

**Psychological Anthropology**  
**Andrew Beatty [updated Sept. 2018]**

**This is a draft of the Oxford Bibliographies Online entry, first published 2014; updated 2018]. I have added a few later items of my own (qv. *emotion*), and added a number of recent publication. In the published version I was limited to 8 or 9 items per topic. The online publication (not subscribed to by Brunel but available in the British Library) includes hyperlinks (some of which are indicated between asterisks)**

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### **Introduction**

Psychological anthropology is the study of psychological topics using anthropological concepts and methods. Among the areas of interest are personal identity, selfhood, subjectivity, memory, consciousness, emotion, motivation, cognition, madness, and mental health. Considered thus, there is hardly a topic in the anthropological mainstream that does not offer grist for the analytical mill. Like economic or political anthropology, psychological anthropology can be seen as a perspective on the social as well as being a subfield of the broader discipline. The overlap in subject matter with the related discipline of psychology is obvious, but the approach, grounded in ethnographic fieldwork and comparativism, is usually quite different. Moreover, as a reflexive endeavor, psychological anthropology shines a light not only on the cultural vehicles of thought (language, symbolism, the body) but on the concepts we use to think about those means. Psychological anthropologists are concerned, for example, not merely with emotional practices in diverse cultures (what angers people? how do they express it?), but in the shape and cross-cultural validity of the concept of emotion. To the ethnographic question, “How do the Nuaulu classify animals?” they add, “How is their classification structured and what does that structure reveal about broader processes of cognition?” Some of the basic categories of psychology—self, mind, emotion—turn out, in cross-cultural perspective, to be less self-evident, less transparently objective than expected. While rough equivalents can often be found in other linguistic traditions, the scholar soon finds that English (or French or Malay) is not a neutral inventory of psychological universals. Comparison can be corrosive of confidence. And perhaps more than in other subfields, in psychological anthropology there is a full spectrum from the hard scientific to the soft interpretive. Indeed, a divergence between a scientific, positivist psychology—confident in its categories and methods, bent on universals—and a relativist, meaning-oriented, often doubt-ridden constructionism is one of the productive tensions that animate enquiry. Until

recently, the subfield has fared very differently on either side of the Atlantic. With some exceptions, anthropologists in Britain and France until at least the 1960s pursued strongly sociological or structuralist agendas unsympathetic to psychological anthropology. American anthropologists, with their broader conception of culture and interest in individual experience, led the way with culture and personality studies, a diverse body of work that has a recent reinvention in person-centered anthropology. Parallel endeavors in psychoanalytic anthropology and cognitive anthropology drew on different intellectual traditions. These complementary, sometimes rival, approaches span and cross-cut in surprising ways the scientific-humanistic division that characterizes anthropology generally.

### **General overviews**

The scope of psychological anthropology is vast, not only in approaches and styles, but in the proliferating range of topics considered. One could have (and unfortunately does have) a psychological anthropology of almost anything. The recommendations in this and the next section are intended to give a sense of the excitement of debate, the theoretical battlelines, and the range of concerns. The subfield is peculiarly open to dialogue across disciplines. Shweder and LeVine 1984, for example, records fruitful exchanges between anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists, and cognitive scientists. Indeed, boundaries with neighboring disciplines are at best fuzzy: It is the methods rather than the problems that differ. Shweder 1991 and Stigler, et al. 1990 propose a “new” discipline of cultural psychology—more experimental than anthropology, more relativistic and reflexive than psychology; but their work sits comfortably with the more experimental side of psychological anthropology. Though now two decades old, Schwartz, et al. 1992 remains a good starting point for understanding orientations, theoretical battle lines, and debating positions. Suárez-Orozco, et al. 1994 effectively personalizes positions in a set of career overviews. Bock 1994 outlines main approaches. Casey and Edgerton 2005 offers a mix of old and new topics. The **\*\*Society for Psychological Anthropology\*\*** is a useful website with links to online resources.

Beatty, Andrew. 2016. Psychological anthropology: an awkward hybrid? In *Companion Encyclopedia to Contemporary Anthropology* (eds.) S Coleman, S Hyatt & Ann Kingsolver. London: Routledge.

A critical guide to the field, tracing the diverging paths as well as the strengths and weaknesses of cognitive anthropology, psychoanalytic and person-centered approaches, the Culture and Personality school, and recent work influenced by cognitive science and evolutionary psychology.

Biehl, J, B Good, A Kleinman. 2007. *Subjectivity: ethnographic investigations*  
University of California Press.

Bock, Philip. K, ed. 1994. *Psychological anthropology*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Part 1 gives a survey of diverse schools and approaches. Part 2, ‘The Evidence’, looks at myths, dreams, the arts, discourse, altered states of consciousness, and primate ethology. Now a bit outdated but mostly still worthwhile.

Schwartz, Theodore, Geoffrey M. White, and Catherine A. Lutz, eds. 1992. *New directions in psychological anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This landmark collection has programmatic assessments by leading scholars, including chapters on cognitive anthropology, ethnopsychology, human development, biological, psychoanalytic, and psychiatric approaches.

Casey, Conerly and Robert B. Edgerton, eds. 2005. *A companion to psychological anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Essays exhibiting the expanded range of psychological anthropology in the era of globalization. Coverage includes immigrant identities, the impact of biomedical technologies, genocide, political violence, and conceptions of race, as well as standard topics like memory, meaning, emotion, and dreams.

Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., George and Louise Spindler, eds. 1994. *The making of psychological anthropology II*. Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace.

Contributors give overviews of their careers, showing how their theoretical perspectives evolved. The result – like all autobiography, an exercise in narrative reconstruction - nicely contrasts psychoanalytic, cognitive, critical, and humanistic approaches in a readable format. Though hard to obtain, this book is an attractive, discussable primer for advanced undergraduates or graduates.

Shweder, Richard A. and Robert A. LeVine, eds. 1984. *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An influential collection, mixing culture theorists with philosophers and cognitivists. Includes R. Solomon on emotions as judgments, as well as classic essays by C. Geertz, M. Rosaldo, and R. Levy. Spiro's skeptical rebuttal of Rosaldo's relativism – a psychoanalytic take on her ethnography - is a useful counterblast. Essential reading for students of psychological anthropology.

Stigler, James W., Richard A. Shweder and Gilbert Herdt, eds. 1990. *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Shweder's introduction stakes out a new hybrid discipline of cultural psychology. Other contributors fit more squarely into cognitive and psychoanalytic subfields of anthropology. The unifying focus is the culture concept. Spiro is again the party-pooper, robustly setting out the anti-relativist position. Herdt's essay on Sambia nosebleeding rituals is an ethnographic classic that challenges readers on many levels.

Shweder, Richard A. 1991. *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press.

Shweder's version of psychological anthropology is more experimental and closer to the concerns of academic psychology than most mainstream anthropology but remains defiantly committed to a relativist position. This bracing collection includes a comprehensive critique of Culture and Personality theory.

Society for Psychological Anthropology [<http://www.aaanet.org/sections/spa>]

A website maintained by the Society for Psychological Anthropology, a section of the American Anthropological Association.

### **Textbooks and readers**

Among the available introductions and anthologies, not all can be counted on for balance and impartiality. The items below are selected for their breadth of coverage and reliable presentation of all sides of debate.

Bock, Philip K. 1999. *Rethinking psychological anthropology*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition

A concise, witty guide that takes the reader effortlessly through the history of the subject. Now superseded by Lindholm's more up-to-date coverage, this book is still a reliable entry point, particularly useful in its critical account of the Culture and Personality school.

Khan, Nicola. 2017. *Mental disorder: anthropological insights*. University Toronto Press.

A short, useful overview, with up-to-date topics including the globalization of psychiatry.

Lindholm, Charles. 2007. *Culture and identity: The history, theory, and practice of psychological anthropology*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Packed with references and reliable summaries of research, this is now the most comprehensive introduction to psychological anthropology. Suitable for undergraduate and graduate readers.

LeVine, Robert A., ed. 2010. *Psychological anthropology: A reader on self in culture*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

An anthology with sections on the development of the field, emotion and morality, psychoanalytic approaches, childhood, the self, and culture change.

Good, Byron J., Michael M.J. Fischer, Sarah S. Willen and Mary-Jo DelVecchio, eds. 2010. *A reader in medical anthropology: Theoretical trajectories, emergent realities*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

An anthology of readings in psychological, medical, and psychiatric anthropology, covering a century of research.

### **Journals and electronic resources**

Psychological anthropology is woven into the history of American cultural anthropology. Readers can find relevant articles in mainstream publications like *American Anthropologist* and *American Ethnologist*, as well as in British flagship journals like *Man* and its current avatar *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Other European journals include *L'Homme*, *Ethnos*, and *Anthropos*. Medical anthropology publications such as *Anthropology*

*and Medicine, Social Science and Medicine and Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* also include items of relevance. *Ethos*, organ of the Society for Psychological Anthropology (SPA), is a dedicated journal available online. The SPA, a section of the American Anthropological Association, has a useful website with links to online resources:

[[http://www.aaanet.org/sections/spa/?page\\_id=141](http://www.aaanet.org/sections/spa/?page_id=141)]

*Somatosphere* and *androdendum* (formerly *Savage Minds*) are group blogs, mostly by young researchers, devoted to public anthropology.

#### *Annual Review of Anthropology*

Comprehensive bibliographic essays covering a range of subjects of interest to psychological anthropologists. [[www.annualreviews.org](http://www.annualreviews.org)]

#### *Anthropology and medicine*

Of interest to those specializing in medical and psychiatric anthropology.

#### *Culture, medicine and psychiatry*

An interdisciplinary journal that includes articles of interest to anthropologists.

#### *Ethos*

The premier publication for psychological anthropology. Features occasional themed issues.

#### *Emotion Review*

Multidisciplinary journal on emotion, with theoretical and state-of-the-art essays as well as some empirical reports.

Medical Anthropology Quarterly 1983-

Includes articles with a (broadly considered) psychiatric focus.

#### *Social Science & Medicine*

Some articles relevant to psychological anthropology.

#### *Transcultural psychiatry*

An interdisciplinary journal dedicated to cultural psychiatry.

Online/blogs: <https://anthrodendum.org/>

A group blog with an emphasis on public engagement and media technology.

<http://somatosphere.net/>

A collaborative website covering the intersections of medical anthropology, science and technology, cultural psychiatry, psychology and bioethics

## Ethnographic studies

Ethnographic reports are mainly scattered through journals. Compared with other subfields like political anthropology, the number of monographs flagged as psychological anthropology is small. These are mostly examples of Culture and Personality (latterly, “person-centered anthropology”) or psychoanalytic anthropology (see items under relevant sections). In a different vein, critical anthropologists have looked at the political economy of illness and suffering. Bateson [1958](#), a brilliant experiment in ethnographic analysis, was a pioneering attempt—not much followed—to relate cultural and structural forms to the patterning of emotions in society. It remains a solitary monument, unmatched in its time. The other selections below represent the diversity of the subfield, with a preponderance of classics. More recent ethnographies are cited in the other sections. Levy [1973](#) and Wikan [1990](#) are examples of person-centered anthropology and experience-near accounts of what matters to the individual, including how particular persons engage with their social environment and how they think, feel, and relate. The emphasis is on dialogue and one-to-one sessions rather than naturalistic observation. Crapanzano [1980](#) loosely fits this category, but the author’s perspective is formed by psychoanalysis and Continental philosophy, and his approach close to the clinical encounter. Briggs [1970](#) and Herdt [1981](#) offer similarly challenging ethnographic portraits of different ways of life. Kleinman [1980](#) provides a clinician’s insight into mental illness in Taiwan. In a different vein, Scheper-Hughes [1992](#) looks at the political economy of illness and suffering, and Desjarlais 2003 an example of phenomenological anthropology.

Bateson, Gregory. 1958. *Naven*. Second edition. Palo Alto: Stanford Univ. Press.

Bateson’s experimental ethnography analyses Iatmul society from contrasting points of view. He investigates the dynamic structuring of emotions (*ethos*) in relation to the cultural design (*eidōs*). Introduces the concept of *schismogenesis*, the escalation of antagonism leading to breakdown. First published in 1936.

Briggs, Jean L. 1970. *Never in anger: Portrait of an Eskimo family*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.

What do the Utku (an Inuit people) who rarely express anger actually feel? In this powerful ethnography, Briggs finds out by isolating herself with them over the course of two years. Combines a reliance on empathy in assessing others’ moods with minute circumstantial description and attention to language use.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1980. *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

An early example of reflexive anthropology, this biographical study of a Moroccan tilemaker who experiences possession by a female demon turns the ethnographic encounter into psychoanalytic theatre.

Desjarlais, Robert. 2003. *Sensory biographies: Lives and deaths among Nepal’s Yolmo Buddhists*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

A rich ethnography unusual for its phenomenological approach, that is, its focus on ways of looking, feeling, and experiencing.

Herdt, Gilbert H. 1981. *Guardians of the flutes: Idioms of masculinity*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Herdt shows how sexual orientation and practices among the Sambia of New Guinea are modeled through complex schedules of rituals spanning the life-cycle. A striking challenge to standard biological and common-sense conceptions of sexuality.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1980. *Patients and healers in the context of culture*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

In this study of folk healing, traditional Chinese medicine, and his own clinical consultations with patients in Taiwan, Kleinman develops a cross-cultural approach to psychiatry based on a symbolic conception of culture.

Levy, Robert E. 1973. *Tahitians: Mind and experience in the Society Islands*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press.

A foundational text in person-centered anthropology and psychological anthropology generally. Extends the scope of older Culture and Personality approaches to cover concepts of thinking and feeling, moral behavior, ideas of the life cycle, and notions of person and self.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1992. *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

The author takes a "critical" (political economy) perspective on mental health, showing how inequality and deprivation are implicated in the construction of folk illnesses. An example of politically-engaged anthropology.

Wikan, Unni. 1990. *Managing turbulent hearts: a Balinese formula for living*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Argues that the standard picture of Balinese life as organized by codes of grace and beauty masks undercurrents of envy, spite, and a pervasive fear of sorcery. By focusing on individual concerns rather than cultural forms Wikan provides a counterweight to the stylized Bali presented by Mead, Bateson, and Geertz.

## **Culture and Personality**

The Culture and Personality approach – loosely, a 'school' - was founded by pupils of Franz Boas: Mead, Benedict, and Sapir. Their shared commitment to cultural relativism – which amounted almost to a denial of a biologically-given human nature – went hand-in-hand with a crusading liberal agenda. By celebrating the diversity of human types, morals, and sexualities, they aimed to help Puritan America shake off its stifling conformity and rigid morality. The indefatigable Mead, especially, had an impact on child-rearing practices in the US, as well as on education and public policy. Among the Big Three there were clear differences. Benedict's approach was aesthetic: she identified cultural patterns that crystallized out of the range of possibilities, each culture a natural experiment, a design for living (\*Benedict 1989\*). Mead was more interested in what she called "socialization" and "enculturation": how does a child come to behave and think as a Samoan or a Navajo (\*Mead 1973\*)? \*Sapir 1949\* focused on the relation between language and thought, formulating, with Whorf, what became known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity. He came, presciently, to view culture as an abstraction, a synthesis made by the analyst rather than an objective entity. If culture exists anywhere, he argued, it is *between* individuals (what

we should now call “intersubjectivity”). By the late-1950s Culture and Personality had fallen from favour, its concepts deemed too simple, its empirical methods too crude. But Bateson, Sapir, and Hallowell were complex thinkers who remain sources of inspiration. For critiques see Bock 1999 (cited in \*Textbooks\*), Shweder 1991 (cited in \*General Overviews\*) and Freeman 1983. Recommendations below include early (Bateson and Mead 1942), mid-century (Whiting 1994), and later (Lebra 1983) ethnographic examples.

Bateson, Gregory. 1973. *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Ballantine.

Key essays on ethos, art, play, schismogenesis, and schizophrenia (Bateson’s double-bind theory) with ethnographic examples from Bali and New Guinea. Bateson’s ideas have been fertile across the human sciences. Essential reading.

Bateson, Gregory, and Margaret Mead. 1942. *Balinese Character: A photographic analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Science.

A unique and underrated work that presents a visual analysis of Balinese life through sequences of photos extracted from an archive 25,000 shots. For example, one sequence shows a mother tantalizing a nursing child, leading to frustration and withdrawal. The authors suggest this “training” in “avoidance of climax” leads to a characteristic “schizoid” personality.

Benedict, Ruth. 1989. *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

A bestseller, first published in 1934. Benedict presented sharply contrasted cultural styles in deft ethnographic summaries, demonstrating that culture was personality writ large. Notoriously, dubbed the Kwakiutl “megalomaniac”, the Dobuans “paranoid”, and the Plains Indians “Dionysian”. An interesting subtext concerns the role of the misfit – those unfitted by personality for what their culture endorses.

Hallowell, A. Irving. 1955. *Culture and experience*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

Hallowell’s phenomenological approach to the “self and its behavioral environment” was explicitly developed in contrast to the objective “person” postulated by Marcel Mauss. Influential in later discussions of embodiment and still worth reading.

Lebra, Takie. 1983. Shame and guilt: a psychocultural view of the Japanese self. *Ethos* 11.3: 192-209.

Lebra reverses Benedict’s depiction of Japan as a “shame culture”, revealing “the primacy of guilt”. But she goes beyond a simple labeling in showing how both emotions in Japan are intensely other-oriented, such that their experience, under stress, is a kind of self-punishment.

Freeman, Derek. 1983. *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press.

In anthropology’s most notorious restudy, Freeman savaged the findings of Mead, showing that Samoa was far from the relaxed tropical paradise of Mead’s imagining (or hoaxing, as he alleged). However, the time and place of Freeman’s research - and its sociobiological assumptions - were poles apart from Mead, somewhat undermining his case.

Mead, Margaret. 1973. *Coming of age in Samoa*. New York: American Museum of Natural History.



Mead argued that a relaxed domestic regime in Samoa permitted an easy transition from child to adult and an unproblematic sexuality. Her ethnography demonstrated the plasticity of human nature under the influence of culture. Influential on generations of child-rearing experts. First published in 1928.

Sapir, Edward. 1949. *Selected Writings in Language, Culture and Personality*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Seminal essays reflecting Sapir's changing views on the concepts of culture and personality.

Whiting, John. 1994. *Culture and human development: The selected papers of John Whiting*. Edited by Eleanor Hollenberg Chasdi. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Whiting combined psychodynamic and developmental ideas current in mid-century psychology with cross-cultural statistical analysis of child-rearing patterns. He argued, for example, that violent initiation rites were correlated with the co-sleeping of mother and son, separation of spouses, and a consequent crisis in the boy's gender identity that ritual separation and hazing corrected.

### **Personhood and person-centered anthropology**

The concept of the person and person-centered ethnography might seem obviously related; but in the Durkheimian school influential in British and French anthropology of the first half of the 20th century, "the person" was strictly distinguished from the experiencing individual (the domain of psychology and literature). Personhood was expressed in "collective representations," shared ideas about bodies and souls, roles and public functions. Carrithers, et al. 1985 is a late, if qualified, example of this tradition. The "impersonal" person was common to functionalism and the structuralism that succeeded it. Person-centered anthropology, in contrast, focuses on the ingredients of experience as shaped by individual biography as well as by shared values and concepts. Its roots lie in the work of Sapir and the American \*Culture and Personality\* school; but a fundamental impetus was given by Hallowell 1955, which presents a notion of the culturally constituted behavioral environment—an early example of phenomenological anthropology. Modern person-centered ethnography—a term inaugurated in LeVine 1982—finds its apogee in Levy 1973 (see also Levy 1994). Parish 1994 is a more recent example. Typically, in this approach, the ethnographer takes the role of sympathetic interviewer rather than that of the detached observer of functionalism or the synthesizer-cryptographer of structuralism. However, as "practice" approaches and an older Malinowskian empiricism reveal, a reliance on interviews can be a weakness as well as a strength. For conceptual discussion, see Hacking 1986 and Hollan 1992 and 2001. For ethnographic examples, see White and Kirkpatrick 1985.

Carrithers, Michael, Steven Collins and Steven Lukes, eds. 1985. *The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A stimulating multidisciplinary collection inspired by Mauss's classic essay on the concept of the person, freshly translated here.

Hacking, Ian. 1986. "Making up people." In *Reconstructing individualism: Autonomy, individuality and the self in Western thought*. Edited by Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna and David E. Wellbery, 222-236. Palo Alto: Stanford Univ. Press.

This philosophical essay figures in recent discussions of autism, multiple personality disorder, and new ways of being a person. Readers and researchers wanting a new perspective on suicide bombers, chavs, and celebrities could start here.

Hallowell, A. Irving. 1955. *Culture and experience*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

Pioneering essays in phenomenological anthropology. Hallowell shows that the environment is not an objective neutral stage for human action, but is “culturally constituted”; so too is the self which develops within a matrix of cultural orientations and categories.

Harris, Grace. 1989. Concepts of individual, self and person in description and analysis. *American Anthropologist* 91: 579-612.

A useful exercise in conceptual clarification.

Hollan, Douglas. 1992. Cross-cultural differences in the self. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48.4: 283-300. Reprinted in *Psychological anthropology*, edited by Robert Levine, 295-308. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

A survey of thinking on the self in different cultural settings.

Hollan, Douglas. 2001. *Developments in person-centered ethnography*. In *The psychology of cultural experience*. Edited by Carmella C. Moore and Holly F. Mathews. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A review of key themes and concepts by a practitioner of person-centered ethnography.

Levy, Robert E. 1973. *Tahitians: Mind and experience in the Society Islands*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press.

Levy's pioneering work, based on extended interviews, has chapters on thinking, feeling, moral behavior, fantasy, ideas of the life cycle, and notions of person and self. The appendix has a checklist of questions for use in the field. Essential reading for anyone interested in psychological anthropology.

Levy, Robert E. 1994. Person-centered anthropology. In *Assessing cultural anthropology*. Edited by Robert Borofsky, 180-189. New York: McGraw-Hill.

A programmatic statement drawing on the author's work in Tahiti and Nepal.

Parish, Steven M. 1994. *Moral knowing in a Hindu sacred city: An exploration of mind, emotion and self*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

A study of values and notions of self in a Nepalese city.

White, Geoffrey M., and John Kirkpatrick, eds. 1985. *Person, self, and experience: Exploring Pacific ethnopsychologies*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Much of the best work on personhood has been done in Oceania. This fine collection is a well-integrated set of ethnographic studies.

## Psychoanalytic anthropology

Freud's influence within psychological anthropology has outlived his reputation in psychology, partly because his focus on meaning and narrative remains relevant to a humanistic anthropology and partly because the things that interested him—dreams, symbols, fantasy, childhood, sexuality, motivation, the nature of consciousness—have become common anthropological coin. The doctrines may be shopworn, the schisms and reinventions ever more esoteric, but the concerns, as Paul 1989 shows, remain central. Broadly, there are three phases to register: initial reception by leading figures such as Kroeber and Malinowski, who questioned the cross-cultural value of psychoanalytic concepts; assimilation and dilution by culture and personality theorists; and reworkings by contemporary anthropologists, which is the focus here. For the early period, see Bock 1999 (cited under \*Textbooks and Readers\*). By mid-century, psychodynamic perspectives had lost ground as the cognitive revolution gathered speed. Nevertheless, Freud's semiotic approach to culture and his stratigraphic conception of reality had a ghostly afterlife in structuralism; indeed, Lévi-Strauss acknowledged him as a precursor. A more direct impact can be seen in Turner 1967, which infused new life into functionalist ethnography by highlighting the conflicted nature of social processes and the motivation of key symbols in basic human experiences. A revival of interest in Freud owes most to the works of Melford Spiro and Gananath Obeyesekere, two formidable theorists and prolific ethnographers. See, for example, Spiro 1987, Obeyesekere 1981, and Obeyesekere 1993. But despite the significant contributions of these scholars to broader anthropological debates, psychoanalytic approaches have remained a minority pursuit, for reasons that Heald and Deluz 1994 tries to explain. While anthropologists drawing on the orthodox Freudian tradition and the British "object relations" school remain in dialogue with the mainstream, attempts to combine anthropology with Lacanian theory have tended to suffer from obscure formulation and consequent neglect. Tensions between ethnographic and psychoanalytic approaches are creatively explored in Crapanzano 1980 (cited under \*Ethnographic Studies\*) and Molino 2004. For innovative attempts to combine psychoanalytic with phenomenological approaches, see Willen and Seeman 2012 and Groark 2009. For other examples, see Lambek and Antze 2003 and Mimica 2007.

Borch-Jacobsen, Mikkel. 2009. *Making minds and madness*. Cambridge.

Critical essays on psychoanalytic themes.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1980. *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

In this innovative ethnography, transference, counter-transference, and the boundaries of self and other are explored through dialogue and philosophical reflection.

Devereux, George. 1980. *Basic problems of ethnopsychiatry*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Devereux applied Freudian theory to his Mohave (Native American) informants, arguing, controversially, that shamans were typically neurotic but able to exploit their impulses in ways comprehensible and useful to the community. He also wrote perceptively about the psychology of the fieldwork encounter, exposing what he saw as the pretence of objectivity.

Groark, Kevin P. 2009. Discourses of the soul: The negotiation of personal agency in Tzotzil Maya dream narrative. *American Ethnologist* 36.4: 705–721.

Brings together psychoanalytic and phenomenological perspectives in the analysis of Tzotzil dream talk as an expressive genre through which speakers articulate selves while disclaiming personal agency.

Heald, Suzette and Ariane Deluz, eds. 1994. *Anthropology and psychoanalysis: An encounter through culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Alternates chapters by anthropologists and psychoanalysts. The lucid introduction and chapter by Heald on Gisu circumcision are especially recommended.

Lambek, Michael, and Paul Antze, eds. 2003. Special Issue: Irony and Illness. *Social Analysis* 47.2

What kinds of insight can therapy achieve? What transformations lie between cause, symptom, and interpretation? 'If psychoanalysis can be said to yield knowledge, then it is certainly knowledge laced with irony', writes Antze of the inversions and obliquities constructed in psychoanalytic practice. An elegant set of essays on what Lambek calls 'the consequences of taking memory literally'.

Molino, Anthony, ed. 2004. *Culture, subject, psyche: Dialogues in psychoanalysis and anthropology*. London: Whurr. [ISBN: ]

Extended interviews with anthropologists working in diverse psychoanalytic traditions.

Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1981 *Medusa's hair: An essay on personal symbols and religious experience*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Drawing on fieldwork with female ascetics in Sri Lanka, Obeyesekere challenges anthropological orthodoxy in arguing for the "deep motivation" of cultural symbols in personal experiences. A *tour de force* of ethnographic analysis, the first fifty pages are required reading for students of psychological anthropology.

Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1993. *The work of culture: Symbolic transformation in psychoanalysis and anthropology*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

A dense theoretical text exploring the relation between the unconscious and public symbols. Argues for the continuing relevance of Freud, especially the earlier psychical topography and the dream study. Also examines structural variations on the Oedipus complex in South Asia.

Osella, C and F Osella. 2002. Contextualizing sexuality: young men in Kerala, South India. In *Coming of Age in South and Southeast Asia* (eds) L Manderson and P Liamputtong. Curzon.

Ethnographic essays, some with a psychoanalytic theme.

Paul, Robert A. 1989. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1: 177-202.

A comprehensive bibliographic essay by an anthropologist-psychoanalyst.

Porath, N. 2013. Freud among the Orang Sakai: The Father Archetype, the Talking Cure, and the Transference in a Sumatran Shamanic Healing Complex. *Anthropos*, 108: 1-17.

Carefully argued empirical analysis of an Indonesian (Sumatra) case.

Spiro, Melford E. 1987. *Culture and human nature: Theoretical papers of Melford E. Spiro*. Edited by Benjamin Kilborne and L.L. Langness. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

An orthodox Freudian wedded to a positivist vision of anthropology, in recent debates Spiro has stood out for a biologically-grounded human nature against constructionism and cultural relativism. This collection includes essays on religion which apply the neo-Freudian concept of defence mechanisms to explain the motivation of Burmese monks.

Mimica, Jadran, ed. 2007. *Explorations in psychoanalytic ethnography*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Essays aimed at specialists by an international range of scholars on societies in India, Congo, Papua New Guinea, Aboriginal Australia, and the Amazon.

Turner, Victor. 1967. *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

Turner adapted Freud's concept of dream-work – the transformation of unconscious material in symbolization – to structural-functionalist analysis in his studies of ritual and colour symbolism. Important to note that he was dealing with generic experiences – of sex, birth, and death – rather than the individual traumas and neuroses that concern more thoroughgoing psychoanalytic anthropologists.

Willen, Sarah S., and Don Seeman, eds. 2012. \*Special Issue: Horizons of Experience: Reinvigorating Dialogue between Phenomenological and Psychoanalytic Anthropologies. *Ethos* 40.1.

Discusses innovative attempts to combine psychoanalytic with phenomenological approaches.

## **Culture and Human Development**

Anthropological studies have traditionally offered a cross-cultural—sometimes critical—perspective on developmental psychology. A famous study, Mead 1928 examined patterns of attachment and ties between the generations, questioning the uniformity of adolescence as a stage in development. A separate endeavor, building on the work of Piaget, concerned stages of cognitive development. Greenfield 2005 reviews half a century of cross-cultural studies influenced by Piaget and other psychologists such as Vygotsky and Bruner on mechanisms of learning. A third area of research concerns the child's growing capacity for moral reasoning. Again, psychology has been the major influence, supplying concepts and methodology. Briggs 1998 stands out in offering a compelling ethnographic—as opposed to experimental—approach. Work on human development tends to be strongly empirical, often experimental, with a comparative, even didactic dimension. In the first half of the 20th century, anthropological approaches tended to divide between the sociological and cultural orientations that typified, respectively, British and American schools. LeVine and New 2008 provides examples. In British structural functionalism, the individual was less the acting subject of experience than the passive bearer of social roles. American theorists, in contrast, were concerned with how individual perception and cultural environment were mutually constituted or how a child came to think, feel, and act like a Samoan or an Alorese. Bock

1995 (cited under \*Textbooks and Readers\*) reviews their contributions. It was not until the 1960s, however, that a firm empirical basis for comparison was established with the Six Culture project, led by John and Beatrice Whiting. A late addition to the project, Whiting and Edwards 1988, refined the methodology but remained somewhat inattentive to cultural meanings and variations. As more distributive conceptions of culture emerged, the focus shifted to processes of meaning construction and the cultural settings and modalities of learning, with much greater attention to cognition. Schieffelin and Ochs 1986 pioneered the concept of language socialization. Toren 1993 highlights the active role of children in “constituting” their social worlds. In recent years, much attention has been given to patterns of caregiving, with a focus on ecological settings, the dynamics of routine care giver–child interactions, and the diversity of messages and values communicated to growing children. Fong 2007 is a recent example.

Briggs, Jean L. 1998. *Inuit morality play: The emotional education of a three-year-old*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

A minutely detailed account of child rearing in an Eskimo community, showing how emotions are shaped and values inculcated.

Fong, Vanessa L. 2007. Parent–child communication problems and the perceived inadequacies of Chinese only children. *Ethos* 35.1: 85–127.

Fong illuminates the dilemmas caused by China’s one-child policy and the conflicting demands it makes on children required to be at once obedient, independent, high-achieving, and caring. Reprinted in *Psychological Anthropology: A Reader on Self in Culture*, edited by Robert LeVine (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp. 220–238).

Greenfield, Patricia M. 2005. Culture and learning. In *A companion to psychological anthropology: Modernity and psychocultural change*. Edited by Conerly C. Casey and Robert B. Edgerton, 72–89. Oxford: Blackwell.

Outlines changing methodologies and research paradigms in the cross-cultural study of learning, with a focus on language and cognition.

LeVine, Robert, and Rebecca S. New, eds. 2008. *Anthropology and child development: A cross-cultural reader*. New York: Blackwell.

An anthology covering a range of theory and ethnographic examples dealing with child development.

Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of age in Samoa: A psychological study of primitive youth for Western civilisation*. New York: William Morrow.

Mead’s book threw down the gauntlet to educators, psychologists, and parents by offering a sunny view of adolescence and sexuality that contrasted with contemporary American mores and undermined assumptions about the naturalness of developmental stages.

Schieffelin, Bambi, and Eleanor Ochs, eds. 1986. *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Ethnographic case studies with a focus on the routines of language socialization through which children learn codes of etiquette, turn-taking, moral values, and social relationships.

Toren, Christina. 1993. Making history: The significance of childhood cognition for a comparative anthropology of mind. *Man* 28.3: 461–478.

Rejects earlier approaches as insufficiently attentive to children's own constructions; argues for an incorporation of children's cognitive models and their transformations in the analysis of hierarchy and sociality.

Whiting, Beatrice Blyth, and Carolyn Pope Edwards. 1988. *Children of different worlds: The formation of social behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

An updated contribution to the Six Culture project. Compares interactions between care givers and children at different ecological-developmental stages ("lap children," "yard children," etc.) and attempts to find cross-cultural universals in child behavior and the development of sex roles.

### **Cognitive anthropology**

Cognitive anthropology emerged in the 1950s as a response to the cognitive revolution in psychology and linguistics. Its focus was the structuring of knowledge in different societies; its broader aim was to discover cross-cultural regularities pointing to universals. In Ward Goodenough's influential formulation, "a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members" (Garro 2005, p. 50). Culture was a matter of knowledge and knowledge largely a matter of language, the object of analysis being a kind of cultural grammar. A key analytical distinction was between the native *emic* perspective, embodied in vernacular usage, and the observer's *etic* perspective with its technical jargon and analytical frame. In a series of dazzling analyses, many of which are collected in Tyler 1969, cognitive anthropologists reveal the highly structured forms of plant and animal classifications, folk diagnoses, and the implicit scripts or schemas underlying everyday routines such as greeting or ordering a meal. Based on structured interviews, what these studies tend to mask is the improvisation and inconsistency of natural interactions, raising the question of the psychological reality of their models. Ellen 2006 updates this approach to take account of new perspectives on mind and brain. In the past twenty years, anthropological studies of cognition have drawn on, and contributed to, the multidisciplinary field of cognitive science. Advances in schema theory, outlined in D'Andrade 1995, enabled theorists to dispense with the obsolete notion of cultures as wholes, better allowing for the distribution of knowledge within a population. Holland and Quinn 1987 and Shore 1996 provide numerous ethnographic examples; Beatty 2002 a detailed case. Computational models of the brain as an information-processing mechanism with specialized modules were better able to account for particular human capacities. In turn, evolutionary psychology supplied explanations for how the brain has been sculpted within changing environments. Where the earlier paradigm offered an outside-in view, with culture as external and the mind a black box, the new approach begins with the brain, specifically the Pleistocene brain, and examines how it operates in different environments. The boldly explanatory, ahistorical, etic framework of such accounts puts them at a tangent to the mainstream of psychological anthropologists whose concerns remain cultural difference, meaning, and experience—matters resistant to a generalizing scientific account. As Whitehouse 2001 shows, the evolutionists' arguments have not been unchallenged. Nevertheless, as Bloch 2012 reminds us, anthropologists—students of human nature—*should* be concerned with our common species endowment and alert to, or at least aware of, regularities that transcend the cultural context.

Beatty, Andrew. 2002. Changing places: relatives and relativism in Java. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8: 469-49.

Examines the social context of conceptual and moral relativism; more specifically, it explores links between religious orientation and experience in an ideologically plural setting. Argues that cultural models of 'changing places' serve to guide a number of Javanese practices: child-borrowing, gender-switching, language use, and even religious conversion. These models, formed in childhood experience, engender and express a relativism which is highly valued in rural Java.

Bloch, Maurice. 1998. *How we think they think: Anthropological approaches to cognition, memory, literacy*. Oxford: Westview.

Essays on cognition, drawing on the author's extensive fieldwork in Madagascar.

Bloch, Maurice. 2012. *Anthropology and the cognitive challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A trenchant but accessible presentation of recent developments in cognitive science and what they mean for anthropology. Bloch holds that most anthropological analyses have simply got human beings wrong in misunderstanding the nature of cognition and its role in culture. The blunder is in identifying ideological representations with cognitions.

D'Andrade, Roy. 1995. *The development of cognitive anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive account of the subject by one of its leading exponents, though now somewhat dated in what is a fast-moving field.

Ellen, Roy. 2006. *The categorical impulse: Essays in the anthropology of classifying behaviour*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Essays exploring, and mediating between, social constructionist and cognitivist approaches to classification and categories.

Garro, Linda. 2005. "Effort after meaning" in everyday life. In *A companion to psychological anthropology*. Edited by Conerly Casey and Robert B. Edgerton, 48-71. Oxford: Blackwell.

Explores the range of theory and the changing scope of cognitive studies. Gives a good sense of where this work fits within the span of social and cultural anthropology. Those new to cognitive anthropology could start here.

Holland, Dorothy and Naomi Quinn, eds. 1987. *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A varied set of technically sophisticated papers exploring types of schemas and the organization of knowledge in linguistic models. Examples from the USA and Oceania.

Shore, Bradd. 1996. *Culture in mind: Cognition, culture, and the problem of meaning*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.



The most exhaustive study of cultural models, drawing on examples from the US and the author's fieldwork in Samoa.

Tyler, Stephen, ed. 1969. *Cognitive anthropology*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Classic papers on folk classification, kinship terminology, diagnosis and the like, from the first phase of cognitive anthropology.

Whitehouse, Harvey, ed. 2001. *The debated mind: Evolutionary psychology versus ethnography*. Oxford: Berg.

Chapters, *pro* and *contra*, on evolutionary psychology and its relevance for anthropology.

## Emotion

Emotion figured as an unexplained causal element in Durkheimian sociology—an aspect of what Evans-Pritchard dismissed as “crowd psychology”—retaining a motivating role in sundry versions of functionalism. The American culture and personality theorists similarly took emotion for granted as a human universal that was molded by culture. In recent decades, theory has tended to fall into three camps (see Beatty 2010): (a) Emotions are universals, honed by evolution to equip us to respond to opportunities and threats in the environment. The cultural element is limited to context and what psychologist Paul Ekman calls “display rules”. (b) “Basic” emotions (anger, joy, disgust, etc.) depend on innate mechanisms of appraisal and response; more complex “social” emotions such as shame and guilt are constructed within complex cultural settings and require careful translation. Geertz 1974 and Levy 1984 exemplifies this approach. (c) The grounding of emotion in biology is part of Western folk psychology; often there is no equivalent category in other traditions. Emotion words and expressions make sense within distinctive life worlds, reflecting the play of power in discourse, and cannot readily be translated across cultures. Lutz 1988 is the classic exponent of this constructionist/relativist approach. Wierzbicka 1999, though sceptical of the emotion category, provides a method for cross-cultural comparison. As Beatty 2005 argues, a special difficulty in assessing anthropological work on emotion is that researchers are often talking at cross purposes about different things: named or unnamed feelings, emotion words, hypothetical contexts, natural episodes, experimental situations, recalled emotions, and so on. The readings below reflect this heterogeneity. Heider 1991 and Wilce 2009 consider the semantics and pragmatics of emotion language. Milton and Svašek 2005 offers ecological, Darwinian, and political perspectives. Rosaldo 1989 puts the antirelativist case for primary experiences as necessary for cross-cultural understanding. Despite the growing prominence of emotion across the humanities and sciences, as Beatty 2019 argues, detailed descriptions of emotion episodes in naturalistic settings alert to biographical as well as immediate contexts remain a rarity. Briggs 1970 (cited under \*Ethnographic Studies\*) is still perhaps the best example.

Beatty, Andrew. 2005. Emotions in the field: what are we talking about? *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11: 17-37.

Drawing on Indonesian examples, this article explores methodological and epistemological problems in recognizing, analysing and writing about emotions in diverse cultural settings.

Beatty, Andrew. 2005. Feeling your way in Java: an essay on society and emotion. *Ethnos* 70 (1): 53-78.

Reconsiders the place of emotion in society. With the example of Java, argues for an expanded understanding of social sentiments that would recognize a structuring role for emotion beyond the family and the shaping, through emotional practices, of a fluid but crucial level of 'community'. Using Balinese ethnology as a foil, contrasts the uses of emotion in Java and Bali, drawing, toward the end, upon Bateson's concept of schismogenesis.

Beatty, Andrew. 2010. Emotions. In *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, 223-226. London and New York: Routledge.

An overview of the topic and the history of anthropological approaches, stressing the need to analyse emotions in their full existential complexity.

Beatty, Andrew. 2010 How did it feel for you: emotion, narrative, and the limits of ethnography. *American Anthropologist* 112 (3): 430-443.

Presents the case for a narrative approach to emotion, identifying conceptual and presentational weaknesses in standard ethnographic approaches. First-person and confessional accounts, increasingly offered as a corrective to the distancing and typifying effects of cultural analysis, are shown to be unreliable; shared experience turns out to be an illusion. Instead, I suggest we look to literary examples for lessons in how to capture the full significance of emotion in action. Here, however, we reach the limits of ethnography.

Beatty, Andrew. 2012 The tell-tale heart: conversion and emotion in Nias, *Ethnos* 77 (3) : 1-26.

Uses historical and ethnographic data to analyse the Great Repentance, a violently emotional conversion movement that swept through the Indonesian island of Nias from colonial conquest around 1915, with recurrences until the 1960s. Against rationalist and materialist explanations, I argue for a constitutive role for emotion in the conversion process. I show how the techniques and idioms of Protestant missionaries suppressed indigenous meanings and encouraged a native emphasis on 'the speaking heart'. The existential dilemmas of modern Christians in Nias, their sense of exclusion, can be accounted for by the paradoxical ethical and affective legacy of the repentance movement. The article is a contribution to both the study of emotion in historical perspective and to the analysis of conversion.

Beatty, Andrew. 2013 Current work in anthropology: reporting the field. *Emotion Review* 5 (4): 1-9.

An internal critique of anthropology in recent decades has shifted the focus and scope of anthropological work on emotion. In this article I review the changes, explore the pros and cons of leading anthropological approaches and theories, and argue that—so far as anthropology is concerned—only detailed narrative accounts can do full justice to the complexity of emotions. A narrative approach captures both the particularity and the temporal dimension of emotion with greater fidelity than semantic, synchronic, and discourse-based approaches.

Beatty, Andrew. 2014 Anthropology and emotion. Malinowski Memorial Lecture. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 20 (3): 545-563.

Reviews the place of emotion in anthropological theory and advances the case for a narrative approach compatible with contemporary psychological theories.

Beatty, Andrew. 2019. *Emotional worlds: Beyond the anthropology of emotion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Are emotions human universals? Is the concept of emotion an invention of Western tradition? If people in other cultures live radically different emotional lives how can we ever understand them? Empathy, shared experience, linguistic analysis, even projective tests, are all helpful; but only a narrative approach - the author argues - can capture emotions in their existential complexity and microhistorical depth. This rethinking of emotion also provides a critical account of other approaches, including the recent 'turn to affect', highlighting their limitations in real life situations.

Geertz, Hildred. 1974. The vocabulary of emotion: A study of Javanese socialization processes. In *Culture and personality: Contemporary readings*. Edited by Robert A. LeVine, 249-64. Chicago: Aldine.

Explores the constellation of emotions and attitudes centered on authority, respect, and social decorum in rural Java as reflected in and guided by language socialization. First published in 1959.

Heider, Karl G. 1991. *Landscapes of emotion: Mapping three cultures of emotion in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A linguistic study that maps the clustering of emotion words in different languages to gain a sense of their semantic range and connotation.

Heider, Karl G. 2011. *The Cultural Context of Emotion: Folk Psychology in West Sumatra*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

A mixed-methods study of language use among the Minangkabau, examining the clustering of emotion terms and the shaping of emotional experience in diverse linguistic practices.

Levy, Robert I. 1984. Emotion, knowing, and culture. In *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion*. Edited by Richard A. Shweder and Robert A. LeVine, 214-237. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Levy argues for a qualified universalism, showing that Tahitians "hypercognize" anger (making it a cultural preoccupation), while "hypocognizing" sadness, an emotion for which they have no name. He suggests that Tahitians misrecognize sadness, experiencing loss as a bodily lowering rather than an acute mental pain.

Lutz, Catherine A. 1988. *Unnatural emotions: Everyday sentiments on a Micronesian atoll and their challenge to Western theory*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

What could be more natural than emotion? In this exemplary work of social constructionism, Lutz locates emotion in discourse and social interaction rather than in private souls or biology: hence the challenge to Western theory.

Milton, Kay and Maruška Svašek, eds. 2005. *Mixed emotions: Anthropological studies of feeling*. Oxford: Berg.

A casebook of studies by anthropologists, some of whom grapple with recent work in neuroscience and evolutionary theory.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1989. Introduction: Grief and a headhunter's rage. In *Culture and truth: The remaking of social analysis*, 1-21. By Renato Rosaldo. Boston: Beacon Press.

Are emotions universals? Can our own feelings help us interpret exotic others? Yes, says Rosaldo, contending that a focus on cultural design instead of human experience has led anthropologists down the path of relativism and away from cross-cultural understanding.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1999. *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

The author, a linguist, shows that the category of 'emotion', and most English emotion words, such as 'anger' and 'sadness', though commonly taken for granted as referring to natural kinds, lack exact equivalents in other linguistic traditions. To facilitate translation and comparison she constructs a 'semantic metalanguage' of mini scripts that can define the semantic structure of emotion-like concepts in any language. An important and innovative project that has not yet been adequately appreciated in the human sciences.

Wilce, James M. 2009. *Language and emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A sophisticated study of emotional language.

### **Spirit possession and altered states of consciousness**

Of perennial interest to anthropologists, spirit possession, trance, and mediumship provide an entry into debates on mind, embodiment, agency, and subjectivity. Walter and Fridman [2004](#) is a useful guide to key concepts. Early studies, summarized and analyzed in Lewis [2003](#), tended to focus on functional typologies to the exclusion of personal experience. However, the deep motivation of participants and the intimate interaction of patient and healer were provocatively explored in Spiro [1967](#), a psychodynamic account, and Lévi-Strauss [1968](#) on cognition. Later work, reviewed in Boddy [1994](#), has been strikingly diverse in approach. Dow [1986](#) presents a synthesis that points to the universal mechanisms of symbolic healing. Boddy [1988](#) looks at possession from the perspective of gender, seeing Sudanese cults as a form of resistance to patriarchy. Others have focused on experience and empathetic engagement in the field. Willis [1999](#) crosses the boundary between observer and observed to investigate the healer's art. Among the many films now available, Asch, et al. [1979](#) is notable for its rich contextual information.

Asch, Timothy, Patsy Asch, and Linda Connor. 1979. *A Balinese trance séance*. VHS. 30 min. Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources.

Film of a Balinese spirit medium at work, including subtitled sequences of sessions with spirits and clients. The availability of online and printed background material to the film makes this an excellent teaching resource. Produced as a DVD by Documentary Educational Resources in 2007.

Boddy, Janice. 1988. Spirits and selves in Northern Sudan: The cultural therapeutics of possession and trance. *American Ethnologist* 15.1: 4-27.

Argues that spirit cults in Northern Sudan permit women to find a political voice and express a counterhegemonic perspective otherwise denied to them.

Boddy, Janice. 1994. Spirit possession revisited. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 407-34.

A bibliographic survey.

Cohen, Emma. 2008. What is Spirit Possession? Defining, Comparing, and Explaining Two Possession Forms. *Ethnos* 73: 1, p. 101 ff.

Presents a cognitive/evolutionary view.

Dow, James. 1986. Universal aspects of symbolic healing: a theoretical synthesis. *American Anthropologist* 88.1: 56-69.

Dow identifies parallels between traditional healing systems and modern Western psychotherapy, showing how practitioners manipulate symbols and bring about healing (not to be confused with "cure") by the persuasiveness of their narratives.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1968. "The sorcerer and his magic" and "The effectiveness of symbols". In *Structural Anthropology* 1: 167-185, 186-205. By Claude Lévi-Strauss. London: Allen Lane.

These two famous articles are the starting point for much debate about how symbols work in spirit healing. One draws on the psychoanalytic concept of abreaction to explain the dynamic between patient and healer. The other argues that a cognitive reframing of the patient's condition through the healer's art brings relief.

Lewis, I.M. 2003. *Ecstatic religion: A study of shamanism and spirit possession*. 3rd edition. London: Routledge.

The author holds to an anti-psychological perspective rooted in British structural-functionalism. A readable overview of the topic, strong on African examples.

Spiro, Melford E. 1967. *Burmese supernaturalism*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Spiro presents a psychodynamic account of Burmese divination and spirit mediumship with his customary clarity and force.

Walter, Mariko N. and Eva J.N. Fridman, eds. 2004. *Shamanism: An encyclopedia of world beliefs, practices, and culture*, 2 vols. Santa Barbara, Cal.: ABC-Clio.

Contains a vast array of ethnographic essays and topic entries. The best single resource for comparative study.

Willis, Roy. 1999. *Some spirits heal, others only dance: A journey into human selfhood in an African village*. Oxford: Berg.

An absorbing, accessible study by a veteran anthropologist who made the step into paranormal practice. Of interest to students at all levels.

## Mind, body, and embodiment

No less than in psychology and philosophy, mind–body relations are of perennial interest in anthropology. Recent decades have seen a concerted effort to overcome the dualism allegedly endemic in Western thought and supposedly inapplicable elsewhere: a move questioned in Lambek 1998. Is the remedy a matter of putting back together what experientially is singular, a kind of ethnographic verisimilitude? Or should anthropologists be developing a conceptual framework that takes account of differently embodied forms of awareness and perception, as Bourdieu 1977, Csordas 1994, and Csordas 2002 contend? As Strathern 1996 has pointed out, the term *embodiment* “belies itself by combining the abstract and concrete together,” seeming to imply a dualism in process it is designed to overcome. Paradox seems unavoidable. Scheper-Hughes 1994 and Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987 speak of “mindful bodies” and others of “the body in the mind.” We cannot seem to break out of the conceptual circuit except by respecting the unity of experience and forsaking analysis for description. Significantly or not, anthropological debate has, for the most part, been underinformed by recent developments in neuroscience, although the publications of Antonio Damasio have had a small impact. Hollan and Throop 2011 provides instances. However, the recent so-called ‘ontological turn’ in anthropology throws much previous discussion into doubt in rejecting the nature-culture dichotomy that underlies body/mind, mental/material and other binaries foundational to modern Western thought (but recall Bloch’s 2012 strictures on confusing ideology and practice, cited under [Cognitive Anthropology](#)). The ontological turn cannot, by definition, be counted as a contribution to *psychological* anthropology; rather, it poses a challenge to conventional ways of doing anthropology of any kind. Whether it hits the mark or loses itself in abstraction is a matter of fierce debate. Heywood 2018 offers a brief review.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This dense treatise introduced the author’s concept of *habitus* and changed the way anthropologists think about structure and agency, classification, and the workings of power, leading to a more political conception of culture. Seminal in the discussion of embodiment and the location of meaning.

Csordas, Thomas J. 2002. *Body/Healing/Healing*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Csordas builds on the work of phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty in this collection of articles, arguing that the body is not to be taken merely as an object of analysis but as “the existential ground of culture”. Ethnographic examples include Navajo and Catholic Charismatic healing.

Csordas, Thomas J., ed. 1994. *Embodiment and experience: The existential ground of culture and self*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Essays on embodiment, violence, and suffering, mainly by medical anthropologists.

Heywood, Paolo. 2018. The ontological turn: School or style. In *Schools and styles of anthropological theory*. Edited by Matei Candea. London: Routledge.

Offers a sympathetic, cautiously critical review of a new approach, avowedly closer to what Malinowski called ‘the native point of view’, which dissolves old distinctions between culture and nature, mind and body, human and animal, subject and object.

Hollan, Douglas W. and C. Jason Throop, eds. 2011. *The anthropology of empathy: Experiencing the lives of others in Pacific societies*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Several contributors to this collection draw attention to new developments in the neuroscience of emotion which suggest a more interactive model of biology/culture is required in understanding the processes underlying empathy. [see Beatty's review in *Anthropos*]

Lambek, Michael. 1998. Body and mind in mind, body and mind in body: Some anthropological interventions in a long conversation. In *Bodies and persons: Comparative perspectives from Africa and Melanesia*. Edited by Michael Lambek and Andrew Strathern, 103-125. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Against the anti-dualist trend, Lambek suggests that mind:body and parallel dichotomies offer "incommensurable" perspectives on the human condition, and are found in the thought of many non-Western traditions.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1994. Embodied knowledge: Thinking with the body in critical medical anthropology. In *Assessing cultural anthropology*. Edited by Robert Borofsky, 229-242. New York: McGraw-Hill.

An overview of thinking on the body and embodiment. The author's perspective is political ("critical") rather than phenomenological.

Scheper-Hughes Nancy and Margaret Lock. 1987. The mindful body. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1: 6-41.

Whereas Mary Douglas, following Durkheim, had postulated a social body and a physical body (the former imposing on and drawing symbolic power from the latter), the authors present a threefold interactive scheme: the individual body, the social body and the body politic.

Strathern, Andrew J. 1996. *Body thoughts*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

A clearly written survey of anthropological thinking on mind and body. A good starting point for students and a painless way through the jargon.

### **Anthropology, psychiatry, and mental illness**

Anthropology's engagement with psychiatry has a long history. Littlewood and Dein 2000 collects classic readings. The culture and personality theorists—for whom variation was a problem rather than a given—were much preoccupied with nonconformists, misfits, and the mentally ill. Sapir 1949 (cited under \*Culture and Personality\*) includes several papers on psychiatry. A number of contemporary anthropologists are practicing psychiatrists or psychotherapists able to draw on clinical experience as well as overseas research. Good 1992, Kleinman 1988, and Levy 1992 belong to this category. In turn, a small number of psychiatrists versed in anthropology have contributed to the anthropological understanding of the healing process and of mental illness among refugees and migrants. Kirmayer 2008 is one such example of interdisciplinary dialogue. Until recently, anthropological fieldwork abroad on psychiatric topics in the vernacular—the gold standard of ethnographic research—

was rare. Thankfully, new studies, such as Goddard 2011 and Rahimi 2015 (cited under \*Madness\*) are starting to appear. Lemelson's films from Indonesia (*Afflictions* 2011) are an important addition. However, the tradition of extended overseas fieldwork that yielded such classics as Kleinman 1980 and Scheper-Hughes 1992 (both cited under \*Ethnographic Studies\*) is typically giving way to shorter, problem-focused visits or anthropology "at home." Much recent work has focused on the institutional power of biomedicine, the construction of classifications, the medicalization of suffering, and the globalization of psychiatry. Good, et al. 2010 has a representative selection. Borch-Jacobsen 2009 offers a critical perspective from outside anthropology. Khan 2017 is a guide to the literature and current debates.

*Afflictions: Culture and mental illness in Indonesia.* 2011. Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources. Directed by Robert Lemelson.

A six-part series of documentaries exploring mental illness in Java and Bali, each film focused on an individual. The director places suffering, the quest for meaning, and efforts towards recovery in the contexts of family and society, showing how legacies of political violence, the responses of carers, and the fabrications of culture frame the bewildering experience of mental illness. Ethnographically rich and dazzlingly realized, the films eschew definitive diagnosis, interweaving biomedical, religious, political, and cultural perspectives. The availability of online and printed background material to the series makes this a superb teaching resource.

Borch-Jacobsen, Mikkel. 2009. *Making minds and madness: From hysteria to depression.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Critical essays on the history of psychiatry and psychoanalysis with important implications for therapy culture and the practice of psychiatric medicine.

Good, Byron J. 1992. Culture and psychopathology: Directions for psychiatric anthropology. In *New directions in psychological anthropology.* Edited by Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White, and Catherine A. Lutz, 181-205. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A discussion of diagnostic categories, proposing a "critical sociology of psychiatric knowledge".

Good, Byron J., Michael M. J. Fischer, Sarah S. Willen, and Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, eds. 2010. *A reader in medical anthropology: Theoretical trajectories, emergent realities.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Includes sections on illness and narrative, the Foucauldian topics of biopower and governmentality, technology, medicalization, and the globalization of health issues.

Khan, Nicola. 2017. *Mental disorder: anthropological insights.* University Toronto Press.

A short, useful overview, with up-to-date topics including the globalization of psychiatry.

Kirmayer, Laurence J. 2008. Empathy and alterity in cultural psychiatry. *Ethos* 36.4: 457-474.

Author of several papers of interest to anthropologists, here Kirmayer shows how empathy is a key element in the therapeutic process and discusses its limits in cross-cultural clinical encounters.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1988. *The illness narratives: suffering, healing, and the human condition.* New York: Basic Books.



Kleinman's anthropology began as interpretivist, pursuing symbols and meanings, though with an attention to "cultural systems" that owed something to ethnoscience. This book, for the general reader, is about how people make sense of chronic illness.

Levy, Robert I. 1992. A prologue to a psychiatric anthropology. In *New directions in psychological anthropology*. Edited by Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White, and Catherine A. Lutz, 206-220. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Assesses the use of the transcultural concept of pathology for locally conceived social deviance. While recognizing the organic basis for certain mental disorders, argues that anthropologists can write effectively about the "pathogenic contexts" adversely affecting the individual.

Littlewood, Roland and Simon Dein, eds. 2000. *Cultural psychiatry and medical anthropology: an introduction and reader*. London: Athlone Press.

An anthology covering a century of social science thinking on mental illness.

### **Anthropological approaches to psychiatry**

If the older antipsychiatry literature was effective in urging deinstitutionalization (Goffman 1991; see also the film Wiseman 1967), a newer critique, some of it from within the medical profession, is based on a recognition of the limitations of the biomedical approach and a resistance to the imperialism of Big Pharma. Much recent anthropological work on psychiatry has been in this critical vein. Anthropologists have used their cross-cultural knowledge to expose the culture-boundedness of psychiatric classifications, showing how they come to be devised and how they are buttressed by institutional and economic interests. Luhrmann 2001 and Young 1995 are examples; Davis 2012 traces the changing dynamics of mental health care following neoliberal reforms. Probably no anthropologist writes uncritically of psychiatry, though there is a spectrum between sympathetic insider engagement, typified by Kleinman 1988 and Littlewood and Lipsedge 1997, and reasoned hostility (the latter usually from a political economy perspective). As Fabrega 1993 and several contributors to Skultans and Cox 2000 argue, there is good reason to consider psychiatric problems as distinctive and requiring a different approach from those that concern medical anthropology.

Akyeampong, E., A. G. Hill & A. Kleinman (eds.) 2015. *The culture of mental illness and psychiatric practice in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Davis, Elizabeth. The anti-social profile: deception and intimacy in Greek psychiatry. *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 25, Issue 1, pp. 130–164.

Davis, Elizabeth Anne, 2012. *Bad souls: madness and responsibility in modern Greece*. Durham, NC : Duke University Press.

An ethnographic study of patient-clinician relationships in northern Greece, focusing on psychiatric reforms aimed at cultivating responsibility among patients as part of a general shift from custodial to outpatient care in the neoliberal state.

Fabrega, Horacio. 1993. Biomedical psychiatry as an object for a critical medical anthropology. In *Knowledge, power, and practice: The anthropology of medicine and everyday life*. Edited by Shirley Lindenbaum and Margaret Lock, 166-188. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Argues that “distinctive ontological and epistemological problems characterize psychiatry compared to the rest of medicine” because of its focus on the self and relations to others.

Goffman, Erving. 1991. *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. London: Penguin Books.

A powerful account of asylums as “total institutions”, taking the reader through the “moral career” of sufferer, patient and long-term inmate. First published in 1961.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1988. *Rethinking psychiatry: From cultural category to personal experience*. New York: Free Press.

The anthropologist’s ideal physician offers a humanist vision of psychiatry based on the co-construction of meaning by patient and therapist.

Littlewood, Roland and Maurice Lipsedge. 1997. *Aliens and alienists: Ethnic minorities and psychiatry*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Why do Afro-Caribbeans in Britain have a higher than average reported incidence of psychotic episodes? Which category of migrants is most vulnerable to mental illness and why? How should health professionals distinguish the mad from the merely exotic? A straightforward guide for health professionals and social science students.

Luhmann, T. M. 2001. *Of two minds: An anthropologist looks at American psychiatry*. New York: Vintage.

The author carried out fieldwork among trainee psychiatrists in the US. She gives an account of the ideological formation, institutional underpinnings, and tensions between psychiatry’s “two minds” – the psychotherapeutic and biomedical.

Skultans, Vieda and John Cox, eds. 1998. *Anthropological approaches to psychological medicine*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers: London.

Papers by social scientists and practitioners on psychiatry and psychiatric illness in Britain.

Young, Allan. 1995. *The harmony of illusions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

An austere and rigorous analysis of the construction of post-traumatic stress disorder as a disease category. Young carried out fieldwork among Vietnam veterans at a dedicated mental health facility. He outlines the institutional constraints, values, and discourses through which PTSD is constructed and validated.

*Titicut follies*. 1967. Dir. Frederick Wiseman. 84 mins. Zipporah Films. Named after an inmates’ variety show, this film – the only documentary ever to be banned in the USA for reasons other than obscenity or national security – portrays life in a 1960s asylum, exposing the casual disregard for rights, the arbitrary nature of diagnosis, and the shocking effects of institutionalization. *One flew over the cuckoo’s nest* without the patients’ revolt.

## Anthropological approaches to madness

While the cultural context of depression and other disorders has a major influence on their incidence, course, and outcomes, anthropologists have recognized that schizophrenia tends to take less diverse forms and that “madness” is identified in broadly similar terms around the world (though outcomes vary substantially). Edgerton 1966 drew this conclusion in an early comparative study from Africa. Some anthropologists have nevertheless questioned, or sought to qualify, the cross-cultural validity of standard diagnostic criteria. See Jenkins and Barrett 2003 for examples. Others, such as Luhmann 2007 and Scheper-Hughes 2001, have highlighted the social factors contributing to schizophrenia and its overdiagnosis. Goddard 2011 poses the problem of how madness is understood in the absence of a concept of mental illness. Fabrega 1989 explores conceptual issues. Davis 2012 and Nakamura 2013 examine quite different (and changing) treatment regimes in Greece and Japan. Rahimi 2015 takes us into the perplexing thought worlds of patients in Turkey.

Davis, Elizabeth Anne, 2012. *Bad souls: madness and responsibility in modern Greece*. Durham, NC : Duke University Press.

An ethnographic study of patient-clinician relationships in northern Greece, focusing on psychiatric reforms aimed at cultivating responsibility among patients as part of a general shift from custodial to outpatient care in the neoliberal state.

Edgerton, Robert. 1966. Conceptions of psychosis in four East African societies. *American Anthropologist* 68: 408-425.

Edgerton examines four contrasting East African societies and finds common factors in what counts as madness.

Fabrega, Horacio. 1989. On the significance of an anthropological approach to schizophrenia. *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 15.2: 277-290.

A concise survey of anthropological writing on the culturally diverse ways in which concepts of the self are implicated in schizophrenia.

Goddard, Michael. 2011. *Out of place: Madness in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Berghahn.

An ethnographic study of the Kakoli of PNG, a people “whose lifeworld does not include ‘mental illness’ and who do not have an ‘ethnopsychiatry’”. Investigates the incongruity between indigenous conceptions of madness as social deviance and the perspective of Western psychiatry.

Jenkins, Janis and Barrett, Robert J. eds. 2003. *Schizophrenia, culture, and subjectivity: The edge of experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Essays exploring the different forms schizophrenic illness takes around the world and the challenges this diversity offers to diagnosis and standard disease classification.

Luhmann, Tanya. 2007. Social defeat and the culture of chronicity: Or why schizophrenia does so well over there and so badly here. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 31: 135-172.

Why does schizophrenia have a worse outcome in the industrialized West than in traditionally-oriented non-Western communities? Luhrmann follows what Goffman calls the “moral career” of the socially excluded to show how isolation and defeat contribute to long-term illness.

Nakamura, Karen. 2013 *Disability of the Soul: An Ethnography of Schizophrenia and Mental Illness in Contemporary Japan*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press.

A sensitively written account of a unique therapeutic community in Hokkaido where the emphasis is on living with mental illness rather than ‘curing’ it. The book comes with an accompanying DVD.

Rahimi, Sadeq. 2015. *Meaning, madness, and political subjectivity: A study of schizophrenia and culture in Turkey*. Routledge.

A theoretically sophisticated study of the lives of people with schizophrenia in Turkey, exploring, through the medium of conversations with patients, elements of strangeness and meaning, subjectivity and constraint.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 2001. *Saints, scholars, and schizophrenics: Mental illness in rural Ireland*, 20th Anniversary Edition. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

A critical ethnography that offers “a broad cultural diagnosis of those pathogenic stresses that surround the coming of age in rural Ireland”. The strength of the book is in its eclectic mix of methodologies and its intimate insider-view of community dynamics.

### **Depression and other disorders**

All illnesses are in some sense culture-bound in that they are culturally manifested if not constructed; but some have been seen as purely local. Simons and Hughes 1985 reviews the evidence for the more bizarre cases and identifies cross-cultural regularities. Hacking and Young have been the two most influential figures in deconstructing newer diagnostic categories and holding the line—at least theoretically—against the advance of institutional psychiatric power. See Young 1995, cited under \*Trauma, Memory, and Cultural Coping\*. Hacking’s work on “making up people,” which combines a version of labeling theory with a Foucauldian approach to medical and bureaucratic discourses, continues to stimulate debate and has inspired recent work on the interaction of classification and behavior. See Hacking 1986, cited under \*Personhood and Person-Centered Anthropology\* and Hacking 1995. Hinton and Good 2009 deconstructs the category of panic disorder. Martin 2007 provides an insider critique of bipolar disorder. O’Neill 1996 builds on the insights of Kleinman and Good 1985, a landmark volume, to give a multidimensional ethnographic account of depression. Kitanaka 2012 gives a historical account of the rise of depression as a diagnostic category in Japan. In a different vein, *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* devoted an issue to body image and the globalization of eating disorders (see Becker 2004).

Kitanaka, Junko. 2012. *Depression in Japan : psychiatric cures for a society in distress*. Princeton University Press. RC537.K555

A study of the changing face of depression in Japan that contrasts intriguingly with Western patterns, the relatively recent medicalisation of suicidal distress serving as a paradoxical relief from the devastating effects of the Japanese culture of excessive work.

Becker, Anne E., ed. 2005. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*. 29.4.

An issue devoted to body image and the globalization of eating disorders.

Hacking, Ian. 1995. *Rewriting the soul: Multiple personality and the sciences of memory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Why did Multiple Personality Disorder emerge suddenly in the 1980s? Did it have a novel cause or was it always present? Hacking shows how a coalition of victim groups and “experts” fostered ever more florid cases, the diagnosis, by a “looping effect”, contributing to the behavior.

Hinton, Devon E. and Byron J. Good, eds. 2009. *Culture and Panic Disorder*. Palo Alto: Stanford Univ. Press.

Themes and variations in the study of the DSM category of Panic Disorder.

Kleinman, Arthur and Byron Good, eds. 1985. *Culture and depression: Studies in the anthropology and cross-cultural psychiatry of affect and disorder*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

A landmark collection exploring the cultural dimensions of depression around the world.

Simons, Ronald C. and Charles C. Hughes, eds. 1985. *The culture-bound syndromes: Folk illnesses of psychiatric and anthropological interest*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel/Kluwer Academic.

Papers on so-called “culture-bound syndromes”, including the startle reaction, *latah*, found in the Malay world, genital retraction syndrome (*koro*) found in China, and a Latin American fright reaction, *susto*. The authors question the basis for grouping such folk illnesses together and attempt to differentiate biological and cultural dimensions.

Martin, Emily. 2007. *Bipolar expeditions: Mania and depression in American culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press.

An ethnographic study, underscored by personal experience, of Bipolar Disorder. Rich in case studies and examples of doctor-patient interactions; as much a study of American values, scientific and popular, as of the illness experience.

O’Neill, Theresa Deleane. 1996. *Disciplined hearts: history, identity, and depression in an American Indian community*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif Press.

An ethnographic study that explores the cultural and social roots of loss and anomie and the “pervasive rhetoric of depression” in the Flathead Reservation, Montana.

## **Trauma, Memory, and Cultural Coping**

Memory—especially social memory and memorialization through ritual—has a long history in psychological anthropology, as outlined in Cole 2005 and Argenti and Schramm 2010. But trauma and memory only became a nexus of social science interest in the 1990s: Antze and Lambek 1996 is an example. Several reasons can be adduced. Anthropologists working in conflict zones and in the aftermath of war became increasingly interested in coping strategies and the cultural shaping of memory, as Fassin and Rechtman 2009 explains. Meanwhile, in the United States and to a lesser extent Britain, debates raged over the validity of emergent

diagnostic entities like PTSD and multiple personality disorder, the latter controversially linked in popular and medical discourses to traumatic biographical events. Hacking 1995, cited under \*Depression and Other Disorders\*, and Young 1995 offer critiques. Academic debate, heavily influenced by Foucault's theories, drew conclusions about broader issues of social control and the interrelation of discourse and subjectivity. A related strand, pursued in Kilshaw 2006 and Kirmayer 2000, links the construction of illness and its treatment to narrative.

Antze, Paul and Michael Lambek, eds. 1996. *Tense past: Cultural essays in trauma and memory*. London: Routledge.

Essays by social scientists and philosophers on memory and trauma.

Argenti, Nicolas & Katharina Schramm, eds. 2010. *Remembering violence: Anthropological perspectives on intergenerational transmission*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Cases studies on the transgenerational legacies of violence, with an illuminating introduction by the editors on the transmission of traumatic experiences via local histories and forms of remembering.

Cole, Jennifer. 2005. Memory and modernity. In *A companion to psychological anthropology*. Edited by Conerly Casey and Robert B. Edgerton, 103-120. Oxford: Blackwell.

An overview of anthropological issues in the study of memory.

Fassin, Didier and Richard Rechtman. 2009. *The Empire of trauma: An inquiry into the condition of victimhood*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton Univ. Press.

Trauma counselling is a growth industry in humanitarian intervention. The authors trace the "the historical construction and the political uses of trauma", taking a critical perspective on the psychiatric modelling of suffering and the globalization of trauma as a moral as well as a medical category.

Kilshaw, Susie. 2006. On being a Gulf veteran: An anthropological perspective. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B*. 361: 697-706.

Argues that Gulf War Syndrome, a contested illness, is constructed through narratives that enable veterans to communicate distress and explain diverse misfortunes.

Kirmayer, Laurence J. 2000. Broken narratives: Clinical encounters and the poetics of illness experience. In *Narrative and the cultural construction of illness and healing*. Edited by Cheryl Mattingly and Linda Garro, 153-180. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press

An anthropologically-informed analysis by a clinician of how narrative works in the therapeutic process.

Young, Allan. 1995. *The harmony of illusions: inventing post-traumatic stress disorder*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Young takes PTSD as a case study in the "invention" of a psychiatric disorder, illuminating the processes by which it is constructed, validated, and made real to sufferers.

### Global mental health

Global mental health (GMH) has come to prominence as a policy area thanks to initiatives like the Movement for Global Mental Health and as a result of growing recognition that mental health issues have been neglected in public health programmes worldwide. As Kohrt and Mendelhall 2015 point out in their excellent handbook, use of epidemiological metrics has revealed the extent of the global burden of mental health problems and the need for practical, community-based programmes that can be effective in areas without access to professional care. Anthropological contributions to GMH, often closely tied to policy initiatives, typically differ from critical and symbolic approaches in medical anthropology in both emphasis and aims. They are more directly concerned with improving health outcomes; more receptive to mixed methods of research aimed at tackling interlinked problems of stigma, marginalisation, gender inequality, and uneven access to health resources; more favourable to a multi-level analysis of local problems that takes account of social and structural determinants as well as broader systemic issues affecting the delivery of care. Contributors to Kohrt and Mendelhall 2015 exemplify this integrative, multidisciplinary approach. Jenkins 2011 and Mills 2014 represent the critical strain.

Kohrt, Brandon A. and Emily Mendenhall, eds. 2015. *Global mental health: anthropological perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

A well-integrated handbook of case studies consisting of short ethnographic chapters centered on a particular problem and its relation to mental health - e.g. addiction in Colombia, water insecurity in Bolivia, migrant discrimination in Haiti. Three sections, each prefaced by a useful introduction, are devoted to 'social and structural origins of mental illness in global context', 'treatment approaches and access to care', and 'task-sharing and alternative care models'. This is the best available guide to the subfield and a good teaching text. Useful also for health policy planners.

Jenkins, Janis. (ed.) 2011. *Pharmaceutical self: the global shaping of experience in an age of psychopharmacology*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Much has been written on Big Pharma's colonization of psychiatry in the US and Europe. But what about the broader 'empire', the untapped markets and minds of the global South? This book considers what medicating the self means for experience, self-knowledge and, indeed, self-creation.

Mills, China. 2014, *Decolonizing global mental health: the psychiatrization of the majority world*.

New York, NY: Routledge.

As the title implies, this book is critical of the scaling up of psychiatric medicine worldwide, focusing on its harmful effects, poor evidence base, and the use of culturally inappropriate diagnostic categories. Contrasts with the more positive, practical approach of Kohrt and Mendelhall 2015 cited above.