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The History of Psychoanalysis in China

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ABSTRACT
This article provides an overview of the development of psychoanalysis in China based on literature and personal observations. We situate this history in the context of the cognate disciplines of psychiatry, psychology, and psychotherapy, all of which are shaped by the massive political and social transformations of modern and contemporary China. Our account starts with a preliminary beginning prior to 1949, which fell largely outside the clinical domain. What follows is a brief description of how this nascent development was extinguished under three decades of radical socialism. The main part of the article deals with the post-reform period that began in the late 1970s, as the introduction of Western psychotherapy and psychoanalysis became possible again after the Cultural Revolution. Emphasis is placed on the past 15 years or so, a period known for an explosive growth of professional and popular interests in psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, and psychology in China's major cities.

For the past 15 years or so, there has been a burgeoning interest in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in China. The number of mental health professionals is expanding, and there is a hunger for training. Nonetheless China has only 122,000 mental health professionals serving its 1.3 billion people (World Health Organization, 2017). There are about 30,000 psychiatrists – 2.2 psychiatrists per 100,000 population, which is far behind Western countries despite a leapfrog from 0.9 psychiatrist per 100,000 population in less than two decades (World Health Organization, 2001). Although psychologist is not a state-recognized profession, the government had certified about 1.2 million psychological counselors between 2002 and 2018 through a short-term training program. According to the recently-published China Mental Health Survey (Huang et al., 2019), the lifetime prevalence rate of any mental disorder is 16.6%. Anxiety disorders and mood disorders, with lifetime prevalence rates being 7.6% and 7.4% respectively, are the two most common types of mental illness. It appears that the reform has brought spectacular economic benefits at the cost of society becoming more complicated. The level of stress accompanying capitalist competition has had major psychological impacts on a population whose prior assumptions are constantly under challenge.

This article, revised and updated from Kirsner and Snyder's "Psychoanalysis in China" (2009), provides an overview of the development of psychoanalysis in China. The history of psychoanalysis in China is closely intertwined with those of the cognate disciplines of psychology, psychiatry, and psychotherapy as well as literature and the humanities. While covering the early developments before 1949 and their destruction in the first three decades of the People's Republic, this article mainly deals with the post-reform period that began in the late 1970s, when the introduction of Western psychotherapy and psychology again became legitimate. Emphasis is placed on the period from the early 2000s onwards, a period that witnesses an explosion of professional and popular interests in psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, and psychology in China's major cities. We describe the important actors and projects in the making of a vibrant psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic landscape in China and end with an appraisal of the current situation.

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Early developments

Western medicine was introduced in China during the 19th century, and psychiatry began as part of Western medicine. It spread mainly through Christian missionary societies, which aimed for success with the combination of medical and missionary activities. An American missionary, Dr. John Kerr, opened a home for the mentally ill in Canton (Guangzhou) in 1898. During the 1910s and 1920s, a number of psychoanalytic books and papers about the interpretation of dreams and free association were translated into Chinese. In 1917, the first psychology laboratory was founded at Peking University with the support of its chancellor Cai Yuanpai, who was a student of Wilhelm Wundt in Germany before he returned to China to become the Republic's first Minister of Education. In 1919, the May Fourth Movement was sparked by student protests in Beijing. The country's traditions and institutions were questioned while new forms of government and knowledge – democracy and science – were advocated. This movement changed the political and cultural climate in China, which allowed for greater influence of outside ideas.

This renaissance allowed Freud's ideas about sexual tensions in families to find a foothold in China, despite the fact that the Chinese translation of Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* reinterpreted the sexual references or removed them completely (Blowers, 1994). As in other parts of the world during the 1920s and 1930s, Freudian ideas percolated into the culture through the interests of literary authors and also some clinicians. Psychoanalysis was taken up by members of the "Creation Society" in the struggle against Confucian ethics. Although psychology was often deployed, the leading figures of this society, according to Gerlach (2006),

> were interested in the fact that psychoanalysis seeks to understand the misfortune, the "discomfort" of the human being in his culture. In the psychoanalytic theory the conflicts between human nature and forms of socialization are not suppressed, and the theory never justifies a culture which breaks individuals.

Furthermore, the influence of psychoanalysis came via healers on the margins of medicine that used Freud's theories for various remedies. Freud's image even adorned bottles of popular nostrums. Five of Freud's works were translated before 1949 – *The Interpretation of Dreams, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, and *An Autobiographical Study*. There were also a number of translated expositions and critiques of Freudian theory (Zhang, 1992). Zhang maintains that the way Freud was translated into Chinese greatly influenced the reception of psychoanalysis in China. There is considerable discussion today about the undue influence of James Strachey's "standard" translations on non-German readers of Freud, which underlines this point as to the exact nature of what was received about Freud in China, especially as a number of terms came secondhand via Japanese translations. The translator of *An Autobiographical Study* was the famous intellectual Zhang Shizhao. He wrote to Freud while traveling in Germany asking about intercultural cooperation, and suggested writing an article for *Imago*. The original letter is lost, but in the only recorded contact with anybody from China, Freud responded:

> Most esteemed Professor,
>
> In whatever way you wish to carry out your intention, whether it is by paving the way for the development of psychoanalysis in your homeland – China – or by contributions to our journal *Imago* in which you would judge against your own language our conjectures about the nature of archaic modes of expression, I will be extremely pleased.
>
> Very respectfully,
>
> Yours, Freud [Cited in Blowers, 1993, p. 264]

Freud mentioned China in terms of the parallels between interpreting Chinese characters in context and psychoanalysts interpreting dreams in context, and to the issue of the significance of foot-binding of Chinese women as a case of fetishism (Blowers, 1993; Zhang, 1992).

An American, Dr. Richard S. Lyman, a student of Adolf Meyer at Johns Hopkins University, in 1932 became chair of the neuropsychiatry department at the Rockefeller Foundation-affiliated Peking Union

Medical College (PUMC). He invited the first Chinese psychoanalyst, Bingham Dai (1899–1996), to a teaching post there. Dai graduated in 1923 from St. John's University in Shanghai and then received a PhD in sociology from the University of Chicago. In 1932, Dai met Harry Stack Sullivan at a yearlong seminar on "culture and personality" at Yale University. Sullivan began to train Dai, as did Leon Saul and Karen Horney at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis. John Dollard, sociologist and psychoanalyst, and Edward Sapir, an eminent anthropologist, were also his teachers (Blowers, 2004). Dai taught psychotherapy at the PUMC from 1936 to 1939. Influenced by Confucianism and the Neo-Freudian School of psychoanalysis, Dai attempted to sensitize his students to different types of therapy and emphasized sociocultural factors rather than the more orthodox sexual ones (Wang, 2006). In 1939, following the Japanese invasion, Dai left for the United States.

In 1936, Wilhelm Reich's controversial book *Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis* together with Vladimi Jurinetz's *Psychoanalysis and Marxism* were published in translation in China. Reuben Osborn's book *Freud and Marx: A Dialectical Study* was translated in 1940. Although discussions of these books reflected differences among Chinese intellectuals, they should also be seen in the context of the growing influence and power of the Communists.

In sum, psychoanalysis had a respectable though not stunning influence in China before 1949 (Dai, 1984). "By the mid-1930s," as Jingyuan Zhang observes, "Freudian theories were familiar to many Chinese intellectuals and, in reductive forms, to a surprisingly broad sector of the Chinese population" (1992, p. 34). The Japanese invasion, the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the Communist victory put an end to organized interest in psychoanalysis for the next thirty years.

After World War II

In the United States, interest in psychiatry and psychoanalysis greatly expanded after World War II. At the most prestigious medical schools, most of the top 10 percent of the graduating class became psychiatrists. Many of the best and brightest young psychiatrists applied for psychoanalytic training. Later, clinical psychologists and social workers joined the flourishing psychotherapy scene, though they were barred at that time from taking full analytic training at the institutes affiliated with the American Psychoanalytic Association. China's situation, however, was in stark contrast. When the People's Republic was founded in 1949, the country had only about fifty psychiatrists for its five hundred million people (Chen, 1999). Shortly thereafter, psychologists and social workers were expelled from the mental health system. Psychology was transformed into a research-oriented discipline, and psychiatry was based mostly in asylum-like institutions.

As the Communist revolution led to rebuilding the university system, the medical system, and the cultural field in general, psychoanalysis dropped out of common knowledge. Psychotherapy was disparaged due to its Western origins and "idealist" dispositions. All ties were severed with noncommunist countries, and the free intellectual interchange between China and the West ended. Soviet neuropsychiatric models, especially Pavlov's theory, dominated Chinese psychiatry (Chang, Tong, Shi, & Zeng, 2005). Between 1949 and 1965, only a small number of psychiatrists and psychologists from top institutions in Beijing (the new Division of Medical Psychology of the Institute of Psychology at the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the psychiatry department at the Beijing Medical College) were allowed to experiment with psychotherapy. They were tasked with the mission of creating treatment modalities that were ideologically unproblematic and capable of curing neurasthenia, then the most prevalent neurotic disorder in China. This "Speedy Synthetic Treatment" (*kuaisu zonghe liaofa*, also translated as "Rapid Comprehensive Therapy") campaign took off at the beginning of the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960). As medical historian Wang (2019) describes with regards to its implementation:

> A survey was conducted in Beijing University to screen the neurasthenic students. A treatment camp was then organized for a total of 80 patients without affecting their study or daily routines. Similar to what psychiatrists based in Nanjing had done a couple of years ago, lectures on the nature, causes and treatment of the disease were given in conjunction with feverish political study sessions. The term "synthetic" derived from the fact that

> a collection of therapies were then applied, including insulin, psychiatric medications, electric shock, exercise, acupuncture, herbal medicine, regimen and psychotherapy. [p. 6]

This campaign continued until the eve of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The Cultural Revolution was a very dark period for almost everybody in China. Intellectuals, including mental health professionals, bore the brunt of the rampant violence. Mental health problems were seen as the result of "wrong politics" and bourgeois influences to be solved by socialist reeducation. Psychiatric treatment was replaced by political studies using Chairman Mao's *Little Red Book*. Psychology and kindred approaches were attacked as pseudoscience. Universities were shut down. Hospitals were transformed into "revolutionary" units and many doctors were dispatched to the countryside or remote areas to serve the people there. Psychology as an academic discipline was entirely wiped out. Many Chinese were traumatized by their experiences during this period. Today there remains a large population of such individuals; they put an even greater strain on the decimated mental health profession.

After the reform: 1980s and 1990s

The death of Chairman Mao in 1976, the trials and conviction of his henchmen "Gang of Four" for their crimes during the Cultural Revolution, and the ascension of Deng Xiaoping as the new leader marked a major turn for the better in ending the decade-long chaos. What followed was the "Reform and Opening" policy that ushered in the so-called "post-reform" period. Step by step, the Chinese state loosened its control over the economy and everyday life. Ideas and values from the West were again permitted to enter the country. The cultural sphere, once monopolized by communist culture, became increasingly diverse, though censorship and periodic cleanup campaigns persisted. One-party rule, however, was maintained. Following Deng's 1992 southern tour – three years after the brutal crackdown of the student movement in Beijing – economic development picked up speed again. With the inflow of foreign investments, China built a massive export-oriented manufacturing industry.

Psychiatry and psychology restored their developments that had been wrecked by the Cultural Revolution. As these disciplines resumed scholarly exchanges with the outside world, they turned to the West, especially the U.S., as the source of knowledge and the model to emulate. The World Health Organization (WHO) also played a key role in fostering connections between China's mental health leaders and the international community. The country's most prestigious institutions, including the Institute of Mental Health in Beijing and Shanghai Mental Health Center, became WHO's collaboration centers in the early 1980s. However, during the 1980s and the 1990s, the government had yet to consider mental health a priority, and progress in this field was slow.

As occurred before 1949, the influence of psychoanalysis was more prominent in the cultural sphere. The 1980s are remembered as an "age of idealism" in which intellectuals and young people engaged in serious debates on philosophical, social, and cultural issues. As translations of Western authors arrived *en masse*, a so-called "Freud fever" broke out along with the infatuation with other eminent theorists such as Nietzsche and Sartre. Pre-1949 translations of Freud were republished, several new titles were imported from Taiwan, and a number of Freud's works were translated into Chinese for the first time, including *The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and Its Discontents, Moses and Monotheism*, and several papers on metapsychology (Yu, 1993). Other influential psychoanalytic thinkers, including Carl Jung, Alfred Adler, Erich Fromm, and Karen Horney, were widely read in translation. Literary scholar Wendy Larson (2009) argues that the reintroduction of Freud's works after the launch of the reform had a vast impact on Chinese literature as it provided "new ways of thinking about aesthetics, ethics, and representations" (73).

At that time, psychoanalysis as a clinical practice hardly existed in China's mental health system. Talk therapy in expressive or exploratory mode was exceedingly rare. The most commonly employed methods were oriented toward behavioral modification or supportive techniques. There was little evidence of anything resembling dynamic psychotherapy (Halberstadt-Freud, 1991; Sabbadini, 1990). However, some senior leaders in psychiatry and psychology were members of an old generation that

had received Western-style education before 1949. Thus, they had a basic understanding of psychoanalysis. During the 1980s and 1990s, two widely respected psychiatrists, one from overseas and the other from China, were the "spokesmen" of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy: Dr. Tseng Wen-Shing (1935–2012) and Dr. Zhong Youbin (1925–2009).

Tseng received his medical education and psychiatric training in Taiwan. In the mid-1960s, he did a second residency at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center in Boston, where he learned to practice dynamic psychotherapy. In the early 1970s, he immigrated to the United States and had a long teaching career at the University of Hawai'i. He began to visit China in the early 1980s, first as a WHO consultant and then as a visiting professor at the Institute of Mental Health in Beijing. His wife, Dr. Jing Hsu, a psychiatrist specializing in family therapy, often came with him. Internationally, Tseng was known as a leading figure in cross-cultural psychiatry. In China, he was a renowned psychotherapy teacher who disseminated knowledge in dynamic psychotherapy. His stance was that psychoanalysis was useful for understanding psychopathology, but as a treatment modality should be adapted to the needs and habits of Chinese people (Tseng, 2004).

Zhong spent his entire career in China. Originally a psychiatrist at the Beijing Medical College, he was demoted to the Capital Steel Hospital in the mid-1960s. He had been a member of the Speedy Synthetic Treatment research team, but legend has it that he secretly pursued the clinical application of psychoanalytic ideas because of the method's unsatisfactory outcomes. These experiences, of course, could not be published. He developed his own "Recognition-Comprehension Therapy" (*renshi lingwu liaofa*, more often known as "Cognitive-Insight Therapy"). In 1989, he published a highly influential monograph with the ambitious title, "Chinese Psychoanalysis." The book was intended as an introduction to his method, but its first half offered a summary of psychoanalytic theory. The case vignettes presented revealed that his treatment combined psychoanalytic explanations and socialist practices. After taking a detailed life history and making sense of it using a psychoanalytic framework, Zhong would urge the patient to accept how ridiculous and infantile his or her symptoms were – a recognition that led to their relinquishment (Seurre, 1997).

Besides these two Chinese psychiatrists whose impact was largely through publications, this period witnessed the beginning of the Sino-German Course (*zhongde ban*), a program featuring direct contact with foreign teachers. While the Sino-German group had convened a few events in the late 1980s and early 1990s, its first three-year program occurred during 1997–1999. Taught by a team of German therapists, the program was the first systematic effort to introduce psychotherapy in the post-reform period. It was organized by Margaret Haaß-Wiesegart, her Chinese collaborator Dr. Wan Wenpeng, and his disciple Dr. Zhao Xudong. The program was divided into three sections: psychoanalytic psychotherapy, family therapy, and cognitive-behavioral therapy. Its "continuous training" model comprised six weeklong sessions during a three-year period (the program was "continuous" compared to previous single-episode events held by the same group). The teachers of the psychoanalytic section included Dr. Antje Haag, Dr. Matthias Elzer, and Dr. Alf Gerlach, among others. Gerlach, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst with a doctoral degree in sociology, later became the leader of the project.

The first decade of the psycho-boom (the 2000s)

The first decade of the 21st century saw the ascent of China as a global power. Anticipating superpower status, the Chinese state incorporated "the rise of great nation" into its narrative in 2006. In 2010, China surpassed Japan and became the second largest economy in the world. While the per capita GDP was not high (4560 USD, 2010), a middle-class population was growing in the cities. These people were wealthier, better educated, and interested in Western-style products and services. For them the search for meanings was a pressing issue after material needs were fulfilled. Psychotherapy (along with a variety of religious, spiritual, and traditional Chinese practices) found a niche. Recently researchers have written about the emergence of a "psycho-boom," which includes

a surge of popular interest in psychotherapy as well as the infiltration of related ideas and values into the cultural sphere (Huang, 2014; Yang, 2015; Zhang, 2014).

A transformation of China's mental health system occurred. After more than two decades of lukewarm action, the state began to pay serious attention to mental health and what followed was a reform on an unprecedented scale (Liu et al., 2011; Pearson, 2014). An indicator of this change was the willingness to disclose epidemiological data showing the increased prevalence of mental disorders. Michael Phillips' four-province study posited that China, with a prevalence rate of 17.5%, could have as many as 173 million people suffering from mental illness (Phillips et al., 2009). After the 2003 SARS epidemic, when the state inaugurated a large-scale public health reform, it incorporated a mental health project – the "686 program" (indicating the initial funding of 6.86 million RMB). This project sought to identify patients with major psychoses, have them assessed and registered, and offer them medications and follow-ups (Ma, 2012). Scaled up in 2008, it became the backbone of the mental health reform that continues today.

The above-mentioned reform dealt mainly with public psychiatry and severe mental illness. Intriguingly, the policy that had a more direct impact on the psycho-boom was not in the realm of mental health (Huang, 2014, p. 190–192). In 2002, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security launched a certification for psychological counselors. Before that, psychotherapy was not an independent profession but a small subfield of psychiatry and psychology. Psychiatrists and psychologists worked mainly in public institutions like hospitals and universities. Private practice was virtually unknown. The new certification drastically changed the situation. The required training was offered by commercially-oriented agencies that existed outside the medical and higher education systems. Training could be completed in a few months and soon became popular enough to support an industry. The Wenchuan earthquake in 2008 boosted this trend as the state relentlessly promoted psychological assistance for victims. Most of the people who took the certification training did not practice. However, those who practiced did so in private settings. The certification thus produced a new mental health sector composed exclusively of private practitioners of psychotherapy (Huang, 2018a, p. 373–376). This sector was very heterogeneous in terms of educational background; only a fraction of the practitioners had formal training in psychiatry or psychology.

Psychoanalysis enjoyed a dominant position in the marketplace of psychotherapy training and in the private practice scene during the first decade of the psycho-boom. Back in the mid- or late-2000s, the burgeoning industry offered many programs allegedly about psychoanalysis, though most of them lasted hardly longer than a few days. Moreover, therapists in China did not hesitate to claim an psychoanalytic identity. It was a period in which psychoanalytic training as an internationally established institution was not well-known in China. Apparently, the kind of psychoanalysis imagined by these Chinese therapists was different from the one accepted by the international community. A distinction between psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapy was rarely made in China. Not uncommonly, psychoanalysis was used as a generic term for psychotherapy. However, these programs might have delivered a sort of "psychoanalytic minimum." They introduced the basic ideas and created an environment in which participants could share their thoughts and emotions about personal and clinical experiences. Their popularity revealed how appealing the exploration of minds and deep emotions could be for Chinese people who aspired to become therapists.

During this period, the person who had the most exemplary career as a teacher of psychoanalysis was Dr. Zeng Qifeng. Zeng was a psychiatrist and a graduate of the first class of the Sino-German Course. He came from Zhongde Psychology Hospital in Wuhan, an unconventional institution co-founded by the city's civic administration authorities and German social psychiatrist Heinz Klaette in 1988 (Shi, 2009). The hospital was established as an experimental site for psychiatric rehabilitation, but it offered a free space to Zeng and his colleagues to explore talk therapy. Their adventures commenced even before the Sino-German Course – Chinese therapists liked to describe the hospital as a secret stronghold for the indigenous development of psychotherapy. After the psycho-boom took off, Zeng started to tour the country giving lectures and workshops. A charismatic speaker, he was capable of winning the hearts and minds of students from diverse backgrounds. His success sent

an inviting message to other early graduates of the Sino-German Course. Some of them followed his footsteps and became "masters" in the training industry. Wuhan was home to several of the most important teachers, including Zeng's peers Dr. Shi Qijia and Dr. Wu Heming.

While Chinese programs tended to straddle the border between the professional and the popular, several highly influential foreigner-taught programs had an ostensible focus on professional training. These programs typically bore the title of China and the country where most of their teachers came from. In the eyes of Chinese therapists, foreign teachers were "friends of the Chinese people" who were open-minded enough to appreciate the peculiar situation of China and to make sacrifices in aiding its development. These programs cultivated the elite members of the field and turned the cities they were based – Shanghai, Beijing, and Wuhan – into the hubs on China's psychoanalytic landscape (Varvin & Gerlach, 2014).

The Sino-German course

After the first class, the three sections of the Sino-German Program proceeded separately. The psychoanalytic section moved its base to Shanghai Mental Health Center (SMHC), which was affiliated with Shanghai Jiao Tong University and was one of the four most prestigious psychiatric institutions in China. After the second class (2001–2004), the program was held regularly. The "continuous training" model was maintained. The program now consisted of four seven or eight-day episodes. A total of 30 days of training occurred during a span of three years. Students were divided into groups of 18–20. Each group had a German teacher, a Chinese teacher (normally a member of the first Sino-German cohort), and a Chinese translator. The training included lectures, group supervisions, and a small number of "self-experience" sessions that were offered as an opportunity to experience personal treatment. Most of the teaching was conducted in English with consecutive interpretation into Mandarin. From the third class (2005–2007) onwards, the program was divided into two levels. The added "advanced level" was only open to those who finished the "basic level" and was focused on psychoanalytic group therapy (Gerlach, 2014).

The scale of the program continued to expand with the support of the hospital's president Dr. Xiao Zeping (who also graduated from its first class). Within a short time, SMHC had established itself as the leading center for psychotherapy training in China (see Xu, Qiu, Chen, & Xiao, 2014). Of paramount importance: in China, professional associations were not autonomous entities separate from the state; they were part of a hierarchy whose structure was imposed from atop. In the case of psychoanalysis, the official organ of the discipline was a division under the Committee for Psychotherapy and Psychological Counseling, which was a component of the Chinese Association for Mental Health. Almost all the important positions of the division were filled by the graduates of the Sino-German Course. In 2010, the discipline went up the organizational ladder to have its own committee.

Professional culture was another area in which the impact of the program was important. While the Sino-German Course introduced the "continuous training" model due to practical constraints – German teachers could only afford to visit China once in a while – it became, for a time, the gold standard in China. Other influential programs made similar arrangements. Secondly, "self-experience" (*ziwo tiyan*), which referred to the five or six therapy sessions that participants had to attend in the program, became a widely accepted term in China. It was a literal translation of "*selbsterfahrung*," which was commonly used in Germany. Chinese therapists seldom used the phrases prevailing in the English-speaking world, for example, "personal treatment." The consequences of this lexical choice were yet to be explored. Perhaps it enhanced the "experiential" aspects while downplaying the role of the trainee as patient.

The Sino-Norwegian course

The Sino-Norwegian Course (*zhongnuo ban*) was the only program whose influence came close to that of the Sino-German Course. Launched in 2006, it adopted a similar "continuous training" model. The program was organized by Norwegian psychoanalyst Dr. Sverre Varvin and his Chinese

collaborator Dr. Yang Yunping at Anding Hospital in Beijing, the most renowned institution beyond the traditional "big four." Yang was a graduate of the first Sino-German Course and chair of the hospital's "clinical psychology" division. Varvin was an expert on trauma and refugee mental health. In the early 2000s, he joined Teresa Yuan, an Argentine psychoanalyst of Chinese descent, to teach at Anding Hospital. Yuan's collaboration with the hospital dated back to the mid-1990s.

For a few years, the Sino-Norwegian Course also ran a parallel program in Wuhan. The local host was Dr. Tong Jun, another graduate of the first Sino-German Course and vice president of the Wuhan Psychology Hospital, a very unique hospital that featured inpatient psychotherapy. Thus Wuhan, a second-tier city, became another center of psychoanalysis. In 2011, the Wuhan group began to offer its own brand of "continuous training" program – the Sino-American Course whose teaching staff included Arlene and Arnold Richards.

China American Psychoanalytic Alliance

In 2008, the China American Psychoanalytic Alliance (CAPA) emerged as a new force, challenging the supremacy of the above programs with its two-year course. The leader of this nonprofit organization was Dr. Elise Snyder, a New York-based psychoanalyst in private practice. She first came into contact with therapists in China in 2001. A few years later, a Chinese therapist suggested the option of using the popular telecommunication software, Skype, to conduct training or analysis at a distance. The adventurous use of digital technology became a distinctive feature of CAPA (Fishkin & Fishkin, 2014), and Snyder was able to find a large number of psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically-oriented psychotherapists to join her mission on a voluntary basis.

CAPA differed from the Sino-German Course and the Sino-Norwegian Course in several aspects. It adopted a bottom-up approach, directly appealing to potential candidates without the mediation of powerful local organizations. This did not mean that CAPA had no connections within the psychoanalytic establishment in China – in fact, it had quite a few allies. The program was multi-sited rather than based in a specific city. In 2008, it began with two groups in Beijing and one in Shanghai, and one each in Chengdu and Xi'an. Each group had about 10 students. Its format resembled that of the programs in psychoanalytic psychotherapy offered at the psychoanalytic institutes of the American Psychoanalytic Association, except that it operated online rather than on-site. Classes met weekly for seminars and group supervisions (four hours per week for 30 weeks each year). Students were required to undertake individual supervision and were offered personal psychotherapy or psychoanalysis. CAPA was taught entirely in English and thus demanded a higher level of English proficiency than other programs. It also boasted a significantly lower student-to-faculty ratio. Last but not least, it admitted students on a yearly basis, while those "continuous training" programs did an intake of students every three years.

In 2011, CAPA, at the request of the graduates of the two-year basic program, initiated a two-year advanced program. Subsequently it offered supervision training to those finishing all four years of training. An elective program on infant observation and a growing number of continuing education courses were also added to the curriculum. Despite being a late comer compared to the Sino-German Course, CAPA is now widely accepted as another gold standard of training in China. Its teaching team has expanded to over 400 analysts and therapists.

The advent of the International Psychoanalytical Association

With the success of the Sino-German Program and the Sino-Norwegian Program, the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) set up a China committee in 2008. Besides the leaders of the two most influential programs, Sverre Varvin and Alf Gerlach, the committee included Peter Loewenberg, a UCLA history professor, and Maria Teresa Hooke from the Australian Psychoanalytical Society. Full analytic training for nine "direct candidates," recruited from Anding Hospital and the Sino-Norwegian network, began in the autumn of 2008 in Beijing. Personal

analysis, the major hindrance to such training, was offered by German analyst Irmgard Dettbarn, who happened to reside in Beijing during 2007–2010. In October 2010, the IPA held its first Asian conference in Beijing. This event, attended by analysts, candidates, and therapists from various Asian countries and beyond, implicitly placed China at a leading position on the regional map of psychoanalysis. In 2011, a second direct candidate program was initiated in Shanghai, with Dr. Hermann Schultz, who had taught for the Sino-German Course, as the training analyst. Since the program was sponsored by SMHC, all the candidates were recruited from this institution.

The current scene (early 2010s onwards)

A number of unexpected changes occurred in China after Xi Jinping came to power in 2012. The economic and military might of the country continues to rise, but it has stepped onto a more controlling road. The state has tightened its reign over speech and the budding civil society. Economic development has slowed down slightly, but ambitious international development projects like Asia infrastructure Investment Bank and "One Belt One Road" were initiated. Eventually Xi's China was mired in a bitter trade war with Donald Trump's United States. Despite these setbacks, the Xi era has made significant progress in mental health, greatly advancing the reform that began in the previous decade. The most important event was the enactment of the first national Mental Health Law in May 2013. There was a also a forceful attempt to expand the scope of mental health to include common mental disorders and psychological treatments. This was evidenced by two policy directives, *Proposal on Strengthening Psychological Health Services* and *Pilot Plan on Constructing a Social Psychological Services System*, which were issued respectively in 2017 and 2018.

A number of new trends have appeared in the field of psychotherapy. First, a move toward professionalization emerged during and after the mental health legislation (Huang, 2015, p. 20; 2018a). Many therapists now question the blending of popular education and professional training, which was the norm in the previous decade. Professional associations, for example, the Registry System of the Chinese Psychological Society, have gained substantial influence over qualification, continual education, and the stipulation of ethical standards. The importance of formal education and training is also recognized; graduate programs in psychology are mushrooming, while the standards for residency training were specified at the national level in 2014. The certification for psychological counselors was finally abolished in 2018, but by then the system had certified as many as 1.2 million people.

Second, private practice has become much more feasible, especially in wealthy cities, as more and more Chinese people resort to psychotherapy to solve their mental troubles or simply to better understand themselves (Huang, 2015, p. 21). While five or ten years ago most of the therapists found it difficult to have even just a few regular clients, nowadays many of them have very busy schedules. Thus, psychotherapy has become a decent career option.

Third, the field has gone digital, which reflects the enormous impact of digital technologies on the economy and social relationships in China. "Digitalization" appears at different levels. Chinese therapists and patients are eager to embrace digital technologies. Although reliable statistics do not exist, the proportion of therapy conducted online is probably quite high. Digital technologies also affect how therapists interact with each other and organize themselves. In the previous decade, online discussions boards and QQ (an instant messaging app created by Tencent) groups for people interested in psychotherapy were popular. Nowadays people have migrated to *Weibo* and WeChat, the dominant social media platforms in China. WeChat is particularly influential as it allows therapists and their peers to form closed groups, "live-stream" events, and set up "public accounts" to disseminate their ideas. Another hot spot in this trend is the burgeoning of startup companies featuring psychotherapy or psychology. MyTherapist (*jiandan xinli*) and KnowYourself (often abbreviated as "KY"), founded respectively in 2014 and 2015 amid a "startup frenzy," are the most successful instances (Huang, 2018b). The former built an online platform that could match clients with carefully-selected therapists (Huang, 2017). The latter began as a content platform targeting the youth, but lately it has made forays into the business domain once dominated by MyTherapist.

These trends are transforming the landscape in China of psychotherapy as well as that of psychoanalysis. The field has become more diverse. Psychoanalysis gradually loses its absolute dominance, but its followers are now better trained. Mainstream modalities like cognitive-behavioral therapy and family therapy, as well as scores of other schools, have gained considerable ground. As the IPA and many IPA-affiliated analysts come to China, local therapists begin to heed the boundary between psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapy. Those interested in the psychoanalytic approach make efforts to pursue the most professional training available to them. More and more therapists are engaged in regular supervision and personal treatment, both of which were rare in the previous decade.

The most acclaimed foreigner-taught programs – the Sino-German Course in Shanghai, the Sino-Norwegian Course in Beijing, the Sino-American Course in Wuhan, and the multi-sited, online-based CAPA – continue to thrive. Anding Hospital, the host of the Sino-Norwegian Course, established a "national psychoanalysis demonstration site" around 2012–2013 with the funding from central and Beijing city governments. Under the leadership of Dr. Wang Qian, a student of Yang Yunping and one of the first batch of IPA analysts in China, this demonstration site invites renowned foreign analysts to visit China for teaching. Over these years a series of Sino-British Courses (in partnership with Viviane Green at Birkbeck, University of London; the British Psychoanalytic Association, and the Anna Freud Center) have been offered on topics like child and adolescent psychotherapy, mentalization-based therapy, Klein, Winnicott, and infant observation. Recently, a Sino-European Course (in partnership with the European Psychoanalytical Federation) was added to the inventory.

The professional core of the psychoanalytic movement in China – the small number of therapists who strive for the most advanced training – are making headway into the international world of institutionalized psychoanalysis. Currently, seven direct candidates have completed their analytic training. In 2017, the IPA welcomed the third batch of direct candidates – about 20 in number – from several cities in China. It is expected that the Chinese group will upgrade its status within the IPA from Allied Center to Study Group before long. However, the IPA is not the only organization that offers an opportunity for full analytic training to therapists in China. In the past few years, CAPA has negotiated with several APsaA psychoanalytic institutes in the United States. Since 2015, these institutes have admitted 30 CAPA graduates as candidates, mainly for full distance training. Each year, another 10–20 apply.

There is a dazzling array of new developments beyond these established and historically successful forces. The increased visibility of China in the international community, the strong demands for professional development of Chinese therapists, and the convenience of digital technologies have created an environment that facilitates the growth of smaller projects or institutions. A few of the better-known examples give a sense of the vibrant scene: Drs. David and Jill Scharff have run a psychoanalytic couple therapy program in Beijing since 2010. Dr. Zhao Chengzhi, a graduate of the Sino-Norwegian Course and a new IPA direct candidate, set up an academy focused on Winnicottian psychoanalysis in Beijing. His institute, in collaboration with the International Winnicott Association in Brazil, offers a new Sino-Brazil Course. In Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan Province, a group of CAPA graduates led by Jiang Qizhuang, currently a candidate at the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute, established a training institute for psychoanalytic psychotherapy called Heguang Clinical Psychology Research Institute. Its programs are similar to those of CAPA, but are taught by Chinese therapists in Mandarin. The veteran teacher Zeng Qifeng, after countless teaching tours, finally returned to Wuhan where he founded a training institution. Under the digitalization trend, there is a blossoming of training agencies that specialize in online programs. Xin Licheng and Tang Xinli, both based in Shanghai, are the front runners in this area. Earlier this year, Jiandan Xinli and KnowYourself, the two most celebrated startups in the field, made forays into online training in psychoanalytic psychotherapy almost at the same time. The former teamed up with the International Psychotherapy Institute in Maryland and Sigmund-Freud Institut in Frankfurt, while the latter, cooperating with Tang Xinli, invited leading British analysts Chris Mawson, Michael and Margaret Rustin, and Lesley Caldwell to offer a series of object relations programs.

As the interchange between the international psychoanalytic community and their Chinese counterparts deepens, there is a recent surge of publication projects that intends to collect and reflect on the related experiences. These endeavors are usually led by foreign analysts who are heavily involved with the development in China. Contributors include foreign analysts and, to a smaller extent, their Chinese colleagues. This trend began with a 2011 special issue on psychoanalysis in China, edited by David Scharff, in *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*. In 2013, *Psychoanalysis in Asia*, a collection of papers from the 2010 IPA Beijing conference, came out under the editorship of Alf Gerlach, Maria Teresa Hooke, and Sverre Varvin. Next year saw the arrival of another contributed volume, *Psychoanalysis in China*, edited by David Scharff and Sverre Varvin. In 2015, a new journal, *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy in China*, came into being with David Scharff as the chief editor. Two volumes have come out since then. These two edited volumes and the journal are published by Karnac Books in London. A small number of articles could also be found in other edited volumes or journals. For instance, there is a noticeable China presence in the four volumes of *Psychoanalysis Online* edited by Jill Scharff, as the frequent use of digital technologies in the transmission of psychoanalysis to China has made it at the forefront of this development. Robert Gordon, who chairs the research grant committee of CAPA, has published a few articles based on his research on the program (see his article in this issue). David Scharff (2016) recently published an extensive review of the English literature coming out of this "contact zone" of cross-cultural transmission.

An outpouring of Chinese translations of psychoanalytic books have appeared in the past decade. The introduction of Freud's works in translation continues. A large proportion of his works are now available, including a 12-volume collection that covers many of the major works. Frequently several versions exist for the same text, yet the quality of translation tends to be less than satisfactory, and a systematic effort to translate his complete works is still missing. The four-volume *The Writings of Melanie Klein*, Kohut's three major books, and most of Winnicott's books have been translated into Chinese; commonly there are two version available (one imported from Taiwan). The translation of Bion's books is also well underway. The acclaimed foreigner-taught programs mentioned above have cultivated a new generation of therapist-translators who are more competent clinically and linguistically. Quite a few translation projects are in progress. The one managed by CAPA, in collaboration with the East China Normal University Press, is probably the most ambitious and well-planned. There are some other publishers that have paid considerable attention to psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, for example, the China Light Industry Press (the "Multi-Million Psychology" series) and the Beijing World Publishing Corporation.

Currently, we have limited knowledge about how psychoanalysis or psychoanalytic psychotherapy is practiced in China and what kinds of experiences are revealed and made sense of through such kinds of therapeutic process. Chinese publications on psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, excluding translations and those merely introducing key thinkers and ideas, are still few in number. The primary reason for this relative scarcity is that there is literally no suitable venue for psychoanalytic writings in China. Psychiatry and psychology journals only accept articles that adopt mainstream research paradigms in their disciplines. Case studies, arguably the most important genre in the field, have long been absent from these journals. A rare exception is a recently-published compilation of papers on infant and young child observation, written by the members of MindinMind, a training institution founded by a group of CAPA graduates in Beijing (Sze, Yang, Ba, & Li, 2018). The dearth of professional publications does not mean that Chinese therapists don't discuss or write about their clinical experiences. Many presentations have been given in conferences at local, regional, and national levels. Psychoanalysis has a rather prominent presence in important conferences in psychology or psychiatry. A national conference – the Chinese Psychoanalytic Congress – is held every two or three years – the 6th congress just took place in Shanghai in May 2019. There is also a large amount of conversations in less formal spaces like popular magazines, and more recently, in social media.

Concluding remarks

This article traces the history of psychoanalysis in China from its arrival before 1949 to the current situation. Emphasis is placed on the past 15 years or so. It was not until the early 2000s that

psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, and the broader field of mental health began to take off in China. We describe the important actors and projects in the introduction of the broadly-defined Freudian tradition – the Lacanian group in Chengdu led by Huo Datong and the Jungian movement led by Shen Heyong, both of which have a history spanning over two decades, are thus omitted. We show that the development of psychoanalysis is closely entwined with those of psychiatry, psychology, and psychotherapy, and that the state has a strong and visible influence, as what happens in many other professional fields in China.

Writing in the aftermath of the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake, Kirsner and Snyder (2009) concluded the previous version of the article with a meditation on the Chinese fascination with psychoanalysis. Economic development, rapid social change, increased awareness of mental health, state policy, the assistance from the international psychoanalytic community, among others, were cited as the main reasons. A decade later, these factors remain almost intact and the enormous interest has continued. China's engagement with psychoanalysis has deepened substantially. The country now has seven IPA direct members, over 60 candidates in analytic training, and a few thousand therapists graduating from the acclaimed psychoanalytic psychotherapy programs mentioned earlier. Psychoanalytically-oriented therapists enjoy a prestigious standing among mental health professionals, and the demands for training and therapy are strong. Overall, China is in a much better position than a decade ago to further develop the discipline. While China has been mostly at the receiving end of the transmission, as more and more Chinese analysts and therapists delve into practical and theoretical psychoanalytic work, we will be able to see their original contributions to the global discipline in the decades to come.

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