Culture and Psychoanalysis in Korea*

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韓國의 文化와 精神分析*

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It is a great honor for me to be present at this International Symposium on "Culture and Psychoanalysis" in celebration of the 90th Anniversary of Chonnam National University Hospital.

Due to the time restriction and for precision I am going to focus on the orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis. I would like to speak the following contents: 1) brief historical sketch of psychoanalysis in Korea, 2) psychoanalytic finding of traditional culture, 3) lessons from clinical experience with psychoanalysis, 4) culture and psychoanalytic psychotherapy in Korea, and finally 5) suggestion for the future.

Brief Historical Sketch

1. Introductory period (1940–1960)

The psychoanalytic theory was first known in Korea circa 1930's. However, psychoanalysis was not formally introduced until 1940's when Dr. Sung Hee Kim returned to Korea after being trained and analyzed in Japan. The Korean war in 1950 was another important cornerstone for Korean psychiatrists, who encountered American dynamic psychiatry and then, many Korean psychiatrists were trained in the US for psychoanalytic training (Chang & Kim 1973; Cho 1988). Among them there were not only Freudians but also Neo-Freudians such as from schools of Karen Horney, Erich Fromm and Harry S. Sullivan. On their return home they enthusiastically studied and soon it came to occupy one of major sectors in psychiatric training. Unfortunately despite its prevalence and initial trial for clinical treatment, this period should be regarded as Korean psychoanalysis at birth due to lack of therapeutic utilization and research.

2. Establishment period (1960–1980)

In this period, the psychoanalysis introduced was utilized and established in the context of Korean culture as the theoretical and clinical experiences accumulated, major concern was how they apply the theory to Korean culture. Tasks involved were 1) psychoanalysis of traditional culture, 2) analysis of modern cultural materials, 3) usage in clinical practice.

1) Psychoanalysis of traditional culture

Traditional cultural materials such as folklore (myths, legends and fairy tales), folk drama, shamanism and ancient literature were analyzed within the frame of Freudian analysis (Chung & Hahn 1967; Kim 1968a,b,c, 1969, 1967, 1972a,b,c, 1978; Lee 1963, 1968; Lee 1969, 1969a,b; Park 1979, Park & Lee 1980). Also the issue of "Hyo", an important Korean cultural inheritance was addressed (Cha 1979; Cho 1975, 1976). In the early stage of this period, main concern was on 1) whether Oedipal complex exists, 2) if it does, what the pattern of manifestation is and why. In the later stage the research was directed to what the cultural wisdom to solve the Oedipal complex is.

2) Psychoanalysis of the recent cultural materials in special regard to acculturation

Additionally the analysis of modern literature and contemporary religious phenomena, bibliographical analysis of religious, political and historical figures (Cho 1977, 1978; Kim 1973a,b,c) were actively pursued to find Oedipal component and any cultural wisdom which facilitates sublimation of the Oedipal conflict. Moreover, the effect of
social change and collapse of traditional wisdom was studied.

3) Psychoanalysis of clinical materials

Keeping up with these studies, Korean analysts had gained numerous experiences with Korean patients (Kim 1968a, 1972b, 1973b,c, 1978b, Kim et al 1979). At this time there was much debate on effectiveness of psychoanalysis on Koreans. There were three alternatives: those with negative opinions, those pursued to find another culture relevant psychotherapy for Koreans and others in favor of psychoanalysis continued their effort in psychoanalytic therapy.

3. Waning-elitism period (1980-current)

Earlier popularity of psychoanalysis has waned over time among psychiatrists. No one can deny that the rise of biological psychiatry and discouragement from the socialized health care system had accelerated it. But I would like to remind you that the import of other types of psychotherapy such as short-term supportive or behavioral plus development of modified and Korean culture-relevant psychoanalytic treatment had contributed to the decline as much. Nevertheless, relative small elite group of psychiatrists, the Korean Psychoanalytic Society was continuously active in clinical practice, analysis of Korean culture and especially training and educating young psychiatrists. The training programs by invited Western analysts were increased.


This period can be regarded as that of increased qualification and elitism among relatively small number of psychoanalysts.

Psychoanalytic Findings of Traditional Culture

Let me give several examples of folklores for understanding traditional manifestation of Oedipus complex in Korea.

1. Myth ‘Dan-Gun’, First King of Korea

A wise and brave prince, Hwan-Ung, a son of the Heavenly King, asked his father to grant him the beautiful peninsula of Korea to govern. The king granted his wish, and he came down to the earth, bearing three Heavenly Seals, and accompanied by three thousand followers.

The heavenly prince arrived under the sacred sandalwood tree on the Taebaek Mountain and established a nation and became the ruler of the land.

At that time, a bear and a tiger ardently wished to become human beings. The Heavenly Prince, who was the ruler of the land, was moved by their sincerity, and giving them twenty bulbs of garlic and a bundle of mugwort, he said to them, ‘Eat these and confined yourselves deep in your cave for one hundred days, and then you will become human.’

So, the bear and the tiger took the garlic and the mugwort and went into their cave. The bear patiently endured weariness and hunger and became a beautiful woman, but the tiger ran away from the cave, for he could not tolerate long days sitting quietly in the cave.

The woman prayed that she might be the mother of a child. Hwan-Ung, the ruler of the land, got married the woman, a bear, and the woman gave a birth to a son. The son is Dan-Gun, first king of Korea.

The motive of this myth is Oedipus complex, but severely suppressed and highly symbolized. Three seals mean the King’s power and a symbol of masculine power. The power is peacefully transmitted to the son. Son’s struggle for getting power against his father is omitted. But son’s wish to kill father is fulfilled by excluding father totem, a tiger, and incest wish is fulfilled in the form of inter-
course with a bear, a mother totem.

2. Legend  ‘Twelve princes’
   A queen of the Koguryo dynasty gave birth to twelve sons at once. The king ordered to kill them for the reason that their feet resembled those of animal. But their mother put them into a box and let them float on the river. They arrived at China, where they were grown up into powerful generals, and came to father’s country for a conquer. The dynasty was in danger. Recognizing that the twelve generals are her sons, the queen, their mother, met them on the front line, opened her breast and let them see her twelve nipples. And she said, ”The king of this dynasty is your father.” The twelve generals watched the twelve nipples and returned to their country without warfare.

This legend is a typical Oedipus story in Korea. Desire to kill father is justified by the father's order to kill them. The reason is their hard and strong feet that is phallus symbol. The mother is their side and a helper, which reflects incest fantasy. The ‘box’ and the ‘river’ reflect the motive of ‘rebirth’. Later, they become more powerful men and attack their father. The motive and conflict of this story is quite similar to the Greek Oedipus. But the resolution is much different. The sons become aware of their unconscious conflict by the wise mother’s mediation. Finally the sons make peace with the father after fulfilling their incest fantasy by watching mother’s breast instead of direct sexual intercourse.

3. Legend : A filial son and his mother
   Once upon a time, there lived a widowed mother and an only son in a house on the hillside. The mother was bedridden for a serious illness for a long time. One day, the mother wanted to take a fish. It was a winter season, so that the son was unable to get a fish. He prayed God for having a fish. Suddenly, a big fish with three tails fell down from the heaven. The son presented the fish to his mother. The mother took the big fish and then was recovered from the illness.

Such a legend is very popular and found everywhere in Korea. Father is absent namely the father was already excluded. Father killing is a precondition of this story. Mother took a big fish with three tails, a phallus symbol, by the help of her son. To eat a fish is a symbolic action of sexual intercourse. Thus, incest fantasy of the son is realized in the form of symbolic sexual activity. In other word, incest fantasy is well sublimated onto the hyuo, a filial piety.

The results from psychoanalytic studies of Korean traditional cultural materials can be summarized as follows.

1) Structure of Oedipal complex

   The structure of Oedipus complex is either father-mother-son or father-mother-daughter triangle. Of course there are such variants as sibling rivalry or incest between siblings.

2) Intensity of Oedipal complex
   The manifestation of Oedipus complex in Korean traditional heritages is highly disguised cultural suppression is so strong that the primary motive of killing father-marrying mother is so severely distorted in manifest ideas(Kim 1968c, 1978a,b; Lee 1963, Lee 1969a,b; Seo & Lee 1973). Thus, some anthropologists with lack of understanding the unconsciousness jump to a conclusion that there is no such primary motive as Oedipus complex in Korean culture. In fact Koreans do not have any stories of killing father-marrying mother, which are frequently manifested in Greek myths on the other hand. The intensity of the motive is being mitigated and sublimated through following mechanisms(Cha 1979; Cho 1976a; Ha & Cho 1998a,b; Kim 1968b,c, 1969, 1978,1991; Kim & Cho 1997; Lee 1969a, b; Lee 1990; Lyoo 1998; Lyoo & Cho 1997).

(1) Cultural modification of killing father
   Korean tradition does not give as much a prominence to father-son conflicts as European ones do. But they do feature them, and when one compares the Korean versions with Greek ones, the mode of resolution is also different. Whereas not just the Oedipus but other Greek and Northern
European myths tell of sons killing tyrannical fathers and incest act to mother, these are not to be found in Korean folk tales. In its place one finds the conflict resolved in one of the following six ways:

1. **Peaceful accession to power**
   - In the oldest mythology this is the commonest solution, the father coming to recognize his son’s ability after testing out his wisdom and power. Sibling rivalry may also be present, but the son is depicted as avoiding open conflict and as becoming a wise and powerful ruler.

2. **Displacement onto father-substitute**
   - The son gets exiled by the father, often through a sibling’s jealousy, but later becomes powerful and conquers a tyrannical ruler of another country. He never attempts to conquer his father’s nation or fight against his father’s dignity, however, and the tyrannical ruler of the other country obviously substitutes for the father.

3. **Mother as a mediator**
   - Sons exiled from their father’s country grow up elsewhere as in the case of Oedipus and later attack the father’s country, not knowing that he is their father. In contrast to Jocasta’s role as a sexual object, however, the Korean mother here assumes the role of mediator and therapist, making the father and sons known to each other and making them also aware of the unconscious conflict between them, so that the sons can then return to their homeland without any warfare.

4. **Sublimation onto the ḫṛyao’**
   - ‘ ḫṛyao’, the term given to a form of filial piety, is an important in Korean tradition as well as in East Asian countries. Hostility toward parent with the same sex is sublimated onto the’ ḫṛyao’ by the way of reaction formation.

5. **Projection of hostility to higher level**
   - The tyrannical father gets killed not by the son but by a supernatural power. This type of story, which is found only in relatively recent legend, indicates that the taboo against killing father has strengthened.

6. **Displacement onto Totem animal**
   - The hero kills a dangerous animal of his father’s totem, after it has been harming other people.

**Cultural modification of incest desire**

Regarding the incest part of the Oedipal story, Korean folk tales provide no direct correspondence. Incest fantasy can be found reflected in Korean folk tales and other folkloric materials, but there is no example passed down to us of mother and son committing the act and instead the theme is usually expressed quite indirectly in one of two ways:

1. **Symbolization**
   - A boy or girl gets married to or performs a thinly disguised sexual act with a king, a totem animal, an angel, god or goddess. From the details of the stories it is clear enough that these are symbolic realizations of the incest desire and an archaic form of wish fulfillment.

2. **Sublimation of the’ ḫṛyao’**
   - Primary motive of incest is well sublimated to the’ ḫṛyao’ by son or daughter’s service for the parent of the opposite sex.

**3) Outcome of Oedipus complex**

From this summary, it can be understood that Oedipal themes do occur in Korean tradition and that Oedipal feelings almost certainly contribute to personality formation. However, whereas Greek and thereby European tradition has permitted the direct expression of the conflict and incest themes, Korean tradition has not, but rather has offered various lines of displacement and symbolization. The mode of resolution illustrated in the Greek tradition, even though only a product of fantasy, represents a’ break-down’ of the inner psyche rather than a way of desirable resolution of the conflict. The resolutions illustrated in Korean and possibly other Oriental traditions appear more capable of contributing to mature psychic development (Kim 1968c, 1978).

**4) Traditional wisdom of resolving the Oedipal conflict**

Psychoanalysts and cultural psychiatrists in Korea have suggested cultural factors affecting the resolution of the Oedipus complex in the following several aspects.

1. **Extended family and presence of parental surrogate**
   - Korean extended family has a number of other features such as grand parent and uncles etc, who serve both to reduce the intensity of the Oedipal triangular relationships in which the child takes part, and to provide substitute targets for his hostility, if necessary(Kim 1968b,c).

2. **The nature of father**
   - Traditionally, the father is expected to be warm and responsive in contrast to fathers in Greek myths or in
subsequent European myths, in which the father’s power and arbitrariness are common. The father strives to obtain a consensus from the family when making a decision. In such a situation, son’s hostility toward father would be diluted and mitigated, so that Oedipal tension becomes less intensive (Moser-Ha 1999 □ Kim 1968c).

3. The role of mother
In the traditional family, the mother's role is to mediate conflict between father and son, and to make peace. This culturally determined role of mother as mediator in the home may in part contribute to dilute the Oedipal tension of the son (Kim 1968b, c).

4. The concept of ‘hyao’
‘Hyao’ is a concept not of duty by one generation towards the other, but a reciprocal emotive component between the generations, with the respect accorded by the children to the parents being balanced by the responsibility and understanding which the parents are expected to direct towards their children. Moreover, ‘hyao’ is not a compulsory duty which child feels he is obliged to fulfill, but an attitude that he takes as natural (Kim 1978, 1999c). Therefore, it can well contribute to a reducing of Oedipal tension between father and son, and to a sublimating of incest desire towards mother (Cha 1989 □ Cho 1984, 1976 □ Lee 1990b □ Lyoo 1998 □ Lyoo & Cho 1992).

5. Teaching of harmony and mutual dependence
Whereas one finds in the West that cultural ideas put considerable emphasis on individuality, competitiveness and independence, Oriental cultural traditions put much more emphasis on harmony and mutual dependence (Kim 1968c □ Rhee 1990). As respects the Oedipus complex, this means that rivalry is under-emphasized, whether rivalry towards father or towards brothers, individual attainments are placed at a lower level than the attainments of the family or community as a whole (Kim 1968c).

The above five cultural traditions presumed as traditional wisdom mitigating Oedipal intensity and finally successful resolution.

Lessons from the Clinical Experience of Psychoanalysis

1. Intensity and outcome of Oedipus complex
Oedipal complex does exist in the analysis of patients and occupy an important part of central conflict (Kim 1985, 1988 □ Kim 1968a, 1972b, 1973b,c, 1978 □ Kim & Lim 1988 □ Kim et al 1979, 1990 □ Lee 1990a □ Lee 1997, 1998, 2000 □ Sohn 1996). Just as materials from traditional culture, that from patients is also manifested as distorted or disguised form resulting in appearance of relatively diluted intensity (Kim 1978). Therefore we ought to rely on the way of dream analysis to find primary motive from the manifest idea. The hostility toward same sex parent is displaced to father figures including communists, spies, Korean government, intelligence agency, religious leaders, teachers, supernatural beings and totem animals. And interestingly enough hostility toward these father substitutes are rarely expressed in aggressive feature and mostly projected as a type of persecution. Guilt from hostility is frequently observed. The incestuous impulse toward the opposite sex parent is often manifested as religious orgies, hierogamy with gods or religious leader or displaced to love affair with a person of high standing. Sometimes it is sublimated
to ‘hyao’. These phenomena are quite similar to manifestation of Oedipal complex in cultural materials.

However, recently the mode of manifestation has become plain and outspoken. Murderous impulse toward the same sex parent is expressed as it is, and we now often see assaults and even killing. Killing a parent happens in the society as well as in patients. There is no doubt that guilt toward the same sex parent is on the decline. Meanwhile sexual impulse toward the opposite sex parent is expressed directly in the fantasy.

The collapse of cultural wisdom to sublimate the complex and loosening of conscious suppression contribute to this increased direct expression. Rapid industrialization of Korean society, trends toward the nuclear family, increasing sexual freedom, and even rivalry between generations and the disintegration of community contribute to a more direct expression of Oedipal conflict (Kim 1978). This phenomenon will be an interesting research subject how the mode of expression and resolution differ in accordance with cultural change.

2. Clinical applicability of psychoanalysis

There has been much debate concerning the effectiveness of psychoanalysis in Korean patients. It can be categorized as three major opinions 1) the oppositional view, 2) the acceptance view, and 3) the revisionist or modified view (Cho 1988).

1) The oppositional view

Some claimed that psychoanalysis had been originally developed for middle class Viennese and therefore not applicable for Koreans who lack in insightful attitude and tend to depend on therapists. Unfortunately they were criticized as being technically inadequate to meet patients’ challenge and even as projecting their own dilemma.

2) The acceptance view

This view holds that the unconscious is a universal mental phenomenon of human nature and being Korean is not an exception in terms of efficacy in psychoanalytic treatment if qualified analysts are involved.

3) The revisionist or modified view

This is the view of those who believe in basic theories of psychoanalysis and yet suggest some technical modifications be made for unique cultural differences of Koreans. As results some went forward with Neo Freudians while others in association with philosophy of Taoism evolved to create Taoistic psychotherapy (Kim 1997, Rhee 1990).

3. Problems arising from the clinical experience

1) Problems of training

Many years of experience in its therapeutic application in Korea have taught us that clinical training, such as training analysis and continuous case supervision is invaluable. In the introductory and early establishment period psychiatrists with two different backgrounds began to practice psychoanalysis one with clinical training, the other without the training. While the former was accumulating its success gradually, the latter group having studied the analysis only on published literature usually failed in therapies and mistakenly concluded that it was culturally irrelevant. We now know how misleading and even dangerous to analyze the patients not from the experience of training analysis and case supervisions, but from knowledge gained only from books or papers. Of course, even those days there existed consummate training programs and some analysts did go through successfully. But many psychiatrists were untrained.

Today each teaching hospital has training programs of psychotherapy, however those of Freudian psychoanalysis are relatively rare (Kang 1990). Supportive therapy or psychotherapy of broader range is taking in. Meanwhile since 1980, aside form the teaching facilities, the Korean Psychoanalytic Society have been providing training programs to foster small numbered but elite psychiatrists. Currently it enjoys 82 memberships.

2) Clinical attitude of young psychiatrists

The attitude of today’s young psychiatrists is depressing. They DO NOT think. Identifying the superficial symptoms and diagnosing from the guidelines are all that count. No more effort to explore patients’ deep problems (Kim, 1999b, 2000). They have the faintest idea for contents of the unconscious. They are easy going. Education for understanding the inner conflicts is seldom successful. Thus, psychoanalytic education meets with its limitation.

3) Problems of socio-medical system

The national medical insurance system introduced in 1970’s disabled the clinical application of psychoanalysis as well as other types of psychotherapy. Even though the psychoanalytic treatment is one of items covered by medical insurance, the fee set by the insurance is US $ 13 for one session. This is less than one eighth of average
charge, US $ 100. This system has accelerated the atrophy of psychoanalysis.

4) Dominance of biological psychiatry

Since 1980’s, the biological psychiatry has been weakening the stand of psychoanalysis as well as other types of psychotherapies. Psychiatry itself has been confined to the brain cells or molecules and it is turning into the era of mindless psychiatry. Ironically this trend is strengthening the need for psychotherapy, in fact among the young psychiatrists the number of psychoanalytic trainees is increasing.

Culture and Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy in Korea

As I already suggested, theory of psychoanalysis is applicable for Korean traditional culture and patients. But, I would like to inquire whether psychoanalytic psychotherapy is suitable for Korean patients. Our experience suggests that it is true but only for westernized and psychologically minded persons. Frankly speaking, we frequently confront with substantial difficulty in doing psychoanalysis for many Korean patients, especially the patients who soaked into traditional value. Such a problem has been an object of much debate in crosscultural context (Chang 1999).

I would like to bring up two issues regarding applicability of psychoanalytic psychotherapy to Korean culture.

The first issue is that there is a difference in the West and the East concerning how people perceive the outer world and the self (Chang 1988). The Westerners are inductive and analytic in the manner. And they also tend to be oppositional human being is separated from the nature and frequently the nature is considered to be stood up against or even be conquered. They explore the cause lying behind the problem and current situation is recognized in the cause and effect scheme. As the self and the world is seen oppositional, the conflict with the outer world follows endless struggle between the self and the world. Personal inner issues are evaluated from analyzing the self and the world and managed for resolution in such manner.

In the mean time, the Easterner’s perception is deductive and the harmony is overvalued. Things are recognized in harmony. Human being is a part of the universe and harmonized with the principle of the universe. The self and the outer world are seen in harmony rather than oppositional, and the human being tries to accommodate himself to the world. For example, when it comes to any interpersonal relationships, the self and the others are not clearly differentiated and the self is perceived as ‘us’ in the collective consciousness (Chang 1988, 1998). Rather than analyzing inner problems by the cause and effect, it is highly recommended to accept them as they are.

Due to this difference in the mode of perception, the Western psychoanalytic psychotherapy which is deductive and itself analytic may be hardly acceptable by Koreans especially those with traditional attitude. In psychoanalytic situation serious resistance are often encountered when the patients are faced with the issue that calls for insight into their inner conflict. They easily somatize, project and emotionalize. Also tend to respond more to intuitive approaches than analysis. Traditional medicine and shamanism, which have affected traditional concepts of illness and traditional devices of therapy have no implication of analytics, inductiveness or oppositionalism.

In traditional medicine, illness is understood as a result of disharmony to the nature and health is understood as harmony with the nature. Disharmony among the internal organs is illness, thus treatment is to make them harmonious. This can result in strong somatization tendency (Kim 1997c). And in shamanism every good and bad of life depends on the will of supernatural beings. To control the supernatural will is a solution. This brings about strong projective tendency. There is no place for seeing through inner problem both in traditional medicine and shamanism (Kim 1973c, 1997). Another cultural heritage, Tao stands somewhat different. Insight into the internal problems is an important aspect of Tao, but eventually solution is sought by acceptance of the problem as it is, rather than struggle with it (Kim 1997c, Rhee 1990, 1993). As mentioned above, I believe different perception of the self and the outer world is a major background for Korean patients’ resistance to the Western psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

The second issue is a problem of “intellectuality versus emotion”. Orthodox psychoanalysis is intellectual and logical in manner. The principal approach is to make the unconscious conflicts conscious. For this process, the cause and effect relationship is a prerequisite and logical inference is required. Of course, there has been recent recognition in Western psychotherapy that without emotional resolution
there is no place for logical and intellectual insight. However, many Korean patients vividly express their emotion in psychotherapeutic setting, even though some cases easily transformed their hidden emotion into somatization or projection. Therefore we learned through psychotherapeutic experiences that approaches to these repressed emotions are far more important than theoretical or logical approach in psychotherapy with Koreans (Rhee 1993). In fact suggestion after full ventilation is the most effective approach for many Korean patients. Shamanistic therapy is well directed to emotion repressed for the period of time. Patient’s anger is externalized and the patient is then soothed. In every seances of shaman’s ritual, shaman turns into supernatural beings and talks with patients to stimulate and provoke the repressed emotion to the level of ventilation (Kim 1973c).

The human psyche is universal by nature. But the manifestation is considerably different culture to culture. In other words, the core structure and function of the human psyche are surrounded with a thick membrane of culturally offered behavioral pattern. In psychotherapeutic situation, therapists have to unravel the cultural membrane. This process is called culture relevant approach (Kim 1997). Psychoanalytic psychotherapy is quite often successful with Koreans. However, for patients with traditional values, it is inevitable and sometimes wise to modify the strategy that goes with Korean traditional mind.

**Concluding Remark**

I believe that Oedipal theory is one of the numerous frames of reference for the understanding of human mind, none of which frames can be perfect by itself. When we employ it as a framework for understanding and interpreting the human mind, the question whether Oedipal conflict exists or not in a given culture is a red herring. Our main and genuine interest would be, as Spiro (1988) indicated, how the structure, intensity and outcome of Oedipus complex appear in a given cultural setting, what is the cultural cause behind, and how it evolves with the cultural changes.

I said earlier that the structure of Oedipus complex in Korean traditional culture is identical with Western one, however its intensity is attenuated and that there were cultural wisdoms to resolve the primary conflict. And I also indicated that as these wisdoms collapse, the intensity and outcome of the complex is changing intensely.

The change in medical setting will restrict the clinical use of psychoanalysis and this trend will continue. Now our small numbered analysts will keep utilizing the psychoanalysis in their practice. And fortunately its research area is wide open to us. Future tasks will be along with enriching clinical experience.

1) To shed light on culture specific mode of resolving the complex
2) Transcultural studies on mode of expression and resolution of Oedipus complex, traditional or modern,
3) Researches on chronological changes of intensity and outcome of the complex according to the acculturation.

I expect that exchange of information and coworkers among the East Asian countries will begin soon.

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Cultural Authority of Psychoanalysis The dissemination of psychoanalysis and the construction of its cultural authority depend upon the popularization of its theory of the unconscious and its impact on popular culture. From the very early stages, this inspired cultural productions (theater, literature, cinema, comic book series, etc.), which sometimes included either the figure of the psychoanalyst or even Freud himself, with his couch and his cigar as cultural icons. Moreover, psychoanalysis had more generally transformed the moral language that we use to speak of ourselves and of our relationships to others, making the great majority of people aware of the secrets of demonstrations of the unconscious, such as slips-of-the-tongue, the Oedipus complex and phallic symbols. Psychoanalysis of Media and Culture. No description. by.