

A photograph of a person wearing a traditional conical hat and a blue shirt, leaning over the side of a small black boat on a river. The boat has the number '426' on its side. The river is surrounded by dense, lush green trees and thick, gnarled tree roots hanging over the water. The scene is peaceful and scenic.

Society for Psychological Anthropology NEWSLETTER

Spring 2020

edited by Amir Hampel, Kathy Trang, and Ellen Kozelka

in this issue



From the SPA President

SPA/SMA Joint Mentoring Event

Award Winners

Whiting Travel Grant Awardees

Stirling Prize Winner - Naomi Leite

SPA/RLF Fellows

Bridget Hansen

Sanaullah Khan

Biographical Memoir: Roy D'Andrade

Ethos

cover:

Ninh Binh, Vietnam

this page:

Old Quarter, Hanoi, Vietnam

photos by Margaret To

From the SPA President

Greetings!

It is such an honor to assume the presidency of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, and I have a number of exciting things to share with you. First, however, I wish to offer a heartfelt thank you to outgoing president Jill Korbin (president 2017-2019) for her extraordinary service to the Society and for putting in place a number of systems that will make governance of the Section infinitely smoother. I also wish to express my gratitude to the many individuals who graciously dedicate their time and energy to serving on the SPA Board and various SPA committees and review panels – we are truly fortunate to have so many committed and engaged members. Looking ahead, our President-Elect is Laurence Kirmayer, who will assume office at the AAA meeting in 2021. Jeff Snodgrass will continue as Treasurer. Elizabeth Carpenter-Song has taken on the role of secretary. Our new Student Representative is Lauren Cubellis. Amir Hampel will continue as the Newsletter and Electronics Publications Editor and Ellen Kozelka has graciously agreed to transition into the role of Social Media Coordinator. Greg Downy remains as our Ethos editor and Yehuda Goodman continues as the editor of our Culture, Mind, and Society book series. This is truly a wonderful team, and I feel very fortunate to be working with them.

SPA Biennial 2021

Please mark your calendars for the 2021 Biennial meetings, which will take place April 8-11, 2021. We are still in the process of securing a location, so stay tuned! We are exploring a number of different lodging and fee structure options in order to address some of the concerns that have arisen over the years with regards to cost and accessibility. The program will continue our tradition of the Lifetime Achievement Award Breakfast, panels, papers, and posters submitted by our members, mentoring opportunities for stu-



dents, and pre-conference workshops. We also encourage submissions of alternative presentation forms, including roundtables, flash presentations, and more performance-based modalities.

As one of our most important activities as a society, the Biennial meeting offers a rare opportunity for nurturing and supporting the next generation of psychological anthropologists. With this in mind, the Beatrice and John Whiting SPA Biennial Travel Grants were established in 2017 to enable students, post-docs, and un- or under-employed professionals who are presenting at the conference to attend the meetings when they might otherwise not be able to do so. Please continue to check the SPA website for updates about when and how to apply.

As more information about the Biennial becomes available, we will post it on our website at <http://spa.americananthro.org> and on the listserv, and also announce it via the SPA Communities page on the AAA website.

New Initiatives and Priorities

The SPA has been my intellectual home since I began graduate school at UCSD in 1991. Over the interven-

ing 29 (!) years, I have watched the SPA grow from being a relatively small and somewhat marginalized community within the AAA to become one of the largest and most dynamic sections of the organization. Our strengths are many, from the traditional bedrocks of our society (our flagship journal *Ethos*, our biennial conference, the Culture, Mind, and Society book series, and our recognition of outstanding scholarship through the Stirling and Boyer Prizes and Lifetime Achievement Awards) to more recent initiatives (the SPA/Robert Lemelson Foundation Student Fellowships, the SPA/SMA Mentoring Breakfast, the International Scholars Program). But we can do more. Three key areas where I would like to see us expand are as follows:

1. Expanded Mentoring networks

Our annual mentoring breakfast at the AAA, mentoring events at the Biennial, and the International Scholars Program are amazing initiatives, but they need more fleshing out. Specifically, we need to develop infrastructure to facilitate ongoing mentoring relationships, as well as strategies for including those people who can't or choose not to attend the meetings. I have some initial thoughts about this, including monthly live webinars and other forms of electronic connecting, but welcome member input and suggestions (and assistance!)

2. Mentoring Resources and Training

Recently, I have become very involved in initiatives at both the local and national levels related to graduate student mental health and wellbeing. Much has been done in terms of raising awareness about how issues of precarity, disciplinary conventions, and academic structures converge to produce environments that are both detrimental to mental health and dismissive of such concerns. A key theme in many of these discussions has been the importance of faculty advisors as both role models and gatekeepers. Mentors largely set the tone and tenor of an advisee's graduate experience. How they respond (or not) to students' mental health, physical safety, and sexual harassment concerns (either in the field or at the home institution) can have profound effects both in the here and now and in the longer-term. Preliminary work in this area indicates that, overwhelmingly, mentors feel ill-equipped to recognize and respond to student difficulties, don't know what resources or available or how to refer students to them, and/or don't know where to start in advocating

for better supports in their departments or universities. Helping faculty mentors better understand, recognize, and respond to the serious issues facing graduate students is a critical piece of shifting academic culture.

To this end, I propose two items: first, I would like to add a page to our website that includes resources for advisors and advisees about preparing for the field and strategies for seeking support when needed. Given the very different kinds of situations and institutions at play, I envision this as akin to the current syllabus repository, where people can upload various documents they have found helpful and that they wish to share with others. I welcome and encourage assistance with this initiative. Please contact me at rjlester@wustl.edu if you would like to become involved.

Second, I would like to highlight an initiative by Beatriz Reyes-Foster and myself to provide a half-day pre-conference workshop on this topic at the 2020 AAA, aimed specifically at resourcing and capacitating faculty mentors (we have a separate conference roundtable in the works that includes students). If you mentor graduate or undergraduate students in any capacity, we encourage you to attend.


3. Diversity and Inclusion:

The SPA is overwhelmingly white. The AAA is predominantly white as well, but our Section is exceptionally so. There are likely a number of historical and disciplinary reasons why this is the case, but it is time for a concerted effort towards a shift. I will be working with the SPA Board as well as consulting across AAA Sections to brainstorm proactive strategies for addressing this issue, and welcome any and all suggestions about how we can become a more diverse and inclusive Section, not only in terms of race but also gender, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, and other forms of diversity as well.

With your help, these three initiatives can help enrich what is already an amazing community.

Thank you again for entrusting me with the leadership of the SPA. Please do feel free to reach out at any time with questions, concerns or suggestions. I can be reached by email at rjlester@wustl.edu.

Warmest wishes to all,



Rebecca Lester

Rebecca Lester, PhD, MSW, LCSW
Associate Professor
Department of Anthropology
Department of Women, Gender,
and Sexuality Studies

Fourth Annual Joint SPA/SMA Mentoring Event at the 2019 AAAs a Success!

by Ellen Kozelka

The Society for Psychological Anthropology (SPA) and the Society for Medical Anthropology (SMA) co-sponsored their fourth mentoring event, which was held at the 2019 AAA-CASCA Meetings in Vancouver, BC, Canada.

After a brief welcome from the SPA and SMA Presidents, Rebecca Lester and Charles Briggs respectively, participants engaged in topically organized, group-based mentoring. Graduate student mentees from the SPA and/or SMA participated in two 30-minute discussions with mentors. The topics included: 1) Grant Proposal FAQs, 2) Publishing FAQs, 3) Postdoc FAQs, 4) Methods FAQs, 5) How to get an academic job in Psychological and Medical Anthropology, and 6) how to get a non-academic job related to Psychological and Medical Anthropology.

The SPA event organizer (Ellen Kozelka) designed the mentoring event with the SMA organizer (Matthew Wolf-Meyer) to address students' top requests and suggestions, both from past events and from surveys. This year's event was modeled after the highly successful 2018 mentoring event, incorporating student feedback requesting mentoring on specific topics and continued collaboration between the SPA and SMA.

Overall, there were 28 participants: 7 mentors and 21 mentees. Those who completed the evaluation form (n=22) reported enjoying the event. When asked to rate if the event met their expectations (0 representing it did not meet expectations and 10 representing the event exceeded expectations), the majority said it exceeded them. The average event score was 9.4/10. Participants particularly liked the small, open-ended, group discussion format focused on specific topics. Most mentees felt their mentors were helpful and described their conversations as providing practical advice in an approachable way. As one mentee said, "the mentors managed to fit an incredible amount of information into their sessions. I learned way more than I was expecting!" Mentors remarked that the mentees were well-prepared and motivated. One mentor summarized their experience saying, "wonderful students and conversation!" Almost every participant asked for the event to continue at future meetings, even requesting we extend the timeframe so they could either have more conversations or spend more time with each mentor.

The organizers would like to especially thank the following mentors who volunteered their time to make this event a success:

- Charles Briggs
- Cameron Hay
- Daniel Lende
- Rebecca Lester
- Amy Cooper
- Cathrine Hasse
- Greg Downey

The event co-organizers are grateful for everyone who contributed their time and effort to make this event possible. We would like to thank Rebecca Lester and Charles Briggs for giving the opening remarks. Further, we would like to thank Elizabeth Carpenter-Song, Lauren Cubellis, Jeff Snodgrass, and Kathy Trang, all of whom were instrumental to the event's advertisement, organization, and overall success. We would also like to thank the AAA Mentoring Grant fund, which generously provided the funds for us provide breakfast for all the participants.

The SPA and SMA event organizers are planning to provide a similar event at the 2020 AAA Meetings in St. Louis, Missouri. If you are interested in participating as either a mentor or mentee, keep an eye out for an email soliciting participants this coming August/September.

2019 WHITING TRAVEL GRANT AWARDEES

The Beatrice and John Whiting SPA Biennial Travel Grants facilitate participation in the SPA Biennial Meetings. The SPA Biennial Meetings represent one of the most important ways in which the SPA promotes and supports the continued growth of the field of psychological anthropology, and these travel grants provide financial assistance to individuals who might not otherwise be able to attend.



Dr **Natalia Buitron** is a Post-doctoral Research Fellow in the Anthropology Department, London School of Economics. Natalia's research explores political subjectivities in Amazonia, specifically how broader political and economic forms interweave with moral selfhood and sociality in daily life. Natalia gained a BA in Anthropology and Ethnology at the University of Siena, Italy, and trained in Anthropology of Learning and Cognition (MSc) at the London School of Economics, leading to the completion of her PhD in Social Anthropology, in 2016. Building on her doctoral research, her book project titled 'Indigenous Development: Territorial Autonomy and Vernacular Statecraft in Amazonia' explores the remaking of Shuar political selfhood and institutions in articulation with the Ecuadorian modern state. Through an array of ethnographic and experimental methods and with particular attention to intergenerational ethical change, she explores the intertwining of emotions, vernacular concepts and new legal culture in everyday forms of indigenous justice. She's the author of 'Autonomy, Productiveness, and Community: the Rise of Inequality in an Amazonian Society' (JRAI 26, 1).

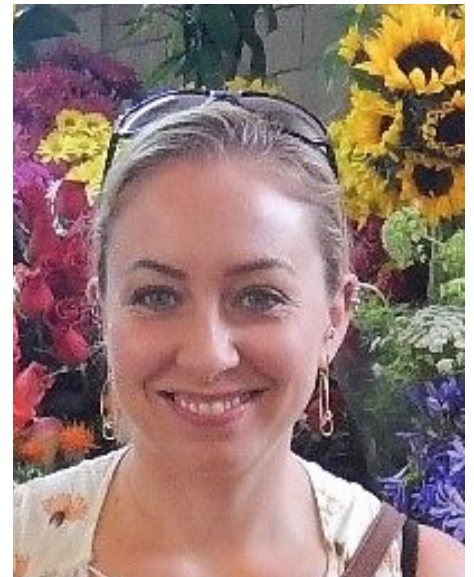
Amir Hampel received his PhD from the University of Chicago's Department of Comparative Human Development in 2017. Amir's research has focused on social skills training programs that are popular with young professionals in China. This work analyzes how Chinese youth use self-help psychology to remake social relations in a changing society, and the role of a globalizing self-help in local cultural politics. Amir is now developing this work into a book about culture and social anxiety, showing how Chinese youth's concerns about self-presentation are shaped by structural changes and by cultural constructions of the self. In addition, he is now beginning a research project about acupuncture and Chinese therapeutic massage for developmental disorders in children. This project is investigating historical, technological, and ethical dimensions of Chinese parent's anxieties about their children; it will also ask how experts produce knowledge about children's bodies, and how they theorize connections between their physical, social, and psychological development.





Abigail Mack is an advanced doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at UCLA. Abigail's dissertation engages the crisis of mental healthcare and incarceration in Los Angeles County through an ethnographic exploration of the ethical entailments of involuntary psychiatric commitment. Each year, thousands arrive from the local jail system (the nation's largest) and the streets of Los Angeles to resource-scarce emergency psychiatric facilities where they are placed on involuntary psychiatric holds. As patients cycle from carceral to medical mental healthcare, professionals working in these settings must negotiating economic resources, institutional ideologies, and their own ethical stances while deciding to implement involuntary care. Drawing on 19 months of research with medical, legal, and law enforcement professionals and their patients, Abigail's dissertation traces the full trajectory of involuntary commitment from initial emergency intake to courtroom where patients may contest their hospital commitment. Abigail's most recent publication "On Anticipatory Accounts Adjudicating Moral Being and Becoming in the Los Angeles Mental Health Court" was published in the Cambridge Journal of Anthropology.

Laura Meek is an Assistant Professor in the Centre for the Humanities and Medicine at the University of Hong Kong, where she researches biomedical globalization, bodily epistemologies, and the politics of healing in East Africa. Her current book project, *Pharmaceuticals in Divergence: Radical Uncertainty and World-Making Tastes in Tanzania*, is based on three years of ethnographic fieldwork in Iringa, Tanzania, and focuses on the proliferation of counterfeits in local biomedical markets, where an estimated 30-60% of drugs are thought to be fake. Additional areas of her scholarship include the medicinal significance of sensory qualities like taste, histories of medicine and healing across Indian Ocean worlds, and practices of dreaming as medical interventions in Tanzania. Laura received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of California, Davis in June 2019, a MA in Women's Studies from George Washington University, and a BA in Comparative Human Development from the University of Chicago.



Julio Villa-Palomino is a PhD student in the anthropology department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (2011), and a Master of Arts degree in Latin American Studies from the University of Florida (2018). He is interested in psychiatry, mental health, care, and its intersections with gender and race. His doctoral project explores the process of deinstitutionalization in Peru and the state's attempts of making a 'community' for the Community Mental Health Model that is being currently implemented. He has received The Beatrice and John Whiting SPA Biennial Travel Grant and the SPA/Robert Lemelson Foundation Fellowship for 'Deinstitutionalization Unfolding: The Ongoing Transition to Community Mental Health in Lima, Peru,' a project that explores the effects of deinstitutionalization and the reshaping of peruvian psychiatry.

STIRLING PRIZE WINNER - NAOMI LEITE

Naomi Leite's *Unorthodox Kin: Portuguese Marranos and the Global Search for Belonging* is a richly ethnographic exploration of how individuals develop, affirm and buttress a sense of self, particularly in an era in which the boundaries of identity, internally or externally defined, are very much on the move. While it is concerned with the experiences of just one group of people grappling with ancestral identity in a small European country, its theoretical reach extends far beyond the borders of the Iberian peninsula to speak to issues at the heart of contemporary anthropology: the shifting nature of self and belonging from one social setting to another, one cultural context to another, and one scale of sociality to another; social classification and individual performance; language and thought; transnational ties and the ways in which (ethnic) kinship is forged in practice; and the mutual entanglement of affect, belonging and exclusion. Its life-story-driven narrative style gives flesh to these complex themes, lending them a vital, human immediacy and making the book especially well suited for classroom use across a range of subfields. (It has also been awarded the Graburn Prize in Anthropology of Tourism and honorable mention for the Douglass Prize in Europeanist Anthropology and the National Jewish Book Award.)



The Marranos of the book's title face a conundrum of selfhood, one that Leite's analysis shows to be as relevant to transgender self-making, post-conversion identity transformation, and controversy over self-identified "white Cherokees" (to take just a few examples) as it is to her own subject matter: by what alchemy can one *become* socially what one feels oneself already intrinsically to be, particularly if that sense of self is openly denied by others? These urban, Catholic-born Portuguese adults believe themselves to be descendants of Portugal's long-lost Jewish population, forcibly converted en masse to Catholicism five centuries ago; however, they are typically alone in their natal family in identifying this way, and their claims to Jewish identity are roundly rejected by Portugal's organized Jewish community. According to normative Judaism, without evidence of a Jewish mother or formal conversion none of these individuals "count" as Jews. Yet so strong is the Marranos' sense of ancestrally inherited Jewishness that, in their eyes, to undertake ritual conversion would fundamentally betray their "true" nature as Jews in body as well as spirit.

Based on immersive fieldwork over a five-year period, *Unorthodox Kin* accompanies a group of Marranos on their search for an alternative space of Jewish belonging. In doing so, it traces a very particular kind of bildungsroman: a process of *becoming*, a coming-into-oneself, that ends in social affirmation of a contested internal reality. But rather than gradual acceptance by mainstream Portuguese Jewry, here the pivotal development comes in the form of foreign Jewish tourists and educators, who are drawn to Portugal by stories of its fabled "lost" medieval Jewish community—widely known from twentieth-century reports of rural villages inhabited entirely by "secret Jews" (the original *Marranos*) since the Catholic Inquisition. Despite the lack of connection between those earlier communities and the self-titled "Marranos" of this book, foreign visitors embrace both equally as a collective symbol of the indomitability of the Jewish spirit.

The power of this uniquely processual portrait of identity transformation rests in its close analysis of the role of intersubjectivity, showing how initially somewhat distanced interactions with tourists shift over time into a register of affinity and personal affection, prompting a profound shift in the Marranos' understanding of Jewish selfhood and belonging. The reader journeys alongside them first through the figured world of Portugal's Jewish communities, then into gatherings with international Jewish heritage tourists, and finally into ongoing engagement with visitors who return to Portugal regularly to offer support, bringing the Marranos to a destination profoundly different from where they began: from a solitary identity rooted in national history and biological descent, to an intersubjective belonging predicated on love, acts of care, and the forms of kinship they entail.

The book's fine-grained portraits of those on this journey-to-become are shot through with a clear-eyed humanity that engenders a thoughtful (and thought-provoking) ethnographic consideration of diverse modes of self-making. Across the book's five chapters, we are led to explore the constitution of self via solitary imaginings and cultural logics; interpersonal interaction; adoption of distinctive practices and dispositions; self-narration; and performative enactment of (fictive) kin roles. The mutual interplay of culture, language and thought is another thread running throughout the book. From international visitors' use of kin terms and the divergent logics they evoke for them and their hosts, to the diverse cultural models of self and spirit at play among different groups of stakeholders in the Marranos' rejection or acceptance, and to the unexpected means by which the Marranos ultimately find themselves incorporated into the global "Jewish family," *Unorthodox Kin* offers an engrossing exploration of tensions between cultural logics and individual imaginings, between systems of social classification and incidents of identity (mis)recognition in practice. As the book clearly demonstrates, if becoming who we "truly" are depends on recognition by others, then any given interaction has the potential to problematize the self by one logic even while affirming it according to another.

Alongside and entangled with its analysis of intersubjective becoming and belonging, the book also speaks to anthropology's longstanding "rationality debate": how are we to deal with seemingly "irrational" beliefs, views that fly in the face of contemporary scientific knowledge—in this case, that a spark of identity or transgenerational soul could survive over centuries of oppression and outright oblivion, only to reignite in a handful of individuals—while maintaining our commitment to relativism? Should we assume that we live in wholly different ontological worlds? This conundrum is all the more compelling in Leite's work because it rests not in a contrast between "Western" ways of knowing and that of culturally distant Others, but instead in the case of decidedly "Western," urban, scientifically literate populations that evidently find it possible to hold mutually contradictory beliefs at once. Indeed, the life stories, lay explanations, and cumulative interactions examined in this book together make a persuasive argument for rethinking our assumptions about "reason" altogether.

Unorthodox Kin provides a timely and compelling analysis of contemporary dynamics of affect, identification, and belonging, from the interpersonal to the global and back again. How, Leite asks, do individual newcomers to a global imagined community—here, the Jewish people—come to experience themselves as rightful members? What happens when implicit assumptions of likeness, mutuality, and interconnection are tested "on the ground" in face-to-face encounter? What, in the end, does it mean to know oneself and to be known by others? While it artfully addresses these questions and more, the book's poignancy lies above all in its beautifully sketched portrait of a relatedness that emerges and gathers strength as a lived condition over time, anchored both in the discourse of biogenetics and in the realm of the mystical, the timeless, the ineffable—even in a world said to be disenchanted.

*Naomi Leite is Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Anthropology at SOAS, University of London. She received her Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. Her second book, the co-edited *The Ethnography of Tourism: Edward Bruner and Beyond* (Lexington/Rowman & Littlefield), was published in 2019. She has recently embarked on a multi-sited, interspecies ethnography of social isolation, intersubjective connection, therapeutic communities, and mental health, with field sites in Portugal, England, Kenya, and the US.*

SPA/RLF Lemelson Foundation Fellow

Bridget Hansen, Emory University

“We Feel like Ghosts”: The Making of Omani Psychiatry

by Bridget Hansen

Dr. A, a young Omani woman and third year psychiatry resident in the Omani Medical Specialty Board (OMSB) program, is interviewing a middle-aged woman named Fatima. Fatima has been suffering from debilitating back pain for four years. After countless tests yielded no physical diagnosis, Fatima was finally referred to the country’s main psychiatric clinic in Muscat, the capital city of Oman. While she fears that the stigma of a psychiatric diagnosis will hurt her youngest son’s marriage prospects, Fatima has already spent thousands of riyals on traditional healers and medical treatments abroad. She is desperate for some relief, and open to the possibility that psychiatry may finally provide an answer for her pain. Whatever the “answer” actually is, older Omanis suffering from idiopathic pain often find some much-needed relief from even the initial psychiatric intake interview. Most of the previous doctors did not take Fatima and her pain seriously, and no one asked her questions about her personal life. Dr. A probes Fatima gently, asking her in colloquial Arabic about her living situation, relationships, recent events, among other issues. It is quickly apparent that Fatima’s symptoms are related to her husband’s passing.



In addition, three out of four of her grown children have moved from their eastern coastal village to Muscat for better work opportunities, leaving Fatima at home with only her Ugandan maid and youngest son while he finishes high school. This type of socioeconomic migration was unheard of before 1970, when the country began a massive project of modernization called the “Renaissance.” To convey properly the rapid pace and magnitude of the country’s changes, one commonly cited statistic notes that in 1960s there were only 9 kilometers of road in a country roughly the size of California, while today there are more than 6000 kilometers (and counting) of paved roads. In addition to infrastructural projects, Oman has been working hard to educate its citizens and diversify its economy. International investors have flocked to the petrol-rich cities of the Eastern Arabian Gulf, and for young professionals and highly educated Omanis the most sought-after employment is found in the capital. This pattern of village-to-city migration for better socioeconomic opportunities is drastically changing domestic and family life across the country. In addition, specialized healthcare like psychiatry continues to be centered in the capital. Therefore, Fatima must travel four hours to visit not only her grown children and grandchildren, but now also her psychiatrist.

Dr. A recommends that Fatima stay in the city for a few weeks with her daughter so that she and Fatima can engage in a short course of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT), a commonly recommended treatment at the clinic. She also prescribes a small dose of Prozac and urges Fatima to pick it up at the hospital pharmacy which is just down the hall. As they exchange formal farewells, Dr. A promises her that if she does these two things that she will start to feel better soon. Fatima appears visibly relieved but as she leaves the small shared office, she still pulls her hijab forward to cover her face completely so that no one will be able to recognize her. Luckily, this doesn’t faze Dr. A—she is used to female patients hiding their faces in this way.



I met Dr. A and Fatima in the summer of 2019 during my pilot study at a teaching hospital in Muscat, Oman. Funded by the Society for Psychological Anthropology Robert Lemelson Foundation Grant (SPA/RLF), I spent two months attempting to blend into the daily life of the hospital's psychiatry ward—sitting next to Omanis in the waiting room, hanging out in the nurses' stations, attending daily rounds with treatment teams, interviewing psychiatrists and psychotherapists, and puzzling over diagnoses and troubling cases at weekly research sections. Initially, I travelled to Oman imagining a project which focused on the

experiences of mentally ill Omani women in the context of the country's rapid changes. I was guided by the words of a female Omani friend, who told me that many Omani women suffer from depression and "feel like ghosts." What does it mean to feel like a ghost? However, the stigma still attached to a psychiatric diagnosis made it difficult to talk to patients individually. In addition, many patients traveled far distances to get to their appointments in the first place. Fatima allowed me to sit in on her appointment, but I was unable to set up an individual interview with her outside of the hospital. So, my focus quickly shifted from patients to those who cared for the patients—nurses, psychiatrists, social workers, therapists, interns, medical residents. Over the hottest months of the year, I became another mental health "professional" roaming the halls of the ward, sipping cardamom coffee and eating ripe yellow dates, and bugging staff to let me interrogate them about their inner thoughts and beliefs surrounding mental illness.

In contrast to other Arabian Gulf countries who employ predominantly ex-patriates for professional occupations, the hospital contained gaggles of young Omani medical professionals. The Department of Behavioral Medicine has two programs that trained young mental health professionals. One is an unpaid internship program in psychology, in which mostly female Omanis learn how to administer psychological and other developmental tests, as well as conduct short bursts of CBT. Sitting in the office where these interns gathered, I watched them carefully tease out the differences between culturally condoned traits and pathological symptoms. Did the pre-teenage girl actually have social anxiety disorder, or was she an ideal example of highly desired Omani personality traits like diffidence and respect for elders? The other program is the psychiatry residency for younger Omanis like Dr. A, typically coming straight out of one of Oman's two medical schools. I was particularly fascinated by the experiences of these young professionals who, unlike Fatima, grew up in a more "modern" version of Oman in which pre-1970 history had less direct bearing on their daily lives. This gulf of sociohistorical circumstance felt significant, and these differences were particularly clear in the presentation of symptoms. Somatization isn't typically seen below a certain age range. Younger people are now coming to the hospital complaining of anxiety and depression, looking specifically for a psychiatrist or mental health counselor with Western training.

However, things that are considered "cultural beliefs" like the Evil Eye (hasad) are not simply dismissed by patients nor by doctors. Most of the psychiatrists actually encouraged patients to continue seeing traditional healers, provided they did not drink any herbal remedies, and while also following their own psychiatric treatment recommendations.

“I am Muslim too, so I believe in *hasad* too,” Dr. A told Fatima, “but I am not an expert in this. I am an expert in psychiatry— so let’s try my treatment plan.”

Instead of replacing “traditional” medicine and healing methods, psychiatrists are carving out their own space of expertise in Oman’s “modern” society, creating their own understanding of mental illness, its treatment, and what it means to live in Oman today. My dissertation research, which will commence in fall 2020, will explore the process of becoming a psychiatrist and making psychiatric knowledge in greater depth. My deepest thanks go out to the SPA/RLF for allowing me to discover and observe the creation of psychiatric knowledge and practice in Oman.

SPA/RLF Lemelson Foundation Fellow

Sanaullah Khan, John’s Hopkins University

War above the Clouds: Soldiering, Medical Knowledge & Suspicion on the Siachen Glacier by Sanaullah Khan

The Siachen Glacier in the Gilgit-Baltistan area of Pakistan is one of the longest non-polar glaciers in the world. When Gilgit-Baltistan was occupied by tribal fighters from the newly founded Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1948, Kashmir was split into its Pakistani and Indian held parts. A boundary, later to be known as the Line of Control (LoC), separated parts of Kashmir held by the two countries, but the Siachen Glacier, which lied beyond the last known points on the map, was left undemarcated. In 1984, the Indian forces occupied the glacier in the Operation Meghadoot. Shortly afterwards, the Pakistani army deployed its troops to the surrounding ridges, known as the Saltoro Range. As a result of skirmishes since that time, as well as the dangers offered by the terrain, there have been thousands of casualties. For Pakistani soldiers, the dangers of service on the glacier include intermittent artillery firing from the Indian posts; falling into deadly crevasses; experiencing blizzards, avalanches, high-altitude sicknesses (e.g. pulmonary and cerebral edemas), injuries, and frost bites. In my research, I interviewed Pakistani soldiers, officers and doctors who participated in the conflict to understand how army personnel make decisions about emergency evacuations by separating malingering soldiers from the sick ones, as well as by promoting self-care routines to prevent any further evacuation efforts.



In my interviews with military doctors and officers, I was told about the development of medical infrastructure including hospitals and medical battalions in the towns and villages close to the Siachen Glacier. The vast medical infrastructure was meant to provide expedited medical care to the soldiers deployed to the glacier. The procedural and logistical instructions for evacuation have also evolved over time, and involve decision-making in which the sharing of symptoms and their circulation among army personnel exist alongside forms of disciplining to render soldiers dutiful. The need to determine which soldiers are malingering has meant that any medical evaluation is accompanied by screenings to separate the ‘dodgy’ ones from the rest. My research focuses on how the management of psychiatric and physical ailments is shadowed by suspicion and doubt about the soldiers serving on the glacier.

Soldiers I interviewed described the different ways in which they try to give order to their experience as well as avoid the monotony of duty on the glacier. There is constant supervision to ensure that soldiers take the required precautions in handling their weapons and protective gear and in keeping one another informed of health issues – physical and psychological – and any personal anxieties causing discomfort.

To keep themselves occupied during service on the glacier, which can last up to a year, soldiers engage in a range of group activities like singing and dancing. They also engage in solitary activities like drawing, cleaning, and reading, both to seek personal fulfillment and to prevent boredom. However, in doing so, they run the risk of appearing too disengaged while in the company of others. One officer I interviewed described a soldier who developed a habit of counting girders in the fiber glass encampment in which soldiers and the officer lived. Counting girders had turned into a habit that the soldier pursued even in the presence of other comrades, a habit that signaled to others his transition from being a soldier to a patient needing help. In cases like these, a complaint would be relayed to the medical staff located at the base in Goma, a village a few miles away, who would then arrange for the soldier to be flown by helicopter from the post to the hospital.

The medical staff encourages soldiers to share every feeling and sensation with others serving at the same post. This leads to continuous interaction between soldiers to ensure that no one ignores any unusual sensation which could be a sign of something serious such as frostbites, edemas, or infections, simply because acclimatization to the terrain and the extreme weather may reduce their bodies' receptivity toward the psychological and physiological strains of soldiering. In the flux of these conversations in which soldiers attend to each other's concerns, their personal lives are also inadvertently opened for others and circulate along with symptoms of an illness or disease that they might have experienced. Once, a soldier shared with his commanding officer that he was experiencing headaches upon receiving orders for deployment to a post at a higher altitude. His commanding officer took these symptoms as a sign of malingering, which was supported by other comrades who shared with their senior the soldier's history of evading duty. This 'malingering' soldier was later found dead, but while making a judgment about his commitment, his fellow soldiers and the officer had colluded in constructing the malingerer's personal history, which became the basis for professional evaluation. In the summer of 2019, I visited officers in various cities in Pakistan as well as doctors in military hospitals close to the glacier and learned that the officer's role was often very important in medical evaluations. When making professional evaluations about the soldier's loyalty and dedication to serve, sometimes the officer's role exceeded that of the medical doctor.

The management of evidence thereby changes the relationship between officers and soldiers and creates particular ways of managing high-altitude sicknesses, anchoring professional evaluations at the site of medical emergencies. Here evaluations about medical conditions are tied to the category of the 'dodgy' soldier, who could be standing at the boundary between life and death but could also simply be trying to evade duty. Medical evaluations, as well as professional ones by officers, are related as much to speech as to the silence of the soldier. Sometimes honesty could be known only retrospectively, that is, through the silence of a deceased soldier. I suggest that these evaluations about honesty are made at the boundary between life and death because of the nature of the symptoms and the way they are understood by military doctors, who may lump headaches into the category of "non-specific" symptoms. The figure of the dodgy soldier in some sense reflected the anxieties faced by the medical staff in accurately diagnosing the soldier's symptoms, which were often somatized in ways that carried little diagnostic value for doctors. While for doctors "headaches" were a source of anxiety because they were not easily reflected in diagnostic tests or mapped onto the soldier's body as a specific disturbance, for the officer and the soldier, the symptom remained productive and could stand for anxieties around deployment, malingering, and the need to discipline soldiers and make them ready for service.

As a question for further exploration, I am interested in thinking about how the military doctor's lack of experience in dealing with high-altitude sickness, due to the recent induction of doctors for service on the glacier, complicates diagnosis. I want to explore how the unique somatic expressions that these illnesses take contribute to stabilize the category of the dodgy soldier. This will provide an opportunity to investigate how doctors and officers may have conflicting roles, while simultaneously also collaborate in the creation of a soldier-patient by disciplining malingering soldiers and preparing them for their return to the battle front.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR: ROY D'ANDRADE

by Richard A. Shweder

Roy Goodwin D'Andrade
November 6, 1931–October 20, 2016

Roy D'Andrade was one of cultural anthropology's most renowned theorists and a meticulous quantitative investigator of the structure and distribution of cultural models.¹ He did innovative and pioneering work on heuristics and biases in judgment, human thought processes (such as categorization and reasoning), the nature of social facts, and the comparative study of beliefs, motives and values. It would not be far-fetched to describe him as "The Father of Cognitive Anthropology." He grew up in Metuchen, New Jersey, attended Rutgers University, dropped out to do army service and went on to receive his bachelor's degree from the University of Connecticut. In 1962 he received a Ph.D. from the social anthropology wing of Harvard University's interdisciplinary Department of Social Relations. Over the next several years D'Andrade taught at Stanford University, conducted field research in West Africa and then chaired an experimental anthropology program in Livingston College at Rutgers. In 1970 he returned to California to teach at UC San Diego, where he spent the next three decades, including three stints as chair of their anthropology department. After resigning from UCSD in 2003 he joined the University of Connecticut anthropology faculty for five years before retiring. He died of prostate cancer on October 20, 2016 in El Cerrito, CA at age 84.



When He Spoke, You Listened

Three years after his death there may be just as many people having conversations¹ with Roy D'Andrade as there were when he was alive. Despite the painful reality of his physical absence, his character and charisma have not been displaced. Many of his colleagues and former students continue to engage with his voice and distinctive way of thinking. They find comfort and pleasure in their enduring sense of his vicarious presence, which feels contemporaneous and near at hand. They think of him. They recall a significant encounter or some imparted insight. They discover that their personal dialogue with him lives on.

This is not surprising. Throughout his career, when Roy D'Andrade spoke, you listened. When this famous cultural anthropologist, social theorist and quantitative method-ologist published an essay, you read it. When he gave a talk at a national meeting (or even just appeared on the program as a commentator) you got to the room early, just to be sure you had a good seat. If you were organizing a conference at the interface of anthropology and psychology, you invited him, for he always had something innovative and eye-opening to say: Not only about how all human beings think, reason and make decisions, but also about the parochial things human beings know, feel, want, value (and hence do).

A Cultural Model

Each of us grows up in an ancestral group where the dead continue to have an influence on what we know and how we think. Learning occurs through social communication and thus, inevitably, we confront (inherit, internalize, habituate ourselves to, come to terms with, or resist) some local and distinctive cultural model. A cultural model is a received tradition of belief and value passed on across generations. It is conveyed, tacitly and explicitly, one generation to the next, through local ways of talking and customary ways of acting. It summarizes the “received wisdom” or orthodoxy of one’s ancestral in-group. It encapsulates what “normal” members of your self-defining heritage community believe to be true of the world, what they should prize in life, and how they ought to behave in the world, as locally pictured and valued.

Consider, for example, the American cultural model of “success”, which Roy D’Andrade described this way: “A class of culturally created entities I have been attempting to analyze involves the domain of success. This domain includes a number of elements referred to with terms such as accomplishment, recognition, prestige, self-satisfaction, goals, ability, hard work, competition, and the like. In American culture, success is a personal characteristic of great importance to most people. Such daily events as the organization of daily effort, the evaluation of task performance, and the marking of accomplishment through self-announcement and the congratulations of others are closely attended to and much discussed. A number of elements of the world of success appear to be connected to each other through putative causal relations. Certain things are thought to lead to success, whereas other things are thought to result from success. Based on the initial data I have collected, it seems to be the case that Americans think that if one has ability, and if, because of competition or one’s own strong drive, one works hard at achieving high goals, one will reach an outstanding level of accomplishment. And when one reaches this level one will be recognized as a success, which brings prestige and self-satisfaction.” He goes on to say: “In success the boundary line that divides a high from an ordinary level of accomplishment is not precisely specified. Often people do not know if they are really a success until some special award or position has been granted.”²

Roy D’Andrade was one of anthropology’s most renowned and successful culture theorists and (notably) a meticulous quantitative investigator of the structure and distribution of cultural models. He was also the best of teachers, especially if you wanted to learn about the impact of language on thought, the measurement of values, the representation of knowledge in everyday life or the way human beings classify things and organize their portrayals of the world. His publications included analyses of cultural models of kinship relationships, of individual differences in personality, of the structure of the emotions and of the color spectrum, of achievement and career success and other folk classifications of various sorts, for example, of sex differences, of mental and physical illnesses.

The same was true on the mentoring front. He was always up-to-date on the latest trends in social and psychological theory (for example, the study of heuristics and biases in judgment, social script analysis, consensus theory, network analysis).

...

Impact on Colleagues and Students

It should be noted that the quality of Roy’s mind (including the impact he had on his colleagues and students) went way beyond the scope of his topical interests. What he had to say (in his lectures, his commentaries, his published and unpublished essays, his informal dialogues, his dinner conversations)

was always precise, clear and jargon-free, which is an achievement in an academic culture where obscurantism (and even fuzzy thinking) can be all too commonplace. You listened to him because he knew how to make abstract ideas concrete and operational. You read him because he knew how to think big and research narrowly; and to do so with rigor, always figuring out some way to measure and quantify this or that speculative hypothesis about the connections between culture and mind. You learned from him because he knew how to conduct evidence-based evaluations of presumptive (but often over-generalized) claims about human nature. He even had an appealing (often ironic) sense of humor—in the midst of one particularly contentious academic dispute I can recall him saying (fittingly, with a sardonic smile on his face) “With enemies like that who needs friends!”

It is not at all surprising that he was the recipient of the National Academy of Sciences Award for Scientific Reviewing (2002), which is one tiny measure of his academic range and grasp of the central issues in the social and behavioral sciences. In the late 1970s and early 1980s I served with him on the Social Sciences Research Review Committee of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), an interdisciplinary study panel where research proposals from sociology, psychology (social, developmental and cognitive), and cultural anthropology were meticulously reviewed (reviewers typically prepared ten to twenty-page evaluations of their assigned proposals). The sociologists on the panel were experts on survey research, questionnaire development, sampling procedures and race, gender and social class. The psychologists on the panel were experts on experimental design and were always up-to-date on the latest “hot” (and often counter-intuitive) findings coming out of psychology labs in North American and European universities. In that interdisciplinary setting Roy D’Andrade, the cultural anthropologist, social theorist and quantitative methodologist, was especially impressive because he not only talked the talk but also walked the walk of all those disciplines. His reviews were always incisive, penetrating and authoritative. Preparation for NIMH study panel meetings was quite labor intensive, but one always looked forward to the interdisciplinary gathering, in part just to listen to his evaluations and to have the opportunity to engage him in informal conversation. I was not the only one who felt that way.

This memoir was originally published by the National Academy of Sciences as a part of the Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences and is used with permission.

The full Memoir is available on the National Academy of Sciences website:

www.nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/memoir-pdfs/dandrade-roy.pdf

1 For example, see his essay titled A Folk Model of the Mind in [Dorothy Holland and Naomi Quinn (Eds.)] *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pages 113-147. The original use of the expression “cultural models” has been attributed to the anthropologist and former Duke University professor Naomi Quinn. She was one of Roy D’Andrade’s first PhD students (at Stanford University). She died recently at age 79 on June 23, 2019.

2 D’Andrade, R.G. (1984) Cultural Meaning Systems In [R.A. Shweder and R.A. LeVine (Eds.)] *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Page 95

3 See the appended selective bibliography of his publications. His book *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press 1995) summarized the contributions of cognitive research in anthropology and is a well-known introduction to that research tradition.

ETHOS

Journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology

Volume 47, Issue 4
December 2019

Editor (2018-2023)

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Byron J. Good

Specularizing the Object Cause of Desire of the Dead Other: A Ghost Story

Sadeq Rahimi

The Power of Traces

Ellen Corin

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Douglas Hollan

Letters to Maop: Living with a Ghost as Therapeutic Experience

Reza Idria

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Mary Jo DelVecchio Good

From Metaphor to Interpretation: "Haunting" as Diagnostic of Dissociative Processes

Andrea Chioventa

Chunnilal's Hauntology: Rajasthan's Ghosts, Time Going Badly, and Anthropological Voice

Andrew J. McDowell

Specter, Phantom, Demon

Thomas J. Csordas



Sapa, Vietnam
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