

Masculinity in a Colonial Culture – The Oedipus Complex in Taiwan

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Abstract

In my thesis, I aimed to show that masculinity in a colonized culture is distorted by the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. I interpret it in terms of the Oedipus complex, which can be discerned in Taiwanese history and cultural products. I have chosen Taiwan as my object of study, partly because I know it subjectively, as a Taiwanese, as well as objectively, through my research; but also because it has had a long history of colonization and it also has a long tradition of stories in which the relationship between father and son takes a particular shape of paternal domination. This relationship can be understood in terms of a misrepresentation of the Oedipus complex into a form that is compatible with paternal domination that characterizes Taiwanese culture, rather than the son's overcoming the Oedipus complex, which would not be compatible with Taiwanese masculine relationships.

The confusion arises from the succession of colonizers and the undermining of a clear ego-ideal, but also from the undermining of identification - the second part of Freud's Oedipus complex. I demonstrate the way my theory of the Oedipus complex in Taiwan, as a colonized culture, can be found in Taiwanese novels, literature, myths and films.

The fact that 'the father' – both the Eastern father and the broader sense of 'father' as a national or cultural identity – is more authoritarian obstructs the identification that completes the Oedipus complex in the West. Freudian theory seems incompatible with Taiwanese culture, which 'accepts' it usually in a distorted form. However, we don't know whether the theories are different or whether there are distortions that make them seem incompatible. Through my analysis of selected material in different historical periods, I conclude that there is enormous fear of castration complex but lack of stable identification between father and son. This phenomenon can be attributed to Taiwan's multiple colonial history, implies the masculine 'problem' that the male – in Taiwan – has no equivalent experience.

My main finding is that masculinity in Taiwan can be understood, not just in terms of colonization as a historian or sociologist might understand it, but in terms of the internal world in which the son remains dominated by the father through an incomplete working through of the Oedipus complex.

Introduction:

In this thesis, I explore masculinity in a colonial culture in Taiwan's history. It is complicated, but especially relevant. Because Taiwan has undergone several changes in culture, following waves of conquest and colonisation – mainly Dutch (1624-1662) in South Taiwan, Spanish (1626-1642) in North Taiwan, and Japanese (1895-1945) in the whole island. In 1949 Taiwan was taken over by the Chinese National Party (Kuomintang) and endured the rigid control of the martial law period (1949-1987). The lifting of martial law in 1987 was hailed as marking a peaceful transition in culture, politics, and social liberty as well as allowing the emergence of the issue of identification. The consequence of this history is a form of dominated masculinity, which I have explored in the internal world of the male, as expressed in cultural products and understood psychoanalytically.

Since 1987, various social movements asserting indigenous identity, democracy and an equality of gender, spread all over Taiwan like a raging fire. The authority of martial law quickly disintegrated in such a political climate. Following the political shift, structuralism, post-colonialism deconstructionism, postmodernism, feminism, and queer theory grew in academic circles and cultural studies. The impact of those ideas not only weakened authoritative power but also released individuation from the strong ties of family values. Nonetheless, there remains a culture of domination within masculinity, which I have approached through a peculiar misrepresentation of the Oedipus complex even among those who, in the wave of modernization, came to embrace psychoanalysis.

The psychoanalytic movement entered the new era of postmodern Taiwan, demanding a new interpretation to meet structural variations. Unlike China in 1930 and Taiwan in 1960, the establishment was confronted by various kinds of cultural resistance and ethical debates; since 1990 psychoanalysis in Taiwan has come to represent a kind of problem-based learning, useful in facing a new type of syndrome deriving from cultural conflicts as well as the abrupt rise of individuation (or new 'self' 新新人類¹)

¹ The term "new self" is a popular Taiwanese phrase dating from 1990. It usually indicates those people who were born after 1970 and brought up in different economic, social and political environment, with newfangled ideas and new vocabulary, specifically different from those people who

which needs a new way to solve new problems. The Taiwan Institute of psychotherapy was established in 2001 and the Taiwan Centre for the Development of Psychoanalysis initiated a new movement in 2004. These organisations, along with publishers, re-translated Freud's works and encouraged people to re-read Freud. (Wang, 2006, pp9-10). The return to Freud in this postmodern era is to provide a solution to practical problems, such as the increasing occurrence of domestic violence, child abuse, a rising divorce rate and a sharp decline of birth rate². These movements conspicuously represent a rebellion against traditional culture after the martial law had been lifted.

Previously, in the more conservative and repressive times, radical theories of psychoanalysis were not accepted; whereas in more radical, especially modern, times, they were considered more congenial. But in any case, receptivity usually depend on there being a certain amount of distortion of Freud's thinking to make it more compatible with family and cultural tradition - such as Confucian principles and the Kuomintang's retrograde and conservative movement which imposed social and political frameworks on native Taiwanese.

This historical heterogeneity has implications beyond the reception of Freud in Taiwan: it has opened up interesting opportunities for understanding the way psychoanalysis is embedded in culture. I have discovered that the enforced changes in culture, driven by colonisation, have produced an insecurity and a confusion of identity in the Taiwanese mind, and that this is seen clearly in the nature of male identity, particularly in the excessive assertion of 'masculine' behaviour, prohibiting expression of any 'feminine' side. Based on Freud's theory of castration complex and identification, as stages of the Oedipus complex, I make the point that the 'typical' Oedipus complex in Taiwan refers really only to the first of Freud's two stages. I illustrate how Taiwan's crisis of identification relates to the complexity of its colonial history and how this confusion of identification leaves the Oedipus complex unresolved.

were brought up in a conservative, authoritative and old-fashioned environment.

² The sharp decline in the birth rate has become the most pressing issue in contemporary Taiwan. According to a government survey, in 2010 Taiwan, the birth rate has declined to less than 1 percent; this figure is ranked as the lowest birth rate in the world according to a WHO investigation.

I have traced this overtly, often aggressive and even brutal assertion of male identity, through traditional Chinese stories to modern novels and films. In the latter case, one often finds that modern authors and film makers draw on Freud to comment on and criticise traditional patterns of family and cultural life. In the course of my research, I have made the first English translations of important Chinese-language texts, both traditional and modern.

In particular, I have found that 'filial piety' replaces the Oedipus myth as a story of the channelling and transformation of sexual and aggressive drives into social life. One traditional and powerful example is *General Father, General Son*. (This is one of the texts that I have translated), I analyse a series of stories of this sort.

In general, I focus on the Oedipus myth as my paradigm case of psychoanalytic theory. I see it as the container of ambivalence in the family. In psychoanalytic thinking, it comprises two aspects or moments: first the castration threat, which inhibits the son's sexual and aggressive drives; then identification, an internalization of the father, which is a moment of love in the assimilation of the father. This key step is not well developed in Chinese and Taiwanese culture. As a consequence, father-son relationships are more governed by external, threatening behaviour, than by the internal father of the super-ego, with its loving and hating aspects, and that is what I see in Taiwanese myths, stories, films and novels, even recent one from the modern period. This restricted form of the Oedipus complex is exaggerated in Taiwan by the insecurity and confusion of identity, born of its complex, colonised history.

My analysis is both cultural - concentrating on Taiwanese history, colonial circumstances and cultural traditions in order to understand masculinity in a colonial culture - and psychoanalytic, in that I use psychoanalytic concepts - principally identification and internalisation, in order to better understand Taiwanese culture and colonial history.

The essential historical background, which gives a detailed account of the development of Taiwan, including its different periods of colonization, is presented in Appendix I. (pp1-14)

Chapter 1: The Debate of the Universality of the Oedipus complex:

Introduction:

In this chapter, I emphasize the biological factor is a crucial element to understand Freud's theory of Oedipus complex. Melford E. Spiro's elucidation to support Freud's contention is also included in my discussion. I will illustrate the controversial statements which oppose to Freud's Oedipus complex in Taiwanese/Chinese societies and I consider that they fail to understand Freud's Oedipus complex from an unconscious level as well as the ego defense mechanism. The Taiwanese materials I demonstrate in this chapter show that the oedipal emotion manifested severer damage in human relations than in the western societies. However, this phenomenon is not acknowledged or profoundly traced to its oedipal root. Specifically, Freud's technical terms 'incest wish' and 'castration complex' are not interpreted properly in the field of Taiwan's psychoanalysis. I suggest, the infant's intact drive toward the first-object of the opposite sex should not be understood as the 'incest' which occurs when we have a clear recognition of human relationships. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish these two - when Freud's theory of Oedipus complex is introduced to the Taiwanese/Chinese societies. Furthermore, in part 1, I offer Malinowski's challenge toward Freud's theory, I consider that their argument reveals the different formulation between anthropology and psychoanalysis, and the revealing issue is conscious vs. unconscious. In part two, I discuss Wolf's case studies on Taiwan's *simpua* marriage, in which Wolf uses them to support Westermarck Effect. I select three of Wolf's case studies to illustrate that the family actually promotes the Oedipus complex and suppresses it intensively. Couched in my psychoanalytic view, look at it as a form of power in the old custom of *simpua* marriage: to use Oedipus complex in order to bring people into a structure of suppression. I conclude, the Oedipus complex is universal and anthropological interpretation fails to see the ego's defensive mechanism toward unconscious thought. Particularly, I stress, the most important phenomena are that the repressed oedipal emotion are often projected and represented in disguised forms, especially in a very oppressive societies.

Part 1: Freud's Oedipus complex in Taiwanese/Chinese societies:

Freud gave a central place to sexual drive, as he developed his concept of the Oedipus complex and *Three Essays on the Theories of sexuality*. He became increasingly convinced that the Oedipus complex provided the central theory. With the discovery of this complex, he believed that he held the key to understanding human behaviours, moral sense as well as religion. As he wrote in *Totem and Taboo*, he states: "I should like to insist that its outcoming shows that the beginnings of religion, moral, society and art converge in the Oedipus complex. This is in complete agreement with the psychoanalytic finding that the same complex constitutes the nucleus of all neuroses, so far as our present knowledge goes."(Freud, 1913, p219) He considered that all the problems of social psychology were proved soluble 'on the basis of one single point – man's relation to his father'³. He was quite certain that it was because of the Oedipus complex that the child became 'civilized'. If humans did not undergo this experience as children, they would develop very little sense of moral and social order. Thus, Freud made tremendous claims for the Oedipus complex.

The Oedipus complex, according to Freud, explained the need to be repressed. Without developing conscience, there would be no requirement to drive away shameful thoughts; that is to say, if there were no sense of shame, there could be no shameful thought to be repressed. Therefore, the unconscious sexual drive has to be repressed when ego is necessarily developed in order to adapt our social, cultural and moral orders. At the same time, the ego split into another observing and critical

³ Freud states:"At the conclusion, then, of this exceedingly condensed inquiry, I should like to insist that its outcoming shows that the beginnings of religion, moral, society and art converge in the Oedipus complex. This is in complete agreement with the psychoanalytic finding that the same complex constitutes the nucleus of all neuroses, so far as our present knowledge goes. It seems to me a most surprising discovery that the problems of social psychology, too, should prove soluble on the basis of one single concrete point – man's relation to his father. It is possible that yet another psychological problem belongs in this same connection. I have often had occasion to point out that emotional ambivalence in the proper sense of the term – this is, the simultaneous existence of love and hate toward the same object – lies at the root of many important cultural institution. (PFL, Vol.13, p219)of [The Return of Totemism in childhood]

agency, the super-ego. In his essay *On Narcissism* Freud wrote ‘for the ego the formation of an ideal would be the conditioning factor of repression’⁴. Only a person with a moral standard – an image of the ‘ideal’ – can be offended by their own thoughts, and this moral voice has become the internal voice of the father. In a word, the whole central issue of the Oedipus complex is about repression: ‘ego’ represses ‘id’ and forces the splitting of the ‘ego’ into two parts, thus creating by identification the internal father - super-ego (as a moral sense).

The complex, is universal, but takes different forms in different societies. Freud also asserted, the complex, has the greatest importance “in every human being” for it determines “the final shape” of the individual’s erotic life.⁵ Why was Freud so confident that the Oedipus complex affected “every human being”? The answer is that he was firmly convinced that the complex was rooted in the human biological condition. In an essay published in 1924, he emphasized this⁶. For Freud, the child cannot escape from the oedipal situation, regardless of cultural background or the situation of the family. Given its centrality to Freud’s thinking, that some Taiwanese/Chinese scholars cannot reconcile themselves to some understanding of the Oedipus complex suggests they have difficulty in adopting a psychoanalytic

⁴ PFL, Vol. 11, p88, of [on Narcissism]

⁵ Freud, in his writing “Two encyclopaedia articles”, states that: “This choice of an object, in conjunction with a corresponding attitude of rivalry and hostility towards the father, provides the content of what is known as the Oedipus complex, which in every human being is of the greatest importance in determining the final shape of his erotic life. It has been found to be characteristic of a normal individual that he learns to master his Oedipus complex, whereas the neurotic subject remains involved in it.” (PFL vol.15, p143)

⁶ In “Short account of psychoanalysis”, Freud wrote:” Our astonishment diminishes when we realize that the Oedipus complex is the psychical correlate of two fundamental biological facts: the long period of human child’s dependence, and the remarkable way in which its sexual life reaches a first climax in the third to fifth years of life, and then, after a period of inhibition, set in again at puberty. And here, the discovery was made that a third and extremely serious part of human intellectual activity, the part which has created the greatest institutions of religion, law, ethics, and all form of civic life, has as its fundamental aim the enabling of the individual to master his Oedipus complex and divert his libido from its infantile attachments into the social ones that are ultimately desired. (PEL, vol.15, p181)

framework. Again, while this reaction must be given recognition at this point and more extensive consideration to how and why this occurs are given below.

There are considerable debates about the Oedipus complex in Taiwanese/Chinese cultural mentality. In the preface of Taiwanese translation of Freud's writing, Wang states:

In the 1960s, Taiwanese scholars claimed that the Chinese ego is a 'family ego' which is different from the western ego. During the early 1970s; some scholars questioned whether Western psychological theories (especially psychoanalysis) could be adapted to the Chinese-speaking world. Taiwanese scholars even doubted that the Oedipus complex existed in the Chinese mentality. They reasoned that the Chinese mentality is based on family and not on 'individuation. Before 1970 in Taiwan, the structure of industrial society had cemented the concept of family and the authoritative regime and education system, and had strengthened the 'family ego', repressing the awakening of individuation. It was under these circumstances that scholars questioned the applicability of psychoanalysis to Taiwanese society." [My translation] (Wang, 2002, p11)

What Taiwanese scholars claimed for the 'family ego' means that the ego sees family as an entity and possesses very little space to express herself or himself as the individual and the self. As to whether they doubted the Oedipus complex existed in Chinese mentality, or whether they considered that Chinese family structure experienced a different type of incest fear, or whether they considered that the Oedipus complex possessed different effects in Chinese mentality, I discuss at length in the following section. I will show that Freud's concept of Oedipus complex was not understood by Taiwanese/Chinese societies in an unconscious level.

One aspect of the Oedipus complex is the incest wish; a Hong Kong psychiatrist Zheng (1996) expresses his view about Freud's term 'incest wish'. He states: "There

is a key contention in Freud's theory regarding infantile sexuality, however, we must clarify that what Freud said about 'sex' is quite different from our narrow understanding of sex. Basically, what Freud said about 'sex' is the pleasure (sensation) from certain sensitive part of body or skin, and Freud extends such a pleasure (sensation) to the love of the opposite sex of parents and thus develops his concept of 'Oedipus complex'".[my translation] (Zheng, 1996, p201) This statement points to the fact that Taiwanese/Chinese culture cannot entirely accept that an infant is born a sexual being, even he admits that there is a sensation in a baby but the sensation is not so precisely what they define as the sexuality. However, to scrutinize above tactful statement, Zheng's argument actually can not justify that the infant is not sexual. That is to say, the scholars consider that Freud's term 'infantile sexuality' is a broader sense of sexuality, and this is not what Taiwanese/Chinese scholars' recognition of sexuality. From my point of view, the concept of the 'incest wish' between parents and child is culturally unacceptable for Taiwanese/Chinese societies. The scholar attempts to avoid such a word to be psychoanalytically interpreted as the word 'incest wish' is very serious issue in this culture.

Zheng further proposes that "the closeness between mother and son in Chinese societies is highly tolerated; thus, I considers that the castration complex in boys may be relatively easily mitigated." (Zheng, 1996, p213) From above statement, we may speculate how profound misunderstanding of the Oedipus complex in Chinese/Taiwanese societies. In my argument, castration complex does not derive from external pressure but the boy's internal fantasy of a threat from the father, thus, it should not be mitigated because the societies are tolerant. In contrast, the castration complex should be intensified when the closeness between mother and son is prolonged. Furthermore, Zheng considers that the relation between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is always problematic because it is quite common that the son reaching adulthood still remains close to his mother and this situation usually brings about resentment on the wife's part. On the other hand, the mother sometimes displays the fear that her son no longer 'loves' her after her son marries. (Zheng, 1996, p 213) It is obviously that the lethal emotion in the relation of mother/daughter-in-law

also derives from oedipal roots, in which display the twisted feature of Oedipus complex in Chinese societies.

Zheng's (1996) statement is quite common in so much as we see it were represented in many clinical cases presented by Lu Qiu Yun (1996), in China. Lu reports, in her case studies, she found that it is not uncommon for sons to sleep with their mother until they are 7-10 years old. One of clinical cases is reported by Lu: a 16 years-old teenager who has an obsession compulsive behavior of washing his hands, was found to sleep with his mother since he was child due to his father has a disease of hepatitis. He remained in the same room with his mother until a teenager, and afterwards was diagnosed with a psychological problem stemming from a triangular conflict with his parents. (Lu, 1996, pp.233-235)

Solomon interprets: "when the son reaches teenage years, they still did not remove to a separate room from their mother. This phenomenon indicates that Chinese societies do not consider the closeness between mother and son has a sexual connotation but a kind of motherhood or son's filial piety." (as cited in Lu, 1996) I argue, from psychoanalysis aspect, we are interested in the unconscious dynamic, and not what they interpret in a conscious mind. In Chinese cultural societies, considerable evidences show that there is the same sort of oedipal wish as in the West. But they are not recognized or interpreted in an unconscious level. Such as the mother's/wife's jealousy, which I mentioned above, the damaged emotion is no doubt derived from a standard Oedipus complex, so they are definitely oedipal.

The prolonging of mother-son attachment seems to make the son deservedly close to the mother. The oedipal emotion is therefore hidden in the ambiguous interpretation between ethics and erotic emotion in Chinese culture. A famous film *The Last Emperor* 末代皇帝 (1987) by an Italian director Bernardo Bertolucci, describes the life of the last emperor Pu Yi who was sent to the palace in the Forbidden City when he was three years old and became the last emperor of the Chin Dynasty. The director arranges several scenes of breast feeding. The first one is when Pu Yi was three years old; he was transferred immediately to the palace before Empress Tzu Hsi died. In the carriage, Pu Yi was still being breastfed by a wet nurse. The other shocking scene is when Pu Yi was about 7-8 years old, he saw his wet nurse in garden, and he then approached her and waited for a breastfeeding. Moreover, he was not ashamed to be

breastfed in the public eye. When the King's wife discovered little Pu Yi's behavior, she sent the wet nurse away. Little Pu Yi was frustrated and asked: "Why, I don't understand". The King's wife said to little Pu Yi: "Your majesty is much growing up now, you cannot have a wet nurse anymore - it is much healthier for you". Little Pu Yi said to the King's wife: "But she is not my wet nurse, she is my butterfly". I consider this scene and conversation is the very picture to describe the revival of the infantile incest wish. The scene is so distorted that it suggests a defense against incestuous wishes. However, this scene describes palace life one hundred years ago in China and, of course, it is hard to imagine breast feeding for such a long time today. On the other hand, if we consider the feeding habit in Chinese culture, it is not surprising to see a 2-3 year old child still being breastfed half century ago.

Perhaps, in the pre-modern era, the psychological and physical attachment between mother and child is especially prolonged in Chinese child-rearing and therefore the mother-child attachment is stronger than in western societies. In half century ago, it was very common to see a mother carrying her child on her back while she is working. The child might have reached 2-3 years old, but was still being carried the whole day long. Moreover, it is also not surprising to see a mother hold a bowl to feed a 6-7 years old child even in the contemporary era. It seems to me that the breast feeding might have been changed in the modern time. However, we still can see the trace of feeding habit and the anxiety of motherhood remaining in Chinese culture.

(2) Melford E. Spiro's elucidation

American psychological anthropologist Melford E. Spiro⁷ has written about the Oedipus complex in different cultures. Spiro stresses the biological factor has

⁷ Melford Elliot Spiro (born April 26, 1920) is an American cultural anthropologist specializing in religion and psychological anthropology. He is known for his critiques of the pillars of contemporary anthropological theory—wholesale cultural determinism, radical cultural relativism, and virtually limitless cultural diversity—and for his emphasis on the theoretical importance of unconscious desires and beliefs in the study of stability and change in social and cultural systems, particularly in respect to the family, politics, and religion. In his book *Oedipus in the Trobriands: The Making of a Scientific*

determined the differences between human and infrahuman. Thus human being consequently creates the triangle structure for the Oedipus complex. He states:

Among infrahuman primates there is an incompatibility between sexuality and mothering because at the height of estrus, when the females are in the state of sexual “mania” or “frenzy”, as the primatologists call it, they have little interest in mothering or, for that matter, in any other activity except sex. Hence, mothering can only occur during anestrus – the period in which the female is not sexual receptive - which, apart from the normal sexual cycle, begins immediately following pregnancy and continues until the end of lactation. At the end of lactation, estrus returns, when the juvenile is already weaned, and since typically infantile helplessness does not extend beyond weaning, the mother’s indifference to her offspring during estrus does not endanger their welfare since they are no longer dependent upon her for care and nurturance. (Spiro, 1982, p159)

Therefore, among humans, the mother-child relationship is very different from the animal world. According to Spiro’s interpretation, the compatibility between mating and mothering in human condition is the crucial factor which determines the human being has to face and master the Oedipus complex. He further elucidates:

Since infantile helplessness is prolonged, and cultural acquisition is very complex, it is necessary for the child remain dependent upon the mother (or mother surrogate) long after the completion of weaning. And since, with the suppression of estrus, the human female is not characterized by sexual mania, her interest in sex, though continuous, does not interfere with her motivation or ability to care for her young children. Since, then, there is no incompatibility between mating and mothering among humans, human

Myth.” has illustrated Oedipus complex from the perspective of unconscious dynamic, makes a great contribution for integrating psychoanalysis in the field of anthropology.

offspring live with and remain in the condition of depending upon their mother for many years, not excluding the 'phallic' period (when the early libidinal attachment to the mother receives strong reinforcement) and puberty (when sexuality may erupt explosively). (Spiro, 1982, p159-160)

In Chinese cases, the son's relation with the mother (or mother surrogate) may persist throughout childhood (like the example of little Pu Yi) and even into puberty (like the case studies from psychiatrist Lu's report). In my argument, this is because the attachment is based on both libidinal and dependency feelings. Most people may only recognize dependency feelings, but deny libidinal emotion which is assumed to be suppressed during the period of overcoming the Oedipus complex. Because the dependency stands out, it is easy to ignore the erotic side, in the Oedipus complex, and that is what happens in Chinese culture more than in the West.

For a boy, it is very important to replace erotic emotion by inculcating in the boy's emotion of reverence and respect toward the mother, so that if a subconscious temptation of incest is aroused when he is mature, it will be muted by its blending with nonsexual emotion. Libidinal desire for the mother may be present in the nursing infant and the implementation of the incest taboo may begin with weaning, which is usually the time when the child is banned from the mother's bed and discouraged from continuing those intimate forms of physical contact with the mother that she had previously permitted. It is necessary that all sensuality felt toward the mother become repressed before the boy reaches sexual maturity. (Spiro, 1982, pp164-165)

Chinese scholars tend to neglect the unconscious dynamic and interpret Oedipus complex from non-sex perspective. For example, in an article regarding the discussion of the "power complex", Chu Jung-Shin⁸(1993) stated that since Freud first proposed his theory of the "Oedipus complex" the word "complex" has been widely applied in

⁸ Chu Jung Shin is an educational reformer in China, in 1933, he wrote an article about power complex to debate Freud's Oedipus complex.

the field of psychoanalysis, to describe or generalize the dynamic factors in certain behaviors. However, he argued that those conceptions are based on the Euro-American cultural background and most of them reflect the value placed on the individual. He questioned whether he could name the complex he presumed it represents in the Chinese mentality, because he considered that this power complex derived specifically from the Chinese family structure, value systems and social order. He struggled to find an appropriate name for this complex and, after he completed his article, he proposed that it should be called the “power complex” or “Lu Bu Wei complex”.⁹ He suggests that an equivalent term to Freud's "Oedipus complex" might be the "Paris complex" sharing origins in Greek mythology, but with universal identity.

Paris was given the power to make a judgment of who was “the most beautiful one” among the goddesses Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena. Each of them attempted to bribe Paris to choose them. Hera offered political power; Athena offered skill in battle; Aphrodite offered Helen - the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris chose Aphrodite’s gift, Helen, and, because Helen was married to the King, the Trojan War began. This has obvious similarities to the Oedipus complex. Paris took the wife of the king, but the important distinction noted by Jung-Shin Chu is that ‘Paris complex’ is less specific about individual sexuality and family relationships.

The “Lu Bu Wei complex”, “power complex”, or “Paris complex”, mainly describe a peculiarity about the Chinese phenomenon of people’s fear of power, worship of power, obedience to power and, later, demand for power. For Freud, Oedipus

⁹ The story of “Lu Bu Wei” was recorded in “Shi Ji” (史記), Lu Bu Wei was a famous business man, who encountered an important person, an emperor's son of the Chin dynasty who was kidnapped by a neighbour kingdom, and became a hostage of a foreign country. Lu Bu Wei understood if he could support the emperor’s son to regain his crown, then he could gain power and multiply his fortune ten thousand times. He then abandoned his career and spent all his fortune to support this person regain his throne. After the emperor’s son became a King of the Chin dynasty, Lu Bu Wei obtained all he wanted, including political power, position, reputation and countless fortune.

complex is the first experience of human being to master the power in a triangle structure – to reconcile the father’s power; thus a boy can overcome his erotic feeling toward mother and then identify his father. This procedure is called the resolution of Oedipus complex, in which a boy manages both feeling of fear and of love, together with constitution of reaction formation¹⁰. Because, when a boy has to identify his father, he will take the father as part of himself. i.e. he will create the function of super-ego within him, and he no longer fears or worships this power, but to reconcile with this power. In his later life, the father’s power might be replaced by broader sense of the father, such as moral norms, religion, politic and nation.

What Chu Jung-Shin (1993) proposed regarding the power complex was not directly related to the discussion of the infant’s unconscious impulse. It was surprising to me that this Chinese scholar has not discussed Freud’s concept of infantile sexuality, nor offered any clue to his understanding of Freud’s biological orientation of Oedipus complex. Instead of debating the sexual aspect, he shifts his focus to the power issue and identifies a completely different realm called the power complex. From where does the resistance of Chinese culture to this key aspect of the Oedipus complex derive?

A Chinese American scholar, Gu Ming Dong, who studies the Oedipus complex in Chinese pre-modern and modern literature, proposes that the standard Oedipus

¹⁰ According to J Laplandche and JB Pontalis’ “The language of psychoanalysis”, the definition of reaction formation is given as “Psychological attitude or habitués diametrically opposed to a repressed wish, and institutes a reaction against it. (e.g. bashfulness countering exhibitionistic tendencies). In economic terms, reaction-formation is the counter-cathexis of a conscious element; equal in strength to the unconscious cathexis, it works in the contrary direction. Reaction-formations may be highly localized, manifesting themselves in specific behaviour, or they may be generalised to the point of forming character-traits more or less integrated into the overall personality. From the clinical point of view, reaction-formations take on a symptomatic value when they display a rigid, forced or compulsive aspect, when they happen to fail in their purpose or when occasionally they lead directly to the result opposite to the one consciously intended.

complex does not exist in Chinese literature. Gu does not reject Freud's concept of Oedipus complex, however, he considers that the Oedipus complex has been transformed into a filial piety complex as he elucidates that oedipal themes are reconstructed on the dynamic of Confucian morality. He states:

I suggest, under the crushing pressure of overwhelming repression in Chinese culture and society, the Oedipus complex in Chinese literature disintegrates and is transformed from a nuclear complex to a multiplicity of individual complexes: father complex, mother complex, son complex and daughter complex. All of them, growing out of different individual's responses to different family situations in a morally repressive culture, are the twisted manifestations of original Oedipus complex. (Gu, 2011, p118)

From my point of view, the experience of repressing incest wishes cannot be verbalized in later adult life, or perhaps those feelings have been carefully concealed from our conscious mind. Even when those feelings appear in later adult life, it has always been in a disguised form, such as persistent emotion, irrational behavior, art, literature, song, humor or blasphemy. Most people, perhaps throughout their entire life, might not recognize repressed feelings which first occur at an early stage and later continue to dominate their emotional life. However, if this repressed feeling can be recognized or fully understood in later life, regardless of the form it takes, it would appear to be emotionally healthier than avoidance. Many people in this culture might be reluctant to face the concept of "repressed incest wish" or avoid touching the fear of 'immoral'; but scholars also seem unable to speculate that the family ego or power complex are anti-Oedipal or a disguised manifestation of the Oedipus complex.

It is very crucial to recognize that Oedipus complex is at its root and the repressed emotion often project in a distort form beyond our recognition of standard Oedipus complex, especially in a very repressive societies. Freud was quite aware of that there were several forms that the Oedipus complex could take, but that, at root, they were

nonetheless manifestation of the Oedipus complex. Regarding the different types of Oedipus complex or different strength of Oedipus complex, Freud states:

The Oedipus complex can, moreover, be developed to a greater or less strength, it can even be reversed; but it is a regular and very important factor in a child's mental life, and there is more danger of our under-estimating rather than over-estimating its influence and that of the developments which proceed from it." (Freud, 1962, p244)

It is true that Melford E. Spiro made a study of universality of the Oedipus complex, starting with the challenge to it in the 1920s by the anthropologist Branislaw Malinowski. He concludes that Oedipus complex is universal, and considers the variety of Oedipus complex occurs in different cultural societies, according to the stereotype of human relation in each culture. Spiro proposes that: "the Oedipus complex may be said to have three important dimensions – structure, intensity, and outcome – in principle at least it could be expected to display cross-cultural variability in all three." (Spiro, 1982, p163)

He considers that Oedipus complex whose outcome may variously take the form extinction, repression or incomplete repression. The implementation of the incest taboo leads to its internalization, repression often being accompanied by a reaction formation against desire, i.e., by an emotional aversion to sexual contact with the mother. Moreover, Spiro stresses: "the cross-cultural variability in the outcome of the Oedipus complex is anthropologically important because its outcome has social and cultural consequences." (Spiro, 1982, p167)

Spiro supports Freud's biological orientation of Oedipus complex, and I consider that the biological factor is very fundamental element to understand Freud's concept of Oedipus complex. I conclude, Chinese/Taiwanese societies fail to understand Freud's Oedipus complex from an unconscious level as well as from the angle of the ego

defense mechanism. Moreover, the technical terms ‘incest wish’ and ‘castration complex’ are not properly interpreted in an unconscious level in Taiwanese/Chinese societies. Especially, in very repressive societies, the defense mechanism is persistent; thus, allow the invisible Oedipus complex to be manifested in the dimensions of human relations, criminality, politic and religion. However, such phenomena were not to be acknowledged and to be profoundly traced to its original root of Oedipus complex.

I suggest, it is extremely important recognizing that what Freud terms the ‘incest wish’ was an attempt to describe the human’s “intact drive” as yet unchannelled in any recognition of the human relationship. This purely natural response to the first love-object of the opposite sex, called “incestuous wishes” appears before we recognize what the incest is within the structure of the human relationship, and it should not be understood as the ‘incest’ which occurs when we have a clear recognition of human relationships. Therefore, I consider, it is necessary to distinguish between ‘the intact drive toward the first-object of the opposite sex and adult incest - when Freud’s theory of Oedipus complex is introduced to the Taiwanese/Chinese societies.

In the next section, I will discuss the most important challenges to Freud’s theory of Oedipus complex; I will divide it into (Part2) Malinowski and (Part3) Westermarck effect.

Part 2: Malinowski:

In this section, I will deal with the earliest challenge to the universality of the Oedipus complex, I will also show that, in its time and in the light of recent scholarship. This challenge did not undermine the claim to universality. Of course, any theory can ultimately come up against a compelling challenge, but Malinowski’s argument was a classical confrontation. I am using Malinowski’s rejection of the Oedipus complex

to show that, if anything, it was even stronger in this society that was apparently so different from the Western society on which Freud was basing the Oedipus complex.

Malinowski¹ challenged the claim of Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex. He initiated a cross-culture approach in *The Sexual life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (1929). Malinowski was an anthropologist who, while working with Australian aborigines, noticed a different type of triangle appearing in those tribes. Through his observations he claimed that the Oedipus complex might not be universal, but rather a characteristic of families and their children within a particular set of societies. Malinowski proposes a different pattern of triangle in the Australian tribe's family structure.

Freud's Oedipus complex shows that the father fear towards his son and the son possesses a repressed wish to kill his father and an incest wish toward his mother. Here, Freud's use of the word 'kill', which should be interpreted as a son "emotionally wanting to get rid of his father" so that he can monopolize his mother. Malinowski proposes a different triangle which he noticed in Australian aborigines. The son has a fear of his mother's brother and his incest wish is to be with his sister.

Basically, Malinowski considers that because the father in Trobriander is so tender, so caring and so benign to the son, thus, the father will not be the target of his son's hostile emotions. Actually, what Freud emphasizes as the 'son's hostile emotion to father' is not apparently what we perceive in our daily observations. Most fathers, no matter whether they are a European father or oriental father, also love their children. They do not apparently hate or threaten their children, but the son feels threatened because he is motivated to monopolize his mother and he is afraid that he will be punished by his father. This feeling derives from his unconscious fear but he is not actually threatened by his father. Moreover, it is quite common in the West, that the father hugs his son, kisses his son and plays with his son as well. However, such acts of kindness will not prevent the oedipal conflict from occurring. A son does not naturally hate his father, he hates his father because he loves his mother and he wants to get rid of his father. We can assume that a son would like to get rid of a bad father;

he would also like to get rid of a good father per se. Moreover, to get rid of a benign and caring father could be more painful than to get rid of a normal father. Therefore, a good father does not alter a son's oedipal emotion, because a son's attachment toward his mother stems from the attraction of the opposite sex, and it is a very unconscious dynamic. When the father is so close to his son, especially, where the son receives intensive caring from his father, we can speculate that the oedipal tension could be more acute than for the normal condition. Spiro asserts that the Oedipus complex is extremely strong in Trobriand societies, and his contention is contradictory to what Malinowski proposes.

Although Malinowski considers that the Oedipus complex does not exist in the Trobriands, however, he shows that the mother is definitely the boy's first love-object. He attributes his shifting paradigm to the atypical father in the matrilineal society; for this, he provides a detailed description about the position and the role of the father in the Trobriand, he states:

Theses natives have a well-established institution of marriage, and yet are quite ignorant of the man's share in the begetting of children. At the same time, the term 'father' has, for the Trobriander, a clear, though exclusively social, definition: it signifies the man married to the mother, who lives in the same house with her, and forms part of the household. The father, in all discussions about relationship, was pointedly described'. This expression would also frequently be used by natives in conversation, when they were arguing some point of inheritance or trying to justify some line of behavior, or again when the position of the father was to me as *tomakava*, a 'stranger', or even more correctly, an 'outsider be belittled in some quarrel.'" (Malinowski, 1929, p4)

Therefore, Malinowski suggests the readers that the term when the native called 'father' is different from our understanding of legal, moral and biological sense of

father when he uses in his writing, therefore, one must not be taken as having the various legal, moral, and biological implications that we understand but in a sense is entirely specific to the society with which we are dealing. He considers, that avoiding any chance of misconception he would use the native word *tama* and to have spoken of the '*tama* relationship' instead of 'fatherhood'. He suggests, when reader meets the word 'father' in these pages, should never forget that it must be defined, not as in the English dictionary, but in accordance with the facts of native life. (Malinowski, 1929, pp4-5)

What does the word *tama* mean for the native? Malinowski clearly points out "husband of my mother" would be the answer first given by an intelligent informant. More specifically, Malinowski indicates that the term *tama* (father), for natives, is described as:

is a close companion to his children; he takes an active part in the cares which are lavished upon them, invariably feels and shows a deep affection for them, and later has a share in their education. The word *tama* (father) condenses, therefore, in its emotional meaning, a host of experiences of early childhood, and expresses the typical sentiment existing between a boy or girl and a mature affectionate man of the same household; while socially it denotes the male person who stands in an intimate relation to the mother, and who is master of house" (Malinowski, 1929, P5)

Malinowski considers, *tama* does not differ essentially from 'father' in our sense. However, what Malinowski intended to stress is that:

as soon as the child begins to grow up and take an interest in things outside the affairs of the household and its own immediate needs, certain complications arise, and change the meaning of *tama* for him. He learns that he is not of the same clan as his *tama*, that his totemic appellation is

different, and that it is identical with that of his mother. At the same time he learns that all sort of duties, restrictions, and concerns for personal pride unite him to his mother and separates him from his father. Another man appears on the horizon, is called by the child *kadaku* (“my mother’s brother”) This man lives in the same locality, but he is just as likely to reside in another village. The child also learns that the place where his *kada* (mother’s brother) resides is also his, the child’s ‘own village’; that there he has his property and his other rights of citizenship; that there his future career awaits him, that there his natural allies and associates are to be found. He may even be taunted in the village of his birth with being an “outsider” (*tomakava*), while in the village he has to call “his own”, in which his mother’s brother lives, his father is a stranger and he a natural citizen. He also sees, as he grows up, that the mother’s brother assumes a gradually increasing authority over him, requiring his services, helping him in some things, granting or withholding his permission to carry out certain actions; while the father’s authority and counsel become less and less important.” (Malinowski, 1929, pp5-6)

Malinowski gives a lengthy description of how the father takes care of his children, and we can speculate on their basic triangular relationship and the father actually possesses exceptional closeness towards his children. The description is as follows:

We have already seen that the husband fully shares in the care of children. He will fondle and carry a baby, clean and wash it, and give it the mashed vegetable food which it receives in addition to the mother’s milk almost from birth. In fact, nursing the baby in the arms or holding it on the knees, which is described by the native word *kopo’i*, is a special role and duty of their father (*tama*). It is said of the children of unmarried women who, according to the native expression, are ‘without a *tama*’ (that is, it must be remembered, without a husband to their mother), that they are ‘unfortunate’ or ‘bad’ because ‘there is no one to nurse and hug them (*gala taytala bikopo’i*)’. Again,

if anyone inquires why children should have duties towards their father, who is a 'stranger' to them, the answer is invariably: 'because of the nursing (*pela kopo'i*),' 'because his hands have been soiled with the child's excrement and urine'" (Malinowski, 1929, p17)

Furthermore, Malinowski describes the father plays in the role of nursing, expressing the examples of 'good mothering' which are considered as 'atypical', and are quite different from our impression of fatherhood, he states:

The father performs his duties with genuine natural fondness: he will carry an infant about for hours, looking at it with eyes full of such love and pride as are seldom seen in those of a European father. Any praise of the baby goes directly to his heart, and he will never tire of talking about exhibiting the virtues and achievements of his wife's offspring. Indeed, watching a native family at home or meeting them on the road, one receives a strong impression of close union and intimacy between its members (see pls.7, 260) Nor, as we have seen, does this mutual affection abate in later years. Thus, in the intimacy of domestic life, we discover another aspect of the interesting and complicated struggle between social and emotional paternity, on the other hand, and the explicitly acknowledged legal mother-right on the other. (Malinowski, 1929, p 18)

From the above statement, we can speculate that the son has very contradictory feelings toward the father in matrilineal societies, the father is consciously considered as a 'stranger', 'outsider' 'mother's husband' at home, on the other hand, there is an exceptional closeness between father and son, the father figure like 'a nurse', 'a companionship' or perhaps 'a big playmate'. In such an intimate relationship, how can we assume that the father possesses no position in the son's early stages, this phenomena seems to be a double anomaly. Actually, father does sexually possess mother, and that is the root of Oedipus complex. Father as a stranger or as a playmate

is conscious, not unconscious, and it is unconscious that we are interested in – from the psychoanalytic perspective to approach this anthropological material.

Spiro analyzes many unconscious products, such as dreams, myths and reproduction beliefs, and he finds that there is a similar structure, i.e. “absent-father pattern”. Spiro further analyses: the father is always absent in Trobriand’s unconscious products, that are because the father is benign - when the strong oedipal hostility emerges unconsciously, simultaneously, the conscious guilt emerges as well. So the father has to be eliminated in a form of ‘denial’ - that is the way they manage their contradictory feelings between their unconscious oedipal hostility and conscious guilt toward their benign father. Spiro interprets: “... because the unconscious fear of the father in the Trobriand is unusually strong, or because the guilt aroused by a conscious awareness of hostility to the benign and nurturant Trobriand father is especially painful, thus, or both, makes no difference for our present purpose.” (Spiro, 1982, p 55) Thus, there is obviously a hostility that has to deal with in Trobriand son, Ernest Jones (1925, p122) interpretation was that the hostility was transferred to the mother’s brother.

Moreover, a woman conceives, the Trobriand insist, because a spirit-child¹ enters her body, and not because a man has sexual intercourse with her. Spiro interprets that the spirit-child is the child himself, because the son’s wish is not only that the father be replaced as genitor, but that he (the son) himself be his father’s replacement. Freud also claims, unconsciously speaking, the holy-spirit is the child himself. Therefore, the spirit-child is a different form of replacing the father’s position, which in itself, is very oedipal. (Spiro, 1925, pp68-69) Ernest Jones (1925, p122) considers that the absence of the father in Trobriands’ reproduction beliefs possesses the same effect as the myth of the Virgin Mary in the Bible. He states:

Many of them cherish, consciously or unconsciously, the idea that their 'father' had nothing to do with their conception or birth, this being entirely a matter between them and the mother. It is well known how extraordinarily widespread this myth of the Virgin Mother has been throughout the world, and there is every reason to think that it has generally the same significance

as we find in the analysis of individuals. The general belief evidently fulfils more than one deep-seated tendency; repudiation of the father's part in coitus and procreation, and consequently softening and deflection of the hatred against him, a consummation desired equally by son and father. This is what has happened where the institution of mother-right is combined with denial of paternal procreation. It might be said that just as the postural couvade is designed to protect the child from the father's hostility, so the combination of mother-right and sexual ignorance protects both father and son from their mutual rivalry and hostility. (Jones, 1925, p122)

Couched in psychoanalytic sense, I am inclined to bring into connection with the primary scene¹¹ which Freud demonstrates the picture of his patient's dream. – *The tree with the wolves*. Freud interprets that “the wolf may have been a father-surrogate; so that, in the case, this first anxiety-dream would have brought into light the fear of his father which from that time forward was to dominate his life” (Freud, 1917, p34) The dream displays the little boy's anxiety and tendentious denial of paternal procreation, and how disturbance of this picture that the little boy would like to remove from his conscious recognition. In the dream, the stillness of the wolves is a displacement of reality, in which reveals the censorship and defensive mechanism of dreamer's ego.

The displacement of primary scene has been commonly seen in dreams, biblical myths, folklores and the child's mythology. According to Malinowski's record, the topic of sexual intercourse between man and wife is regarded by the Trobrianders as highly indecent, and they are unusually free people in regard to sexual matters in general. However, for a child, the anxiety and aversion of the primary scene seems to be universal. As Jones comments :”This seems to represent a higher degree of the common aversion which most people feel in regard to the idea of parental coitus, and serves the same function of keeping at a distance the possibility of an Oedipus jealousy.” (Jones, 1925, p122)

¹¹ The primary scene is Freud's terminology which means a child's observation or imagination of parental intercourse, even if the child did not actually witness the primary scene, he or she would develop and elaborate primary phantasies of scene derived from hereditary phylogenetic influences. Freud (1905) believes that the observation of parental intercourse could be traumatic and that the child inevitably interprets the sexual act as sadistic. (Lewis Aron, 2002, p125)

Malinowski considers that it is necessary to emphasize the relationship between a Trobriander and his father, his mother, and his mother's brother, for this is the nucleus of the complex system of mother-right or matriliney, and this system governs the whole social life of these natives (Malinowski, 1929, p7) Therefore, the whole contention of Malinowski's matrilineal complex derives from his observations of (1) the nurture and caring, atypical father (2) the authority of the mother's brother (3) the incest wish between brother and sister which is a outcome of matrilineal society in Trobriand.

Spiro refutes Malinowski's contention of matrilineal complex, as he considers that Malinowski had confused the cause and effect of Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex. Firstly, Spiro states that it is very important to emphasize the characteristics of Freud's formulation of the Oedipus complex, i.e., "a *triangular* constellation involving a boy, his father, and his mother, in which the boy's *sexual desire* for the mother, whose love he wishes to monopolize, *leads* to hostility toward his father (and his siblings), whom he views as a rival for the mother's love. As a result of his wish to possess the exclusive love of the mother, the boy moreover develops the wish to kill the father and to replace him in his relationship with the mother." (Spiro, 1982, p4)

Freud formulates the Oedipus complex as one triangular constellation - the boy's sexual desire for the mother – leading to hostility toward his father. Therefore, the formulation of cause and effect is that the boy hates his father *because* he loves his mother - it is not that the boy hates his father *and* loves his mother. Here, we need to be very careful to distinguish the subtle difference between "*because*" and "*and*" in above sentence as this is the main argument between Spiro and Malinowski.

For Malinowski, however, the boy's oedipal relationship with his father is a diadic relationship only. That is to say, while agreeing that the mother is the boy's primary love-object as it is in the West, Malinowski contends that he hates his father not

because the father is his rival for the love of the wife-mother, but because he is an oppressive authority figure. (Spiro, 1982, pp33-34)

Essentially, the boy hates his father because he is motivated to monopolize his mother, no matter whether his father is brutal or benign. The boy still possesses the feeling of hostility. This hostility is based on a human basic triangle the ambiguity of which is very difficult for the little boy to manage at an early age.

Freud also assigns the importance of the oedipal role to the father authority. But that authority is the resolution of the Oedipus complex rather than its the origin (or cause). That is to say, motivated by fear of the father's authority, the ultimate expression of which is the castration complex, the boy gives up his oedipal hatred of the father – as well as his oedipal love for the mother – by introjecting his father's authority and establishing a superego. This is a normal path by which the little boy achieves a resolution of the Oedipus complex. Spiro considers that Malinowski had inverted the cause and effect of the father's authority. He states: "Since for Malinowski, however, the father authority is the origin of son's Oedipal hostility, and since in the Trobriands, so he believed, it is the mother's brother who is the primary authority figure, the father, Malinowski contends, cannot possibly be the target of the boy's hatred in the Trobriands." (Spiro, 1982, p34) This is all conscious, whereas Freud was interested in the unconscious, in which the mother's brother absorbs the hostility toward the father: he is the oedipal father.

For Freud, the father's authority is important for the second stage of the Oedipus complex – identification, i.e. introjecting the father's authority so that the son can take his father as part of himself (his super ego), he then is able to love his father as well as love the internal father inside him.

Secondly, Malinowski considers that the authority of the mother's brother emerges when the son grows up (usually at the son's puberty); therefore the son's major threat

is from his mother's brother and not from his father. Speculating from a social and legal aspect, it shows that the father's authority is weaker compared with mother's brother. However, Spiro cast doubt that because there is such a close father-son relationship in the son's primary stage – how can we assume that the father does not find a position for his authority? Furthermore, Spiro doubts that the mother's brother emerges at a son's puberty and locates at a different house. Can such a 'distant authority' really manifest a son's identification? Obviously, the authority of the mother's brother during the son's puberty is not a primary introjection, but like other authority figures (teachers, leaders or the elder members of family) replaces the primary authority when son grows up. Although, the father's role is ambiguous during the son's early stages, however, these stages must be a place for the father's authority. For Jones, the mother's brother is, in the unconscious, a split piece of father.

Thirdly, Spiro proves that brother-sister incest is not a result of matrilineal society, but a displacement of mother-son incest. Malinowski holds that the brother-sister taboo is the most stringent of all the incest taboos, and that its stringency is the cause of the brother's singularly strong sexual feelings for his sister. For Malinowski, the stringency of this taboo is a measure of the strength of these feelings.

Ernest Jones refutes Malinowski's contention that matrilineal society produces the outcome of brother-sister incest. He states:

It would seem more probable, in my opinion, that the matrilineal system with its avunculate complex arose in the way described above as a mode of defence against the primordial Oedipus tendencies than that it arose for unknown sociological reasons with then the avunculate complex as a necessary consequence and the Oedipus complex appearing only when the patrilineal system was subsequently introduced. The forbidden and unconsciously loved sister is only a substitute for the mother, as the uncle plainly is for the father. On Malinowski's hypothesis the Oedipus complex would be a late product; for the psycho-analyst it was the *fons et origo*." (Jones, 1925, p128)

Jones in the 1920s, replying to Malinowski at the time; Spiro today, carrying forward the reply to anthropological evidence that seemed to undermine the Oedipus complex.

There is no evidence that mother son incest is only weaker for the Trobriands. Spiro argues: “Since, then, the relative incidence of incest with mother and sister is no different from the Trobriand finding be offered in support of the thesis that the sister (rather than the mother) is the boy’s primary incestuous object, nor can it be attributed to the matrilineal ‘constitution’ of the Trobriand family. Indeed, the only society not only in which brother-sister incest was widely practiced, but in which its institutionalization in marriage is reported to have been common – Roman Egypt – is one in which the family ‘constitution’ was not matrilineal, but patriarchal (Hopkin 1980). Similarly, marriage between brothers and sisters of the same father but different mothers occurred in both medieval Japan (Sofue 1982;20 and ancient Israel (Bakan 1979:68-69), both of which were ‘patriarchal’” (Spiro, 1982, p25)

Moreover, Spiro points out, brother-sister marriage was a ‘frequent practice’ and was considered entirely ‘normal’ in ancient time; hence, there was no prohibition by an incest taboo. In some places; cross-cousin marriage was considered as a prevailed custom.

Ernest Jones states that “the girl’s attachment towards her father commonly becomes displaced on to her brother, just as the son displaces his mother-attachment on to his sister. The tendency towards filial and parental incest is thus exchanged for that towards brother-sister incest, which even today is much less taboo than the former and is often enough realized in actuality. As is well known, royal marriages between brother and sister were customary in ancient Egypt, and till our times in Hawaii, though forbidden to commoners.” (Jones, 1925, p126)

In reviewing Taiwanese aboriginal myths, there are considerable stories regarding brother-sister incest (or marriage). One of the paradigm myths is about the beginning

of Tattoos¹ in Tribe *Atayal*¹ (泰雅族) : “The first *Atayal* ancestors appeared when a stone cracked apart. There were three people, but one decided to go back into the stone. A woman and a man came out – they were brother and sister. At that time, there were no other people around. The sister was very worried about how they can produce the next generation because the brother refused to marry his sister. The sister devised a method to marry her brother and she said to him: “tomorrow, there will be a lady waiting for you at the bottom of the mountain and the lady will be your future wife.” The sister used a black coal to make a tattoo in her face; the brother could not recognize that the lady was his sister, so they married. Not long after, the couple bore children, fulfilling their mission of procreating the next generation.” In fact, brother-sister marriage is absolutely prohibited in Tribe *Atayal* and any marriage between close relatives will be punished by their ancestors’ spirit (*utux*).

However, the story has similar structure regarding the beginning of human beings, like the myth of Genesis in the *Old Testament*. God creates Adam from the dust by breathing the breath of life into his nostrils, and places him in the Garden of Eden. In order to create a companion for Adam, God then extracts one of his ribs and fashions the first woman Eve. We may speculate about whether the plot of this myth possesses an implication that in the beginning of human love is displayed a narcissistic form of the incest wish.

The myth of *Atayal* is exceptional in that brother-sister marriage is permitted without a punishment. Other legends, such as Tribe *Lu Kai* (魯凱族) and Tribe *Pi Wan* (排灣族), show that no matter what kind of situation in which the brother-sister committed incest, their children appeared to be blind, crippled or disabled as they believe that it was a punishment from their ancestors’ spirit.

Like most of unconscious products in Trobriand, Taiwanese aborigines’ myths show that mother-son incest rarely appears, however, incest wishes are projected conspicuously between brother and sister. Malinowski's case for the deflection of unconscious incestuous wishes from mother to sister rested upon material

from dreams. Since he found dreams of overt sister incest but none of overt mother incest, Malinowski concluded that mother incest did not exist in myths or dreams. Spiro considers that this argument is seriously flawed. Spiro points out; the mother did appear in dreams, but in the guise of the sister. Why should the mother have needed to appear disguised as the sister? Spiro's answer is that because of the intense wish to commit incest with the mother, the wish had to be energetically repressed. Straight from Jones and Freud, and consistent with an unconscious wish that is obscured in consciousness, which is presumably what Malinowski did not accept in his conscious version.

Realistically, brother-sister is definitely a taboo in contemporary societies; however, conspicuous evidence shows that it was probably not a strict taboo in ancient times. Spiro and Jones consider, that the mother is definitely the first love-object of the son, however, mother-son incest is absolutely a strict taboo, therefore the son's incest wish easily transforms to his sister or other female relative – a displacement of the incest wish.

Malinowski proposes, in Trobriand, that because the son's authority is the mother's brother, this creates the outcome of brother-sister incest; Jones and Spiro argue that such a hypothesis seems to be unable to find a solid foundation to be testified. My illustration also provides counter evidence about Malinowski's contention.

More importantly, Spiro demonstrates that, using Malinowski's evidence, it is possible, and scientifically preferable, to arrive at the opposite conclusion, namely, that there is a real, intense, and palpable Oedipus complex in the Trobriands, that sons do harbour both incestuous wishes toward their mothers and intensely hostile wishes toward their fathers. Especially, Spiro testified that Trobrian's Oedipus complex is extremely strong, and even stronger than Western societies.

Malinowski-Freud's debate mainly reveals the different formulation between anthropology and psychoanalysis, and the revealing issue is conscious vs.

unconscious. Spiro admits that Malinowski has great contribution in describing Trobriands' sexual life and marriage system. Malinowski was the first anthropologist to recognize that the social and cultural system bears systematic relationship to, and therefore provides important evidence concerning, the minds of their bearers and transmitters. (Spiro, 1925, p41) However, Spiro disagreed with Malinowski's psychological interpretation of social and cultural data which he employed for his construction of the matrilineal complex. Spiro entirely agrees with Malinowski's ethnographic data and his view that cultural symbol systems are projective systems. However, Malinowski fails to see the ego's defensive mechanism toward unconscious thought, and the most important phenomena that the repressed materials are often projected and represented in disguised form. Spiro testified that Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex is valid to Trobriand societies and is universal.

Malinowski and Spiro analyze the same data but differ in their conclusion because Spiro's interpretations are based on psychodynamic formulation. I consider Spiro's work on *Oedipus in the Trobriands* to be an outstanding contribution to the cultural meanings and variations of Freudian metapsychology. Specifically, it effectively makes psychoanalytic theories available to anthropologists in explaining cultural data. Therefore, this thesis inclines to support Freud's classic concept of the Oedipus concept and Spiro's interpretation from the psychodynamic aspect – especially his treatment of inner conflict and defense.

Part 3: Westermarck Effect:

According oedipal theory, these incestuous wishes are repressed, or there is a reaction formation against them. In this section, I discuss Wolf's case studies on Taiwan's *simpua* marriage, in which Wolf uses them to support Westermarck Effect. I select three of Wolf's case studies to illustrate that the family actually promotes the Oedipus complex and suppresses it intensively. Look at it as a form of power in the old custom of *simpua* marriage: to use Oedipus complex in order to bring people into a structure of suppression.

Freud's theory of Oedipus complex is usually criticized as Eurocentric. The Taiwanese are not alone in identifying the eurocentricity of Freud's model of the family. There are other debates about Freud's Oedipus complex. The Finnish philosopher and sociologist, Edward Alexander Westermarck, has studied exogamy and the incest taboo. Westermarck was the first person to note the phenomenon that children raised together (regardless their genetic relationship) are unable to form a sexual feeling for each other after they grow up as adults. This phenomenon was first noted by Westermarck, thus, was termed "Westermarck Effect".

The Westermarck effect has been observed in many places and cultures including, particularly, the Taiwanese *Simpua*-marriage custom (arranged marriage) and Israeli Kibbutz system. Westermarck gave a demonstration of the Taiwanese tradition of arranged marriage which is called the *Simpua* marriage. *Simpua* is a word derived from the Taiwanese dialect, the direct translation of which means "little daughter-in-law". In Taiwanese Mandarin, we called *Simpua* as 童養媳 (tong yang shi). It was a very common custom during the inter-war period in Taiwan: when poor families were burdened by too many children, they would usually sell (or give away) their young daughter to a richer family for labour, and in exchange, the poorer family would be married into the richer family, through the daughter. The girl acted both as an adopted daughter and free labour during the time she was brought up by adopted family. The girl would be married with a young male member of the adopted family in the future. Due to the lower-class of the girl's original family, discrimination was often present, and slavery-like treatment was very common.

However, the corrupt custom of giving away (or exchanging) daughters to other families might not necessarily happen in poor families; it appeared sometimes in ordinary families and occasionally in rich families as well. This is due to partly, gender discrimination in Chinese culture and partly, economic consideration since many families considered that a daughter eventually will belong to another family and to rear a daughter usually obtained nothing but the need to give her dowry when she married. In old times, most families considered that sons were the most important for

the family; they would rather raise daughters-in-law for their sons than raise daughters for other families. Therefore, some parents termed the birth of a baby girl as like merchandise sold at loss.¹²

Westermarck concludes that this kind of marriage was rarely successful, principally because of the lack of sexual attraction between the husband and wife. Thus, the phenomenon of *Simpua*-marriage¹³ has been explained as a classic demonstration of the Westermarck effect.

Westermarck took this particular example to elucidate reverse sexual imprinting: when two people live in close domestic proximity during the first few years of the life of either one, both are desensitized to later close sexual attraction and bonding. Where Freud argued that members of the same family naturally lust for one another, making it necessary for societies to create the incest taboo, Westermarck argues the reverse; that is, the taboo itself arises naturally or perhaps is genetically inherited instead of arising from social factors.

Wolf (1970) demonstrates statistical evidence to support Westermarck's contention. He proposes, the adultery and divorce rates found in *simpua* marriages are higher and the fertility rate is lower than those found in regular Taiwanese marriage. Taking these rates as a measure of sexual dissatisfaction, Wolf argues that the greater sexual

¹² In old time Taiwan, when a couple gave a birth to a baby girl, it was quite common that the girl was be considered as a financial burden on her parents. Therefore the girl was termed 'merchandise sold at loss'. (賠錢貨)

¹³ Of course, *Simpua* marriage no longer exists in modern society. The custom fell out of practice in the 1970s, due to increased modernization and wealth from Taiwan's economic success, making this kind of marriage arrangement unnecessary.

dissatisfaction in *simpua* marriage is a consequence of sexual aversion that develops between the boy and girl in childhood, which supports Westermarck's theory that propinquity leads to sexual aversion. I argue, from psychoanalytic point of view, the statistical evidence is meaningless for an unconscious interpretation, the decipherment of statistical data is a conscious feeling, and it is hopeless general.

Spiro (1982) refutes Wolf's conclusion as invalid on both empirical and theoretical grounds. He considers, other factors are more crucial to the result of *simpuas'* unsuccessful marriages. He states:

Consider in the first place that the boy, according to Wolf, feels cheated and frustrated by a *simpua* marriage because it deprives him not only of honor and prestige – these marriages are viewed as “vulgar and inferior” and are therefore “socially despised” – but of a dowry, affinal alliance, and other advantage of a regular marriage, as well. Considering all of these disadvantages, it is hard to credit Wolf's contention that although the boys “resent their having their best interests sacrificed by their parents, “their resentment is nevertheless “not likely to disrupt permanently their relationship as husband and wife” (Wolf 1970:506) I would assume, on the contrary, that their resentment would have that effect precisely.’ (Spiro, 1982, p150)

I incline to strengthen Spiro's interpretation, and I consider that proximity also evoke its oedipal roots. From the perspective of the girls' side, there are even more complicated feelings than for the boys. Spiro interprets:

‘Consider, again, that a girl adopted for a *simpua* marriage is an object of “abuse” by her adoptive family; indeed, such girls are treated so badly that they are the very “symbol of the life of misery.” Consider, too, that (presumably as a result of this treatment) the girl is hostile to the members of her adoptive family, including her “brother” (and future husband). Of

whom she is jealous and toward whom she displays “sibling” rivalry. It is again hard to credit Wolf’s contention that these factors do not importantly affect the girl’s subsequent relationship with the boy when she becomes his wife. It is also difficult to believe that the girl’s abusive treatment by his parents does not affect the boy’s perception of her as an inferior person, one who is unworthy of esteem and affection. Indeed, since the main reason for a *simpua* marriage is the wish of the boy’s mother to have a subordinate daughter-in-law, one who will not be a rival for her son’s affection (as is the case in regular marriage), it would seem not unlikely that she goes out of her way to prevent her son from establishing an affectionate relationship with his “sister” (Spiro, 1982, p150)

In my argument, firstly, the mother arranges a marriage which her son ‘marries’ his ‘sister’, and their relationship is also suppressed by his mother, there is no doubt that it is drawing on oedipal roots. Secondly, ‘sibling rivalry’ conspicuously derives from oedipal roots. Anna Freud in her lecture on *Infantile Amnesia and the Oedipus complex* presents clinical pictures¹⁴ of how Oedipus complex manifest in the form of sibling rivalry. She elucidates: “This wish for his brother and sisters to be dead is thoroughly natural on the part of child. The more the child values the possession of his mother, the more violent is this desire.” (Anna Freud, 1922-1935, p85)

¹⁴ Anna Freud illustrates two clinical pictures of this sibling rivalry – (1) a two-year-old girl wishes his brother die when her father proudly showed her the newly born brother. (2) A mother told Anna Freud that when she was feeding her infant at the breast, her 3-year-old boy, armed with a stick or some other pointed object, would come quiet close to her, and that she had great difficulty in preventing him from doing harm to the baby. Anna Freud comments: “ We have every reason to regard this jealousy of small children as serious. It springs from the same motives as the jealousy of adults, and causes the child the same amount of suffering as we endure in adult life when our relation to a beloved is disturbed by unwelcome rivals. The only difference is that the child is more restricted in his actions than adult, and thus the satisfaction of his jealous feeling goes no further than a wish.” (Anna Freud, 1922-1935, pp84-85)

Indeed, Spiro's description of the boy and girl's situation is a realistic phenomenon which occurred in most adopted families – the little daughter-in-law could rarely be expected to be treated equally with the other biological siblings. In the Taiwanese TV series, *Chilly Night* (寒夜), which is adapted by Lee Cho's famous novel, there are considerable scenarios to describe the inferior situation of the little-daughter-in-law. Usually, the adopted daughter was not allowed to share the same table with the other siblings, and only ate leftovers. In one scenario, the adopted mother gave the little-daughter-in-law a hostile glance; the girl immediately sensed that she could only take the items which other siblings cast off. Thus, the *simpua* had mostly endured tremendous emotional burden compared to the children of the same age who grew up in their regular family. Although there are cases of this sort, typically, like the western fairytale, Cinderella, where a wicked step-mother (=mother) tries to suppress her desire for the handsome prince (=son) However, there might also be exceptional cases where the poor family's girl was sent to a kind family and received a better education and life condition.

When the *simpua* reached the appropriate age for marriage, the adopted parent would select a propitious day according to the lunar calendar for their adopted daughter and son to become a couple – there was usually no formal wedding like regular couples, therefore, such a simple procedure to alter their status from brother-sister to husband-wife is termed sak-tsò(tsuè)-tui (送做堆). This phrase is facetious Taiwanese dialect which means “pushing together”.

In addition, in Wolf's book *Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association*, particularly, in chapter 4, he reports 13 case studies during the period when he carried out his research fieldwork in Taiwan. In few of these cases was the adopted daughter treated properly in her foster family. Most *simpuas* reveal extremely painful adoption trauma when they recall their childhood and bitterly complain about how their natural parents could give away their infant girl to another family. Furthermore, while they talked about their marriage with their foster brothers, some of them confessed that “we know each other too well”, “our marriage was not interesting at all”, “we have no choice”

“we were forced to sleep together”. “We’ve got nothing to say to each other”, “I attempted to run away before the marriage was planned” or “I feel shame to marry my brother in my adopted family”...etc.

I have taken a lot of pain to read this material and I select three examples of Wolf’s reports of the confessional narration from *simpuas*:

(i) *Lou Le-Cu*, born in 1925, she belongs to the youngest generation of the women included in Wolf’s study. When she was asked why her parents gave her away and how she felt about being raised as an adopted daughter, Lou Le-Cu replied as follows:

Well, you know that until recently people all wanted to exchange their girls for adopted daughters so they could marry them for their sons. People used to come to get the girls as soon as they were born because they were afraid someone else would adopt them. I think I was three months old when I was given away. [My parents gave me away] because they wanted a girl to marry my older brother. When I was adopted, my foster mother had a milk child [i.e., she was a wet nurse] to make money, so I could only have the milk that was left over. There wasn’t enough, so I had to eat rice water and other things. My foster sister tells me how the neighbors used to call her the 15-year-old mother because she took care of me like a mother. You know, when a baby doesn’t have enough to eat, it cries all the time. My foster mother would get angry and just throw me on the bed. Then my foster sister would take me and heat some powdered milk or rice water to feed me. Everyone says she was very good to me. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn’t that she didn’t like me, it was just her temper. She beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I’d sitting doing my homework, and she would grab me and hit me for no reason that I knew of. I knew that I was an adopted daughter and had to be very careful. I did my homework and never got into fights. Sometimes she would hit me so much that I would bleed, and I would run away and she would still chase me to beat me more. When my foster sister got married and had a child, I came home right after school and carried the baby because I knew my foster mother couldn’t beat

me with the baby on my back. I wanted to go to school so much that I got my older sister to enroll when I was 9 years old. Oh, I can remember the beating I got for that. As soon as I came home from school, I went to work making temple money [a cottage industry]. I can remember looking out the window when I was pasting the money, watching the other kids play. If my foster mother left, of course I would sneak out and play. Naturally, I would forget my work and if my foster mother came back and caught me, I was really in trouble. Really, when I think of my childhood, I wonder why my fate was so bad. My foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always trembling with fear. (Wolf, 1995, p60-61)

(ii) Ong So-Lan was born in 1932; she remained unmarried as she successfully revolted against marrying her foster brother. The following is *Ong So-Lan's* narration about her *simpua* experience;

Females like us who are given away to be adopted daughters are very clever. We are always looking around to see what our position is among people, we can tell just by looking at people's faces whether they like us or not. When I was in school, they used to scold me for studying so hard. I like to study, but they said I was pretending because I didn't want to take care of my younger brothers. I was really very naughty. I would look at my foster mother's face, and if I knew her mood was "safe", I would say thing like, "I know I 'am not supposed to study, and I am supposed to take care of them, because I am adopted daughter"

When Ong So-Lan was asked the question: "Why do you think people give their own daughter away and then adopt other people's daughters?" she said:

I don't know, but I guess that is because they don't want to make their own daughter work for them. So they adopt someone else's daughter to do their work. I used to get so angry with my parents because they gave me away.

Even now I sometimes think that my unhappy life is all their fault. If they hadn't given me away, I probably would have had a very happy life. I am sure it wouldn't be like this. I can remember when I was little. My parents and my foster parents were good friends, so my parents often used to come here. I remember once when I was playing in the yard on a mat and saw my mother coming, I just rolled myself up in the mat and hid. I didn't want to see her.

I also used get very mad at my foster mother's daughter. In school I did much better than she did. The teacher would give us two pieces of paper, one to practice on and one to turn in. I would always put my name on the first and her on the other. I was the last in the row so I collected the papers. Nobody said I had to help her in school, but I knew I did. If I came home first, my foster mother would look at me and say, "Where is Giog-ki?" I would go back to school and call her, but then I wouldn't go home for lunch myself. I would just stay at school.

(iii) *Ng Kui-Lan* was born in 1928, the sixth child of a moderately well-to-do farm family. She was given away as a *simpua* when she was five or six months old. When she was asked why she was given away, she said because her parents were "too busy". Asked if this was the reason so many people had given away their daughters, she replied:

No, not really, the real reason was that daughters had to be given away sooner or later. Daughters are of no use to their natal family. Only sons are of use. Most people who had daughters thought, One might as well give them away as children. There is no point in raising them and then giving them away"

Ng's adoption was arranged by an elderly neighbour, who told her foster parents to take her home for three days and then decide whether or not to keep her. She recalled:

Most people did this. The idea was that if nothing bad happened during the three days, the child would bring good luck to the family. Some people didn't believe it, but others thought that if a chicken died or someone broke a bowl, that was a sign that the child would bring the family misfortune.

When Ng was asked why her foster parents wanted to adopt her, Ng said nothing about the financial advantages of the minor form of marriage, and emphasized instead the effect on domestic relations:

When a woman raises her own daughter-in-law, she and the daughter-in-law know each other's hearts. They don't quarrel all the time. Usually, as the daughter-in-law, you raise yourself to be more obedient than a girl raised in another family.

When Ng was only 13 years old, her foster parents heard that Japanese were going to conscript young women to work as military nurses in Southeast Asia. Afraid that Ng would be conscripted, they quickly married her to their son. "We were pushed together" Unfortunately for the family, the bride age made the police suspicious, and they called her father to the police station for questioning. "We were all afraid that my father would be beaten, so I went with him to assure the police that I was really married. They believed me and nothing happened, but we were all scared." When Ng was asked the question why people said that minor marriages were uninteresting? She replied:

The couple are raised together in the same house the same as if they were brother and sister. So they just aren't as dear to each other as couple who are reared in different families.

When Ng was asked why it was that a minor marriage was more likely to end in divorce than a major marriage. She answered:

As husband and wife who are reared in the same family they are never as close to each other as are those couples reared in different families. Couples who are reared apart always have more to talk about. They go out and enjoy themselves together. Couples who are reared together never do this. They have nothing to say each other. The only reason they stay together is because of their children. They just stay together because they have to stay together until they die. (Wolf, 1995, pp71-72)

Of course, in another way they are much closer as brother and sister, which is why, in oedipal terms, they cannot really marry (that is, be close in sexual and affectionate ways together). *Simpua* marriage could not be successful, in my view, the mother-in-law (mother) restricts the relationship when the innocent attraction arises in their childhood, and when the natural aversion arises in their teenage, and they had been forced to marry.

Overall, from the above data, the adopted daughters were all deeply hurt by the feelings of abandonment by their natural parents (especially their mother), as they had been badly treated by their foster family. Consider that they were mostly given away when they were infants (from 24 days to six months); it is not surprising that they appeared to have such a strong attachment to their foster mother (or family) - there was no emotional connection with their natural families but only the hatred of being abandoned.

In my view, for the foster family, if they simply adopted a daughter, the family dynamic would be much more moderate, however, the role of the little-daughter-in-law would probably disturb the structure of the Oedipal dynamic which is usually present in a regular family situation. This is especially, when we

consider the violent emotion from the foster mother, in case (i), Lou Le-cu who recalled her childhood: "My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me, it was just her temper. She beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I'd be sitting doing my homework, and she would grab me and hit me for no reason that I knew of." In this case, the mother-in-law who is also mother, restricts the relationship of the daughter-bridle to her son, on the other hand, the discriminational treatment of daughter-in-law reinforce the sibling rivalry.

From this statement, as a child, Lou sensed that it was not that her foster mother did not like her but it was somewhere else that she could not reach or understand where that anger come from. I do not think it is surprising to speculate that the foster mother was overwhelmed by her unconscious reaction to the opposite sex of her children and her unconscious hostility to her son's future bride.

In the Taiwanese/Chinese traditional family, the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law appeared to be particularly high, and this phenomenon is interpreted by Gu Ming Dong as being because of the strong attachment between mother and son in Chinese culture, the mother-in-law is jealous and seeks to dominate the daughter-in-law so as to prevent her from stealing her son away. Gu terms this insane jealousy as "The mother complex". Gu further uses Chodorow's (1987) statement to interpret the insane jealousy of the mother:

That women turn to children to fulfill emotional even erotic desire unmet by men or other women means that a mother expects from infants what only another adult should be expected to give. These tendencies take different forms with sons and daughters. Sons may become substitutes for husbands, and must engage in defensive assertion of ego boundaries and repression of emotional needs." (211-12)

The insane jealousy of mother can be considered as standard oedipal dynamic in Chinese family structure. Gu states:” In traditional Chinese literature, rarely do we find violent, full-blown oedipal conflicts in a literary work, still less oedipal patricides. As a rule, one dimension of the Oedipus complex, the hatred of the father, disappears while the other dimension, the love for the mother or a surrogate mother is intensified.” (Gu, 2011, p129) He notes that this “mother complex” appears in much pre-modern Chinese literature, and the most well-known tragedy is a long poem called “*The Peacock Southeast Flew*” (孔雀東南飛)¹⁵ which was written in the early third century AD where such a tragedy was repeated in similar detail and became a common theme in pre-modern or modern Chinese literature. Hence, Gu further affirms that the mother complex (the need to possess a son) “may develop into instinctual antipathy to her son’s wife and conscious or unconscious strivings to remove his wife so as to repossess the son”. (Gu, 2011, pp123-125)

The role of the mother in promoting an oedipal illusion in which the son is her husband is standard oedipal dynamics.¹⁶ Consider, in a regular family, there is usually an unconscious tension between the natural mother and daughter. However, they are allowed to quarrel or express their unconscious emotion from both sides (natural mother and daughter) which is probably healthy for them. However, in a foster family, the unconscious flaw was only one-sided as the little-daughter-in-law had to be very careful to her foster mother’s reaction and thus her hostile emotion was always concealed. This condition was the same as whenever she managed her sibling hostile emotion. For example, in case (ii), Ong So-Lan narrates that she used get very mad at her foster mother’s daughter. However, she manages her hostile emotion in the form of reaction-formation; she attempts to help her foster mother’s daughter in school.

¹⁵ The poem “*The Peacock Southeast Flew*” (孔雀東南飛) narrates a tragic story of how a jealous mother compels his son to divorce his wife and drives both of them to death. Gu interprets that “The long poem was said to be based on a real tragedy and thus has a special significance for understand Chinese family relations. Previously critics’ attention has been solely focused on poem’s social significance. No one seems to have examined the poem more deeply than its manifest content. It seems to me that the poem touches on the same theme of possessive motherhood so profoundly depicted in Lawrence’s novel.” (Gu, 2011, p123)

¹⁶ Ref: Belief and Imagination, pp. 36-38; Chasseguet-Smirgel, Creativity and Perversion, pp. 28-29.

Imagine, the little-daughter-in-law might sleep together with her foster parents and their son in the same bed (in old times, most children slept together with parents until 3-4 years old or even older). This condition easily provokes the foster mother's thoughts (or imagination) of her son's intimacy with this girl and feelings of her attachment with her son being effected. Moreover, the foster mother might feel insecure about the incest wish between father and daughter. Therefore, the foster mother's unconscious hostile forces may be double that of the regular condition. After all, they are not brother and sister, so their sexual desire might break through if it is not suppressed. So we get an intensively oedipal scenario, managed by repression.

In the 13 cases, none had stressed that the little-daughter-in-law was badly treated by their foster fathers, instead, their relationship with their foster father were more peaceful, compared with their relationship with foster mother. For example, in the case (ii): When Ong So-Lan refused to marry her foster brother, she recalled her foster father's reaction" My foster father was very angry with me when I refused to marry his son, but there was nothing they could do. I just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away from here either. He used to be so angry he wouldn't speak to me, but not anymore. Now he seems to understand and is nice to me." (Wolf. 1982, p64) In case (iii): to avoid being conscripted to work as military nurse, Ng's foster parents arranged her to marry their son when she was 13 years old and this made the Japanese police suspicious and Ng attempt to save her foster father.

From reading Wolf's case studies, I affirm that the flow of the unconscious oedipal dynamic did occur in the families which were described by the *simpuas'* narrations. It seems to be that the tension was much mitigated between foster father and the little-daughter-in-law, even where there were occasionally disputes between them, and it had always ended in a reasonable resolution.

It is natural to ask whether this situation easily provokes incest wishes between foster father and daughters or it had actually occurred as in many contemporary cases of child sexual abuse; there is no conspicuous evidence to be revealed in Wolf's reports.

Simpua marriage was a corrupt system in the old times, a century ago, when a child was not protected by cultural norms, customs or law. Instead, this marriage custom enforced the intensity of the oedipal dynamic and the numbers of children abused. Westermarck proposes that the children being reared together will not form a sexual attraction when they reach puberty. However, whether the aversion arises internally or was derived from external factors is the main concern of Spiro's arguments. Imagine, the son observed how inferior the situation the little girl in his family was in, and how badly the little girl was treated by her mother since he was a child. He might be angry with his mother's behaviour or he might be angry with his parents for arranging such an inferior person to be his future wife. However, how would he manage his emotions as a boy? In observing such a miserable circumstance, can he create an unconscious phantasm toward her when he reaches the appropriate age to marry this girl? Especially, a phantasm existing in a sexual relationship? All these disadvantages had possibly intervened to prevent the boy's passion and unconscious phantasm which is quite essential for a marriage relationship.

Overall, the mother is in control of her son's oedipal desire, the little-daughter-in-law had to manage her hostile emotions whenever facing sibling rivalry (both sisters and brothers) and endure abusive behaviour from her foster family. The sibling rivalry and abusive behaviour is probably common even in a regular family; however, if she was in her natural family, she would possess a right to fight against her situation and dream of her own happiness by future marriage, like the fairytale Cinderella who was taken by coach to meet her future prince. It is conscious intention that a girl, who experienced long-term abuse, would possess a wish to flee from the family. However, in unconscious level, the handsome prince in Cinderella is, in oedipal theory, the splitting father - the father who can be sexually desired, whereas her actual father was a kind man.

When the miserable little-daughter-in-law reached her teenage years, she was not only deprived of her right to dream of her future but also her passion for a romantic love was also extinguished, as her entire life is captured by the family she hated. Moreover, her feelings of hate derived from her repression as she was not allowed to express her unconscious emotion to her mothers (both foster mother and natural mother) when she was a child. What a frustrating situation, for a teenage girl to find herself in, to have to marry the family member who has made her so miserable.

Spiro disagrees that the incest taboo arises naturally as Westermarck proposes but is very much derived from the external circumstance which has profoundly obstructed both teenagers' involvement in a sexual relationship. However, the main issue is whether the incest taboo operates, not whether it is evoked by external factors.

Furthermore, Spiro considers that the other factors which caused the unsuccessful *simpua* marriage are those social and cultural impediments to a satisfactory sexual relationship that are contained in Wolf's data. Spiro states:

we add the observation that in *simpua* marriage the boy and girl must marry each other even if, being sexually unattractive, they would not have married had they been raised separately; and when to do that we add the additional observation that almost everywhere divorce in early marriages is higher than in later ones, so that the higher divorce rate of *simpua* marriages (in which twice as many couples marry before seventeen than in regular marriage [44 as against 22 percent]) would be expected as a function of the couple's age at marriage, when these observations are also taken into account. I would then submit that Wolf's contention that the case of *simpua* marriage proves Westermarck's theory that childhood propinquity leads to sexual aversion rests on a very shaky foundation.' (Spiro, 1982, p151)

The second ethnographic case which is considered as an extreme version of the Westermarck effect is the Israeli Kibbutz movement.¹⁷ Some researchers incline to support that children growing up in those tightly-knit communities, living amongst one another on the daily basis virtually from birth - tended see other children around them as siblings. When they reached maturity they preferred to seek marriage outside the community despite the fact that such marriages are not prohibited.

Spiro also submits the interpretation that there are psychological barriers created by strong social sanctions in Kibbutz communities, and he considers that the incest taboo and the feelings of aversion did not develop endogenously, but the incest taboo was internalized after they grow up.

Spiro interprets his findings in the Kibbutz movement: "First, the early sexual play of kibbutz children for the period under discussion was replaced by sexual abstinence only after sexual permissiveness of childhood was replaced by sexual prohibitions of adolescence. This suggests, *pace* Westermarck, that their sexual aversion for each other, if that is what it was, did not develop endogenously. Second, the sexual abstinence of the adolescents applied not only in regard to the member of their peer group, the group with whom they lived as children, but to other groups as well – those with whom they did not live as children. Third, and the most important, this

¹⁷A **kibbutz** (Hebrew word means "gathering, clustering"; plural **kibbutzim**) is a collective community in Israel that was traditionally based on agriculture. Today, farming has been partly supplanted by other economic branches, including industrial plants and high-tech enterprises.^[1] Kibbutzim began as utopian communities, a combination of socialism and Zionism. In recent decades, some kibbutzim have been privatized and changes have been made in the communal lifestyle. A member of a kibbutz is called a kibbutznik.. Three researchers who wrote about psychological life on kibbutzim were Melford E. Spiro (1958), Bruno Bettelheim (1969) and Michael Baizerman (1963). Both concluded that a kibbutz upbringing led to individuals having greater difficulty in making strong emotional commitments thereafter, such as falling in love or forming a lasting friendship. On the other hand, they appear to find it easier to have a large number of less-involved friendships, and a more active social life. (Wikipedia)

interpretation is supported by the recent findings of Kaffman (1977), a psychiatrist employed by the kibbutz movement, regarding sexual behaviour in kibbutz.“ (as cited in Spiro, 1982, p155)

Spiro refers to Kaffman’s findings which are based on studies conducted some few years after two major changes had begun to take place in the kibbutz movement. Spiro asserts that: “Kaffman’s observation of sexual freedom in Kibbutz adolescents have been used to cast a doubt on Westermarck interpretation.” (Spiro, 1982, p156)

Spiro proposes an important viewpoint regarding the need to distinguish between child sexual games (children incest) and adult incest. Moreover, he considers that child-like sexual behaviour is quite common for children who live closely together, and implies that “childhood incest might prevent incest later”, He interprets this view in the following:

In that period, consistent with the kibbutz ideology of sexual freedom, young children were almost entirely free to engage in sexual play without interference or punishment by their caretakers. Since, therefore, boys and girls of the same age not only live together in one dormitory, but also slept and showered together and had frequent other opportunities to see each other in the nude, it is not surprising that they also engaged in (child-like) sexual behavior and that they displayed little sexual shame. (Spiro,1958:219-28) An important change in their behaviour occurred, however, around eleven or twelve, when girls, who were beginning to show the first sign of puberty, refused to shower together with the boys, and in general began to display overt signs of sexual shame. At the same time, sexual behavior no longer occurred, and was replaced by a great deal of bickering and hostility between the sexes. Although the bickering and hostility gradually disappeared, sexual shame, including the avoidance of mixed showers, persisted throughout high school, and there was no return to the sexual play that characterized early childhood, nor was there an assumption of sexual behavior of a more mature form. Even at a later age, however, when the boys’ maturation caught up with the girls’, two other factors intervened. First, in the case of the older children,

beginning around pre-puberty and continuing until the end of high school, the permissive ideology of the kibbutz regarding the sexual play of young children was replaced by a strong prohibition of sexual behavior. Second, despite these sexual prohibitions and their attendant sanctions, kibbutz educators believed that to encourage children to develop a wholesome attitude to sex and a “natural” attitude to the body and its functions, it was important that boys and girls live together not only in early childhood but throughout their educational careers, until graduation from high school. Here, then, I will submit, is a classic example of incompatible demands. On the other hand, we have a group of teenagers, at a physiological developmental stage of maximum sexual tension, who are exposed to persistent sexual stimulation induced by living in close quarters with members of the opposite sex, who dress and undress in one another’s presence, though it was expected that they avert their eyes during this process, and who sleep in adjacent beds. At the same time, these same teenagers are expected to comply with a cultural norm which prohibits sexual behavior between them on pain of serious social sanctions. Such a contradiction, I would submit, can only result in intolerable conflict and unbearable sexual frustration. (Spiro, 1982, p153-154)

Thus, Spiro considers that the incest wish (or behaviour) in childhood is quite natural and the incest taboo is gradually internalized after the innocence of childhood is ended, particularly, during the period when girls or boys attain the second sexual characteristics. Tremendous social sanction and cultural prohibition will be internalized and stand in place for the absence of the incest taboo in childhood.

Spiro’s interpretation of the Kibbutz movement provides a new perspective to understand the natural attraction and natural aversion, which arises between siblings in different stages of life. In Taiwanese cases, Spiro asserts that the aversion should relate to adoption trauma and the poverty of girls. Wolf’s case studies provide vivid pictures of how girls reared from minor marriages responded to the experience of adoption. However, Wolf’s reports do not touch upon the subtle area of how they play together or how they get along with each other when they are children...etc. I consider that the major differences between the Kibbutz and Taiwanese *simpua* experience is that the inferior position and discrimination in *simpua*’s foster family

would also block the girls' and boys' free play together, unlike the Kibbutz' children, who were free to indulge in free play as a child and free to manifest their avoidance as a adult. Taiwanese cases are reversed, where the aversion naturally arises as the teenagers become trapped into the position which they would otherwise avoid.

Fundamentally, the Freud-Westermarck debate is about whether the human living in a closed household would feel a natural attraction or a natural aversion. If Westermarck is right, there would be no incest taboo. Freud responds to Westermarck by quoting a full paragraph from Fanzer:

It is not easy to see why any deep human instinct should need to be reinforced by law. There is no law commanding men to eat and drink or forbidding them to put their hands in the fire. Men eat and drink and keep their hands out of fire instinctively for fear of natural not legal penalties. The law only forbids men to do what their instincts incline them to do; what nature itself prohibits and punishes, it would be superfluous for the law to prohibit and punish. Accordingly we may always safely assume that crimes forbidden by law are crimes which many men have a natural propensity to commit. If there was no such propensity there would be no such crimes, and if no such crimes were committed what need to forbid them? Instead of assuming, therefore, from the legal prohibition of incest that there is natural aversion to incest, we ought rather to assume that there is a natural instinct in favour of it, and if the law represses it, as it represses other natural instincts, it does so because civilized men have come to the conclusion that the satisfaction of these natural instincts is detrimental to the general interests of society.”

From Wolf's research data, we can see that there were tremendous repressions and disregards towards the children studied. Given the numerous cases of insane jealousy of the 'mother's complex' in Taiwanese/Chinese culture – it is an oedipal phenomenon - and how can we consider that Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex

does not exist in this culture or even consider that the Oedipus complex cannot be applied in non-western societies.

Nowadays, children's rights are fully protected by law. According to Taiwan's constitution, the sentence of the incest crime or child abuse is five years in prison. Under severe punishment, we still cannot completely prevent such crimes from happening, let alone the past society in which the customs of the *simpuas* marriage prevailed over the whole area of Taiwan. The way of thinking that grew up over centuries, today's social convention, backed up by law, are important in understanding a society that is changing, and the family dynamic is changing as well, however, when we look back the material which presents a society in a century ago, I thought that overall, the Oedipus complex is incomplete and purposely suppressed in Taiwan, and it even affect the understanding of Freud. Just look at the idea that the mother complex is something different from the Oedipus complex is one of those failures to understand Freud.

From the above analysis, I incline to agree with Freud's classic theory and Spiro's interpretation, and consider that human beings have to go through the Oedipus stage, so that humans can transform their nature to culture.

Chinese/Taiwanese societies fail to understand Freud's Oedipus complex from an unconscious level as well as from the angle of the ego defense mechanism. Thus, it is extremely important to recognize that what Freud terms the 'incest wish' was an attempt to describe the human's "intact drive" as yet unchannelled in any recognition of the human relationship. This purely natural response to the first love-object of the opposite sex, called "incestuous wishes" appears before we recognize what the incest is within the structure of the human relationship, and it should not be understood as the 'incest' which occurs when we have a clear recognition of human relationships. Therefore, I consider, it is necessary to distinguish 'the intact drive toward the

first-object of the opposite sex an adult incest - when Freud's theory of Oedipus complex is introduced to the Taiwanese/Chinese societies.

Spiro's use of Taiwanese case of aversion/ incest taboo does not aim to undermine Oedipus complex, but he interprets Taiwanese case to refute Westermarck's contention - people who live in close domestic proximity during the first few years of their lives become desensitized to later sexual attraction. Westermarck's contention is contradictory to what Freud's says that as a children, members of the same family naturally lust for one another (i.e. Oedipus complex), making it necessary for societies to create incest taboo but Westermarck argued the reverse, that taboo themselves arise naturally as products of innate attitude. Freud considers that sexual attraction occurs naturally in a close family setting, e.g. mother-son, father-daughter in primary stage, although Freud does not particularly analyze the cases of brother-sister incest, Spiro supports Freud and argues: the son's first love-object is definitely the mother, however, because the mother-son incest is so strictly prohibited in any society, therefore, brother-sister incest is likely a displacement of the mother-son incest. Spiro considers that sister is not first love-object, thus, brother's incest wish toward sister is not original wish, So, I follow this line to trace Arthur P. Wolf's field work in Taiwan, I note that Wolf's case study display mother's hostile emotion toward the son's future bride - we call this 'mother complex', and I consider that this 'mother complex' is ultimately connected to Oedipus complex. Although, Westermarck and wolf's studies only emphasis that aversion/incest taboo, as we can see - it is not clear they undermine Oedipus complex, but I think that they indirectly challenge Freud's fundamental contention of Oedipus complex.

Chapter 2: The debates of the Oedipus complex in colonial and post-colonial phenomena

Post-colonialism is an academic discipline featuring methods of intellectual discourse that analyse, explain, and respond to the cultural legacies of colonialism and of imperialism, to the human consequences of controlling a country and establishing settlers for the economic exploitation of the native people and their land.

After the Second World War, history turned over a new chapter with regards to the colonial phenomenon. The cultural system and psychiatric condition cannot easily be removed; instead an urgent need to look back into colonial history and to speculate on the process of what had been craved in the psychiatric condition during the colonial period becomes inescapable. However, it is impossible to trace the origin of some cultures before they had been stained by colonisers, but we can find a ‘cultural sphere’ which allows them to pursue a fundamental right of self-expression.

The word ‘post-colonial’ is difficult to define because of the complexity of its aftermath. Sung refers to Diana Brydon’s writings which proposes a way to resolve the uncertainty and debates using the term ‘post-colonial’, i.e. to treat the term as question of a series of difficult issues, and not see it as an adjective to mark an individual or a country. As such a mark cannot fully express the ambiguity and conflicts of the colonial aftermath. For example, in asking whether America is a post-colonial country? It would be better to ask a question such as – what kind of cultural conditions make post-colonial reading possible under the American historical context? That is to say, if one thinks of post-colonial as a ‘frame of interpretation’ then this attitude might help to distinguish different styles or different levels of colonial experience. Thus, the application of the term post-colonial is not to define or categorise certain groups of people but to seek a different way of thinking. (Sung, 2003, pp2-9)

The development of post-colonialism has gone through three stages. The first stage started from 1952 when Frantz Fanon published his book *Black skin, White mask*, in which he explores the issues of identity crisis of the colonised, neurotic alienation, dual narcissism, and culture lost. Fanonism is therefore, considered as the initiator of post-colonial study. Previously, W.E.B. Du Bois, Aime Cesaire, Negritude between 1940 and 1950, British literature critic C.L.R. James, African litterateur Chinua Achebe, Cheikh-Anta Diop and Indian historian Ranajit Guha are on the list of the first generation of post-colonial critics and revolutionists.

The second stage of post-colonialism began from 1978 when Edward Said published the book *Orientalism* which created debate, and placed the importance of post-colonialism in academic circles. Said's discourse was derived mainly from Michael Foucault's concept of knowledge/power and neo-Marxist Anthony Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, emphasizing the cultural interaction between West and East. It especially analyses western colonists' 'Image of the Other', and thus decodes the structure of coloniser/colonised. Beside Said's vanguard, other discourses such as Latin American criticism, Commonwealth Literature Studies as well as contemporary theories on non-English aesthetics, are listed as the referral material for the second stage of postcolonial studies.

The third stage of post-colonialism started towards the end of the 1980s, when post-colonialism entered into academic debates of various subjects, including sociology, psychoanalysis, international relations, comparison literature, ethnic studies, gender studies, cultural ethnology, post-modern aesthetics, consumer culture, art, drama, film studies as well as international law in sport. This phenomenon shows that post-colonialism has made effort to establish an 'ethnic discourse' which is the main feature of the third stage.

However, post colonialism is not simply against western culture nor inclined toward ethnocentrism, but attempts to find a new perspective and a new method to analyse

the unbalanced structure of metropolitan/dependency, coloniser/colonised, centre/margin, subject/object, Self/Other, signified/signifier, conscious/unconscious, global/region...etc. From a psychoanalytic point of view, the relation of Self/Other in a normal condition should be a reciprocal relationship, however under the colonial context this dialogue becomes a conflicted self-other relationship. Thus, the trait of unbalanced dualism in colonial mentality has been repeatedly reflected in literature, art, film and cultural emotion.

Taiwanese scholar Chen, Fang-Ming defines the characteristics of post-colonial phenomenon as: (1) resistance to the centre, (2) decolonization, (3) subjectivity, and (4) deconstruction. He considers that the most common mentality of colonial intellectuals was “loss of their identification and a shift from the core of their focus” (Chen, 2002, pp35-36) Moreover, the colonisers’ stratagem was an attempt to separate the colonised’s attachment with their land as well as attempting to remove their originality and collective memory. The more the colonised had detached feelings toward their land, the easier it was for the colonisers to control their natural resources and alter their identification (Chen, 2002, p34). Taiwan had been colonised by European colonisers: the Dutch in south Taiwan and the Spanish in north Taiwan, during the 16th Century. However, a systematic policy to alter Taiwanese language and culture occurred during the 51-years of Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). To speculate on the differences between Fanon’s experience in Africa and that of Taiwan’s colonial experience - unlike in the case of Africa, where there was an easily observed, race-like difference between coloniser and colonised, the Japanese and Chinese colonisers was similar in features to the colonised Taiwanese.

After Japanese evacuated Taiwan at the end of the Second World War, the Taiwanese were re-colonised by the Chinese KMT regime. There was also less biological distinction between the two groups, to the extent that the two groups both claimed to be from the same ethnical origin. Therefore, the issue of identification in Taiwan’s colonial experience seems to be more relevant to power struggle rather than to the complexity of black/white distinction in Africa or other colonial areas.

Japan was the first modernised country in Asia from the mid-19th century. Japanese colonisers proposed the project of “The Great East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere” to colonise Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria. Taiwan was labelled as the most successfully colonised area of the Japanese Empire, not only because the island had effectively altered their official language, but also because Taiwanese showed relatively less hostile emotion toward their Japanese colonisers when compared with Korea and Manchuria. I will elucidate this point from a historical perspective in the following chapter. Wu (2007) debates that Japanese empire used the ‘similarity’ of their cultural origin and the ‘difference’ in their degree of modernization to rationalise colonial control in Taiwan, making Taiwanese subjectivity and the balance of self/the other, particularly ambiguous, edgy and complex. (Wu, 2007, p2)

Frantz Fanon’s book *Black Skin White Mask* is noted to possess a critical outlook and selective application with connects with Freud’s psychoanalysis. Fanon was trained a psychiatric doctor in France and conspicuously made use of Freud’s theory of personality structure and unconsciousness. On certain occasions, he almost completely absorbed Freud’s concept of aim-inhibited sexuality. For instance, in the two chapters: *Black Women and White Men* and *Black Men and White Women*, Fanon directly addresses sexuality under the colonial context and the atmosphere of racism. In another chapter: *Negro and Psychopathology*, he provides a detailed description of black men’s phobogenic dynamic function and connects it to Freud’s concept of stimulus for anxiety.

Although Freud and Fanon are both concerned about the issue of sexuality, their applications for subject formation are divergent. Gwen Bergner points out that Fanon transposes subject formation which is originally based on gender difference (the Oedipus complex) in the theory of psychoanalysis, and is supported by the framework of racial difference in a colonial situation. Fanon is concerned that sex and language are essential elements of forming symbols, and he considers that colonial racism had affected these two elements and the consequence of fundamental structure.

Fanon proposes that colonialism entails economic and cultural subjugation by greed, and is brought about by dint of superior arms. Also that colonialism abhors reciprocal influence and cultural authenticity. He considers that, “Its hallmark is the disruption of the basic structure of the life of the oppressed. Because of this, the indigenous culture and economy are dislocated. The psychological patterns of the oppressed are thus disrupted. Colonialism is therefore neither a harmonizing force nor a phenomenon allowing the simple grafting of its elements into what is already existed. Once a native submits, he ceases to exist as an independent, self-defining entity. He becomes defined and defines himself only in relation to his oppressor.” (Fanon,1967)

In his research on Fanon’s discourse Bulhan states, “Fanon was bold in his critique of psychoanalytic theory even during his formative year when he wrote *Black Skin White Mask*. Again in his introduction to his work, he took pain to dissociate his approach from Freud’s ontogenetic perspective: ‘It will be seen that the black man’s alienation is not an individual question.’” Bulhan considers that Fanon in fact rejects Freud’s ontogenetic reductionism and emphasised a sociogenic perspective. Moreover, Bulhan quotes Fanon’s statement and points out that Fanon’s critique of psychoanalysis is more acute than his outright rejection of the Oedipus complex. Fanon (1967a, pp151-152) seems no ambiguity about his view of this theory:

It is too often forgotten that neurosis is not a basis element of human reality. Like it or not, the Oedipus complex is far from coming into being among Negroes. It might be argued, as Malinowski contends, that the matriarchal structure is the only reason for its absence. But put aside the question whether ethnologists are not so imbued with the complexes of their own civilization that they are compelled to try to find them duplicated in peoples they study, it would be relatively easy for me to show that in the French Antilles 97 percent of families cannot produce an Oedipal neurosis. This incapacity is one on which we heartily congratulate ourselves.” (Fanon, 1967, pp151-152)

Bulhan comments that Fanon's estimation of 97% is an example of his tendency to make a categorical affirmation even with the absence of precise data to support it. However, his attack on the Oedipus complex is probably not just on the surface, but on a fundamental level. Fanon's rejection of the complex derives from a revolutionary perspective toward the notion of 'culture', the notion of culture is crucial in Fanon's thinking. Fanon defined culture as "the combination of motor and mental behaviour pattern arising from encounter of man with nature and with his fellow-men." (Fanon, 1967, p32)

Fanon had demonstrated two possibilities of given culture. On the one hand, he showed how the black man's encounter with his European fellowman entailed a profound depersonalization under the weight of a repressive colonial situation. On the other hand, he outlined how the struggle for liberation from an oppressive culture frees creativity and leads to a capacity to transform that culture into invigorating, nurturing force. Therefore, Fanon's rejection of the Oedipus complex shows his determination to explain human psychology with its essential social-historical coordinate.

Fanon also disagrees to apply the theory of the Oedipus complex to elucidate the racial identity of the people who were dominated by colonisers. He found that the French psychologist Mannoni's proposal of dependency complex was especially disturbing for him. Mannoni writes about the African's dependency complex, he argues, "the Malagasy found a happy gratification in colonial domination, whereas failure to meet this dependency complex was said to leave the Malagasy with consuming anxieties of 'abandonment'. Moreover, the Malagasy were seen as perennial children." Mannoni (1990, p56) argues that the Malagasy in particular and that the African in general are "obviously totally unfit for the orphaned state, and ...absolutely never, clumsily or in any other way, [try] to 'grow up' as we do. Even his attempt at liberation from French colonialism (in particular, one abortive rebellion during the late forties) was explained as an ineffectual effort to resolve infantile conflicts. Indeed, using psychoanalytic language, the conclusion was drawn

that the Malagasy lack the ‘honour’ of living out their Oedipus complex.” (Mannoni, 1990, pp59-60)

The core of Fanon’s rejection of the Oedipus complex was that it refers to infantile struggles, not to the actual struggle between colonisers and colonised. Fanon rebuked Mannoni’s proposal of a dependency complex, in which he considers Mannoni as situated in the service of colonialism. Fanon considered that the dependency complex, which Mannoni categorically attributed to the traditional Malagasy, and the inferiority complex he detected among the Malagasy, are only the products and not antecedents of colonialism; Mannoni had simply confused the cause for what actually had been the effect. Specifically, infantile complexes are derivation, not primary.

M. Fakhry Davids refers to Mannoni’s contention and elucidates colonial mentality. In fact, Mannoni proposes that it was actually European colonisers who possessed the inferiority complex. Davids quotes from Mannoni:

The native Malagasy, westernised or not, ‘worships’ his ancestors as though they were living ‘gods’. They are consulted on a great many daily decisions, and a concrete place is made for them in ordinary social intercourse. A child growing up in such a milieu internalises a belief that for every problem situation there is an omnipotent other (god) who has the answer and a dependent relationship with such an internalised authority becomes a dominant psychological concern. Thus the psychology of dependency takes hold, in which, in our terms, a pre-oedipal attachment to the mother looms large. In the colonial relationship this dependency complex is played out in an unconscious wish to take the coloniser as a benevolent protector. Moreover, omnipotent authority cannot be challenged, and the failure of the ancestors to afford protection against the coloniser is avoided by the unthinking substitution of one authority for another. “(as cited in Davids, 1996, p209)

Manonni comments that this ‘psychology of the ‘backward peoples’ explains the long stagnation of their civilizations.” (Manonni, 1990, p. 40) Davids elucidates Mannoni’s thought about western colonisers: “This situation is contrasted with that facing the western child who grows up in a milieu where there is not only a unitary god - which demands a progression from an undifferentiated maternal relationship to one with two

distinct parents, the authority of the father being the path to god - but one whose worship is institutionalised and separated off from the business of day-to-day life. A child learns that although god provides, he does so through the intermediate authority of the parents. This opens the way to recognition that he depends for survival on the real qualities of his parents, superior to his own, which challenges his own omnipotence, the mirror image of god's omnipotence. His own inferiority in relation to his parents comes clearly into focus, and the scar left by this provides the motivation for him to accumulate achievements in the external world as compensation. In the European colonial this is encountered as the Prospero complex – the assumption of superiority in identification with the parents, and a projection of the inferior child onto the colonised. Mannoni contends that a true inferiority complex of this sort is rare in the Malagasy; for him inferior behaviour on the part of the colonised Malagasy really reflects the dynamics of dependency rather than those of inferiority.” (as cited in Davids, 1996, p209)

Furthermore, Mannoni considers that colonial racism is different from other forms of racism since the colonial variety is practiced not by the European ‘best representative’ but by an intermediate class of petty officials, small traders, and colonials ‘who have toiled much without great success.’ (Mannoni, 1990, p24) Therefore, as a group, they appeared to be more desperate to exploit the exigencies of colonial situation in order to compensate for their own inferiority. This statement draws particular rebuke from Fanon as he had first-hand experienced of the ubiquity of European racism during his faithful devotion as a volunteer in the French army during World War II. Thus, Fanon disagrees with Mannoni and said this – Mannoni attributed the responsibility of racism to a particular section of social classes.

Davids refers to Mannoni’s writing, he considers: Mannoni was criticised when he reveals that ethnocentricity is bound in his description in ethno-psychiatry. For instance, he describes that the entire Malagasy civilization is fixed at a pre-oedipal level of psychological development; however the Oedipus complex through its link with the incest taboo is the universal. This implies that the less successful resolution of the Oedipus complex was the feature of Malagasy; however, he did not provide an alternative view about how Malagasy society survives. What kind of motivation would make the Malagasy give up their infantile attachment to the mother in order to

develop their adult relationship? Is he to regard all their sexual relationships as pre-oedipal? All these questions are left unanswered. (David, 1996, p210)

The concern about the inner freedom is the essential task of all of Fanon's work, and his book *Black Skin, White Mask* is definitely a powerful and moving writing in which he describes the black problem. However, M. Fakhry Davids writes: "...in the search for an appropriate theoretical framework with which to make sense of the black problem, Fanon is most seriously hampered by a limited clinical base. Sadly, he fails to translate an outstanding intuitive grasp of colonial psychology into a coherent and explicit theory, and his view remains one that has to be inferred from, and situated in opposition to, the psychologies he encountered. Today, developments in psychoanalytic theory since Fanon's time – particularly in the object-relations tradition – enable us to return to his project to flesh out his understanding of the black problem." (Davids, 1996, p207)

Davids makes further a critique of Fanon, he states: "...Fanon's emotional response to colours and his perception of Mannoni, so that some of his criticisms are contradictory and based on misunderstanding. For example, he first agrees with Mannoni that certain conduct on the part of the coloniser is based on an Adlerian overcompensation (1986, p.84), then takes issue with him for asserting that coloniser acts on the basis of an inferiority complex, insisting that whites in the colonial context never *feel* inferior (p.92). Specifically, Davids points out that Fanon fails to distinguish between the experiences of inferiority and inferiority as an explanatory theoretical construct. Similarly, he castigates Mannoni for saying that the germs of an inferiority complex are latent in the native (pp.84-85), insisting that this ignores the role of colonialism itself in bring such a complex about. However, Mannoni's point is that the complex is *latent*, i.e. that it exists only as a universal potentiality in the mind but does not come to play a role at all in Malagasy psychology – conscious or unconscious – either before colonization or after. The 'primitives' are simply not that advanced, 'or degraded' (1990, p.43). His concern is not with the ultimate origin of the complex." (as cited in Davids, 1996, p211)

From David Macey's point of view, Fanon's writing might be summarised by asking the questions: 'how can the black man live authentically in a white world?' and 'how can the black man overcome his induced inferiority complex and the white man his induced inferiority complex?' (Macey, 2001, p464) I argue, these questions should relate to the serious problem of black ideal ego when they are internalised in a white world. Furthermore, David refers to Fanon's description, he consider that the strange phenomenon is described as following: "...the Island's social and ideological structure induces a desire to become white and to venerate whiteness. One of the stranger ideal egos on offer for the young women of Martinique is the Empress Josephine, the white Creole who was once married to Napoleon and whose status still stands in the centre of Fort-de-France." (Macey, 2001, p473) The other descriptions, such as: "...Capecia's heroines dream pathetically of marrying white men, even though they know full well that white men never marry their black mistress: they discard them and tell their children to be proud of having a white father." Fanon's treatment of Capecia is harsh, and he in turn has been harshly criticised by certain feminists (Bergner 1995; Makward 1999) and "...They filed reports telling of the 'mixed-race' boy who was convinced that girls went out with him only because they could not find a 'real' white boyfriend, the girls who were warned by their parents not to go out with boys who were 'too black': they might have a babies with crinkly hair." (Bantiman 1998; Cojean 1998) This is the heritage of slavery, and of the internalisation of white ideals and stereotype." (as cited in Macey, 2001, p473)

Fanon has a lengthy description of the Martinican people and their induced internalization of white ideals and stereotypes. He considers that they wear a white mask to conceal their black skin, and they actually internalised a false self to such degree so that it becomes a real self.

Fanon confessed that he thinks of himself as a French citizen, but when he comes to France he is recognised by others for what he is. The most traumatic scene to be described by him: "On a cold day, I encountered a little girl and her mother in a park

in Lyon. The child pointed him out: 'look mummy: a Negro.' The little girl then said that she was frightened." Fanon felt that his high self-esteem and the confidence of his profession broken into pieces.

From above description, I conclude: the racism between black and white is mainly created in a visual sphere, i.e. when a black 'look' from the place of the Other, he is neither self nor the Other. Fanon called this self as 'the Other' – this makes the black man become the alien Negro, as he is different from his self-image.

Sonia Kruks points out that Fanon's 'Negrophobia' and Jean-Paul Sartre's 'anti-Semitism' are quite similar, however the Jewish are a kind of intellectual and economic threat, and the blacks are a kind of biological danger. (Sung, 2003, pp195-196) Therefore, the black's experience of alienation from a biological aspect is a process of self-doubling, and in this process he produces an experience of body-for-other, such a trauma is much deeper than the Jewish experience. The blacks not only become objectified by the whites, but they also internalise the whites' negrophobia and superiority at the sight of gazing at the black, thus they identify themselves as the white. After they made an effort to learn French, they expected to receive a proper French education. They pursued everything possessing the symbols of France – they no longer considered themselves as the blacks who live in other areas of Africa. However, the unchangeable mark of their skin is still a threat of 'civilization'. Fanon terms this phenomenon as self-objectification and he considers that this is the root of the black's inferiority complex. Fanon disagrees that this inferior complex relates to the family dynamic or the Oedipus complex, but that is a kind of 'epidermalization' of social inferiority.

Jean-Paul Sartre points out that the 'Other' is always a threat toward a self-experience and it possesses a right to force the self-escape in the direction of self-objectification. However, Sartre also emphasises that the relation between self and the Other should

be a reciprocal and dynamic process – each can equally objectify or be objectified. The colonial situation had disturbed this reciprocal and dynamic process.

Fanon accepts Sartre's statement and he considers that the colonial situation for the black is similar to how Sartre describes 'anti-Semitism', i.e. typical Manichaeism.

For Freud, internalization is the second stage of the Oedipus complex and also a resolution of this complex. Freud extends this concept to the social and cultural sphere. He is criticised as being arbitrary or over-determined, however few of the critics have ever elucidated the colonial situation from the two stages of castration complex and identification. Racism is a common phenomenon in any colonial situation, and identification in colonial dualism was usually problematic. I consider, the dualism between white and black might be too extreme. However, no matter whether the biological difference is distinct, no matter whether the difference is feudal/modern, chaos/order, rough/subtle or rural/urbanization, 'being gazed' at from the Other in a colonial situation is always a trauma. We have solid reasons to believe that the colonial 'gaze' from the Other is usually not based on a loving aspect which is essential for Freud's theory of identification, thus the internalization in a colonial situation had not been developed properly. In this chapter, I agree with the universality of the Oedipus complex, even in colonised cultures; I work through the critiques of Fanon to show that psychoanalysis, including the Oedipus complex, is still valid. In the next chapter, I attempt to apply Freud's theory of the two stages of the Oedipus complex and use colonial writing material in late colonial Taiwan as well as the collective characteristics of masculinity to discuss the validity of the Oedipus complex in colonial circumstances.

Chapter 3: Forced Introjections and Colonial Masculinity

(1) Introduction:

Colonization can be understood as an imposition of a culture that affects the established identity of the colonized people. In this instance, it affects the maturation of masculinity. In this chapter, I will clarify why colonial policies have particularly affected masculinity in colonized Taiwan. I will also attempt to connect the colonial phenomenon with Freud's two stages of the Oedipus complex - castration complex and identification – in order to depict the political unconsciousness of colonized Taiwan.

There are none that I have found about the Oedipus complex in colonial situations from the perspective of the two stages of the castration complex and identification. This chapter demonstrates that the castration complex was intensified through colonization but identification was ambiguous and unsteady. As a result this affected the natural development of male masculinity. Moreover, I will illustrate how insecure identification has consequently confused the formulating of the ego-ideal under colonial circumstances, and subsequently caused various kinds of pathological problems in the colonized.

Freud considers that super-ego possesses three functions: self-criticism, punishment and setting the ideal goal (ego-ideal). In his writing *On Narcissism* (Freud, 1914, pp73-101), he proposes that the ego-ideal is the loving aspect of the super-ego which relates to infantile narcissism. Freud was often not clear in his distinction between 'ego-ideal' and 'super-ego', but when he was clear, he spoke of the ego ideal as the heir to narcissism and we could say it also represented an original relationship to the mother as well as the perfection of the earliest narcissism. So to invest the ego ideal in someone or something would be to invest it with one's narcissism and to crave to join it in order to retrieve one's narcissism. (Freud, 1914, pp94-96) As the ideal, one's

actual self is always deficient, and the super-ego, for Freud would assess that deficiency critically.(Freud, 1914, p73-101) In my argument, the multiple primal figures for the Taiwanese - China, Taiwan and Japan — create confusion as to what is the ideal. This confusion exaggerates a yearning to find it and an absence of a sure sense of identity in the form of having a clear sense of purpose (moving towards an ideal, projected into the future as a sense of purpose, including national purpose). Chasseguet-Smirgel tries to untangle these various threads in her article *The Ego ideal and the Psychology of Group*. Specifically, she elucidates:

The ego ideal implies the idea of a project. Fain and Marty (1959) talk, even more correctly, of a *hope*. Project and hope imply postponement, delay, and a temporal perspective – all of which are characteristic of a mental state governed by the reality principle. Together they suggest the idea of *development*, of *evolution*. In fact, it falls principally to the mother – at least in the early stages of life – to encourage her child to project his ego-ideal on to successively more evolved models. Carefully dosed frustrations and gratifications serve to encourage the child to give up certain satisfactions, linked to the acquisition of certain functions and to a certain ‘way of being’, in order to acquire new ones. Each stage of his development must afford him sufficient gratification for him not to be tempted to regress, and yet sufficient frustration for him not to be remain at that stage (to become fixed), in short, for the *hope* that will allow the child to climb the step of his development to be sustained.” (Chasseguet-smirgel, 1985, p34)

In the colonial environment, the children have a ‘mother tongue’ and then a colonial language that displaces the mother tongue in public, but not in private. In my argument, the colonial language is like a ‘father tongue’, and the two together are like a pre-oedipal followed by an oedipal stage, not necessarily in terms of chronological age, but in terms of sequence. The mother tongue ego ideal would retain more of the earliest relationship, more of a fusion with the mother, while the father tongue would

be more like the intruding father, is what I consider is undeveloped in the colonial situation. My first formulation would be that the castration complex is, in general, intensified by the colonizer's power and the identification is fragmented and incoherent due to a different cultural ideal. However it would also be intensified by the difference between the primary love for the mother (tongue) and the hated intruding father (tongue), who is also introjected, identified with, and love (in some circumstance), but with the love under even more strain than in any earlier formulation, because of the intensified splitting between father and mother. In colonial circumstances, the hate father – the colonial oppressor, interferes with the normal loving, identifying stage of Oedipus complex. Especially, in Taiwan's colonial history, father/super-ego of love and identification is underdeveloped because of multiple occupations. (Please see Appendix 1: Taiwan's history)

My discussion follows two lines: (1) The conflicts of formulating the super-ego/ego-ideal in the colonized, in which block the second stage of Oedipus complex (2) The link between masculinity and nation. In this chapter, I will show that the way my theory of the Oedipus complex in Taiwan, as a colonized culture, can be found in Taiwanese colonial writings. Although the psychological truth is revealed in the form of novels and fictions, there are considerable decipherments in the field of Taiwan's colonial literature; as evidenced by the authors' autobiographical narrative. I perceive those colonial writers are very honest in facing their feelings of insufficiency as well as their frustrated masculinity which is caused by colonial restraint. I also appreciate the Taiwanese colonial writers' sincerity in confessing their insecurity, their conflict, and their reaction to colonial restraint. These truthful, confessional writings enable me to illustrate the issue of colonial masculinity. It is to be hoped that the unconscious entanglement which were unable to give voice in the past, can be interpreted in this chapter.

As a colonial culture, the re-evoke of Oedipus complex in Taiwan, can be found in Taiwan's colonial writing. In this chapter, I will present Taiwanese colonial novels

which were originally written in Japanese and later¹⁸(after 1987) translated into Chinese, such as “*Heavy Burden*” (重荷) “*A Flock of Pigeons*”(一群鴿子), “*To see his son off*” (送行), “*The war*”(戰爭), “*Enlightenment*”(頓悟), “*A Little Town Where Planted Papaya Trees.*” (植有木瓜樹的小鎮) “*The Orphan of Asia*” (亞細亞的孤兒), “*The Crime of hunting women*” (獵女犯) “*Volunteers*” (志願軍) “*Climate, Belief and chronic illness*” (氣候,信仰與宿疾), is briefly presented in this chapter as an illustration of identity struggles in the colonized people

Racism is a common phenomenon in any colonial situation, and identification in colonial dualism (binary opposition) was always a struggle. In Fanon’s experience, the dualism between white and black was mainly created by the visual sphere of the distinct appearance of white/black, in the case of Taiwan’s colonial experience, the color difference was not as clear in Fanon’s case as it was in Africa where there was an easily observed, race-like difference between colonizers and colonized. The Japanese and Chinese colonizers were similar in features and to the colonized Taiwanese. Therefore, after a long period of cultural assimilation, it might be difficult to distinguish who is the colonizer? Who are the colonized? To follow this line of argument, in Taiwan’s case, the colonizer was more internalized than in the African case, so that the castrating father was more internalized, making him more difficult to turn into an enemy that could be thrown out of the colonized mind. M. Fakhary Davids speaks about ‘internal racist’, he considers it is more oppressive in the way it upsets identity when the external markers of difference, like skin color, are less apparent.(David, 2011, pp43-45) I will illustrate this phenomenon in the following material I use as evidence of non-white (Japanese) colonizers’ policies and to answer the question as to why the Taiwanese identify themselves as Japanese even though they understand that the colonial structure is extremely unfair to them.

There is a psychological mechanism existing in the colonized mind, through which the colonized experience conflicts, unfairness and restraint. On the other hand, they absorb the colonizer's culture, spirit and language in their daily practices, either consciously or unconsciously. Although they attempted to de-colonize after the

¹⁸ Due to the political climate during the martial law period (1945-1987), colonial writers were oppressed by KMT regime, their writing were banned to be formally introduced to public sphere or academic circles. On the other hand, most colonial writers tended to conceal their identity as a colonial writer; some of them completely stopped writing or changed their careers to different fields.

Japanese withdrawal, it is doubtful as to whether the introjection of the colonizer's language and culture is reversible.

Different colonial situations present different types of struggle, no matter whether the difference between the colonized and the colonizers is black/white, feudal/modern, chaos/order, rough/subtle or rural/urbanized, the colonized people 'being gazed' at by the other in a colonial situation is always traumatic. From the materials I present in this chapter, I will display solid material to affirm that the colonial 'gaze' from the other is usually not based on the loving aspect which is very essential for Freud's theory of identification. Thus, internalization is usually not properly developed in colonized people. Perhaps, more precisely, one might speak of forced introjections rather than of identification under colonial imposition. Especially, where the colonizer was like the colonized: being not just internalization, but forced introjection, thus, a 'likeness' and a defensive identification by the colonized with the colonizer becomes more confused with the colonized identity, especially the male identity.

Moreover, it was common that the colonized intentionally assimilated the colonizers' language and culture, because mastering the colonizers' language is always a sign of social position, power and intellectual representation. In this case, the assimilation is also not love-based, but it is based on trying to take over the colonizer's power. As an example, Taiwanese colonial youths who completely accept the Japanese life style or attempt to be volunteer soldiers in order to get equal power to the colonizer. Such cases are evidence of intentional assimilation. From unconscious perspective, intentional assimilation is exactly what Anna Freud spoke of 'identification with the aggressor', mainly, Anna Freud elucidates about the preliminary phase of superego development - i.e. the subject introjects the criticism of aggressor and has not yet truly turned this criticism inward as a self-criticism agent (super-ego), at this stage, the subject easily project the criticism to other peoples, instead of turn inward. Anna Freud terms this stage as intermediate stage of paranoia, and she considers that a number of people remain arrested at the intermediate stage in the development of super-ego and never quite complete the internalization of the critical process. (Anna Freud, 1936, p119-120) Anna Freud's concept is coherent my theory of 'incomplete

identification' in colonial circumstance, due to the entanglement of identification with aggressors.¹⁹ I will provide evidence of Japanese psychiatrist's description regarding the characteristic of intermediate stage of paranoia in colonized.

In my argument, no matter that the identification was a forced introjection or an intentional assimilation; the colonized had been actually deprived of the right to develop their identification along a natural and reasonable path – i.e. the path of oedipal love. From the angle of unconscious dynamic, the love of the father on which the second stage of the Oedipus complex is built, not intentionality as we normally think about it, which is like a conscious choice. For Freud, internalization is the second stage of the Oedipus complex and also a resolution of this complex. I use Freud's conception and argue that kin relationship is not only a relationship in which the repressed Oedipus complex is projected or re-evoked. I will show that the nation, colonial military and economic institutions also constitute social arenas of the symbolic, unconscious expression of the repressed Oedipus complex. My thesis of the second stage of Oedipus complex is mainly arguing that the important aspects of national life can be understood in terms of the suppression of the Oedipus complex, characterized in particular by the replacement of love and identifications with the

¹⁹It is to be noted that the definition of "identification with aggressors" from *The Language of Psychoanalysis* by J. Laplanche and J.-B Pontalis appears to be more elaborate than Freud and Anna Freud. They define Anna Freud's description of intermediate stage of paranoia is the first stage of identification which only develop 'ideal ego' and should distinguish from the second stage of super-ego (ego-ideal). Mainly, Laplanche describes the 'ideal ego' has sado-masochistic implication, particularly the negation of the other as a corollary of self-affirmation. It is not clear whether Freud and Anna Freud have made a particular distinction between 'ideal ego' and 'ego-ideal', and whether Laplanche's description of the two (ideal ego/ego-ideal) is mostly the French psychoanalysts' point of view. Basically, they (perhaps French psychoanalysts) distinguish that ideal ego is regressive and ego-ideal is progressive in nature.

oedipal father by a forced introjection of a colonial oppressor and occupier, and an associated exacerbation of the castration complex first stage of the Oedipus complex.

Particularly, I will demonstrate that under Japanese military policy - in the normal period, colonial youths were not permitted to be trained as soldiers/manhood. However, when the Japanese became bogged down during the war, colonial youths were called to join the army and to be sent to the front line. Under the mastery of the colonial machine, colonial masculinity can be restrained when it is regarded as a great threat for colonizers, but can be revived and exaggerated by propaganda when the colonizer needs them to be sacrificed for the Empire. Many colonial youths believe that to join the war will be an 'opportunity' for them to obtain equality and the same power as the colonizer, thus they fall into the trap of the Empire's strategy. As Ching²⁰ comments, on the Japanese Empire's conscription of colonial youths, he states: "The ideology of equality and fraternity under assimilation (*daka*) and imperialization (*kominka*) only serves to conceal the hypocrisy that, in the words of Ozaki Hotsuki, allowed the colonized 'not to live as Japanese, but to die as Japanese.'"(Ching, 2001, p4)

The appearance of the colonies of the Japanese Empire, such as Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria and Okinawa, are not so much different as to be easily distinguished between the colonized and the colonizers. As I mentioned previously, the colonial struggle was not like the visible sphere of white/black in Africa, but the invisible sphere of masculine power under the colonial structure. I argue, by 'like', I mean the absence of visual difference in skin-color, but not that they were 'like' in their unconscious, internal worlds, in a psychoanalytic sense. As the only non-Western imperialist power, Japan stood in the ambivalent position as colonizer in relation to Asian countries at the same time as colonization in relation to the West. The strategies of Japanese colonial rules reveal it lacks the hegemonic momentum and tolerance,

²⁰ There are considerable researches give detailed elucidations regarding colonial mentality. In this chapter, I adapt Leo T.S. Ching's (荆子馨) writing as I consider Ching's research provides readers with psychological description of Taiwanese mentality in colonial circumstance.

which it needs, to master colonial masculinity, in order to maintain colonial structure. (Ching, 2001)

(2) Freud's theoretical ground of male masculinity:

The development of masculinity, in Freud's sense, is the result of the positive Oedipus complex, i.e. the little boy identifies the person (usually the father) who has the power to castrate him. Therefore, masculinity follows the path of 'reaction formation' to the little boy's emotional being (naturally attached to the mother). That is to say, his masculine development has to be contradictory to his emotional being, thus, a strong and loving father figure will be very crucial for a man's masculine development. If the ambivalence towards the father is intensified, then the identification with him will be more ambivalent, and the son's masculinity will be more of a feat of over-coming his feminine identification. Then it would be based on identification with a father who loves the mother, and display too much hatred. This is similar to the argument made by Christina Wieland, in *The Undead Mother*. (Wieland, 2000) Here, masculinity is based on a repudiation of the mother, and a cruel degrading of masculinity.

In the beginning, the family triangle provides an object (usually the father) to be introjected and to form a child's super-ego. When a child grows up, there are primary groups – schools, work groups, church, army....etc., which are small gatherings of individuals, with each individual perhaps being able to introject the quality of the same object and formulate their ego ideal. Therefore, they can identify each other. In later life, there is a society in which each individual can probably find the same object which is introjected to each individual as their ego-ideal. Therefore, the ego-ideal has a social element, the original quality of which was the parent's. Later, the parents are replaced by an indefinite number of fellow-men.

Moreover, Freud himself interprets the definition of ego-ideal as: "The ego-ideal opens up an important avenue for the understanding of group psychology. In addition

to its individual side, and ideal has a social side; it is also a common ideal of a family, a class or a nation. It binds not only a person's narcissistic libido, but also a considerable amount of his homosexual libido, which is in this way turns back into the ego. The want of satisfaction which arises from the non-fulfillment of this ideal liberates homosexual libido, and this is transformed into a sense of guilt (social anxiety)." (Freud, 1925, SE., pp101-102)

Freud was the first person who systematically provided the picture of male identification through his theory of the Oedipus complex. When a boy starts to recognize the physical differences between boys and girls, he gradually forms his gender identity that "I am a boy". At the same time his castration complex emerges as he finds 'love' for his mother and he is afraid that he will be castrated by a powerful father if his 'love' for his mother continues. In order to resolve this castration complex, he then turns to identify with the person who has a power to castrate him, thus, his identification with his father follows the path of 'reaction formation'²¹, i.e. he restricts his love for his mother, giving her up as a love object. Here, I use the term "reaction formation", it refers to a little boy's reaction to the castrating father, including identification. He believes that when he identifies with father, he will receive the reward of respect, benevolence and hope. Especially, he believes that "one day, I will be as powerful as my father". Therefore, it is very important that the little boy's identification is based on a supportive and loving aspect of his father so that his instinct can be successfully channelled to the rational direction.

²¹ The "reaction formation" (反向作用) is defined by J. Laplanche and J.-B Pontalis as the following interpretation: " Psychological attitude or habitus diametrically opposed to a repressed wish, and constituted as a reaction against it (e.g. bashfulness countering exhibitionistic tendencies) In economic terms, reaction formation is the counter-cathexis of a conscious element; equal in strength to the unconscious cathexis, it works in the contrary direction. Reaction formation may be highly localized, manifesting themselves in specific behaviour, or they may be generalised to the point of forming character-traits more or less integrated into the overall personality. From the clinical point of view, reaction formation take on a symptomatic value when they display a rigid, forced or compulsive aspect, when they happen to fail in their purpose or when – occasionally – they lead to the result opposite to the one consciously intended. (J. Lapanche and J.- B Pontails, 1998, pp376-7)

Freud considers that the necessary identification with the father is the resolution of the Oedipus complex. The boy goes through the path of identification and internalizes the image and quality of his father, so that his superego can be smoothly formed. Steinberg considers that the father is the child's first place of the non-mother world and he represents "an external reality" or the "other". Thus, if the father is beloved, receptive and supportive when the child moves away from the mother, then the world which a boy he first enters will seem like a safer place. A boy then will be able to establish a secure sense of masculinity as well as a man's stable external reality. (Steinberg, 1993, p68)

Steinberg further states: "For the development gender roles, the father is especially important in attracting the child into a positive relationship to the reality that exists outside the mother. Like females, the boy's initial identifications are with the mother. The father enters the picture as the primary representative of the outer world, who defines what is an acceptable gender role. He emphasizes by his very presence that there is a way to be masculine that is different from the initial identification with the mother's way of being – feminine." (Steinberg, 1993, p68)

A boy imagines in early stages, that the person who has a power to castrate him is usually his father. When he grows up, the father figure might be displaced by various authorities, institutions or the nation, thus the later ego-ideal will replace the father who had always been internalized in the primary structure of the family triangle. However, although the father might be replaced by other institutions such as religious leaders, colonial regimes or military authority, the function of the internal father is not different.

When a child grows up, he must leave his caretaker which is a great loss for a child. He may project the loss of his beloved to the ego-ideal, therefore superego is not only

contained through the function of self-criticism or punishment but is also contained by the element of being beloved and pride which derives from infantile narcissism. Therefore, it is very crucial that identification possesses a loving aspect of the father quality so that a child will be able to conform to his ego-ideal as well as find a satisfaction in his identification.

The loving aspect of the father figure is crucial to formulate the son's ego-ideal so that he can find his satisfaction in identification and further secure his sense of masculinity. Steinberg considers: "The son's identification with his father's masculinity can be either developmental or defensive. Developmental identification is the normal process by which the son looks to the father for the provision of a model on which to pattern himself. The basis for developmental identification is a nurturing parent-child relationship that motivates the child to consciously emulate and unconsciously incorporate – that is, develop an internal image of – the beloved parent. The son wants to be a man, and he wants to be a man just like his father. Defensive identification, on the other hand, is not based on love and affection, but is synonymous with identification with an aggressor. It is a way of reducing anxiety by becoming like the person one is afraid of." (Steinberg, 1993, p69)

The forced introjection was the main characteristic in late period of colonial Taiwan due to the urgent demand for conscripting colonial youths to participate the war, however, the ethnic connection between Taiwan and Japan's enemy - China had made the defensive assimilation of the father particularly penetrating, thus, the unconscious anxiety of identification with the aggressors was acute, but repressed.

The identification of the colonial 'father tongue' is intrusive and excessively dominant to the male, thus an exaggerated masculine persona often occurs. I will illustrate a number of cases in this chapter as evidence of colonial hyper-masculine persona. In this instance, I may assume that the colonial male has an insecure

masculine development based on the defensive mechanism of identification with the aggressor, and certainly not based on the path of developmental identification. Anna Freud in her books Volume 2 *the ego and the mechanism of defense*, in chapter 9, she provides elaborate description of identification with the aggressor, she states:

“Identification with the aggressor” represents, on the one hand, a preliminary phase of superego development and, on the other, an intermediates stage in the development of paranoia. It resembles the former in the mechanism of identification and later in that projection. At the same time, identification and projection are normal activities of the ego and their result vary greatly according to the material upon which they are employed. The particular combination of introjection and projection to which we applied the term “identification with the aggressor” can be regarded as normal only so long as the ego employs this mechanism in its conflict with authority, i.e., in its effort to deal with anxiety object.” (Anna Freud, 1936, p120)

Anna Freud considers, when the subject identify with aggressor, the subject has to go through the first stage which the whole aggressive relationship is reversed from outside relationship into the inside world; the aggressor is introjected while the subject is attacked. In such case, the criticism and guilty within the subject is usually projected outward instead of turning inward as a normal procedure of internalization. That is to say, in the first stage of identification, the criticism has not yet turn inward as a agent of superego, instead of, often project to outward, and only when the criticism turn inwards, the second stage of identification is formed, then the true and mature conscience can be firmly established. The colonial subjects’ identification with the aggressor involve the mechanism of defensive identification and not development identification, thus the criticism often project to outwards instead of inwards. In colonial circumstance, the projection of criticism often turns to their own people (the colonized) when the subjects consider that they have been completely identified with colonizers. This can be seen in Fanon’s book *Black Skin White Mask*, he describes when black people who identity themselves as French citizens, and they often appear to be “negro phobia”. In the following section, my illustration of Lung Yin-Tzung’s (龍瑛宗) novel *The Little Town where plant Papaya Trees* (植有木瓜樹

的小鎮), the protagonist seeking out his identification as a different being from his own people, he feels a kind of consolation - is also a subsequence of this defensive identification with the aggressor.

The technical term 'castration complex' is used in the colonial situation and is very similar to the primary function in the early stage – the fear of the person who has the power to castrate him. From this perspective, the castration complex in later adult life does not go beyond the feeling of infantile helplessness. Perhaps, we may say that the two (colonial structure and infantile situation) possess the same function of the castration complex but filled with different content of power construction.

Freud extends the fear of castration in the adult's later life as certain kinds of 'anxiety between the ego and super-ego', 'the fear of conscience', and 'the fear of death'. He states that:

We know that the fear of death makes its appearance under two conditions (which, moreover, are entirely analogous of situation in which other kinds of anxiety develop), namely, as a reaction to an external danger and an internal process, as for instance in melancholia. Once again a neurotic manifestation may help us to understand a normal one.

The fear of death in melancholia only admits of one explanation: that the ego gives itself up because it feels itself hated and persecuted by the super-ego, instead of loved. To the ego, therefore, living means the same as being loved – being loved by the super-ego, which here again appears as the representative of the id. The super-ego fulfills the same function of protecting and saving that was fulfilled in earlier days by the father and later by Providence of Destiny. But, what the ego finds itself in an excessive real danger which believes itself unable to be overcome by its own strength. It is bound to draw the same conclusion. It sees itself deserted by all protecting forces and let

itself die. Here, moreover, is once again the same situation as that which underlay the first great anxiety-state of birth and infantile anxiety of longing – the anxiety due to separation from the protecting mother.

The considerations make it possible to regard the fear of death, like the fear of conscience, as the development of the fear of castration. The great significance which the sense of guilt has in the neuroses makes it conceivable that common neurotic anxiety is reinforced in severe cases by the generating of anxiety between the ego and the super-ego (fear of castration, of conscience, of death)." (Freud, 1923, SE, Vol.19 Pp58-59)

(3) Colonial situation:

The feature of the colonial circumstance in the early stage of occupied Taiwan was that children remained in a single culture before they went to primary school.²² After they entered primary school, they started to learn a completely different language, cultural spirit, manners and even a way of speaking. That is to say, they have been forced to introject different qualities of the ego-ideal and usually the internalization of that “ego-ideal” means that their original family was inferior, thus to distinguish it from the colonizers. They have to make a choice of “becoming a foreigner” during the day time at school but when they come home they speak their native language with their parents. The colonized are usually poor, hard working, have less power, are less

²² Of course, this case only refers to the early stage of colonial Taiwan, during the middle or later period of colonial Taiwan, children did experience the occupier's culture from their parents. Especially, in the later period of colonial Taiwan, the Japanese colonizers advocate *Komika Movemen* (Japanization 皇民化運動), many upper class families or privilege families (國語之家), the parents had been familiar with Japanese culture and language and they might train their children only spoke Japanese or limit their children to speak Chinese dialects in order to help their children obtain better education in the colonial circumstance.

confident and are more vulnerable. Does the huge gap between family and the outside world conflict with the formulation of their ego-ideal?

Heavy Burden (重荷)²³ was written by the Taiwanese colonial writer Chang Wen Huan (張文環). This simple vignette depicts the epiphany of a colonial youth's ethnic initiation on the country road while he accompanies his mother to market. The terse story touches the deep sorrow of the colonized - through a boy's dissolution of his "Japanese-ideal" while he witnesses how the colonial policy exploits a country woman's (his mother's) hard labour money. I summarize and describe the scenes of the vignette as the following:

It was a Sunday morning, the 11 year old youth Jian (健) was preparing to attend the school festival, which was the happiest day for him since the national flag would be raised and the school children would wear neat dresses and sing the national anthem. Jian was excited but was asked by his mother to accompany and help her carry bananas to the market before he attended the school festival. Jian was not happy but he could not refuse to help his mother since he saw the two bags of bananas were quite heavy. After he agreed, he fetched one pack of bananas which was about 10 kilograms, went out from the house and he thought that he could wait for his mother on the way to the market. After Jian left the house, the mother's silhouette is delineated:

Jian's mother quickly fetched braces and put his two year old younger brother on her back, but because she still needed to carry a shoulder pole, the child was strapped to her back like a small bag. The braces were wound around her body in several circles and tightly tied in a knot, in the fronds of her chest. Afterwards, she bent down her body and raised two baskets of

²³ The vignette *Heavy Burden* was original written in Japanese in 1935, and was printed in the magazine of Taiwan New Literature (台灣新文學) in 1935.

bananas with a shoulder pole. It was about 30 kilos of bananas!” (my translation)

Jian stopped on the country road to see whether his mother was alright. His mood was preoccupied with the school festival celebrations, and he complained about the interruption caused by his mother’s request. He then continued complaining that his mother had never bought him posh clothes; everything was given to his younger brother; he was not confident to approach pretty girls because he did not have a elegant dress; he even suspected that he wasn’t a biological son of his mother...etc.

While waiting for his mother on the country road, Jian suddenly caught a glimpse of his mother’s silhouette. He noticed his mother's strenuous effort to carry the bananas on an uphill road, and her back was bent because of the pressing weight on her back. The glimpse of his mother’s body shape made his resentful mood immediately turn to acute pain as if a knife was piercing his heart. He started to weep and quickly ran to his mother, feeling that he would never leave her alone but would follow her every step.

The familiar country road seemed to be particularly long due to the heavy burden on their backs, as the mother and son had carried a total of 40 kilos of bananas. When they arrived at market, Jian was about to go to school, but he saw the buyers attempting to haggle the price. His mother was unable to deal with this situation, so Jian then stayed with his mother for a while. However, they finally accepted 60 dollars which had been beaten down 5 dollars to sell all bananas.

When all the bananas were taken to be weighed, they were charged 3 dollars for the process of weighting. Afterwards, a tax collector approached Jian’s mother and requested that she pay 10 dollars tax for selling less than 50 kilos of bananas. Jian’s mother used a calm voice to ask the tax collector not to charge her 10 dollars tax as she only sold 40 kilos. She explained to him that the bananas were sold very cheap

and she would not be able to cover the prime cost if she was charged 10 dollars tax, most importantly, it wasn't reasonable to overcharge her. The tax collector cruelly replied that if she did not pay 10 dollars, she would be sent immediately to the police station. While they were arguing, passers by approached Jian's mother and suggested that she pays rather than get in trouble. Jian also pulled his mother's sleeve and gave her a hint to pay. Jian's mother was unwilling but finally paid the tax collector as he requested. When Jian and his mother walked out from the market they noticed but did not pay attention to the two year old younger brother who was crying fearfully on his mother's back.

Jian walked quietly with his mother to the street near by the primary school, and he could hear the chorus of the national anthem “君之代” (君が代) like “peaceful lake water, rippling through”. Jian's mother urged him to join the school festival; Jian silently shook his head, and did not accept his mother's kind suggestion. One the way home, the mother and son did not say anything to each other. Jian saw his mother secretly used her sleeve to wipe away her tears, and he found his vision of the mountain scenes seemed to gradually become misty.

The title of the short piece is *Heavy burden*. The visible burden was on the mother's shoulders, however to make a psychological analogy, it would be also be too much of a burden for a colonial boy to understand the connection of his identification and the power-operation of the colonizers. Although Jian was only 11 years old, he had completely received a Japanese education. He learned how to bow properly, he always reflected about whether his study and manner had fulfilled the expectation of school discipline. When he saw the teachers or police on the street, he would automatically salute them. Even when he carried heavy bananas with his mother, he still saluted to his teacher but worried about whether his salute was perfect because of the heavy burden. He also wondered whether he could still obtain a grade “A” if he did not make a perfect salute to his teacher. He then comforted himself that his teacher should understand that he had a burden on his back.

Jian was fatherless. His father was persecuted by the Japanese regime for resisting colonial rules, and the author makes the insinuation that his father was absent. I assume that this is because the novel was published during the colonial period and the author could not explicitly describe that Jian actually identified with his family's oppressors.

Nation was a broad sense of masculinity for Jian, and to sing the national anthem and to see the national flag raised was the happiest thing. The national anthem was given by Japanese – it was one of the forms in which the colonizer replaced the father as an ego-ideal. This tendency showed the connection between the little's boy masculine inclination and his nation. As a boy, he liked to grasp his identification which consisted of a masculine nature. Therefore, the practice of saluting to the police, teachers and his national flag was a character of his masculine identification. When Jian saluted the police and teachers, he said: "I feel that I am the follower of great men". Jian had no doubt that he was born a Japanese as the school teachers told them that they are all nationals of the Japanese Empire and how they should act like good Japanese.

Jian's idealized idol was his teacher at the school. He liked his teacher's apparel, a shining badge was worn on his shoulder and a sword was carried at his waist. Once his teacher pointed to his sword and said to the students that "the sword only belongs to the person who is conscientious about his study and morals. If you work hard to pass the national examination, you will obtain this honour". Jian set himself a goal that he would like to study hard and enter the teacher training college, to be trained as a teacher.

Since then, he was conscientious about everything his teacher taught him. He imitated his teacher's manner, and imitated the tone of the teacher's voice. His studies and his course in manners had both received a grade "A" every year. Jian had done so well at school and he definitely was a good "Japanese" student. However, he was always

worried about whether he had done everything perfectly, such as on the day when he met his teacher on the street, when he worried about whether he had made a complete salute. Obviously, Jian's ego ideal embodied in his teacher, is not a loving father, but a persecuting father-ego-ideal; that he is more of a forced introject than an identification based on love, and that this difference could be connected with defensive assimilation vs. development identification described by Steinberg. Particularly, connect the concept of “identification with the aggressor” described by Anna Freud.

When Jian entered his teacher's office he felt that he was not so spontaneous to act on his learned manners, and he then blamed himself that he did not make enough effort to learn. He was almost obsessional in his “perfection”. Jian is clearly not feeling perfect and identified with his ego ideal, the relation between ego and his ego-ideal is not harmonious, thus he constantly search for his perfection. In Freud's sense, the feeling of perfection is when one harmoniously conforms with one's “ego-ideal”. Such a contained feeling usually connects to one's infantile narcissism. Freud states:

The ego-ideal is now the target of self-love which was enjoyed in childhood by the actual ego. The subject's narcissism makes its appearance displaced on to this new ideal ego, which, like the infantile ego, finds itself possessed of every perfection that is of value. As always where the libido concerned, man has here again shown himself incapable of giving up a satisfaction he had once enjoyed. He is not willing to forgo the narcissistic perfection of his childhood, and when, as he grows up, he is disturbed by the admonitions of others and by the awakening of his own critical judgment, so that he can no longer retain that perfection. He seeks to recover it in the new form of an ego-ideal. What he projects before him as his ideal is the substitute for the lost narcissism of his childhood in which he was his own ideal” (Freud, SE, 1925, p94)

As a child of Jian's age, it was normal for him to introject the figure such as a school teacher as his idealized idol and gradually formulate his ego-ideal. However, Jian's introjection of “Japanese ideal” is not only an ideology or an image but also a bodily

practice which needs to be fused into his organic being. One day, Jian was suspicious as to why he sometimes felt that the performance of his manner was not quite fully part of himself. He then questioned himself: “Why? Is this because I did not make enough effort to learn? Or because I am a country boy?” A sensitive boy, he had already noticed that there was an alien element in his body which made him feel out of harmony with his whole being. However, he always reflected that it was his own fault.

Ching in his research on colonial identification construction, he considers that Japanese colonialism was quite different from Western colonialism which viewed the identification (or assimilation) as based on the natural law of humanism. Rather than this, Japanese colonizers proceeded a colonial education by imposing Japanese language and bodily practices upon the colonized, in order to inculcate them in the “Japanese spirit”. (Ching, 2001, pp98-99)

Psychoanalytically speaking, such an imposition had actually prevented the way for the colonized to naturally formulate their “ego-ideal”. Instead they were subjected to a forced introjection of the colonizers’ ideal’. Moreover, such a forced introjection had penetrated into the levels of their national identity, spirit, language and bodily practices. Therefore, the “Japanese ideal’ is acted out in their daily life. In Jian’s case, even he realizes that he identifies with aggressor, but it might be very difficult for him to throw the aggressor out of his mind as an enemy in his daily practice and daily performance. Perhaps, he has to continually try to satisfy a very persecuting ego ideal, in order to maintain a functional relationship between ego and ego-ideal

As Freud comments, the ‘ego ideal’ is the substitute of lost narcissism in one’s childhood. It is therefore necessary for a boy to find a new ‘ego-ideal’ when he grows up, so that his libido can be projected to a new object. If he is content with his new ideal he will then feel himself to be in a state of perfection which is similar to his

infantile state of perfection. Hence, the ego-ideal connects with one's pre-oedipal stage, in which one has not been interrupted by the 'Other'.

Once the boy experiences a conflict or an injured feeling in his 'ego-ideal' – in the way that Jian experienced a feeling of conflict and delusion of his identification with his 'Japanese ideal' – his libido could neither go back to his "original family's ideal" nor can he go back to his "Japanese ideal". Furthermore, he could not always sit between two 'ideals' either. It would be more comfortable for him to return back to his secure narcissism, thus, he finds himself constantly searching for his perfection. Or perhaps, he is continually trying to satisfy a very persecuting ego ideal, which would be in line with my theory of forced introjection.

Therefore, when a boy's sense of his 'ego-ideal' is unstable, ambiguous or insecure, his development of masculinity will be frustrated and easily turn back to his narcissism. We may speculate that colonial masculinity is problematic because the colonizers' "ego-ideal" could sometimes frustrate him and consequently force him to make a detour in the path of his masculine growth.

In Jian's case, he would be confused anyway, without the idea of going back to narcissism. Many colonial youths, like Jian, might experience different degrees of trauma which occur in colonial circumstances. In my argument, the confusion of masculinity got into Taiwanese culture. Although, the foreign influences only come to the boy later, one might consider that it as if not oedipal. From my point of view, even if later, the oedipal structure gets into the culture, re-evoking the complicated oedipal processes.

At the end of this novel, Jian and his mother walked on the country road, and the author describes: "on the way home, Jian felt that the long deep sound made by a cow had comforted his soul". Prominently, cows/mother/milk is a metaphor of regression and narcissism, for Jian, in terms of regressing away from the forced introject ego

ideal as a conflict in his ego; that is, not just get back to narcissism, but the conflict between the path towards development the loving father. His returning to his mother and refusal to attend the ceremony which represents a masculine pride is a metaphor indicating that his injured masculinity regresses to his infantile narcissism.

Many colonial youths, like Jian, might experience different degrees of trauma which occur in colonial circumstances. Jian chose to accompany his mother home which indicates his choice to retreat from a complex masculine identification. However, there are different stereotypes of colonial youths. When they encounter conflicts they choose different ways to cope with their relationship to the colonial structure.

(4) Identify struggles:

Lung Yin-Tsung (龍瑛宗) in his novel *The Little Town where plant Papaya Trees* (植有木瓜樹的小鎮), described the protagonist Chen You-San as a colonial intellectual who has come to despise his own people. He regards them as an underclass who appear to be unrefined and vulgar and he criticizes his own people as being ‘these people appeared to be subservient weeds spreading unrestrained in a gloomy life without progress’. (Ching, 2001, p130) He has never attempted to understand the underclass’s bitterness and how they have been deprived through their hard labour by the colonial structure. He is content in what he has achieved, and optimistically believes that as long as he makes effort he will be successful.

Chen often wears Japanese clothes, speaks Japanese, and fills his mind with thoughts of idealism and advancement. He intentionally introjects his ‘Japanese ideal’ and also introjects the Japanese discrimination of his own people. In seeking out his identification as a different being from his own people, he feels a kind of consolation. (as adapted in Ching,s description, p129-132)

Chen sets himself a goal to pass the national examination to be a civil official and his next goal is to study hard and pass examinations to become a lawyer within 10 years. He relies on his diligence and patience to promote his social position and improve his economic condition. However, he finds that no matter how much effort he makes, he will never be equal to the Japanese as his salary is only one sixth of the Japanese who work in the same position. Gradually, his character of pragmatism, despair and resignation, which is displayed by his friends, begins to infect him. It is also at this time that Chen falls in love with a colleague's daughter, and makes a marriage proposal, but the daughter is sent off to wealthy family. Chen gives up his study and completely drowns his nationality and emotion in alcohol and despair. (as adapted in Ching's description 2001, p129-132)

In contrast to what I have just described, Yang Liou's (楊陸) novel *Paperboy* (送報伕), the protagonist narrates a completely different outlook of the colonial subject, in which he seeks to overcome the opposition between colonizer and colonized by a dialectic manoeuvre. Thus, his relationship to the colonial structure is different. The triumph of the protagonist by striking against the newspaper delivery company finally brings better wages and working conditions for the labourers. The revolutionary thinking makes the paperboy affirm that he will make his homeland Taiwan become a better place.

When comparing the two characters in the same colonial circumstances, we can see that they both suffered tremendously under the colonial structure. Chen completely identified himself as Japanese, however, this did not make him become a 'completed man'. Quite the opposite. Instead, he was in conflict, frustrated and miserable. This is because, he did not receive the reward of benevolence, equality and respect which normal identification should achieve. Ching terms such a colonial identification as a kind of "discriminatory assimilation" (Ching, 2001) However, when Chen experiences colonial discrimination, he could not jump out from his small framework of egoism, or search for various idealisms such as socialism or anarchy which would

have transferred his frustrations into evolutionary thinking, like the paperboy, to initiate a strike and join a social movement.

(5) Feminized colonial males

Chou interprets Lung Yin-Tsung's novel *The little Town where plant Papaya Trees*. She states: "M. Foucault considers that colonial experience is a kind of 'calm violence'. In the colonial discourse; the colonized group had been usually feminized – no matter whether they are male or female. The protagonist of this novel is the embodiment of an injured soul under the violence of the colonizer's institution." (Chou, 2011, p276)

Moreover, Chou notices that the author Lung Yin-Tsung's writing reveals that his self-image is feminized, such as through the characteristics of overcaution, feebleness, sentimentality, romanticism and escapism. In Lung Yin-Tzung's writing, there often emerges an image of nature which symbolizes the female character, such as a mountain chain, the sea, an orchid, the moon, the flow of night or clouds...etc. He dreamt a woman of scorch was his portrayal of feminized destiny. Such an intention of self-destructiveness reveals the unconscious nature of colonized people's profound sadness. Furthermore, Chou points out that usually, the male's voice which emerges in literature is one of self-praise and peremptory in nature, while in contrast, the female's voice emerges to show her capacity of leaving a margin, which allows 'your voice' to emerge and the readers are therefore invited to participate the story. Chou considers that female traits are conspicuously revealed in the male's colonial writing. (Chou, 2011, p 287)

The use of Freud's technical term 'castration complex' to interpret the colonized male mentality has frequently appeared in psychiatric reports, colonial novels, documentary interviews and the elucidation of colonial literature. For instance, Zhang Jing Yuan expresses her view about the Taiwanese postcolonial novel *Rose Rose I Love You*, about which she said: "colonized people are marked as female. Usually, the land

represents feminization – colonizers conquer a land which is analogous to the symbolic meaning of conquering a woman.” (Zhang, 1995, p180)

The Taiwanese aboriginal musician Koa I Sheng (高一生) who was an exceptionally gifted composer and received a high education in the colonial system, was executed by the Chinese regime for unwarranted ground during the period of the 228 incident. His death was a great loss for the aboriginal elite. His most beautiful composition *The Goddess of Spring* 春之佐保姫 (春のさほ姫よ) was composed in prison before he was executed by Chinese regime (KMT). The lyrics were written in Japanese and concealed in a letter to be sent to his wife, so now the Taiwanese can listen to the music which was created by a great, suffering soul. Koa’s daughter who was recently interviewed by a TV documentary program, confesses: “My father often told us that we colonized people are like a ‘mistress’ (娼婦) who can easily submit our loyalty to different partners (regimes)”. This may seem obvious. Koa’s confession to his daughter reveals a frustrated sense of masculinity in comparing himself with a ‘mistress’ under the colonial structure.

In Lung Yin-Tsung’s novel, *The little Town where plant Papaya Trees*, there are subtle descriptions of space which connect one’s mentality. He describes the space of a little town in which were built the colonizer’s giant buildings and factories. The colonizers’ physical presence was transferred to become a phallic symbol, such as a chimney, which penetrates the colonial land, arbitrarily. (Ho, 1995, p106)

Chen Feng Ming in the postcolonial novel *The Trilogy of Hong Kong*, elucidates: “In this novel, the author describes that the Chinese man who resists the white men’s power appeared to be sexually exuberant. Does this imply that the man who submits to the colonizers’ dominance is a castrated man? And that only the man who dares to resist against imperialism is a completed man?” (Cheng, 2002, pp147-148)

Resistance to a colonizing power may include the fear of being feminized (castrated), and lead to attempts to reconstruct the colonized as masculine, or intention to prove that they are more masculine than the colonizer. Taiwanese colonial writers Lai Ho

and Yang Lu's novels represent the resistance against colonizers. Lai Ho was sent to prison several times for writing anti-colonial novels. However, he never gave up his fight with the colonial regime in his lifetime and as a result gained the name "the father of Taiwanese literature". (台灣文學之父)

(6) hyper-masculine persona

In contrast to the typical examples of resistance, Tedd W. Reeser states: "A man who fears castration or emasculation may turn to patriotism or to more extreme nationalisms (fascism, right-wing evangelism) to assuage his own anxiety about being a man." (Reeser, 2010, p189) Under the colonial structure, some men tried to be hyper-masculine as a reaction to the feminization. For instance, during wartime, Taiwanese youths were easily persuaded to join the military and regarded military training as a kind of necessary process towards becoming a 'completed' man.

Nationhood and military authority are in a broad sense (strong) hyper masculine father figures. From this perspective, the personal father is infiltrated and taken over by the military nationalist father, which has no time for soft, feminine, mother-like feelings, such as a mother-tongue. There is a desire to identify with a strong father figure such as the Japanese colonial regime advocating the policy of "the movement of Japanization" and encouragement of youth to join military activities. This policy may provide the function of a hyper masculine figure, to be internalized especially for youths, who while they have not thought deeply about themselves, actually have a psychological need to go through the process of identification so that they can develop their masculinity and become a man. This is perhaps why the Taiwanese were easily encouraged to join military activities, and later identify Japan as their nation during war time.

Tedd W. Reeser states: "The link between masculinity and the nation as powerful can be extended even further when the nation attempts to take over other nations or culture and become an empire. The strength of an empire may be seen as to resemble

masculinity, in fact even more so than a single nation. The empire may be seen as strong, brave, dominating, controlling, hegemonic, or powerful.” (Reeser, 2010, p182) Reese further elucidates that masculinity might be one impetus for colonization or empire-building in the first place, but that this association does not necessary mean that women have no relationship to colonization. He considers that women take part in the actual process in various ways, and they may identify with or desire the masculinity of the empire in ways like or unlike men. (Reeser, 2010, p182)

I refers to Reese’s contention, therefore, for man, the relationship between masculinity and the nation seems particularly to be considered in terms of identification. A man identifies with the masculine nation because he views himself, or would like to view himself, as masculine as his nation.(Reeser,2010,p187) Psychoanalytically speaking, Reeser gives elucidation: ”the gendered nation may function like a parent whom the child takes as a role model in terms of gender. This identification may be encouraged by the nation and its supporters, since it encourages nationalism or patriotism.” (Reeser, 2010, p187) This phenomenon can be seen in many instances, for instance, when Lincoln’s value was identified by youths during the American Civil War, he then becomes everyone’s father and millions of youths were able to fight for him without fear. During World War Two, General Douglas MacArthur’s famous phrase “I Shall Return” became a faith for Allies to turn defeat into victory. His voice was almost godlike and could penetrate the soldiers’ soul while hundreds of thousands of US soldiers were imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese in the Philippines.

Usually, a symbolic ‘masculine image’ needs to be created for a nation or army, in order to unify the group’s “masculine ideal”. Therefore, a certain quality of masculinity can be introjected to become everyone’s ideal. There are cultural associations made between the masculine ideal and the nation, for instance, Uncle Sam embodies the US nation, as when men are drafted to the military. The poster displays an image and the words that “Uncle Sam wants (sic.) you for US army” and the personage of John Bull is taken to represent England. (Reeser, 2010, 172)

Japan is considered a weak hegemony as the country itself imitated western hegemony. The American scholar Huntington considers that Japan should not be claimed as ‘westernized country’ but a ‘modernized country’, because from a material angle it appears to be modernized, but from the perspective of cultural spirit it appears to be extremely conservative. Therefore Japan can not be considered as a completely westernized country.

The Japanese masculine ideal is also ambiguous and vague for colonial youths to introject as their masculine ideal. The American anthropologist Ruth Benedict carried out research to analyze the Japanese character during the Second World War. She wrote a book *The Chrysanthemum and The Sword* (菊花與劍) to describe the combination of two extreme and contradictory characters in Japanese culture. This includes the dual personality of bellicose/peaceful, militaristic/exquisite, arrogant/polite, inflexible/fickle, obedient/obstinate, loyal/rebellious, confident/timid and conservative/newfangled. (Benedict, p2, 1974) Behind this character, there are three thousand years of social structure and philosophy, which coheres masculine performance. If a person does not completely immerse in the context of the culture, it will be not be easy to grasp their ‘masculine ideal’.

The Japanese masculine ideal mainly derives from the moral norm and philosophy of *Bushido* (*samurai* spirit 武士道 ぶしどう), which emphasize the virtues of bravery, sincerity and self restraint. They believe, that only through the fulfillment of these virtues, one can maintain the honour of *Bushido*. To act out the philosophy of *Bushido* is to fulfill one’s responsibility or mission, and death for men is only a method to fulfill their responsibility. Thus, a man is even more frightened of not fulfilling his responsibility than he is of death. They tend to use a specific ritual to commit

suicide²⁴ if the mission is not completed, and they believe that this is the only way to offer an apology for not fulfilling the mission.

The value of *Bushido* was materialized in the symbol of the “sword” which was worn by civil officials (teachers) and military officers (police, soldiers...etc.). In colonial Taiwan, school teachers and police had to wear a sword at their waist while they carried out their duties. In summer time, they wore a white uniform with swords and in the winter time they changed to black uniforms with swords. Therefore, the ‘sword’ is a very important symbol for the Japanese masculine ideal (*Bushido*), and to wear a sword is a reminder of one’s mission and responsibility.

Japanese militarism was the successor of the spirit of *Bushido*, which endowed soldiers with very high honour. Usually when people met the soldiers in the street they should automatically bow to them. Even when, the relationship between two people is one of friendship, as long as one wears a soldiers’ uniform, the other friend should still bow to him. (Benedict, p43, 1974) Therefore, to be soldier not only possesses great honour but also enjoys preferential rights of social benefit, and of course, their families are given preferential rights as well. When a colonial youth becomes a volunteer soldier, his family will receive the same rations as a Japanese family and the government will put a board inscribed with the words “A family with glory” (榮譽之家) on their front door, so that people and civil officials will pay special respect to the family. The Japanese idea of masculinity was therefore transplanted gradually by colonisers’ stratagem.

Before 1941, colonial youths possessed no right to be a soldier, partly because through racism, the colonial regime considered soldiers to symbolize an honourable position within the nation and such an honour should not be possessed by the

²⁴ A specific ritual to commit suicide called 割腹(かつぶく)、或屠腹(とぶく) in Japan. The ritual means 'a brave man who would like to die in a dignified way'.

colonized. This was partly because the ethnic origin of the Taiwanese largely connects to their enemy China. The Japanese would not trust that the Taiwanese soldiers could be completely loyal to Japan. However, after 1941, the Japanese were defeated in several important battles in the Pacific zone. Large numbers of soldiers needed to be replaced. They started the conscription of colonial youths from Taiwan and Korea but only as 'volunteers' so that colonial soldiers would not share the same legal benefits as their Japanese counterparts.

Because the Japanese became bogged down in the war, the colonial youths were called upon to join the army. For the Japanese colonizers, military training/masculine training was not permitted for colonial youths as they should not be allowed to share the training of manhood. This is probably the method through which colonizers attempt to feminize colonial males and prevent them from possessing masculine power, so that they must always remain in the feminized position of being the colonized. Especially in the case of Taiwan and Korea, the people are similar in appearance, so that after a long period of assimilation it might not be easy to distinguish who are the colonized and who is the colonizer. If they allowed colonial youths to possess masculine power, it would be easy to turn over the colonial structure. Ching interprets Japanese colonizers' strategy as: "The belatedness of Japanese imperialism and its 'non-white' racial construction have certainly required the Japanese to create different sets of what Edward Said has called the 'strategy of positional superiority' in relation to its colonized". (Ching, 2001, p26)

(7) Forced introjection:

In order to absorb military resources from Taiwan, the Japanese government launched the *Kominka* Movement²⁵ (The subject of Imperialization or the subject of Japanization 皇民化運動) across the whole island. The *Kominka* movement was a

²⁵ *Kominka* movement started from 1927 to 1945 and is considered as the final stage of assimilation of Japanese culture in colonial Taiwan.

strategic policy, particularly designed for inducing colonized people to participate in war activities, including food rations for supporting war, and the donation of money. In particular, youths were encouraged to become “volunteer soldiers”, spread the ideology of supporting the Japanese Empire’s “holy war”, and carry out the mission to “liberate” other Asian colonial countries which were controlled by the Westetc. Therefore, to make the Taiwanese become ‘Japanese’ was a necessary procedure to expand the Japanese Empire’s military forces. However, how could they make the Taiwanese identity themselves as Japanese?

First of all, they had to castrate the root of Chinese Han (漢) culture and religions. In accordance with the policy of the “National Spiritual Mobilization Movement”, schools were prohibited from teaching a Chinese curriculum. The columns of Chinese language characters in newspapers were abolished, and traditional Taiwanese music and theatre were outlawed. Through the reorganization of the temples and Taiwanese ancestral halls, there was a requirement with family, to worship Japanese shrines and the Japanese gods *Jingu Taima* (神宮大麻, and Ofuda [神符]), and live out a Japanese lifestyle, to achieve a standard of “*Kominka*” (Japanization) or subjection to the emperor. In particular, from 1940 onward, the Movement of Changing Chinese Surnames into Japanese Surnames was also carried out in order to intensify Japanese “spiritual self-possession.” When a family changed their surname into a Japanese surname and spoke Japanese completely, the government would put a Japanese flag and a board inscribed “The Family of National Language” (國語の家) on the front door of their house, which means that this family had completely become Japanese.

As the *Kominka* Movement was implemented, the use of the Japanese language was one of the key criteria by which Taiwanese people were judged to have been thoroughly made an imperial subject. With regard to religious reform, propagation of the National Shinto Religion (國家神道) was carried out in parallel with the suppression of traditional Taiwanese beliefs. Usually, the family had to put the Japanese god in the middle of their main hall and remove their own god to the side to become the subordinate god.

Before the colonial youths were sent to battles, they were gathered in a place of rite, where various physical training and the rituals of pledging loyalty to the Japanese Emperor would take place. A specific ritual included the clapping of hands and shouts of “Long Live the Emperor”. This religious ritual needed to be carried out several times a day, and they were told that when they clapped their hands, the Japanese spirit would enter their body so that they became possessed of ‘Japanese spirit’ (大和魂).

Ching (2001) in his book *Becoming “Japanese”- Colonial Taiwan and The Politics of Identity Formation*, states:

To become ‘Japanese’ is not merely or even primarily an attitude of inner conviction or faith, but a series of corporeal activities (clapping hands and shouting ‘Long Live the Emperor!’) that ‘far from being a mere secondary externalization of the inner belief, stands for the very mechanism that generates it’. In other words, the performative rituals, rather than being the effect, are the generative foundation of colonial identification. (Ching, 2001, pp89-90)

The *Kominka* movement was actually a fatal castration of Chinese culture. After the removal of Chinese culture, the Japanese could claim that identification with Japanese culture conformed to the trend of modernization. Surprisingly, some Taiwanese writers encouraged youths to participate in the war, proclaiming that the identification of nationhood for the male was a necessary procedure to develop proper masculinity under Taiwan’s particular circumstances. Therefore, from the castrated colonized culture to the identification with the colonizers, followed by participation in military training, conformity became a symbol of glory as well as the opportunity to become a completed male in the unusual war period.

Although that was a strategy of the *Kominka* movement, under the atmosphere of government propaganda, 200,000 Taiwanese youths were sent to the battles of South-Eastern Asia to fight alongside their Japanese allies. Specifically, 20,000 Taiwanese aboriginal soldiers²⁶ (高砂義勇軍 たかさごぎゆうたい) were sent to

²⁶ There were in total 140,000 aboriginals in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, and 20,000 aboriginals were called up to the army, therefore, the percentage being called up was very high. Especially, aboriginal were usually the first to be sent to the front line, so that their mortality rate was shockingly high, compared with Taiwanese, Japanese and Korean soldiers.

the frontline to carry out military tasks²⁷ which were much more dangerous than those undertaken by their Japanese counterparts. After the war ended, the survivors were sent back to Taiwan, and due to the changing political climate, hardly uttered a word about their experience of being Japanese soldiers. The ashes of sacrificed soldiers were placed in Japan's National Memorial Hall for Sacrificed Soldiers (靖國神社やすくにじんじゃ). Both survivors and sacrificed soldiers were mute about their history of joining the war.

In 1949, the Chinese regime KMT took over Taiwan. They repeated the same policy toward the Taiwanese and humiliated those who spoke Japanese and identified Japanese culture as a kind of enslavement. It was implemented against the assimilation to Japanese culture, same sort of oppression and forced introjection to regain all over again – the forced introjections like an inescapable destiny of the islanders. In order to control the majority of the population who did not share the same language and culture with the Chinese regime, the KMT banned the Japanese language and anything which related to Japanese culture (such as popular music, films and magazines). By removing Japanese language and culture, the KMT forced the Taiwanese to identify themselves as Chinese. The Taiwanese realized that they had been colonized again, this time by the Chinese.

From the psychological aspect, identification is a dynamic process - it is not an ideology or concept which can be transplanted from one group of people to another. It is a psychological mechanism. People in Taiwan went through different stages of political transition which dramatically reframed their perception and quality of their ego-ideal.

Before rigid martial law was lifted in 1987, the Taiwanese were not able to reflect upon their Japanese experience in the postcolonial period. They had been forced to learn the Chinese language and culture, but the delay of experiencing postcolonial reflection had somehow, allowed them to incubate a critical insight to examine their multiple colonial experiences. In the following section, I will illustrate the colonial novels which describe how colonial youths' masculine tendencies were restrained during peace time but were strategically revived during war time.

²⁷ Taiwanese aboriginals were given the tasks of guerrilla in forest; some of them were selected to carry out the missions of suicidal bomb.

(8) How they became volunteers:

A Flock of Pigeons (一群鴿子), *To See His Son Off* (送行), *The War* (戰爭), and *Enlightment* (頓悟) are a series of vignettes which are written by Taiwanese colonial writer Chang Wen Huan (張文環). These vignettes were used as “official propaganda” to support the Japanese Empire’s ‘holy war’ and encourage Taiwanese youths to take part in war.

Chang was not particularly supportive of the Japanese masculine ideal to emphasize the importance of masculine identification and the necessity of receiving military training to become a ‘completed man’ for the colonized. But somehow, he is conscious of the problem of colonized masculinity. In his previous novels, he often describes the colonized male as appearing to be effeminized or frustrated as a result of male fighting.

When the policy of recruiting volunteers in Taiwan was announced by the Japanese Empire, Chang wrote an article *A Flock of Pigeons* (一群鴿子) in a newspaper to respond to the policy. He states: “We may examine the meaning of recruitment policy from the perspective of masculine traits which had been deprived for a long time..... The vexation of not being treated as a proper man has been too long, however, because we need to pursue a certain kind of honour to be a man, that is why we worry. We don’t need to regret the past now... When the announcement of recruiting volunteers appears in the newspapers, I believe, most Taiwanese youths will find themselves able to firmly establish a man’s role which they should have, but they could not have before”.

He further states that “the older generation might find it hard to relate the passion of being a volunteer with the passion to be a man. They might think that we only need to be kind nationals with no need to create separation between loved ones in life or death. We might feel sad if we fall, but the principal is happiness. Here, I almost have a vision that a flock of pigeons happily fly out from their cage.”

Chang is aware that the male masculinity of the colonized is restrained, like pigeons, which are reared in a cage but cannot fly. Pigeons can not always be reared in a cage as a man's masculinity, that now can fly and wants to fly, can not be restrained in the long-term by colonizers. Chang emphasizes how important it is for a man to find his identification and establish his sense of male masculinity, and he thinks that to be a volunteer can fulfil this wish.

To see his son off (送行) is a vignette describing a father's disquiet when he finds out that his son has signed up to be a volunteer. He has to rely on alcohol to help him sleep every night. The night before his son's departure, the father can not say anything but drinks alcohol instead. At dawn, his son comes to him and leaves him with the words: "Do not worry. If I fall, the country will take care of you..." The father cannot bear to say good bye to his son, and does not want to get up and walk to the village to see his son off. After his son leaves the house, the father quickly puts on his cloth and rushes to the village. On the way, he sees a large mass of people who are holding Japanese flags to see his son off. He then grasps a flag from one of crowd and says to him: "Give me your flag, let me join you". After this he stops drinking.

The war (戦争) is a short piece of writing about the conversation between an older and younger brother. The older brother is 15 years older than his 5 years old younger brother. Before he joins the army, the younger brother asks the older brother to help him pull out his milk tooth. After doing this, the younger brother cries fearfully, and the older says to the younger: "Stop crying; pull out the milk tooth as in a war. Everyone has to experience it so that he can grow up, just as the milk tooth has to be pulled out so that the new one will grow". The younger brother has a puzzled look on his face, and really thinks that the war is like pulling a milk tooth. He then stops crying. The older brother says to him: "Let me take your milk tooth with me when I go for war."

Thus, in this short story, the war is compared to a ritual of symbolic manhood. The symbol of milk tooth, given the infant/mothering significance of milk. Freud considers that pulling out a tooth to be a form of castration, paralleled to a man has to pass through this ritual and experience temporary pain so that he can transform his position. Like pulling out a milk tooth one may experience the joy of growing to maturity, however, to be sent to the battle is critical between life and death, which is completely beyond the two brothers' naive imaginations.

Enlightenment (頓悟) simply describes a 20 year old Taiwanese country youth who is not sure about what he is going to do, and whose father suggests that he works as an assistant accountant at a shop in the capital city. He agrees to take this job but finds himself repeating the same pattern of simple work everyday. The uncreative job makes him look like much older than his actual age. He is only twenty years old but people call him 'the little old man'. He falls in love with a woman but never has the courage to make a proposal for marriage, not even to utter a word to express his dream to the woman. Day after day, he wonders why he is so timid and weak willed and he starts to doubt the meaning of his life. Under colonial circumstances he thinks that he may not make his life worse but he seems to be unable to make any breakthrough in his life pattern. He then decides to join the military. He believes that a man can only die once in his lifetime, and it is better to die in the name of a 'holy war' rather than to die from nervous depression. With this belief, he suddenly has the courage to visit the woman who he has desired for so long and says to her "I am going to be a volunteer soldier, will you write letters to me?" He obtains a positive answer from her. On the way home, he feels very lonely but a kind of expressive affection arises from his heart, and he starts to sing military songs, and he is very surprised that he can sing so well.

It seems to me, that there is tremendous oppression of male masculinity within the colonized group, and the desire of being a masculine man is strong but cannot be channelled in a proper direction under colonial structure. The restrained masculine tendency, like an active volcano, finally finds an outlet when meeting the opportunity

of volunteering for military service. The subject might not understand what 'holy war' really means for them, but their repressed masculinity has been provoked and revived collectively. However it cannot be properly acted out in normal conditions of the colonial circumstance.

In order to boost popular morale, a specific military song "*Taiwan Soldiers*" (台灣軍) was particularly composed and written for Taiwanese volunteers, to praise their bravery and importance for the Japanese Empire. The Taiwanese soldiers are named the 'South Crux' (南十字星) which stands in the south frontline to protect Japan. The heroic posture of masculine figures was displayed in a propagandistic poster in which colonial youths who were previously restrained in limited conditions, suddenly seem to be transformed into majestic figures.

Colonial youths join war with various reasons, and it might not be easy to generalize the Taiwanese volunteers' motivation and psychological state in becoming Japanese soldiers. Some might want to prove that they are not effeminate males. Some might treat the war as an 'opportunity' for them to strive for equality. Some might believe that the 'holy war' is to liberate other Asian countries and seek a self-fulfilment for justice. However, the colonial writers' concern about male masculinity had become a pressing issue for them at that particular moment. Why do these colonial writers particularly stress the problem of masculinity? It seems to me, they consider that colonial youths have to shed their blood to prove their masculinity and thus, they can turn over the situation of being treated as effeminate men. They want to prove that they are not second class citizens, and are not less masculine than the Japanese. After long term assimilation, it appears that it might not be so easy to distinguish who is the colonizer who is the colonized as quite a lot of the colonial youths can speak and write perfectly in Japanese. However, they were still discriminated against because of their "blood". So to shed blood, for them, displays different levels of meaning. Psychoanalytically speaking, it might represent that the complex entanglement of their masculinity needs to be released, so that they tend to shed their blood rather than to be restrained.

The Japanese economist 矢内原忠雄 やないはら ただお、(1893-1961) writes a book *Taiwan Under Imperialism* (帝國主義下の台灣). He makes a comparison between two Japanese colonies – Taiwan and Korea, and states that political control in Taiwan was stricter than in Korea, although Taiwan was economically independent and the educational popularization was higher than in Korea. However, Taiwan's political development was far behind Korea. Under Japanese control, Korea retained its local elections, more Korean people served in post as government officials, and Korean newspapers were still retained. However, Taiwan had been deprived of all such rights under the total control of the Imperialists' police system.

It seems to be incomprehensible, that the Taiwanese were controlled more rigidly than the Koreans, but the Taiwanese appeared to be less hostile toward the Japanese. Particularly, the rate of being called up to serve in the Japanese Army was higher than in Korea²⁸ Were there any particular reasons for the Taiwanese to be thrown into military activities?

If we compare the different historical background of the two Japanese colonies, we might be able to speculate as to why the Taiwanese were able to manifest a relatively less hostile attitude toward the Japanese than Korea, whose land had also been severely dominated by Japanese colonizers. When Taiwan was occupied by Japanese colonizers, the islanders had not yet fully formed their sense of national identity. This contrasts with Korea, which was devastated by the fall of its nation. During the early stages of Japanese occupation, a stronghold existed of Taiwanese autonomy and resistance to the Japanese language, which was a conscious effort to distinguish Taiwan as ethnically Chinese. But the concept or the image of “the nation of China” was still vague for the island's early ethnic Chinese immigrants. The first significant

²⁸ The number of Taiwanese soldiers is almost the same as Korean soldiers, but the population of colonial Korea was 4 times that of colonial Taiwan. Therefore, the instance of Taiwanese soldiers is higher than Korea during the war.

wave of Chinese immigration arrived in the late seventeenth century. This was in the period of the Chin Dynasty²⁹ and these people were mostly fishermen, soldiers, pirates, farm workers, itinerant seamen, businessmen and others fleeing discrimination and persecution on the mainland. They were the pioneers of the island and their masculine ideal usually possessed the pioneers' characteristics which are creative, risk taking, transparent and unrestrained. We often term this characteristic as the 'oceanic character', (海洋性格) which is considered relatively less stable than the established 'continental character' (大陸性格). Moreover, the Taiwanese earliest inhabitants had been of Malayo-Polynesian origin, not ethnic Chinese. These aboriginals had a very separate life from the Chinese immigrants and also possessed their own masculine ideals. Thus, it might be problematic to refer to their identity in the modern sense of the nation-state, which possesses a legal-political conception of acknowledgement as a nation. Therefore, before the Japanese came, the identification of father-ideal might only reach to the level of clansman, and connection of their masculinity and nationhood was not solidly developed in both the Taiwanese and aboriginal groups, when compared with the nation of Korea.

Thus, 矢内原忠雄 やないはら ただお considers, that the Imperial power and rigid dominance had obliterated the uniqueness of the Taiwanese character and encroached upon their collective ethnic personality. Every ethnic group has their own masculine ideal or father-ideal. Jung termed this ideal as the “archetypal father”. However, Imperial policy intended to remove every specific type of masculine ideal in non-Japanese ethnic groups and attempted to impose Japanese ideals. This was an attempt to unify the masculine ideal among Korean, Taiwanese, Manchurian and Taiwanese aboriginals. Based on this foundation, the Japanese dreamt that they would establish a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” (大東亞共榮圈 だいてうあきょうえいけん、) and defeat Western Imperialism in Asia.³⁰

²⁹ The Chin dynasty was established from Manchuria, which is considered as rule by clans outside Han China.

³⁰ During World War Two, the Japanese attempted to replace the western colonizers' power, such as the US in the Philippines, the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indochina, and the British in India, Hong

In order to maintain the colonial structure, the colonized masculinity was inhibited during peace time, but was revived and exaggerated during war time. As I mentioned previously, before 1941, colonial youths were not permitted to become soldiers. Although, there were an unspecified³¹ number of Taiwanese, who followed the Japanese troops to China after 1937, they were not normal soldiers that were given weapons to fight, but worked for the Japanese as farmers, medical doctor, technicians, translators and workers³². After the Japanese became bogged down in the war, colonial youths were called upon to join the army. Particularly, after 1945, a large number of Taiwanese soldiers were conscripted to join the army. Some of them were unwilling but were forcibly sent to the battle of South East Asia, as Japan had been badly defeated but was still unwilling to surrender. They continued to send new soldiers to the front line and even University students³³ (學徒兵) were conscripted to battle. The Taiwanese were told to prepare for the US soldiers' landing and many of the social elite were called upon to confess in public that they would be loyal to Japan and encourage the Taiwanese to fight to the end. However, the US president Harry S. Truman made the final decision to land in Okinawa instead of Formosa.

(9) To be a 'Japanese' soldier:

Taiwanese writer Chen Chien-Wu's (陳千武) autobiographical novel *The Criminals Who Hunt Women* (獵女犯), narrates that he was forced to join Japanese troops going

Kong, Malaysia and Singapore.

³¹ The data of how many Taiwanese were sent to China and worked as Japanese troops' farmers, technicians and translators - is confidential, therefore it is not possible to obtain a precise number.

³² From 1937, an unknown number of Taiwanese were sent to China, who were not formal soldiers, but worked for the Japanese troops as farmers, translators, rear service personnel and workers. Their position in the army is named as 軍伕 and 軍屬.

³³ During the late period of colonial Taiwan, many University students were also conscripted and prepared to be sent to the battles in Pacific war zones. For example, the former president Lee Deng Huei was conscripted to be a Japanese soldier, while he studied at the Kyoto University.

to Indonesia. He describes that he was taken to a ship which was full of Taiwanese, Japanese, Okinawan soldiers. They were all sent to Timor Island, and when they arrived, the ship was bombed by the Australian air force, and many soldiers died. After the survivors landed on the island they found that they had been completely cut off from their food supplies, and had to survive by themselves in the jungle. They started planting vegetables and cooperated with local people to live a self sufficient lifestyle, otherwise they may have died from hunger. Some Taiwanese soldiers were ordered by Japanese soldiers to carry out the 'duty' of hunting local women to be comfort women for the Japanese troops. The writer confessed that they could not disobey the order but felt that they were all criminals to carry out such a duty. In his novel, he states: "I hate myself, although I am just carrying out the orders, but I must confess that we are not civilized men at all, we are savages – complete savages. I call myself and other soldiers who carry out such unmentionable duties: 'the criminals who hunt women' (獵女犯). We are definitely criminals".

In order to maintain the soldiers' morale and fighting powers, the system of comfort women among Japanese troops has been the most hideous crime in the history of war. When Japanese soldiers possessed high position in a society they were usually bowed to by people. However, they should not deserve the praises of 'honour' that were bestowed upon them. Under the militaristic Japanese machine, the hunter and comfort women are all products of this machine – they have no free will under the Imperial power. The colonial soldiers' confession reveal their suffering and remorse about being Japanese soldiers, and indicates that the hope of colonial youths to change their social (masculine) position had become an irremovable stain in their later life.

In August 1945 Japan surrendered, and the author narrates that he and other Taiwanese soldiers were captured by Allied soldiers in Indonesia. The Japanese government claimed that Taiwan would be taken over by the Chinese regime so Taiwanese soldiers were no longer Japanese nationals and the Chinese regime refused to take them home as they considered those soldiers were taken to Indonesia by the Japanese. Taiwanese soldiers were abandoned by both the Japanese and Chinese

regimes. Subsequently they hung around in Singapore for one year without proper national identity. An American ship finally sent the Taiwanese soldiers home, and the author describes that “When our ship approached Taiwan, no one dared to welcome us in the harbour. We were like criminals who had been released from the prison – one by one.”

The novel *The Orphan of Asia* (亞細亞的孤兒) is written by Wu Jou Liu (吳濁流). The novel is a representative piece of work which ingenuously describes a colonial youth who searches for his identify between Taiwan, Japan and China. From an innocent childhood, the protagonist Hu Tai Ming’s family resists a Japanese education for their children and sends him to a private Chinese teacher’s house to study. However, his family’s resistance apparently became unrealistic as most students attended a Japanese modern education. Without learning Japanese and modern knowledge one will be undermined through the societal trend of the time. Hu Tai Ming finally accepts a Japanese education and becomes a teacher at a primary school. While teaching at the primary school he falls in love with a Japanese teacher but his marriage proposal was refused by her. Afterwards, he witnesses the discrimination between Taiwanese teachers and Japanese teachers, and decided to quit his job and pursue his further studies in Japan. He falls in love with a Japanese woman again; however, this time he learns a lesson that he has to inhibit his passion for an impossible union between the colonizer and the colonized. He then travels to his fatherland, China, where he finds his wife but the marriage was unsatisfactory as he finds her character and personality to fall short of his ideal woman. While he was in China, he was suspected to be a spy and was sent to prison. After he flees back to Taiwan, he was followed by the Japanese police as he was suspected of communicating with the enemy. He was then forced to join the Japanese army to China, where he witnessed the Japanese soldiers’ ruthless killing of Chinese civilians. As a result of this he fainted in battle, and he was sent to a military hospital where he was scolded as “useless” and was sent back to Taiwan again. In one occasion, his younger brother overworked himself and finally died during army training. The death of his brother potentially triggers all kinds of pent-up emotions in his experience, and

he was diagnosed with schizophrenia. Many people comment on his situation, believing that “if he is a normal person, it is not surprising that he became insane”.

From the dimension of formulating an ego-ideal, colonial Taiwanese face the struggle of the ‘Japanese ideal’, ‘Chinese ideal’ and ‘Taiwanese ideal’. Japan was the colonial regime, China was their ancestors’ fatherland, and Taiwan was the land of their roots. In the end, the protagonist Hu Tai-Ming found that he was not ‘completely Japanese’, not ‘completely Chinese’ and not “completely Taiwanese” either. Between the triangle of Japan, China and Taiwan, he lost his sense of who he was and confused the identification of his nation, his ethnic origin and the land of his roots. In this sense, he felt like an orphan.

(10) Regression:

There is a huge debate about Taiwanese soldiers’ psychology in the novel “*Volunteers*” (志願軍) written by Chou Chin Po (周金波). The protagonist appreciates the recruiting policy, which is exciting for him as he considers that military training can unify the masculine ideal among Taiwanese, aboriginals and Japanese, which were the main three ethnic groups of the soldiers in Taiwan. In the past, the three groups of people did not communicate well together and he thinks that it might be the right time for them to unify masculinity through official language and military training. Moreover, he considers that the Taiwanese had to pay blood tax to gain equality within the colonial structure. Chou Chin Po was very much standing on the colonizers’ side, despite his siding with the Japanese, he recognized how disturbing to masculinity colonization was for Taiwanese. He is therefore labeled as an “Empire Writer” (皇民作家).

However, Chou’s later novel *Climate, Belief and Chronic Disease* (氣候, 信仰與宿疾), conveys another discourse of men’s hysteria which connects to his identification, to reveal his deep longing and nostalgia for indigenous Taiwanese culture. The author

describes that the protagonist's confusion of internalization has subsequently left his pathological problem unresolved.

The protagonist was upper class Taiwanese, the head of a banking institution. He abandoned traditional Taiwanese beliefs, became devoutly attached to the Japanese religion, Shinto, and was an enthusiastic supporter of the regime. He had suffered from a kind of nerve pain during the cold and damp season, which would only improve when the summer season approached. His wife was a devoted believer in the traditional Taiwanese religion, and always criticised her husband's adoption of Japanese Shinto. She assumed that her husband's disease was relevant to his change of belief. The couple argued constantly about their different beliefs.

However, one year his nerve pain did not improve when summer arrived. His wife went to Ma-Zu³⁴ Temple to cast lots³⁵ and the resultant message she received was that "there is a respectable person in the eastern direction". Thus, his wife went back to her parents' house which was in the east, and found a doctor of Chinese medicine for him. It was like a miracle: his long-term nerve pain recovered after a course of Chinese medicine. Facing such an efficacious experience, his faith in Japanese Shinto fluctuated, and at the same time his enthusiasm towards Imperial assimilation faded away. When his son had lung disease, and his wife invited a Taoist priest to their home for the ritual of disease relief, the husband was not only unable to oppose his wife, but also was expected to worship Guanyin³⁶(觀音), displayed in his ancestors' table. At the end of this story, he recalled a memory of his childhood where he had knelt down to worship Guanyin and many youths who believed in Shinto censured his

³⁴ Ma-Zu is goddess in folklore legend and is popular in Taiwan. Native Taiwanese believe that their pioneer ancestors were able to cross the most dangerous channel between China and Taiwan with simple facilities during the 16 and 17 Century, as they were protected by a goddess of the sea - Ma-zu.

³⁵ In Taiwan, casting lots is a very popular custom in most temples.

³⁶ Guanyin is the most popular Buddhist goddess in Taiwan.

worship. He was unable to understand what had happened to him. At the end of the novel, the author describes how a stubborn self had finally found his orientation while he worshiped Guanyin:

Stars all over the sky, red frames shaking slightly above candleholders, items offered to deities were piled up.

Deities, ancestors, wives and children, the mutual affinity of family members - like heart linked to heart.

For him, it has been many years with nothing like this.

He looks up at the status of Guanyin, with gratitude. His eyes brimming with tears.....

He put his two hands together, suddenly, one of his hands grasped one corner the desk, and he bent his body.

He was kneeling down to worship

The light of red frames illuminated his face; he then prayed. [my translation]
(Please see Appendix 9: pp51-2 for the Chinese origins)

This small piece of writing is from “Empire writer” Cho Chin-Po (周金波) who had enthusiastically encouraged colonial youths to join the Japanese army and attempt to transform Taiwanese culture. It seems to me that time brings great changes to the world and an active reformer is now searching for the most authentic religion to heal his chronic disease. This chapter demonstrates that the conflict of masculine identification might result in various kinds of psychological problems. These include narcissism, self-destruction, schizophrenia, feelings of becoming effeminate, male

hysteria, hyper-masculinity, escaping and regression. These problems in the colonized male are evidence that masculinity and the father were imposed, and did not grow out of the normal ambivalence of the boy towards his father. This produced a confused masculinity and male figure. I conclude that the colonial male was not only feminized, but some men became hyper-masculine as a reaction to the feminization. In any event, what seems to have remained was a distortion of masculinity, in the form of domination and castration, but not a resolution of the Oedipus complex, and I find this supported in literature and film. I would not say 'nature' vs. artificial creation, but rather something like a normal progression to oedipal resolution vs. a truncated Oedipus complex, dominated by a hyper-masculine idea of a father (the colonizer) and a frustrated, castrated, insecure male (the colonized male).

Chapter 4: Cultural imagination: How parent-child relations are shaped by myths and legends

Mankind never lives entirely in the present. The past, the tradition of the race and of the people, live on in the ideologies of the super-ego, and yields only slowly to the influences of the present and to new changes; and so long as it operates through the super-ego it plays a powerful part in human life, independently of economic condition.

(Freud, 1933, p 84)

I consider that resistance to the idea of the Oedipus complex might relate to the form of parent-child relations in the Chinese cultural imagination. According to previous scholarship in the field of Chinese studies, the Oedipus story is missing from traditional Chinese literature, and thus incest has never been a common theme. In contrast to the Oedipus story, tales of “filial piety”(孝) have emphasized kinship and domestic morality in the traditional family. Ho states about the term ‘filial piety’- “it puts the accent on impulse control, not self-expression; moral correctness, not psychological sensitivity; obedience and indebtedness to parents, not self-fulfilment” (Ho, 1998, p11). How parent-child relations are defined in those legends, myths and stories, and whether cultural roots that determine how hierarchical parent-child relations are conceived prevent Chinese recognizing the dark side of parent-child relationships, are discussed below.

I will examine the debates in previous scholarship and evaluate whether the Chinese account of the Oedipus complex has different nuances, implicit in different cultural connotations. The Oedipus story will be read by Chinese readers in the context of the dominant notion of “filial piety”, conveyed by a substantial body of legends, myths and folk stories. Within this discourse the notions of fate and will that are central to an understanding of Oedipus weigh for less, and the drive that is expressed by the term ‘Oedipus complex’ is understood differently. In this chapter, I will analyse the

psychological implication of these stories, and how they impose on children feelings of responsibility to their parents, and moral failure to live up to expectations. I explore the roots of parent-child conventions in Chinese mentality, and whether the - necessarily oblique - approach to an understanding of the Oedipus story cost Chinese psychoanalysts a chance to explore the dark side of parent-child relations in depth. This is not to suggest that behaviours or human nature are necessarily different, but that language and (cultural) expression frame a different understanding; one that escapes Freudian analysis as understood in the West.

Part 1: Freud's concept of the Oedipus complex and Taiwanese culture

In Freud's most significant declaration of the universality and centrality of the Oedipus complex, he says:

Every new arrival on this planet is faced by the task of mastering the Oedipus complex; anyone who fails to do so falls victim to neurosis. With the progress of psychoanalytic studies the importance of the Oedipus complex has become more and more clearly evident; its recognition has become the shibboleth that distinguishes the adherents of psycho-analysis from its opponents.

(Freud, 1920, note to *Three Essays*, p266)

Most people, in Taiwanese society, if asked whether an Oedipus complex exists within them, might find it very difficult to recognise such an incomprehensible concept. They may deny that they have ever harboured such a thought and even feel angry, thinking that if patricidal and incestuous sin can be accepted, what kind of sin could not be accepted? These responses lead to resistance and misunderstanding of psychoanalysis and the unique importance of "the complex" which occurs before we develop our language and cognition. Once this complex has been repressed, our later conscious mind or cognitive understanding may not be able to re-construct experience as it originally occurred. However, just such an emotional constellation of "the complex" could be observed in three- or four-year-old children, neurosis patients, and in dream, myths and literature.

Why did Freud particularly choose the Greek myth, *Oedipus Rex*, to represent his discovery of the complex between father and son, which he first termed the “nuclear complex”? Oedipus is considered to represent an unconscious impulse - “unknown” to one’s conscious state - just as, when Oedipus killed his father King Laius and married his mother Jocasta, he was completely unaware of his patricidal and incestuous action. This implies that the occurrence of our unconscious impulse during the early non-verbal stage is “unknown” to our conscious state and to our later, verbal, development of cognition. It is important to acknowledge that, from a psychological point of view, the real danger (threat) of the Oedipus complex is that it is “unknown” allowing later domination by this unknown force: once recognition of the complex becomes conscious, the danger is reduced.

Another connotation of the first part of *Oedipus Rex*, is that it represents the “phallic phase of sexuality”. Sophocles describes King Laius as a violent, rough and hostile person, representing little boys’ view of their fathers at this stage. When Oedipus met King Laius on the narrow road the cause of their argument was who had a right to go through the narrow path first. King Laius attempted to push Oedipus away with violence but Oedipus did not want to give way. This dispute escalated into a fight and Oedipus (unknowingly) killed his natural father. The “narrow path” symbolises Jocasta’s genitals: the real connotation of this paragraph is a contest over who has a right to have sexual intercourse with this wife and mother, contested by husband and son during the child’s phallic phase. When Oedipus discovered the truth he blinded himself as a punishment for not “seeing” anything of his own truth. To blind himself here is not only a symbol of self-punishment but also a symbol of castration. The castration complex is known to occur following the Oedipus complex. At this stage the boy finds his father is very close to his mother but he realises that he cannot challenge his father, because his father possesses more power and may punish him by castration. Normally, little boys cannot endure the psychological pressure of castration anxiety for long. Hence, in order to dismiss this anxiety, they have to adapt the principle of reality, to give up their feeling of hatred towards their father and their sexual impulse towards their mother. The second play, *Oedipus at Colonus*, represents

the next stage of the latency period. Oedipus is exiled from his kingdom, accepts the final judgments of the gods and finds a holy wilderness where he obtains forgiveness and peace from the God of Earth. This part represents the boy's beginning to identify with his father and to accept moral and social norms. Within this account of the construction of human civilization, the sexual impulse of the phallic phase is repressed; instead, feelings of shame and the need to be cultivated as a rational person are developed, and thus the super-ego is formed.

At the beginning of this play, Oedipus "does not recognize his father" and he finally finds peace in the sacred grove which is given by the God of Earth - this also connotes that Oedipus is a figure who belongs to a matriarchal society. Earth is a symbol of love, a natural principle and reality of human existence, emphasizing the blood-tie and the connection between people and the earth. The third play, *Antigone*, represents a matriarchal society in contrast to a patriarchal society that emphasizes law, will power and hierarchy. Although the whole trilogy, *Oedipus Rex*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*, mainly describes the conflicts between father and son, this conflict may not derive solely from sexual desire. It might also derive from the counter-attack of a matriarchal society against a patriarchal society. The connotations of these three plays may contain not only sexual meaning but also an attitude towards authority, a trace of a distorted memory of a primitive social structure.

Oedipus is a tragedy, the hero trapped between fate and will, between a natural drive and social law, between matriarchal society and patricidal society, uncovering his own dark truth. If the Oedipus story, with its unlikely coincidences and twists of fate, continues to move people deeply it is because, at a deeper level, it reflects the reality of the human situation.

The Greek legend relies on an understanding that there is a force greater than an individual's intention to determine his or her future - fate or destiny. Whether *Oedipus*

Rex precisely represents the “unclear complex” which Freud proposed is another issue (which I discuss below), but it is clear that the notions of fate and will – however much someone wills by every means to avoid destiny, they cannot escape their fate – are central to the understanding of irony - the psychological paradox of *Oedipus Rex*. However, the Chinese understanding of the words which translate as “fate and will” present very different aspects from Greek and English definitions, and for this I will give a detailed explanation later in this chapter. I will also illustrate the story of Hsueh Jen-Gui (薛仁貴), recognised as a disguised Chinese form of the Oedipus story, in which we can see the patriarchal principal is emphasised.

The manifestation of the “unknown” and “invisible” characteristics of the Oedipus complex may take various forms according to the perceptions and cultural framework of parent-child relations. However, recognition of the Oedipus complex may not be glibly verified by the verbal expression of psychoanalysis. Michael Feldman elucidates how the Oedipus complex can be manifest in the inner world and the therapeutic situation. He says:

It is only by carefully attention to the dynamics of the session, in particular to the counter transference experience (including the subtle pressure on the analyst to act in particular way), that some of these aspects of the Oedipus situation can be recognized. They are often derived from a very early period of the patient’s experience and were not represented in his mind in words, but in feelings or actions or impulses towards action. Even if they do derive from slightly later stages of development, they often involve perceptions and interactions with parental figures that were characterized not by verbalisation, but by uneasy collusions or evasions. (Feldman, 1989, p105)

He demonstrates that “such characteristics of the Oedipus complex give rise not only to problems in understanding the patient, his fantasies, anxieties and conflicts, but also to technical difficulties for the analyst in knowing how to handle the situation and deal with the pressures that draw him into an enactment of aspects of the oedipal situation.” (Feldman, 1989, p105)

Melanie Klein adapted the term “oedipal situation” and included in it what Freud had referred to as the primal scene, that is, the sexual relations of the patients both as perceived and as imagined. She thought that the “oedipal situation” began much earlier than Freud suggested, and began in relation to part objects before evolving into the familiar Oedipus complex. In 1926 she wrote

At a very early age children become acquainted with reality through the deprivations it imposes on them. They defend themselves against reality by repudiating it. The fundamental thing, however, and the criterion of all later capacity for adaptation to reality is the degree in which they are able to tolerate the deprivations that result from the oedipal situation. (Klein, 1926)

The oedipal situation is a turning point at which children start turning their internal reality to their external reality: most psychoanalysts do not deny the unique importance of the Oedipus complex. However, it is also recognized that patients encounter difficulty in finding a cognitive expression in which to manifest this complex. Moreover, some aspects of the complex derive from later development, often involving perceptions and interactions with parent figures. We learn how to act as a parent or child based on perceptions derived mostly from cultural influences; the child’s perception of parents may stem partly from real experience with parents and partly from their own imagination, fed by cultural images.

Freud proposed that the super-ego is formed through the internalisation of the parental figure, and functions as does parental authority: it is a resolution of the Oedipus complex. Although various figures, such as teachers, respectable role models or religious leaders can be identified as part of our super-ego in later life, the parent’s attitude towards the child is the primary agent of the super-ego, and determines whether one’s super-ego acts rigidly toward the ego. The super-ego acts independently as a monitoring agent upon the ego. Freud states, “The super-ego applies the strictest moral standard to the helpless ego which is at its mercy; in general it represents the claims of morality, and we realize all at once that our moral sense of guilt is the expression of the tension between the ego and the super-ego.” (Freud,

1933, p76) Therefore, the super-ego takes over the power, function and method of the parental agency.

While the child has to cope with conflicting wishes, in the context of the family relationships the parent may find themselves in a dilemma that results partly from their own oedipal conflicts and partly from those projected onto the parent by the child. (Feldman, 1989, p105) Thus, the process of integrating the parental relationship into the super-ego is complicated and could be influenced by cultural frameworks that are shared from generation to generation. Freud states

Thus a child's super-ego is in fact constructed on the model not of its parent but of its parents' super-ego; the contents which fill it are the same and it becomes the vehicle of tradition and of all the time-resisting judgments of value which have propagated themselves in this manner from generation to generation.(1933, p 84)

Freud goes on to make the remarkable comment that:

Mankind never lives entirely in the present. The past, the tradition of the race and of the people, live on in the ideologies of the super-ego, and yields only slowly to the influences of the present and to new changes; and so long as it operates through the super-ego it plays a powerful part in human life, independently of economic condition. (Freud, 1933, p 84)

Myths and legends provide a rich source for exploring the cultural roots of how parent-child relations are defined. The tales of the *Twenty-Four Filial Sons* are vehicles for the notion of “filial piety”(孝). These stories saturated Chinese culture, in homes and schools, helping people - especially children - to understand the principal of filial piety. This concept, therefore, has been the most dominant value system in Chinese family tradition, and is part of the vocabulary of social commentary. Although these twenty-four filial sons were understood to be real historical figures in Chinese history, some were obviously mythological (Wang & Wong, 1996). For instance, the story of “A boy who catch fishes in a frozen river”. In the Jin dynasty, a boy named Wang Chung, whose mother died when he was a little boy, had a

step-mother who treated him badly and often said something untrue to impute his faults in front of his father, thus causing his father to become distanced from him. However, he did not hate his step-mother; instead, he often caught fishes for her, because his step-mother was fond of fishes. One day, in a very cold winter, his step-mother wanted fishes to eat. However, the river was frozen and he was unable to fish. He then lay down to melt the ice. As a response to his filial devotion, the ice suddenly broke apart, whereupon two fishes jumped up.

Another story is that of “A boy who cried for bamboo shoots.” In the dynasty of Three kingdoms, a boy named Meng Kung-Wu, whose father died when he was young, lived with his mother in a very poor circumstance. One winter, Meng’s mother was sick, and wanted to eat bamboo shoots. However, bamboo shoots only grow in the spring. Not knowing how to fulfil his mother’s wishes, the filial son fell in front of a cluster of bamboo trees, and wept in supplication. In response to his sincerity, bamboo shoots miraculously appeared. On eating soup made from the bamboo shoots, his mother recovered quickly.

Such explicit suggestion that a child’s “sacrificing him or herself to fulfil a parent’s wishes”, even enduring physical suffering, could be considered as exaggerated and make readers feel very uncomfortable. However, we may consider why the stories should be told in this way. Specifically, a sick mother wanting to eat bamboo shoots during the winter is obviously an unreasonable request, and the young boy, not knowing how to fulfil his mother’s wishes and falling in front of bamboo tree and weeping in supplication, is equally irrational. Such expression of helpless emotion may still find recognition even in modern times, when parents always have their own ideas of how children should be, even when children cannot fulfil their wishes. But, why are the stories concerned only about the parent’s welfare? Should children be sacrificed in this way? The stories are framed so that, even when the parent’s requests are unreasonable, as long as they are obeyed the child obtains protection from God – miracles occur. Wang, a researcher of Chinese study in incest and taboo, has

explicitly stated that the presence of the filial son stories may help to explain the absence of the Oedipus story in China. (Wang & Wong, 1996)

Moreover, there are certain popular idioms (set phrases) that reinforce the notion that the “parent can not be wrong”. For instance, a phrase such as “there is no such parent who can deliberately harm their own children” (天下無不是的父母), means that, even if parent has done something apparently inappropriate, they should not to be condemned as being motivated to harm their own children. Similarly, there is another phrase “even a violent animal like a tiger would have never eat their own young” (虎毒不食子), those popular phrases are to emphasize that the benevolence of the parental nature should never be doubted, “trust” between child-parent is necessary. Such notions have strongly imposed the “ideal image” of parents on children, giving an absolute power and authority to the parent, completely ignoring that the parent as a “natural person” possesses their own impulses, emotions and dark sides of personality. Moreover, from a psychological point of view, such expression can be considered to block the psychological and emotional reality of being a parent as well as the unconscious dynamic between parent and child. Such images, when internalised, as Freud claims, form firstly an agent of the super-ego, then tension between the super-ego and ego, so that the conflict between id and ego may be more severe than in other cultures.

Part 3: A Chinese version of the Oedipus story

The Oedipus story would be read by Taiwanese readers in the context of the dominant notion of “filial piety”, conveyed by a substantial body of legends, myths and folk stories. The story of Hsueh Jen-Gui (薛仁貴) is considered a superb example of a disguised form of the Oedipus story. A chief general of great martial skills guarded the Empire Tang Tai Tsung (唐太宗) during the Tang dynasty; Hsueh Jen-Kuei was assigned to military duty on a distant frontier and achieved great victories. In one version of this legend, on his way home for his first time after 18 years of imperial service, Hsueh saw a youth shooting wild geese. Impressed with the youth’s skill, he challenged him to a contest of marksmanship, claiming that he could shoot two geese

with a single arrow. The youth accepted the challenge, whereupon Hsueh shot him instead of geese. Hsueh exclaimed “I could have spared the boy, but a soldier like me could never let another live if he was superior in marksmanship with the weapons in which I excel.” The denouement was the tragic realisation that the youth Hsueh had killed was none other than his own son, Hsueh Ting-Shan (薛丁山), born shortly after he left home 18 years ago.

Hsueh Ting-Shan’s dead body was carried by a black tiger to a male priest who healed him. The priest taught him wisdom and skill for fighting. After seven years, Hsueh Ting-Shan rescued his father in a battle, thus father and son met again. In his journey to many battles, he met two women who were stronger than him and married them against his own will, he was seduced by the first woman and bent to his father’s will to marry the second woman. The third woman was the daughter of the enemy’s commander, but they deeply loved each other. However, the third woman married him three times and was sent home three times. Hsueh Ting-Shan found the third woman killed her father and two brothers in order to marry him, and proposed a false peace treaty between the two counties. Once, Hsueh Ting-Shan shot his father by accident; however, not until his father died was he able to reunite with his third wife and have a son.

Their son Hsueh Gan was rebellious; he killed the Emperor’s official and hit the Emperor’s grandson, thus causing the extermination of his entire family. At the end of the story, Hsueh Gan knelt down in front of his family’s tomb, begged for forgiveness from the whole family, and attempted to end the cycle of father-son conflicts. (For the detailed story, please go to Appendix 2, pp15-23)

Part 4: Analysis of the structure of the Chinese Oedipus story

Three strands of thought can be discerned by analysing the structure of this Chinese equivalent to the Oedipus story. The first is the father-son relationship, the second the relation between the two sexes; and the third is the father-daughter relationship. These

relationships have been considered the most important when literature or legends are analysed from psychoanalytic aspects. On the theme of hierarchy in father-son relationships the common characteristic in versions of this story is “conflict and death”. The significant feature in the theme of husband and wife relationships presented in the Chinese story is that women are by nature stronger than men but they finally surrender to a patriarchal social system. However, the theme of father-daughter relations presents a complete contrast to western stories in which the favoured daughter is sacrificed to her father’s interests then, after serial struggles, finally finds her true love (e.g. *Beauty and the Beast*, *Sleeping Beauty*). In an interesting contrast, in the Chinese story the daughter kills her father in order to pursue her love.

Looking closely at the father-son relation, Hsueh Jen-Gui was both an undutiful son and a bad father. He was unable to speak until he was 15-years old, and the first words uttered by him since birth occurred on the eve of his parents’ fiftieth birthday. Hsueh Jen-Gui dreamt a white tiger entered his camp, he was frightened and shouted “That’s too terrible.” The next day, he greeted his parents but after he started to speak, his parents died first and then the other. Hsueh Jen-Gui was therefore identified as a white tiger star, or a ‘jinx’: it was said that “when someone met a white tiger, disaster must follow, and if a real white tiger opened his mouth, people might die’. Because he was described as a white tiger star, Hsueh Jen-Gui was blamed for killing his parents.

In this story, Hsueh Jen-Gui is also described as a “bad father.” He never fulfilled his duty and obligation as a father, and on the way home after 18 years, he killed his son by “accident”. When he saw the boy’s body carried by a black tiger, he sighed and said, “It’s a pity, but this is his fate” [可憐, 命該如此]. When he saw his wife was overwhelmed with sorrow and grief to the extent of wishing to die, Hsueh said to his wife, “Don’t cry, this child was not destined to enjoy his life” [不必哭啼, 是孩兒沒福]. His response is inadequate for a good father even though father and son had never seen each other, nor experienced father-son relations. When Hsueh Jen-Gui challenged and shot the youth because he could not bear that his marksmanship was better than his own. There is a sexual connotation in that the marksmanship can be

considered a phallic symbol; the father feared that his son's marksmanship was better than his own and he did not allow his son to challenge him: this might have the symbolic meaning that a son cannot be sexually more powerful than a father or, in Chinese ethical thinking, can be a warning that perhaps "filial piety means children are not to be more powerful than parents". When Hsueh Jen-Gui saw the youth's marksmanship, unconsciously, he was threatened, even though he had no conscious recognition that this was his natural son. There are many stories and clinical case histories that show that a child with unconscious fear of his father's sexual power had to relinquish hostile feelings towards his father and his loving feeling towards his mother. Rage directed at father and frustration at his own disadvantage, is a son's primarily narcissistic injury. At the same time, the father's fear, jealousy, competitiveness, and the wish to get rid of his son is also been aroused in a ambiguous form - especially, in this story, where we see the father's revealed fear of a son (a son who had never seen his father and lived alone with his mother for 18 years). Once the father returned, the son might probably be considered an obstacle to his parent's reunion and indeed, when Hsueh Jen-Gui arrived at home and noticed a man's shoes (Hsueh Ting Shan's shoes), the first thought that came to mind was that his wife might have been having an affair while he was away from home. From this tiny subtle clue, we may speculate that Hsueh Jen-Gui might unconsciously wish his son gone so he would be able to live peacefully with his wife. Afterwards, when his son, together with his wife, appeared in the battle to rescue him he did not show gratitude but was very unpleasant. Later, there were serial disputes between father and son, all concerned with women. Conspicuously, the father fears his son's impulse to replace him, which is oedipal. The Chinese version of the Oedipus story seems to reveal a "Laius complex", which I discuss later.

Although, from the surface of this story, we may see that the father suffered from his son's disobedience, the son suffered from his father's unreasonable requests and authority. Hsueh Ting-Shan was first shot by a stranger (his unknown natural father) and he was saved by a male priest. Even when he later rescued his father in battle the conflict between father and son did not cease. He was punished rigorously because he did not respect his father's authority to arrange his marriage. In fact, the so-called

“father’s authority” contains various self-contradictory thoughts. When his father knew he had married a bandit because of her force and seduction, he punished him because he condemned him as a “lustful man.” However, when his father forced him to marry a Commander’s daughter (both Chen Chin-Ting and Fen Li-Hua) there was no such accusation of “lust” because the marriage was for the father’s benefit. When Hsueh Ting-Shan married Chen Chin-Ting, his father gained a powerful relative who might join his troops in alliance; when he married Fen Li-Hua, his father considered their marriage might lead to a peace proposal for the Tang Empire. If we look closely to see of what “authority” consists, we may find there is no coherent thought but the theme of a father’s fear of a powerful son and the selfishness of a father’s judgments. Chinese ethical values have given parents tremendous power and imposed upon children the belief that benevolence and trust between parent and child should not be doubted. This ideology of parental authority is firmly implanted in the inner space of young children’s mentality; children fear authority, obey authority, hate authority, but have never been encouraged to question what authority means. In order to adapt the ideology of parental authority, children might have to paralyze their innate sense of what their actual relationship with a parent is. The legend reveals the reality of the parent’s emotional life and the dark side of the parent’s personality in contrast to the edifying stories and ideologies of Twenty-Four Filial Piety sons.

With regard to the sons in the Hsueh story, the three generations, Hsueh Jen-Gui, Hsueh Ting-Shan and Hsueh Kang were all considered “bad sons” – Hsueh Jen-Gui was described as a malignant star, responsible for his parents’ deaths; Hsueh Ting-Shan went repeatedly against his father’s orders and finally shot his father; Hsueh-kang killed the Emperor’s official then escaped, causing the Emperor to execute the whole family. The legend is read in a society which emphasizes the norm of filial piety as central to the dominant moral value system. The legend ingeniously disguises the unconscious impulse of killing a son or killing a father, instead, transforming it into an “accident”, an “arrangement by God” and suggesting “the fate had been determined”. In my view, the concealment of motif is like oedipal story where it suggests an unconscious wish. Furthermore, the story is framed so that the rebellious sons all made retribution for their action, perhaps attempting to escape the

examination of our conscious censorship. However, we are still able to speculate that the writer has attempted to mitigate the severe conflict between father and son through this story.

Hsueh Ting-Shan might not be always considered a “bad son” - he was an “innocent son” in the beginning when his father shot him on his way home; after he was saved by the priest he still attempted to be a “good son” and to rescue his father; when his father punished him for serial unwilling marriages he was labelled an “undutiful son” and finally when he accidentally killed his father, he became a “rebellious son”. He presented different attitudes representing an escalation of conflict during the different stages of his life.

It would be too painful for Hsueh Ting-Shan to recall his memory of being shot by his natural father’s “arrow of fate” and this may represent a stage in which a boy was innocent about his natural drive – he has not recognised that his marksmanship should not be better than his father’s, hence his innocent drive had been shot by father, Afterwards, his wounded body was carried by a black tiger and sent to a male priest, Wang Ao Lao Tzu, who healed him and inspired him to learn wisdom and skills in fighting, allowing Hsueh Ting-Shan to stay with him in the mountains. This stage might represent a boy’s hurt feeling in an Oedipus triangle; he attempted to heal himself by identifying a father (the male priest) and started to develop his super-ego. The son staying with the male priest suggests the splitting of the father into good (the priest) and bad (his father). In the Oedipus complex, these are the same person – the good father with whom the son identifies and the bad, prohibiting father.

After seven years, Hsueh Ting-Shan was told that his father and the Emperor were trapped by the enemy. When the priest asked Hsueh Ting-Shan to rescue them, he hesitated, and said to Wang Ao Lao Tzu, “I would rather stay in these mountains to cultivate my spiritual life, and to learn the ways of longevity.” However, after consideration, he decided to rescue his father and the Emperor. This elucidates a son’s

hurt feeling towards his father: when he was informed that his father was in danger, Hsueh Ting-Shan's feeling was reluctance, but after a struggle of feeling and thought, his thinking won. This part might be thought to represent in particular a Chinese cultural form of super-ego which imposes a strong obligation to parents and a sense of guilt on children, no matter how much pain they have experienced. In particular, children are told that they are indebted to parents; and when parents feel the burden (or hardship) of rearing children, they also consider themselves indebted to children, perhaps in their previous life. Freud suggests that the rescuing of a father or Emperor often occurs in poems or folk tales because this is how the son maintains his dignity in the conflict of father-son relations. This statement also rightly interprets the Chinese mentality of feelings of indebtedness and guilt towards parents, and the rescue of the father seems to suggest that "I do not want to owe my father anything, he gave me my life and I save his life." To rescue a father may imply that a son has paid off his "debt of life"; perhaps such rescuing protects the son's dignity rather than expresses a son's benevolence toward his father.

The third part represents the stage of "awakening of manhood." When Hsueh Ting-Shan encountered women in his adult life, the first woman he met was on his journey to rescue his father. The beautiful, young woman, Tou Hsien-Tung, was a bandit who was impressed by Hsueh Ting-Shan's handsome and heroic spirit, and she was willing to follow him into battle to rescue his father and the Emperor. Tou Hsien-Tung requested a formal marriage from him, but Hsueh Ting-Shan refused her. However, Tou Hsien-Tung did not accept this, she imprisoned him in her village and forced him to marry her. Although Hsueh Ting-Shan was unwilling to marry this woman, he did not appear to offer much resistance because he could not afford any delay in going to battle and, with the help of Tou Hsien-Tung's troops, they would have a greater opportunity to win. Therefore, his first marriage was half the result of force and half the result of seduction by this woman, and it was influenced by his need to be at his father's side.

Hsueh Ting-Shan also met his second wife in battle. When Hsueh Ting-Shan was found by the enemy, he attempted to flee to the mountains. He saw a strong woman who was killing a tiger, and he called, "Help me, sister." The woman threw the dead tiger at the chief general and caused him to fall from his horse; Hsueh Ting-Shan was then saved. The woman who saved his life was a supreme commander's child called Chen Chin-Ding (陳金定) who was well-known for fighting tigers. She had a strong, vigorous physical appearance, her face was tanned and unpleasant looking. When Hsueh Jen-Gui knew his son was saved by a supreme commander's offspring, he ordered his son to marry her. Hence, his marriage to his second wife was a conventional marriage which was forced on him by his father.

The third woman, Fen Li-Hua, was the most important and most complicated woman in Hsueh Ting-Shan's life. His previous two marriages were forced upon him but Fen Li-Hua was the woman he fell in love with her and wanted to marry. However, when he discovered that she had killed her father and two brothers in order to marry him, he was shocked and on the night of their wedding day, he beat her almost to death. Fen Li-Hua left him three times and was reunited with him three times; she was unable to overcome Hsueh Ting-Shan's confusion of love, fear and anger toward women.

Not until Hsueh Ting-Shan shot his father and his mother withdrew from his life, was he able to settle in marriage to Fen Li-Hua. Later they had a son, Hsueh-Kang. This may represent the stage of "reaching manhood." Although Hsueh Ting-Shan was labelled as a "rebellious son" after he killed his father he attempted to compensate for his sinful action – he started to be a "good father". He was very kind to his four sons, even Hsueh-Kang, who always made trouble for him. He was tolerant of his son's behaviour because he thought this was retribution both for killing his father and also for his failure to be a filial son. On one occasion, Hsueh-Kang was drunk, and killed an officer of the Emperor and kicked the Emperor's grandson. This event brought irrevocable misfortune on the family. The Emperor gave orders to arrest Hsueh-Kang, but he escaped, causing the Emperor to arrest the whole family and sentence them to

death. When Hsueh Ting-Shan was informed the whole family would be executed after three days, his second wife Chen Chin-Ting said to him:” Let us revolt against the Empire”. But Hsueh Ting-Shan decided to submit to arrest and was willing to die for his son. He thought, although Hsueh-Kang was a “rebellious son” he was no longer to be a “bad father”, he would prefer to die calmly to compensate for his own sinful action of being a “rebellious son”. He told all the members of his family that no one should escape from the Emperor’s order. He said,” I die for my loyalty to the Empire, my offspring die for their filial piety, woman die for their integrity, servants die for their righteousness.” Hence, manhood and fatherhood was re-established by sacrificing himself and the innocent blood of the whole family – a surrender to patriarchal principals. The norms of a cultural super-ego were thus formed.

Through the above analysis of the father-son relation in the Chinese Oedipus story, a crucial question is raised. We may question why most analysts appeared to neglect the “Laius complex” as Ross (1982) proposed, and why the Oedipus myth focuses on the son's wish to kill the father, whereas the Hsueh story seems more concerned with the father's wish to kill the son. Ross refers to Tang (1992) the reasons may be found both in the sphere of social organisation and in child-rearing practices. Firstly, she pointed out:

In Chinese society the transcendent unit is the family, seen as a multigenerational entity of which individuals are but a part. To a large degree, the individual attains his sense of identity from the family and defines himself principally in terms of his roles vis-à-vis other members of the family system. In development and child rearing, the overriding emphasis is on filial piety – obedience to and caring for one's ancestors, make it clear that the son’s only requirement is to sacrifice his own well-being. (p 4-5)

This statement appears synonymous with what Taiwanese scholars proposed to be the “family ego”, mentioned in my previous chapter. Secondly, according to Tang(1992), another factor is the different approach to child rearing in Western and Eastern cultures. As she indicates:

the Chinese mother typically has far more physical contact with her infant and for a longer period than does her Western counterpart. The infant commonly sleeps between his parents until the birth of the next child.....whereas the prototypic Western son has been supplanted by his father (physically) long before he is aware of his oedipal strivings. In the East, it is the father who may feel the need to forcibly reclaim what is rightfully his (the mother's body). (Tang,1992,p5)

This statement led to the recapture of the Chinese Oedipus story. The symbolic meaning of the absence of the father in the beginning, and the later return of the absent father; might be influenced by child rearing practice in Chinese culture. Moreover, Tang's arguments might offer an understanding of how the pre-oedipal stage influences the development of the Oedipus complex in different cultures.

As Tang states, "the pre-oedipal stage can be described as a conflict-free state in which the son's union with his mother is unaffected by the external reality principal, therefore the son's impulse to treat his mother as a sexual being is set free. Furthermore, as Tang (1992) points out, the fantasy of returning to a conflict-free state is very similar to the state of profound regression in Eastern religion which emphasises the union or merger with the maternal principle expressed, for instance, as Nirvana, Satori, Tao, Dharma, cosmic consciousness or the mystic law of the Universal. What is projected in this instance is the return of the prolonged close mother-infant relationship that preceded the oedipal engagement." (Tang, 1992, p8)

The emphasis on filial piety as an important social-cultural phenomenon as well as a domestic norm essential to the harmonious family, has led to the individual appearing differently from in the West where autonomy, independence, and determining one's own fate through action, are emphasised. To compare the two stories, the implication of the Chinese Oedipus story suggests that characteristics of manhood (or the process of individuation) might include elements of acknowledging one's insignificance,

sacrifice, loyalty and the capacity to endure hardship and emotion without outward expression - unlike the western Oedipus, with the need to kill the father in order to become a man. This might suggest that notions of masculinity or manhood are understood differently in Chinese culture.

Part 5: The comparison between the Greek Oedipus myth and the Chinese version of the Oedipus story

To compare, both legends - of Hsueh and Oedipus - are great tragedies of familial relationships, striking a common chord in human experience. However, the emphasis in the Chinese myth is on the father who kills the son, rather than the reverse. According to Ho, a researcher of relationship dominance, "Chinese legends are replete with filicide, rather than patricide" (Ho, 1998, P10) However, we should remember that the Oedipus story begins with an attempted filicide: after the Oracle foresaw that Oedipus would murder his father and marry his mother King Laius wanted to kill Oedipus by having him exposed in the wilderness. Oedipus was saved by a shepherd and was sent to a neighbouring kingdom where he never knew that he was adopted. When Oedipus grew up and first met King Laius (attempting to evade the prophecy) in a narrow path he was requested to give way by Laius. Oedipus did not want to obey this stranger's order and challenged him. In contrast, when Hsueh was on his way home and first met his son without knowing who he was, he killed him because he could not tolerate challenge. The Oedipus myth focuses on the sexual rivalry between husband and son for the mother, and Hsueh's story is focused on the father's power and authority, with the implication that "challenging the father's authority is dangerous" - but Hsueh's son was completely innocent of challenging his father's authority. Moreover, King Laius passively abandoned Oedipus, but did not actively kill him; Hsueh killed his son with intention and action.

As I mentioned previously, Oedipus is representative of matriarchal society, and emphasises natural law, fate and inner truth, and I consider Hsueh's story to be an example of patriarchal society which emphasizes human law, will-power and hierarchy. In *Oedipus Rex*, King Laius is a figure of patriarchal society and Queen

Jocasta is a figure of matriarchal society. In order to save her husband, Jocasta was condemned to violate her maternal nature by abandoning her son; perhaps Jocasta could be understood to have surrendered herself to patriarchal principles. From the standpoint of patriarchal society, to kill a son who may bring misfortune can be considered as legitimate, but from the standpoint of matriarchal society, such action is an unforgivable sin, thus causing serial tragedies.

King Laius attempted to kill his own son to avoid the Oracle's prophecy that Oedipus will kill him; he did this to avoid his fate, and we might say that King Laius is the person who created the tragic situation. Oedipus also tried to avoid the Oracle's prediction, he apparently tried every means to be a good son: he left the kingdom where he grew up in order to avoid his fate. The most tragic aspect of the encounter is that both father and son, in attempting to avoid their fate, brought it about. However, from the psychoanalytic perspective, the difference between the father and the son is that the father consciously decides to kill his son but the son is not aware of what he has done. The psychological paradox is that if both King Laius and Oedipus had done nothing to avoid their fate, they would have been more likely to escape it. The connotation is that if we did not repress our "unknown" and allowed it into our conscious layer of "knowing", then the tragedies might be averted. We may speculate that the reason why Freud did not focus his elucidation on the theme of filicide was mainly that the "unknown" realm of human psyche (rather than clear intention) is what psychoanalysis is about.

The whole content of Greek mythology has been translated into Chinese, and Taiwanese might tell you that there are similar stories in Chinese myths and legends. However, I consider that the nuance of the Greek myth, that "no-one can avoid his fate, by any means", and the essential notion of fate that implicit in psychoanalysis might not be found in the equivalent Chinese myths and legends; the Chinese form of Oedipus stories (or the disguised form of Oedipus stories) obviously do not convey such characteristics as "unknown or hidden force". Instead, the notion of "will power", has been emphasized. The drive that Freud first described as the "unclear complex"

was termed “Oedipus complex” to facilitate people's understanding of the syndrome of neurosis. To gain a full understanding of such “a hidden structure of neurosis” from comparable Chinese myths and legends, one would seek in vain to trace such characteristics from what might be called Chinese Oedipus stories. The motives of the Chinese Oedipus story are conscious; for example, the father must dominate and even kill to support it.

What else does Freud convey to his readers about the Oedipus complex at a deeper level? The realisation that the child is a sexual being from birth and that this intact drive and sexuality is not contained by any social-cultural structure nor channelled in any particular direction. The Oedipus story possesses its own symbolic matrix, not only something that can be recognised in the surface interactions between parent and child, but the realisation that sexuality is dominated by power structures and external reality.

This aspect of the Oedipus story is repressed by the Chinese stories of filial piety, the dominant notion of Twenty-Four Filial Piety sons and the disguised form of Chinese Oedipus stories, replete with filicide rather than patricide, and can be considered as standing solely in the parents’ position to inculcate in young people how parent-child relations should be. Children in Chinese culture are taught devotion and obligation to parents’ well-being or happiness (this always complies with the idea that children should be obedient, perform well, and not cause concern to parents. Adults should share responsibility for their aged parents' economic life). According to Ho, who studies relationship dominance in Chinese society, the idea that they are indebted to parents (Ho, 1998, pp11-14), and have responsibility to their parents, and the fear of moral failure to live up to such expectation is imposed upon children (Ho, 1998, pp11-14). Such notions have given the super-ego primacy over the ego and id, and the detachment of any instinctive impulse also enhances the super-ego's capacity to play a powerful part in children's mentality. I consider that, from the child's perspective, whether to adopt the attitude of filial piety might not be considered purely a cognitive restraint but an integration of severe conflict between the id and ego, surrender of

themselves to conventions of parent-child relations. Hence, the ideology and the imagination of “powerful and dominant parents” created by this cultural convention, neglect the emotional and psychological reality of being a parent and child. Furthermore, the psychological inter-dependence between parent and child has disposed the Chinese to rarely express their individuation. The problem that Chinese patients have to face is perhaps how to free the internalised object from the dominant parent figure, and strengthen a boundary with their external parents in reality.

Chapter 5: Psychoanalysis in Taiwanese Literature

Art can be a reflection of our unconscious activities, individually or collectively. Writers and artists find a shelter in the realms of the imagination and fantasy, allowing the repressed libido to be satisfied in various forms. Freud's literary mind permeated his writing of psychoanalysis³⁷; he considered creative writers to be neurotics, bringing about reconciliation between the pleasure principle which represents the claims of the libido, and the reality principle which represents the conformability of the external world through writing. He argued that this sublimation—the process of modifying instinctual impulses to conform to the demands of society — gave birth to literary creativity (as adapted in Zhang, 1992, p58).

Variations on the Oedipus theme in Taiwanese Culture:

The concept of the Oedipus complex is important for Freud's theory: it provides a framework in which Freud elucidates the qualitative change of the sexual instinct from a psychodynamic aspect. For Freud, the motivation of human behaviours stems from the libido which is a kind of psycho-energy derived from the sexual instinct; energy that cannot be diminished but can be satisfied directly by sexual acts, be repressed, revealed in dreams and neurotic symptoms, or transformed in non-sexual

³⁷ Freud's disclosure to Stekel is cited in the book *The Autobiography of Wilhelm Stekel*: "Freud told me once, when we were walking in the forest of Berchtesgarden, 'in my mind, I always construct novels, using my experience as a psychoanalyst, my wish is to become a novelist – but not yet; perhaps in the later years of my life'" (Mahony,1982,p12) Freud also considered his writing the product of his own free-floating attention; creativity for Freud himself is a sort of comfort, allowing candour: he says nothing can compare with the pleasure of engaging in creative writing. A glimpse of Freud's own perception of his creativity can be seen in 1910 when he confided to Ernest Jones, "I could not contemplate with any sort of comfort a life without work. Creative imagination and work go together with me; I take no delight in anything else. That would be a prescription for happiness was it not for the terrible thought that one's productivity depended on sensitive moods. What is one to do on a day when thoughts cease to flow and the proper words won't come? One cannot help trembling at the possibility. That is why despite the acquiescence in fate that becomes an upright man, I secretly pray: no infirmity, no paralysis of one's power through bodily distress. 'We will die with harness on', as King Macbeth said." (Mahony,1982,p12)

acts (sublimation). The concept of libido and its transformation cause Freud's theory to be identified as pan-sexual discourse (泛性論). However, Freud is the first person to use the term "Oedipus complex" to describe the transformation of the sexual instinct, and thus to make the untraceable psycho-energy comprehensible within the context of personality structure.

What is the crucial factor which transforms the human sexual instinct into an acceptable form within a social-cultural framework? Freud considers that children aged two to three years old have limited capacity to recognize gender and human relations, so their form of thinking is self-searching, naïve and peculiar. Their limited thinking cannot be judged by an adult who has already fully adapted their thought to social-cultural norms. The Oedipus complex is the turning point for the intact sexual instinct when it needs to be channelled in a specific direction. Although Freud uses Greek myth to conceptualise how the indefinable, formless drive is reconciled with proper thought and moral codes, his entire theory is based on the psychodynamic point of view, elucidating sexual instinct, libido and their dynamic relations with external encounters.

Freud's libido theory was inspired by the Law of Conservation of Energy, proposed by Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894). For Freud, libido appears in the form of psycho-sexual energy, and like any kind of energy in the field of physics: it can be contained in one form or in various forms; it can be directed toward one object or another. The characteristics of displacement allow libido to flow in various forms, such as the Oedipus complex, the Electra complex, narcissism, transference, fetishism and sublimation. Unquestionably, libido in the process of development can also be frustrated or reversed, taking such forms as fixation and regression, which are considered to be the roots of neurosis and various kinds of psychic problems.

Freud believed that there was a complex that caused children to channel their formless instinct into a direction which could challenge their culture and thoughts, hence the

human drive to develop the ego and superego, as distinguished from undirected animal drives. However, the actual term 'Oedipus complex' does not make its first appearance in Freud's writings until 1910. He used the phrases "nucleus complex" and "roots complex" to describe this complex in the earlier stage of his writing, and when he finally asserted the universal validity of the Oedipus complex he adhered to this thesis ever more firmly as time went on. He stated "Every new arrival in this planet is faced with the task of mastering the Oedipus complex" (Freud, 1905, p52)

Freud intuitively referred to a myth transcending the history and variation of the individual life-experience (Laplanche, 1988, p283). There are many explanations for why Freud adopted this Greek myth to illustrate his understanding of the Oedipus complex. Laplanche states:

the history of these researches is in reality coextensive with that of psychoanalysis itself. It is significant; moreover, that Freud himself nowhere gives any systematic account of the Oedipus complex. So we shall do no more here than consider certain questions relating to this complex's function, to its effects and to its role in the evolution of the individual. (Laplanche, 1988, p283).

Moreover, Freud's Oedipus complex seems to be too simple to cover all consequences of the phenomena which appear to be individually different. Laplanche further states:

The Oedipus complex was first discovered only in its 'simple' or 'positive' version, and it is also in this form that it appears in the myth. But as Freud notes, this is but "a simplification or schematisation' when it is set against the complexity of actual experience A boy has not merely an ambivalent attitude toward his father and an affectionate object-choice towards his mother, but at the same time he also behaves like girl and displays an affectionate feminine attitude to his father and a corresponding jealousy and hostility toward his mother." In practice, a whole range of hybrid cases stretch between the two poles constituted by the positive and the negative forms of the Oedipus complex. In each case the two coexist in dialectical relation to each other, and the task of

analyst is to ascertain what the different postures are which the patient takes up as he assumes and resolves his Oedipus complex. (Laplanche, 1988, 284)

Thus, it is crucial to acknowledge the meaning Freud gave to the Oedipus story - the trauma of the Oedipus story is the trauma of the transformation of sexual instinct, or radically speaking, the trauma in a revolutionary moment – transition from one state of being to another; transition from nature to culture. It marks the entry of the subject of desire into the network of social relations and the symbolic order of cultural values.³⁸ As Toews states, “The events of the story are ‘objectification’ of wishes, not reflections of ‘external’ events” (1998, p72).

Freud extended his notion of the Oedipus complex more broadly when he wrote in *Totem and Taboo*:

As the conclusion, then, of this exceedingly condensed inquiry, I should like to suggest that its outcome shows that the beginning of religion, morals, society and art converge in the Oedipus complex. This is in complete agreement with the psychoanalytic finding [*Feststellung*] that the same complex constitutes the nucleus [*Kern*] of all neurosis, so far as our present knowledge goes. It seems to me a most surprising discovery [*eine groBe Uberraschung*] that the problem of social psychology, too, should prove soluble on the basis of one single concrete point [*einem einzigen konkreten Punkte*] – man’s relation to his father.

(Freud, 1913, SE vol. xiii.p156-157)

³⁸ Oedipus is considered to represent the unconscious impulse - “unknown” to one’s conscious state - just as, when Oedipus killed his father King Laius and married his mother Jocasta, he was completely unaware of his patricidal and incestuous action. This implies that the occurrence of our unconscious impulse during the early non-verbal stage is “unknown” to our conscious state and to our later, verbal, development of cognition. It is important to acknowledge that, from a psychological point of view, the real danger (threat) of the Oedipus complex is that it is “unknown” allowing later domination by this unknown force: once recognition of the complex becomes conscious, the danger is reduced.

Sexual energy is no different from any other form of energy which possesses no thought, ideology, or judgment, when it comes to a state of tension: it needs relief in some way. The Oedipus complex is a turning point which forces people to detach themselves from their sexual instinct, and objectify or idealise their sexual desire. Henceforth, energy can be endowed with meaning and channelled to a favoured direction; energy can also appear to be unreconciled with bestowed meaning. Freud's entire theory is how the 'id', 'ego', and 'super-ego' deal with this dynamic energy.

As Freud admitted, the "Oedipus complex....is such an important thing that the manner in which one enters and leaves it cannot be without its effect". (Freud, 1927, pp133) The absence of any dynamic that leads a boy to radically renounce his object-related desire and to internalize the father's law is the beginning of the superego, which later develops into the wider dimension of morals and religion.

Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex was rejected by many scholars; for example, Jung proposed that libido may not merely belong to sexual energy but to a general vital energy, sexual energy is only part of this vital energy. Adler also rejected Freud's libido theory; he claimed that human behaviours are all dominated by will to power: all kinds of motivation – no matter whether good or bad - are all striving for superiority. Therefore, Adler believed that an inferiority complex is the source motivation, not sexual energy. Freud never altered his view on the Oedipus complex, even though his claims incurred his disciples to quit partnership with him. In Taiwan, desexualized energy was more acceptable and Jung and Adler met with less resistance than Freud as is evident in the distortion of the Oedipus myth.

The Oedipus story is one of the models that Freud applies to demonstrate his reading of the transformation of sexual instincts; however, how profoundly can Freud's implication be understood in a different culture, with alien myths? The tragedy in ancient Greek legend is made up of different elements: any given story could be recognized or rejected, mimicked or distorted, added to or suppressed, interpreted or

misrepresented. That is to say, across the variations of different cultures and specific retellings, the sense and nuance of the Oedipus myth was reworked or changed. Particularly, this involved a familiar pattern of psychoanalytic interpretation. The novel is an oedipal triumph over in the form of a victory over the Chinese immigrants.

Three Taiwanese novels have been selected as containing themes that I would identify as similar to Freud's thinking. Wang Wen-Hsing's novel *Family Catastrophe* (家變) reveals a son's oedipal triumph over his father and also an oedipal triumph over China in the form of a victory over the Chinese immigrants. Wang Chen-Ho's novel *Rose Rose I Love You* (玫瑰玫瑰我愛你) displays the falseness of the traditional framework; the oedipal mood is expressed by attacking political and religious authority. Chiu Miao-Chin's novel *Crocodile Notes* reveals Freud's concept of anti-cathexis and the writer's split psyche reflects her social identity in Taiwan's political environment. The authors voice Freud's thoughts in Taiwanese literature³⁹, representing three different generations, expressing different styles and language in their writing.

Part 1: Wang Wen-Hsing's novel *Family Catastrophe* (家變)

In the material I present in this thesis, Freud's Oedipal theme is overtly displayed only in Wang Wen-Hsing's⁴⁰ novel *Family Catastrophe* (家變) where it is the central

³⁹ Although Taiwan is part of the Chinese-speaking world, many Taiwanese scholars claim that Taiwanese literature should not be categorized as Chinese literature, as their form of linguistic expression diverged. Therefore, formally, at the universities in Taiwan or China, Taiwanese literature is distinguished from Chinese literature. Taiwanese Literature is not considered representative of Single-Chinese culture, and Taiwanese authors' novels mostly describe the early settlers' risky life: rural life, farmers' hard work, fishermen's struggle with the sea, or the poverty of people. We call those Taiwanese writers "indigenous writers" (本土作家) and their novels are called "native literature" (鄉土文學)

⁴⁰ Wang Wen-Hsin was born in 1939 in China, his family settled in Taiwan in 1947. He is a distinguished Chinese mainland writer in Taiwan. He received his BA in foreign languages and literature from the National Taiwan University. In 1960, together with his classmate 白先勇 歐陽子 陳若曦 he established *Modern Literature* in Taiwan, and Wang Wen-Hsing was the editor of this periodical. Afterwards, he went to America to study American literature and obtained a masters degree from the University of Iowa. From 1965, he was a writer and lecturer at the National Taiwan

concept and the central emotional element, defining Wang's iconoclastic treatment of lower-middle-class family conflict. The oedipal mood is vigorously revealed in the son's emotion; however, there is no physical fighting and no sexual contest: the only physical fighting between father and son is displayed in son's dream. This can be seen as using dream's disguised form to express the oedipal mood. In the son's dream, the oedipal mood is allowed free expression; however, it also conveys essential metaphors - society pretends not to see the brutality of the father but only condemns the son's unfilial behaviour. In one description of the son's dream, the father violently hit his son and the son was on verge of death. When the police came

The police officer looked into every corner of the house, but strangely enough he couldn't find [the son]. Even when his eyes clearly landed on Fan Yeh's body he missed him, glancing over him as if he looked and couldn't see, saw and couldn't register. Meanwhile, Fan Yeh kept gesturing to the policeman, waving and calling, but to no avail. The officer was to make no discovery. (Wang, 1995, p229)

The blindness the police officer displays in the son's dream represents the ignorance of society, unable to see the unbalanced moral judgement between father and son. When the son fights the father back, the dream is described:

Simultaneously, the son pulled himself off the floor and chased after his father; he aimed the knife at his father, plunged it hard into his back, stabbing him once, twice... and the universe turned topsy-turvy. He felt the heavens swoon and change place with the earth. Fan Yeh woke up with a start. Yes, the earth was quaking; it was an exceedingly violent earthquake. (Wang, 1995, p229)

The son's dream displays the kernel of the oedipal mood and the cultural attitude towards the oedipal mood, in which people ignore the father's brutality but condemn the son's violence toward his father as impudent insubordination.

For the brief story, I adopt Sciban & Edwards' description: The novel starts with the abrupt departure of the father, a retired civil servant, from his Taipei home, wearing pyjamas and slippers, giving no hint that the departure is permanent. At different stages in his search for his father, the son recollects their relationship through childhood, adolescence and early adulthood. The narrative traces the progress from the son's psychological and physical dependence on his father until he is appointed assistant professor in History at a university, when his aging parents are supported at his expense. The son's narrative expression moves from admiration in his childhood, to disillusion in his youth, and finally to contempt for his father as an adult. The son cannot restrain his feeling of revulsion which results in the abuse of his father, eventually forcing his father to leave his home, never to return.

The father, a Fukien⁴¹ native with meagre education, is one of those mainlanders who moved with the National Government to Taiwan around 1949 and were employed as petty bureaucrats. Typical of those of his position, he finds himself always financially straitened, yet lacking in qualifications or connections to improve his situation by scaling the bureaucratic ladder. Also typical of those in his predicament, he has made several desperate, futile attempts at financial improvement. He enters on a joint business adventure which ends in his being cheated. He once defrauds his office – supposedly a common practice among his colleagues – and consequently brings himself humiliation. As it is, his family lives in squalid indigence. (as adopted in Sciban & Edwards' description, 2011)

The son's attitude toward his father changes as a result of his developing awareness of poverty and its accompanying consequences. Apart from the normal share of children's traumatic experience, his early childhood is nothing special, just years of protective affection, which in the son's eyes, made his home a desirable haven and cause him to see his father, especially, as knowledgeable and strong. His admiration of his father is such that it takes on a physical dimension: once when they are taking a

⁴¹ A province located on the south-eastern coast of China.

bath together, he is 'awed' to find his father's "naked body as pure and white as a lily, with extraordinary strong and smooth muscles".(Sciban & Edwards, 2011)

The son's love for his family decreases with his growing exposure to the philistine values of society, of which his own family is a microcosm. He finally reaches a point where he becomes ashamed of his family's poverty, which in turn leads him to be disappointed and ultimately disgusted with his parents – the more so when he finds himself the very image of them: he becomes lost in violent self-hatred. What distresses him even more is that he finds in himself "some cowardice and a lack of aggressiveness in some area of his life, exactly like his father." By the time he attends college he has all but reversed the fond perception of his family he had as a child. On page 126, he makes an inventory of his changed perceptions. He notices that his father is actually short and crippled, ignorant and irresponsible; his mother completely lacks good taste and constantly lies; his parents have reared him on a plethora of old wives' tales, and their teaching in the matter of filial piety has been selfishly motivated.(as adopted in Sciban's description, 2011)

It is noteworthy, although the son also has a negative feeling toward his mother, however, his relationship with his mother is surprisingly good: he might shout at his mother when his mother disturbs him when he wants to be alone, but his hostility toward his mother is not constant and he never picks on his mother as he does on his father.

A sad, vicious circle is in operation: the son's persistent hostility contributes to the father's senile regression, further fuelling the son's anger, which in turn prompts more grievous torments. The family has thus been permeated with a "poisonous atmosphere." The son's sadism grows to monstrous proportions: once, furious that the father has written to a distant relative for monetary aid, the son confines him to his bedroom for three days and during the confinement forces him to do without meals twice; after the event, the father becomes more seriously crippled and his hair turns

white. Finally, the father leaves home – for good. (as adopted in Sciban and Edwards’ description, 2011, p180)

Under social pressure, from the day he noticed his father was missing, the son keeps searching for his father by advertising for him as a missing person in the newspaper, expressing his complex feelings in the narrative. Each time the son’s message in the newspaper seems more and more eager for his father’s return, but in the son’s narrative the more he reviews his relationship with his father, the more he is able to rationalise his abusive manner toward his father, and his misgivings gradually fade away. The author creates an intersecting structure to represent the adverts and the son’s point of view achieving an omniscient point of view (Gunn, 1984, p33) so that readers are able to view the overlap of the son’s conscious actions and his unconscious emotion. For instance, one of chapters describes the son’s message to his father in the newspaper:

SEARCH

for father

Dear Father,

You have been gone for nearly three months. Please come home.

Everything will be resolved according to your wishes.

Your son,

Yeh

The author follows this by describing various types of father viewed by the son when wandering in the street: there are many middle-aged males, among them surely a large number who are fathers. Those father figures evoke in the son mixed feelings of pain and sympathy:

And had he not just read in the paper about how a bottom-rung civil servant had embezzled public funds to the tune of three hundred thousand dollars, and how in his statement to reporters after his case was brought to trial, this civil servant had disclosed the fact that he had stolen the money in order to feed and clothe his three small children? Well, such a man, too, was a type of father figure. Another news item in the paper caught his eye. A crowd of people who were selling their blood on the black market somehow got into a fistfight outside one of Taipei's public hospitals; not a few among these black-market blood-sellers, too, were fathers. And these fathers belonged to the category of down-and-out, long-suffering middle-aged men who had to sell their own blood in order to provide for their sons and daughters. Just then Fan Yeh turned down a narrow street that had been transformed into a temporary marketplace. A group of laborers was laying tarmac on the road; they, too, were mostly hard-working middle-aged men who lived by the sweat of their brows. On the roadside were the street vendors; some were selling vegetables, others were cloth merchants, still others were trying to interest passersby in the paper windmills they sold. All these people were at least middle-aged, if not older, and among them too must certainly be a great number of men who could claim the title of father. And here they all were, in this open marketplace, among the vegetables and miscellaneous goods, selling whatever they had to sell, expending every ounce of energy, exercising every bit of wit, selling their very life's breath.

(Translated by Susan Wan Dolling, 1995, p230-231)

The following fragment intersects the son's memory, when he recalls violent emotion after a terrible fight with his father. The son had written his diary in broad strokes to match his fury.

Family! What is family? Family is probably one of the most unreasonable institutions in the world! It is absolutely pitiless, the most cruel, most inhuman, immoral social organisation! The members of a family are bound by blood in the network of genealogy, yet this people in the same family are in the main so different from each other that their personalities are bound to clash. As fire cannot mix with water, how can we expect these people to coexist in the same

environment? To force a family of three people to live under the same roof is like throwing three different species of wild beast together – a ferocious lion, a vicious tiger, and a virulent leopard – throwing them together and locking them up in the prison of one small cage. As a rule human beings tend to find the condition of insult/shame insufferable. But that is not all. So long as one is human one will also find stupidity/obtuseness intolerable. My own parents, unfortunately, had to fall into this latter category, and in my father's case the description is particularly apt. From their point of view, it might look as if I am the one who is mistreating them. After all, I am always losing my temper. But, in reality, it ought to be acknowledged that they are the ones who are mistreating me. Family life, daily living in this family, is unendurable. Doing time here is worse than having to live the collectivistic life of the army during compulsory military service.....A great number of problems in today's families arise from the fact that people like us, those of a younger generation, have no real way of taking our parents to task, no way to punish them properly, since we can't very well string them up and give them a good thrashing. If a child misbehaves or causes trouble, you feel free to yell at them, beat them up even, and then, afterward, your anger and frustration are dispelled and the problems that have brought on the bad feelings too are also dissipated. But toward one's own father, one's own mother, this means of expression is out of question. Bad blood accrues in this stagnant pool of resentment where anger increase hatred and hatred multiples upon itself! (Translated by Susan Wan Dolling, 1995, p231-234)

The son's emotion and rational opinion are written like an essay in this novel, and some people think that this lengthy criticism is a technical defect. The novel is largely written in a poetic form with visual and musical sensation, and the intrusive expression of opinion in this novel seems to be incongruous with the author's style. The author explains that he thought about that when he wrote it, but he chose this incongruity, for he felt that only by inserting such an inharmonious passage could the idea of this book be fully expressed. (Shan, 1984, p 57) Although, this novel explores ethical issues regarding filial piety, the violent emotion is mainly focused on the father and son⁴², and the vigorous, dynamic energy in the son's narrative seems to

⁴² In chapter 150, the oedipal mood between the son and mother is stated transparently as following: "Even though the quarrels between Fan Yeh and his father continued unabated, the son's relationship

find no expression of a young man's mentality. Through this circumlocution the oedipal emotion penetrates the rational opinion on the issue of filial piety through the son's revelation of his disillusion with the father figure.

Filial piety is one of the differences from the West, especially, in 1970s Taiwan, moral climate is conservative, and writing an essay to attack parents and family value as such is intolerable to society. Wang Wen-Hsing's novel *Family Catastrophe* matches the emotional truth and plot of the Freudian Oedipal theme, thus is considered a classic example of making a conscious effort to apply Freud's theory. Many critics note Wang's academic background – Foreign language and American literature and lectures at National Taiwan University. Moreover, in the earlier 1960s, Wang had been one of group of Taiwan writers introducing Joyce, Kafka, Camus and other modernist and existentialist writers to Taiwan through his translations and articles. Thus, the conspicuous oedipal theme in Wang's novel, caused him to be attacked as both having “drunk too much foreign water” and “revealing unbearable pain”, despite his sophisticated writing style, language attainment and emotional truth. Therefore, this novel is considered a western style rebellion against Taiwanese traditional culture, especially, to fit Freud's Oedipus complex which is exactly the core of the issue that many people can not face squarely.

By the end of this novel, after constant searching, nothing has been heard from the father, and a veiled expression by the author describes the oedipal mood between the son and the mother:

Time passed. It was almost two years to the day. The father had still not returned. For Fan Yeh (the son), however, life at home, living with his mother, simply, from day to day, just the two of them, was much happier, much easier than it had ever been before. As for the plans and other such arrangements that he should be making to go out once again in searching his father, this son, it would seem, had

with his mother was surprisingly quite harmonious.” (translated by Susan Wang Dolling, 1995 p229)

almost ousted them from his mind. During this period of calm Fan Yeh enjoyed a physical well-being, a degree of good health that he had never, in any period of his life, enjoyed. Consequently, he became rosy cheeked and robust and was already prematurely acquiring the fullness of figure of a middle-aged man. As for his mother, her hair, it must admitted, had more white in it than before, but it was a shiny, healthy white, and it had a brilliance about it that exuded vigour. Judging from this, she could easily, as a matter of course, live another twenty years or more. (Translated by Susan Wan Dolling, 1995, p248)

Edward Gune interprets:

the son's narrative expression of his childhood hatred of his father's physical and moral authority over him is gradually replaced by physical equality, and the hatred for his moral authority is transformed into contempt for his father's actual moral and intellectual failures. The son then rejects his physical resemblance to his father (60,162), a form of self-loathing which turns to rage at his father as the son reverses roles with him. This Oedipus conflict is closed when the son replaces his father as his mother's sole companion. Thus a process is presented in which the father is replaced by the son, but this act of substitution also involves a transformation of son into the father.The story is equally motivated by Yeh's (the son's) commitment to society, his reluctance to submit to arbitrariness or the Oedipal force (1984, p32)

Edward Gune quotes Joseph Lau's observation of the social significance of the history of Taiwanese writers influenced by modernism and existentialism, and discusses Freud's oedipal theme in this novel from two aspects. He states:

First, the theme was not merely a function of the importation of Freud's theory, but also the depiction of a son's rebellion against a structure of power within the Chinese family inherited from the past and now headed toward demise with the rise of a new social order in Taiwan. Second, Wang's frank portrayal of the issue facing Chinese families in a changing society had finally brought cosmopolitan modernism home to the Chinese in a way that earlier interest in modernism and existentialism among Chinese writers and intellectual had not.....Lau

asserted that while this work may have broadened the intellectual horizon of Chinese readers and their appreciation of universal aspects of human experience, the original short fiction written by Wang and others had betrayed an inability to apply their artistic and intellectual concerns to anything significant within a Chinese society. *Family Catastrophe* changed all that (Gune,1984, p29)

In the history of Taiwanese literature, Wang Wen-Hsing's novel *Family Catastrophe* (家變) is a most controversial novel. When this novel was firstly published in Taiwan, in 1973, it caused great disturbance in this conservative society which placed filial piety at the centre of ethical morality. The content, writing style, structure, plot and language of the novel were very creative but were criticized as departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy, and identified as 'heresy'. Wang Wen-Hsing was labelled as an "immoral author" during the 1970s. (Wang De-Wei, 1984, p30) Although several conferences were held in order to discuss the ethical issue in this novel, a famous writer Chang Hsi-Kuo (張系國) pointed out that "*Family Catastrophe* has described the psychological variation between the young and old generations; compared with other similar novels, Wang's novel is much more profound." Professor Yen Yuan-Shu (顏元叔) from National Taiwan University states "*Family Catastrophe* is a creative, sophisticated, truthful, precise, implicit piece of work which should be ranked as a novel of rare excellence in the history of Chinese literature. In short, this novel can be summarized in a word - that is 'authentic'" [my translation] (Yen, 1973, p61) Taiwanese scholars' commentary shows that Freud's Oedipus complex convinced in literature and was accepted in it, as a psychological truth. The controversy that surrounded its publication is evidence of how alien Freudian thinking still remained in Taiwan.

As an example of the modern novel which conspicuously expressed Freudian oedipal themes in 1970s Taiwan, Wang Wen-Hsing's writing represents Chinese mainlander style, which is considered to use the most sophisticated language to express the most violent emotion between father and son. This novel is an undistorted form of the expression of oedipal mood in adulthood, there is no physical fighting except in one

of the son's dreams⁴³, and therefore, a violent oedipal mood is distorted in dream form. There is no indication of sexual competition, there is no blood to be seen but there is emotional abuse even chillier than killing. In this novel, the author has successfully reconstructed the child's oedipal mood and has revealed it in an adult's unconsciousness acts, showing it to be dynamic and persistent, reminding readers of certain experiences about which many of them might have familiar feelings that they are unable to tolerate within a context of moral conformity.

The emotion between the father and son relationship appears in Taiwanese cultural products, such as the myth *General Father General Son*; Tsai Ming-Liang's films *The River*, Li An's film *Push Hand* and *Wedding Banquet* and Hou Hsiao-Hsien's films

⁴³ In chapter 149, there is a lengthy description of the son's dream. In his dream - he was hit by his drunken father, and his father shouted "I gave you life, I fed you, I have the right to do away with you. I can hit you, destroy you, grind you to powder if I so choose" And on and on. Someone was pounding the door, wanting to get in. His father forced him out of his drunken stupor and got to his feet. A tall and imposing police officer stood outside the door. Even though he was outside, this policeman somehow knew that a murder was taking place inside the house and had come to investigate the matter. On seeing the officer, father kowtowed obsequiously, almost doubling over in ceremony, playing the fool. He said he had no idea what the policeman was talking about, that no such thing as a murder could have taken place in this house. The police officer looked into every corner of the house, but strangely enough he couldn't find him. Even when his eyes clearly landed on Fan Yeh's (the son) body he missed him, glancing over him as if he looked and couldn't see, saw and couldn't register. Meanwhile, Fan Yeh (the son) kept gesturing to police officer, waving and calling, but to no avail. The officer was able to make no discovery. He wondered: "could it be that I am truly dead and gone?" As he was thinking about this, his papa bent down and laughed in his face gloating, derisive, and hooting with abandon. The police officer was long gone. This was also when Fan Yeh reached out and grabbed the sharp blade his father had left lying on the dirt floor. The blade sparkled as he lifted it and swung it back, thrusting it deep into his father's bosom. Dripping with blood, his father made a mad dash for the door. Simultaneously, he pulled himself off the floor and chased after him; he aimed the knife at his father, plunged it hard into his back, stabbing him once, twice.....and the universe turned topsy-turvy. He felt the heavens swoon and change places with the earth. Fan Yeh woke up with a start. It was not a dreaming state, in reality, the earth was quaking, and it was an exceedingly violent earthquake. He heard his parents talking to each other on the other side of wall. "It's an earthquake, Oh, quick...."(translated by Susan Wang Dolling, 1995, pp227-229)

The City of Sadness, *The Puppermaster* and *Dust in Wind*. They all give more or less insightful portrayals of father-son relationships or present a reversed (or distorted) form of the oedipal mood. For example, the myth presents the father killing his son instead of the son killing his father and, in the end; the son kills his father accidentally. *The River* displays father and son accidentally making love in a dark room. Although some of these films may not focus specifically on the theme of father and son, certain strands of interpretation have noted the tone of father-son relationships, which give the audience an unforgettable impression, even through a glance or a short conversation. For example, in native Taiwanese director Hou Hsiao-Hsien's (侯孝賢) films *The City of Sadness*, one scene displays the aged father scolding his son with a question afterwards, "The Japanese police said that I am a hoodlum, what kind of hoodlum do you think I am?" One scene in *Dust in Wind* shows the aged grandfather attempting to comfort his grandson, recently disappointed in a love affair and losing his will to live. The grandfather brings his grandson to his working field and shows his grandson the carrots he plants. He speaks no words of comfort to his grandson, but keeps repeating his complaints of how hard it was to grow those carrots. His intention is to shift his grandson's sad mood, and the grandson has a tacit understanding of his grandfather's message. The two are standing in the windy mountain field - understanding each other's implication at heart - at the finish of the film.

In *The River*, the father and mother never talk to each other but live under the same roof for economic reasons; however, the father seems to be less powerful than his wife and reliant on his wife's job to sustain their living. In Li An's film *Wedding Banquet*, (Please see Appendix 6, pp41-46) the father is unable to confirm his discovery of his son's homosexuality, and remains silent, unable to lose face or be two-faced. These ambiguous images of father figures have a common characteristic in that they are weak, crippled or opaque, thus the sons lack ultimate masculine identities.

Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex contains two parts – the castration complex and identification, so as to transcend the fear of castration and form the super-ego. To do so, the son must learn how to become the son of the father, that is, through the procedure of identification, the son takes the part of the father inside himself, so that he can love the father and love the father within himself – to create a substitute satisfaction to please his super-ego.

To examine the father-son relationship, in this novel, the father seems unfit for identification; similar to the earlier Chinese myth *General Father, General Son*, the father is too brutal for identification. Both stories reveal the prohibiting father rather than internalised father. This configuration shows that there is castrated fear but lack of ultimate and constant identification between father and son, in Taiwanese cultural products.

To summarise this section: Wang Wen Hsing's novel *Family Catastrophe* is an exception in the history of Taiwanese literature (or Chinese literature) which has conspicuously touched upon oedipal themes, and is very compatible with Freud. People criticize Wang's novel but, on the other hand, can not deny that his novel reveals high degree of emotional truth. Still, most people are unable to confront such emotion. Perhaps, this reaction reflects how Freud's theory of Oedipus complex is resisted, persistently.

Wang Wen-Hsing's novel radically accepted Freud's Oedipus complex and criticised traditional culture and its distortion of the Oedipus complex. The publication of Wang's novel, indeed, is a landmark which indicates modernist Taiwanese culture might accept the Oedipus complex where traditional culture does not - where perhaps a more common situation prevails, in which the Oedipus complex is distorted or accepted in part.

Moreover, it is worth highlighting why Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex is so important to a repressed society. When dynamic energy is channelled to a specific cultural or social norm, the male characters are representative of their entry into the symbolic order. Lack of identification may disturb the flow of libido, or it may reflect an unmentionable pathological condition.

Part 2: Wang Chen-Ho's novel *Rose Rose I Love You*

In contrast, the native Taiwanese writer Wang Chen-Ho's novel *Rose Rose I Love You* (玫瑰玫瑰我愛你) mainly describes sexual energy and its so-called sublimation. Wang Zhen-Ho's writing style and language expression is different from the kind of language used by Wang Wen-Hsing in his *Family Catastrophe* (家變). Wang Chen-Ho's serious motivation is concealed by an undisguised form of language expression. Wang Chen-Ho's novel is considered postcolonial writing, consisting of multiple cultural elements and hybrid languages. The oedipal mood is revealed in a distorted form, using unbearably vulgar language and a comic tone to attack authority, politically and religiously. This novel contrasts brothel life to the intellectuals' involvement in the brothel women's English training course, displaying frank sexuality and so-called 'sublimation'. As he moves from a biological aspect of sexuality to an ideological aspect of sexual consciousness, the author intends to reveal that there is no real sublimation, no matter whether characters are intellectuals, a priest, a lawyer, a teacher or a politician, such as the figures in this satire.

The author does not place moral judgment on any religion or the figures he describes in his satire, but reveals that sexual energy is not easily suppressed; sometimes it looks like sublimation, but it is just a disguised form of hidden sexual energy in religious form, formulating law, polarizing sexuality and manipulating power. In other words, the unsuccessful sublimated sexual energy can neither be sealed in biological entity nor be well-performed or fulfilled at a biological level: this unfulfilled sexual energy transforms into various kinds of manipulation and creates even more conflict and confusion in society.

The plot of the novel, *Rose, Rose, I Love You*, starts with a training course for local brothels, with the help of “professional knowledge” from a high school teacher, a politician, a medical doctor and a protestant clergyman, in order to set up a western style bar-service to meet “international standards”. Those involved in this business had exhausted their ability to meet the requirements of US troops. Their goal was to entertain the American soldiers who come laden with US dollars. Immediately, everyone is mobilized into action, like a carnival. People - no matter what their social status or education background was - are encouraged to follow the rhythm in motion and to dance spontaneously. The readers are therefore invited to jump into a world in which the moral, social and ethical order has completely crumbled, and to embrace the taboos of the society. Ironically, as we can see in this novel, the brothel's life looks like chaos, a disordered world with a complete absence of morality; but still, it is compatible with the moral world with which we are familiar.

Most novels, whenever sexuality is described in the context of a brothel, invite readers to touch the untraceable darkness of human condition; it is always heavy-hearted for readers to bear. Wang Chen-Ho's novel is exceptional; he is able to convey the deepest sorrow of the underclass without bitterness or suggestion that they are being victimized. He does not defend or mould any figure's character from a specific angle - he has let them act out what they actually are and let them speak their own language. For instance, there is large quantity of sexual language in this book, the intellectuals – the English teacher, politician, doctor, lawyer, and clergyman have their sophisticated way of expressing sexual concern while other people - the four managers, their mistresses and the bar-girls have no ideal or abstract language to express their feeling. In this novel, Wang attempts to reverse our view of intellectuals and the underclass in society; and also reverse the ideology and reality in our conscious awareness of the external world around us.

(1) The story of *Rose, Rose, I Love You*:

I attempted to condense this novel of 120 thousand words into a brief account, providing a perspective, mainly, from the angle of psychoanalysis. (To read the

detailed content, please see Appendix 3, pp24-29)

(2) From Sexuality to Religion:

The whole story is about human sexuality being packaged as a commodity by different groups of people, but the ceremony of packaging human sexuality began with a religion and ended up with a religion. The contradiction of sexuality and religion featuring in literature is not unfamiliar to readers. From Freud's point of view, civilization and social-cultural framework are essentially in contradiction to human desires, thus human beings have to face a tragic choice – either to follow their pleasure principle to enjoy the complete satisfaction of their instinct demand, or to accept the frustration of “id” but to obtain a feeling of security from religion and cultural achievements. To satisfy human sexual desire itself may not be a complex issue, but to satisfy their desire in the context of cultural, social and economic demand has been the most complicated knot of human sexuality. For Freud, neurosis and other psychological diseases are the products of civilization; the emergence of brothels in the dark corners of every society is probably a silent defiance of their civilization.

In Wang Chen-Ho's novel, he places a clergyman, a politician, an English teacher, a medical doctor, and the four managers in the opening ceremony of the training course for Bar-girls-to-be. The ceremony is held in a church; they pray at the beginning and end of it. This highlights a symbolic meaning that the religion was the first place in which human beings began to well-package their sexuality and the last place for humans to modify their sexuality. Human sexuality is essentially connected with religion and unavoidably involves the various dimensions of law, power, language communication, medical knowledge: only when these different dimensions are integrated and well-packaged can sexual desire be satisfied in a benign and secure way.

Human sexuality is integrated into biological, sensory, imaginative, phantasmagorical, ideological and moral worlds, but has never been located securely in a religious

setting, let alone in a thought model or a spiritual (experience) model. Our world has been divided into two parts: good and bad; holy and evil; day and night. The dualism of our mentality, philosophy and religious thoughts means people have been puzzling about themselves and the world around them, especially, when sexuality reaches the point of “unanswerable”. Freud elucidates his religious view in the context of social structure and clinical observation; Jung elucidates his religious view from an experiential aspect; just as Christianity arrived in the period of disorder in the Middle-East, Buddhism arrived in China when societies were chained by artificial thoughts⁴⁴. They provided the function of shaping human instinct and liberation from human shackles in the right time and in the right place. Freud provided a structure for how the first agent of our conscience (a religious sense of rationality) came to be formed, and he attempted to open a gate for human sexuality to super consciousness and so bridge sexuality and moral sense. He claims that this psychological mechanism is derived from the turning point of the “Oedipus complex” and “incestuous desire”. People deny this connection and consider his theory poison to ethical values; however, poison and medicine are two sides of one coin, when people know how to use poison properly, poison can become to a medicine for our neurosis and our society. From sexuality to religion, from id to super-ego, from “God” to the God, with deepest sympathy, Wang Chen-Ho’s novel provides us with the best illustration of people’s attitude toward their own sexuality through his ironic, comical and insightful depiction.

Wang’s novel is modern and is labelled as post-colonial writing, his novel reflects the underclass’ life state, they superficially absorb multiple cultural and hybrid language which shows the identification is unstable and insufficient. Considerable modern literature and films suggest that the radical, modern authors and directors have a sense of this, and are critiquing the falseness of the traditional family as a cover for brutality

⁴⁴ Buddhist philosophy had been considered as liberating human from artificial thoughts, in the time when Buddhism was introduced to China. Generally speaking, Buddhist teaching did not indicate that the liberation from artificial thought is specifically from the aspect of human sexuality. However, some Buddhist thinking does emphasise blending sexuality with religious practice, though they might not be considered as orthodox.

and lack of relationship, which is 'feminine'. It would account for the resistance to Freud, which the modern cultural elite seem aware of, or at least tuned into the theme for discussion.

Human desires include eating, drinking, sleeping and sex: these desires are all need to be satisfied; however, unsatisfied sexual desire may not pose an immediate threat to survival. Human sexual drive can be sublimated into various forms, or be shaped by religion or rationality, thus channelling our sexual drive into more socially acceptable forms.

Sublimation is a beautiful way of containing human sexual drive; abundant achievements in art, literature, philosophy and science during the era of the Renaissance could be evidence that Christian culture reached unprecedented sophistication. It could be argued that the growth of rational debate, the establishing of a new understanding of conscience, responsibility and human law was the result of this patriarchal religion successfully overcoming people's "incestuous fixation". (Fromm, 2002, p68-69)

Fromm claims that "incestuous fixation" may not be sexual desire for the mother or competition with the father as Freud had described, but desire to regain the feeling of "being rooted" just as the foetus conceived in the mother's womb is someone's first connection with the natural world. Compared with the animal world, the duration of human gestation in the womb is longer than many other creatures; even after birth, the baby remains dependent on the mother. Therefore, the mother is the source of life - of protection, nutrition, love and especially the sense of belonging.

Fromm's interpretation of incestuous desire as the feeling of "being rooted" is very similar to Jung's interpretation of "the wish to return to the mother's womb and to be reborn"; those concepts are close to what Freud terms "primal narcissism". Jung believes that the wish to be reunited with the mother (nature) possesses a religious

meaning of uniting the self with divine nature. When people are frustrated by their love (or sexual) life, they often turn to religion; religious experience provides a similar function to the state of “primal narcissism”.

When a baby leaves the mother’s womb, the umbilical cord has to be cut; when a child grows up it has to leave the mother’s protection. Although, in the adult world, someone is able to be fully self-reliant and manage their own life, the feeling of returning to the secure state of being protected never vanishes. Considering the unexpected mistakes and uncertain encounters to be coped with in an adult’s world, the yearning to feel protected may not be less than a baby's, though the protection adults seek is in a different dimension. Therefore, religion, government, or national identity has filled the role of substitute mother and the feeling of being a part of a whole which is something longed for by adults. Thus, Fromm considers, broadly speaking, nationalism, idolatry and centralisation of state power are also different forms of “incestuous fixation”. (Fromm, 2002, pp74-78)

Freud suggests that the development of human conscience derives from the super-ego. Every human being has to go through the stage of Oedipus complex, repressing the feeling of being in love with the opposite sex parent and identifying with the same sex parent, then the super-ego (rationality) can develop properly. A real conscience, from Fromm’s point of view, should extend to someone's capacity to love the group of people who do not belong to his ethnic, national or religious identity. Overcoming “incestuous fixation” means to develop an objective mind which possesses the capacity to understand his relations with strangers, his relation with family and his relation with himself.

Freud considers the Oedipus complex is important because it is a turning point from sexuality to super-ego so that human conscience can develop, although he did not explicitly point out what kind of conscience is derived from our super-ego. Fromm considers that rationality is the great achievement of human beings; however, the

“incestuous fixation” has never been completely overcome, it appears in various forms - from neurosis to rationalism, they are ubiquitous.

Although Jung cannot agree with Freud's view that the human libido can be viewed merely as a psychological mechanism, he does not deny that sexuality is another face of God, or denies that the inhibition of sexual instinct has something to do with the religious sense (super-ego). He relates an experience from his childhood⁴⁵ in his biography, *Memories, Dreams and Reflections*.

Jung's view of the connection between sexuality and religion was initiated from his dream of the phallus⁴⁶, when he was three or four years of age. He never spoke

⁴⁵ One fine summer day that same year, I came out of school at noon and went to the cathedral square. The sky was gloriously blue, the day one of radiant sunshine. The roof of the cathedral glittered, the sun sparkling from the new, brightly glazed tiles. I was overwhelmed by the beauty of the sight, and thought 'the world is beautiful and the church is beautiful, and God made all this and sits above it far away in the blue sky on the golden throne and'. Here came a great hole in my thoughts, and a choking sensation. I felt numbed, and knew only: 'don't go on thinking now! Something terrible is coming, something I do not want to think, something I dare not even approach. Why not? Because I would be committing the most frightful of sins. What is the most terrible sin? Murder? No, it can't be that. The most terrible sin is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which can not be forgiven. Anyone who commits that sin is damned to hell for all eternity. That would be very sad for my parents, if their only son, to whom they are so attached, should be doomed to eternal damnation. I cannot do that to my parents. All I need to do is not to go on thinking. (Jung, 1963, pp52-53)

⁴⁶ Jung wrote of a dream in his autobiography (*Memories, Dreams, Reflections*)—"the earliest dream I can remember, a dream which was to preoccupy me all my life. I was then between three and four years old." He recounted, "The vicarage stood quite alone near Laufen castle, and there was a big meadow stretching back from the sexton's farm. In the dream I was in this meadow. Suddenly I discovered a dark, rectangular, stone-lined hole in the ground. I had never seen it before. I ran forward curiously and peered down into it. Then I saw a stone stairway leading down. Hesitantly and fearfully, I descended. At the bottom was a doorway with a round arch, closed off by a green curtain. It was a big, heavy curtain of worked stuff like brocade, and it looked very sumptuous. Curious to see what might be hidden behind, I pushed it aside. I saw before me in the dim light a rectangular chamber about thirty

openly about this dream until he was aged sixty-five. He states that his entire youth can be understood in term of this secret. It induced in him an almost unendurable loneliness. He thought that his one great achievement during those years was that he resisted the temptation to talk about it with anyone. Thus the pattern of his relationship to the world was already prefigured, as he states, “today as then I am a solitary, because I know things and must hint at things which other people do not know, and usually do not even want to know.” (Jung, 1963, p58)

Like Freud, Jung had faced honestly his views on religion, and had to endure not only social pressure in his time, but also had to undergo a personal journey to overcome fear (or guilt) of attacking God, whether that god was imposed on him or his own projection. Freud’s paper on religion, *Moses and Monotheism*, was completed in England when he was exiled from Vienna, and he apologized to his readers for repetition and disorganisation in the book, stating that was because this book was completed in a very unstable condition, and his ethnic background prevented him from publishing this paper in the political situation of Vienna, although his viewpoint was conceived long before, when he lived under the persecution of the Nazis.

feet long. The ceiling was arched and of hewn stone. The floor was laid with flagstones, and in the centre a red carpet ran from the entrance to a low platform. On the platform stood a wonderfully rich golden throne. I am not certain, but perhaps a red cushion lay on the seat. It was a magnificent throne, a real King's throne in a fairy tale. Something was standing on it which I thought at first was a tree trunk twelve to fifteen feet high and about one and a half to two feet thick. It was a huge thing, reaching almost to the ceiling. But it was of a curious composition: it was made of skin and naked flesh, and on top there was something like a round head with no face and no hair. On the very top of the head was a single eye, gazing motionlessly upwards.

It was fairly light in the room, although there were no windows and no apparent source of light. Above the head, however, was an aura of brightness. The thing did not move, yet I had the feeling that it might at any moment crawl off the throne like a worm and creep towards me. I was paralyzed with terror. At that moment I heard from outside and above me my mother's voice. She called out, "Yes, just look at him. That is the man-eater! That intensified my terror still more, and I awoke sweating and scared to death. For many nights, afterwards I was afraid to go to sleep, because I feared I might have another dream like that." (Jung, 1962, pp26-27)

To explain the human illusion of religion, Freud claimed that God is created by human beings; humans project their wish to produce the image of God. Freud mentioned this idea in his letter to Jung, he states, “On my own flashes of inspiration – I am quite well again and correspondingly unproductive – I can confide only one. It has occurred to me that the ultimate basis of man’s need for religion is *infantile helplessness*, which is so much greater in man than in animals. After infancy he cannot receive of a kindly nature, the two worst anthropomorphic falsifications he could have imagined. But all that is very banal.....” (as cited in McGuire, 1974, p171) We may not be able to imagine how many obstacles he had to overcome from his religious background and his ethnic origin; how many attacks he had to endure from his time and space. Even in modern times, as in Wang Chen-Ho’s novel, when giving merely a symbolic meaning to sexuality and religion through his literature, the author had to explain cautiously⁴⁷ in his book that the incongruous descriptions of the church has nothing to do with Christianity, stating that the book is for readers who possess very mature minds.

Wang Chen-Ho’s novel, explicitly, has given a symbolic meaning to human sexuality and religion. However, whenever we speak about religion in general, the word “religion” is never provided with a solid definition or a clear conception of what religion is about. Usually we tumble instantly into a fog of philosophy, thought, imagery, inspiration, experience or worship...etc. This novel provides a symbolic illustration of a living god (in a human body or human experience) confronting an ideal god (in human thought), and the dialogue between them is like two parallel lines

⁴⁷ In Wang Chen-Ho’s novel, he offers a description of church:”...People passed fearfully by the donation box. The donation box was very firm and strong but the bookshelf behind the donation box was like a sick patient that might fall anytime. There were gilded Bibles, books for singing and the Gospel on the bookshelf, books newly delivered from a foreign country. There was a small door just beside the bookshelves beyond which, when you opened the small door, forward about ten metres, you could see a toilet – an old style latrine upon which you had to squat when using it, and a stench immediately assailed the nostrils: you could also see numerous white pupae moving.....” (Wang, 1994, p14 author’s own translation)

which never cross each other, the impact of incoherence between them has left a space for readers to wonder what kind of God is able to take care of human beings - as a biological entities with the ideal form of sexual desires requiring to be fulfilled in the context of culture, social structure and religion (thought model).

Jung attempted to distinguish “the experience of God” and “God-image in human psyche”: when he narrated his personal experience, he uses the words “experiencing God”, “experiencing the illumination of well-being”, “God nature” and “I know God”...etc; however, when he wrote scientific papers, he tended to use the word “God-image in human psyche” and thought there was no contradiction from what he had written. He resisted using the word “believe in God” and when he had to mention about his faith in religion⁴⁸, he used the words “my sense of Jesus (Christianity)”.

Obviously, Jung’s expression of “God-image in human psyche” is closer to the God which Freud proposed in his paper “the future of illusion” however, Jung’s broad sense of God is elucidated in his biography, *Memories, Dreams and Reflections*.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ When Jung was interviewed by television in his late age, he was asked “Do you believe in God”, he responded that “I don’t need to believe in God because I have already known God”

⁴⁹ Jung states “Somewhere deep in the background I always knew that I was two persons. One was the son of my parents, who went to school and was less intelligent, attentive, hard-working, decent, or clean than many other boys. The other was grown up – old, in fact – skeptical, mistrustful, remote from the world of men, but close to nature, the earth, the sun, the moon, the weather, all leaving creatures and above all close to the night, to dreams, and to whatever “God” worked directly in him. I put “God” in quotations marks here. For nature seemed, like myself, to have been set aside by God as non-divine, although created by Him as an expression of Himself. Nothing could persuade me that ‘in the image of God’ applied only to man. In fact it seems to me that the high mountains, the river, lakes, trees, flowers, and animal far better exemplified the essence of God than men with their ridiculous clothes, their meanness, vanity, mendacity, and abhorrent egotism – all qualities with which I was only too familiar from myself, that is, from personality No.1, the school boy of 1890.” (Jung, 1963, pp61-62)

In Freud's paper, *The Future of Illusion*, Freud states:

In this function [of protection] the mother is soon replaced by the stronger father, who retains that position for the rest of childhood. But the child's attitude to its father is coloured by a peculiar ambivalence. The father himself constitutes a danger for the child, perhaps because of the child's earlier relation to its mother. Thus it fears him no less than it longs for him and admires him. The indication of this ambivalence in the attitude to the father is deeply imprinted in every religion, as was shown in *Totem and Taboo*. When the growing individual finds that he is destined to remain a child for ever, that he can never do without protection against strange superior powers, he lends those powers the features belonging to the figure of his father; he creates for himself the gods who he dreads, whom he seeks to propitiate, and whom he nevertheless entrusts with his own protection. Thus his longing for a father is identical to his need for protection against the consequences of his human weakness. The defence against childish helplessness is what lends its characteristic features to the adult's reaction to the helplessness which he has to acknowledge - a reaction which is precisely the formation of religion. But it is not my intention to enquire any further into the development of the idea of God; what we are concerned with here is the finished body of religious ideas as it is transmitted by civilization to the individual. (Freud, 1927, p24)

“God” is undefined by concept or language; however, with insight, Jung narrates his experiences of “God”⁵⁰ through a plain language, he has, undoubtedly expressed his concern that “God” should contain the shadow⁵¹ side of human nature and all kind of

⁵⁰ The God put in quotation marks, as Jung proposes here, is perhaps closer to the eastern sense of religion. Jung's illustration of “God” has obtained renown in its elucidation of the essence of Eastern religions. A statement was written by an American scholar that “after two thousand and five hundred years of Buddha's birth on this earth, there is a place far from India, where Jung appeared.”

⁵¹ Jung states that “For a long time the devil had played no part in my thinking, curiously enough. The devil appeared to me no worse than a powerful man's vicious watchdog, chained up. Nobody had any responsibility for the world except God, and, as I knew too well, He could be terrible. My doubts and

earthy desires - including the desire of human sexuality. However, who had made us separate ourselves from “God”, would it be God, the God-image in human psyche, or the personality No.1 within us?

We tend to be “good”, we separate our sexuality from the so-called “holy state”, we label something holy and something “dirty”⁵²; when we put holy and “dirty” together, we call it as “desecration”. In Wang Chen-Ho’s novel, one chapter describes the English teacher’s struggle with where and how to arrange the ceremony for his course. Usually, as a starting ritual of the opening ceremony, all attending have to stand up, sing the national anthem together, face the picture of the nation's founder and the picture of the incumbent president, and then bow three times. The English teacher thought he had no prejudice against what the bar-girls did; however, he considers whether he will be censured for desecrating the Nation, the national anthem, the picture of the national founder and the picture of the president. These are all symbols of veneration and if he is seen to disrespect them he will offend people. However, he still insisted that he was not afraid of people’s opposition; he thought that prostitutes also possess basic human rights; he wonders does the Constitution state that prostitutes can not sing the national anthem? Of course not, but, but.....would it be ridiculous to let those prostitute sing the national anthem on that occasion? He then decided that the place of ceremony should be moved to the church but with no picture, no national flag hanging on the platform, and no national anthem.

The novel is a critique, an exploration of the limitations of traditional culture – its narrow-minded and its covering up darkness and prize artificial virtues. In Chinese culture, people tend to strictly maintain rationality in their family structure; they deny any thought of “incestuous desires”; they avoid hanging any Buddhist statue or picture in the couple’s bed room, because those incongruities are considered as

uneasiness increased whenever I heard my father in his emotional sermons speak of the “good” God, praising God’s love for man and exhorting man to love God in return. (Jung,1962, pp63-64)

⁵² Here, I use the word “dirty” because, in Chinese verbal expression, “dirty” usually contains the meaning “immoral or having an evil thought”.

“desecration”. They label those selling or buying sexuality as a part of “dark corner” which is untouchable. However, they are unable to ban such an inhuman commercial businesses, the government even issue them a license. Why? They don’t want to touch the question - or perhaps, they don’t want to know – why.

Freud’s illustration of sexual drive and the formation of the conscious mind made a major contribution to a scientific foundation on which to frame a psychological structure of moral development which was not addressed in the Utopian realms of religion, philosophy and ethics. (Fromm, 1980, p124) While acknowledging that the quest of a religious life is to integrate the self into a higher moral order and to resolve the ultimate concern of human existence, most people do not know (or are not interested in knowing) from whence this journey starts. Moral internalisation is a lifelong journey. A different depth of moral comprehension is experienced at different stages of life, which cannot be a completed, realistic or satisfactory comprehension if the person only knows their destination without knowing where they set out from.

Sexuality is an inborn, realistic, dynamic life-force. Religion, for Freud, is a transformation of this energy, thus this life-force is a starting point of our moral journey.⁵³ However, our concept of morality is usually very remote from this dynamic

⁵³ In “*The future of an illusion*”, Chapter 4: Freud writes, “The consistency in the relation of the child’s helplessness to the helplessness of the adult which continues it. So that, as we may expect, the motives for the formation of religion which psychoanalysis revealed now turn out to be the same as the infantile contribution to the manifest motives. Let us transport ourselves into the mental life of a child. You remember the choice of object according to the anaclitic [attachment] type, which psychoanalysis talks of? The libido there follows the paths of narcissistic needs and attaches itself to the objects which ensure the satisfaction of those needs. In this way the mother, who satisfies the child’s hunger, becomes its first love-object and certainly also its first protection against all the undefined dangers which threaten it in the external world – its first protection against anxiety, we may say. In this function [of protection] the mother is soon replaced by the stronger father, who retains that position for the rest of childhood. But the child’s attitude to its father is coloured by a peculiar ambivalence. The father himself constitutes a danger for the child, perhaps because of its earlier relation to its mother. Thus it fears him no less than it longs for him and admires him. The indication of this ambivalence in the

energy in religious dogma.⁵⁴ Philosophers provide sophisticated theories of a priori propositions of morals and claim that the self-consciousness of rationality is a necessary process toward an internal understanding of human existence. However, such idealisation of moral self-regulation is merely an ontological speculation in a conceptual form which cannot be thoroughly elucidated through the perspective of a dynamic force driving the human organism. The ethical impulse encourages people to do their utmost to fulfil their responsibilities and to achieve virtue; however, ethical principles have rarely embraced the concept of virtue as living the creative life as individuation. Perhaps, to understand the starting point of the moral journey it is very important to distinguish the conscious form (or content) of a morality and the internal-sensory concern of our moral; Freud's ideas of moral formation and religious illusion were refuted by many apologists in his time and political environment but are mostly ratified in contemporary literature.⁵⁵

attitude to the father are deeply imprinted in every religion, as was shown in *Totem and Taboo*. When the growing individual finds that he is destined to remain a child for ever, that he can never do without protection against strange superior powers, he lends those powers the features belonging to the figure of his father; he creates for himself the gods whom he dreads, whom he seeks to propitiate, and whom he nevertheless entrusts with his own protection. Thus his longing for a father is a motive identical with his need for protection against the consequences of his human weakness. The defense against childish helplessness lends its characteristic features to the adult's reaction to the helplessness which he has to acknowledge – a reaction which is precisely the formation of religion. (Freud, 1927, pp204-205)

⁵⁴ The Buddhist doctrine “Heart Sutra” [心經] states: ” 舍利子，色不異空，空不異色，色即是空，空即是色，受想行識亦復如是”，This clearly teaches that sensory attachment to the external world is a kind of illusion - that pursuing human desire can not be truly satisfactory. (Heart Sutra) In Christianity, the most distinct expression that speaks of separating body and spirituality can be seen in the Bible: “....So I find this law at work: when I want to do good, evil is right there within me. For in my inner being I delight in God's law, but I see another at work in the members of my body, waging war against the law of my mind and making me a prisoner of the law of sin at work within my members. What a wretched man I am! Who will recue me from this body of death? Thanks be to God – through Jesus Christ our Lord! So then, I myself in my mind am a slave to God's law, but in the sinful nature a slave to the law of sin. (Romans 8:4)

⁵⁵ A Chinese scholar Zhang Jing-Yen had surveyed Freud's influence in Chinese literature, she states that “...the presence of Freudian themes in Chinese literary scenes had been focused in three dimensions: (1) the interpretation of creativity (2) the Oedipus complex and (3) the interpretation of dreams. (Zhang, 1992 ,p57)

(3) From Sexuality to Politics

Wang's writing style rebels against the traditional rules of Chinese writing. There is a large number of foreign words (English, Japanese, Taiwanese dialects, indigenous languages) expressed in a Chinese written form, mainly through sound transcription, and the combination of sound association among these languages creates a "new sphere of language" which reflects the historical experience of the native Taiwanese.

Wang's novel, a comical piece of writing - full of nonentities' language, without explicitly or implicitly expressing the theme of Taiwanese self-identity, reminds us that language can exert power which penetrates our soul and awakens nostalgia in seeking the identification of "who am I?" Thus, the language itself in Wang's novel has distinctly conveyed the most essential political posture – a tacit connection between the writer and readers and the figures in the novel. Wang Chen-Ho is representative⁵⁶ of 'native literature' in Taiwan. His novel *Rose*,

⁵⁶ Wang wrote 23 novels and two of his novels - *Rose Rose I Love You* and *An Oxcart for a Dowry* have been adapted for films. Many of his novels are essential reading in the Department of Taiwanese Literature at Universities in Taiwan and China. His novel, *An Oxcart for a Dowry*, has been included in the top 100 works of Chinese Literature in the twentieth century, ranked as the thirty-fourth in the list. He died in 1990 at the age of 50, of throat cancer. Michael Berry describes Wang's life and his works as: "Born in 1940 in Hualian, Wang Chen-ho graduated from National Taiwan University, having studied at its Department of Foreign Languages, the birthplace of the Taiwanese modernist literary movement and the breeding ground of its chief proponents, such as Pai Hsien-yung and Wang Wen-hsing. Wang Chen-ho worked for Cathay Pacific, as a high-school English teacher, and for various Taiwan television and film studios, but chiefly he will always be known for his fiction. Indeed, after his 1961 literary debut with the story *The Ghost and the North Wind*, Wang emerged as a strong literary figure whose unique voice effortlessly straddled the seemingly contradictory worlds of the Taiwanese modernist and nativist schools. Early on, the distinctive style of such short stories as *Auntie Laichun's Autumn Sorrows*, *The Story of Three Springs*, and *An Oxcart for a Dowry* - the last of which Wang scripted into a popular film - set the author apart from his peers and earned him a loyal readership. Most of Wang's fiction is set in his hometown and features moving portrayals of the harsh lives of his rural compatriots; his vivid descriptions are rich in colloquialisms,

Rose I love You has been translated into English and published in America. The translator, Howard Goldblatt, is Research Professor of Chinese at the University of Notre Dame. He has translated numerous works of contemporary Chinese/Taiwanese fictions, and has been identified as the most active and important figure in introducing Chinese/Taiwanese literature to the western world. When he was interviewed and asked about his feeling on translating Wang's novel, *Rose, Rose I Love You*, he answered, "...It is marvellous; a satirical writing which reaches a very high level. There are Mandarin, English, Japanese, Taiwanese dialects and aboriginals' language in this book, some words can not be expressed in language, the author then made small drawings, very funny." (*The Critic of Contemporary Authors* 當代作家評論, 2009, 09:42:27)

However, when this novel was first published in Taiwan, there were various responses from public and academic fields, the criticism were mainly because of the "obscene" or "indecent" content, and some authors labelled it a "scurrilous joke"; the daily newspaper collected public opinions and commented: "Allegedly, many people feel that their cultured and delicate minds have been hurt by this book, and the roars of honourable men are heard from time to time..." (Ling, 2006, Vol.6)

Wang's close friend Shu Fen responded in a television interview and said that "Wang is courageous", however, Wang's wife said to the media: "the more I read the more I dislike it, I do not know what has happened to him (Wang), always writing something indecent" (Ling, 2006, Vol.6) The author Wang Chen Ho told the interviewer that "My wife refused to finish reading my book, and my daughter once approached my desk to get a glimpse of my writing, she left the words 'very lustful' and ran away immediately. I think many people, especially female readers, must

slang, and local color. Although best known for his short fiction, Wang also proved himself equally adept at the novel, the crowning achievement of his long fiction being the masterful lampoon, *Rose, Rose, I Love You* (Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni) (Berry, 2002, Vol.9).

possess a similar view toward my novel; they consider that it may not be necessary to write a novel “from that aspect”, to write a novel should be more “upright and decent” or more “positive”. However, from a writer’s point of view, anything that convinces the readers that makes the figure’s character is reliable and striking is important; the writer should be courageous enough to grasp that aspect, though the writer will probably have to take criticism calmly. But I think the readers, no matter whether women or men, should have generous hearts and allow a writer to possess such freedom to bring his potential into full play.”(Wang, 1994, p209)

Since the May Fourth Movement⁵⁷, modern Chinese writers have had to bear the weight of social-cultural reform as well as the mission of ‘saving the nation’. As a result, reform in literature, commensurate with political, social, and economic reforms, has been undertaken. Moreover, controversy over the relationship between modernisation and westernisation can be also traced to The May Fourth Spirit, which has been characterized as “the beginning of modern Chinese nationalism.”⁵⁸ (Yip, 2004, p31) The location of Freud’s sexuality as translated in modern Chinese literature is described by Wendy Larson who contends that “recognition and release of

⁵⁷ On 4 May 1919 there was a huge protest in Beijing China. Many university students, ordinary citizens, businessmen and people from all classes all gathered together in Tiananmen Square. A huge throng of people demonstrated their rage against the Chinese government’s weakness (diplomatic officials had accepted a humiliating treaty in Paris after the First World War. This event triggered off a political and social crisis – the whole nation went on strike; diplomatic officials’ houses were burned, and the president finally resigned. The thought-provoking and main influence of this event was that the pressing Chinese need of a cultural, social and political reform became explicit: they were seeking the spirit to enable them to defeat darkness, injustice and bureaucracy. Therefore, “the Spirit of May the Fourth” represents a truthful, independent and brave soul who is willing to undergo a personal or a social revolution. The May Fourth Movement also represents an intellectual revolution in China during 1917-1921, in which the intellectual had a strong sense and of obligation to awaken the whole nation.

⁵⁸ In 1911, the Republic China was established, a landmark year when the Chinese monarchy was consigned to history, and a modern political system was established. Freud’s theory was first introduced to China during the period of the May Fourth Movement, coinciding with the important era of Chinese language transformation (白話文運動). China was embroiled in a chaotic situation of war as foreign military invasion was succeeded by the Second World War. (Zhang, 1993, p33)

so-called repressed desire were linked to political progressivism and enshrined as an ideology with potential far exceeding the realm of the sexual. Models of the mind, self, sexual desire, and social life related to Freudian sexual subjectivity assumed a central position in the West; criticism of ‘belated modernity’ notwithstanding, they provided and continue to provide a potent example for other modernising countries (Larson 2009, p3).

Thus, when Freud’s theories were first applied in a practical way in China, it was through the context of educational reform⁵⁹. Government officials held the view that Freud’s theory of sexuality showed that national education about human sexuality was necessary to human health and sexual education was valuable to schools. However, they expanded the notion of sublimation, mainly teaching educators to lead students to discover their own way of channeling desire in the right direction (Zhang Jing-Yuan, 1992, p31-33), in particular, with the entry of Freudian psychoanalysis in China, via Gao Juefu高覺敷⁶⁰ (1896-1993), who considered ‘Freudian repression an

⁵⁹ Zhang Jing Yuan’s research (she studied the Chinese reception of Freud’s theories in pre-1949 China) makes it evident that there were diverse and mixed views on Freud in the translated discussion: some inclined to Freud’s view, other opposed him. It is interesting to see that, while Marxism both integrated and rejected Freud’s theory to reinforce political thought it was the right-wing National Party that had more influence in integrating Freud’s thinking in educational practice. The National Party was a ruling regime in pre-1949, possessed a predominant role in shaping government policy and, although they tried to establish a public image reflecting a drive to a more modern society and to promote the development of social and education reform; however, perhaps because of their conservative nature, or perhaps because of they had other intellectual priorities, they did not particularly engage Freud’s thought in supporting of their political ideology. However, following philosophical, psychological and cultural debates, officials accepted scholars’ recommendation, particularly, reform the whole education system from a psychological aspect and thus related Freud’s theory to education. (Zhang, 1992, p 31-33)

⁶⁰ Gao Juefu (1896-1993) was China’s best-known psychological researcher who translated Freud into Chinese and wrote a series of academic articles to introduce Freud’s concept to Chinese readers during the May the Fourth era. Wendy Larson who evaluated Gao Juefu and Freud’s sexual theories, gave an elucidation about his view of Gao’s essay on Freud. He states: “ Gao’s work stand apart not only from its deep and systematic understanding of western psychological theory, which is comprehensively introduced, but also for his willingness to critically evaluate the theories he encountered. Over his long career, Gao studied not only, or even primarily, Freud, but scores of other famous psychologists and theoretician. He was an expert on social psychology, introducing and critiquing the work of William McDougall (1871-1938) and Kurt Lewin (1890-1947). However, Gao devoted considerable time to

excellent way to turn instinct into a socially beneficial force” (Larson, p54). Although Gao was supporting educational reform with Freud’s sexual theories, he minimized or rejected the overarching sexual theories that Freud proposed, essentially criticizing Freud’s sexual theory as pan-sexualism. In bringing Freud’s psychoanalysis to China, his role was more closely one of censorship. He rejected the biological aspect of Freud’s notion of sublimation, as we all know that Freud’s notion of sublimation is based on the human biological condition. Accepting the central position of sexuality is a necessary precondition for accepting the whole concept of sublimation, thus without both aspects, understanding the whole is impossible.

In contrast, Taiwanese reception of Freud’s theory is most carried out by psychiatric doctors with a medical orientation and therefore more able to introduce Freud’s theories, offering a more neutral aspect of interpretation. Taiwanese psychiatric doctors insist on the integrity of their clinical conscience to elucidate Freud’s works. Therefore, it is very different from 1930s China.

Wang Chen-Ho confessed to the media that he was well-prepared to be severely criticised by the public, even to be rejected by his family. He claimed that his novel “should be placed in a category of restriction” (限制級的笑話小說). In view of this – his writing style, sexual language, undisguised form of describing the size of sexual organs, masturbation, orgasm, and homosexuality – it is not surprising that his novel was criticized as having a complete absence of morality, and was contrary to the May Fourth Spirit. It certainly did not fit the idea of sublimation for educational purpose. In my view, when sexuality is addressed as a “purely biological need” it threatens society because the basic social structure of traditional family is altered. The ‘life in the dark corner’ which we are not able to touch in our moral or sexual education provides readers with an opportunity to rethink their sense of morality.

Freud, publishing several articles on his work and translating key texts. Gao’s approach reveals careful selection of some aspects of this oeuvre, and critique or rejection of other aspects. In his early work, Gao was favorably disposed toward the theory of sublimation; but even as he recognized the value of thinking about “instincts” such as self-preservation and sexual fulfillment, he was critical of Freud’s pan-sexualism (*fanxing zhuyi*). (Larson, 2009, p50)

Wang's novel is a satire: the whole content seems to be completely lacking in morality, but in reality he reverses authoritarian and humanistic conscience and invites readers to approach their moral conception from a biological aspect, the life-force which exists before we form the realm of our thinking. Although, sexuality in the brothel was described in an amusing way, what Wang would like to convey to readers is something beyond thoughts of the moral. Despite provoking laughter with tears, the author left a heavy, silent question mark in the readers' hearts.

Wang Chen-Ho's novel is a comedy; he makes fun of the figures who engage in immoral business and also invites readers to note the moral concepts that frame thought and how remote they are from the realistic, dynamic life-force in sexuality. The realistic sexuality described in this novel is simply a matter of survival – those bar-girls sell their bodies because of their poverty and position in the underclass; the four managers have invested a vast amount of money in bar facilities and they are desperate to recover their capital. The sexual activity in which these people engage is expression of their urge to survive financially. However, the arrival of American soldiers brought enormous confusion in the brothel concerning their attitude toward engaging in the sexual trade as a commercial business. They started to imagine what American soldiers' taste was, and attempted to improve their service through their own imagination of the Western world. In contrast, American soldiers bought sex after a crisis between life and death in Vietnam and needed to indulge themselves during their short leave. For them, life was uncertain; they were unsure whether they would return from each battle. The fulfilment of desire may, like hunger or thirst, need to be satisfied. In neither case is there any suggestion that sexuality entails any joy. Both are tragic. Without labouring the pathos of brothel life, the author attempts to convey his sympathy at the deepest level of humanistic concern. Despite comedic effect, readers are moved to pity.

When Wang was interviewed by one reporter, he was asked the question, "The main figure in your novel *Rose, Rose I Love you* is a high school teacher – an intellectual, which is quite different from your previous novels, most of them are nonentities from

an underclass, does this kind of arrangement suggest a special meaning?” Wang responded, “I have no intention of passing judgment or to deprecate the figures I describe in my novel. Everyone has done something right, and done something not right. I feel that most of us who live in this modern time, are middle man (中間人)⁶¹, I would just want to write the right within wrong and the wrong within right, this character is exactly what I would like to describe in my novel. We always hear the words “intellectuals cause harm to the nation”(書生誤國), we also hear the words “intellectuals save the nation”(書生救國). Which one is correct? In my impression, I have seen modern intellectuals who are sincere in what they say; I have also seen many intellectuals who tend to claim infallibility presumptuously. In some circumstances, what they are saying without seeing the subsequence looks right; it also looks not right. What kind of role in society the intellectuals should play is not what I would like to discuss in this novel, I am only interested in the intellectuals’ pleasure in playing the role of ‘middle man’ (中間人).” (Wang, 1994, p258)

Wang’s novel recalls numerous readers’ humanistic concerns; in his interview he talked about intellectuals enjoying “the pleasure of playing the role of the middle man”, he seems to describe how intellectuals are unable to overcome their own undesirable framework, and how they having enjoy a superior attitude when they are able to fit into this framework artificially, and so retain security of social conformity. At the same time, they impose their ideas and gain benefit from both sides. Therefore, their voice is not representative of authoritarian conscience nor of humanistic conscience.

Traditional Chinese society highly values intellectuals and believe that they are endowed with a mission of saving the country. This was especially so, during the May the Fourth Era in which China was in chaos following foreign invasion –invaded by both military forces and by westernized trends. Intellectuals were then in the frontline

⁶¹ Here, the writer speak in Chinese “中間人” – he means that most people are neither good nor bad, and prefer stand in the middle area of right and wrong, they do not achieve the moral standard of right, but do not touch the red line of morally wrong, from social-cultural sense.

of judging, debating and adjusting to western culture. When Freud's theories were first introduced, intellectuals assumed the role of censors in society, selecting what should be accepted and what should be rejected, interpreting why Freud's theory should be applied in certain contexts and in which way Freud's theories should be correctly elucidated within the framework of their culture.

Evidence of sexuality as a focus and theme to be addressed in Taiwanese literature and films is abundant. For example, Chang Ai-Ling 張愛玲 novel *Lust Caution* 色戒 which has been recently adapted to film and was directed by the most famous Taiwanese director Li An 李安. Another two films directed by Li An are *Wedding Banquet* 喜宴 and *Brokeback Mountain* 斷臂山, both films focus on the theme of homosexuality. The other distinctive director Tsai Ming-Liang 蔡明亮 produced a series of films which give an in-depth description of sexuality and homosexuality, *The Wayward Cloud* 天邊一朵雲, *The River* 河流, and *The Hole* 洞. In particular, his film *The River* describes a homosexual father and son, who, on visiting a homosexual sauna, unknowingly make love with each other in the dark. This film has been widely discussed and is considered to cross the line of cultural taboos.

The above mentioned films were all produced after 1980, when the KMT regime allowed a less strictly controlled media, acknowledging that that the long-term manipulation of propaganda to impose Chinese consciousness on native Taiwanese, would result in the return of "Taiwanese consciousness" with added force. Especially in 1979, when the US formally established a diplomatic relationship with communist China, US Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act which would aid Taiwan unofficially, instead of continuing diplomatic relations with KMT regime in Taiwan. Chiang Ching-Kuo (蔣經國) realized that he had to root his regime in the native Taiwanese to mitigate panic about the island's future. It was also the only solution that enabled the KMT regime to maintain its legal status in Taiwan.

From 1949 onward, the KMT regime settled in Taiwan, under the control of martial law, and any vision or language which was considered excessively related to sexuality or politics were severely repressed by the censorship of media (including newspaper, publishing, TV, broadcasting and movies). The forbidden rules of censorship related to visual forms of sexual display including violence, exposing the three points of the female body and the male organ, masturbation, oral sex, inappropriate positions in sexual intercourse, homosexuality, and any vision which would convey inappropriate ideologies and obstruct the core of morality.

Although New Cinema (after 1980) had established its style and depth as a reflection of social reality, its development was still limited by strict censorship. The most conspicuous example was Tsai Ming-Liang films *The Wayward Cloud*. When it was first submitted to the office of press censorship (新聞局電影檢查處), the 15 censors insisted that certain scenes had to be cut, because they could not consent to such visual images being displayed in public. However, after many discussions and a series of negotiations - the director re-presented his ideas to the press censors, explaining that the visual image of sex is only the surface of his film and not the central theme he wanted to convey to the audience. The press censors finally decided to allow the intact film to be shown to a wide market. Not long after Tsai's film was shown in Taiwan, the film was awarded prizes at the Berlin and French Film Festivals. When Tsai was interviewed by a film reporter, he told the media: "what I would like to express in this film is about love – love in a body (身體的愛) - it is impossible to talk about love without talking about the our body. Body does not belong to our parents, or belong to the nation, or belong to our confusion." (Tsai, 2005)

Although Tsai's film *The Wayward Cloud* displayed sexual images which go far beyond the press censors' standard, some (although not all) realistic visions of sexual intercourse and most ideas about sexuality are conveyed by symbolic forms of music, dance and drama, to demonstrate the figures' fantasy world. Freud's sexual symbolism has been often applied in Tsai's films, for example, in the umbrella

musical scene - "*The Wayward Cloud*" (Please see website display below 1⁶²) the umbrellas represent phalluses, many people hold umbrellas and dance forward and backward in a 'narrow bridge' representing sexual intercourse, with the mouth of the dragon and tiger representing the vagina. Another scene "*Love Begins*" (please see Appendix 2⁶³) starts with four colorfully dressed girls dancing in front of Chiang Kai-Shek's bronze statue. Since 1949, in order efficiently to impose 'Chinese consciousness' on native Taiwanese, the KMT regime established numerous Chiang Kai-Shek's statues in schools, parks, halls and public areas. Primary schools' children were told to remove their hats and salute Chiang Kai-Shek's statue every morning when they walked into school. Chiang Kai-Shek's statue was in a standing posture with him holding a stick. The four dancing girls attempt to climb the statue, singing the song: "This is the beginning of our love, we will never forget. Whatever you asked, I followed you..., now you look at me, do not escape..." Chiang Kai-Shek's statue represents the unshakable social super-ego. He set martial law to suppress the islanders' mother tongues, disconnect their reality by distorting history, and impose the Chinese consciousness and social super-ego on every individual. The four dancing girls gradually approach Chiang Kai-Shek's statue. This scene represents the social super-ego which individuals' internalize as an authoritarian conscience, and this internalized social super-ego is examined under the disclosure of Chiang Kai-Shek's political myth. The big flowers around his statue represent vaginas, indicating that his statue is actually the phallus of society. From sexuality to politics, there is often the underlying idea that the liberation of sexuality leads to political liberation, because once an individual is "free" to express and enact sexual desire, society has to follow with increased autonomous choice. Thus authoritarian conscience was gradually altered by a social movement.

Part 3: *The Crocodile Notes* by Chiu Miao Chin

Freud's Oedipus complex and personality theory is important and cannot be ignored because his theory is based on material truth regarding how the psych-energy is contained in a biological entity, and how this psych-energy is manifested by inner

⁶² Please enter You Tube website and key in the following words – **cai mingliang-"The Wayward Cloud" umbrella musical scene** – to watch this scene.

⁶³ Please enter the You Tube website and key in the following key words – **Peggy Wu Dance Company - Be Patient** – to watch this scene.

mechanisms, and fused with social-culture orders. Instinct is necessarily repressed in the process of individual development, though every individual possesses their own balance point to maintain the mechanism of personality structures, though their balancing point may present differently at various stages of life. However, there is no doubt that one part of the external world has been internalized as the super-ego inside us, so that the ego can create substitute satisfaction.

Freud's concept of the Oedipus complex and personality theory emphasises that personality is mainly shaped by internal factors – libido and its relations with the id, ego and super-ego, and Freud does not consider external factors - such as education or environment - are crucial elements of our personality. Libido energy relating to personality presents significantly differently at various stages of life and, if there is any obstacle at any of those stages, causing the fixation of libido, this will result in personality disorder in later life. Freud treats personality as a dynamic system which should normally maintain balanced relationships under the mechanism of personality structure (id, ego and super-ego); when the balance is disturbed, neurotic symptoms occur.

In this section, I attempt to connect this novel with Freud's theory from two aspects: 1) Freud's concept of cathexis and anti-cathexis and, 2) the split of identification which appears in Chiu's writing subject, and how this reflects Taiwan's political environment and historical complexity.

In my literature review, the study of Chiu Miao-Chin and *Crocodile Notes* is mostly from the perspective of feminist, postmodernist and lesbian literature. However, I consider her novel the best illustration of Freud's conception of anti-cathexis as her novel has given an almost clinical account of how libido energy can be deferred and contained in one or a group of ideas. Freud considers personality to be determined by the distribution of energy within our psychic structure. The id goes through the object choice to relieve sexual tension, which is called cathexis. When the flow of libido is

channelled to the ego, the ego can defer the energy to be relieved. The purpose of deferring is to make a plan or to find a proper way for the energy to be relieved. The process of containing energy and make a deferring plan which can match external expectation is termed 'anti-cathexis'. In this novel, the protagonist, Lazi, gives a detailed description of her intellectual thinking to make a plan to alter her tendency of being lesbian. Laplanche and Pontalis elucidates that: "...the notion of anti-cathexis is mainly utilised by Freudian the context of his economic theory of repression.....this process results in an idea being kept within the system from which the instinctual energy originates." (1988, pp36-37) The anti-cathexis may be of sever kinds –substitutive formation, reaction formation as well as certain situation, particular form of behaviour, a character trait.....etc.

Moreover, the third person narrative - the cartoon-like figure, crocodile, created in her novel plays the role of comforting her rigid ego-personality, and I consider the characteristics of crocodile represents her native culture which is considered unworthy of respect. I would like to discuss the split writing subject as it appears in her novel and how this connects with the issue of identification in Taiwan's political environment and historical complexity.

(1) The emergence of lesbian literature and Chiu Miao Chin's writing style

Since Taiwan entered the post-martial era, in 1987, the trend of globalisation and postmodern thinking has coincided with wide attention being given to the theme of homosexuality, notably in films such as director Li An's *Wedding Banquet* (喜宴) and *Brokeback Mountain*(斷背山) and director, Tsai Ming Liang's, films - *The River*(河流), *Good-bye Dragon Inn* (不散) , *Vive L'Amour* (愛情萬歲), *What Time is it There?*(你那邊幾點?) and *Face* (臉). Works of fiction, like Pai Hsien Yung's *Crystal Boy*(孽子) and Chu Ten Wen's *Notes of a Desolate Man* (荒人手記), are classic texts of homosexuality. In particular, Chiu Miao-Chin's fictional self-portrait *Crocodile Notes* (鱷魚手記) is considered a classic representation of inner worlds, in which the psychological realm of lesbian life is profoundly described. Film and literature have made the unspeakable "open secret" of homosexuality visible and transparent. Since

1996, gays and lesbians have claimed their right to walk the streets openly and end concealment (Martin, 2003, p192).

Crocodile Notes has attained the status of a classic and milestone of contemporary Taiwanese lesbian fiction, not only because her writing is exquisite but also because of her incisive expression of lesbian psychological approach toward social defence: no previous author has attained such psychological depth. This is, perhaps, due to her academic background in psychology, enabling her to give an almost clinical account of the lesbian inner world. Like other 'classic' texts, such as Pai's *Crystal Boy* (孽子) and Chu's *Notes of a Desolate Man* (荒人手記), this text is also crucial both to the cultural constitution of homosexuality and to an elaboration of homosexual drive and fantasy in 1990s Taiwan. The novel's publication is recalled in the arresting words of Hong Ling: "In the sweltering summer of 1994, there at last appeared on Taiwan's bleak and barren literary scene a crocodile whose existence it was impossible to overlook. With this, the voice of Taiwan's lesbian community truly showed its strength, both in the novel itself, and in its readers' responses to it."

The writer Chiu Miao Chin was born in 1969. Her writing talent was revealed when she was 19 years old and in her first year at university when her first novel, *A Captive* (囚徒), was published and awarded the Short-story Literature Prize by *Central Daily News*. Two years later, she published *The Lonely Masses* (寂寞的群眾) and was awarded the Mid-Length Novel Prize for new writers by the Literature Association. In 1991, when she was 22 years old and was in her last year of university, her full-length novel *Crocodile Notes* (鱷魚手記) was published. During her study for her first degree in Psychology at National Taiwan University, she served as a voluntary counsellor at a well-established psychological counselling organisation; she also worked as a part-time reporter on a magazine in Taiwan. In December 1992, she went to France to study the second stage of clinical psychology at the University of Paris VIII, before transferring to the Studies in Feminism. In June 1995, she committed suicide at home, and died at the shocking age of 26.

Crocodile Notes (鱷魚手記) was awarded the *China Times*' Honorary Novel Prize in October of the same year of her death. The work completed before her death - *Posthumous papers in Montmartre* (蒙馬特遺書) - was published in the same year. Her lesbian fiction was produced in the early phase of the post-martial era in Taiwan, when people started to accept queer culture but still held an ambivalent attitude toward this theme. While many social elites and the avant-garde were lenient toward queer culture, society as a whole still regarded homosexuality as an aberration. Chui was reared in a very traditional environment; the existential inclination in her body could only find an outlet in self-portrait writing, addressing herself or opening her soul in the form of informal notes. Her disciplined written language transformed her solitude and isolation into highly artistic, magnificent literature.

There is a clue relating to her suicide in her final notes to *Posthumous papers in Montmartre* (蒙馬特遺書), although her confusion about gender identification and suffering for her anti-cathexis in the atmosphere of social-cultural prejudice - as well as her own self-expectation of adapting to a moral code - is obvious. However, we do not know whether her choice to end her life in such an extreme way is similar to the suffering of which she writes in her novel, or whether a deeper experience of her difficulties caused her death. Anyway, her achievement in uttering a lesbian voice in *Crocodile Notes* has attained an unshakable position in the history of Taiwanese literature. The names of the main figures in this novel – crocodile and Lazi have become bywords in the studies of queer culture, and this book is labelled a “legend of lesbianism” or “the Bible of lesbianism” in Taiwan’s queer literature.

The novel starts with the protagonist unexpectedly finding her sexual inclination, encountering a lover, being ashamed to face society, avoiding her lover, finding a substitute for her anti-cathexis, confessing to her drive and to her soul, and finally having no words to say.

The style of *Crocodile Notes* takes the form of a ‘confessional novel’ (私小説) or “writing the self” (自我書寫). The conventions of confessional writing allow the writer to address her personal experience in artistic form, thus respecting the writer’s personal impulse and allowing the ego-self to be the motive of creation. “Writing the self” is mainly based on the writer’s personal situation or important memories of the writer’s life: through writing the writer is allowed to ‘voice’, ‘remedy’ and self-analyse, thus “writing the self” usually possesses some function of self-healing although the writer might not be conscious of this while writing. For example, the French term *écriture féminine*, deriving from French feminism, belongs to the genre of “writing the self”.

The narrative of *Crocodile Notes* is composed of two distinct threads, juxtaposing realistic and surreal, metaphorical situations. The first thread is the first-person narrative about the young woman, Lazi, and her four years of student life at National Taiwan University in Taipei. During this time, she has a tumultuous affair with a female student, Shuiling and, later, another troublesome relationship with another woman, Hsiao Fan. In the thread of the first-person narrative, the writer interweaves her story with familiar street names, shops, café, flats, the campus and famous buildings in Taipei, creating a realistic texture which reads as autobiography rather than as fiction. The second thread, the third-person narrative, represents the writer’s bigger self. The writer allows herself a more impersonal (or more collective) position to perceive the problem of being homosexual when confronted by the majority and common views of homosexuality. Her tone is more comic than earnest, and the ploy of using the cartoonlike crocodile narrative creates an engrossing dramatic affect - allowing the novel’s central metaphor to reveal an imaginary world. In this novel, the lesbian’s subjectivity is disguised as ‘crocodile’ - just as the crocodile hides her true nature by wearing a human suit; thus, the ‘human suit’ is the crocodile’s constraint, the writer’s constraint and the lesbian’s constraint. In order to avoid attracting attention, they have to wear this human suit when moving in society. The crocodile in this novel is like a mythical creature who possesses human appearance but with a crocodile nature (homosexuality) inside, representing the character of homosexuality.

I translate text relating the writer's description of 'a crocodile nature in human appearance.'

A crocodile wears a mink overcoat and enters a clothing shop outside which hung a 'Lacoste' sign. Stroking the fur, the crocodile loves a brindle mink coat too much to part with it, thinking only it (because the gender is unknown, when speaking of crocodiles use 'it' without exception, facilitating communication and spread) is suited to this coat. Crocodile is not an exhibitionist, it will not deliberately go around the counter and ask the shopkeeper to take the mink coat and then to open its own overcoat and display its body. If it does this, how would the shopkeeper react?

"Oh, you are a crocodile?"

Such a reaction means that the shopkeeper has already seen crocodiles.

Robber? I dare to tell you that I have paid the protection fee"

Such a reaction means the shopkeeper is a money-grabber.

"Yours is too small, not good enough" such a reaction means that the shopkeeper is an expert who has counselling knowledge.

No-one knows what will be the scene inside when the crocodile open its overcoat. Let alone that no crocodile has ever actually entered a Lacoste shop and opened its overcoat. Crocodile would just like to touch another mink coat. Does it like that mink overcoat? Or does it just like the sensation of touching another mink overcoat?

Who knows? Ordinary people can not recognize who is a crocodile. Junior or senior high school students are curious viewers of 'the news of the crocodile', usually, after they come back from cram school, it is just the time that they can

watch the ‘TTV new international reports’ at the same time as having their dinner. University students are the people who are unconcerned by crocodile news; they distance themselves from TTV news and broadcasting, for fear of being considered associates of crocodiles, because, according to the opinion poll, crocodile tendencies belong to this group most.

People over 40 usually treat the researchers of crocodiles as anthropologists who have uncovered human antecedents’ stories earlier than Upper Cave Man. White-collar workers claim that they only pay attention to the news on the stock market and fighting in the Legislative House. Blue collar groups show that they are not interested in any nonsense about crocodiles except for watching movies, but sometimes they might stand at newstands, concentrate their minds to read an ‘exclusive report’ or ‘firsthand news’ in a magazine. The white collar workers might dig into their pockets and buy those magazines to read at home, therefore, people within this group aged over 40, might have a chance to update their anthropological material.

Crocodile wonders, why do people harbour such intent against crocodiles? Secretly followed by so many people, crocodiles are too bashful. (Chui, 1994, pp61-62)

Crocodile’s narrative is always fabulous, generating a playful tone in contrast to the bitterness and sorrow of the first person narrative. At one point the crocodile takes a bath, while listening to the TV news regarding the government’s attitude toward crocodiles.

In order to protect national standards, the Bureau of Journalism unanimously rules that all news regarding crocodiles must be subject to special treatment at the level of image production, so that the effect of an obscuring mist is produced. This kind of effectiveness can prevent other countries’ satellites from receiving our country’s data; even modern technology cannot duplicate our data. This is

because, the number of crocodiles, the growth rate of crocodiles, the way of protecting crocodiles, and the way of eliminating crocodiles in our country has been treated as highly a confidential issue which is not allowed to other countries' intelligence bureaux. Since the start of this century, most advanced countries have adopted the tactic of blocking sensitive information, subsequently, our country cannot obtain such data; not until recent years have we started to take the existence of crocodiles seriously. However, my fellow citizens, you must keep such information concealed from foreigners after you hear the news. If there is the possibility of the crocodile problems in our county becoming known, we will be expelled from international society. The way of being excluded might take the form that the United Nations will point to our country as a 'special protected area for tourists', consequently, there will be huge waves of tourists or journalists who try to be the first to report the phenomenon of crocodiles in our country. Or we might, like the Bermuda Triangle, be labelled as a mysterious, dark continent, and our traffic network will be cut, no foreigners would dare to enter our land and we would have no way to exit. It is quite difficult to predict what kind of situation we will face if we reveal our confidential data. After all, our understanding of crocodiles is so slight, moreover, according to the custom of advanced countries, the information is firmly locked up. How pitiful! Therefore, my fellow citizens must unite and face the unknown riddle, in the future." [my translation]

Crocodile is very relaxed while she is taking a bath alone, after she hears such a long 'TV news commentary', her eyes intuitively look at the TV screen and her face blushes as though someone has seen her. She thinks, she might become a figure upon whom all people's eyes are fixed in this country. At any time, she will be greeted by people with the words, "Hi, dear crocodile; how are you?"

Fran Martin comments on the paralleling of 'crocodile' and 'lesbian'. She states that "...the crocodile stands in the relationship of homology to Lazi and masks the subject of *tongxinglian* (homosexuality) itself, the *tongxinglian* figured by the crocodile is

one that focuses constantly on hiding itself from a collective ‘people’ whose eyes it nevertheless feels are constantly trained upon it. The collective look the crocodile feels upon it is particularly the look of ‘media’, resulting in ‘constant surveillance (*jianshi*) like a dense and inescapable net’ (Martin, 2003, p227)

The crocodile is a completely different personality, deriving from the writer herself, appearing in this novel as the third person narrative. Crocodile has always been objective about her personal, cultural, social and religious pressures, with a comical attitude; crocodile seems able to detach her internal object, no matter whether it is a good object or a bad object. When the writer utters as crocodile, she is neutral to the problems both in homosexuality and heterosexuality; her mind has transcended personal fear and suffering. For example, in one text about crocodile’s dream, the writer describes crocodile travelling with many women and men for a dating trip to a mountain. Crocodile was delegated to buy food for everyone, and when crocodile came back to the mountain, it saw all the women and men on the mountain had become three different kinds of animals - lions, tigers and leopards – they unwrapped her shopping to eat all the snakes she brought, small leopard wore her swimming suit and walked around. Three of them - lion, tiger and leopard - stand in front of crocodile, and they become as big as trucks. Crocodile attempts to touch one of the animal’s antennas; there is one, two, three, and four.....small lions, tigers and leopards coming out fromexactly the same as the big animals. Crocodile calls this dream a ‘proliferation of lion, tiger and leopard’

In another passage, the writer describes how, when an unemployed crocodile takes a stroll, she find booklets on display in a public telephone box; the name of the publisher is ‘The Light of Jesus’. The small booklet provides readers with a description of crocodiles’ life styles and predicts that a prophet will be sent by God to deal with the problems of crocodiles, or that all crocodiles will be sent to a place to be punished. At the end of the booklet are printed the words ‘He who believes in God will be saved, God loves all common people’. The crocodile is panicked and wonders how Jesus could have paid attention to crocodiles? She then uses a red pen to write

her comments on the booklet: “one hundred percent correct – Jesus could also make a mistake once in a while, do not feel miserable”.

2. Freud’s account of anti-cathexis and its relation with personality

This novel conveys the idea that the biological entity and instinct energy has its own regulation; although Lazi has escaped her desire of women and seeks the opposite direction in her realm of thought, no matter what effort is made, often voiced by her, there was something in her that was stronger than her way of thinking. In the process of the first-person narrative, Lazi constantly sinks into a confusedness and doubt - she uses a kind of self-doubting dialectic to describe the flow of energy and the anti-cathexis of conscious effort to fix her energy to an idea or a group of ideas. For example, after Lazi meets her female lover she has enormous fear of the ‘sexual fantasy’ that appears in her mind, she questions herself over and over: From her diary (please see Appendix 4, pp30-31) it seems she feels ashamed of crocodile and would like to suppress it, but can’t.

Crocodile, as the comical figure in this novel, plays the key note of the transcendent self; it recognises the limits of the realm of the imagination and the dynamic shape of cultural norms. However, in the realistic part of the novel, the first person narrative of Lazi represents the writer’s small ego, where she is quite isolated from social networks and immersed in her own emotional world and her self-punishment for her affair with another female student. She gives a pithy summary of her four years of university life at the very beginning of her novel:

Before, I believed that there was an ‘archetype’ of woman within every man through his entire life time and the woman he loves most is the woman who most resembles his ‘archetype’. Although I am a woman, the ‘archetype’ existing in the deep level of my mind is also a woman - like the most beautiful scene appearing to a person facing death in an isolated and frozen mountain, this scene slips into my reality and flees again. I believe that this scene is the most beautiful

archetype in my life. I had dedicated myself to the bravest and the most honest university life – during the four years I held to this belief. (Chiu, 1994, p10)
[my translation]

In Lazi's confessional letter to her female lover, Shuiling, she describes the 'archetype' in her mind as an 'inner picture' which relates to her inner problem. Since her teenage years she has not been able to understand why she has such an inclination, the desire to love someone being like a key to open the secret dissimulated in the deep structure of her existence, like a pattern which has already been carved there and gradually emerges from obscurity. However, the pattern is too clear to be endured; the struggle belongs to her frustration regarding her survival. To love a woman, for her, is an inner pattern within her.

In the first-person narrative Lazi always uses a confessional tone to express herself, and her ego-conscious is serious, with rigid logic. She analyses her internal pattern and her external circumstance: if the love is like 'food' she has to eat for survival, then she lives in a world where 'food is poisoned'. If she follows her own desire, and eats this 'food' which is woman, her body is poisoned, Faced with this situation, she tells herself that there are three paths she can follow: (1) change her diet. (2) discover an antidote (3) follow a strategy of survival by substitution.

Discounting the first two possibilities, Lazi follows the third path: 'a strategy of survival by substitution. Thus, logic of substitution plays a key part of the novel as a whole.

Lazi analyses the reasons that she can not follow the first and second paths and finds she has no choice but to follow the third path; she states

To change my diet is a way in which I made an effort to alter my destiny before I accepted my female lover. During puberty, I spent all my energy on quashing my desire; I feel this method temporarily contained the scope of my fear after I notice the uselessness of forcing myself to look for an opposite direction but this is the only way in which I can avoid diffusing the uncontrolled tendency.

However, such a hypothesis - if I am able to love a man then the pain of loving a woman will disappear and the fact of self-awareness will vanish - is to deceive oneself as well as others. In fact, to love a woman and to love a man are two unrelated issues, while my desire toward a woman is unfolding, no matter whether it vanishes afterward or whether there is a trace in my memory or not, it is already inside me and the conflict with such a tendency existed before. Like black dyes already in a tub of water, even if you add different colour dyes, the look of the water might change, but you cannot change the fact that black dye is already in the water. I am unable to love a man; this circumstance is as natural as a man who cannot love another man. Therefore, the inner principle of “changing diet” has in the long term affronted me. Before I had observed that I could not appear in society as myself, however, my tendency had been formed as a whole. I can only shout, threaten and bruise my tendency, and when I know that there is nothing I can do about its origin, I have to deny myself and harm myself in the realm of conception. Will you understand such sadness?” (Chiu, 1994, pp151-2) [my translation]

What is Lazi’s view about the second path – to discover an antidote? During the six months while Lazi developed her love with a female lover, she felt that she was a ‘monster’. This ‘monster’ uses her hand to fondle, cuddle and kiss another female, and uses monstrous craving to yearn for another female body; however, through her lover’s eyes, Lazi perceives full adoration and aesthetic sensibilities – which afflicts her consciousness and makes her feel she is not qualified to love. Her struggle with ‘qualification’ is unable to dispel the monster experience from her mind and, at the same time, the ‘experience of monster’ is like salt in the wound of her feeling of being ‘unqualified’.

For Lazi, her lover provides a sphere in which she is allowed to unveil herself. The more she is involved in her affair the more she sees her monster fiend, and she feels that her monster fiend is beyond her imagination after the shackles of her self-restraint are removed. Lazi was shocked and sleepless at the birth of the monster, emerging in

hopeless suffering like a person has been sick for a long period. She does not know whether the birth of the monster is self-discovery or another winding path leading to a formation of herself. In any case, surrendering to her conscious sense of feeling inferior and shamed, she escapes from her love affair.

Lazi cannot accept herself and she comments that, if she cannot accept the self which derives from the love between two women, she will not be able to discover an antidote. She believes that the source of the contamination derived from much earlier than her recognition and it was put there by all mankind. People collectively put the contamination in her just like the uproar from community singing: before she makes an appearance in front of people she has been stamped 'null' by them.

Moreover, Lazi considers that the woman who plays the role of woman in a lesbian relation is less confused than the other side, because her love of the other 'woman' is still based on her feminine, mothering characteristics which can easily embrace man: the only difference from a normal woman is that she has extended her containable heart of love to woman. In their relation, Lazi considers that she has gone through a change of quality, her masculine characteristics has been torn open – from the core of her consciousness - and thus she finds a different quality of self. However, her lover's female role has not been thrown out from her conscious core; thus her lover is easily able to go back to her foundation.

Consequently, Lazi is left with no choice but to 'follow a strategy of survival by substitution'. The psychological mechanism of departing from the core of her desire symbolizes her unfulfilled desire which becomes the key part of this novel. Human beings are born with an energy facility which Freud termed drive or libido. This energy originally derives from the id and is manifested by the ego, but is ultimately mastered by the ego, under the demands of the super-ego. In her narrative, the main figure, Lazi, repeatedly cries out to know how much her tendency can find a coherent

thought in her (or mankind's) conception realm; however, whether her conscious effort can alter her tendency is questionable.

3. The split writing subject and its relation to the writer's social identification

There is a considerable amount of research in homosexual studies, attempting to find the basis of the writer Chiu Miao-Chin's suicidal act. Most researchers discuss this issue from the dimension of feminism, gender identity, social-culture pressure and postmodern trends. For example, Fu Chi-kang's thesis (2010, pp6-12): *A study of the simulation of Chiu Miao-Chin – based on "The diary of Chiu Miao-Chin"*. Fu gives a detailed analysis of the writer's diary, novels, drama and film, and when he compares this with interviews of the writer's friends, professors and acquaintances; he is convinced that the first-person narrative Lazi's character is congruous with the writer's personality. More importantly, Fu disagrees that the writer's suicidal act was incurred by her gender identity or the problem of social pressure, but the bigger structure of Taiwan's discontinued identification of cultural roots which interfere with the subject in her attempt to find the meaning of life from her deeper structure.

The reasons are explained - that the time and space of the writer's suicidal act was in 1995 in Paris after she transferred her study to feminism: she actually had a great opportunity to feel the relief of constraint from her environment. Fu (2010) states that "I think, what Chiu Miao-Chin would like to seek is not merely her gender identity, as I mentioned previously, she had many ways to resolve her homosexual problems, especially, while she was in Paris she was not completely restrained by her environment, she actually had more opportunities to transform her new self. But the problem is that while she had to create a self-identity, what she needed to face was not lesbian identity problems in Taiwan's society but she felt that she did not know how to face Taiwan's social problems. She is incapable of identifying with Taiwan's indigenous (native) culture." [my translation] (Fu, 2010, p.11)

Chiu Miao-Chin is a native Taiwanese, who was born in the central part of Taiwan - this area possesses the deepest hue of indigenous culture, so how could she have the problem of identification? However, to speculate, I would say that her time growing up between 1969 and 1995 in Taiwan was in the martial law period (1945-1989) and the early post-martial law period (after 1990). During this time, Taiwan's indigenous culture was treated as inferior, and was labelled a laggard culture, not worthy of identification. Although many Chinese mainland writers also had to face the issue of identification and ridiculous control from the KMT regime's authority, they were easily consoled in the context of Chinese literature, according to their familiar way of Chinese thinking. For Chiu Miao-Chin, to absorb Chinese culture was not a simple issue for her personal and intellectual development as Chinese culture repels homosexuality in general, in spite of the fact that sufficient homosexual material can be traced from their literature and history.

Perhaps, many native Taiwanese youths who have less of an academic background might have more identification with indigenous culture, but Chiu Miao-Chin's university life and her intellectual stimulus made her unable either to identify with Chinese culture or native Taiwanese culture.

Chiu Miao-Chin considered that confused sexual identity, including its demeaned, homosexual side, was like her confused, demeaned national identity. In her novel, the third person narrative – crocodile – is her attempt to speak authentically as a Taiwanese writer in a Taiwanese with which she identified. As a writer, Chiu does struggle to present a coherent identity; her writing subject reflects the crisis of Taiwan's split of social identity, and I addressed the issue of Taiwan's identification and the complexity of Taiwan multiple colonisation in appendix (Taiwan's History pp.1-14),

Taiwan's social problems derived from the ways in which (Chinese mainlanders rejecting native Taiwanese culture since they considered it inferior, and native

Taiwanese rejecting Chinese culture, since it blocked reality, for them.) Chiu Miao-Chin did not accept Chinese, Taiwanese or western writers as her ideal for constructing her writing subject, but was mostly inspired by Japanese writers such as Dazai Osamu (太宰治 だざい おさむ), Mishima Yukio (三島由紀夫 みしま ゆきお), Murakami Haruki (村上春樹 むらかみ はるき) who pursues the beauty of death. Those Japanese writers have influenced her values, aesthetic sensibilities and writing style. It is noticeable that both Dazai Osamu and Mishima Yukio committed suicide in Japan. In Chiu's novel, the first-person narrative, Lazi, often mentioned her inspiration by these three Japanese writers' philosophical perception of life.(Fu, 2010, pp100-118)

Thus, Fu (2010) argues that Chiu's writing subject is mainly constructed by Dazai Osamu's consciousness of the pursuit of the beauty of death; Mishima Yukio's aesthetic sensibilities of death and his cruel description of human nature; Murakami Haruki's illusion of youth and life – those elements have all penetrated Chiu's subject and are expressed in her psychoanalytic writing - her first narrative subject consist of those elements. Thus, this subject is not shaped by the Taiwanese realistic world but by a simulation in which she absorbs (by identification) other writers' elements and then uses her own life to fulfil this simulation. Fu (2010) comments that Chiu Miao-Chin's suicidal act was a tragedy of all the oppression, distortion and education of martial law control which brought to entire generation the experience of rootlessness, confusion, nihilism and emptiness. This nihilistic subject, detached from the deeper structure of cultural roots, become a carrier (載體), absorbing various kinds of conception and message so that the meaning of life can be then endowed.

In my view, Chiu Miao-Chin's first-person narrative subject was not constructed by her native culture, but the third-person narrator crocodile shows a vigorous, and cogent life force and is able to help her get out of a scrape when ridiculed. Crocodile very much represents the characteristic of her native culture and manifests itself in the form of her transcendent self. While her life is facing the illusion of the external world, what her first-person narrator Lazi needs is the nourishment from the deep structure of

her origin which might be able to sustain her life – just like the crocodile that appears in her novel.

Chapter 6: Psychoanalysis and Taiwanese Films - the Discussion of Defensive Mechanisms Related to the Oedipus complex

[He] showed us what evil is, not, as we thought,
Deeds that must be punished, but our lack of faith,
Our dishonest mood of denial,
The concupiscence of the oppressor

W. H. Auden: 'In Memory of Sigmund Freud'

Freud insisted that loving and hating of the same subject constitutes the nucleus of all neurosis, emerging in the very beginning when our intact drive first encounters the external world. This emotional ambivalence forms our psychological mechanism from the outset, and continues to dominate our life, whether or not we are conscious of this phenomenon. We know very little about the origin of this ambivalence, however, the expression of desire and prohibition is fundamental to everyone, in any culture, although we may not have specific words to describe it. This is what Freud identified as the Oedipus complex.

Ambivalence is basic to individual and social life. In the individual, one sees a 'solution' in symptoms, which allow desire and rejection to coexist through repression – Freud called symptom formation, 'neurosis'. In social life, there are taboo and social defence systems, such as kinship structure and marriage customs. Each culture has its own cultural form, which express its particular form of desire and prohibition; therefore, how societies manage this ambivalence is significant to the detection of the idiosyncrasies of any culture.

Freud claimed that there are similar characteristics between the taboo sickness in primitive people and obsessional neurosis in modern people in that they all derive from the unresolved complex of an incestuous wish or a return to the fixation of this ambivalence in early childhood. However, to the inexpert eye, the taboo seems an established social behavior or accepted cultural belief, and an observer may be unconscious of the obsessional sickness it manifests. If the kinship structure is treated as a defensive mechanism, relating to the Oedipus complex as Freud elucidates; then neurosis should be treated as a social model. The symptom reveals a collective social influence on the individual through various kinds of metaphors, as I describe below.

In this chapter the assumption is to be made that, in accordance with Freud, the expression of desire and prohibition is not an inborn phenomenon, but one acquired by the human race in connection with their parental complex. Through a psychoanalytic examination of marriage customs and taboos within the Chinese kinship structure, we can explore the management of this fundamental ambivalence specific to Chinese culture and examine how Chinese social defensive systems differ from the West. I will then analyse how those cultural defence systems were formed in order to cope with this fundamental phenomenon, and explore how those idiosyncrasies of cultural and social experience are integrated into our internal world.

Base on this assumption, I analyze Tsai Ming-Liang's films *The River* and *The Hole*. These two films represent Taiwanese versions of a man and a woman's Oedipus complex. I examine how these defensive systems might explicitly or implicitly relate to the fundamental phenomena of the Oedipus complex. I also use Ang Lee's film *Wedding Banquet* as an illustration in my discussion about the identification of the father image in Pan-Chinese culture.



Freud did not adopt the phrase “Oedipus complex” until the mid period of his writing; he had used the term “nuclear complex” and “root complex” for two years following his discovery of this complex. (Jacobs, 1992, p50) The very first use of the term “Oedipus complex” is found in Freud’s correspondence with Fliess. According to `Jacobs, quoting Masson (1985), in a letter dated 15 October 1897 Freud wrote

Being totally honest with oneself is a good exercise. A single idea of general value dawned on me. I have found, in my own case too, [the phenomenon of] being in love with my mother and jealous of my father, and I now considered it a universal event in early childhood....If this is so, we can understand the gripping power of *Oedipus Rex*....the Greek legend seizes upon a compulsion which everyone recognizes because he senses its existence within himself.

This suggests that he felt his insight to be confirmed by the legend of Oedipus. Thus, when Freud states "being in love with one parent and hating the other are among the essential constituents of the stock of psychical impulses which is formed at that time" (1900a; 362) we should recognise that what Freud termed “Oedipus complex” was an attempt to describe the human’s “intact drive” as yet unchannelled in any recognition of human relationship. This purely natural response to the first love-object of the opposite sex - called “incestuous wishes” - appears before we recognise what the incest is within the structure of human relationship, and it should not be understood as the “incest” which occurs when we have a clear recognition of human relationships. Perhaps, to be more precise, without judging from the cognitive standpoint, the so-called “incestuous wish” which appears in that early stage could be described as “the intact drive toward the first love-object of the opposite sex”, which has been repressed and remains in our unconscious thought.

The words “intact drive” are used here to distinguish between infant sexuality and adult sexuality because, in Freud’s definition of sexuality, the infant’s drive is formless and unlimited: to adopt Stephen Frosh's quotation of Brown (1959) this “entails the proposition that infants have a richer sexual life than adults”. (as cited in Frosh, 1999, p46) Frosh considers the nature of the sexuality of children is a kind of ‘polymorphous perversity’;

It is formless, it spreads in all direction and can embrace all objects and bodily parts, it is purely and simply about the pleasure with no thought for propriety or procreation. If there is “essence” to the individual, it is that before being human she or he is an unorganized mass of libidinal instinct. The child is thus a

sexualized being from birth, but this sexuality possesses the peculiarly unsettling characteristic of being uninhibited, of not being channeled in any particular direction. (Frosh, 1999, p46)

In contrast, the normality of adult sexual life depends on a fine balance between Ego, Id and Super-ego; the ego is free to handle the world, the id has no thought and needs to be handled by the ego and at same time is under sufficient control of the super-ego, so that the id will not choose the first primitive satisfaction on offer but will build up its energy for social conformability, intellectual judgment and individual fantasy, which makes it more integrated and offers more permanent satisfaction in our adult life. I consider the words 'incestuous wish' to require a sharp distinction when applied to an infant rather than an adult, therefore, I use the term 'intact drive' to describe the infant's unstructured and unorganized drive, which is innocent of any recognition of human relations, in contrast to the adult's drive which is supposed to be manifested through the integration of different agents of an adult psyche.

Freud's vast claim was that the beginning of religion, moral, society and art converge in the Oedipus complex. He considered that what makes human society human, and what makes the child more than an instinctual being, is the consciousness of the child of the sexual and power structure of external reality. Thus, the Oedipus complex should not be observed in the surface interactions between parent and child, but in the 'internal law' that is created and operated on by the symbolic structure of kinship in society.

The tragic aspect of the Oedipus myth is not about the innocent incestuous wish, but about the wish to avoid incest and parricide: Laius and Jocasta abandon their baby in a wild place, expecting him to die and thus escape the prophecy, and Oedipus left his adoptive parents in an attempt to defy the oracle. The attempts to avoid fate in fact brought the tragedy about. The wish to avoid – prevent realisation of the incestuous wish - is so ubiquitous that various defence mechanisms are formed to cope with the fear of this unconscious wish.

In *Totem and Taboo* Freud noted the horror of incest displayed by savages, which had long been recognised by anthropologists. He considered that primitive people were more sensitive on the subject of the incestuous wish; for them, the threat of this wish

was omnipresent and they had stringent rules to prevent incest from occurring. He says explicitly that "these savages have an unusually great horror of incest, or are sensitive on the subject to an unusual degree, and that they combine this with a peculiarity which remains obscure to us – of replacing real blood-relationship by totem kinship"(1913, p6)

However, Freud's main claim, following on from his substantial illustrations of primitive peoples' concern to curb incestuous wishes was essentially to demonstrate the similarity between primitive people and the neurotic patient. He states, 'All that I have been able to add to our understanding of it is to emphasize the fact that it is essentially an infantile feature and that it reveals a striking agreement with the mental life of neurotic patients' (1913, p17) Psychoanalysis has shown us that a boy's earliest choice of objects for his love is incestuous, and that those objects are forbidden ones – his mother or his sisters. We have also learned the manner in which, as a boy grows up, he liberates himself from this incestuous attraction through identifying with his father or social orders. Freud considers

A neurotic patient [...] invariably exhibits some degree of psychical infantilism. He has either failed to get free from the psychosexual conditions that prevailed in his childhood or he has returned to them - two possibilities which may be summed up as developmental inhibition and regression. Thus incestuous fixation of libido continues to play (or begins once more to play) the principal part in his unconscious mental life. We have arrived at the point of regarding a child's relation to his parents, dominated as it is by incestuous longings, as a nuclear complex of neurosis. (1913, p17)

When Freud mentioned "nuclear complex" previously, he was describing mainly a kind of emotional ambivalence between the desire and prohibition (1913, pp29-32); this ambivalence may or may not explicitly relate to a sexual instinct. He gave a clinical history of a typical case of "touching phobia" - in very early childhood, the

patient shows a strong desire to touch; this kind of desire is beyond our ordinary understanding of loving, therefore it has become special for him. However, this desire is promptly met by an external prohibition against carrying out that particular kind of touch. This prohibition is accepted because it finds a support from powerful internal force (superego as an internalised moral imperative), and proves stronger than the instinct which is seeking to express itself in the touch. However, the child's primitive psychological constitution – the prohibition - does not succeed in abolishing the instinct. Its only outcome is to repress this instinct (the desire to touch) and banish this desire to the unconscious. In fact, as Freud describes, both the prohibition and the instinct co-exist and persist -

the instinct because it has only been repressed and not abolished, and the prohibition because, if it ceased, the instinct will force its way through into consciousness and into actual operation. A situation is created which remains undealt with – a psychological fixation – and everything else follows from the continuing conflict between the prohibition and the instinct. (1913, p29)

Hence, the characteristic of ambivalence which Freud described through this clinical case is evident: the subject is constantly wishing to perform this act (the touching), [and look on it as his supreme enjoyment, but he must not perform it] and has to detest it as well. And because the conflict between the two extreme currents of 'love it' and 'have to hate it' can not find an immediate way to relief, and because no other option can be found - they have to coexist in a form of persistent competition within our psychological structure – prohibition locates at conscious level; and the instinct (desire to touch) is inhibited in a deeper unconscious level, which we may not be able to detect. It is because of this psychological mechanism that ambivalence can persist for a long time.

Freud connected this emotional ambivalence with the most important taboo and totem for primitive people - not to kill the totem animal and to avoid sexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex within the totem clan. He claimed that these must be the oldest and the most powerful of human desires, and the wording of these two taboos

and the fact of their concurrence will be familiar to anyone who is familiar with the findings of psycho-analytic investigations, revealing something quite definite, 'which psycho-analysts regard as the centre-point of childhood wishes and as the nucleus of the neuroses' (1913, p31) On this basis, we can easily speculate that Freud has fused his description of 'nuclear complex' and "Oedipus complex", and attempted to indicate that the "nuclear complex" is a kind of ambivalence between incestuous desire and incestuous prohibition. However, the terminology of the Oedipus complex is somewhat insufficient to communicate the many subtle aspects of the persistent mechanism of this ambivalence.

Freud then made a comparison between this ambivalence and the origin of primitive people's taboos. He noticed that primitive people have similar ambivalent attitudes toward their taboos; he said that

In [primitive people's] unconscious there is nothing they would like more than to violate them, but they are afraid to do so; they are afraid precisely because they would like to, and the fear is stronger than the desire. The desire is unconscious, however, in every individual member of the tribe just as it is in neurotics. (1913, pp31-32)

He then explicitly claims that the neurotic symptoms (obsessional neuroses) are the analogy of "taboo sickness". However, Freud did make a distinction between primitive people and neurotic patients, explaining:

It is no doubt true that the sharp contrast that we [normal people] make between thinking and doing is absent in both of them [primitive people and neurotic patients]. But neurotics are above all inhibited in their action: with them the thought is a complete substitute for the deed. Primitive men, on the other hand, are uninhibited: thought passes directly into action. With them it is rather the deed that is a substitute for the thought. And that is why, without laying claim to any finality

of judgment, I think that in the case before us it may safely be assumed that 'In the beginning was the Deed'. (1913, p161)

A neurotic patient who is dominated by something unknown may or may not be conscious of their 'sickness', or they may experience it as 'natural'. Freud also pointed out that the characteristics of taboo restrictions are distinct from the characteristic of religious dogma and moral prohibition, simply because taboo restriction is an internally established 'invisible law', without the necessity of giving reasons; that is to say, taboo restriction possesses authority without foundation or rationale. Although taboos are unintelligible to outsiders, or may be found as questionable as superstition, for those people dominated by taboo, they are experienced as a 'natural' part of their life. Thus, Freud quoted Wundt (1906, p308) to describe taboo 'as the oldest human unwritten code of law. It is generally supposed that taboo is older than gods and dated back to a period before any kind of religion existed.' (1913, p18)

People who have been dominated by this 'invisible law' for a long while are unlikely to raise questions. They may have doubts but are likely to be reluctant to challenge practice; just as in a superstition, they understand that there is no need to trace the source and reason: the practice is part of their religious culture. Freud did not give an extended elucidation about the relation between taboo and superstition⁶⁴, however, there is a connection between taboo and superstition. While those people who tend

⁶⁴ In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud gave the reason why he omitted to discuss the relation between taboo and superstition. He states:

If I judge my reader's feelings aright, I think it is safe to say that in spite of all that they have now heard about taboo they still have very little idea of the meaning of the term or of what place to give it in their thoughts. This is no doubt due to the insufficiency of the information I have given them and to my having omitted to discuss the relation between taboo and superstition, the belief in spirits, and religion. On the other hand, I am afraid a more detailed account of what is known about taboo would have been even more confusing, and I can assure them that in fact the whole subject is highly obscure.(1913, p21)

to observe taboo might recognize the intrusion of alien power that others would identify as superstition, neurotic patients, in contrast, might be conscious - or not - of being dominated by an unknown force. It is questionable whether the neurotic is able to isolate easily the effects of this intrusion in the same way that it is possible to recognise that there is an element of superstition within taboo.

The most essential part of Freud's thought in his comparison of taboo and neurosis is that "where there is a prohibition there must be an underlying desire"(1913, p70): he states: "For, after all, there is no need to prohibit something that no one desire to do, and a thing that is forbidden with the greatest emphasis must be a thing that is desired" (1913, p69) Secondly, both taboo and neurosis are a kind of emotional ambivalence, or an extension of emotional ambivalence. He considers our conscience, too, arose on the foundation of this emotional ambivalence – namely, two contradictory feelings coexist within us, one of the opposing feeling involved must be stored in the unconscious and be repressed by the compulsive domination of the other one. "Conscience is the internal perception of the rejection⁶⁵ of a particular wish operating within us" (1913, p68).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Freud's full explanation of conscience is that

Conscience is the internal perception of the rejection of a particular wishes operating within us. The stress, however, is upon the fact that this rejection has no need to appeal to anything else for support, that it is 'quite certain of itself.' This is even clearer in the case of consciousness of guilt- the perception of internal condemnation of an act by which we have carried out a particular wish. To put forward any reason for this would seem superfluous: anyone who has a conscience must feel within him the justification for the condemnation, must feel the self-reproach for the act that has been carried out. This same characteristic is to be seen in the savage's attitude towards taboo. It is a command issued by conscience; any violation of it produces a fearful sense of guilt which follows as a matter of course and of which the origin is unknown.(1913, p68)

⁶⁶ For what is 'conscience'? On the evidence of language it is related to that of which one is 'most certainly conscious'. Indeed, in some languages the words for 'conscience' and 'consciousness' can scarcely be distinguished. (1913)

Although the similarity of the psychological mechanism of taboo and neurosis has been confirmed by Freud's analytical examination, he still had to confront the task of explaining what difference there is in principle between a neurosis and a cultural creation such as taboo. There are two main differences in characteristics of obsessional neurosis and primitive man that are examined by Freud. Firstly, he states 'the neurotic seems to be behaving altruistically and the primitive man egoistically.' (1913, p71) What the primitive fears is that the violation of a taboo will be followed by a punishment, as a rule by some serious illness or by death: punishment is visited on whoever was responsible for violating the taboo. But in the case of obsessional neurosis what the patient fears if he performs some forbidden action is that a punishment will fall not on himself but someone else – usually the person to be punished is someone close and most loving to the patient. However, Freud considers that such an attitude in someone - who cares nothing for himself but everything for someone he loves - is not primary. In Freud's view, when the neurotic behaves altruistically, he or she is merely compensating for an underlying contrary attitude of brutal egoism: at the root of the illness, the threat of punishment applied is same as for primitive people⁶⁷. Freud ascribes this psychological mechanism of compensating and regression to social factors – to compliance with socially acceptable norms – which is the most fundamental characteristic of the neurotic. He states: "We may describe as 'social' the emotions which are determined by showing consideration for another person without taking him as a sexual object. The receding into the background of this social factor may be stressed as a fundamental

⁶⁷ Freud explained: "...at the beginning of the illness, the threat of punishment applied, as in the case of savages, to the patient himself; he was invariably in fear for his own life; it was not until later that the moral fear was displaced on to another and a loved person. The process is a little complicated, but we can follow it perfectly. At the root of the prohibition there is invariably a hostile impulse against someone the patient loves - a wish that that person should die. This impulse is repressed by a prohibition and the prohibition is attached to some particular act, which, by displacement, may become a hostile act against the loved person. There is a threat of death if this act is performed. But the process goes further, and the original wish that the loved person may die is replaced by a fear that he may die. (1913, p72)

characteristic of the neurosis, though one which is later disguised by over-compensation. (Freud,1913, p72)

The second main characteristic of neurosis is derived from sexual origins rather than other factors, as Freud describes, 'In the form which it assumes, taboo very closely resembles the neurotic's fear of touching, his 'touching phobia'. Now, in the case of the neurosis the prohibition invariably relates to touching of a sexual kind, and psychoanalysis has shown that it is in general true that the instinctual forces that are diverted and displaced in neuroses have a sexual origin. (1913, 73) This characteristic is different from the case of taboo, the prohibited touching in primitive people is obviously not to be understood in a limited sexual sense but in a more general sense of attacking, of getting control, and of asserting oneself. Therefore, Freud made a crucial conclusion: "Thus the fact which is the characteristic of the neurosis is the sexual over the social instinctual⁶⁸ elements." (Freud, 1913, p73)

To sum up Freud's elucidation on the subject of comparison between taboo and obsessional neuroses, there are four characteristics of similarity: (1) both of them are equally lacking in motive and equally puzzling in their origin; (2) both of them are a kind of "internal need" - no external threat of punishment is required, because there is an internal certainty, a moral conviction, that any violation will lead to intolerable disaster; (3) both of them can easily find a substitute or transmit into metaphor; and (4) both of them are forcing people to be engaged in ritual or quasi-ritual behaviours.

This might lead us to identify correspondences in individual and social life, although Freud himself cautions against making a firm hypothesis. He said, 'The similarity between taboo and obsessional sickness may be no more than a matter of externals; it may apply only to the forms in which they are manifested and not be extended to their

⁶⁸ The definition of 'social instinct' is elucidated by Freud as following: " The social instincts, however, are themselves derived from a combination of egoistic and erotic components into wholes of a special kind" (1913,p73)

essential character. (1913, p26) This cautious indication may imply that the similarity is in the form of a psychical mechanism but, perhaps, not the same mechanical cause.

Part 1: Tsai Ming Liang's film "The River" - Homosexuality, incest and immediate family in the light of post-modern thinking

1. The flows of desire and blood ties:

Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The River* is challenging not only because it is culturally taboo but also because it is visually shocking. It contains a scene representing a homosexual father and son who, visiting a homosexual sauna, unknowingly make love with each other in the dark. In her review of *The River* in *The Opposite Sex*, a journal of sexuality, the postmodern feminist writer, Chang Hsiao-Hung, writes, "This time, as he came upon his father on that fateful path, he did not kill him, he just made love with him."⁶⁹ (Translated by Rey Chow, 2007, p181)

I would like to adapt Rey Chow's account of Tsai Ming Liang's film *The River* for my discussion of homosexuality, incest, close family relations and their connection with the Oedipal narrative, comparing it with other homosexual films made during the postmodern era (since 1990) in Taiwan, mainly from the perspective of psychoanalysis.

⁶⁹ Chang Hsiao Hung in her book 怪胎家庭羅曼史 (The romantic history of a queer family), one of chapters entitled 河流中的欲望場域 (The spatial sphere of desire in the film "The River"). In this chapter, she discusses Tsai Ming-Liang's film "The River" from cultural, psychological and kinship aspects. At the end of her arguments, she adds a finishing touch "這一次他與父親在狹路相逢, 他沒有殺了他, 他只是和他做了愛". These original phrases it translated precisely into English should be: "This time, as he came upon his father on that narrow path, he did not kill him, he just made love with him." The Chinese words "狹路" precisely mean "narrow path", Rey Chow translates these words into English words as "fateful path" in order to connote the fate of Oedipus – Oedipus in his fateful journey home killed his father on a narrow path.

This film begins when a young man, Hsiao Kang, runs into a woman friend outside a Taipei department store. The friend is an assistant on a film production and she brings him to an outdoor shooting session in which the director is filming a corpse floating along a river. As the prop of the human figure repeatedly fails to produce the wanted effect the director approaches Hsiao Kang, and asks him to act as the floating corpse instead. At first Hsiao Kang is reluctant because the water is so filthy; however, he plays the floating corpse to her satisfaction. Hsiao Kang cleans himself in a hotel room afterward, noticing, as he finishes showering, that dirt from the river seems to be sticking to his body. His woman friend brings him something to eat; they eat together and then have sex.

At home, his parents have a nonsexual and non-communicating relationship. His mother works as an elevator operator in a restaurant. She has an extramarital affair with a man who makes illegal copies of pornographic videos. His father is gay, a regular customer at a gay sauna, but keeps his sexual activities secret from his wife and son.

Soon after the filming Hsiao Kang comes down with a mysterious pain in his neck and cannot hold his head straight. He constantly falls when he rides his motorcycle near his house, and his condition is noticed by his father. In one hilarious scene, his father is shown literally holding and steadying Hsiao Kang's head as he sits behind Hsiao Kang on a motorcycle ride. The rest of the story shows him and his parents seeking different cures, visiting a local religious healer, injections, chiropractic, Chinese medicine, acupuncture, massage, and hospitalisation, all to no avail. His father finally takes him to consult a spiritual master in Taichung.

While waiting for the master to exercise his healing power through meditation, father and son find their own way separately to a local sauna and become physically involved in the scene – a homosexual father and son, not recognizing each other in the

dark, engage in a sexual activity. When the light is turned on, reality sets in. When the father recognizes his son, he slaps him; the son pulls on his trousers and runs out the door, the father is left standing motionless. They return to their motel and spend the night together in their room – silently sleeping back to back, sharing the same bed but without any communication. In the morning, the father makes a phone call to the spiritual master, as he has been instructed, only to be told that the spirits have asked them to return to Taipei to see a doctor. The father goes out, as usual, to buy them some breakfast. Hsiao Kang gets up, opens the curtains, and sits on the balcony overlooking the neighbourhood. Hsiao Kang's condition looks much the same as before, with his head awkwardly tilted to one side. (Chow, 2007, pp185-186)

Rey Chow's written description does not address a specific part of this film which I consider to be a crucial metaphor of Hsiao Kang's disease, when the father takes his son to consult the spiritual master. They were advised by the spiritual master that they should prolong their stay in that city, in order to wait for the spiritual master's message from the god (the spiritual master presumably will be inspired through his meditation). That is the reason that the father and son spend a few more nights at the motel and subsequently the accidental incest takes place between them – they are waiting for the god's message. The day after they have sex at the sauna, the father receives a phone call from the spiritual master, informing him that the “god has possessed him” (神已經下來了) and told them to return to Taipei and consult a medical doctor.

What is the relation between ‘god’ and incest? What is the metaphor which Tsai would like to convey to his audience? What is the audience reaction after watching this film?

The baby is not ashamed of desiring its mother. It is the Oedipus complex that frustrates him at hatred and love - ambiguous. This is to say, the prohibition is what found the idea of a relationship. Freud claims that kinship structure is a defensive

mechanism against incestuous desires. The development of the super-ego (the internalized father or internalized god) is necessary for everyone, to shape their unformed infantile drive. Loving and hating the same subject constitutes the nucleus of all neurosis, emerging from the very beginning when the first encounters the external world. Once the conscious mind is solidly established, the incestuous wish can only find expression in dreams, unconscious forms of art creation, or project on to a figure that might fulfil an incestuous wish (a woman in love with a father-like figure, a man in love with an older woman). That is to say, an incestuous wish is intangible in the conscious mind but is allowed to project or be channelled in unconscious ways in normal adulthood. What happens when incestuous wishes cannot be channelled in an “appropriate” way? Incest is condemned only when it occurs in a condition that allows conscious recognition of human relations but it is not judged in a form of unconscious projection. When father and son make love in the dark, they are innocent; however, when the light comes on and the father recognizes his son, he has to slap him – so that the father’s authority can be maintained in the father-son relation. Thus, what is tangible and what is intangible is the issue between the conscious (light on) and the unconscious (light off).

From this perspective it might be useful to distinguish between when the term “incestuous wish” is used to discuss infantile sexuality when it is used to discuss adult sexuality. We should acknowledge that what Freud terms the “Oedipus complex” is an attempt to describe the “infantile drive”, not yet channelled by recognition of relationships. This is a purely natural response to the first love-object of the opposite sex – called “incestuous wishes.” Desire appears before we recognize what makes a relationship - and this infantile “incestuous wish” should not be understood as equivalent to incestuous desire that is prohibited when clear recognition of relationships occurs.

The later development of our desires is shaped and regulated by family structure, although it is difficult to trace their origin and outset. We know very little about the origin of this ambivalence; however, the expression of desire and prohibition is

fundamental to everyone, in any culture, although we may not have specific words to describe it, or perhaps may not identify it by any specific term.

2. The problem of same-sex incest

In the Chinese dictionary (國語活用辭典) the word ‘incest’ (*Luan Lun* 亂倫) is defined as: (1) In a broad sense - behaviour against ethical rules⁷⁰ (2) in a strict sense – the sexual behaviour between males and females in the same family. (Chou, 2007, p65) In the *Chinese Dictionary of Psychology*, incest is defined as “sexual relations between opposite-sex close relations (especially parents and children or brothers and sisters who have blood ties). Incest is considered as taboo in every culture of the world.” [my translation] (Chang, 1992, p134)

Both Chinese dictionaries clearly point out that ‘incest’ refers to relations between family members of the opposite sex. Although English dictionaries do not directly indicate that it must be the opposite sex, they do indicate that it is between people ‘too closely related to marry’. In the realm of psychoanalytical interpretation, it especially refers to parent-children relations, and it clearly defines that the incest in the framework of Oedipus attachment literally should be referred to as opposite-sex. Therefore, according to the dictionaries’ definitions, Tsai’s film may not be literally categorized as incest; although people are left in no doubt that the film clearly focuses on the issue of incest and homosexuality. What people are interested in is certainly not what a dictionary of psychology says. Maybe the point is that it is too horrific even for dictionaries – same sex relations cannot ever be spoken about.

⁷⁰ In the Chinese language, the common term of incest (*Lua Lun* 亂倫) means the overturning of kin or, more precisely, of hierarchically arranged social relations. The word *Lua*(亂) means overturn, the word *Lun* (倫) means ethic. In ancient Chinese concept *lun* (ethic) does not exclusively involve blood relations and is therefore much more explicitly cultural in its rationale. (Chow, 2007, p192)

In Taiwan, the legitimization of same-sex marriage has been debated in the Legislative Yuan/House (立法院), however, it has not been approved. The reason for the government's rejection was that same-sex marriage cannot provide the function of reproduction which is a fundamental element for constituting the legal definition of marriage, according to the Taiwanese Constitution. However, what is the 'real' reason? That will not be in a dictionary, but may be in films.

Nowadays, homosexuality is protected by law and certainly homosexuals are not treated as second-class citizens in Taiwan. In many countries same-sex marriage has become legally acceptable in certain areas. However, the question of whether incest can actually happen between father and son – or, by implication, between mother and daughter, brother and brother, sister and sister, still has to be clarified. The provoking thought raised by such a question is fundamental to any who attempt to clarify the status of the scene shown in *The River* and the answer to it is by no means the literal definition of incest or the legal boundary of incest.

3. The reaction of the audience and the film participants:

While making homosexuality transparent is not problematic to contemporary society in Taiwan, when the scene of father-son incest appeared, the audience reacted with physical discomfort and moral indignation.

When *The River* was firstly shown in Taiwan well-known writers, film critics, including censors, were invited to watch this film and to give their opinion. Huang Yi, a reporter from *Tzu Li* newspaper (自立早報) said “This gloomy film contains the most dismal scenes I have ever seen in the history of Taiwanese film. Although we know that this kind of thing is impossible, it makes you feel you need a shower after watching this film, just like a soaking cat or dog wants to dry their hair under sunshine.”(Zhang, p157) [my translation]

Moreover, some team members (including actors, cameramen, and assistants) who participated in filming those scenes representing certain syndromes of physical discomfort confessed that they had endured immense pressure during the process of filming. Tsai Ming-Liang said to the media, “After this film was completed, I myself had a kind of abysmal feeling, I also felt very lonely. Before, whenever I completed a project, no matter whether it was modern drama or a film like my previous film, *Vive l’Amour*, I always felt that they are my children whom I love dearly, even if they are not perfect. However, the film *The River* is very strange for me, after completing filming I don’t feel like watching it, and I even forget that I have ever filmed it, sometimes.” (Zhang, p158) The first contamination occurs in *The River*- after Hsiao Kang is filming a corpse floating along a river, he is sent to hotel to clean his body and he can not wore off the bad smell in his body, and his neck problem start from there.

Most team members who participated in the film production were not aware how the father and son at the sauna would be displayed on screen; they thought that this plot would be expressed in a reticent way. Tsai Ming Liang also confessed that, not until the last moment, did he decide to explore the darkest part of the human mind - he was unsure how he was going to do this scene. When the team were informed that this scene would actually be filmed, they were all struck dumb. When Tsai Ming Liang was asked why he chose to film the theme of incest he said:

I always tell myself that I would like to film the inner world of the human mind – perhaps I should say the darkest part of the human mind; I always feel that there is something dark in the human mind, to stir emotion, no matter whether you are rich or poor, there is always a mischief-maker there, people do not find it easy to be happy. If you ask me the meaning of dealing with the issue of incest, I can not say exactly, what it is I just feel that I have been pushed to this point. It seems to me that there is a force urging me to film this scene, it probably is the darkest part of me. (Chen, p61)

The film *The River* is labelled as a queer film (酷兒電影)⁷¹; the main figure Hsiao Kang has a strange disease – he cannot hold his head straight, and that he and his father unexpectedly meet at the sauna is also strange. However, the director sometimes forgets he has ever filmed *The River*; the actors and film workers were sick after they completed this film; the film critics showed physical discomfort after they watched this film; one of them felt like taking a shower after watched this film; all these reactions are also very strange. From actors to audience, from film critics' physical discomfort to the director's slip of memory, all these strange instances provide a clue that the hysterical syndrome of psychological and physical transition exists in individuals, connecting ethics and the body.

4. The breakdown of the nuclear family:

The family described in the *The River* comprises a father, mother and son living in an ordinary-looking urban apartment. Each one has his or her own bedroom. They rarely talk to each other, as each of them lives a separate life; their paths cross only when they need to eat, drink, bathe or go to the toilet. The mother usually brings home leftovers from the restaurant where she works, and the father, when he needs to eat, warms them up in the rice cooker and chews abjectly on his food, alone. Similar scenes show their daily life at home – the mother drinks water or cleans her face in front of the bedroom mirror; the son or father goes to the bathroom; the father or mother comes home, climbs the stairs alone; the mother and son occasionally share some fresh fruit in the living room. When Hsiao Kang is sent to hospital and his father needs to inform his mother, his father has to check the phone number printed on the restaurant takeout box that the mother has left in the refrigerator. The isolated family members share the same house but their emotions are locked inside themselves; when these scenes are shown the director uses neither background music nor other signs to express the character of solitude and alienation. Their regular appearance, simply

⁷¹ The English word “queer” has been directly transliterated into Chinese as “酷兒” which means Homosexual. It frequently appears in academic expression as a popular usage, for instance homosexual theory is called “queer theory” (酷兒理論), homosexual literature is called “queer literature”...etc.

repeating motions that must have been made innumerable times, tell us something more: the family has turned into a mere household, traversed daily by those who are supposed to be intimately related but who are psychological estranged from each other. (as adapted in Rey Chow description, 2007)

Another scene shows Hsiao Kang's mother at her extramarital partner's flat. She is watching a Japanese adult viewing (AV) video, made purely for sensory effect, showing two people's sexual activity without any story. What the scene shows has provoked her sexual urge so that she feels like having sex with her extramarital partner; however, her partner has fallen into deep a sleep on the sofa. She attempts to wake him but her partner is unmoved, she sadly touches his body and images satisfaction on her own.

We are left wondering what 'real' sexual relations are. The mother's organic function of sexual satisfaction is provoked by various kinds of video both in her own family and in her extramarital relation. In this scene, she is actually facing an unmoved partner, however, when the video enters her real world, her loneliness seems to fade. Thus, the reverse of subject and object suggests that how dysfunction of the real sexual relation is of a symbolic order and the substitute (phantasy) has consequently constructed the real. The mother lives in the same house with her homosexual husband and son and, from the beginning to the end, she looks like a complete outsider to this 'accident.' However, when her son is using a massage stick to treat his neck pain, she locks herself alone in watching an AV video while her husband is laying on a sofa in the living room. At that moment, ironically, her husband's body may look like the massage stick which replaces the real phallus in the family, both symbolically and realistically. And she just replaces the richness of an emotional relationship with the sensory experience of satisfaction, which is very regressive.

When Tsai was interviewed regarding his motivation in producing this film, he remarked on the notion of solitude:

I try to reflect the sense of solitude inherent in human nature in a destructive and exaggerated manner because I don't know whether solitude is good or bad, though what the whole society and value system tell us is: 'you cannot/ must not be alone'. The burden created by the Chinese society's strong sense of family is especially hard to bear. Our society has never told us how to live freely. What is imposed on you is a set of formulae, with no one ever telling you what kind of distance there ought to be between human beings. That's why I want to push my films to extremes (to the limits) and see if human beings become capable of thinking only when there is enough distance between them. (Translated by Chow, 2007, p195)

Tsai Ming-Liang is showing the viewer a false closeness in traditional Chinese culture. Should viewer go away feeling repulsed, but reassured by their traditional culture – until they suddenly wake up and think of their own situation in the apparently close-knit family?

Gu Minglun argues that the *jia* (family) is both conceptual and lived – it is also the locus of its production and inhabitation (Martin, 2003, p181). When desire is regulated by family structure, it indicates that the dynamic life-force contained in the human body needs to be conceptualized. Tsai frequently uses doors as symbolic, to express a character attempting to find a way out of a boxed-up state. For instance, Hsiao Kang's mother works as an elevator operator, with doors opening and door closing; when Hsiao Kang visits a gay sauna, he tries to open every door to find a sexual partner; the only door that has not been locked is his father's and he then fatefully engages in sex with his father. This scene shows the secret of family bond, like the oedipal fate to meet his father in a narrow path.

Tsai's other film *The Hole*, centres on a lonely girl who creates her fantasy world after she notices there is a hole through which someone can peep at her – she dresses resplendently, and her face becomes radiant when dancing in a small space in an elevator, singing Grace Chang's 1960s old song *Oh Calypso*⁷². When the dancing and

⁷² Please enter You Tube website and key in the words – **Fragmeto de Dong (The hole) de Tsai Ming Liang** – to watch this scene.

music cease, the door closes, and the shot immediately changes to a realistic state. At night, the phantasy of herself is completely different from her realistic state in daytime, she is actually a nervous person and obsessional about buying toilet tissue during the rainy season. Five songs convey the different stages of her phantasy, her imagination becomes richer and more elaborate following sparse interaction with the upstairs neighbour watching her through this hole. This film gives an original illustration of our experience of “being seen” and “to see”, and how this mechanism constructs the inner version of the self, indicating that even an absolutely isolated person is still able to open a door to her imaginable world to construct her reality. Moreover, ‘life’ seems to be excitement – being seen; dancing to music.

Another dancing drama is Tsai’s *Wayward Cloud*, showing many dancing girls attired in bright-orange. They open the toilet doors, dance together in a masculine way and sing an old song *Be Patient*⁷³, they open the doors and walk out from confined spaces. This scene illustrates an AV actor’s imagination while he is preparing to be filmed. He finds that he is bored with soft porn to stimulate his erection. An absurd dancing drama is created to represent the AV actor’s phantasy – the dancing girls wearing bikinis and putting buckets on their head - insinuates women’s role in the family: during the day they might work like cleaners but at night they might act like the bikini girls. Thus, the door in Tsai’s film symbolizes the threshold between realistic life and a fantasy world - that someone can escape unwanted constraints; someone can walk through their own defensive block. In an interview following the screening at Cannes of this film, Tsai had this to say on the significance of doors in his work:

In both my theatre and my cinema work, the door is my most frequently used prop. For example in my play, *The Unopenable Door in the Dark*, and in the sauna scenes of *The River*, doors function on a symbolic level. For me, the door is a channel of communication, allowing people to get out and come in [...]

⁷³ Please enter You Tube website and key in the words – **Tsai Ming Liang Tian bian yi duo yun (Sabor de la sandia)** – to watch this scene.

The characters in [*The Hole*] shut themselves in and can't escape. They hide away, sunk deep in the safe world on the other side of the door [...] In the song and dance scenes, doors, elevators, stairways, and exits appear again and again. They are a projection of the characters' yearning to find a way out of their closed-up state. (Martin, 2003, p170)

5. The body as a container of desires

In *The River*, Tsai often interweaves scenes which effect a significant reconfiguration of symbolism. For instance, in the Taichung sauna scene, Hsiao Kang ejaculates into his father's hand in the dark. The next scene cuts to Hsiao Kang's mother in the Taipei apartment, with the sounds of heavy rain. Water flows across the floor to her feet. She discovers the source of the water in her husband's room. The next scene cuts to the Taichung sauna: the light comes on, Hsiao Kang's father recognizes his son and slaps him. The next scene cuts to Hsiao Kang's mother clambering to the top of the apartment, finding the running tap, and turning it off. The next scene cuts to the Taichung motel: father and son lie in bed together, back to back without any communication

The scenes of father and son in the Taichung sauna interweave with the scenes in mother's Taipei apartment and all focus on liquid flows – the flow in the apartment and the flow in the body. Desire is contained in the body just like the water is channelled in the house. The water that flows disastrously in the Taipei apartment and the bodily fluids of father and son, both need to be properly controlled. The family is both conceptual and lived. When human desire is shaped and regulated by family relations it is also both conceptual and dynamic.

However, we note that the family does not contain desire in a 'healthy' way, that is, in a way that promotes creativity, sublimation, fertility and love. It leaves it as raw instinct that is on the brink of catastrophic flooding. Human instinct needs to be channelled properly, like the Oedipus complex which functions as a channelling and

transformation of energy; therefore, identification is a necessary path for a boy's growth, but the film shows that the identification with father is insufficient in the family setting and perhaps, intrinsically, is insufficient from the aspect of masculine quality. These radical modern cultural critics are expressing the myth of close family, and I consider that this myth contributes to the resistance to Freud outside their circle of modern cultural elites.

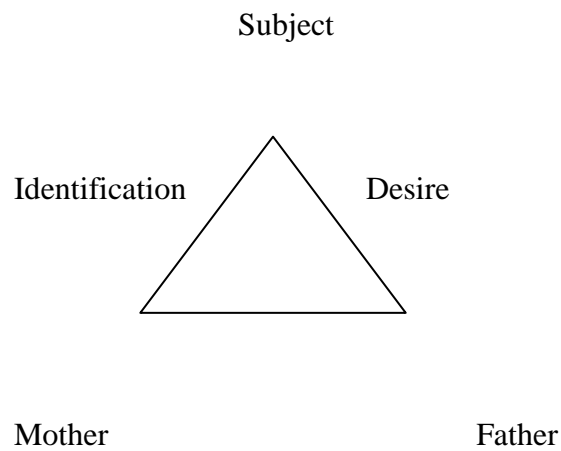
1. The place of femininity in male homosexuality and in the family

Finally, I would like to address the place of femininity in male homosexuality to elucidate the passive character of the homosexual type in *The River*. The role of the father in this film (both in the sauna room and in the family) is expressed as dissolution of the masculine father. In the family, the father, rather than following the patriarchal convention, dominating his woman and child, sweeps the floor, irons his own clothes, and takes the guest bedroom instead of the master bedroom. When Hsiao Kang has neck pain, it is his father who takes him to consult therapists, administers medicine, brings food and makes sure his son is properly cared for.

When the father visits the homosexual sauna hotel his manner is usually passive, merely waiting for someone to approach him. If someone comes to him he has sex; if not, he gets nothing. The father turns himself into an object, his position is what Chang Hsiao-Hung describes as “dephallicized”, consistent with his family role – a father far removed from authority.

Much research in a theoretical paradigm is capable of explaining in detail how femininity can be expressed to define both the subject and the object in male homosexuality. Kaja Silverman (1992) in his book *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (pp339-373) illustrates three models of femininity in male homosexuality – (1) the model of the negative Oedipus complex (2), the Greek model and (3) the Leonardo model.

(1) The model of the negative Oedipus

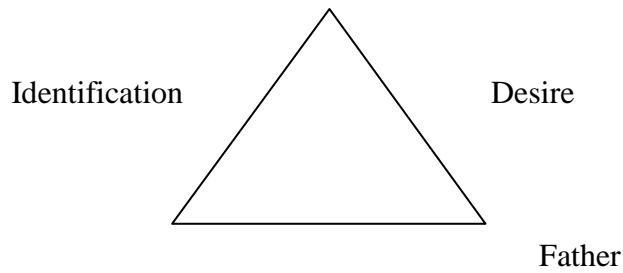


(Silverman, 1992, p363)

From Freud's point of view, the son feels that his father hates him, and because he has a fear of being castrated by the father, the son represses his feeling of loving his mother, and he then identifies with his father and treats his father as his model, thus the positive type of identification is developed. However, if the core of the incest complex can not be transformed and channelled in a positive direction the son inversely identifies with the mother seeking love from the father: negative identification could develop. The positive type of identification usually correlates with proper or conventional father authority. However, the father-son complex can appear as a kind of inverse relationship to avoid the Oedipus plot.

2) The Greek model

Subject



what the subject once was

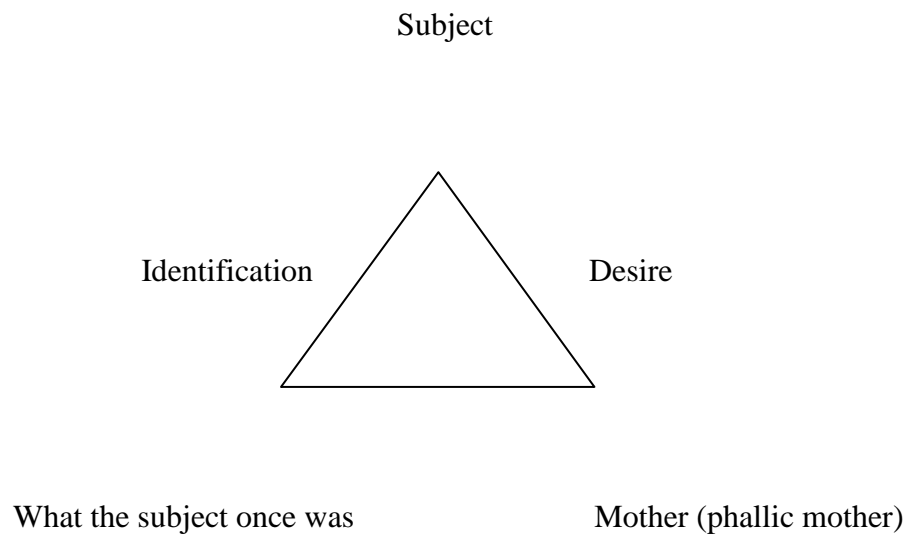
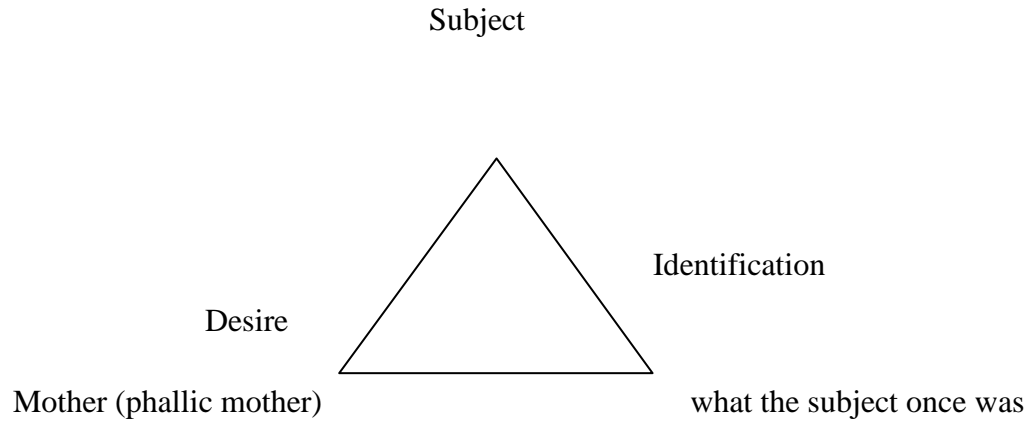
(Silverman, 1992, p365)

For this Greek model, Silverman elucidates:

although the mother is deleted from the erotic cast of characters, she nonetheless plays an indirect role even within this paradigm. The youthful love object has a “bisexual nature,” i.e. one constructed at the level of the unconscious by identification both with the father *and* with the mother. So, Freud maintains, does the desiring subject. Given the sharp bifurcation of the lovers’ respective roles, and the importance of generational difference within their homosexuality, it would seem as though this imaginary duality seeks to express itself serially rather than simultaneously or through alternation; in youth one plays out one’s feminine identification, and in maturity one’s masculine identification. (Silverman, 1992, p366)

The Greek model was that an older man had a young male lover, who would grow up, marry, but also have young male lover. This was a warrior culture so it was also very masculine.

(3) The model of Leonardo



(Silverman, 1992, p371)

The Leonardo model derives from Freud's work *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood*, in which Freud analysed Leonardo's childhood phantasy. Information about Leonardo abundantly provides Freud with a psychoanalytic view of femininity in male homosexuality as well as informing his view about Leonardo's

craving for knowledge. Freud states, “What is known of Leonardo in this respect is little: but that little is full of significance” (Freud, 1910, p69).

In a passage about the flight of vultures, Leonardo describes a memory from very early years which had sprung to his mind:

It seems that I was always destined to be so deeply concerned with vultures; for I recalled as one of my very earliest memories that while I was in my cradle a vulture came down to me, and opened my mouth with its tail, and struck me many times with its tail against my lips. (Freud, 1910, p82)

Leonardo describes this as a childhood memory, but Freud considers that the scene with the vulture would not be a memory but a phantasy, which Leonardo formed at a later date and transposed to his childhood.⁷⁴ Firstly, Freud interprets

A tail, ‘coda’ is one of the most familiar symbols and substitutive expressions for the male organ, in Italian no less than in other language; the situation in the phantasy, of a vulture opening the child’s mouth and beating about inside, corresponds to the idea of an act of *fellatio*, a sexual act in which the penis is put into the mouth of the person involved (Freud, 1910, p86).

Freud considers this phantasy completely passive in character; moreover, this phantasy resembles certain dreams and phantasies found in women or passive homosexuals who play the female role in male homosexual relations. Therefore, in

⁷⁴ Although Freud considers this is not a true memory, he thinks that it still represents the reality of the past of Leonardo. Freud states, “What someone thinks he remembers from his childhood is not a matter of indifference; as a rule the residual memories – which he himself does not understand – cloak priceless pieces of evidence about the most important features in his mental development. As we now possess in the techniques of psychoanalysis excellent methods for helping us to bring this concealed material to light, we may venture to fill in the gap in Leonardo’s life story by analyzing his childhood phantasy (Freud, 1910, p85).

Freud's view, Leonardo's 'memory' represents a passive homosexual phantasy, and he considers Leonardo a man with homosexual feeling. Freud adds that whether he describes someone as an invert is not dependent on his actual behaviour but his emotional attitude.

Secondly, Freud interprets:

The mother who suckles her child – or to put it better, at whose breast the child sucks – has been turned into a vulture that put its tail into the child's mouth. We have asserted that, according to the usual way in which language makes use of substitutes, the vulture's '*coda*' cannot possibly signify anything other than a male genital, a penis. But we do not understand how imaginative activity can have succeeded in endowing precisely this bird which is a mother with the distinguishing mark of masculinity; and in view of this absurdity we are at a loss as to how to reduce this creation of Leonardo's phantasy to any rational meaning (Freud, 1019, p93).

In this message, Freud attempts to elucidate the pre-Oedipal stage, when the boy is unaware that mothers do not possess a penis and assumes that everyone is like himself; that is to say, before a boy comes under the dominance of the castration-complex he still regards women as equal in power. This is exactly what Lacan terms "phallic mother/mother with penis" and he considers the phallus is actually the "position" which separates the mother and son but does not necessary mean a real father or the biological aspect of a penis. He proposes that this 'position' is necessary for a child to channel his libido to a symbolic order.

In Lacan's view, the father in the process of castration-complex is not the father who leaves home at 8am every morning and comes back at 6pm every evening but a "position in the name of father" which makes a child feels that there is something he can never achieve no matter how much effort he makes. Lacan called this "the phallus' which may later develop in adult life as a need for religion. Thus, for Lacan,

the phallus and a penis indicate different ideas: the phallus is a penis which adds an abstract feeling (or thoughts). In Lacan's discourse, desire is a distorted process between inclination and symbol; the desire actually has no object, nor can it be said that it is the special object which is absent. Lacan clearly indicates that this desired object is the phallic mother. If a boy feels he might lose his penis and someone possesses no penis, he will easily connect the idea of loss with the penis, and from that evolve the idea of the penis plus its absence. However, why look for something we cannot see in the mother's body, and how could something which does not exist be seen?

In Freud's elucidation he describes a boy's pre-Oedipal condition:

When a male child first turns his curiosity to the riddles of sexual life, he is dominated by his interest in his own genitalia. He finds that part of his body too valuable and too important for him to be able to believe that it could be missing in other people whom he feels he resembles so much. As he can not guess that there exists another type of genital structure of equal worth, he is forced to make the assumption that all human beings, women as well as men, possess a penis like his own. This precondition is so firmly planted in the youthful investigator that it is not destroyed even when he first observe the genitals of little girls. His perception tells him, it is true, that there is something different from what there is in him, but he is incapable of admitting to himself that the content of this perception is that he cannot find a penis in girls. That the penis could be missing strikes him as an uncanny and intolerable idea, and so in an attempt at a compromise he comes to the conclusion that a little girl has a penis as well, only it is still very small; it will grow later. (Freud, 1910, p95)

Freud connects the child's assumption that his mother has a penis with the vulture-headed mother goddess which was represented by Egyptians with a phallus – her body was female, as the breasts indicated, but it also had a male organ in a state of erection. Thus, in connection with the goddess of the Egyptians, we find the same

combination of maternal and masculine characteristic as in Leonardo's phantasy of the vulture – it is the child's first idea of his mother's body.

Once the child's love for his mother can not continue to develop consciously any further, it succumbs to repression through the necessary stage of entering human relations. However, in what way has he become homosexual? Freud explains:

the boy represses his love for his mother: he puts himself in her place, identifies himself with her, and takes his own person as a model in whose likeness he chooses the new objects of his love. In this way he has become a homosexual (Freud, 1910, p100).

In addition to being the love-object of his mother, Freud further describes, through the path of narcissism, how the boys whom the child loves, whom he now loves as he grows up, are after all only substitutive figures and revivals of himself in childhood – boys he loves in the way his mother loved him when he was a child. He finds the objects of his love along the path of narcissism. Therefore, the model of Leonardo's becoming a homosexual is, in Freud's illustration, the way the child remains unconsciously fixated to the image of his mother before taking the path of narcissism. Freud states precisely that

In individual cases direct observation has also enabled us to show that the man who gives the appearance of being susceptible only to the charms of men is in fact attracted by women in the same way as normal man; but on each occasion he hastens to transfer the excitation he has received from women on to a male object, and in this manner he repeats over and over again the mechanism by which he acquired his homosexuality (Freud, 1910, p100).

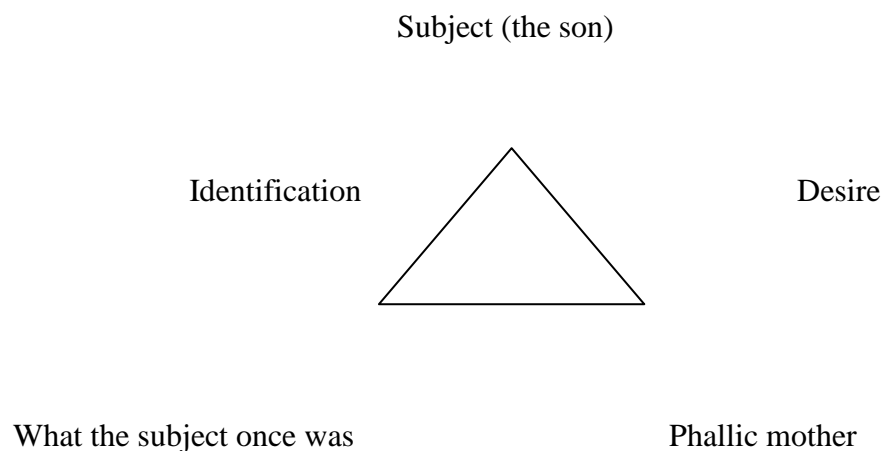
Kaja Silverman considers that the identification of male homosexuality and its desired object, the mother, should distinguish between the phallic mother and the castrated

mother. The former is the mother in the pre-Oedipal stage, and the latter is the mother in the post-Oedipal stage. The homosexual model of Leonardo illustrated by Silverman is a combination of narcissistic object-choice and the mechanism of the Oedipus complex. The four types of narcissistic object-choice are interpreted by Freud:

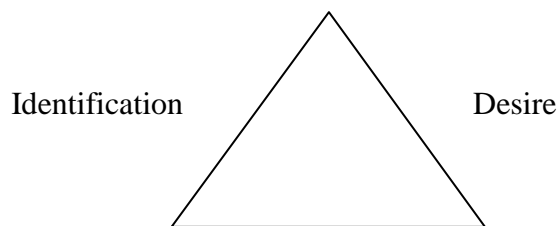
- (a) what he himself is (i.e. himself)
- (b) what he himself was
- (c) what he himself would like to be
- (d) someone who was once part of himself

(Sigmund Freud, *On Narcissism* standard edition, Vol.14, p90)

The model of Leonardo illustrated by Kaja Silverman is a triangle: [phallic mother]-[subject]- [what he himself was], and the symbolic father is excluded in this triangle. The scene of father-son incest in the film *The River* is illustrated in an article of film review in the *Journal of Chinese and Foreign Literature* (中外文學) by Ai-Chu Chang (2002, pp75-98) as the following triangles which is Leonardo's model:



Subject (the father)



Phallic mother

what the subject once was (the son)

From these two triangles, the author suggests that the scenario of father-son incest is that the phallic mother represents the father's identity and desires the image of the youth he himself once was. In *The River* this could be the son whom the father could not recognize in the dark room. The son also identifies with the phallic mother and yearns for the object he once was – this could be his infancy. When the light comes on the father recognizes the son's face - immediately, the symbolic father replaces the phallic mother, and the father slaps his son so that the father-son relation can be sustained in the symbolic orders.

However, to make a careful speculation, if these two triangles can illustrate the enigma of father-son incest in the film *The River*, there are three points that need to be clarified. Firstly, in this film, the father is identified with the phallic mother (his wife) and therefore lacks a strong masculine presence, since it is borrowed from the mother. The father's desire for what he once was fits with his son's identification with what he once was, together with the wanting of primal mother-love - for the phallic mother -

so the two fit together at an unconscious level, since father and son are very similar. However, it isn't clear why the son should want primal mother-love.

Secondly, the model suggests that this issue is not homoerotic – that father and son don't desire each other – but want, narcissistically, to be what they once were, and that might include being with the (phallic) mother who is a feeding mother with a masculine appearance.

Thirdly, it is not clear what the slap represents. Most writers who give a detailed discussion about this film all claim that the slap represents the replacement of human relations in symbolic orders. In this film, with the prominence of the phallic mother, who looks like a man (represented by the father), there is no relation with the father, in the expected form of an identification, an internalisation of the father. The slap is a repudiation of their capacity to understand what father and son want and need from each other, which includes an internalisation of the father. However, the slap is an external contact, not an internalisation.

The film *The River* does not directly express whether Hsiao Kang's neck problem is getting better or not, the director leaves a silent, open and manageable space for the audience to think. The neck is a junction of the body and the head; Hsiao-Kang's disease is a symptom of disharmony between his body and his head. A body is a container of desires and a head is a location where one internalized the father. The most fascinating scene in this film – the father holding the son's neck while riding the motorcycle - may have expressed a significant metaphor of the need of an internalized father.

Furthermore, Hsiao-Kang's bent neck-head is a penis that is not properly erect because he has not internalized father. Father supports him on the outside externally, but not internally. When the oracle (master/god) says "you should go back to Taipei and consult a medical doctor", in effect, this conveys the message that "don't believe

in (maternal) magic; believe in (paternal) masculine. Help your son; don't perpetuate his problem." This mythical story in *The River* reveals the secret of father-son relationship in Taiwanese society, and what is lacking in son's 'internalized father' not only attributes to their form of religion (Buddhism and Taorism) but also attributes to the complexity of their multiple colonization in their history. For Freud, internalization is the resolution of Oedipus complex and it is essential for men to shape his masculine, however, and such a theme has found nowhere to be discussed in film critics.

Part 2: Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole*

(1) Freud's discourse on the phallic stage and its connection with the character traits of a woman's fantasy world

There are two distinct characteristics of the woman's fantasy world in *The Hole*. Firstly, the main figure, Mei-Mei, is apathetical and disconnected from external reality. She appears to be anxiously busy while she is alone, specifically, displaying obsessive behaviour, buying toilet paper; however, in her fantasy world, she is dynamic and sexually expressive. That is to say, she is active while she is alone and in her fantasy world. Secondly, the internal object which she creates in her fantasy world usually expresses her affection, emotion and personal hostility – it seems to lack impersonal factors. In this session, I attempt to connect Freud's discourse on the phallic stage and to interpret the character traits of a woman's fantasy world in Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole*.

Chang, Kai-Man states that "...the hole in Tsai's film is not merely an empty space between two apartments but rather a contested site of gendered desires, fantasies, and power relationships." (Chang, 2008, p32) Indeed, the hole between the man upstairs and the woman downstairs is actually the passage that conveys how they view their own body and how they approach the other's body – socially, culturally and sexually.

In real life, the man upstairs actively provokes the woman downstairs and tries to gather a response from her; the woman downstairs behaves passively but actively dances in her unconscious fantasy. In displaying the woman's fantasy, there is no doubt that Tsai Ming-Liang is motivated to energize and empower the woman, showing her motive force through musical scenes, and illustrating the equality of masculinity existing between the man and woman. However, the display of internal objects of Mei-Mei's fantasy's world does not alleviate gender hierarchy.

Mei-Mei's neurotic syndrome appears to be her obsession with buying toilet paper; consequently, she stores a pile of toilet paper in her living room. When her flat is submerged in water, she hides herself in the packs of toilet paper piled up in the living room, lying in a comatose state. Toilet paper is to be used in lower parts of the body, her fetishism contrasts with her apathetical attitude to her external reality, revealing her inability to fuse energy to her realistic life and therefore her urgent search to communicate this energy is replaced by her psychological attachment to toilet paper – such a fetishism can be considered as a kind of healing process.

Another channel allowed by Mei-Mei to contact her unconscious force is her fantasy world, in which she acts actively, spontaneously, freely, aggressively and calmly. Her neurotic syndrome completely disappears when she communicates her internal objects, created in her fantasy world. What is the internal object? RD Hinshelwood states "...This odd experience felt to reside physically inside the self or inside the body is, as we have seen, a very primitive experience deriving from mental functioning at a remote developmental period – that is to say, remote from the reality of the external world and, indeed, remote from consciousness.Internal objects are, on the whole, one such primitive experience that is not consciously known about. They are the stuff of unconscious phantasy (Hinshelwood, 1994, p58).

Freud stresses:

...the analyses of neurotics shall deal thoroughly with the remotest period of their childhood, the time of the early efflorescence of sexual life. It is only by examining the first manifestations of the patient's innate instinctual constitution and the effects of his earliest experiences that we can accurately gauge the motive forces that have led to his neurosis and can be secure against the errors into which we might be tempted by the degree to which things have become remodelled and overlaid in adult life (Freud, 1925, SE Vol.19, p248)

The character traits of the adult fantasy world can be traced back to the remotest period when instinct cannot distinguish the difference between male and female organs. Freud terms this period the phallic stage, that is to say, at this stage the polarity of sex with which we become familiar has not been recognised. The polarity at this stage is between the male organ and 'being castrated'. Freud confesses that his discourse of phallic stage is more specific to little boys. In *The infantile genital organization: an interpolation into the theory of sexuality* Freud makes it clear that he was more confident writing about male children. He states "Unfortunately we can describe this state of things only as it affects the male child; the corresponding processes in the little girl are not known to us" (Freud, 1923, SE Vol.19, p142) In *The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex*, Freud asks "How does the corresponding development take place in little girls? At this point our material - for some incomprehensible reasons - becomes far more obscure and full of gaps... It must be admitted, however, that in general our insight into this developmental process in girls is unsatisfactory, incomplete and vague"(Freud, 1924, SE Vol. 19, pp177-179).

However, this remarkable statement regarding girls' phallic stage is introduced by Freud ".....in little girls the leading sexual organ was the clitoris, that, in conformity with this fact, 'the sexuality of little girls is of a wholly masculine character', and that 'a wave of repression at puberty' is required before the clitoris gives place to the vagina and masculinity to femininity" (Freud, 1925, SE Vol. 19, p246).

Freud explains "The little girl's clitoris behaves just like a penis to begin with; but, when she makes a comparison with a playfellow of the other sex, she perceives that

she has 'come off badly' and she feels this as a wrong done to her and as a ground for inferiority. For a while, still she consoles herself with the expectation that later on, when she grows older, she will acquire just as big an appendage as the boy's" (Freud, 1924, SE Vol.19, p178).

Freud considers that from here the masculinity complex of a woman branches off. Because a female child, at this stage, does not understand her lack of a penis as being a sexual characteristic she explains it by assuming that at some earlier date she had possessed an equally large organ and had then lost it by castration. She seems not to extend this inference from herself to other, adult, females but entirely on the lines of the phallic phase, to regard them as possessing large and complete male genitals.

The most important point that Freud stresses is that "The essential difference thus comes about that the girl accepts castration as an accomplished fact, whereas the boy fears the possibility of its occurrence" (Freud, 1924, SE Vol.19, p178). Therefore, the fear of castration is excluded in the little girl, from Freud's viewpoint, this results in the loss of a powerful stimulus to the super-ego and the ceasing of infantile genital organisation.

For these reasons, Freud considers that the female's super-ego has never developed the same characteristic as the male's super-ego. He states:

I can not evade the notion (though I hesitate to give it expression) that for woman the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in men. Their super-ego is never so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins as we require it to be in men. Character traits which critics of every epoch have raised against women - that they show less sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to the great exigencies of life, that they are more often influenced in their judgements by feelings of affection or hostility – all these would be amply accounted for by the modification in the

formation of their super-ego which we have inferred above (Freud, 1925, SE Vol.19, p258).

Freud further explains that we must not allow ourselves to be deflected from such a conclusion by the denials of feminists, who are anxious to force people to regard the two sexes as completely equal in position and worth; and he agrees that the majority of men are also far behind the masculine ideal and that all human individuals, as a result of their bisexual disposition, combine in themselves both masculine and feminine characteristics. Thus, Freud is on the one hand suggesting that masculinity is equal in both sexes in his discourse on the phallic stage; on the other hand, he is inclined to set some value on the physical consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes. Freud especially stresses that there are different paths between the sexes to develop the super-ego. He uses the phrases “so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins” to describe men’s super-ego, though he does not give concrete examples of these characteristics. However, we may reflect that in little boys’ internalisation and identification goes through the path of ‘reaction formation’ and in little girls the motive for the demolition of the Oedipus complex is lacking. Castration has already had its effect, which was to force the female child into the Oedipus complex, therefore, Freud considers a little girl’s path to develop her super-ego is much simpler than a boy’s. He says:

In boys, ...the complex is not simply repressed, it is literally smashed to pieces by the shock of threatened castration. Its libidinal cathexes are abandoned, desexualized and in part sublimated; its objects are incorporated into the ego, where they form the nucleus of the super-ego and give that new structure its characteristic qualities. In normal, or, it is better to say, in ideal cases, the Oedipus complex exists no longer, even in the unconscious; the super-ego has become its heir (Freud, 1925, SE Vol.19, p257).

From Freud’s discourse on the phallic stage, he certainly opposes the assumption that there are different characteristics between men and women based upon such terms as ‘active’ and ‘passive’. Tsai Min-Liang’s film *The Hole* gives a vivid and subtle

illustration of a woman's fantasy world; conspicuously, Tsai is motivated to express the idea, as Freud argues – to call men active and women passive has no real basis other than in social convention. As Freud states, “we must beware in this of underestimating the influence of social customs, whichforce women into passive situations”(Freud, 1933a, p149). Five musical scenes which describe the woman's fantasy space in *The Hole* indicate that the woman is active in her unconscious state. However, the character traits of internal objects in Mei-Mei's fantasy world also meet Freud's description of woman's internalisation, in that they show Mei-Mei's attachment to her emotion, affection and hostility, and a lack of impersonal factors to shape her internal objects. We do not know exactly what Freud means by the internalisation being impersonal and independent from its emotional origins, but we may assume, he probably means that the man's ego doesn't any longer associate either prohibition or ideals directly with parental figure, especially father and mother. However, such a coincidence of expression may not be evidence of Tsai Ming-Liang's deliberate intention to display Freud's discourse on woman's internalisation.

(2) *The Hole* - Psychological truth being constructed by the internal object as their reality

Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole* was produced in 1999, followed by *The River* which was produced in 1997. The two films represent certain life parables: *The River* connotes the flows of desire and blood ties; *The Hole* connotes the outset of desire. There is an implicit connection between the two films: just as Oedipus's inadvertent incest is followed by an outbreak of disease so, when the father and son in *The River* commit incest by accident, the following story, *The Hole*, starts with a plague in Taiwan which occurred before 2000 AD. This film describes the psychological truth being constructed by the internal object as their reality (Please see Appendix 5, pp32-40)

(3) The Discussion of Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole*:

The word 'hole' usually connotes the abstract conception of unknown, mysterious, darkness and unreachable depth. In this film, the hole connotes two mechanisms of human experience – the visible hole made between Mei-Mei's flat and the man's upstairs has triggered the mechanism of 'to see' and 'being seen'; the other invisible hole in inner space possesses another mechanism that allows one to create one's fantasy space and internal objects to nurse impaired configuration of someone's external world.

In this film, the hole is actually an outlet of Mei-Mei's desire and allows her to create an internal object in her restrained and lonely life. Mei-Mei does not communicate much with the man upstairs in reality; the whole film is about her communication with her internal object and creation of the fantasy world which brings colour to her gloomy external reality. The man upstairs may give tiny or unwitting stimulus but, when introjected in Mei-Mei's mind, he becomes the main element which she constructs from her reality. Her happiness and sadness mostly relate to her internal object, even more truly than her external object in her psychological state. She is surely aware that her internal object is not real and represents a huge distance from her external object but she is able to mend her internal objects in order to reduce the impact of her external reality.

The hole made between Mei-Mei's flat and the man's upstairs is an external hole; however, it is maybe a symbol of another hole which Mei-Mei makes in her inner world, which allows her to escape her restrained environment to create her fantasy space. In her fantasy, she seems to have different personalities - she is spontaneous, confident, wild, charming and calm, and her nervous character only appears in her realistic state. This indicates that the trauma of the symbolic order often goes through a physical "syndrome" to give powerful voice to its undeniable existence. Just like the syndrome of Shiao-Kang's neck pain in *The River*, Mei-Mei's obsessional buying of toilet paper in *The Hole* reveals a certain kind of energy which is unable to fuse in the symbolic orders of realistic daily life. Therefore, fantasy space in this film provides a

function that allows Mei-Mei to communicate this energy and concedes her the right to find her way to construct her reality in the symbolic orders.

Moreover, Mei-Mei's introjections encourage her fantasy, rather restricts, as a super-ego would do, that she can regress to live in the pleasure principle. This film, like *The River*, is full of contamination by water (such as rain, urine, bath, shower, drink water...etc.) and pollutants (faeces), which also suggests regression. Especially, the symptom of the disease Taiwan fever which tends to hide from daylight is also a very character of regression.

Symbolically, in *The Hole*, the building to be Mei-Mei's body; the wall paper is her clothing; the man as her super-ego or the masculinity which she lacks. The hole as a hole – vagina, anus, mouth (she is in a regressed state); the man's led, a penis; coconut juice, semen; her use of toilet paper turn her body into an anus that she wipes. The association seem to be pushed of the viewer/reader, in scenes that are very concrete, literal, as if one were, (like the man) actually observing her unconscious, to have the interpretation at the abstract level of 'lack', that Freud did place some value on the physical difference between male and female.

It is noticeable, Freud's claims that a woman's super-ego can never like a man's super-ego which is so inexorable, so impersonal and so independent from its original emotion. Freud considers that the man's super-ego appears the characteristic of reaction formation; but he is not completely sure the path of woman's super-ego. This film demonstrate that a woman's introjection encourage unconscious fantasy rather than restrict pleasure principle.

He uses the phrases "so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins" to describe men's super-ego, though he does not give concrete examples of these characteristics. However, we may reflect that in little boys' internalisation and identification goes through the path of 'reaction formation' and in little girls the

motive for the demolition of the Oedipus complex is lacking. Castration has already had its effect, which was to force the female child into the Oedipus complex, therefore, Freud considers a little girl's path to develop her super-ego is much simpler than a boy's. He says

In boys,the complex is not simply repressed, it is literally smashed to pieces by the shock of threatened castration. Its libidinal cathexes are abandoned, desexualized and in part sublimated; its objects are incorporated into the ego, where they form the nucleus of the super-ego and give that new structure its characteristic qualities. In normal, or, it is better to say, in ideal cases, the Oedipus complex exists no longer, even in the unconscious; the super-ego has become its heir (Freud, 1925, S.E. Vol.19, p257).

Part 4: Reviewers' adoption of Freud's thinking to critique Tsai Ming-Liang's films

When Freud's thinking or terminology has been adopted by Taiwanese reviewers in films or literature; no matter whether they are writing in Chinese or English journals, Freud's terminology and theories are always accompanied by Lacan's discourse. For example, film critic Boa-Lan Ho notes the significance of Freudian theories as illustrated by Tsai Ming-Liang when he specifies "A large number of Freudian and Lacanian terms are applied in Tsai Ming-Ling's films, such as gaze, mirror stage, desire and Oedipus complex....etc"(Ho, 2007, p2) This phenomenon is peculiar - perhaps because Lacanian thought it was mainstream in Taiwanese cultural, literature and film studies, or perhaps because it tends to accompany the influential trends of French philosophy in postmodern Taiwan. However, the field of clinical practice is different from academic circles; clinical practitioners mostly follow Klein and Kohut's theories (Wang, 2006, p9).

In this section, I discuss how Taiwanese reviewers adapt Freud's thinking; especially, their writing on Freud in postmodern era Taiwan. However, Freud's thinking as it

appears in Taiwanese reviewers occurs inevitably in the wake of Lacan's terminology, such as mirror stage, symbolic order, phallic mother, lack, other/Other, the imaginary, jouissance, or Name-of-the-Father. Robert Samuels points out that Lacan's original thoughts and inner logic derive from Freud and he reconstructs Freud's thoughts from three dimensions. He states "These three dimensions of sensual experience (existential), individual consciousness (phenomenological), and social relations(structural) are essential to Freud's thought"⁷⁵ (Samuels, 1993, p3). In order to give a full picture of the reviewers' viewpoints, in this section I will include Lacanian terminology which is considered to be a reconstruction of Freud's thinking.

Tsai Ming-Laing's films are products of post-modern Taiwan and he gives an in-depth description of desires, gender identity and body-image. Freud's sexual symbolism has been often applied in Tsai's films *The River*, *The Hole* and his many other films, I attempt to gather film reviewers' writings about Freud's ideas, for my discussion of Freud's thinking as adapted in Taiwanese film reviews.

Freud's Femininity:

Woman's desire and gender equality are the main themes in *The Hole*, in which the director would like to convey these ideas through the metaphor of the hole between the man upstairs and the woman downstairs in this film. Taiwanese film critic Kai-Mai Chang, in his article "Gender Hierarchy and Environmental Crisis in Tsai Ming Liang's *The Hole*", describes a scene in *The Hole* and connects such a scene with Freud's thinking:

⁷⁵ Samuels gives an illustration of Lacan's reconstruction of Freud's thoughts that: "...for example, the separation of the id, the ego, and the super-ego is structured by the differences between pure, instinctual sensation (the id), individual consciousness (the ego) and social law (the super-ego). This text will attempt to show that Freud's theory of consciousness is phenomenological because it stresses the intentionality of the knowing ego, while his conception of language and social relations is structural because it is based on a theory of differential, transcendental relations. (Samuels,1993,p3)

In one scene, she [the woman downstairs] flirts with the plumber on the phone. Lying down on a pile of toilet paper in her living room, she asks the plumber, “Where can I get coconut juice in such a pouring rain?” then she starts to peel off the wallpaper and tells him that she is undressing herself. She looks up into the hole and says, “I am looking at the hole you made in the ceiling. There is an eye staring at me.” Then she pulls out some toilet tissue and start to caress her body and her breasts. Feng Ping-Chia argues that this scene shows Tsai’s portrait of the woman’s sexual desire is a lack. Although Feng is correct in her observation that the woman’s sexual desire is ‘a lack’ and thus ‘negative’, she confronts the male-defined context of lack, which originates in Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis (as cited in Chang, 2008, p36)

Feng Ping-Chia’s article in Chinese and Foreign Literature Monthly (中外文學), comments on Tsai’s earlier works. Feng argues that, although women in Tsai’s films seems to have more sexual agency than men, “they are still confined in the model of heterosexuality and the position of lack” (Feng, 2002, pp.104-107)

Chang attempts to stress gender equality and expresses that it is a crucial metaphor that Tsai would like to convey to his audience. He states, ‘I argue that the shared water supplies between the man upstairs and the woman downstairs provide a vision of sameness and collectivity’ (Chang, 2008, p39). However, he does not connect his emphasis of ‘sameness’ and ‘collectivity’ from Freud’s pre-Oedipus thinking, instead, he seems carefully to oppose Freud’s thinking on gender orientation and applies Feng’s writing which describes the woman’s Oedipus complex as ‘position of lack’, Chang also takes Luce Irigaray’s writing - *Speculum of the Other Woman* as his reference to support his argument:

Interesting enough, not only does the woman downstairs fight back through the hole, but the hole itself also seems to pose a threat to the man upstairs. When the man put his leg into the hole and wiggles it in order to achieve deeper

penetration, suddenly his leg becomes stuck (Figure 3). In pain, he slowly pulls his leg out and carefully examines it to see if it is still intact. The hole thereby also implies the fear of castration, vagina dentate, or in Luce Irigaray's words, "a hole in men's signifying economy." Such bizarre sexualisation of the hole not only ridicules the man's obsession with vaginal penetration but also brings to light the phantasmatic performativity of masculinity. In this regard, the hole in Tsai's film is not merely an empty space between two apartments but rather a contested site of gender desires, fantasies, and power relationship (Chang, 2008, p32).

Luce Irigaray⁷⁶ represents the second wave of the Feminist Movement⁷⁷. She takes inspiration from the psychoanalytic theories of Freud and Lacan, the

⁷⁶ **Luce Irigaray** (born 1932 in Belgium) is a Belgian feminist, philosopher, linguist, psychoanalyst, sociologist and cultural theorist. She is best known for her works *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1974) and *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977). Irigaray is also a leading figure of the French Women's Movements. She received a Master's Degree in Philosophy and Arts from the University of Louvain (Leuven) in 1955. She taught in a Brussels college from 1956 to 1959, then moved to France in the early 1960s. In 1961 she received a Master's Degree in psychology from the University of Paris. In 1962 she received a Diploma in Psychopathology. From 1962-1964 she worked for the *Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique* (FNRS) in Belgium. She then began work as a research assistant at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) in Paris. In the 1960s Irigaray participated in Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic seminars. She trained as and became an analyst. In 1968 she received a Doctorate in Linguistics. From 1970 to 1974 she taught at the University of Vincennes. At this time Irigaray was a member of the *École Freudienne de Paris* (EFP), a school directed by Lacan. Irigaray's second doctoral thesis, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, was closely followed by the termination of her employment at Vincennes University. In the second semester of 1982, Irigaray held the chair in Philosophy at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. Her research here resulted in the publication of *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*. Irigaray had conducted research since the 1980s at the *Centre National de Recherche Scientifique* in Paris on the differences between the language of women and the language of men. In 1986 she transferred from the Psychology Commission to the Philosophy Commission as the latter is her preferred discipline. In December 2003 the University of London conferred on Luce Irigaray the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa*. From 2004-2006, Irigaray

philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas as well as the deconstruction of Jacques Derrida. Her contribution to feminist writing reveals a perceived masculine philosophy underlying language and gestures which she suggests should shift toward a “new” feminine language that would allow woman to express themselves outside of a phallogocentric discourse. She proposes that woman should recast discourse in a form that does not preserve an implied masculine subject, jamming the machine of language in order to rethink the relations that make possible meaning, knowledge and presence. Irigaray’s viewpoint aims not to transform masculinity, but to transform thinking itself; therefore, her work challenges Freud’s discourse of the phallic stage and she calls Freud’s thinking phallogocentrism.

Chang quotes Irigaray’s words in the chapter on *The Blind Spot of Old Dream Symmetry* where Irigaray criticizes Freud’s assumption of the girl’s castration complex and penis-envy. Chang particularly quotes Irigaray:

was a visiting professor in the department of Modern Languages at the University of Nottingham. In 2007 she was affiliated with the University of Liverpool. In 2008, Luce Irigaray was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature by University College, London. (Wikipedia website)

5. Elizabeth Wright indicates that the first wave of feminism started at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the claims of feminists mainly focused on the issues of equal right to vote; the second wave of Feminism began in 1960: claims focused on gender discrimination in the working environment and job opportunities, as well as women’s roles in relation to domestic control and patriarchal ideology. The representative figures of this second wave in the USA are Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone and in England they are Juliet Mitchell, Germaine Greer and Eva Figs. The third wave of the feminist movement is post-feminism - to hyphenate ‘post’ and ‘feminism’ indicates that feminism has been modified or diversified. Their claims have shifted from collective and political demands to a more individual evolution and liberation issues.

a hole in man's signifying economy. A nothing that might cause the ultimate destruction, the splintering, the break in their systems of 'presence,' of 're-presentation' and 'representation' A nothing threatening the process of production, reproduction, mastery, and profitability, of meaning, dominated by the phallus – that master *signifier* whose law of functioning erases, rejects, denies the surging up, the resurgence, the recall of a *heterogeneity* capable of reworking the principle of its authority. That authority is minted in concepts, representation and formalisation of language which prescribe, even today, the prevailing theory and practice of "castration." And what weak instruments these are, products of the very system they pretend to challenge. Such collusion with phallocentrism serves only to confirm its power. (Irigaray, 1985, p50)

Irigaray disagrees with Freud's notion *Anatomy is Destiny*, the lack and envy of the penis by women; she considers that there is no place for femininity in Freud's model unless it is related to masculinity. She hypothesizes that the reason the penis is privileged in Freud's model is that it is visible. This is also the reason that male sexuality is based, in early Lacanianism, on having (a penis) and female sexuality is based on lack. In Freud's paradigm, female desire is the desire for a baby to substitute the penis, thus female pleasure is derived from reproduction. Irigaray claims that female sexuality is not solely related to reproduction, but neither is it less valuable in reproduction, and thus it should not hold less social power. She criticizes Freud's discourse of the phallic stage:

For such a demonstration to hold up, the little girl must immediately become a little boy. In the beginning...the little girl was (only) a little boy. In other words THERE NEVER IS (OR WILL BE) A LITTLE GIRL. All that remains is to assign her sexual function to this "little boy" with no penis, or at least no penis of any recognized value. Inevitably, the trial of "castration" must be undergone. This "little boy," notices how ridiculous "his" sex organ looks. "He" sees the disadvantage for which "he" is *anatomically destined*: "he" has only a tiny little sex organ, no sex organ at all, really, an almost invisible sex organ. The almost

imperceptible clitoris. The humiliation of being so badly equipped, of cutting such a poor figure, in *comparison* with the penis, with *the* sex organ can only lead to a desire to “have something like it too” and Freud claims that this desire will form the basis for “normal womanhood” (Irigaray, 1985, p49).

Irigaray criticizes Freud’s idea of penis-envy:

For the penis-envy alleged against woman is – let us repeat – a remedy for man’s fear of losing one. If *she* envies it, then he must have it. If she envies what he has, then it must be valuable. The only thing valuable enough to be envied? The very standard of all value. Woman’s fetishisation of the male organ must indeed be an indispensable support of its price on the sexual market. (Irigaray, 1985, p53)

Psychoanalytically, ‘lack’⁷⁸ is a term which Lacan adopts to connect with Freud’s notion of the castration complex. Lacan considers lack is in effect when the baby departs from the mother’s body in the very beginning. When this feeling is recalled after the baby grows up, it is equal to the first experience of castration. For Lacan, lack also can be seen as in effect when a subject enter the language system, producing a kind of desire of the object, Lacan called this object “object *a*” (小對體*a*) (Wright, 2002, p107). Lack also appears when the person enters the symbolic orders⁷⁹; both

⁷⁸ In Lacanian psychoanalytic terms, lack, the English translation of Lacanian *Four Fundamental Concepts of psych-analysis* explains, comes from the French word *manqué*, which is translated in English as “lack”, except in the expression, created by Lacan, “*manque-a-etre*,” for which Lacan himself proposed the English neologism ‘want to be.’ Lacan designated the notion of the lack as *manque-a-etre* or “want to be” in order, he claims, to speak “of the function of desire”(Lacan, p29) In his efforts to explain the formation of the subject, Lacan identifies the lack as a psychological component that enables the subject to help the ego cope with the nothingness that is not represented as such and to come to identify with the “locus of metaphor - one object for another” (Lacan, p103-104)

⁷⁹ Entry to the symbolic order inevitably makes the subject split into two parts – *moi* (splitting subject) and *je* (subject- I). The symbolic order in Lacanian discourse, is a kind of abstract structure which possesses no personal relation with the subject, it can not decide what reality is nor can it guide a

sexes enter the symbolic order experiencing the lack, but what they are lacking is not phallic, the term phallic is merely a metaphor, in which it represents phallic function – the function which makes a subject enter the process of alienation, i.e., splits a subject into a linguistic being (or language I). Therefore, phallic function itself is the root of castration rules, to sacrifice the satisfaction of drive in order to enter the symbolic order - there is no difference between women and men. From this perspective, Lacan's notion of lack does not have to be identified only with women.

That Lacan's original idea of lack derives from Freud's castration complex there is no doubt; Freud has been attacked constantly by many feminist writers, since he wrote *Some Psychological Consequences of The Anatomical Distinction Between The Sexes*, showing the biological distinction between two sexes and providing this anatomical structure with psychological meanings. From a literal reading, his orientation of psychosexual identity is based on the biological aspect of "presence" and "absence" of sex organs. In my view, we must respect that what Freud would like to emphasize is that little boys and little girls' psychosexual development is, from the very beginning is based on misunderstanding, and this misunderstanding is characteristic of the phallic stage, in which limited capacity to understand the other side is fundamentally narcissism and projection. However, the characteristic of equality and sameness is the most crucial point that Freud would like to convey to his readers, despite his use of masculinity as the common characteristic, which is regarded as discriminatory language, provoking criticism from various camps of feminist thinkers.

person's choice, but it is a structure: through a kind of unachievable promise or lack to operate, therefore, symbolic order produces its function through strategy. If there is no clear recognition of this method or if the subject does not adopt this method correctly, it will be disaster for an individual or for a whole society. Psychoanalytically speaking, when an individual feels that he is autonomous within this structure, it will be considered an illusion. It can be said that the symbolic order is just strategic; through this strategy we signify what we possess and how we experience our existence. (Wright, 2002, p75)

From the perspective of misunderstanding between sexes at the phallic stage, Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole* ingeniously illustrates the characteristics of narcissism and projection. While in an extremely isolated circumstance, the hole between the man upstairs and the woman downstairs is a passage that shows how they view their own body and how they project their narcissistic view on the other side's body – the essential pattern of the phallic stage which Freud attempted to convey to his readers.

Tsai Ming-Liang's other films such as *Wayward Cloud* (天邊一朵雲), *Good-bye Dragon Inn* (不散), *Vive L'Amour* (愛情萬歲), *What Time is it There?*(你那邊幾點?) and *Face* (臉), often display the masculine character of women's sexual desire. Weihong Bao discusses Tsai Ming-Liang's films in the *Journal of Chinese Cinema* suggesting that "...while both male pleasure and desire are shown as elusive, female desire is visibly demonstrated and gendered as male." (Bao, 2007, p154) In Tsai's *Wayward Cloud*, a musical scene illustrates an AV actor's imagination while he is preparing to be filmed. He finds that he is bored with using soft porn to stimulate his erection and appears to be impotent. An absurd dancing drama is created to represent the AV actor's phantasy which he uses to find his own way to be potent – the actress Yang Kui-Mei leads dancing girls wearing orange bikinis and putting orange buckets on their heads, marching together in masculine way⁸⁰. This scene was described by Weihong Bao in the following way:

The masculinised female desire is blatantly enacted in the last musical number set in a brightly lit public toilet. In an orange blue colour scheme that warms up the clinical cleanness of the white toilets, Yang Kui-Mei leads a troupe of semi-nude female soldiers dressed in red plastic bucket hats, pink funnel bras, and red rubber-glove skirts armed with blue plungers marching towards Hsiao-Kang. Hsiao-Kang transforms into a human penis with a cockhead hat and two transparent pink balls. Especially from the female chasers, he hides in an

⁸⁰ Please enter You Tube website and key in the words – **Tsai Ming Liang Tian bian yi duo yun (Sabor de la sandia)** – to watch this scene.

enclosed toilet and was sucked out by Yang Kui-Mei's plunger. Yang's plunger aims at the camera, creating a temporary black screen, followed by Hsiao-Kang's cockhead being sucked out. In an unsubtle manner, the plunger performs a feminist assault on the scopophillic camera. Meanwhile, Yang dances as a phallic woman with her protruding breasts made of plastic traffic cones, teasing Hsiao-Kang's penis head with the toilet paper. Hsiao-Kang finally emerges from a bucket at the centre of the room, while he responds to the (man-defined) female demand, the issue of overcoming male impotence quickly turns around when Hsiao-Kang hits Yang with one of his pink balls, raising them to the level of his breasts and rubs the balls in a fashion of auto-eroticism. Indeed, only in scene of auto-eroticism, are both female and male pleasures gauged more expressively, though not always by visual means. (Bao, 2007, p154)

Irigaray argues that a woman's desire to be addressed in Freud's discourse can not find its autonomous status to define her goal of sexuality. She states

The little girl does not submit to the "fact" easily, she keeps waiting for "it to grow" and "believes in that possibility for improbably long years" which means that no attempt to be made by the little girl – nor by the mother? nor by the woman? – to find symbols for the state of "this nothing to be seen," to defend its goals, or to lay claim to its rewards. *Here again no economy would be possible whereby sexual reality can be represented by for woman.* She remains forsaken and abandoned in her lack, default, absence, envy, etc. and is led to submit, to follow the dictates issued univocally by the sexual desire, discourse, and law of man. Of the father, in the first instance. (Irigaray, 1985, p49).

Tsai Ming-Linag ingeniously uses the plunger as the symbol of female genitalia which represents its lack in anatomical structure but not lack in autonomous performance. Hsiao-Kang hid in a toilet but was sucked out by Yang Kui-Mei's plunger. Before Yang performed this act, the scene immediately cut to Yang's plunger

which aims at the camera, creating a temporary blackout followed by Hsiao-Kang's cockhead being sucked out. Boa illustrates the immediate shift of scene as "In an unsubtle manner, the plunger performs a feminist assault on the scopophilic camera." (Bao, 2007, p154)

The camera represents the "man's gaze" of female sexuality, most films when illustrating female sexuality adopt the man's angle; Yang Kui-Mei uses her plunger to cover the camera, and this action conveys a strong message to the audience: "this is a wrong position from which to regard woman's sexuality, I will show you what is true" Then, the scene cuts to Yang using her plunger to suck out Hsiao-Kang's cockhead (penis). So here, the plunger acts in an absolutely masculine way, using its powerful autonomy to choose its object and find its goal.

Avoiding fixing on a single narrative subject, and accepting various narrative subjects, is an essential idea of postmodern thinking, especially so in film making. The camera angle displays the narrative subject's views, feeling and pleasure from visual-audio aspects; when the camera focuses on a man's narrative subject, the man's subject will become the audience's subject if the audience is not conscious or clear about their subjective position – that is how women have been told what they should be by the media. Thus, in those films, women are less than full subjects; they have to fuse their selves into a man's subject so that they can enjoy the man's subjective narrative of sexual pleasure.

Tsai Ming-Liang often attempts to illustrate women as narrative subjects through their desire and body image; he directs the actress not to treat themselves as sexual objects whenever they are facing the camera. For example, in one musical scene in *The Hole*, Mei-Mei is dancing alone in a small elevator while she imagines the man upstairs is watching her. She is singing Grace Chan's 1960s old song *Oh Calypso*⁸¹ to express her

⁸¹ Please enter You Tube website and key in the words – **Fragmeto de Dong (The hole) de Tsai Ming Liang** – to watch this scene.

phantasy world, although she dresses resplendently and is giving every effort to express her sexual desire; however, when the camera zooms in to her facial expression, she poses a affectionate gaze to the camera – at that moment the camera seems to become an object and she is certainly a narrative subject.

Bao writes, “Yang dances as a phallic woman.....” Bao, 2007, p154), the words “phallic woman” or “phallic mother” are Lacanian terms but originally derive from Freud’s theory of “phallic stage”. The notion of the phallic stage emerges late in Freud’s work, this stage for boys, Laplanche and Pontalis elucidate:

So far as the Oedipus complex is concerned, the existence of the phallic stage has an essential role; the dissolution of the complex is determined by the threat of castration, the effectiveness of which depends first on the narcissistic interest directed by the little boy towards his own penis and secondly on his discovery of the lack of a penis in the little girl. A phallic organisation exists in girls. The discovery of the difference between the sexes gives rise to an envy of the penis; the effect of this envy on the relationship with the parents is that a resentment develops towards the mother who has not given the daughter a penis, while the father is now chosen as love-object inasmuch as he can offer the penis or its symbolic equivalent – the child. Thus, the girl’s development does not parallel the boy’s; but both evolutions are orientated around the phallic organ (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1988, p310).

Tsai Ming-Liang’s films such as *The River*, *The Hole*, *Wayward Cloud* and *Vive L’Amour*, conspicuously often display “phallic mother” and “de-phallic father”. In an interview conducted by Daniele Riviere with the director, Tsai reveals his personal experience of his own father. He says:

If I go back into my own family experience, I was really scared of my father as a child because he was a very hard person.....The very interesting thing is that

when my father retired I discovered a person who had become very fragile after being so tough throughout the rest of his life. That was how I found out he had always worn a mask....We found that he cried quite easily, and seeing him like that made him into someone hard to accept, almost as fragile as a woman.

- Interview with Tsai Ming-Liang

(Marchetti, 2005, p113)

When Tsai talks about his “mother image”, he explains that he was brought up by his grandparents and that in his childhood, he recalled his grandmother as a small, but very strong-willed, and extremely tough woman. Tsai’s films deal with the issues of modern women in Taiwan, his female characters are strong-willed, impregnable and reticent. Most audiences in the Chinese-speaking world may not be surprised that these images are projected into his films, and perhaps reveal much emotional truth consistent with their experience because such images are perhaps an epitome in Chinese-speaking societies.

A Chinese scholar, Xueping Zhong, who studies male subjectivity in Chinese literature, argues that Chinese men lack any ultimate identification of masculinity; she further suggests these phenomena represent a male marginality complex. She states

it is male psyche, predominantly manifested through Chinese (male) intellectuals’ preoccupation with the weakness of the country, the culture and Chinese men. In this sense, the complex is also a male desire, a desire to overcome marginality and to search for (masculine) identity.....to become a man (or a woman) entails an identification of some sort, we need to ask with whom the Chinese man ultimately desires to identify. (Zhong, 2000, p37)

Zhong ascribes this amorphous identification to issues of mother-son relationships. She takes a reference from Sun Longji's research material from the May the Fourth literature and studies conducted by American sociologists between the 1950s and 1970s, mostly in Taiwan, on the acculturation of Chinese men to critique the "lack". Although the sociological data Sun refers to were drawn from studies on men outside China (mostly in Taiwan), Zhong considers that Sun's critique of "Chinese men" includes their counterparts on the mainland. Zhong states:

Sun is very critical of "Chinese men".....most findings suggest that because of the specific Chinese familial structure, Chinese men's acculturation does not entail the kind of separation from mother, either realistically or figuratively, assumed in the Oedipus complex model. Chinese men, as a result, are believed to be closer to their mothers than are their Western counterparts. If such findings do indicate the existence of differences in male acculturation, does this Chinese model constitute a better alternative for the constitution of male subjectivity than the model of the Oedipus complex? Not according to Sun. He characterizes the Chinese model as "abnormal" from the close relationship with their mothers, a phenomenon calls *mutaihua* (being womb-ized, or men having yet to cut the umbilical cord). Discussing some literary representations of men in modern Chinese literature, Sun contends that these male characters are representative of Chinese men's failure, at their entry into the "symbolic" (to borrow a well known psychoanalytic term), to separate from their mother. (Zhong, 2000, p30-31)

Thus, Sun claims that characteristics of Chinese (male) subjectivity include the *lack* of complete "separation" and "individualization", especially compared with Western man, who completes the second stage of Oedipus model – identification with his father. However, Sun does not examine the nature of the father-son relationship; Zhong argues that one can infer from Sun's statement that his criticism of the Chinese mother is based on his acceptance of the Oedipus complex as a better model: "for Chinese men to become real men, they must first learn to sever their close ties with their mothering in order to locate their real identities as individuals; to do so they must also learn to become the son of the father (so as to transcend the fear of castration). (as cited in Zhong, 2000, p32)

From the above arguments it is clear that, instead of being afflicted by castration anxiety, the problematic of the lack is quite reversed in the Chinese cultural context. Thus, Zhong comments that “*It is men who lack*” Meanwhile, feminine nature is not necessarily a space for a woman, and masculine nature may have given some space to a woman, consequently, lack and femininity does not equate to womanhood. Zhong indicates the complex relation between femininity and masculinity within the traditional Chinese context: the feminine space is often the site of enunciation for “disempowered” men rather than for woman. (Zhong, 2000, p33) - the inability to identify an ultimate masculinity. Zhong considers that the modern Chinese preoccupation with male weakness is itself the very point at which an identification with *what is not weak* has originated, and been preserved and established as the object of (male) desire. (Zhong, 2000, p39)

Conclusion:

My thesis suggests that Taiwanese culture is characterised by certain features that differentiate it from western culture, and therefore Freud's theory seems incompatible with Taiwanese culture, which 'accepts' it, but usually in a distorted form. The oriental father is more authoritarian and powerful, and the history of colonisation has weakened the ego in relation to a strong father, just as Taiwan has submitted to various external colonising powers. As a result, identification with the father, central to the Oedipus complex, is not compatible with Taiwanese thinking.

Identification is incomplete: domination, as in the castration complex, is culturally compatible, but not the full range of identifications, which are forms of relationships of son with father, ego with super-ego. The missing - or split off - identification, caused by the colonial environment, implies the masculine 'problem' that the male - in Taiwan - has no equivalent experience. As a result, oppression and brutality substitutes for this secure sense of identity, which the female does have.

Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex should contain two parts - the castration complex and the identification, transcending the fear of castration and internalising the father, thus forming the super-ego. Internalisation, which is identification, is more evident in the West, and in Freud, than in the East. Therefore, in the East, the external threat of castration fear is more significant than the external love of internalisation. This idea can be seen in my analysis of the Chinese myth *General Father, General Son* and the modern novel *Family Catastrophe*.

My demonstration and analysis of novels and films suggest that the radical, modern authors and directors have a sense of this disjunction, and that they critique the falseness of the traditional family as a cover for brutality and lack of relationship, which is 'feminine'. This idea is clear in my analysis of *The River* and *The Hole*.

The core of incest – what needs to be released from repression, at the cost of suffering revulsion by themselves and others, is the need to introject the paternal phallus, which is confused with the maternal phallus, and needs to be separated for there to be a masculine presence in family and cultural life. We may call it the secret of masculinity. The Taiwanese confuse the maternal and paternal phallus, and that this confusion makes the introjection of the paternal phallus difficult, much as it is needed to develop a secure sense of masculinity. The son cannot introject the paternal phallus and establish a secure masculinity because introjection itself reinforces his passive position with respect to the father and reinforces the castration complex, which is the first stage of Freud's Oedipus complex, and there he gets stuck.

The introjection of the father-figure in the family, which is an identification, is what is conspicuously absent from Chinese stories, such as *General Father General Son*. This 'secret', recognised by Freud, and included in his account of the resolution of the Oedipus complex, was abhorrent to Taiwanese/ Chinese culture, whose 'masculinity' was based on brutality/ murder and action rather than introjection and thinking. Their denial of the feminine dimension of masculinity contributes to this resistance to accepting the more feminine masculinity of the West.

The traditional myths, stories, they take it up on the surface, but distort it by remaining with stage 1. The radical, modern novels and films take up Freud more accurately without so much distortion, and they do implicitly or explicitly criticize traditional values. Their capacity to use Freud more accurately suggests that the 'acceptance' of Freud – has depended on the historical period and cultural climate. Specifically, my thesis demonstrates that the acceptance-non-acceptance of Freud offers a way to study the cultural dynamics of Taiwan, in its search for a secure identity.

Looked at this way, the Taiwanese cases support the conviction of a basic truth in Freudian theory. The apparent contradiction between Taiwanese and Western thinking

turns out to confirm Freud's oedipal theory. The different social structure of Taiwan, with its more authoritarian father, obstructed the completion of the Oedipus complex by interfering with the identification with the father. Thus, the cultural difference between Taiwan and the West offered an opportunity to test the theory by seeing whether or not the Taiwanese case, with its distortion of oedipal theory, constituted a challenge or could itself be explained by the theory. I believe the latter to be the case. The fact the modern writers and film makers both take up oedipal theory more directly and turn a critical eye on the traditional culture that could only reject or distort it, further confirms my thesis.

Taiwanese culture IS, not just WAS, more dominated – externally by colonizers; internally through the castration complex. Freudian theory does allow us to understand Taiwanese culture in its internal dimension – the son rigid in his authoritarian masculinity, beleaguered by the castration complex. The Oedipus complex remains a valid theory for Taiwan, as long as we remember that, for the Taiwanese, it refers only to stage 1. Taiwanese culture, therefore, does not present an exception to the validity of Freud's oedipal theory, and his theory helps to understand the nature of masculinity in its cultural context: in this case, one of repeated colonization of the mind as well as of the society.

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- (2) Interview of Li, Yuen-Che (李遠哲)
- (3) Interview of Lin, Hsing-Yueh (林惺嶽)
- (4) Interview of Chen, Fang-Ming (陳芳明)
- (5) Interview of Former Taiwanese President Li, Teng-Hui (李登輝)
- (6) Interview of Chinese mainlander writer Lung, Ying-Tai (龍應台)
- (7) Interview of victims' family members in 228 incident (二二八受難家屬訪談)
- (8) Documentary video of colonial period of Taiwan (日治台灣紀錄片)
- (9) Documentary video of Japanese military training in Taiwan (台籍日軍紀錄片)
- (10) Documentary video of Japanese propaganda of introducing Taiwan (南進台灣)