the future close associate of Hitler, Hermann Goering. Matthias Goering was a professor of psychiatry as well as a Nazi, and from 1936 until 1945 he was the head of the major psychotherapy training institute in Nazi Germany. Jung and Matthias Goering had an extensive correspondence connected with the international medical psychotherapy society, which still has not been released by the Jung family. Jung's association with Matthias Goering has often been confused and thought to have been with Hermann Goering, with whom Jung had no contact (Cocks 1997). In 1934 Matthias Goering published an issue of the journal for German members only, which was completely Nazified, but by mistake it went out internationally, and it also included an article by Jung, which was meant for the international edition. Jung protested this mistake by Goering, but the damage was done. Jung's association with the International Medical Psychotherapy Society throughout the 1930s gave credence to the assertions of Jung's anti-Semitism made by Freud in 1914 (Freud 1914/1957: 7).

What has been most remarkable is that from that time until the present Jung has been labeled as an anti-Semite. Although it is known that many of Jung's most important students were Jewish, and there has been much evidence to show that Jung aided the Allies during World War II, the linkage between Jung, Naziism, and anti-Semitism continues until this day. This will be described later in more detail. But, is it possible that a cultural complex is at work in the persistence of the notion among Freudians that Jung was a Nazi? Certainly it could be part of a cultural complex that any criticism of Freud's work by a non-Jew is evidence of anti-Semitism. From the point of view of Freud as a Jew, his "cultural complex" would lead him to conclude that any criticism of him by a non-Jew is *prima facie* evidence of anti-Semitism. It would certainly be natural to view Jung as a part Christian/part Swiss-German associating with any Goering in the 1930s as evidence of Jung's being both a Nazi and an anti-Semite. Cultural complexes contaminate people and their thinking. What if both Freud and Jung had cultural complexes – Jung about Jews, Freud about non-Jews. By the way, it is important to note that we do not see Jung's interest in and early ideas about "national character" to be the same as the notion of "cultural complexes." They may intersect, but they are not the same. There can be a "national character" or identity without it being a "cultural complex" (see remarks on pp. 5–6).

It is at this point that my own personal history comes into play. Both my father and mother, who were Jewish, were in analysis with Jung during all of the 1930s.

They did not live in Zurich but traveled there first from Berlin, later from Tel Aviv, and finally from London. Jung had several other Jewish analysands during this period including Erich Neumann, Gerhard Adler, Rivkah Schaerf, Aniela Jaffé, and others. Specifically, Neumann, Adler, and my father warned Jung not to make the statement about national character as he did in 1934. Jung refused to listen to their counsel, but after World War II acknowledged that he had made a mistake in not listening to them. Jung never made a public apology. What is of further interest is that my father gave a lecture twice at the Analytical Psychology Club in Zurich in October 1930 on the subject of "A Modern Jew in Germany" which Jung attended and enthusiastically endorsed. Patients' dreams already had the images of Nazis showing up frequently. At the time my father was only 29 years of age, and was a relatively new analysand of Jung's. My father, along with Jung's other Jewish analysands, all questioned him about his alleged anti-Semitism and none of those in analysis found him to be anti-Semitic.

When the extent of the Nazi destructiveness became apparent at the conclusion of World War II, this provided fuel for those who believed that Jung was a rabid anti-Semite and Nazi. The hostility between Freudians and Jungians in most parts of the world except London and San Francisco was tremendous. The period immediately following World War II was the pinnacle of influence for psychoanalysis, and prominent psychoanalysts wrote about Jung as a Nazi sympathizer and anti-Semitic, noting his association with Matthias Goering, the International Medical Society for Psychotherapy, and the Nazis during the 1930s. For example, in the *History of Psychiatry* by Alexander and Selesnick there was a special appendix on the subject of Jung and his affiliation with the Nazis (Alexander and Selesnick 1966: 407–409). Freudians had their rationalizations for dismissing Jung and when I first entered psychiatric training in 1962, I encountered these "reasons" as potent manifestations of what I now recognize to be the symptoms of a cultural complex. I have come to think that at least one of the underlying, perhaps not totally conscious, purposes of the Freudian cultural complex about Jung and his followers was to annihilate the heretical Christian Jungian sect of psychology.

If one thinks that at least some cultural complexes originate in the fear and/or real experience of a group of people being extinguished, it makes sense that the group fearing such a threat may in turn seek to deny the right to exist of other similar, rival groups. For whatever reasons, the Freudians were almost successful in annihilating the rather small Jungian group in the United States. I discovered that one of the most successful ways of achieving this goal was for Freudians to plead ignorance about Jung. Feigning or indeed truly not knowing anything about Jung was an effective way of denying his existence. In my case, I was told on many occasions during my psychiatric training that my Jungian analysis would hurt my psychiatric career. If my professors had succeeded in dissuading me from entering Jungian training, they would have effectively denied my existence as a Jungian. In addition to simply denying Jung's existence, the Freudian complex about Jungians expressed itself to me as skepticism about Jung's supposed mysticism

and hostility to his alleged political views, especially as they related to World War II. In spite of these dire warnings, I obtained Jungian training and became a Jungian analyst. This meant that I had to overcome the intense negative emotional reactivity of Freudians toward Jung. Such emotional reactivity is characteristic of cultural complexes. Proceeding with my Jungian training was a very difficult thing to do as a young person. My livelihood was at stake and I feared that I would not get patients or be taken seriously as a psychiatrist and an analyst. Whenever Jung's name was brought up during that period, his association to the Nazis was inevitably mentioned. As I had heard a great deal about Jung from my parents and their Jewish colleagues, I knew that the charges against him could not be entirely valid. I had conversations with many Jewish analysts who had been in analysis with Jung during this period.

From the other side of this cultural complex, most early Jungians had a completely negative opinion of Freud and psychoanalysis. As psychoanalysis was the dominant psychology of the time, almost all early Jungians had begun with some form of psychoanalysis, and it had not answered their need. In the process of looking at other alternatives, they had come upon Jung and Jungian analysis, and it had been more compatible and rewarding. As Jung was so marginalized, the early Jungians developed a defensive superiority which denigrated anything to do with early developmental issues, personal unconscious conflicts, and defense structures. Meanwhile they tended to emphasize the spiritual, the archetypal, and the transcendent. Anything to do with personal unconscious material was seen as less important and less relevant than the larger "archetypal issues." Freud was seen as reductive, materialistic, anti-spiritual, and neurotic. There were obvious exceptions to these gross generalizations, i.e., the stereotyping is pathognomonic of a complex, but the attitudes expressed here were generally shared and can now be seen as part of the Jungian cultural complex about Freud and Freudians. The conditions have now changed markedly. Individuals often begin with Jungian analysis and it is no longer marginalized. Also, there no longer is the same stigma if one crosses the party line and sees an analyst from the other camp. For instance, people who identify themselves as Jungian can openly speak of a positive experience with Freudian analysis. But that is just beginning to happen now.

Many years ago, when I began to become more comfortable with an identity as a Jungian analyst, I started to give talks and write about Jungian themes. Because of my background and experience, my lectures often included personal anecdotes about Jung and early Jungians. Therefore, questions often came up about Jung and his relationship to the Nazis and to the Jews. My answer would always include the fact that my parents were Jewish, and that they had been in analysis with him during the period when he was supposed to be anti-Semitic, and they had not found him to be so. This at least quieted most people. I do not think that it necessarily changed anyone's mind. However, even when my lectures have had nothing to do with Jung the man, often I was questioned about Jung's complicity with the Nazis, etc. I continued to give talks and lectures about Jungian subjects, and my interest in the history of Jung and analytical psychology grew. I was elected as

vice-president and then president of the International Association for Analytical Psychology. In that capacity I continued to give lectures on Jung in various parts of the world, including Europe, Korea, South Africa, and Australia. No matter where I went the questions about Jung and his relationship to the Nazis and to anti-Semitism arose, and the exact subject matter of the lecture was not relevant.

Since the early 1980s there have been many changes in psychoanalytic theory and practice with the result that there are now many kinds of psychoanalyses in the world. Furthermore, pharmacological agents have become much more prevalent in the treatment of psychological disorders, and the esteem with which psychoanalysis has been held has decreased considerably. Freud himself has become the subject of much criticism, and the number of people entering psychoanalysis has decreased markedly. At the same time the work of some dissidents, such as Sandor Ferenczi and others rejected by Freud, has become increasingly accepted. The cultures of both psychoanalysis and analytical psychology have begun to shift dramatically – both as separate movements and in relation to one another. An opportunity arose for me to speak about Jung to a primarily psychoanalytic audience. In the year 2000 the International Association for Analytical Psychology became one of the co-sponsors of the International Association for the History of Psychoanalysis conference in Versailles, France (Kirsch 2001). This meant that the Jungians could have one speaker in each of the English, French, and German sessions. I presented a short paper on the topic of Jung as Freud's first critic. The areas of Jung's criticism of Freud that I spoke about were:

- Jung's criticism of libido theory
- Jung's criticism of Freud's undervaluing the importance of the manifest content in dreams
- Jung's criticism of Freud's idea that culture was fundamentally "derivative"
- Jung's inability to accept the concept of analytic neutrality; Jung believed in the dialectical process in analysis, i.e. that the analytic relationship is a two-person psychology.

I presented these criticisms with the idea that there would now be a much greater receptivity to Jung's ideas and even his criticisms of Freud than in 1913 and in the subsequent early years of psychoanalysis.

There were two or three questions about the content of my lecture. Then an American woman psychotherapist from New York stood up and made a statement that there was "an elephant in the room." She stated that Jung was an anti-Semitic Nazi and that he was connected to the Holocaust. She went on to say that there were relatives of people in the room who had died indirectly because of Jung. Her emotional outburst brought a moment of silence and an end to rational discussion. It also brought an emotional reaction from me. I mentioned my family history and told her and the rest of the audience that it was not possible that Jung could have been as she described him. I made these statements with a great deal of feeling,

and I felt very emotionally shaken by the experience. Later, I wondered what it would have been like if I had been able to react calmly to her exaggerated statement against Jung. But, in the moment, we were plunged into the emotional reactivity characteristic of both personal and cultural complexes. During the remainder of the conference several people came up to me and were either critical of my outburst, supportive of my response to the old, familiar accusations or had other questions about Jung. For instance, some asked if Jung had in fact been Jewish and later converted to Christianity. Most of the questions about Jung revealed such a level of naivety about the man and his work that I realized it was still too early to bring Jung into the mainstream of psychoanalytic thought. Once again, I discovered that when I tried to present a rational discussion on the differences between Freud and Jung, Jung's alleged anti-Semitism took over the center stage and inhibited any meaningful discussion. I have asked myself many times what if Jung had been anti-Semitic; does that mean that one cannot discuss his theories objectively? Does that discount them automatically? Given the worst case scenario, which my personal experience tells me is not true, it is both important and necessary to discuss these ideas in as objective a manner as possible.

Obviously, the subject of the Jung–Freud relationship has deep personal meaning for me and the painful exchange that took place at the Versailles conference can easily be formulated at that level. Subsequently however, I have also come to think of this disturbing episode in terms of the notion of a "cultural complex" and its power in the unconscious at the level of both the individual and group psyche. The conflict and its emotion can feel intensely personal – as it did to me at Versailles – but in fact much of the affect comes from a cultural or group level of the psyche that is highly charged for both the individual and the group. Reflecting on this experience from the perspective of the concept of "cultural complexes," I see the cultural complex "taking over" the Versailles experience in the following ways:

- the level of affect that it aroused in me and the audience
- the way in which the "cultural complex" shaped the memory of the participants at the conference in a highly selective way
- through its shaping of memory, the "cultural complex" created its own history and perspective.

The Jung–Freud relationship has become a "cultural complex" through the meaning it has taken on in the followers of Jung and Freud, and through their separate telling of the history of the relationship. Communication of this "history" transmits the "cultural complex" and its tremendous emotional charge to successive generations of Jungian and Freudian analysts. The emotional charge of the cultural complex in the individual and group psyche can easily carry the day when the complex is triggered, altering memory, history and meaning.

A further complicating level of the problem for me has been that, as a Jew, I have been defending Jung, who was purportedly anti-Semitic. Although not a

religiously practicing Jew, I have always strongly identified culturally as a Jew, and this has put me at times in an awkward situation when defending Jung against Freud. The experience in Versailles was certainly one of those times. Another question which has always puzzled me is why Jung has received so much negative criticism about his problematic contact with the Nazis, whereas Heidegger, a known member of the Nazi party throughout the war who sacked his Jewish teacher, Edmund Husserl, does not receive the same level of criticism. It must go back to the original relationship between Freud and Jung which ended so bitterly, and which on both the personal and cultural level still has not been assimilated completely on either side. Of course, Heidegger did not have the followers and students in quite the same way Jung did – and groups have a particularly potent way of transmitting complexes and their tremendous emotion. All of this points to the psychological fact that when speaking about the Freud–Jung relationship, the cultural differences and the unconscious cultural complexes that underlie both their personal relationship and the groups that sprang from their pioneering work must be considered. The readiness with which the unconscious can break through when discussing differences and similarities between Freud and Jung is very much with us. Singer and Kimbles have made us more aware of the profound effect of cultural complexes on our personal lives and our lives as members of groups – be they family, ethnic, professional, regional, or national. As part of our growth process, we need to learn to integrate into consciousness these cultural complexes in the same way that we work towards integrating personal complexes. If we disregard this level of the psyche, we are susceptible to the effects of cultural complexes in unexpected ways. My experience with psychoanalysts in Versailles has confirmed that for me. Even more than that, it has confirmed for me the emotional fact that when individuals and groups get caught in the grips of unconscious cultural complexes, more often than not we are left with very sad stories to tell.

I would like to conclude by reiterating the point that I consider central to this chapter: how we carry the relationship between Freud and Jung inside our individual and group psyches – their collaboration, their fight, the subsequent history of the groups that formed around each of them, and the theory and practice that grew out of their work and their "schools" – constitutes and has contributed to the creation of "cultural complexes" that dwell inside each of us and the groups we identify with and/or see as our rivals. These "cultural complexes" of the Jung–Freud traditions that we carry within ourselves and our groups help define our professional identities and how we interact with our professional world – for better or worse.

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Part III

The cultural complex in the psyche of the individual: clinical cases

In this part, the authors have focused their attention on the cultural complex as it lives in the psyche of the individual as revealed in clinical case material. In these chapters the reader can see how the cultural complex takes on a life in the psyche of the individual and can cause considerable disturbance. It is an enormously important topic because it offers the psychotherapist and others the possibility of differentiating personal complexes from cultural complexes as they appear in the clinical material of patients.

Jung's work on complexes emphasized their repetitive, autonomous, affect laden nature as they function at the personal level of the individual's psychological functioning. Later, John Weir Perry (1970) emphasized the bipolar nature of personal complexes. When activated, one part of the bipolar complex attaches itself to the ego and the other part gets projected onto a suitable other. Cultural complexes – operating at the group level of the psyche in individuals and as group level processes – share the same characteristics as individual complexes. They are repetitive, autonomous, resist consciousness, affect-laden and bipolar.

In these clinical chapters, Sam Kimbles, Helen Morgan and John Beebe describe how the cultural complex functions in their analysands and, when the bipolarity of the complex is in the forefront, how it can come alive in the transference/countertransference relationship. In reading these clinical chapters, the reader is encouraged to focus on how the cultural complex structures the clinical/analytic dialogue. The cultural complex operates in the cultural unconscious of both the group psyche and the group level of the individual psyche. These group level processes deeply influence the personal and cultural histories' of both analyst and analysand and how they interact.

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Chapter 13

A cultural complex operating in the overlap of clinical and cultural space

Samuel L. Kimbles

> All history is a negotiation between familiarity and strangeness.
>
> Simon Schama

> Private and public cannot be separated.
>
> James Hillman

Cultural complexes, development and the group

In the analytic situation, the emergence of a cultural complex will be related in some way to the personal complexes already under investigation. This relationship will be reflected, on the one hand, in the dreams and fantasies on the patient and, on the other, in the dynamics of transference/countertransference as experienced by the analyst.

Cultural complex dynamics operate at the group level of the psyche of the individual and within the dynamic field of group life. They are expressions of deeply held beliefs and emotions that are characteristically expressed through both group and individual representations, images, affects, patterns, and practices. Cultural complexes play out in the intermediate area between the archetypal layer of the psyche on the one hand and the more personal level of unconscious life on the other. Through the activity of these complexes belonging to a larger cultural whole, the individual has a feeling of belonging to a specific group with a specific identity. As a corollary, through expressing these complexes, the individual's own identity becomes defined partially in reference to a specific group. In addition, group members come to have a sense of how their own reference group reacts to and feels about another group or groups and how these "other" groups react to and feel about the individual's own group. Within such an "us and them" field, in-group beliefs, affects, ideologies and values develop and grow increasingly compelling very early in life.

One component of becoming a member of any group is the development of a sense of how other groups are seen and of what other groups believe, see, and react to about one's own reference group. Researchers have shown that children become

aware of race, ethnicity and gender as early as between the ages of 3 and 4, sorting themselves and others after that through the use of these categories (Clark 1963; Aboud 1988). By age 6, children feel themselves able to infer others' social beliefs and psychological perspective on the basis of such categories (McKowen and Weinstein 2003). In their study McKowen and Weinstein found that

> with regard to children's ability to infer an individual's stereotype, at age six, a very small proportion of children (18 percent) were able to infer an individual stereotype. After age six, the proportion of children able to infer an individual's stereotype increased linearly with age, peaking at 93 percent at age ten. At that age they are able to infer individual and broadly held group stereotypes. [And] when children from stigmatized groups [groups treated differently, and indeed, qualitatively less well, because of race, ethnicity, and gender] become aware of broadly held [negative] stereotypes, indirectly activated stereotype threat can significantly hamper cognitive performance.
>
> (McKowen and Weinstein 2003: 510)

From the standpoint of analytical psychology, studies of these dynamic consequences provide research validation for the role of cultural complexes in shadowing development.

Psychodynamically, it is easy to imagine how this very early childhood group awareness will become part of a person's unconscious fantasies while assessing self and others. Such unconscious fantasies regulate self-esteem, serve narcissistic needs, provide an outlet for sexual and aggressive conflicts and feelings, support acting out, and create denial and defenses of all sorts.

Additionally, the fantasies stimulated by cultural complexes, even when stereotypes can provide the positive energy for self-completion and enhancement by bringing forth compensating or missing dimensions to personal development (e.g., "as a black woman, I can imagine myself being an effective singer"). Such group unconscious fantasies, though originally structured by cultural complexes rather quickly become connected to some aspect of the child's developmental process and are then played out in relationship to the appropriate personal complex, i.e., father complex, mother complex, ambition complex, etc.

It is important to stress that these group fantasies need not have been directly experienced by the child since they are already available in the attitudes, actions, affects, assumptions, and rituals of the parents who themselves reflect and embody a larger sociopolitical world. Common representational images of the group appear at holidays and at other times in the life of the family, and these often celebrate the history of the group and the shared identity that that implies, for example Hanukkah. These representations are intertwined with the images of self and other that pervade the child's developing personal complexes.

This intermingling of cultural assumption with individual development leads to an interesting paradox. The subject of the cultural complex is the group with its affects, beliefs and rituals. However, cultural complexes become known through

the activity and play of individual consciousness. "Then it [i.e., the introjection of cultural history] becomes a matter of internal history . . . happenings in the . . . 'Heaven' or 'Hell' that man carries within himself" (Corbin 1980: 8). It is

> history made by the praxis of human subject, which often results in complex structures of discourses that have relative autonomy from (or are not fully accountable in terms of) the intentions, aims, needs, interests and objections of human subjects.
>
> (West 1999: 72)

Jung in his 1925 lectures referred to unconscious ancestral elements in the psyche:

> There is one ego in the conscious and another made up of unconscious ancestral elements, by the force of which a man who has been fairly himself over a period of years suddenly falls under the sway of an ancestor . . . Perhaps certain traits belonging to the ancestors get buried away in the mind as complexes with a life of their own which has never been assimilated into the life of the individual, and then, for some unknown reason, these complexes become activated, step out of their obscurity in the folds of the unconscious, and begin to dominate the whole mind . . . The complex will be awakened because the situation is one in which the individual is best adapted through this ancestral attitude.
>
> (Jung 1989: 36, 37, 82)

Jung's attempt to define an aspect of the psyche that has a group historical component, which is activated by specific life situations, is echoed in his attitude toward neurosis, which he defines as a failure of the individual to engage with the demands of the present:

> The symptoms of a neurosis are not simply the effects of long-past causes, whether "infantile sexuality" or the infantile urge to power; they are also attempts at a new synthesis of life-unsuccessful attempts, let it be added in the same breath, yet attempts nevertheless, with a core of value and meaning. They are seeds that fail to sprout owing to the inclement conditions of an inner and outer nature.
>
> (Jung 1953: 46)

Some of the challenging questions raised by the concept of cultural complexes are: what is the relationship of cultural complexes to individual complexes? How do they enter the clinical situation? What is their particular effect in shaping transference and countertransference dynamics? Do they also initiate intrapsychic dynamics? If, so how do they shape individual experience? How are personal/historical and cultural/historical processes related and reflected in clinical practice? It is my hope that the reader will keep these questions in mind while reading the following account of a clinical case in which all these issues were raised.

A note on transference and countertransference

The analytic dyad of the case I am about to describe was composed of a male African American analyst and a white female patient. Though the different influences of race, ethnicity, and gender on therapy processes have been generally acknowledged within the analytic literature, the role of such culturally loaded processes within analysis have in the main not been deeply explored. Yet it should be obvious that the unconscious idioms, identifications, affect structures that contribute to a sense of being a person within a particular reference group will also become active contributors to transference and countertransference and at times make the interpretation of these dynamics difficult. Cultural differences may complicate the treatment process by generating guilt, aggression, and denial about the role of differences, and the conflict of complexes that results can generate excessive ambivalence, curiosity, doubt, defensiveness, and confusion. On the other hand, similarities in cultural and group identities between patient and analyst may result in the mutual unconsciousness of shared cultural complexes, contributing to a kind of blindness toward the role of group level dynamics both in the analytic situation and in the generation of individual psychodynamics. With an openness to the likely presence of cultural complexes, whether in competition or collusion, however, the opportunities for both patient and analyst to see what the unconscious has been doing with the fact of differences and to observe how this gets represented and narrated in the unfolding analysis, is rich indeed. In the clinical case presentation that follows, I hope to show the role of cultural complex in a psychotherapeutic process.

The patient

Jo Ann (aged 52) sought analysis for an "ongoing malaise" that left her "feeling empty" and "depressed." She had had one previous therapy experience with a female therapist and a two-year analysis with a male analyst. Both the therapy and the analytic experience ended with Jo Ann feeling that she was not getting anywhere. My reflections on her terminations were that she had left both previous therapies out of anger and disillusionment. Jo Ann entered the analysis with me with ambivalence and out of a need to do "something."

Her ambivalence manifested itself on two levels: on the one level, she would complain often that she had little to say, and on a deeper, more characterological level, she seemed to be saying that she could not make use of the experience of being with me; couldn't feel where it was going or its relevance to the rest of her life. Nor could she seem to connect with the lost, vital part of herself. In the transference, the emotional frustration and disillusionment that she had experienced as a child were being lived out in yet one more therapy relationship. She wanted something from the therapy and from me that she could not articulate. Hence, the analysis continued to be experienced by both of us as dry and depriving.

I learned from her that she had been married for close to twenty-five years. There were no children in the marriage. She grew up in a Midwestern community where she was the youngest of three, with an older brother and an older sister. At the start of the analysis, she felt close to her sister, but not her brother. This state of relations was the reverse of what it had been when she was growing up and for most of her young adult life. Then, she felt closer to her brother.

Early in our work, Jo Ann reported a set of memories that she located as beginning at the age of 4 or 5. At that early age, she began experiencing nighttime anxieties and fears. At such times she would go to her father's bed for comfort. It was at these times that she realized that not only were her parents not sleeping in the same bed, but also they were not sleeping in the same room. Going to her father's bed became a regular pattern that lasted well into her latency years. She felt her mother was too preoccupied or depressed to be available to her. She could not remember any family discussion about her anxieties and her responses to them.

Though Jo Ann had an advanced degree in counseling, her psychological-mindedness was mostly intellectual and concrete. She would make attempts to reason or think her way through emotional issues, which intensified her experience of frustration. We had been meeting for two years when she indicated that she would need to have surgery and that she would have to stop analysis for six to eight weeks. She also indicated that she was not sure she would return to analysis. I suggested to her that, whatever her decision, she return to analysis after the surgery and discuss it with me. I also wondered aloud with her why she would cut herself off from our relationship at such a time. Though much of her feelings of ambivalence about continuing came to circulate around her feeling that I did not care for her. She did take a six weeks' break from the analysis.

When she returned to analysis from her break, Jo Ann indicated that she was still ambivalent about continuing but had six dreams involving the analyst and the analysis. Her psyche seemed to have provided one dream for each week of break from the analysis. In reviewing her dreams they all reflected themes that moved from my ignoring her to my recognizing her by including some of her art work in my office. I reflected to her that it seems that the analysis continued to be important to her and she seemed to have made use of the time apart from the analysis to continue a connection to our work. At this time she introduced another theme by way of a thought that she had while on the break. The thought was that commitment to the analysis would result in the loss of her attachment to her parents. She recognized it as an odd thought. I had the thought (which I did not share) that her having the analysis would be like having the father again and excluding the mother. But I thought that her actual statement reflected her fear of losing attachment to both parents. I said to her that her fear reflected in that thought must deepen her feelings of ambivalence and this must make it hard for her to have the therapy and her relationship to me. It was following this session that she related the dreams and fantasies I would like to focus on here.

Two dreams, two fantasies, a personal and cultural complex

Jo Ann shared two dreams with me in sessions about three weeks apart. During roughly the same time period, she shared two fantasies with me. These were related sequentially, the first fantasy coming in one week and the second fantasy, which was in some way an elaboration of the first one, came the week following.

First dream and first fantasy

Jo Ann told me:

> The dream takes place in the bedroom of my childhood home. Something is going on outside. There are two men, one African American and the other Native American. They are wanted for something (by the law). They are hiding underneath my window. I yelled for them to go away. Then, I changed my mind, filled up a bottle of water to give to them. But then, I am not sure if I'm going to have sex with them or what. The dream changes, and now the three of us are in a courtroom as defendants. The men have gotten cleaned up, and their skin is lighter. I guess I'm being tried for helping them, and whatever else they were hunted for.

Jo Ann offered some associations to the dream:

> Yesterday at home I heard barking dogs outside my house. My dog was barking at stray dogs that were in my garage. I yelled at them to go away. They did. Similarly, in the dream I yelled at the two men to go away, then decided to take care of them, as in the recurrent fantasy I had when I was a little girl. In this fantasy, Indians were being hunted because of fighting. I was a little white girl, and my father in the fantasy was trying to catch them – catch one of the Indians for me. I finally would get one as a slave or servant. I would pick him out and nurse him back together. Then we would run away together.

Jo Ann shared another association to the dream: "That the men had gotten cleaned up to look responsible. That, she said, made her feel betrayed, because it meant that they won't be in as much trouble, but that she will get in trouble."

Finally, she said:

> Your comment about my having the therapy and the relationship for myself must have triggered this dream and made me remember the fantasy. I thought of your comment as sexual. Sex with you would be a loss for the child part, but the adult part would feel good about feeling desired.

Themes related to this dream and the fantasy

The aspect of Jo Ann's developmental history that is most directly related to this unconscious material is the way she turned to her father for comfort and her corresponding absence of fantasies and feelings about the consequences to her mother. The dream was stimulated by my saying that she has the analysis all to herself. In reality, she has her husband all to herself (no children). In the analysis the unconscious, Oedipal anxiety this must generate has undergone a rather unusual transformation. The following aspects of this transformation have evident transferential implications:

- The patient's joining of the Native American man of her childhood fantasy with the black man (analyst). Both, to her mind, are fugitives, feared and desired and approached ambivalently.
- Her wish to secure someone (or something) for herself through subjugation, i.e., slavery or servitude.
- Her guilt over the relationship with her therapist and the loss of her parents.
- Her Oedipal anxiety (the idea of having the men all to herself is shadowed by the fear the authorities will not approve), which is covered by a cultural complex involving guilt over the politically incorrect desire to subjugate African or Indian men. Although the latter, cultural complex predominates, it is being used to manage a personal complex.
- Her unconscious conflation of a cultural complex and a personal complex in her attempt to manage two different kinds of anxieties, tension over cultural differences and tension over differences related to personal (in this case, Oedipal) dynamics.

By telling me her childhood fantasy along with her dream I feel she is trying to talk at the same time about two complexes – a cultural and a personal one. The cultural complex is revealed through the patient's utilization of the cultural stereotype of the "noble savage" in need of civilizing help from the "enlightened" white culture. In the patient's fantasy she gets to have such a figure as – a slave and/or servant, all to herself, a male object she can civilize in the process of making of him her own. In this symbolic way she gets to have the father. I recognize this as a common Eurocentric fantasy: absorbing minorities into a system of values that are considered superior or better.

The entitled racism behind such benevolence gets covered over by the innocence of the belief that the good deed of improving the other makes the subjugation involved all right. At the same time, this patient is guilty about this fantasy, because another cultural complex, one coming into being in her lifetime with the rise of attitudes questioning racism and colonialism, makes such supremacist thinking "unthinkable." In a sense, my patient is caught between two stereotypes, one modern and "enlightened," one postmodern and "politically correct." Both of these stereotypes have become complexes limiting her capacity to imagine and reason freely.

Gilman has commented that:

> the complexity of the stereotype results from the social context in which it is to be found. This context parallels, but is not identical to, the earlier symbiotic context in which the child begins to differentiate himself from the world. The deep structure of the stereotype reappears in the adult as a response to anxiety, an anxiety having its roots in the potential disintegration of the mental representations the individual has created and internalized. It is an unconscious sense of symbiosis with the world, a world under the control of the self. Anxiety arises as much through any alteration of the sense of order (real or imagined) between the self and the other (real or imagined) as through the strains of regulating repressed drives.
>
> (Gilman 1985: 19)

In my patient's case, this anxiety is fueled by her transference to me, a representative of the dreaded and desired Other, who will lead her beyond her parents' world and values. The (feared) loss of the parents becomes an expression of a feared change in relationship to the world generally that can come about to and through her relationship to this new Other (the analyst). The Native American man and the Black man, as animus figures connecting her to this new possibility, personify the Other that is feared and desired, and they must be possessed and subjugated in order for her to feel safe. In the transference this feared and desired animus, projected in a veiled way onto me, gets managed through distancing and encapsulating defenses and mostly is expressed, not as ambivalence toward me, but as ambivalence toward the analysis itself.

It should be pointed out that some of this ambivalence stems from the very cultural education she had experienced growing up in her parents world. One of the dynamics contributing to the creation of a conflict of cultural complexes within the patient was her keenly felt sense of a disturbance between the moral creed of fair play and equality that she had actually experienced in her family's tolerant attitude toward others (both parents were well-educated liberals for whom overt racist ideologies were anathema) and the subtle practices of discrimination and the devaluation of those who are different that were an unreflected-upon part of the culture in which she and her parents lived. In talking about the etiology of complexes, Jung states that:

> their origin is frequently a so-called trauma, an emotional shock or some such thing, that splits off a bit of the psyche. Certainly one of the commonest causes is a moral conflict, which ultimately derives from the apparent impossibility of affirming the whole of one's nature. This impossibility presupposes a direct split, no matter whether the conscious mind is aware of it or not.
>
> (Jung 1960: 204: 98)

Jung's statement of etiology can I believe apply both to the complexes that arise in a nation or group as well as to the origin of complexes in an individual. Moral conflict in the larger society related to race relations is an open cultural wound, a continuation of dynamics from slavery that gets replayed daily in race relations in current society, which continue to be structured around a fantasy of white supremacy and entitlement, if not to subjugate, to somewhere feel entitled to control the person of color. Jo Ann's fantasies, which she had the courage to reveal to me in analysis, dramatized a set of anxieties and conflicts that exist for most persons at the cultural level about race and difference. They were camouflaged, in the analysis, by the personal Oedipal anxieties that were easier to recognize (although it might be said that the cultural anxieties could also camouflage the Oedipal anxieties).

Second fantasy – second session

Following the sharing of both the dream and fantasy discussed above, Jo Ann said she remembered another fantasy she indulged herself in as a latency age girl. Jo Ann:

> This is another fantasy of the white girl, this time with a black man. In the fantasy she's seduced, gets pregnant, has several children and is taken out of her usual life. Sometimes the fantasy is that the father has arranged the whole thing. Her father is rich and powerful but has had financial reversals when he meets the black man, who has connections. The father works out a deal about where to sell the daughter for the resources he needs. Then the black man takes her off to an island where she has babies. She becomes a prisoner of this guy – never goes to school. So, in the fantasy I am disappointed by both my father and the black man, who had promised my father that he would send me to school.

Jo Ann could not remember exactly when she started having this version of the fantasy. Interestingly, she had no associations to the black man.

The second fantasy shows that the black man had been a part of Jo Ann's internal world prior to the meeting with me and his presence is directly related to how she handles the erotic feelings that belonged to her father complex. This unconscious strategy is not surprising since "Race has – and has long had – a massive presence in the sexual imagination of Americans. The shadow cast by race on sexual notions, experiences, and feelings is apparent at every level of the culture" (Kennedy 2003: 14). The black man, as animus, comes to represent the desired and forbidden erotic feelings that Jo Ann has repressed in her relationship with her father. She can have a relationship with him (in fantasy) where he stands in for the father. However, this animus is not to her mind a benevolent power but is aligned with the father in betraying her. It is as if the father makes a bargain with the devil and she with a negative animus. On an intrapsychic level, this betrayal

would represent her own self-betrayal of her feeling life through identifying with reason and objectivity. Her identification with the rational side of her nature shows how she protected and defended herself from the Oedipal heat in the relationship with her father. In being bought and sold she shows that she is unable to negotiate with the animus but falls under its domination, which is to say she becomes passive. This leads her to a feeling of isolation and into a situation where she is not allowed to develop consciousness. She is cut off from both her life and her spirit. Another way of saying this is that by enacting the role of her father's anima figure, her own feminine agency is repressed and possessed and not allowed to develop. The fantasy therefore, on a personal level, speaks to a malignant aspect in her relationship with her father that developed because of a serious disconnection between her mother and father on the one hand, and between herself and her mother on the other. In spite of the prominence of the father complex in Jo Ann's material, from the point of view of object relations an authentic transition from the mother to the father has not been made by Jo Ann. Her failure to negotiate this Oedipal transit is reflected in her omnipotent defenses, which have resulted in her having been unable to identify comfortably with either parent. For as Ogden astutely states,

> the [healthy] transition is not from one object to another, but from a relationship to an internal object (an object that is not completely separate from oneself) to a cathexis of an external object (an object that exists outside of one's omnipotence). Abrupt disillusionment in the pre-Oedipal period leads not to an advance to whole-object relatedness, but to a redoubling of the child's efforts at omnipotent defensive solutions worked out in relation to internal objects.
>
> (Ogden 1989: 112–113)

Second dream – third session

In the third session she shared the following dream:

> The bodies of a young man and woman are on the beach. Their parents have drugged them temporarily. They're stacked on top of each other motionless. I think this is disrespectful because they are placed with their genitals touching. They have delicate bones below the waist. The third and fourth toes grow from a common stem and are shaped like a Y. I think about cloven hooves – that they have been deliberately created. Now I am walking along the beach, when a dark, brown bull comes out of the water and confronts me by making the point that he's in charge. Then the bull goes back into the water.

Analysis of the second dream

This dream, with its obvious phallic imagery of the bull, shows that the incest archetype has come to the fore. In Jung's psychology, the incest archetype is not simply desire for the parent of the opposite [or same] sex; it is an *a priori* image of the wholeness of the self as a union opposites, represented by the divine couple in Sacred Marriage (*hieros gamos*). Incest, therefore, becomes a way to represent the movement toward wholeness, a consummation of the desire for coherence of self–other experience that exist in the psyche. In this second dream, the young, drugged couple would represent the unanimated image of wholeness. Jo Ann's spirit and life has been under the spell of her negative parental relationship (the separation between mother and father and the incestuous triangle). The bull's appearance reflects an activated libido at the animal level that has occurred in the service of bringing forth this missing instinctive dimension of Jo Ann's psyche. This is the imagery of healing belonging to a much earlier cultural complex than the Enlightenment fantasy of human superiority. The narrative that relates humans to bulls began in the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. Neolithic people saw in the bull a symbol of boundless strength, power and sexuality. The regression of her libido, represented by the bull, to a whole other level of pre-culture, is her psyche's ways of attempting to make available to her the missing instinctive element in her functioning. The bull indicates very strongly that it is in charge, which is to say that an other than human archetype has taken the lead in her healing. That is to say, contrary to her fantasy solution of being the rescuer or savior of the black and/or Native American man (as instinctive animus), the movement of the instinctive level of her psyche is in charge, from an era when present-day racial distinctions would not have made much sense.

As Robert Stein puts it, "The aim of the analytical process might be stated as follows: to help the individual regain his trust and connection to his instincts, so that he may live spontaneously, instinctually and creatively" (Stein 1974/1993: 22).

Jung understood that regression to a less than modern layer of cultural orientation was often necessary to achieve this purpose:

> If this layer is activated by the regressive libido, there is a possibility of life being renewed, and also of its being destroyed. Regression carried to its logical conclusion means a linking back with the world of natural instincts, which in its formal or ideal aspect is a kind of *prima materia*.
>
> (Jung 1967: 408)

Through such regression, both personal and cultural complexes inhibiting the growth of personality can begin to heal in the glow of experiencing oneself as fundamentally embodied in a way that feels prior to cultural conditioning, even though in fact it draws upon an earlier level of cultural experience when nature and civilization were not quite so far apart.

Summary and conclusion

The goal of this chapter has been to illustrate the close clinical relationship between a cultural complex and personal complex in the analytic material of a 52-year-old female patient. In her fantasies, starting as early as her preadolescent years, the patient has been utilizing stereotypes to represent anxieties and conflicts that were active in her early developmental history. That my patient had no actual relationship to the cultural figures of her fantasies and dreams shows the relatively autonomy of cultural stereotypes at the level of the cultural unconscious (Henderson). Her creative use of these stereotypes reveals, however, that a cultural complex may function unconsciously in the individual, just as in the culture, to organize and bind anxiety related to differences. The patient's libido showed itself in analysis to have the creativity to regress to what for her was a pre-culture level, in order to make available to her a missing instinctive dimension in her conscious psychological functioning.

The dynamics suggested by her use of imagery have had significant implications for the transference and countertransference that have emerged in this patient's analysis. Much remains to be explored at a conscious level, if the patient is to integrate the creativity shown in her fantasies. For one thing the relationship with the analyst as a real black man compared to the imaginary black man of her fantasy has yet to explored as an intersubjective reality.

The analysis so far has been an island separate from any responsibility to explore cultural attitudes in any deep way. The patient's own dream warns that if analysis simply amounts to the patient being taken to an island by her black man, who doesn't then attend to her education, it will be a betrayal of the patriarchal duty to help her become conscious of the cultural complexes that her own psyche clearly indicates she would like to learn more about, as part of her preparation for conscious living in the world.

Cultural complex and personal complexes are intertwined in the clinical situation in ways that deepen the intersubjective field beyond mental apparatus (id, ego, etc.) and personal object relations. Historical processes functioning through cultural complexes need not have been a part of actual, external experience in order to have effects on the consciousness of individuals and/or groups. Cultural images are reflections of both fantasies and of concrete realities and are organized by cultural complexes. In the intersubjective matrix created by personal and cultural complexes, larger cultural moral dilemmas and issues can get personified by differences and the kinship feelings created by similarities can render the group level of the psyche invisible.

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Chapter 14

Exploring racism

A clinical example of a cultural complex

Helen Morgan

Introduction

In an article on racism for the *Guardian* newspaper, March 4, 2000, C. Grayling wrote:

> It is an irony that although racism is a reality, and a harsh one, race itself is a complete fiction. It has no genetic or biological basis. All human beings are closely related to one another, and at the same time each human being is unique. Not only is the concept of race entirely artificial, it is new; yet in its short existence it has, like most lies and absurdities current among us, done a mountain of harm.
>
> (Grayling 2000)

Recent developments in the analysis of DNA have confirmed what has been suspected, that the term "race" is entirely empty as a system of categorization. Yet racism is a harsh reality that continues to do its "mountain of harm." In an article I wrote a few years back called "Between Fear and Blindness: the White Therapist and the Black Patient" I attempted to explore an analytic understanding of this phenomenon using some clinical examples (Morgan 1998). Central to my consideration was the concept of projection – especially of the shadow onto the "other." I still consider this to be the best explanation of *how* racism has its effect, but it does not provide enough of an answer of *why*, nor does it elucidate why this particular divide came about in the first place.

This chapter, therefore, is an attempt to think about the how and the why. To do so I have returned to the clinical piece I presented in the previous article – my work with Dee, a black woman who I saw three or four times a week over some years. For in among this material were two little "slips" which have continued to interest me. It is as if two tiny holes opened up in the floor of ego consciousness and here I want to dig down into the spaces they have created to see if they can help to illuminate what might be called the racist layers of the unconscious psyche.

Clinical background

Dee was the eldest of four having come from a religious family where a strict discipline was imposed on all the children. This discipline was sometimes harsh and often experienced as arbitrary, to which Dee responded by retreating into a fantasy world inside herself and away from the family. It was only in her late teens that she discovered that she had been adopted when she was 6 months old. Her biological mother had become pregnant when still young, and the baby had been taken by her sister who had just married. The people, therefore, who Dee had grown up believing to be her parents, were, in fact, her aunt and uncle. The birth mother left the area after which time all contact with her was lost, and the couple who adopted Dee proceeded to have three children of their own. The identity of the natural father was not known by the adoptive parents.

For some months into the therapy Dee was polite and eager to please, yet we didn't seem to really be engaged with each other. It was only after the first long break came that any negativity surfaced when she began to miss occasional sessions. This was interpreted as an expression of anger and a reenactment of her "disappearance" from the family as a child, but it remained a theoretical understanding and wasn't felt in the room by either of us. Gradually I became aware of a feeling in me in her sessions of wanting her to leave. One day, as I looked at her on the couch, the phrase "cuckoo in the nest" came into my mind. I realized the more particular thought was that she was a "cuckoo in *my* nest" and I didn't want her there.

Negative thoughts about patients are usually accepted, welcomed even, as countertransference responses, and helpful, therefore, in illuminating what might be going on. This time the thought was experienced as intrusive, alien and unwanted, and it was hard for me to own. After a while I said that there seemed to be a wish in the room for us not to be together. Dee was clearly relieved and began to talk of her growing sense that she didn't belong with me, that being in therapy was a betrayal of herself and maybe not right for her. Over the next few weeks she verbally attacked therapy in a contemptuous way, describing it as tyrannical and against people thinking. At one point she was saying how she feared that I would – and she meant to say "brainwash" her – what she actually said was that I would "whitewash" her.

For Dee the early loss of the mother, and the later felt tenuousness of the bond with the adoptive mother was the pain that lay at the center of her self. She was, in many senses, the cuckoo in the nest, not a real part of the family and not conscious of why. She had to be good to hold on to her mother's love, but she still kept being beaten for crimes she often didn't understand. Her rage had no expression and she had to defend against angry, destructive thoughts in case she was rejected altogether. She could cope with the situation only by retreating into a fantasy world and into ideas of suicide, as her only way of making sense was to imagine that there was something fundamentally wrong with her.

The strict religious culture of this particular family meant that Dee's

illegitimacy was regarded as a sin which was covered up by the aunt's adoption of the baby. One can only speculate how the adoptive parents felt towards this child, the product of shameful intercourse, especially after the birth of their own children. But I believe that my thought and Dee's verbal slip tell us something of their unconscious rejection of this infant, and of the child's sense of her own wrongness, but also of a fear that her "rehabilitation" requires a whitening that will wipe out her distinctive self.

Here, then, were two individuals together in a room in northwest London at the very end of the twentieth century. Both were well educated and used to the multiculturalism of a world shrunk by telecommunications and migration, and both would describe themselves as liberal in their thinking. Into this engagement two small, barely formed thoughts pushed their way, each unwanted yet each managing to slip past the defences and through the cracks of the ego consciousness of the thinker. As has been touched on, each idea, one spoken and one merely thought, informed a deeper understanding of the particular vicissitudes of Dee's personal psyche, and also of the unconscious transference–countertransference relationship between us.

What I am interested in exploring here, however, is whether these two fears – of the cuckoo and of the whitewash – tell us anything about a larger dynamic within the social and historic framework of which we are part. A significant clue to this lies in the fact that we both sought initially to reject these ideas that emerged unbidden in our respective minds. It was as if they each erupted into the relationship, spoiling as they did so, the benign, enlightened view we held about ourselves and about the other. Apparently at a deeper, more raw pre-rational level, there was a fear one of the other. The *fact* that the other was perceived as a threat was the same, but the form the threat took differed, and an amplification of these specific images may shed further light on this unconscious, asymmetrical relationship between "black" and "white."

The cuckoo in the nest

The familiar phrase "cuckoo in the nest" refers to the attribute for which the cuckoo is well known, its brood parasitism. The cuckoo does not build its own nest but lays its eggs singly in the nests of other bird species. The eggs are then incubated and reared unwittingly by the foster parents. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* various adaptations enhance the survival of the egg. These are:

> egg mimicry, in which the cuckoo egg resembles that of the host, thus minimising rejection by the host; removal of one or more host eggs by the adult cuckoo, reducing both the competition from host nestlings and the danger of recognition by the host that an egg has been added to the nest; and nest-mate ejection, in which the young cuckoo heaves from the nest the host's eggs and nestlings.

You can't help but feel sorry for the poor host-bird. She works away building this nest for her offspring and then diligently incubates the eggs until they are ready to hatch. She is not aware that she has a foreigner, an intruder among her treasures. Maybe one of her own has already been tipped out to make way for this interloper. Maybe it is yet to be destroyed by this pseudo-sibling. The cuckoo is the lazy parasitic good-for-nothing penetrating the nest when the host-mother isn't looking and exploiting her efforts and her innocence.

The nest is a place of retreat, our comfortable home, the place where we belong. We "feather our own nest" and we lay down that which we have worked for and saved, our nice little nest egg. Listen to the current rhetoric in Britain concerning asylum seekers and one hears the fear of the bird in her nest. British people live with the privilege of a prosperity they hug to themselves, fearful of the intruder who will steal it from them and of the envious attack of the other. The introduction of the notion of the "bogus" as opposed to the "genuine" asylum seeker legitimizes this fear while at the same time allowing British people to maintain a perception of themselves as generous and hospitable to those who are deemed worthy of their acceptance. The image of the "bogus" summons up the sham, the impostor who could exploit the people's innocence and trick them into sharing their hard-won wealth should they relax their vigilance. This intruder can contaminate the nest, usurp the rightful child and replace it with the alien. The infant's greed is an abuse of the beneficence of the mother and, as such, is sacrilege. It will gobble up the people's hard-earned resources while they flap about working to feed this impostor and looking foolish.

Put this way the projective elements in this fear become evident. If anyone has intruded into the other's nest, plundered its resources, fed off its land and displaced its children, it is the Europeans. A substantial part of the feathering of this nest has been through the exploitation of developing countries. The prosperity we enjoy in the West was largely pillaged from the colonies, from slavery and exploitation, and continues via the inequality of present-day trade. But even deeper than this is the privilege of the white skin *per se*. It seems to be a great privilege indeed, and must, therefore, be guarded deep in the safe realms of the unconscious.

Why is this apparently trivial fact of being born with skin of a lighter hue, such a privilege? How was it made so? The history of racism is the history of the construction of an idea, of a way of making divisions, of categorizing, which then become so imbued in our ways of perceiving the world it seems that no other view is possible. The concept of "race" itself, the division of humanity into groups who can be defined by appearance, is only an idea, but has come to be perhaps the most powerful in its implications that the human mind has ever conceived. The history of this idea shows that it is a conception of the European mind which, in its dominion, has secured the right to say how the world is to be divided and, in so doing, to award supremacy to itself. As Joel Kovel points out:

> the world is neither black nor white, but hued. A lightly-hued people – aided perhaps by fantasies derived from their skin color – came to dominate

> the entire world, and in the process defined themselves as white. The process that generated this white power also generated the fear and dread of the black.
>
> (Kovel 1988: 95)

It is common to many cultures that the notion of "white" carries with it thoughts of light, purity, innocence, and of the divine. "Black," on the other hand, is often associated with the dark, with shit, dirt and the devil. Once the light-hued defined themselves as white, and the dark-hued as black, then the respective associations could be appropriated and linked to peoples. As Hillman (1986) explores at length in his article "Notes on White Supremacy," white and black are *not* opposites in themselves but have been made to be so by the white: "White casts its own white shadow." This conclusion may be bettered to say, "white sees its own shadows in black," not because they are inherently opposed but because it is archetypally given with whiteness to imagine in oppositions. To say it again: the supremacy of white depends on oppositional imagining (Hillman 1986: 13).

By defining white and black, an opposition was set up. By associating goodness with one and badness with the other, by embodying the difference and fixing it in the unalterable nature of our wrappings, white supremacy became assured and unassailable. Thus the domination of the other, the establishment of white privilege, was justified. Philosophy, religion and science have been employed to bolster that privilege, science assuring us that that physiognomy and phrenology tell us that how we look is how we are, that physical appearance, the superficial, defines not only who we are and who we are not, but also a hierarchy of quality and, therefore of justifiable privilege.

Religion too had an important part to play in affirming white supremacy. A little story in the Old Testament of the Bible took on a great significance in this matter. This story tells us how Ham failed to cover his eyes and saw his father, Noah, naked and drunk and how, as a consequence, God cursed the descendants of Ham and his son Canaan. The curse condemned all future generations of Ham's line to servitude to the children of the other obedient sons. Thus the keeping of slaves is validated. Indeed, through being endorsed by God Himself, it becomes almost a duty.

The whitewash

The story of white supremacy has not been told only by the whites to the whites for it has been essential that the blacks learn the stories too, and learn them well. The privilege of the white skin and the inferiority of the black is a message that comes through the media, through our institutions, through our professions. The pervasiveness of such a message gets into us all and is one from which neither white nor black is immune. Such a message is sure to take its toll, a toll on the black individual about which Frantz Fanon writes:

> As I begin to recognize that the Negro is the symbol of sin, I catch myself hating the Negro. But then I recognize that I am a Negro. There are two ways out of this conflict. Either I ask others to pay no attention to my skin, or else I want them to be aware of it. I try then to find value for what is bad – since I unthinkingly conceded that the black man is the color of evil.
>
> (Fanon 1986: 197)

(As an aside – for it is not the focus of this chapter – it is worth noting how this idea of finding value in what is bad has echoes in the way that language is continually overturned by modern, black youth culture whereby terms such as "wicked" and "bad" are used to express their opposite, that which is of value.)

Fanon's book from which this quote is taken is entitled *Black Skin, White Masks*. The concept of the white mask brings us close to that of the whitewash. According to Chambers Dictionary this is defined as:

> to cover with whitewash; to give a fair appearance to; to take steps to clear the stain from (a reputation), cover up (an official misdemeanour) or rehabilitate (a person) in the public eye; to beat (an opponent) so decisively in a game that he or she fails to score at all.

In the therapy with Dee her unconscious slip from "brainwash" to "whitewash" opened up the question of her relationship to color – both hers and mine. She was initially shocked by the idea that she was relating to me as a colonial, imperial power that could take her over with my mind. Soon after this she began to express a disparagement of blackness. She said she had been secretly relieved that I was white when she first met me because of a sense that a black therapist would be second rate and she wanted the best. She was deeply ashamed of these feelings as a woman who was politically aware and dismissive of the mimicry she saw in some black people.

The fact of being black in a white society fitted her personal sense of not belonging. Her experiences of racism had provided an unconscious confirmation that she was "bad" and deserving punishment. Despite political alignment with the black movement, her internal sense remained that of being an outsider, of being wrong and somehow dirty. White meant belonging and white meant what she was not, good, successful and of value. My whiteness meant she could get close to the source of what was good but she had to be careful that she didn't antagonize me through any exposure of her "bad" rage.

As we explored the self-loathing inherent in her "secret" disparagement of "black" her comments switched from a denigration of the blackness of herself to a denigration of my whiteness. This was done largely through her accounts of the racism she had experienced. She seemed to be challenging me to take up a position. Was I allied with these white others or would I join with her in her attack, and become black like her? What was not to be allowed, it seemed, was our difference. I was to be for her or against her.

This complex attitude to her self and to me clearly related to her personal story, but this also illustrates something of the dilemma of the black person in the white society. If what is declared to be good is white, then the fairer one can become, the more one may gain acceptance. The stain, the misdemeanor is in the blackness and so must be whitewashed, but by becoming whitened the individual is lost as is the value of blackness. There is a wiping out, an annihilation of the diverse when a blanket layer of white is layered over all. In this game, the black is beaten so decisively by the whitener that "he or she fails to score at all."

To save oneself, a protest, a resistance is required. To stand out, to become noticed. It is the black fist in the air refusing the white-out.

When we put these two fears next to each other we begin to see the projective nature of both fantasies as well as how intricately tied up with each other they are. In his book *Taking the Group Seriously*, Farhad Dalal states:

> What the marginalized groups are then forced to do, as a strategic necessity, is to use the same weapon, and assert a new essentialism at the margins . . . The point about being at the margins is that the centre finds it hard to hear, partly because of psychological distance, and partly because what is being said is inconvenient. And so the marginalized are forced to shout until hoarse, and can end up sounding shrill . . . Once "whiteness" exists and is used to organize the social order, then blackness is forced into existence. The shape and meaning that this notion of blackness can take is constrained by what has been allocated to whiteness. The power of ideology is such that the "whiteness" as organizing principle is unconscious. In other words the white ensign at the centre is invisible, and it is only the black ensign at the margins that is able to be seen. Thus those at the centre feel themselves to be innocent, unfairly assaulted from without.
>
> (Dalal 1998: 207)

The white ensign is painted against a white background and is made invisible. Those who are deemed to be not white, to be "other," are pushed to the margins and blackened. It is those at the centre who have become whitewashed as payment for the privilege, while the black edges are feared as potential intruders and robbers of the nest. It is, I believe, this relationship that is referred to by the two unwanted thoughts of myself and of Dee. And, while they are thoughts that shed light on the system of projection and projective identification that was alive at the level of the personal unconscious, my argument is that the personal system seeks and is formed by the wider web of symbols, myth and language within which it exists.

Jungian thinking and racism

The question now arises as to how this web can be said to function within the psyche. For Jungians, the obvious place to turn is to the concept of the collective unconscious and of the archetypes, but I think we must take care. For it is easy to

forget that the archetypes are unknowable directly and unrepresentable. We never see an archetype, we can see only the *image*, and they are not one and the same. As Jung himself says:

> Again and again I encounter the mistaken notion that an archetype is determined in regard to its content, in other words that it is an unconscious idea (if such an expression be permissible). It is necessary to point out once more that archetypes are not determined as regards their content, but only as regards their form, and then only to a very limited degree. A primordial image is determined as to its content only when it has become conscious and is therefore filled out with the material of conscious experience.
>
> (Jung 1969: 79)

In the words of Anthony Storr:

> This formulation disposes of the accusation sometimes brought against Jung that he was a Lamarckian, believing in the inheritance of acquired characteristics. What is acquired is a predisposition, not an idea; a predisposition to create significant myths out of the common stuff of day-to-day experience . . . It is true that in other contexts Jung writes as if he did believe that culture affected these predispositions; more especially when he postulates racial differences in the collective unconscious: but these seem to be later accretions.
>
> (Storr 1986: 40)

These "later accretions" should not be passed off lightly as they show how, even the originator of an idea can misuse it to reenforce a prejudice. Dalal himself has written a strong piece originally called "The Racism of Jung" where he examines much of what Jung has written on the so-called "primitives" (Dalal 1988). Michael Vannoy Adams has also considered this important subject in his book *The Multi-Cultural Imagination: "Race", Color, and the Unconscious*, and I urge you to read both, although it is not a comfortable experience (Vannoy Adams 1996).

The point here is not to attack Jung but to wonder about our own silence in regard to the racist nature of much of what he says about those other than Europeans in particular, and the question of colour in general. And to raise the question of whether there are implications for the theory to which we subscribe. Jung was quite emphatic about the psyche of "the primitive" as he was about the danger for the white man of "going black" through contamination, and he linked much of his pronouncements to the collective unconscious. We can put aside the embarrassment of our founder's words and call him a man of his times, and we are indeed looking back at a man who is speaking from the first half of the twentieth century from a linguistic dialogue that has changed. But by doing so we are accepting that thought and image are constructed, contingent and changeable, and how do we square that with the timeless, universality of the archetype?

The cultural, social and collective unconscious

It seems to me that the Jungian model of the psyche leaves too great a gap between the personal and the collective unconscious – a space that can be filled with questionable and even dangerous material. Joseph Henderson (1990) introduced the idea of the cultural unconscious as an additional layer of the psyche. Adams takes on this idea except that he believes it to be a part of the collective unconscious. However, this still assumes cultures as discrete entities as if our membership of such was unproblematic, whereas in fact the groups, our cultures, with which we identify and which determine our identity are many, they often overlap and may be conflictual.

I can locate my culture geographically in Britain, but for this to have any meaning, questions of class, gender, color, ethnicity, and many others are instantly raised. The context will determine which particular form of identification is in the foreground. Each form of categorization brings a blanket of homogeneity down on the "us" and the "them" so that, for that moment, differences *between* those in "our" group are lost. Each grouping has its own cultural norms and its own cultural unconscious. In poststructuralist terms, they are discourses and all of us belong to a multitude of discourses, not just belong to but are in them and they are in us. We define and are defined by this interplay of a multiverse of cultural discourses.

Dalal posits and develops the concept which he calls the social unconscious. This he considers:

> includes, but is bigger than, what might be called the cultural unconscious. And . . . that we are subject to more than one discourse at a time – none of us is monocultural. The social unconscious, as I think of it, includes the power relationships between discourses. This ordering is also unconscious. This gives the social unconscious the appearance of an absolute, which it is not, it is still a discourse.
>
> (Dalal 1998: 212)

This suggests a way of thinking about the structure of the unconscious psyche whereby the collective unconscious may be said to include the cultural unconscious of particular discourses, which itself is contained within a social level which orders the power relationships between discourses. Dalal would disagree, but I believe we can consider a strata underpinning this of the archetypal forms or predispositions, and it is as the archetypal moves through the social, cultural and personal filters of the unconscious that it is filled out into an image or an idea that emerges into consciousness.

Holding to an insistence on the archetypal as "predisposition" can help us own the internal experience and lessen the likelihood of its projection onto the external object. Thus, to return to my fear of the cuckoo in the nest, the compulsion is to blame the other as a real object that brings my fear into existence. It is my fear that

is the experience, and my unconscious sense of privilege which I am compelled to protect, that calls up and gives shape to the imagined threat and calls it "cuckoo." It may be that this fear is archetypal, as, perhaps, is the fear of the whitewash. Or rather, perhaps they can be seen as a pair of fears that image the archetypal linkage in that relationship between the centre and the margins.

It is certainly possible that the fear of a return to a primitive state of mind can be termed archetypal, but for Jung, this became fixed to the external object, to the modern black African and to the risk he referred to as "going black." He filled out the "primordial image" with "the material of the conscious experience," with cultural and personal projections and used it as a justification for his own fears and fantasies. Unfortunately he also loaded his conclusions about Africans, Asians, African Americans and others with all the weight of his influence and of the universality of the archetype.

The image is *not* the archetype. If we confuse the two then we fall into the very shadow of our theory and, like Jung, we appropriate the weightiness of the archetypes to justify our particular prejudices. By doing so we lend them an immutability and a certainty that echoes the use that once was made of the story of Ham, and we amplify our own voices by appropriating those of the gods. Thus the fluidity of the archetype is fixed into the image, into the cold metallic template of the stereotype.

End point

Of course, one particular culture or discourse is that of analytical psychology itself. I cannot speak for other organizations, but within my own the numbers training who are from black and ethnic minorities are low, and I suggest it is worth asking why. Worth it, not just because we might be caught in a form of institutionalized racism, but because it may mean we have developed and are colluding with a way of thinking about the human psyche that unconsciously maintains a Eurocentric, white supremacy. The opening up of this through that which is excluded has difficult but interesting possibilities.

A paper by Bob Young on how little the issue of racism is addressed within training organizations is subtitled "A Loud Silence" (Young 1994). Not only is the center a place where the white ensign is invisible, but also it is a very silent place where all that can be heard is the confirmation of those who are deemed to be like "us" that "we" are right. The uncomfortable questions have been pushed to the margins where they may shout with shrill voices, or give up, shut up and turn elsewhere. It is as if, in order to enter the center, a whitewash is required – and then the question disappears against the white background. Thus, the interesting noise is from the margins and can only be asked from there. We at the center may need to keep quiet and listen, we may need to strain to hear and we may risk the privilege of the center in the process, but I suggest a more interesting world arises when all voices are allowed. Perhaps it is time to apply the "talking cure" to the culture that is our own profession.

This is a difficult cure to administer as our own nests are important to us and the fear of the cuckoo goes deep. However, I think the prize is the chance of shuffling off these blankets of "whiteness" and "blackness" in which we wrap ourselves, and allowing back a colored world.

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Chapter 15

A clinical encounter with a cultural complex

John Beebe

In Jungian analytic work, which is always about the exploration of complexes, one does not necessarily recognize that the knot one is trying to untie may be a cultural complex.[1] Like any other complex (Sandner and Beebe 1995), the cultural complex creates internal conflict; occasions anxiety, anger, and depression; governs the outer situations that are brought to the therapy for counsel; shapes the transference in the therapeutic interaction; and structures the imagery of the patient's dreams. Since these complexities affect the individual, and any person who comes into the emotional field that surrounds the individual, we often assume that they belong solely to the subjective nature of that individual person. Yet they can represent culture operating at the level of the individual. By following a careful clinical method, a therapist can unmask the intrusion of a cultural complex into the unconscious life of the patient. A clinical example of just such work follows.[2]

In the early 1980s, I had occasion to ask a patient of mine who had already given me permission one day to present some of his material, if we could discuss one of his recent dreams in a session that would be recorded to illustrate the process of Jungian dream interpretation. I had chosen this patient, at least consciously, because he was such a great dreamer, and enthusiastic about dream work in analysis. Because his finances were marginal, he was not able to see me as often as he would like, and so this would give him the chance to discuss another dream with me, one we hadn't yet explored in analysis, in a session he would not have to pay money for. Quite predictably, the patient agreed, and promised to bring a dream I had never seen. The dream he brought was dreamed a couple of weeks before I made this request; it was a dream he had forgotten to bring to our previous session. It seemed right to both of us that this particular dream would become the one so emphasized here.

I should first say something about the dreamer, whom I'll call Sandy. He was a 48-year-old man whom I had been seeing for psychotherapy since 1972 – thirteen years at the time of his dream. At the time of his entrance into treatment, he was struggling with the emotional consequences of much split-off rage at a sociopathic homosexual partner. My patient was himself a high-minded, unusually nurturant person with a long pattern of being bullied by others, and our first work involved connecting him with his own self-worth and with a number of dream indications

to him that he needed to take better care of himself. He was successful in taking this advice from his unconscious, and he settled into a much less stormy relationship with another partner.

Some years after the conclusion of this first work, my patient called upon me again to explore with him the anxiety generated by a long-term candida infection. Candida (a yeast) is one of the infections which, when it appears in an otherwise healthy male, suggest immune system suppression, and our worst fears were confirmed when the patient developed Pneumocystis pneumonia, one of the AIDS-related opportunistic infections. After his release from the hospital, where he had recovered from the bout of pneumonia, the patient resumed analytic work with me to see if we could help his psyche make sense of, and even potentially resist, the much-sensationalized life-threatening illness that he had contracted.

At this point in the treatment, I saw new opportunities to support the patient in expressions of anger, a still incomplete part of our previous work. He had always had difficulty connecting affectively with his sense of violation, even though he could intellectually appreciate it in the images of his dreams. I had been told of studies which suggest that cancer patients without manifest rage often have a poorer prognosis than those who express irritation readily.

A recent dream had indicated that he might be setting limits on the "good" part of himself. Its last scene was:

> I am alone on the bed with a little baby lying on her back looking up at me. I believe it is my younger sister, Cathy. I begin to pinch her breasts. I am rather horrified at what I am doing and begin to pinch even harder.

I felt that this dream indicated that he was getting hold, in anger, of the part of himself that had let him be bullied – a passive femininity not mature enough to nurture him, which he now hated. Associations about the real-life sister revealed her to be self-effacing and dangerously deferential, exactly like this part of himself. Her emotional stance, like his, did not seem to include a working sense of evil. I felt the dream had used her to point out a style of emotional expression (what Jung would call an anima) that was still immature, and vulnerable because it did not contain enough trickster meanness. I concluded that the dream ego persisted in punishing this figure even though it felt bad about doing so, because the self had decided it was time to direct some malice toward this excessively passive anima.[3]

I thought this dream might herald a shift in my patient toward a willingness to externalize at least some of his frustrated aggression. Perhaps the self wanted to introduce to the anima the palpable reality of evil so that she would adopt a less open, more self-protective stance.

The anima interpretation had rather far-reaching implications, since the feminine side of a man, his inner "sister," represents much of his unconscious affective life and particularly his spontaneous feeling reactions in situations. Timely anima expressions of negativity actually protect the psyche: this baby

girl was too helpless and passive, which made me think not only of this man's at times excessive patience but also of his lack of immunity at the biological level.

He and I were somewhat naively hoping to promote an improvement in his immune system through our work, since we both knew of Simonton and colleagues' (1978) well-publicized work on the healing properties of imagery with cancer patients. He was cautious, as it was not clear to him what the self really wanted at this point in his existence, and he was loath to manipulate himself out of a death whose time might truly have come. I was more willing to be heroic. In situations of lesser magnitude, I had had clinical experience of the anima as a truly psychosomatic entity; severe migraine headaches had, in my personal analysis, been accompanied by dreams involving overstimulated anima figures, whose subsequently improved circumstances had correlated with my reduced frequency of headaches. I was therefore willing to entertain a more than metaphoric connection between my patient's too-vulnerable anima figure and the current status of his immune system, which was far from capable of defending itself against the form-shifting, trickster virus that appears to cause AIDS. I dared hope that a shift in the overall level of his emotional response (symbolized at present by the little girl) could be achieved, and I believed that it might possibly correlate with a remission from his immuno-suppressed condition.

My patient was in fact to die, but the dream we recorded for didactic use belongs to a particularly intense piece of analytic work, where the analysis had come to seem to both participants literally like a matter of life and death. The patient had much familiarity with me as an analyst, had read widely in Jung, and was quite skilled at interpreting his own dreams. All this psychological knowledge, however, gave way to the exigencies of a dream image that occurred at exactly this time. He felt challenged by this image, and my task was to help him find a way to hear what the self was trying to convey to him now.

He had typed the dream in duplicate: he recorded his dreams on a word processor, and this was the printout:

> I looked down at the top of my right thigh. There were round formations about the size of buttons on the surface. It almost looked as if soft-drink bottle caps had been pressed into the skin and released, producing the button effect. I thought of Kaposi's.

Kaposi's, as was well known to both my patient and me, is the malignant sarcoma that is another opportunistic AIDS infection. Even before we began to speak to each other about the dream, there was a worried sense between us that the dream might be literally precognitive, indicating a new bad turn in his illness. From the standpoint of our shared effort at hope, the dream felt, initially to me at least and I think also to him, as a defeat. Nevertheless, we were committed to follow the self's own view of his course, even if it went against our ego wishes, and we had to honor the dream. Here is the transcript of our session:

Sandy: This is one of those dreams that is really kind of an impression. It's visual. I see it visually. It's one of the short ones.

I.: And this came before our last session and you forgot to bring it in.

S.: Right. And I had not typed it into the file system, and I remembered it again when I got home and typed it up then.

I.: Why don't I read it to you?[4]

S.: Okay.

I.: "I looked down at the top of my right thigh. There were round formations about the size of buttons on the surface. It almost looked as if soft-drink bottle caps had been pressed into the skin and released, producing the button effect. I thought of Kaposi's." Now were the bottle caps pressed down as if from the side [that presses] down onto the top of a bottle, in other words, the sharp end?

S.: Yes, right, to make the impression, the circular impression, as if like a cookie cutter, something of that nature.

I.: But small?

S.: Maybe about the size of a nickel, the largest.

I.: Well, it's certainly a worrisome thought. You have had the pneumocystis, but no Kaposi's.

S.: Right.

I.: In the dream, were you terrified or worried or upset?

S.: No, I wouldn't say there was a strong emotion. I wasn't terrified, and yet I didn't feel it was Kaposi's at the time either. But I did think I might be warned of it.

I.: So in the dream you didn't really feel that it was?

S.: No.

I.: Is there a feeling that went with the dream?

S.: Not very much. It was really a kind of simple statement, and I suppose I didn't react to it until a bit later when I really recalled it.

I.: And then?

S.: Then I began to think of it as a warning dream like the dream when I had to go back to St. Mary's and have surgery again, or it might be a preparatory dream.

I.: Did that dream, in fact, come true? The dream about St. Mary's?

S.: Yeah.

I.: So you thought it [this dream] was preparing.

S.: I thought it might be. It might be making a statement.

I.: The dream is pure perception, and yet, in the dream is the thought there may not be [Kaposi's], even though the thought [that this is Kaposi's] crosses your mind. And also there is an inner feeling that this doesn't really look like what you've heard Kaposi's looks like.

S.: I don't really know what Kaposi's looks like. I remember reading something quite some time back about raised, round, button-like lesions or sores, but I don't know whether that was actually referring to Kaposi's or what at the time. It's been a couple of years.

I.: Now this dream is two weeks old today. The date was December 16th, and today is December 31st.
S.: Yes, on or about the 16th. I don't have a specific date.
I.: What about the top of your right thigh in reality? Is that an area that means anything to you?
S.: I don't think there's anything offhand except that it would be very conspicuous.
I.: I get the feeling that this is a brand of some kind.
S.: It is kind of like that.
I.: Where are cows branded?
S.: Yeah, right on the thigh, or certainly within this joint.
I.: Very similar areas.
S.: Uh huh.
I.: And now we get into soft-drink bottle caps. What does that get into for you?
S.: It would certainly have to be self-branded or by hand. It's certainly not coming internally, or from an internal source.
I.: Yes, that's right. I think we're not dealing with some organic, natural substance. I think we're dealing with something synthetic. Made for mass consumption.
S.: That's kind of what I'm feeling, too, in this confusion I was talking about when I came in is that sense of being branded, in a way. There is a feeling of being branded. Okay, what do I do now? I'm branded.
I.: Branded how?
S.: Well, as an AIDS patient or as an AIDS victim. And I will be the rest of my life.
I.: And interestingly, with the form of AIDS that you don't really have, so you've got a kind of collective projection on you that you have thus and so. I think it's very interesting that the form that is branded is the skin form. What's skin? To me it means persona.
S.: Yeah, absolutely.
I.: The surface. How you appear to other people and that, so the persona is altered, and you are stamped with a cookie cutter of collective projections as a certain kind of person, and not far from leprosy.
S.: Right. Like I used to think in terms of individuation being very isolated. Certainly being one of the 649 AIDS cases is far more isolating than that ever was, or however many there are in the city at the time.
I.: There are only about 850 Jungian analysts in the world.[5]
S.: Yeah, right.
I.: But I see the difference. This is isolating without any prestige, exactly. Although there is some kind of fascination.
S.: A little perverse prestige there.
I.: A kind of fascination attached to this illness.
S.: Uh huh. I would say that's very definite about persona.
I.: So if there's a threat in this dream or a warning in the dream, it's really a

threat to your individuality. Even in the dream, there is a hidden sense that this is not really Kaposi's, but it's something else. And that comes through as we interpret it that there's something else. The real damage this could be doing to you right now is this thoughtless branding. Can we get even more specificity on soft drink?

S.: Well, I don't know if there's any point, but I do remember thinking after the soft-drink bottle cap that I had to recall what types of materials would make the kind of impression that was left on the leg. And I kind of realized you hardly ever see soft-drink bottle caps anymore. It's mostly the pull-top cans.

I.: That's interesting.

S.: So it's a little bit as if only a very few of the esoteric soft-drink bottlers use caps anymore. That's almost an out-of-date form of bottling.

I.: That's interesting: Cap – Kaposi's.

S.: That's true.

I.: But I like your idea better of the fact that it isn't as common anymore. Didn't kids once collect bottle caps?

S.: Yes. There used to be different things imprinted on the insides, and sometimes under the cork.

I.: What would be imprinted underneath?

S.: I can't remember. There were a lot of things when I was a child, but each bottling company would have its own contest. They would have the letters under there, or photographs of sports figures.

I.: Okay, well this still touches, to me, the idea of adolescence. And also your childhood and adolescence. And were you the target of projections then, brands then, were you called things as a child?

S.: I'm sure.

I.: Do you remember? How were you treated as a child?

S.: Are you speaking of a particular type of projection? I'm not sure of what you mean.

I.: If these are the messages for kids, and maybe ones that kids trade and pass around to each other, and if bottle caps are being punched onto your skin, I wonder if this whole sense of stigmatization you're experiencing now is a result of your having been diagnosed with AIDS, which makes you the target of collective projections and echoes back in your psyche to earlier experiences of having been the butt of collective name-calling or rejections. I don't know enough about this part of your childhood. *I* remember things I was called as a child.

S.: Yeah. It doesn't strike me right off.

I.: Were you a popular child or an unpopular child?

S.: Well, I was always, you know, a rather popular child. Energetic and busy and into things until that situation happened in high school.

I.: What was that?

S.: That was where I was branded as gay or homosexual, I mean.

I.: And what grade was it?

S.: It was probably about the tenth grade. Anyway, I was really humiliated. What had happened was there had been there was a group of boys who played together, and somebody got some dirty books, and we had a circle jerk-off. I guess to assuage their feelings of guilt, they picked one person to proclaim as being gay, homosexual, and that was me. And that just destroyed me as far as school was concerned, being branded. And so from then on, I became totally introverted and didn't have anything to do with school activities.

I.: Well, that really speaks to the bottle caps, as if a group of people with their bottles all put the lid on you.

S.: Um hmm.

I.: The lid had come off all their bottles. They were letting their homosexuality, or just some of their sexuality, out.

S.: Right. At that point, it was just really experimenting with sexuality at the beginning.

I.: Wouldn't that be like opening a bottle?

S.: Yes.

I.: An adolescent bottle . . . if you think of the bottle as a container. Soul juice and a little bit of soft drink comes out. I mean, it's not really whiskey yet . . . it's just. . . .

S.: No, but it's like carbonated and it has the inner propulsion to ejaculate the material that's in the bottle.

I.: Exactly. And when it's all over, then the caps are all placed on you as the scapegoat. And this has disastrous effects on your socialization, and hurts your feelings terribly, and really was probably something that changed your life.

S.: Well, it did, it totally changed it, because I was very outgoing and very social, and that all just totally changed. I even left the city as soon as I was able to leave. So it's like having to give up your home, where you were born. I didn't feel then that I could even stay in the same town, my hometown. So that's really like being dispossessed from whatever you were born to. I mean, to leave is one thing, but to be unable to stay is another.

I.: I would also have to say that that would be the kind of event that creates the pattern of anonymous sex, which is supposed to be at least partially responsible for this condition. That one dare not be open about one's sexuality with others again. That if one wants to experiment with one's sexuality, they're going to do that only in a very sequestered sector of society, not in the mainstream. This is a powerful dream.

S.: It is.

I.: I would have to say that I would not have expected . . .

S.: Such a tiny little thing. But images like that can just have so much in them. But I think you're so right about the branding.

I.: Is there anything else you would like to say about this dream?

S.: That's about all I can recall. I can't recall anything associated with it. It was just really the visual impression of it there on the leg, on the top of the thigh.

I.: And now that we've talked about it in this way, I would just be interested to know where you are now in terms of your feeling state around this. I'm having feelings of outrage. I mean, I'm impressed by what we've done.

S.: Well, it fits in so beautifully with what I've been learning from the Simonton books about what beliefs or emotional thoughts, let me think of the exact way to say, but it is as if going back and finding that these patterns of perceiving myself have brought about this type of branding that I've accepted for years, or tried to deal with. Maybe I haven't confronted them yet. But the ideas in this dream fit so well with the Simonton idea of setting up conditions where the type of psychogenic illness can come down. It's just really being part of a structure, a psychogenic structure that would just really help something of that nature materialize. And this really kind of unfolds, helps me unfold, helps me to see that process that would produce a branding.

I.: And how do you then understand the cancer itself that would develop under those conditions?

S.: Well, I don't know if I could safely say . . .

I.: Could you relate it to other's projections on you?

S.: Well, I think that something like that would be something that would happen as a child, what happened to me. It could produce a lot of anger, a lot of stress that puts one in a position in life where you have to live with an enormous amount of stress, and of course stress is a huge factor in bringing about these things, but a stress that you can never deal with.

I.: Since the button/cap image is a circular image, I can't help thinking about the self. But I think of it in terms of false self, or at least other people's collective self-images being impressed on you, as you said, baseball heroes on the side of caps. In other words, these self-images of adolescent boys are being stamped on you in some way.

S.: And also I believe now I have an idea of like it being shut up so it can't come out like the bottle cap holds it in. Buttons, referring to buttons, buttons close things rather than open. I mean, you can use a button to open, but they're used to close things.

I.: The heart of your message was that you have to hide your homosexuality. That after you moved to another city – I know your history – you actually married a woman.

S.: Um hmmm.

I.: And at least for some period of time tried very hard not to . . . It had the effect of driving your homosexuality in. It didn't mean that it emerged

into a full-blown homosexuality after that. It was a very long and painful coming out process later on. It never quite completely came out of shadow.

S.: No.

I.: Even after you had settled down and had a lover and were stable in a relationship.

S.: Well, in fact, this illness brought it more out of the shadow than it's ever been, certainly as far as family is concerned. My sisters and my aunts and the rest of my family still living, they never knew from me, but they had their ideas.

I.: And now you've become extremely close to your daughter, who is being very supportive.

S.: Um hmmm.

I.: A good friend and an ally, and who helped you connect with the Simonton materials.

S.: Yes.

I.: So we're looking at some kind of macho trip laid on you. What does branding mean? Branding makes the animal belong to the branders, isn't that right?

S.: Right.

I.: So it's as if your self, if you think of your self as your body, your total being, was branded with these collective self images that presumably you had to be submissive to. An adolescent boy idea of what you ought to be to be a man, so that's in there, too. And as you're telling, it did a great deal of damage to the unfolding of your own personality.

S.: Yes.

I.: I've worked on the idea that when people engage in anonymous sex in adult life, aside from the pleasuring aspect, there might be some attempt to redeem some early experience. Your parents' promiscuity or some earlier experience that still somehow if I can repeat it often enough that maybe one can bring something good out of it, to maybe transform what had been traumatic into something good. And when you describe this traumatic experience from your childhood, I can't help thinking that you've repeated that circle jerking in whatever sex club or back room experience you've had. There's been some repetition or maybe an attempt to master it.

S.: Yeah, well it certainly seems like that, almost a fixation, and it does develop a fixation, that if you're not aware of what's happening then it goes into unconscious patterns, and it certainly would lead into something like that. You'd have to want to seek to work it out, but the consciousness is not necessarily going along with the physical inclinations so that it is repeated over and over. But the soft-drink bottle caps certainly were in their heyday at the time that my branding took place. I was wondering myself why, why does this image come to me, and then I realized that it

was almost an archaic image as far as a teenager of today. They wouldn't think of bottle caps.

I.: This would have been the late 1940s?

S.: Well, it was the early 1950s.

I.: Early 1950s, right in the midst of the McCarthy era, which I remember, too, was a very crew cut. . .

S.: It was a vicious time.

I.: Yeah, vicious.

S.: I don't know if the world is still that vicious. I think I'm still hiding from that McCarthy time trying to keep from coming out, because of the attitude that prevailed at that time.

I.: Very intimidating.

S.: Particularly growing up in the South. It was like they didn't hesitate to lynch people. And certainly if they couldn't do it physically, there were lots of other ways. So it was really for protection that I fled. It's hard to go back now and see if the event was real or imagined.

I.: Some of your difficulties in manifesting on the material plane could be traced back to just plain fear.

S.: Yeah, of not wanting to stand out, be noticed.

I.: I feel complete with this dream. It's an amazingly . . .

S.: I didn't realize quite how powerful it was.

I.: A powerful image.

S.: I've learned so much.

I.: I thank you for it. In a way, I'm glad to get the record down. Do you see what I mean? I'm almost glad to have this on public record.

S.: Uh huh.

I.: Given what was done to you on public record.

S.: Uh huh. Yeah, it feels good, it feels good after having talked about it because I really am seeing from the Simonton books, and I haven't really gotten into the visualization because I think it's more important, that my mind is trying to clear of certain preconceived ideas, and I'm just going along reading every morning as much as . . . until I feel as if I've taken in as much as I can assimilate. I'm just sort of letting the process evolve itself.

Discussion

There is little doubt in my mind that a cultural complex was uncovered in the course of working on this patient's dream. I would go so far as to say that the lesion the patient at first took for Kaposi's was in fact an image of the cultural complex that was bedeviling him. Let me say, however, that the same cultural complex was bedeviling me as I worked with this patient. (As analysts say, it was structuring my countertransference.) For some time, I had been upset that this patient had contracted HIV – it made me feel that death was stalking my practice. I was clearly redoubling my efforts to do what could be called an "heroic" analysis.

The bottle cap that had become imprinted on the patient's skin in a negative way, like a brand, had once contained the heroic image. The scapegoating of my patient as homosexual and therefore outside the hero myth as that was defined in the early 1950s made him the target of the under, or shadow, side of the heroic image. After we had worked through this dream, I realized that the dream ego's association to Kaposi's summarized in a pithy way what we had worked to uncover, that the fear of vulnerability that underlies the heroic aspirations of immature men is actually malignant. In contemporary language, we call that fear of masculine vulnerability "homophobia," and it is not hard to recognize how homophobia has played a role in creating the psychosocial conditions that led to the AIDS epidemic in the homosexual community. In Sandy's case, this is particularly clear – he became an outcast, caught in a pattern of anonymous sex that reflected his estrangement from his own sexual identity, an identity he had to reclaim in shadowy ways. Sandy was a direct victim of internalized homophobia, which is certainly a cultural complex.

If we look at the process that led to the uncovering of the cultural complex in Sandy's dream, I would emphasize the close attention Sandy and I paid to both image and affect. In the case of the image, first we established the pattern of the lesion, realizing it was the cookie-cutter impression of a bottle cap. Then we began to search for the exact historical period when bottle caps like that were in use. This is an example of Jung's "historical" method (Jung 1944/1968: 86, quoted in Henderson 1990: 104) which locates the dream or fantasy image in a particular cultural context by a close examination of its particular characteristics. This is not unlike an archeologist or art historian trying to "place" an artifact in its authentic time. Sandy and I were good at this, and we located the bottle cap in the early 1950s, at least so far as Sandy's real-life exposure to such bottles and their caps. That in turn led to a sharing with Sandy of my own associations to that time – the heavy emphasis on heroic masculinity in my seventh and eighth grades was as memorable to me as Sandy's encounter with it. Even now, as I recall this session, I can remember it taking me back to my gym class in the seventh grade, when Mr. Weiss, our gym instructor, would make each boy stand up for him while he checked our posture. When he saw the two shoulder blades sticking out more than they should in any boy or girl, he would bark, "Wings!" and if you were a boy, there was no doubt you had been dubbed a fairy. It was my outrage at the climate such a culture created for a non-athletic boy like myself that fueled my stoking of Sandy's own, but far more buried, rage.

Of course, I was pulling for this affect in him, as I explained in the clinical narrative, because I felt that it would save his life, by mobilizing not just his anger, currently turned against himself in his chronic depression, but also his will to live. This was part of the heroic countertransference that sought to reverse Sandy's position vis-à-vis the complex symbolized by the bottle cap: I wanted him to be on the inside of the complex, so to speak, where the heroic image was in the actual 1950s bottle caps Sandy had known with his friends. I did not want him to remain in the position of having the heroic complex pressed on him, as an outsider, in a

branding, scapegoating way – I didn't want him to be a victim. The danger in this stance, of course, is that it could have led to a reenactment, making Sandy a failure at a heroic expectation if his immune system remained too overwhelmed for him to go on living. I should record that in the subsequent therapy this did not happen. At a certain point Sandy told me calmly that he couldn't go on fighting the illness, that he knew he was going to die. He did die, with the kind of dignity that is sometimes described as "a beautiful death," although my friend and colleague Gilda Frantz, whose own son died of AIDS, has told me that though she knows what I mean from her own son's passing, no death is truly beautiful. It is always, in large measure, a defeat of the heroic expectation. By the time Sandy did die, I had come to accept that defeat as necessary, and I came to feel that that was what Sandy brought to me, along with his dream that day, an attitude that does not participate in the heroic expectation as the mature solution to any of life's problems.

I think we got to this second realization not by enacting the hero myth, but by seeing through it, and there my emphasis on affect really paid off. As Sandy and I went around and around the image in the dream, gathering ourselves toward an open expression of resentment at what the time of the hero (the decade just after the Allies and their greatest generation had won World War II) had meant in our lives as boys who did not quite fit the expectation and had been bullied and scapegoated by other men and boys, I think we were asserting with our anger, that *this is not me*. In work on a cultural complex it is very important for the person to make this discrimination, to realize that he or she is in the grip (the way complexes always have us, and not we them) of something that is finally ego-alien, derived from outside. Cultural complexes do not express the self, but rather the self the culture would like to impose on its members. The affect registers how one's true self feels about this imposition. Sometimes one's self is enhanced, as when one's country wins a war, or one's team an important victory. Then the joy of the collective is experienced in an individual way as well. But in other cases, the cultural complex oppresses the self. The affect that comes and says, in effect, "I don't like this!" is exactly what the doctor ordered – the discrimination of me from not me.

Sometimes it takes a great effort of will to make that discrimination. I still recall the moment when I first heard about the taking of hostages in Iran in the middle of President Jimmy Carter's administration. No sooner had I heard the news than I found myself shouting in my thoughts, "Nuke them," meaning the Iranian government. I was shocked by the ferocity of my desire for revenge, and realized I had experienced a surge of collective emotion, that like a power surge was coursing through the nation at the time I had this thought. It was a great relief to know this was not my personal emotion. I could then discriminate for myself how I thought an event like the forced deprivation of some of my fellow countrymen's freedom should be handled, apart from the primitivity of the cultural complex that could think only in terms of outrage and revenge.[6] To get to that point, I had to locate my own affect toward the emotion that had temporarily engulfed me – and

I had noted that in the midst of the reflex rage, insisting on the greatest possible degree of retaliation, a nuclear strike, my personal affect was dismay and even horror at what I was so unreflectedly contemplating.

In work on any cultural complex, therefore, I have concluded that the usual analytic methods are quite enough, but that one has first to maintain an objectivity toward the image of the complex, so that its historical aspect comes through and second to maintain a reflective posture toward the affects that belong to the complex, so that one's own true feeling about the complex emerges. I hope those processes are illustrated in the work on Sandy's dream. I hope that the dreamwork illustrates that the person is one thing and the cultural complex that would possess him is another. I can only testify, on the basis of the work on the cultural complex that I undertook with Sandy, that it can be deeply releasing to discriminate the difference.

Notes

1 Kimbles (1998, 2000) initially offered the term *cultural complex* to help depth psychologists make this distinction.
2 This case report first appeared in Beebe (1993: 88–98).
3 This terminology follows one of Jung's basic assumptions, "that there really are *two centers* of any individual's psychological life – an *ego*, which is the center of conscious life, and a *self*, which is the center in the unconscious [. . . and which considers] the needs of the psyche as a whole. Presumably dreams emanate from the self and carry the self's point of view" (Beebe 1993: 85). Unlike later Jungian authors, Jung did not capitalize the term self when he used it in this sense; his usage is being followed here.
4 This is a method I often use with my patients. It helps them hear the dream more objectively and gets me closer to it.
5 The actual number was closer to 1200 at the time of this dream.
6 Tom Singer (2002) has traced the way an entire group will take up ruthless archetypal affects in defending its collective spirit to the effects of the cultural complex.

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Part IV

The cultural complex and individuation of the group

In the introduction to this book, we spoke of the notion of the cultural complex as an addition to the somewhat ramshackle theoretical construction of analytical psychology. It can be pictured as adjoining other theoretical rooms such as the typological model, separate but related. This part seeks to relate the idea of a cultural complex to the core Jungian concept of individuation.

One way to understand the process of individuation in the individual is to think of it as the gradual working through and integration of one's core complexes over a lifetime. A potential way of understanding the process of individuation in the group is to think of it as the gradual working through and integration of the group's core cultural complexes over its lifetime – which may be generation upon generation.

In speaking of the resolution of personal complexes, Jung warned,

> A complex can be really overcome only if it is lived out to the full. In other words, if we are to develop further we have to draw to us and drink down to the very dregs what, because of our complexes, we have held at a distance.

We might apply that same wisdom to the notion of cultural complexes in relation to the possibility of individuation in group life and development.

In this part, three authors explore how individuation at a group level might unfold in three very different arenas. Astrid Berg discusses *ubuntu* as a way of collective individuation that might help resolve the intractable cultural complex of racism in South Africa. Brian Feldman examines "a theory of organizational culture" which imagines "integrating the 'other' from a post-Jungian perspective." Finally, Murray Stein proposes a model of "the politics of individuation in the Americas" in which the cultural complexes that have divided the North and South American continents and have led to mutual negative projections, misunderstandings, and hostilities might also be drawn to us and drunk "down to the very dregs."

Chapter 16

Ubuntu – a contribution to the "civilization of the universal"

Astrid Berg

Preamble

I was born and raised in South Africa, where I have lived all my life. I have experienced the days of apartheid, the turbulent period following the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, the electrifying first elections and the current, more stable situation. I have worked as a child psychiatrist in the public hospital sector which caters mainly to indigent patients, this being my twenty-eighth year in service. Since 1995 I have been clinically and psychotherapeutically involved on a regular weekly basis in a township community outside of Cape Town where the population is a mostly traditional, semi-urbanized, *isiXhosa* speaking community. In the new South Africa I have experienced crime and violence personally. I see and feel the suffering the HIV/Aids pandemic is causing mothers and their babies. The dark side is known to me. Yet, despite these horrors, there is something within the country that continues to be astounding.

This chapter is an attempt to understand something of the spirit of humanity, of being together, and of accepting each other that is quite unique. I have let African thinkers speak for themselves by quoting them, as I want to avoid a Eurocentric projection onto African culture. I have talked and continue to talk extensively to people about the concept of *ubuntu*, and have come to realize that, although deceptively simple on one level, it is actually multifaceted and multilayered. Thus, this is a work in progress. It is also not a naive idealizing of African culture and philosophy, but an endeavor to put into words something that is palpable to many people who come to this continent.

Introduction

In 1961 Leopold Senghor delivered a lecture at St Antony's College, Oxford. He thanked the university for seating him at their banquet, and not in the kitchen. He praised his hosts because they allowed a black man to be in their presence, and because they treated him "like a brother, who might be the youngest member of the family, but had something worthwhile to say" (Senghor 1961/1998: 439).

This "youngest member of the family" is an apt description for Africa at the present time – it has reentered the world map through concepts such as the "African Renaissance" – a term coined by South Africa's president, Thabo Mbeki. However, this youngest may in fact be the oldest member of the human race. Recent anthropological findings suggest that the first human beings came from Africa. If indeed human activity originated in Africa, then the human mind and spirit were also already at work many millennia ago. It is just possible that a primal human attitude which ensured the survival of the species at that time is still alive in Africa, despite the horrors that occur on the continent.

Senghor postulates that the flourishing negroid civilization of Paleolithic times was destroyed by the slave trade and colonization which he described as coming over it "like a bush fire." However, he was convinced that the roots of this civilization would retain their vigor and "would one day produce new grass and green branches" (Senghor 1961: 439). These are prophetic words and, who knows, perhaps there may be new grass and green branches coming from an old tree, whose roots have not been cut off, and which have not been destroyed by the fire. It is one of these roots that will be traced in the following pages.

The term of *ubuntu*, which originates from a Southern African proverb, will be defined and expanded upon. While it is a commonly used local term, it is also a concept well known in African philosophical thinking. However, it has not been written about from an analytical, psychological perspective.

There are many complexes active in South Africa, the most obvious of these being that of racism. This, together with colonialism, needs to be acknowledged first in order to contextualise the concept of *ubuntu*.

Colonialism, racism and complex theory

Africa, the "cradle continent," probably produced the first human-like creatures. A direct line of descent of hominids was established in East Africa 3–5 million B.C. Between A.D. 300 and 1500 saw a period of great medieval states in various parts of Africa. As trade around the world increased, the Europeans started traveling in Africa leading to colonial wars erupting against well-organized African states. The years between 1880 and 1890 were the peak of European colonization in its "scramble for Africa." The Conference of Berlin, 1884–1885, was a meeting of the major European powers of the time to decide on the colonial partition of Africa. Senghor writes of this conference:

> The European nations had just finished, with Africa, their division of the planet. Including the United States of America, they were five or six at the height of their power who dominated the world. Without any complexes, they were proud of their material strength; prouder of their science, and paradoxically, of their *race*.
>
> (Senghor 1970: 28)

European trusteeship of Africa continued until after World War II. Algeria and Senegal were among the African nations to attain independence in the early 1960s and it is from these two countries that leading intellectuals emerged and became known in Europe: Frantz Fanon and Leopold Senghor, who has already been quoted.

Frantz Fanon, born in Martinique in 1925, received a colonial education and then proceeded to study medicine in France. His practice of psychiatry in a hospital in Algiers influenced him deeply and led to his progressive disillusionment with colonial rule (Alessandrini 1999: 3). He resigned his post and joined the liberation struggle. Fanon's books *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1965) have become classics. In the foreword to the latter, Sartre says of Fanon: "In short, the Third World finds *itself* and speaks to *itself* through his voice" (Fanon 1965: 9, original emphases). Fanon's exposition of the stereotyping, projection and power dynamics between the races are written with force and passion.

The vehemence of Fanon's writing is best understood psychologically in terms of complex theory. This theory originated between 1900 and 1909 when Jung worked at the Burghölzli mental hospital. Here he conducted the word association tests and thus came to formulate his theory on complexes. He describes how the "complexes can *have us*" (Jung 1960: para. 200, original emphasis) and emphasizes the strong emotionality that is evoked when one is gripped by a complex. He goes on to describe the word "constellation":

> This term simply expresses the fact that the outward situation releases a psychic process in which certain contents gather together and prepare for action. When we say that a person is "constellated" we mean that he has taken up a position from which he can be expected to react in a quite definite way. But the constellation is an automatic process which happens involuntarily and which no one can stop of his own accord. The constellated contents are definite complexes possessing their own specific energy.
>
> (Jung 1960: 198)

Fanon's and others' writing illustrate this very clearly and one can empathize with how the outward situation he and his people found themselves in, would constellate a complex of racism.

The outward situation of colonized black African peoples was that of having been conquered by technically more sophisticated countries. Differences between local inhabitants and the explorers from the northern hemisphere were, because of fear, categorized into value judgements of superior and inferior. The technical strength through being the master of weapons, became generalized to an overall, inherent supremacy and with it whiteness gained ascendancy. I quote from Fanon:

> I am white: that is to say that I possess beauty and virtue, which have never been black. I am the color of daylight . . .

> I am black: I am the incarnation of a complete fusion with the world . . . I have been able to absorb all the cosmic *effluvia*.
>
> (Fanon 1986: 45)

> The white man is sealed in his whiteness.
> The black man in his blackness.
>
> (Fanon 1986: 11)

Fanon states further that the "juxtaposition of the white and black races has created a massive psychoexistential complex" (Fanon 1986: 14) which has resulted in an inferiority complex for black African people. This has been exploited by white people.

In order to meet the complex of white supremacy, black people had to counter it with an equally strong complex of black pride and resistance. Both are born out of an archetypal fear of the unknown other. For the immature ego of all human beings, not-knowing is too anxiety provoking, and thus defences of splitting and projection are mobilized. All that is unacceptable to the self, that is the shadow, is split off and projected onto the person whose skin color is opposite to that of the self.

The white complex was institutionalized in South Africa in the form of a political system of separate development, known as Apartheid. From 1948 to 1994 laws governed the country which forbade any interplay, any synthesis between the two broad race groups of black and white. The definition of who was "black" and who "white," and the absurdity thereof, gave rise to many painful life histories which to this date scar individual psyches. However, at the same time, it allowed for the emergence of the necessary complex of Black Consciousness. Steve Biko, the founder of Black Consciousness in South Africa, represented the counterpoint to white colonial supremacy. He wrote about this in terms of the Hegelian theory of dialectic materialism and he stated the following:

> That since the thesis is a white racism there can only be one valid antithesis, i.e., a solid black unity, to counterbalance the scale. If South Africa is to be a land where black and white live together in harmony without fear of group exploitation, it is only when these two opposites have interplayed and produced a viable synthesis of ideas and a *modus vivendi*. We can never wage any struggle without offering a strong counterpoint to the white races that permeate our society so effectively.
>
> (Biko 1984/1998: 362)

Although Biko himself was brutally silenced through his death while in police detention in 1977, the spirit of pride in being black continues to live in the minds of black South Africans. In the new, democratic South Africa, it can be expressed freely and can openly be presented as a challenge whenever there is a sense of white entitlement or imperialism. During the Fourth Steve Biko Memorial Lecture

by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2003) he makes an impassioned plea for keeping and recording the African stories in African languages and talks about the "possibilities of a new Africa out of colonial ashes of latter day empires." As valid as this is, we have to bear in mind that, if taken to extremes, there may be a complex at work in the Black Consciousness movement. The negative aspect of this passion against the colonial powers is that it can become racist. Shadow aspects of the black self are projected onto the white other, as is so tragically seen in Zimbabwe at this very moment.

Beyond racism: *Negritude* and *ubuntu*

When we go beyond racism and are able to relate in an equal way to the other, we may come to know and appreciate the real *cultural* differences.

I would like to briefly return to Leopold Senghor, who was born in 1906. This African statesman and poet was President of the Republic of Senegal from 1960 to 1980. Although equally critical of European colonialism he seems less embittered than Fanon. He too argued for political independence and initiated a cultural rebellion against the French (Shutte 1998: 22). While Fanon deconstructs the concept of culture from a revolutionary standpoint (Fanon 1963: 166–199), Senghor offers the idea of *Negritude* which he defines as "*the whole complex of civilized values – cultural, social, and political – which characterise the black peoples*, or, more precisely, the Negro-African world" (Senghor 1961: 440, italics his).

In 1970 he wrote about the "Civilization of the Universal," calling for black Africa to be permitted to make its contribution to our divided and interdependent world. He feels passionately that there are aspects of *Negritude* that should find a place in contemporary humanism. These aspects he describes as follows:

> the unity, the balance and the harmony of African civilization, of black society, which was based both on the *community* and on the *person*, and in which, because it was founded on dialogue and reciprocity, the group had priority over the individual without crushing him, but allowing him to blossom as a person.
>
> (Senghor 1970: 32)

In the South African, *isiXhosa* culture I am familiar with, there are two threads, or two complexes, that form the weft and warp of the traditional *Weltanschauung*. These are first the reverence for the ancestors. Dr Vera Bührmann, the first Jungian analyst in the country, researched this concept extensively (Bührmann 1984). I have built on her understandings and have documented my own experiences in this area (Berg 2003b). The second thread is that of *ubuntu*. These two complexes are grouped under the cultural term *isiko*, which implies deep, core concepts which do not easily change. The term *nesithethe* is used for more superficial habits and customs, which will change with modern times.

The two notions could be visualized as lying on two axes: the reverence for the ancestors on the vertical axis and *ubuntu* on the horizontal axis. I have found them to be present in the vast majority of black African people I have communicated with, be they colleagues, patients or friends. They may intersect at different points in the conscious attitude, so that, for example, the ancestor reverence may be more deeply unconscious, while issues around *ubuntu* are more in the foreground. In my experience, this may be a pattern that develops with urbanization and Western education.

Definition of *ubuntu*

The term *ubuntu* is commonly used and even abused in South Africa. The South African Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it as "a spirit of fellowship, humanity, and compassion, especially as associated with African society." A personal communication from a black African nurse describes the concept as follows:

> In any part of the universe we are in constant contact with different people. These people can be pleasant together and to one another, or otherwise. Some people can be very kind, compassionate, free giving, accepting and welcoming. *Ubuntu* is humanity. It is the very essence of human beings; to be humane. The spirit of genuine kindness, compassion, giving and embracing comes from *ubuntu*.
>
> (O. Fako, personal communication, 2001)

(It is important to note her using the word "universe" – *ubuntu* transcends family and ethnic group.)

The term has its origins from the *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* proverb which states: *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*. Literally translated this means: "A person is a person because of persons." It is this statement which needs careful unpacking and reflection, as it takes the concept beyond ordinary kindness on to a deep psychological level.

Philosophy from Africa

It is said that *ubuntu* originated with the tribal and clan structures, where a traditional leader would be a benign protective authority figure for his people; he would show his concern and care for his subjects in a selfless manner, and could thus implore them to do the same for each other. The child in the street is everybody's child; the person at your door becomes your responsibility. The Western political and economic systems of democracy and capitalism have inserted themselves into these tribal customs and have caused their gradual disintegration, though in some rural areas the traditional structures remain intact. However, traditional thinking remains community based, as can be seen from the written texts by African philosophers.

I am mindful of the fact that, as there is no single European philosophy and culture, so there is no single African philosophy and culture. However, there are common, underlying motifs in each. In Europe the intellectual movement of the Enlightenment which reached its high point in the eighteenth century, was preceded by Cartesian dualism. This firmly established the mind–body split, the need to analyse the world by objective, scientific means and ultimately it led to the prime position of the individual in European thinking.

Africa had no Descartes, no period of enlightenment, at least none that has been recorded. Despite the undoubted positive side of this European development, the fact that Africa did not participate in it may yet prove to have enormous value, as this chapter hopes to convey. Perhaps the "African Renaissance" in the twenty-first century could also contribute to universal human values as the European Renaissance has done.

Kwame Gyeke of the University of Ghana in his paper "Person and Community in African Thought" outlines the essential question as follows:

> The metaphysical question is whether a person, even though he/she lives in a human society, is a self-sufficient atomic individual who does not depend on his/her relationships with others for the realisation of his/her ends and who has ontological priority over the community, or whether the person is by nature a communal (or communitarian) being, having natural and essential relationships with others.
>
> (Gyeke 1992/1998: 317)

The paper clearly expresses that communitarianism is what defines African socio-ethical thinking. "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (Gyeke 1992: 318) is what underlies the status of the person in African culture. He mentions several *Akan* maxims which state: "a person is not a palm tree that he or she should be self-complete or self-sufficient" (ibid.: 320) and "one tree does not make or constitute a forest" (ibid.: 321). Overarching these analogies is the saying that "when a person descends from heaven, he/she descends into human society" (ibid.: 320). Note that the "descent" is not into a physical body, but into society.

I have elaborated on the point that community confers personhood in African culture elsewhere (Berg 2003a). The missing of this vital fact was brought home to me in the failed treatment of a mother–infant dyad with disastrous consequences. My European training which saw only the individual, and at most the mother–infant relationship without paying attention to its social context, proved to be inadequate in properly assessing and treating a tragic mother–child couple.

Towards a psychological understanding

The purpose of this chapter is to argue that the concept of *ubuntu* is a universal, basic human attitude that has been part of human evolution from the beginning,

but that it has been lost with the increasing splitting that has occurred in Western civilization. As described before, the two cultural complexes, the weft of the ancestor reverence and the warp of *ubuntu*, intersect with each other at various points. This could be abstracted into the ego–self axis and an ego–others axis respectively. Of note is the plural word "others." This is a simple, but essential point.

In Western culture we generally talk about self and other. This is the trend in infancy research and in self-psychology. However, it may be in the process of change, as more recent infant observations have shown how the infant is able to relate from the very beginning to more than one other person (von Klitzing *et al*. 1999). Similarly at the Tavistock Clinic in London, known for its individual analytic approach, there seems to be an opening-up. A lecture in July 2003 by Caroline Garland focused on group therapy and it appeared to be, for that context, ground-breaking work. It was stated that it is the engagement with others, not just one other, which influences and shapes us. In this moving-away from the traditional dyadic therapy, it seemed, in that setting, as though something new had been discovered. It is, however, very old.

This self or ego with others may be linked to the instinct of the preservation of the species, for without *ubuntu* human kind would not have survived. Only once survival was ensured, could part of the world embark on the intellectual pathway which led to the Enlightenment. Because *ubuntu* is so essentially human, it is tempting for me to place it beyond a complex and therefore beyond the polarities of good and bad, positive and negative, light and shadow. Indeed when I asked the question about the negative aspects of *ubuntu*, I was met by some of my respondents with a horrified "there are none." However, others were able to say spontaneously that there are negative aspects to all things. Thus, because it is humans who are the givers and receivers of *ubuntu*, it cannot be without its shadow.

Ubuntu does not imply equality between peoples. A *Xhosa* saying depicts it as being like the fingers of the hand – not one is like the other, yet they function as a whole. However, it does imply caring for the other. The *ubuntu* of one person can thus easily be exploited by another.

The shadow therefore is the projection of responsibility onto others, and this is something which needs to be acknowledged and struggled with. Individual success and wealth is often regarded by the rest of the family as something that is automatically shared. It becomes concretized in the asking for material support, such as large sums of money. The refusal of this is seen in a serious light with the most insulting remark being "you have become too white." Families are conflicted, and indeed split apart by this, and it may require special meetings among the elders to repair the damage done. It is a struggle seen often among the university students, who have risen above their family in terms of Western education. Because of this, or despite this, their families expect them to contribute to family income, burdening the young people with enormous obligations. Individual development can thus be severely constricted and this is a serious problem for many.

However, if *ubuntu* is present in a way that it was consciously intended to be, and if it is manifested in a non-material manner, the effect is profoundly positive, as I shall attempt to describe.

Experiences of *ubuntu*

South Africa is a country with vast spaces, an unequalled natural beauty which varies from semi-desert to green mountain ranges, rolling bush land with thorn trees and many kilometres of unspoilt beaches. Its fauna and flora are rich and diverse and it boasts international heritage sites, such as the St. Lucia Estuary and the Table Mountain range. It is however the peoples that make South Africa the place that it has become; there is the felt presence of "human capital" which compensates for, or even eclipses, the poverty and lack of material excesses uncharacteristic of many Western countries.

Despite the nearly fifty years of repression of one group towards another, the spirit of *ubuntu* has not been destroyed. The person who epitomizes *ubuntu* on an international level is of course Nelson Mandela. In a tribute to him, Wilmot James writes about Mandela's "unrelenting concern to recognise and honour people, his wish born in struggle to live in *Ubuntu*, and to pay personal attention to all communities, of the majority and the minorities" (James 2003: 10).

Almost identical words are used by Albie Sachs, a fellow freedom fighter, when he describes the inauguration speech of Mandela as President of South Africa in 1994:

> Never again should anyone, whoever they were, and whoever their ancestors had been, be treated with disrespect for their fundamental rights and disregard for their humanity. This was a philosophical commitment, emerging from years of struggle against racism, rooted in the African tradition of *Ubuntu* and drawing on universal notions of fundamental right.
>
> (Sachs 2003: 55)

In 1997 Mandela gave an address in Oxford on "Religious Heritage" with the following words:

> As with other aspects of its heritage, African traditional religion is increasingly recognised for its contribution to the world. No longer seen as despised superstition which had to be superseded by superior forms of belief, today its enrichment of humanity's spiritual heritage is acknowledged. The spirit of *Ubuntu* – that profound African sense that we are human only through the humanity of other human beings – is not a parochial phenomenon, but has added globally to our common search for a better world.
>
> (Mandela 1997: 324)

While these are truly great words of great men, many incidences of *ubuntu*, of respect for the other, of humanity in small gestures are seen and experienced daily

in South Africa, but sadly do not find the public acclaim that they deserve. It was brought home to me in 1995, just after our first democratic election when I as a white woman, for the first time, ventured into a black township, a few kilometres outside of metropolitan Cape Town. I have described this incident in a chapter titled "*Ubuntu* – From the Consulting Room to the Vegetable Garden" and wish to repeat it here:

> I recall one Tuesday morning in the beginning when I was walking with my co-worker, Nosisana Nama, along the street the one side of which had shops selling all sorts of things – from meat to clothes to taped music. On the other side was a children's crèche and a little boy was peering over the wall, calling out something in Xhosa. I heard a man on the opposite shouting back at him and the child ducked. I was told that the little boy had exclaimed "Look, a white woman." The man had chided him, saying "She is your mother."
>
> This interaction moved me deeply – here was this older man, who had known the inhumanity of apartheid, and who was accepting me as a person and teaching this young child to do the same. In African tradition anyone who could be another person's parent in terms of age is addressed with the respectful term of *uMama* or *uTata*. He was telling this child not to look at skin colour, but at the position of the person in terms of age, and to act according to that. There is much to learn for us in the western, so-called "civilised" world.
>
> (Berg 2002: 104)

I recently introduced a colleague from the United States to a black community counselor whom I supervise. I apologized for not having given her warning that I would bring a visitor, but she replied with a warm smile, "It is good to meet you, you shall be one of us," words which this colleague probably has not forgotten to this day.

I am convinced that if it had not been for the spirit of *ubuntu* the reconciliation process in South Africa would not have been possible. Although not directly referring to *ubuntu*, Antje Krog, the South African journalist who wrote about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in her award-winning book *Country of my Skull*, concludes her work with the following words:

> Against a flood crashing with the weight of a brutalizing past on to new usurping politics, the Commission has kept alive the idea of a common humanity. Painstakingly it has chiselled a way beyond racism and made a space for all our voices. For all its failures, it carries a flame of hope that makes me proud to be from here, of here.
>
> (Krog 1998: 278)

A sobering comment was made to me recently when one of my black African co-workers said that the HIV/Aids pandemic, which is the current struggle in

South Africa, is making *ubuntu* come back to people who were in the process of losing it. Because, now this child wandering the streets is orphaned, and so does literally become *our* child; we cannot turn our back on this human tragedy.

Civilization of the universal

In 1970 Senghor wrote a paper on "Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century" in which he calls for international cooperation with the following words:

> Ethnologists have often praised the unity, the balance and the harmony of African civilization, of black society, which was based both on the *community* and on the *person*, and in which, because it was founded on dialogue and reciprocity, the group had priority over the individual without crushing him, but allowing him to blossom as a person. I would like to emphasize at this point how much these characteristics of negritude enable it to find a place in contemporary humanism, thereby permitting black Africa to make its contribution to the "Civilization of the Universal" which is so necessary in our divided but interdependent world of the second half of the twentieth century.
>
> (Senghor 1970: 32)

As we have entered the twenty-first century these words are even more relevant than before. Senghor's description of *negritude* approximates that of *ubuntu*, although the former was articulated through a political movement which *ubuntu* was not.

Ubuntu is a collective way of being which guided human interaction from its beginnings and which lead to human civilization. It remains part of all of us, but has been lost in many Western cultures. I agree with the South African philosopher, Augustine Shutte, when he writes: "I have become convinced that African insights into our humanity can serve as an important corrective to the dominant forms of contemporary European philosophy" (Shutte 1998: 428). This is needed not only for philosophy, but also for psychology.

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Chapter 17

Towards a theory of organizational culture

Integrating the "other" from a post-Jungian perspective

Brian Feldman

The ways in which we live and interact with each other in social groups is an important component of culture. Our interactional styles can be thought of as constituting the external forms of culture. Cultures and organizations have particular ways of structuring interactions, which from an analytical perspective give us information about underlying modes of interchange which are often unconscious. In this chapter I would like to explore organizational culture from a post-Jungian analytic perspective. I would like to propose the concept of organizational individuation, a process that occurs at a social level and which involves the integration of the "other," as viewed in terms of ethnicity, gender, and cultural/social background. The "other" in this context are those individuals who are perceived as being outside the predominant social group and are often excluded or marginalized. For Jung (1959), individuation is a naturally occurring process within the psyche that promotes the integration and awareness of the "other" within, the previously unknown parts of the personality. Jung's initial formulations about the impact of culture upon the development of the individual and the group have been expanded upon by Henderson (1990), Singer (2002), and Kimbles (2000). These authors have developed the concepts of the cultural unconscious and the cultural complex to help understand the structuring of emotional experience at both the personal and group levels. Kimbles focuses particularly on how a group identity can develop out of the shared experience of a cultural complex. According to Kimbles, the cultural complex organizes and generates in-group feelings of belonging and identity, and is a product of the conscious and unconscious accumulation of negative and positive group feelings and experiences. Within an organization the particular culture that evolves and develops is a product of the accumulation of shared experiences that can be looked at from both an individual and group viewpoint. Individuation within an organization would then involve the integration of disavowed experiences at both the group and individual levels of experience. Organizational individuation would then involve the integration of the other, as well as those aspects of group experience that are related to the impact of marginalization, power dynamics, and ideological differences (Kimbles 2000: 166).

I think that the concept of individuation is a key element in understanding

growth and development within organizational culture. Otherness within an organization emerges in relation to ethnicity, gender, culture and can be mediated by primarily unconscious interpersonal processes such as projection and projective identification.

An assessment of how the group manages conscious and unconscious processes and how an integration of these processes occurs informs us about the basic underlying structure and dynamics of the organization. This understanding can in turn then be utilized to help foster organizational integration, growth and individuation.

Jung's concept of individuation was further developed by Michael Fordham (1985), who expanded upon Jung's original model of individuation process by investigating their origins in infancy. Fordham's post-Jungian theory has provided a developmental foundation upon which Jung's original thought can more securely rest. Fordham's (1995, 1996) post-Jungian theories are grounded in developmental thinking based on infant observation studies, and give a prominent place to the work of Bion, Winnicott and the British school of object relations as well as to Jung's original theories. Fordham's concept of defences of the self has been useful in helping to understand the self-protective maneuvers of more seriously disturbed clients in analysis. Fordham has postulated that the defence of the self helps the analysand maintain an illusion of security in the face of depressive and often psychotic anxieties of an overwhelming nature. For Fordham, the defence of the self is a protective maneuver that helps to preserve a feeling of stability in the face of intense anxiety; the primary self contains all of the archetypal potential of the human being. Fordham believes that the infant at birth has a capacity for individuality and integration, while Bick (1968) believes that the infant does not have this capacity and is hence unintegrated at birth. My own observation of newborn babies indicates that the baby does have the potential for integrative experiences at birth, and that these experiences are mediated through the interactive bodily/emotional dialogue with mother. The baby's innate, archetypal potential for the experience of self is facilitated through the use of touch, smell, taste, sound and sight when experienced within the interpersonal matrix of the infant and the caregivers. The baby's initial experience of self is mediated through his or her experience of an interpersonal environment that is sensitive and resonant to the baby's needs. It is within this relational context that body image and identity development begin to unfold. According to Fordham the infant's self evolves through a process of deintegration. The infant's active engagement with the caregivers leads to processes of deintegration/reintegration where experience (both personal and archetypal) is internalized and an inner world becomes structured through the introjection of relationships with significant attachment figures in the infant's life. The primary self of the infant has its own defensive system that is activated when there is environmental failure as can be seen in the infant observation material. Fordham postulates that these defense systems arise spontaneously out of the primal self and are designed to preserve a sense of individual identity and intactness. These defenses of the self create

an impermeable barrier, like a second skin, between the infant's self and the environment, and the processes of deintegration/reintegration are prevented from evolving. In extreme cases Fordham believes that the infant can evolve rigid autistic-like symptoms of a second skin nature that thwart psychological development.

At the level of organizational analysis, the Kleinian analyst Elliott Jacques (1955), in his pioneering work on social defenses, postulates that one of the primary cohesive elements that bring individuals into organizations is a shared social defense against psychotic anxiety. According to Jacques, individuals may use social institutions in order to support their own psychic defenses, so that these institutionalized methods become social defenses. What Jacques is referring to are shared shadow fantasies that are projected onto the other. Aggression and destructiveness are projected onto other individuals and groups, either within or outside of the group, and these people are seen by the organization as constituting a threat to its integrity. I think that the social defenses Jacques is referring to can be amplified further to include a social defense of the organizational self. In this regard the members of the organization collectively attempt to ward off depressive and psychotic anxieties through an unconscious collusion that keeps the potentially troublesome anxiety evoking elements and people at bay. I have observed this type of social defence of the self in analytic institutes where a sacred analytic doctrine (the self of the group) is protected against criticism, and where group relationships can be constellated around defensive pattern involving splitting, hostility and suspicion. These are, as Jacques (1955) rightly points out, unconsciously motivated attempts to defend against the experience of anxieties whose sources could not be consciously controlled. I think that Fordham's work on defenses of the self helps to add another dimension to our understanding of these processes. Fordham focuses on the adaptive nature of the defense, and looks at the way in which the defense helps to preserve psychological stability in the face of psychotic anxieties as well as exploring into its more pathological implications.

Bion's work with groups also focuses on how defenses can be mobilized within a group setting that help to preserve the ongoing stability of the group. Bion (1959) calls these group defenses basic assumptions. One of the basic assumptions of a group according to Bion is that people come together in a group for the purpose of preserving the group. This basic assumption presents itself as the group grapples with fears (which Bion postulates are naturally occurring) of disintegration or splitting. Another basic assumption, fight/flight, emerges as the group views that either fighting or running away are the only means available to preserve the group's existence. In this circumstance the group tends to look for a leader who will help the group flee from or fight the perceived enemy, be it an individual, an ideology or some other perceived threat to the group's integrity. Fordham's concept of defenses of the self can be seen to be similar to Bion's notion of basic assumptions in that both provide a way of thinking about defenses that are utilized to ward off anxieties that threaten our experience of intactness and integrity. They

can also create an impermeable barrier, like a second skin that impedes psychological and emotional growth.

Menzies Lyth's (1988) work with nurses utilizing the framework of social defenses is useful in understanding the need for organizations, in order to maintain their health and flexibility, to facilitate opportunities for individuals in the organization to develop their own unique and adaptive ways of confronting anxiety. When the organizational culture is able to help individuals achieve a level of satisfaction previously denied to them, they can enter into a more creative dialogue with the organization, and contribute to its growth, development and individuation. Fordham (1987) would think of these new psychological processes as actions of the self. These actions of the self help to promote individuation processes both within the individual and in the group.

In my own personal training with Fordham during the 1980s he often referenced W.R. Bion (1962) as a significant analyst to read, understand and integrate. Fordham felt Bion's ideas had much to offer to a post-Jungian analytic approach, both from a theoretical as well as clinical standpoint. I think Bion had many interesting and important ideas about how we encounter the other both within ourselves, and within organizational culture. Towards the end of his analytic career Bion (1974) gave a series of lectures in São Paulo, Brazil. When talking about the relationships and rivalries that exist between different analytic groups he said the following:

> One fundamental matter with which we are all concerned is tension. Sometimes there can be so little tension between two people that they fail to stimulate each other at all. At the other extreme, the differences in outlook or temperament are so great that no discussion is possible. The question is, can the society or group or pair find the happy mean which is tense enough to stimulate but belongs to neither extreme – either lack of tension or too much?
>
> (Bion 1974: 95)

I think that Bion's commentary on tension is a valid one for thinking about the dialogue with the other within, as well as our dialogue with other within a particular organization. Growth and individuation all require a level of experienced tension to motivate and stimulate these developmental processes. In my observation of babies, within the analytical setting, and in work with organizations the experience of optimal tension is a significant factor in growth and development. The baby needs to encounter the unknown other in order to begin to make sense out of their experience. The analysand's individuation proceeds as he or she is able to engage in a dialogue with the otherness within, as well as between him- or herself and the analyst. Organizational culture can grow, develop and mature, as dialogue is facilitated between opposing opinions and viewpoints.

Infant observation research

The post-Jungian developmental approach focuses a good deal of attention upon infant observation research as it helps to delineate individuation processes that are set in motion from birth (or in utero). Fordham (1985) utilized data from the observation of infants to support his theories, and it is important to note that this emphasis on the infantile origins of psychological processes is in line with all of the major analytic theorists of the British psychoanalytic school (Klein, Bion, Winnicott). In order to better understand infantile states of mind that have relevance for organizational dynamics I have found it helpful to observe infants in the naturalistic setting of their homes. It is my belief that the infant–caregiver relationship provides important data to inform us about the development of organizational dynamics, especially the power of unconscious communication and its impact upon the development of self and identity. The type of infant observation that Michael Fordham utilized for his theorizing was developed at the Tavistock Clinic in London. Tavistock infant observation was first devised by Kleinian analyst Esther Bick (1964) to help analytic candidates gain a deeper understanding of preverbal states of mind. Infant observation involves the observation of the infant in the naturalistic context of the family, and in this sense it is ethological in nature. The family as an organization is also an object of reflection. Each family is observed in the familiar setting of their home for one hour per week during the first two years of the infant's life. The purpose of this two-year observational experience is to provide an opportunity to observe first hand, from an analytically oriented perspective, the unfolding of the early infant–parent relationship. The ways in which the different family members – mother, father, and baby – interact with each other offers significant information about how cultural attitudes are transmitted from one generation to the next. In addition the development of the individual within the social group of the family is also possible to observe at close range.

As a result of my ongoing infant observational research I have attempted to build on some of Fordham's original theories. As a result of this research I have found the following three hypotheses to be useful in understanding the growth of the baby within the primal relationship of infant and parent. Similarly, I would also postulate that these mechanisms can be looked at and applied to work in organizations.

First, infants' sense of agency, their capacity to create their universe in relationship with and in interaction with the significant figures in their environment is fundamental in understanding their development. Agent acts and agents are the subjects of their actions in interaction with others. This principle can also be related to organizational work and our need to support emerging agency in the organizational arena.

Second, my observations lead me to postulate that infants' mental and emotional development evolves in the context of their early relationships. Mental and emotional developments do not evolve in isolation from the significant relationships

in the baby's life. The contextual component of infants' experience is fundamental in understanding their development. In regard to organizations the contextual component of an intervention is critical in understanding the nature of the problems as well as the course of the intervention.

Third, the early mother–infant relationship is quite fluid in nature. There is an ongoing oscillation between states of connection and states of separateness. There is a rhythm and tempo to these fluctuating states. The baby and mother undulate with each other in their particular dance. These observations are in contrast to Fordham's conceptualizations that the infant is separate from birth (Fordham 1985), and are also divergent from Winnicott's concept that the mother and infant are in a state of fusion during the earliest period of life (Winnicott 1960/1965). In this regard individuals can have different needs in terms of their connection to and separateness from an organization. I have found this to be especially important in understanding my relationships with organizations from different cultures. For instance in Japan, there is much formality about the nature and timing of connections, such as business meetings, business dinners, and other highly structured interactions such as the tea ceremony. While in Brazil, another area where I consult, the social/professional boundaries are far more fluid, and need to be understood in the context of Brazilian culture which places far less emphasis upon ritual and hierarchy than the Japanese.

It is also important to look at individual dynamics when assessing organizational life. While Kets De Vries (1984) talks of a neurotic organization at a systemic level, the individual also makes contributions which are of significance to the system. Main's (1968) work on the interface between the individual and the organization is important in this regard. According to Main, the way in which an organization is structured depends upon the individuals involved. In this regard the study of leadership from a post-Jungian standpoint is also fundamental. The leadership of the organization helps to provide structure, vision and clarity about its purpose and mission. The creativity of the leadership is critical for the organization to grow, evolve and individuate. From my perspective organizational leadership involves the development of a symbolic capacity, and a possibility to imagine the future, create possibilities and work effectively with the potentialities of the organization. My own research into symbolization processes indicates that these potentialities emerge in infancy and evolve throughout the life cycle.

I think that the infant's capacity for symbolization evolves from birth onward. The skin, as the first experience of a container, is fundamental in this regard. Bick (1968) has noted, based upon her infant observation research, that through the experience of the skin the infant develops a concept of inside and outside spaces, with a boundary which separates the two distinct areas. The skin is the envelope in which the body is contained, and it is the skin that provides the points of contact with the external world. The skin acts as a delineator of boundaries between what is experienced to be outside and what is experienced as inside the self. This primary skin function (Feldman 2004) involves the evolution of a psychic container within which thought, affect and symbolic experience can be held and

reflected upon. This experience of the skin later evolves into a concept of an internal and external world. Difficulties in the evolution of the psychic skin, the mental representation of the sensory skin, can be seen in primitive mental states where boundary difficulties are prominent. In these cases a secondary skin function can develop. The secondary skin function is a defensive maneuver that helps to contain unbearable affects through the use of bodily and mental processes such as can emerge in eating disorders, sexual addictions as well as in other psychosomatic conditions (Feldman 2002). Leadership involves the evolution of what I call the primary skin function. The primary skin function helps in the evolution of appropriate psychological boundaries, and the development of a secure and bounded internal space where symbolization processes take place. A space to think creatively is necessary for effective leadership.

I think that it is also possible to extend the concept of the psychic skin in the social area and formulate a concept of a cultural or group skin function. In this respect the cultural skin becomes a metaphor of a social and organizational container. We can begin to think about groups and organizations as having a particular type of skin function. For instance, a group or organization that utilizes primarily defenses of the self, or is dominated by Bion's fight/flight basic assumption has an impermeable skin, and can be thought of as utilizing a second skin defense mechanism (in this book, see, for example, Singer's Chapter 1 on archetypal defenses of the group spirit). Groups and organizations that utilize second skin social defenses have a rigid group identity that does not allow for the inflow of new information, new ideas, and new observations. Thus, second skin defenses distort and confound both intra- and inter-group relations. It is a group that, according to Bion, has difficulty learning from experience. A group or organization with a more permeable skin function can allow for change, transformation and growth, for the inflow of new ideas and new discourses, and the free flow of information is possible. This capacity for a primary social skin function helps both the individual and the groups in their evolution of identities. These individual and group identities are in an ongoing process of formation and transformation without a fixed or even necessarily unified goal. These processes of growth and transformation are the most significant aspects of the primary skin function at the social level. The concept of the cultural complex may be seen as one way that basic assumptions, defenses of the self, and second skin phenomena get expressed. Within the context of cultural complexes, cultural identities may be forged and transformed as the tensions between past history, collective memory, and present social discourses are encountered.

Japanese culture as other

Since the year 2000 I have been involved in consultation projects in Japan with a group of Japanese psychologists. I have found our relationships helpful in clarifying each other's cultural perspectives and in understanding more about our respective cultures. As Japanese and American consultants working together in

Japan we have experienced "otherness" both within our work relationship and between each of us and the culture of the other. We have each needed to become more aware of our "unconscious theories of the other" in order to form a working relationship and to be able to provide effective ongoing consultation to organizations in Japan.

Japan is a complex and ancient culture. My first encounters were often bewildering and confusing, especially as I did not have a grasp of the language. I found my experiences there helpful in understanding the Japanese other, as well as in gaining a better understanding of myself. I found the tensions between North American and Japanese culture to be a significant motivating factor to stimulate reflection upon our respective cultures. In this regard I have found the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict's (1946) work on Japanese character entitled *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* to be very helpful. In many respects what Benedict describes is a culture that utilizes second skin social defenses to preserve a sense of harmony, stability and integrity, and where the introduction of new ideas is often difficult.

According to Benedict, the Japanese rely upon order and hierarchy in their social relationships. This reliance upon hierarchy, as well as the important rituals that frame social relationships influences organizational culture as well as social life in Japan. Relationships in Japan depend upon hierarchy; every greeting, every interpersonal contact must indicate the kind and degree of social distance between people. Every time a man says to another "eat" or "sit down" he uses different words if he is addressing someone familiarly or is speaking to an inferior or to a superior. There is a different form of "you" that must be used in each case and the verbs utilized even have different stems. The Japanese have a respect language which is accompanied with proper bows and kneeling. All such behavior is governed by meticulous rules and conventions. It is not merely necessary to know to whom one bows but it is necessary to know how much one bows.

The Japanese psychoanalyst Takeo Doi (1971) has written in his classic book, *The Anatomy of Dependence*, that Japanese interpersonal relationships are characterized by a concept he calls *amae*, which captures a particular aspect of interpersonal relationships in Japan. *Amae* implies a kind of dependence which is ingrained in Japanese culture. According to Doi, *amae* first emerges in infancy, and implies an indulgence of the child often idealized in Japanese culture. This nourished dependency continues throughout the childhood years when a sharp shift in attitude occurs. *Amae* signifies a complex web of interpersonal relationships which involves dependency, duty and obligation. There are a complex set of rules that govern this behavior, and there is an underlying attempt to save face and avoid shame.

The Japanese trust their meticulously explicit map of behavior. This involves guaranteed security so long as one followed the rules. This cultural attitude can lead to a more conservative view of life. The Japanese are not encouraged to express their individuality within their culture, and tension between opposing viewpoints is often not encouraged. We could say that the Japanese do not tolerate

a great deal of tension, following Bion, and hence their organizational and social relationship can limit innovation and creativity. It is for this reason that innovation within Japanese culture often happens through the importation of foreign ideas and practices. For instance, the Japanese imported Zen Buddhism from China, and one of their alphabets, Konji, is based on Chinese characters. In modern Japan, North American culture is hugely influential, and trends that first emerge in New York or California quickly migrate to Tokyo and beyond. I have found this way of importing foreign ideas very curious. New ideas are tolerated if they help the maintenance of stability of the group, and enhance the leadership of the group. They are not tolerated if they provoke tension and foster changes that are antithetical to the ongoing stability of the group.

I have found this to be the case when I have taught analytic theory in Japan. I was actually asked to teach developmental Jungian theory (Fordham) and practice in Japan because it was thought dangerous for a Japanese analyst to promote a way of thinking that has not yet taken root there. The predominant mode of Jungian thinking in Japan is classical, and this school of thought has a strong and powerful leader who dominates the Jungian culture there. I was told that it would not be considered safe for a Japanese analyst to teach theories that may promote tension with the predominant power structure within Japan. As a foreigner it would be all right for me to teach an opposing theoretical viewpoint as I would be seen as outside the group, and less of a threat as I would be there for only short stays. At first I found this somewhat odd, but later came to recognize and respect that the Japanese operate within a particular social and cultural framework that is hesitant about the introduction of new ideas and practices, and which only very slowly and deliberately can assimilate new ideas that may lead to changes and transformations in their clinical practices. The Japanese utilize this second skin defense at a social level, to help preserve feelings of group harmony, unity and integration. It has been a challenging, frustrating and rewarding endeavor to work with Japanese analysts to help in the transformation of their analytic culture, and to experience at first hand how powerful social defenses of a second skin nature can be.

In a paradoxical way it is also interesting in Japan to observe how Zen culture fosters freedom of thought and experience with a practice of discipline to train the mind to be able to perceive more clearly. I think that utilizing Bion's concept "without memory or desire" we can think of Zen as a practice akin to analysis in that its goal is the search for truth and the modification of defensive maneuvers that block the experience of our thoughts and affects. To know in Zen is to know through direct experience and not through the study of its sacred texts. This is also the goal of analysis of any school, as the experience of analysis is fundamental to its practice. In this sense to know is outside of all texts. Zen in its practice promotes a capacity to experience what Bion (1962), following Keats, terms negative capability. For Keats negative capability exists "when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason" (in Bion 1962). Shunryu Suzuki, a modern Zen teacher, calls this

beginner's mind. "If your mind is empty, it is always ready for anything; it is open to everything. In the beginner's mind there are many possibilities, in the expert's mind there are few" (Suzuki 1970: 21). In a sense the practice of beginner's mind is a metaphor for the evolution of a primary skin function, where new observations can be made, and where there exists a capacity to learn from experience. It is an interesting paradox that within a culture where there is an emphasis on the utilization of second skin social defenses, that practices which emphasize the development of openness to unconscious processes are so revered. Perhaps this paradox is an important one, as it points to the potential for transformative processes to be found even within a rigid and hierarchical social framework. This observation lends support to the Jungian notion that we can find potentials for healthy growth even within complexes that appear rigid and inflexible.

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Chapter 18

On the politics of individuation in the Americas

Murray Stein

> Individuation, becoming a self, is not only a spiritual problem, it is the problem of all life.
>
> (Jung 1970: 163)

Introduction

With respect to psychological identity, individuation means creation, destruction, eternal recreation – an ongoing process whose faraway goal is maximum wholeness through the union of opposites in consciousness. Can we use this concept of individual development to understand the evolution of collectivities such as nations and groups of nations? Is it useful to think about the political and economic dynamics that underlie the movements of world history from a psychological perspective such as "a politics of individuation?" If so, what does such an analysis look like? These questions pose the challenge of this chapter. All the nations of the Americas – whether of North or South – were created from actions on the part of explorative and aggressive European peoples who, in their own way, were largely unconscious of their ulterior motives and of the implications for the future. They invaded, conquered, and often plundered the territories where we now live and which we call home. This is a shared ancestral heritage. A kind of naked power shadow therefore is woven deeply into the fabric of our original identities.

All of the inhabitants of the Americas live on lands that were seized from their previous holders and taken away from them without their informed consent. A vast territory that was from the European explorers' point of view a "new world" was not all that new to the people who had settled these continents many centuries earlier. These were not empty continents when the European explorers first arrived. Large populations of non-European ancestry who had migrated from Asia thousands of years earlier in fact lived on them. And on both American continents, these indigenous peoples were violently conquered and suppressed, to the point of near extinction.

The period of invasion and colonization, later augmented by a program of slavery from the local populations and from Africa, was completed in a relatively

short period of time. The European colonizers and settlers immediately considered the land they occupied rightfully theirs, and they quickly became loyal and righteous citizens of these new world colonies that were themselves still in their infancy. From this mixture of people and forces our nations were born. "The land was ours before we were the land's" is a fitting line of poetry by Robert Frost for both North and South Americans. Even now it is an open question as to whether we have yet fully become the land's. The Europeans and their descendants have claimed the land, but has the land claimed us? Have our identities become truly American? It is an open question.

For centuries after colonization, the immigrant inhabitants of the Americas borrowed their cultural modes and ideals from Europe. (I must confess my continuing Eurocentric habits of mind.) In the North people sought points of reference and orientation in England, Holland, France, and Germany; in the South people looked more to Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In recent years, however, and especially since the early 1980s, the cultures of the Americas, both Latin and Anglo, have ceased checking in with Europe so much for social models and political ideologies and have begun to find them more for themselves and with each other. The North–South economic and cultural axis has become strengthened while the East–West axis has faded in importance. (Perhaps this is true of our field, analytical psychology, as well.) This trend is the culmination of a much longer process of gradually freeing ourselves from the parental homeland by finding our own national styles of expression, forming our own unique national customs, writing our own national literatures, composing our own music, and developing our own political philosophies and economies. As nations in the Americas, we are no longer at the beginning of identity formation, but perhaps we are presently undergoing deep change and transformation of identity. There is much destruction around. This may well mean a present and future period of prolonged liminality and deep restructuring.

The nations of the Americas, North and South, are born of the same parental stock, European civilization. Our earliest and most fundamental identities are rooted in this parentage. As citizens of these countries we are therefore siblings, collectively speaking. And, like siblings everywhere and in all of history, we tend to love and to hate each other and to make a host of invidious comparisons about one another. There have been and remain strong overtones of rivalry and envy between North and South. Like siblings, too, we rely on each other and indeed need each other for further psychological development. Our separate identities are linked culturally and historically; our individuation processes are intertwined. Can we learn from each other as well as threaten and attack each other?

There are also important historical differences between us. We have gone down separate paths and pursued disparate journeys. To the North, we had the pilgrims and the *Mayflower*; in the South, there were the conquistadores Cortès and Pizarro. The Anglo nations of the North erected their political and social systems and consequently also their identities on the ground plan of English, Dutch, German and French cultural and intellectual traditions. These founders were primarily

sober Protestants who believed strictly in the Bible and the work ethic. They came to America to escape religious persecution and to begin a new life. They arrived with the intention of settling the land and remaining on it. The Latin nations of the South, by contrast, evolved principally from the Mediterranean cultures of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Not fleeing religious persecution nor often coming to America to stay, they sought their fortunes and hoped to return to the homeland as wealthy treasure hunters. The explorers and conquistadores were Roman Catholic, and their ties to the old country were perhaps more intimate and enduring. Their identities remained in many ways more European than that of their brothers and sisters to the North. Moreover, many of the most crucial differences between the cultures of Northern and Mediterranean Europe were transported to the Americas, and here the conflicts and mutual shadow projections between these European progenitors were again taken up and repeated.

Common clichés abound. For example:

- We of the North are sober, work oriented, and ethical.
- You of the North are power hungry, egotistical, and schizoid.
- We of the South are creative, family centered, and generous of spirit.
- You of the South are undemocratic, corrupt, and manic-depressive.

Sometimes there seems to be little common ground between us. Our perceptions of ourselves and of our neighbors are so different.

For a long time the peoples of North and South America were content to congratulate themselves and to project the shadow on the distant "other." This kind of naive splitting and projecting is now becoming more difficult as the populations of North and South are mixing together much more vigorously. In fact, many of the most glaring historical and cultural differences are rapidly disappearing. As familiarity and similarity increase, it is becoming harder to project the alien other upon our neighbors.

The work of freeing ourselves from the parental homeland is still actively in progress at a cultural and spiritual level, and perhaps some of our lands are further along than others in this respect. It is as though these adolescent Americas are finally overcoming both the tendency to imitate their European parents and the need to rebel against them. Certainly rebellion and imitation continue to operate powerfully, but not as routinely and indelibly. As Americans, we are now in a position to make our own unique marks in world affairs and upon history. At the same time, the parental homelands are looking at their offspring with new respect and even considering them, at times, on an equal social and cultural footing. There is little doubt that in the broader world, the dynamic movements leading toward global change and innovation are seen as having passed from Europe to the Americas. Europe and Asia imitate the Americas more than we do them. This is not to claim that the twenty-first century will be the century of the Americas, which is a rather inflated fantasy because, who knows, this may well turn out to be the century of Asia or Africa. But it is to say that the Americas have powerfully

individuated, in the sense of separating spiritually and psychologically from their parental ancestors over the course of the past one hundred years, and they now loom large on the stage of world affairs. We have become adults, perhaps still young but strong and influential nevertheless.

What about the future? Can we see more individuation ahead for North and South America? From a Jungian point of view, it must be said that individuation is characterized not only by separation from the parental imagoes and by the formation of a separate and autonomous identity, but also by opening a dialogue between conscious and unconscious. When this happens, it invites the next important phase of individuation, perhaps the key to it all, namely the constellation of the transcendent function. Out of the dialectical interplay between the opposites, the transcendent function emerges, which represents a higher unity and a closer approximation to wholeness, the ultimate goal of individuation.

It is my thesis that the Anglo and the Latin cultures of North and South America represent important elements of the unconscious for each other. Therefore, in the interaction between them this critical pair of opposites is constellated, and here we should be able to identify the emergence of the transcendent function and the beginnings of new identity formation. This will in turn lead the way ahead to broader unity, to greater integration within each of our separate cultures, and to a closer approximation to wholeness on both sides of the division. If we look in the mirror facing us from the South, and you in the mirror facing you from the North, do we not find ourselves looking into the face of the unconscious? Do we not see there a shadow brother or sister? The anima and animus?

A fairytale

On May 17, 2000 U.S. President Bill Clinton said in a speech in New London, Connecticut: "The central reality of our time is that the advent of globalization and the revolution in information technology have magnified both the creative and destructive potential of every individual, tribe and nation on our planet" (*New York Times*, May 18, 2000, p. A13). Surely this pertains to the situation in the Americas.

To reflect on this dynamic transitional situation and on the present interactive field between Anglo and Latin cultures, I would like to recall the well-known Brothers Grimm fairytale "The Spirit in the Bottle," used by Jung in his essay "The Spirit Mercurius." I recognize that this reference may seem Eurocentric in the extreme, but let us assume for the moment that this story tells of archetypal figures and dynamics and does indeed pertain to forces and patterns beyond the culture that put words on them in this tale:

> Once upon a time there was a poor woodcutter. He had an only son, whom he wished to send to a high school. However, since he could give him only a little money to take with him, it was used up long before the time for the examinations. So the son went home and helped his father with the work in

> the forest. Once, during the midday rest, he roamed the woods and came to an immense old oak. There he heard a voice calling from the ground, "Let me out, let me out!" He dug down among the roots of the tree and found a well-sealed glass bottle from which, clearly, the voice had come. He opened it and instantly a spirit rushed out and soon became half as high as the tree. The spirit cried in an awful voice: "I have had my punishment and I will be revenged! I am the great and mighty spirit Mercurius, and now you shall have your reward. Who so releases me, him I must strangle." This made the boy uneasy and, quickly thinking up a trick, he said, "First, I must be sure that you are the same spirit that was shut up in that little bottle." To prove this, the spirit crept back into the bottle. Then the boy made haste to seal it and the spirit was caught again. But now the spirit promised to reward him richly if the boy would let him out. So he let him out and received as a reward a small piece of rag. Quoth the spirit: "If you spread one end of this over a wound it will heal, and if you rub steel or iron with the other end it will turn into silver." Thereupon the boy rubbed his damaged axe with the rag, and the axe turned to silver, and he was able to sell it for four hundred thaler. Thus father and son were freed from all worries. The young man could return to his studies, and later, thanks to his rag, he became a famous doctor.
>
> (Jung 1948/1967: 239)

When the bottle is opened, Mercurius, spirit of the unconscious, bursts forth from it, and the opposites are constellated. This is a tense scene full of danger and threat, much like the one described by President Clinton in his New London speech, but it is also a pregnant moment of opportunity. Out of this confrontation a new future will be born that surpasses anything one could have predicted on the basis of purely rational expectations. A new identity emerges for the lad who popped the cork and found a Genie.

Can we locate a "genie" on the loose in the confrontation between North and South in the Americas today? If Mercurius is out of his container, where do we find him active today?

Three faces of Mercurius

There are at least three giant sources of anxiety in the psychic atmosphere that currently prevails in the relations between Latin and Anglo nations, and each of them has to do with the issue of losing an established identity: the side-effects of globalization, the Apollonian versus Dionysian face-off, and the massive movement of populations between South and North.

The unbridled force of globalization has stirred the roots of anxiety about loss of identity in North and South. This widespread movement has purported to be a giant force for good that can raise all ships and spread peace and prosperity all across the globe. While it promises to raise the living standards for everybody, however, it also threatens to benefit some few privileged people much more than

others and at the same time also to level all cultural features and reshape every nation into the image of a giant shopping mall filled with the same objects and stocked with identically clad consumers. The prospect of globalization unleashes the threat of rampant commercialization and universal sameness, a flattening of cultural differences and identities. It is a kind of danger often spoken of by Jung. The individual tends to get crushed by the collective. This brings about a loss of soul in which the individual person's unique identity becomes merged with the collective. The same thing can happen to groups and nations. They can become absorbed into larger collectivities. In large groups, Jung argues, the level of consciousness is reduced to the lowest common denominator. In the case of a global marketplace, this is the minimal consciousness of consumerism, of a mob in a frenzy of shopping. The individual becomes a mere consumer of mass produced products, and local tastes, customs, preferences, and inventions are wiped away in favor of fast food chains, sprawling shopping centers, and freeways filled with the same automobile brands from Detroit to São Paulo. Every city eventually will look alike; the food of every country will taste the same. This is the threat of mass homogenization. The genie of globalization threatens to swallow us all up. This is no less the case in North American than it is in Latin America. Everywhere local tastes and colors are eliminated in favor of name brands and mass-produced, commercially created and promoted styles. And to make this physically possible, the planet is sacrificed.

The driving force behind globalization is commercial. The money complex, housed and managed by huge international business concerns and corporations, is greedily devouring the entire globe. With the demise of ideological warfare between East and West and the fall of the iron curtain, the commercial interests of international corporations have been unleashed and there are no competitors or rivals. Neither national governments nor religions can stand seriously in the way. The marketplace is without cultural or religious preference. The way has become clear for business interests to sweep into every corner of the globe, to set up shops and industries in every village square and on every bend in the river, and to increase profit margins and fatten the bottom line without restraint. This is a genie with all the force of unleashed atomic energy.

Lest we be too quick to point the finger at "them," that is the greedy chief executives of major multinational corporations, we should look into our own participation in fueling up this juggernaut. Anyone who owns shares of stock in these companies – and of these there are literally hundreds of millions of people – is a contributor, cheering when the value goes up and up and selling out when it goes down. Are not most of us tied into this gigantic system?

For the most part it looks like the threatening genie of globalization springs from a bottle in the North. From there it goes out and seeks to overpower and dominate the people of the Latin South.

From our view, however, there is another side to the threatening genie of international commerce and traffic, and this is a second source of deep anxiety. This one has the face of Dionysian excess and intoxication. As much as North

America exports Coca Cola and McDonald's to the Latin South, it imports cocaine and heroin and marijuana back from the same region. This stream of imported drugs is, of course, illegal and heavily criminalized, hence painted with the heavy brush of shadow projection. While the drug trade could be seen from one perspective as just another business venture – one that in fact creates a living for many impoverished and otherwise starving peasants – it is also labeled as criminal and attacked by armies and police.

The Latin countries appear Dionysian to us in the North for other reasons as well. The cultures of Latin America seem vastly more oriented toward sensuality and physical pleasure than to the sober work routines and emotional restraint so typical of cultures in the North. The Carnival of Rio is a vivid exhibition of all that is fearsome to a repressed Anglo consciousness – rampant sexuality, full display of the body beautiful, intoxicating music and dance, delirious all-night revelry, excess, excess, excess! Moreover the literature of the great novelists and poets of Latin America invokes a state of mind in Anglo readers that is exotic, strange, and unstable. And the music moves our bodies in unfamiliar and unpredictable ways, while the paintings are full of too bright colors and bizarre looking images. The spirit of Dionysian intoxication and excess from the South has invaded our northern lands. Our children listen to Latin music, take Latin drugs, and dream Latin dreams. In all of this, the unconscious threatens.

In response the United States has turned a stern Apollonian face to meet the Dionysian one, with a thundering if frightened voice that speaks of strict rational control and undiluted ego hegemony. The moralistic overtones are unmistakable, and neither side feels seen or understood.

The invasion of Latin culture into the North has also taken the form of massive human migration, creating a third anxiety. One of the largest population movements in all of human history has occurred during the last several decades from the countries of Latin America to the United States and Canada. In Chicago, my home city, there live today over 1 million people of direct Hispanic descent. The political map of Chicago has been redrawn since the early 1980s and is now divided into three more or less equal parts: one-third European, one-third African American, and one-third Hispanic. In cities like Miami, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Diego the percentage of Latin inhabitants is even higher. Spanish is rapidly becoming a "must learn" language throughout the United States if one wants to relate to the general population, not to mention getting through the airport in Miami.

This threatening genie of invasion – perhaps matched in the South by the invasion of the English language in business and entertainment, by Anglo television, movies, rock and roll, and pop culture in all its variety – creates anxiety about losing the fundamental values and images that have gone into forming the identity of our northern European-based cultures. The psychological threat of cultural regression and dissolution leads us to anticipate a return to the ouroboric mother, to a loss of ego boundaries and autonomy, to a blurring of cultural markers and a muddle of psychological elements that have been separated and

differentiated through centuries of conscious reflection. In this threatened loss of familiar cultural identity, there is the fear of loss of soul.

The genie is out of the bottle and free, and there is no putting Mercurius back in there. The spirit of transformation – dare we say, individuation? – is fast upon us.

The genie interrogated

Certainly the collective shadow is among us and walks tall in the cultural landscape as we look upon it today in the Americas. Can we interrogate this fearsome genie in this present situation of turmoil and anxiety to see if the constellated opposites reveal evidence of the transcendent function at work (or play)?

In the present confrontation of Anglo and Latin cultures, there is most certainly a strong constellation of opposites, of mutual unconsciousness and projection and contamination. There is also a stark confrontation of radically opposed psychological factors – images, attitudes, patterns of perception and behavior – that taken together make up impressive collective shadow representations. Our historical cultural complexes and archetypally based cultural structures have entered into a lively confrontation, and they are no doubt concocting a new blend of old and familiar features. Is a new identity possibly coming into being from this that is made up of both Anglo and Latin elements and yet transcends their specific features? If so, what are some of its qualities?

One of the powerful consequences of globalization and the Latin invasion on North American consciousness has been the implacable advance of multiculturalism as an all-pervasive and indeed dominant attitude in the contemporary scene. A spin-off of this, often spoken of humorously about the United States by other countries, is the obsession with so-called "political correctness" in our public life. "Political correctness" forbids prejudicial treatment of any minority in the general population. Occasionally people are forced into extreme verbal contortions to avoid giving offence. Differences between groups of people, of course, remain and are perceived, but they do not bring about value judgements such as this nationality is "higher" or "better" than another. Instead of up-down value hierarchies, the new ideal is to have side-by-side collaborators and fellow citizens.

Applied to the North–South differences, this means that we cannot judge North as better because it is "up" or "higher" on the map, while South is "down" and therefore "inferior." Multiculturalism decentralizes the map. Instead of a single "center of power," there are now many "loci of influence." Multiculturalism also transforms "opposites" into "contrasting poles" or "polarities" and thus eliminates splitting and gross shadow evacuation and projection on to the "alien other."

Multicultural awareness gives birth to a type of consciousness that can move through many different national and social environments and contexts without prejudiced judgement. This does not mean that there is no judgement at all, but rather that judgements are made on the basis of analysis and examination rather than on instant projections. It is precisely in countries like the United States and

Brazil, which have been "melting pots" for people from so many different nations and cultural backgrounds, where multicultural consciousness has become a vital necessity. The Americas today, both North and South, are gigantic cultural containers for populations from all parts of the earth. Beginning with the invasion of the explorers and colonists from Europe, this movement continued with the importation of large African populations during the years of slavery, the immigration of Asian peoples during the years of expansion and development, and further mass migrations and immigrations during the past two hundred years. The Americas are the only place on earth where all the peoples of the world are now living together in large numbers under single flags and assuming similar national identities. And the present strong confrontation and interaction between North and South in the Americas is increasing the heat in these containers and pressing the process of transformation ahead still further.

The consciousness that is being born, because it is required here on these colonized continents, is a harbinger of the future, a type of consciousness that will be required more and more throughout the entire world. With it comes the concept of the human being as citizen of the world wherever he or she happens to live or come from. Ironically enough, the very forces that are driving the mass movements of collectivism and homogenization are also producing a global setting in which the individual can be more adequately respected and prized. This is the magic of the genie at work.

Another feature of consciousness that is emerging out of the interaction between North and South is a sharp awareness of the exploitation of nature and the natural peoples who inhabited these lands for thousands of years before Europeans arrived. As the forces of globalization and modernization push ever further into the rain forests and other wild and undomesticated regions, there is a growing awareness of the fragility of the environment and the savage exploitation and elimination of the few people who still live there. Five hundred years ago when Pedro Alvares Cabral and his Portuguese crew landed at what would later be called Santa Cruz Cabralia on the coast of the land that would later be named Brazil, both of the continents were natural and utterly unspoiled, though far from uninhabited. Today they are mostly exposed to the corrosive wastes and excesses of human populations who in their race toward modernization and development are heedless of the environmental consequences of their actions. The dramatic nature of this change in the natural world over the course of such a brief time in the long history of the planet has raised a burning question: how much longer can this continue without causing irreversible damage to the planet as a whole? And in the course of this questioning, which is of course taking place on every continent, our peoples, both North and South, have discovered the people whose lands these were before the Europeans arrived. I say we have recently "discovered" them because while the early explorers and settlers certainly knew that these indigenous people were here and were in fact much more familiar with them than most of us currently are, they did not really "know" them in their own terms. In a sense, modern anthropology "discovered" these people for the first time because it was the

students of anthropology who first systematically listened to them, observed and questioned them in their own languages and cultural contexts, and respected their customs and their incredibly detailed knowledge about their surrounding environment. Previous to that they were generally considered benighted sub-humans and were either killed outright, or pushed away and driven into out of the way places, or "educated," "converted," and made more like Europeans.

The discovery of native peoples among us and the increasing awareness of the environmental crisis are, I believe, leading us as cultures to a deeper connection to the collective unconscious and the *anima mundi*. What is emerging is an ecological consciousness that harks back to the Great Mother. But this is not a movement of cultural regression back to a pre-technological state of paradisal oneness with the world in the glow of *participation mystique*; rather, it is a movement forward that will motivate human beings to use technology in a new way. For technology, which is arguably the greatest human achievement of the past millennia, must not be abandoned by ecologically minded people. In fact, it is the key for gaining awareness of what is happening to the earth. Technology instead must become redirected. As a tool in the hands of conscious people, technology is not considered an end in itself but a means for nurturing and protecting the environment and for relating to the planet in a more powerful and responsible fashion. Technology is a genie with awesome power to destroy or to heal. Technology must be a tool, not a master. The wisdom to handle technology in this way belongs deeply to the heritage of the native peoples who occupied these lands in the first place. We are tuning into their cultural attitudes and religious sensibilities, and this is advancing our contemporary individuation and movement toward wholeness.

So the point is not to trick the genie of technology back into the bottle and "go back to nature" but to use the gifts of the genie creatively and wisely and to create a culture that respects nature and cares for its needs.

Multicultural and ecological attitudes are being born out of the dialogue and interplay of cultures in North and Latin America. We are seeing greater sensitivity to individual and cultural differences and greater respect for the "other," and there is a deepening connection to the *unus mundus* and the collective unconscious. These are signs of individuation happening even in the midst of our confusing engagement with the threatening genie that has been released from the historical process that we are living in our time.

One more signal of individuating cultures is the emergence of a new type of political leader. The leaders of the past on both continents were principally male heroes, many of them military. First came the ones who ventured across the terrifying seas and planted the flags of Europe on these shores. Colonizers, conquerors, religious groups, merchants, and settlers with their families followed these. Then came the lords and ladies who had been given huge land grants in this uncharted place, and they had to be protected by strong police forces. In some countries, we saw the rise of rebel heroes who fought their way out of the controlling laps and hands of the Motherland and who founded autonomous and

independent nation states. Conquest, rebellion, division and differentiation, formation of autonomous units with a new identity – all of these are features of vigorous individuation in the first half of life. This can be seen as necessary and essential for the formation of the national and regional identities of the past. Now, however, the identities of the countries of North and Latin America that were formed along these lines are undergoing considerable restructuring and change. Liminality prevails. And the identities on both sides will in the future be based principally not upon the remembered and revered images of heroic founders and ancestors but rather upon new archetypal structures and images that are still in an early stage of emergence. They will be global and ecological.

The individuation challenges are now very different from earlier heroic identity consolidations, and they require a new kind of leadership. These new imperatives pertain to dealing sanely with the forces of globalization, with the mass migrations of populations, and with the threatened destruction of natural environments and the simultaneous creation of polluted urban jungles. Raw macho power no longer adequately meets the demands for further individuation. The grand ideologies of the past are also spent and passé. The new challenges can be met only by leaders who embody in themselves some degree of integration of the opposites, who themselves give concrete image to the new identities forming. They must combine the energies of masculine and feminine, of logos and eros; and also the identities of master and servant, teacher and student, governor and governed. The relevant and effective leader must be someone who does not split these archetypal polarities but holds them intact and represents a pattern of wholeness for society.

Do we see such figures stepping into roles of political leadership in our countries, North and South? I believe we do, at least to some extent. In many countries, though certainly not all, the electorate demands evidence of compassion and sensitivity to issues of human welfare, to education and health care and environmental threats, as well as to the traditional issues of security, expansion, and economic advantage. I think the image of the ideal leader has shifted from the heroic mold of the fierce warrior to a more psychologically integrated and balanced type. While image is not reality, at least it is a sign that the collective psyche has something other in mind than one-sided aggressiveness, heroic action and masculine prowess. Remember that Mercurius is duplex!

Conclusion

As Jungian analysts we are aware of the shadows that fall within the process of individuation. There is chaos, uncertainty, and anxiety in a process that moves toward greater integration and wholeness. Mercurius frightens us and puts us off our balance. If there is a politics of individuation, it requires a dialogue between the constellated opposites, and there will be doubt and states of *nigredo*. The ego becomes relativized through individuation and former identity is destabilized. We can see this shadow aspect of individuation in the present-day interplay between

the American countries of the North and the South. There is no controlling ego in charge of this process, and the center, if there is one, is virtual and invisible.

A politics of individuation requires questioning one's own most cherished cultural certainties and dearly held convictions. It means letting go of earlier identifications and being open to exploring what is unknown and uncertain. There must be an open attitude toward the "alien other" and a willingness to engage in dialogue with that foreign element. This draws out also the foreign element in ourselves, the repressed, the shadowy, the frightening and the forgotten.

The politics of individuation must engage differences without demonizing them and judging them as "bad" when they are simply different. Its goal is wholeness, which means welding together into a single totality the four elements of the quaternity: light and dark, masculine and feminine.

In this endeavor, North America and Latin America need each other. From the dialectical play between their cultures there stems a movement toward greater cultural wholeness for all.

Recall the gift of Mercurius-the-Genie once he was tempered and became restrained. He offered an instrument for healing and the creation of prosperity. He created the conditions for a new identity to emerge, that of the healer. Could this be showing up in the *massa confusa* of our contemporary politics?

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