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Photo taken in the Eastern
Highlands of Papua New Guinea
by Gillian Gillison

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in this issue



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Author's Intro

She Speaks Her Anger: Myths and Conversations of Gimi Women. A Psychological Ethnography in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea by Gillian Gillison

Papua New Guinea Highlands peoples have long been famous for extremes of male dominance and sexual antagonism. Today, in the Eastern Highlands, violence against women is “only getting worse.” In individual testimony and in women's own myths, rites, songs and ritual theatre, *She Speaks Her Anger* gives voice to one group of Highlands women's protest against the misogyny that determines every aspect of social life. In inventions of their own, Gimi women contradict men's version of how the world began and of how the difference between the sexes originated.

Gimi women also address their complicity in their own subordination, revealing that it derives, in part, from agreement with men about certain fundamental aspects of the human condition, namely, that a baby's survival and early growth depend upon intense and prolonged attachment to mother or singular mother substitute (neoteny); and that the closed dyadic universe between mother and child critical at the start of individual life eventually becomes a threat to the life of the group. Over the course of prolonged childhood, attachment to an actual woman evolves into an entire way of being in the world and establishes a style of connection to others that impairs formation of ‘triadic’ bonds that are critical to collective life. In a very small society, this means life itself. The original ‘neotenous’ connection to mother that is essential and non-transferable at the beginning of life, the Gimi sexes agree, turns into a fatal defect that must be remedied at puberty in violent rites of initiation for both sexes. The ritual ‘undoing’ or ‘cancellation’ of motherhood is far more rigorous for boys because, soon after adolescence, girls become re-ensconsed in the mother child dyad (and repetitively thereafter with each successive birth). Seen in this light, hatred of women, sexual segregation, and ritual violence appear as a kind of institutional sledgehammer designed to guarantee males' escape from the socially-crippling constraints of very prolonged childhood while enforcing women's near-permanent entrapment.

Gimi women participate in public rituals that proclaim their unfitness to be mothers of grown children and that justify exclusion from men's affairs. But women's myths and separate rites also express the rage underlying their subjugation and men's defamatory explanation for it. Considered together, Gimi women's and men's usages both overlap and contradict one another in terms that, however improbably, reiterate and expand Freud's much-maligned theory about the murder of the father in the final chapter of *Totem and Taboo*. Seen through a Gimi lens, the primal father in *Totem and Taboo* becomes a composite figure: a primordial pair who seamlessly imprison everyone else. Father is ‘covered up’ inside Mother who emerges as a world-size womb or “house”, an often passive witness but participant nonetheless. The primal Father morphs into an arrested primal scene, the coagulate of the First Couple engaged in perpetual coitus who appear in men's “secret” rites as a singular object like the sacred flute and in women's myths as the marauding Giant Penis who rapes every nubile girl.



CULTURE, MIND, AND SOCIETY

She Speaks Her Anger: Myths and Conversations of Gimi Women

A Psychological Ethnography in the
Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea

Gillian Gillison



Palgrave Macmillan, 2021

(<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-49352-3>)

When female characters are introduced into Freud's scenario – both the Mother as silent 'scene of the crime' and Sisters whom the Father rapes in perpetuity and who conspire with their Brothers in his murder – the Gimi version of primal patricide becomes the formulation of the sexes' eternal antagonism and of women's ambivalent acquiescence in their own subordination. According to Freud, the "band of brothers" murdered the primal Father because he monopolized all the females and then, after the deed was done, felt remorse because they also loved him. To make amends, the Brothers renounced the Sisters whom the Father had held captive and whom they coveted most. By 'exchanging away' their sisters for other men's sisters, whom they took as wives, Freud credits the "band of brothers" with inventing the social order. In a Gimi-inflected version of Freud's primal crime, the Sisters conspired together with their Brothers to murder the Father and they, too, were plagued by remorse. But, unlike their brothers, the Gimi sisters do not atone for the primal parricide in the ritual present by relinquishing the ones they cherish most.

Unlike men, women 'refuse' to repent for their part in the primal Father's murder by offering up for exchange the ones they stole from him, who are the children they conceived during the era when he raped them continuously and motivated their revenge against him. When Freud's scenario is augmented by Gimi men's myths and rites, we see that men do more than merely relinquish their sisters as wives for other men: as part of a secret marriage rite, Gimi men also shift onto their sisters, and onto women in general, all responsibility for the primal crime. As a bride, a Gimi woman is the ritually-constructed vehicle of her brother's mythic guilt, burdened with the entire blame and shame for what Brother and Sister did together in the mythic past but for which the sisters alone now 'refuses' to atone.

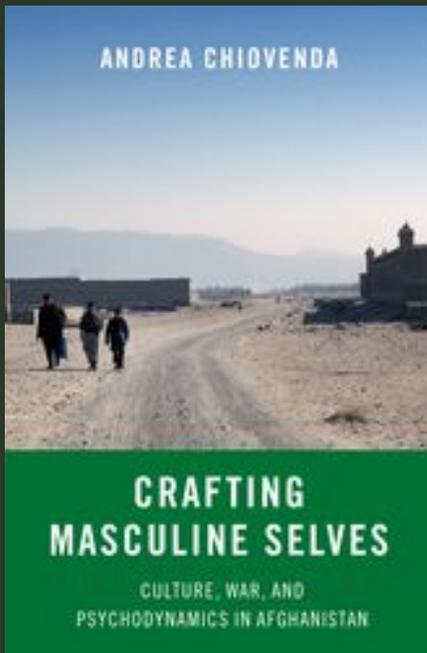
The implacable reality of women's stubborn refusal to make amends manifests itself at menarche. According to both sexes, the first appearance of menstrual blood is every Gimi woman's stillborn "first child" sired by the primal father, who is the Moon or Giant Penis. The "second children," born alive, she attaches to herself during the prolonged period of infantile dependence. As long as women keep what they acquired from the Father in the primordial past by turning it to blood between their thighs, by installing it inside their bodies, or by attaching it at the breast for themselves alone, the blame for incest and murder are all theirs.

She Speaks Her Anger is a nuanced psychological ethnography grounded in the correspondences between Gimi myths and rituals and Freud's theory of the Primal Crime.

It adopts a novel approach, which stands as critique of current anthropological discourses on mythopoeia, kinship, gender, personhood, and human sociality.

By articulating female perspectives, the book provides new insights into the contested relationship between men's and women's understandings of the world they share.

Gillian Gillison conducted fieldwork in one Gimi village in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea beginning in 1973 in periods of various duration until 1985. In 1979, she received her PhD in Anthropology from the City University of New York. She worked in the Department of Primitive Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art headed by Douglas Newton in New York and for many years was appointed chercheur associé at the Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale of the Collège de France in Paris founded by Claude Lévi-Strauss. She is now Professor Emerita in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. Her current research is devoted to the decorated caves and artifacts of Upper Paleolithic Europe.



Boyer Prize Winner

Crafting Masculine Selves: Culture, War and Psychodynamics in Afghanistan

By Andrea Chiovenda

Keeping the Afghan tragedy in our sight

Oxford Scholarship Online, 2020
DOI:10.1093/oso/9780190073558.001.0001

The research for *Crafting Masculine Selves: Culture, War and Psychodynamics in Afghanistan*, was carried out in Afghanistan between 2009 and 2013, with a subsequent brief stint again in 2016. The narrative follows the life trajectories of four main Pashtun male characters, with shorter insights into four more (the plurality, yet not the majority, of Afghan citizens is of Pashtun ethnicity). Using cultural idioms of masculinity as the field within which interactions with my interlocutors developed, I investigated the psychodynamics undergirding the construction of complementary subjectivities within each individual, the contradictions and painful ambiguities that may lie dissociated or emerge in a healthy, mutual conflict within conscious grasp of the subject. A by-product of such investigations was to become able to highlight the way cultural and social arrangements condition and shape basic psychic dynamics and mental processes, such as identification, projection, introjection, dissociation, incorporation, the transformation of unformulated, inchoate experience into thinkable material, and wake-dreaming. At the same time though, I wanted to show how the blueprint for such very same dynamics and processes could be deemed common to, and shared by, all humans, irrespective of socio-cultural background.

What I just sketched above are the main theoretical threads of the book that won the Boyer Prize. Yet allow me here not to dwell any further on them, but rather search for the protagonists of the book's chapters in today's Afghanistan, and render them real for you within the tragic fate that has befallen the country after August 2021, when the Taliban movement came back to absolute power. In fact, since August 31, 2021, when the last US soldier, from an international coalition that occupied Afghanistan for twenty years, left Kabul, the country appears to be caught in the workings of a cruel and inexplicable time machine, through which twenty years of life and development in Afghanistan were de facto wiped out by the new rise to power of an old regime. Suddenly, all the ideological and structural scaffold around which average citizens had built their life, and depended on, for the previous twenty years, simply evaporated. Long term plans, dreams, life investments, as well as professional expertise, knowledge, know-how, were rendered moot points, irrelevant and inapplicable surplus. An entire epistemic world was erased overnight. For many, life goals, daily activities, occupations, were simply not feasible any longer. The confines of life, as Afghans had known them, had repositioned themselves, leaving many outside of them.

The men who are the protagonists of my book are not an exception in this. Only two of them (Rohullah and Rahmat) managed to leave the country, and are now in North America. Their immediate family members managed to join them, and they are currently laying the foundations for a new life, in safety and peace. Yet all others are still in Afghanistan, not having been able to flee during the chaotic evacuation of late August. I had stayed in close touch with all of them without interruption since I left the field, and I was well aware of the vicissitudes they were undergoing. But nothing could have prepared me for what in fact happened after August 2021. Three of them (Inayat, Nasim Khan and Niamatullah) are in hiding, changing domicile frequently to avoid detection by the Taliban emissaries, receiving news of friends and/or family members being disappeared and eventually turning up murdered in the countryside. Two more (Umar and Baryalay) managed miraculously to retain their job positions, and not get purged by the new regime. Their technical expertise and know-how were much too necessary to the new rulers to justify their physical elimination for the "crime" of having worked closely with international institutions during the previous twenty years. All of them, except one (Umar), are now severely food-insecure, and have no idea of how they will keep feeding their families beyond a few months, whether they kept their job or not. All their daughters alike are apparently doomed to grow up semi-illiterate, given that an early Taliban decree states that girls will be allowed to attend school only until 5th or 6th grade.

By and large, all of them are people who would not have left Afghanistan if the Taliban had not reached power again. Despite the objective and undeniable difficulties of living in Afghanistan, all the individuals discussed in my book had occupations and a modicum of fulfillment in their lives, which allowed them to be able to picture a dignified future for themselves and their families. Granted, the willingness to remain in the country might have been compelled by the unspeakable dangers and risks entailed by the alternative - becoming an illegal migrant somewhere in Europe. Be it as it may, after the Taliban came back, these friends, whom for years I had been accustomed to hearing in good spirit, battling against a harsh life but willing to make the best out of it, became increasingly dark in their speech, and depressed in their moods. Inayat and Baryalay confessed to me to be fantasizing of committing suicide.

It should be clear to all that Afghanistan is not a safe place, despite several European governments preparing themselves to forcibly repatriate unwanted Afghan asylum seekers and refugees, on the basis of the disingenuous impression that there is no war ongoing in the country any longer. We already must witness with impotence the obscene US-led policy of freezing billion of dollars legally belonging to the Afghan people as a retaliation against its government, causing unprecedented hardships to its citizens and heralding upcoming human catastrophes. And currently, amid the disastrous war in Ukraine, we had to realize the callous and cruel double standard by which European countries are happily willing to welcome millions of refugees who look like their own citizens, while keeping others, who do not, to freeze to death at their borders. Thankfully, Ukrainian refugees have been received better than Afghan refugees have been for years.

Let's only hope that the new conflict in Ukraine will not definitively throw a forgetful blanket over the tragic condition of the Afghan people, which has persisted for decades, and which is so much the historical and political responsibility of the states we ourselves are citizens of.

Andrea Chioyenda is an adjunct assistant professor of anthropology at Zayed University, Abu Dhabi, UAE. He received his PhD in anthropology from Boston University in 2015. His ethnographic fieldwork research was carried out in Afghanistan from 2009 until 2013, and again in 2016, and focused on the psychological impact of cultural norms of masculinity among Pashtun men. In 2020, Dr. Chioyenda published a book based on this research, entitled *Crafting Masculine Selves: Culture, War and Psychodynamics in Afghanistan* (Oxford University Press, 2020), which won the 2021 Boyer Prize for contributions to psychoanalytic anthropology, from the Society for Psychological Anthropology. Additionally, he published several articles and book chapters in peer-reviewed academic journals and edited volumes on conflict, violence, and gender relations in Afghanistan. Since 2016, Dr. Chioyenda has been carrying out original ethnographic research in Greece, investigating the psychological impact of the migratory experience among Afghan refugees in the country.

SPA/RLF Lemelson Foundation Fellow

Shuting Li, New York University

China's enormous population of nearly 1.4 billion people is aging rapidly. Chinese citizens aged 65 or above currently constitute 13.5 percent of the total population, and are forecasted to reach approximately 30 percent of the population by 2050 (Xie, Xiyao, Jiang Lin, and Wu Hao 2021; Guo 2020). This challenges economic development, the labor system, health care, and social welfare systems. Although filial piety (xiao) still functions as the overarching virtue for holding families together, the lack of younger family members and the decrease in intergenerational co-residency conditions prevent adult children from personally taking care of their elderly parents (Zhang 2004). The struggle of finding trustworthy and qualified caregivers or care institutions drives people to look for technological solutions; in particular, the care robot has emerged as a promising supplement to care for elderly parents. My doctoral research project explores how people image care robots as a promising solution in the context of post-reform China. However, complications of the COVID-19 pandemic led to an expansion of this project from a strict focus on care robots to the larger technological realm, including social media and smartphones.

The goal of this preliminary research was to explore how people imagine and apply technologies in daily practices of caring for the elderly in China during the pandemic. This two-month ethnography was completely conducted online and remotely. During this period, I collected texts on two major social media platforms in China - Weibo and WeChat. Texts I collected include subjects' posts, comments under their posts, and posts or news featuring elders and relevant policies. I also talked to people in the robotics industry to learn about their observations and opinions of how the pandemic has influenced the robotics industry. I also interviewed adult children about how they cared for their elderly parents and grandparents during the pandemic.



Shuting Li

The existing loneliness, social isolation, and financial exploitation that the elderly experience have been exacerbated, due to shelter-in-place orders and quarantine policies. The idea of "contactless" and "social distance" seems to provide an opportunity for an accelerated development of the robotic industry. However, interviewees in the robotic industry said they did not find that the pandemic has accelerated the development of elder care robots. Although people picture robots to complete tasks and build connections in a contactless way, the demand for elder care robots has not increased dramatically during the pandemic. In their opinion, the bottleneck of elder care robots always revolves around the conundrum of good care. Good care not only demands both physical and emotional labor, but also attends to intangible and emotional needs that vary from person to person (Mol 2008). Two interviewees also coincidentally expressed that they were very surprised by the declining need for service robots in restaurants during the pandemic. Service robots in restaurants dovetail with the idea of being contactless and socially-distanced, but the market size of restaurant service robots has shrunk because the pandemic has heavily damaged the restaurant industry. In comparison, the demand for disinfection robots has increased and been used in quarantine hotels, airports, and other public spaces. Nevertheless, robotic companies encountered a big challenge of creating a solid method to evaluate the efficiency of disinfection robots in reality.

Since March 2020, the Chinese government has started using digital technology and big data to monitor people's lives. "Health code" – a QR code assigned a color of green, yellow, and red based on people's daily health status – has become the pass that allows people to access and use public transportation (Mozur, Zhong, and Krolik 2020).

To obtain a health code, people need to have a smartphone, know how to navigate and use the smartphone, and be familiar with changing local public health policies. When the "health code" became essential, a Weibo post that includes hashtags of "Are you willing to spend time teaching them?" and "The elderly are helpless in the smart era" raised public concerns about how elders who know little about digital technology experience limited mobility in everyday life (CCTV news Weibo 2020). Although the internet is open to users of all ages, adult children are more capable in navigating diverse sources on the internet and more informed than their elders about the pandemic at the beginning. For instance, adult children received information about the outbreak of coronavirus and the importance of wearing a mask from unofficial sources. In contrast, elders incline to wait for the official announcement by the government, which is considered to have more authority than other sources. Therefore, some of them encountered difficulties in persuading their parents or grandparents to shelter in place or wear a mask properly at the beginning of the pandemic. In addition to repetitive persuasion, participants noted that they made efforts to help seniors in the family identify misinformation online. Differences in ways of consuming information through digital technology caused tension in care practices and intimate relationships between generations. Adult children also expressed their complicated emotions and struggles ranging from frustration and anger to concerns and care when communicating health topics with their elders.

Virtual ethnography allowed me to observe and discuss with adult children about the impact of technology on their care practices for elders, especially intergenerational communication.

However, I encountered difficulties in building strong connections with elders or finding elderly interviewees in the online world. My interview sample indicates that virtual ethnography may not be an appropriate way to research groups with limited capacity and access to use digital technology, including but not limited to the elderly.

This two-month virtual ethnography inspires me to reflect on my research methodology and the possibilities of ethnographic data. I continue to ask what methodologies might be appropriate to gather online data on a mostly offline population? Through this summer project, I was able to build connections with people in the industry related to elder care and robotics through participant observation in some social groups. The SPA/Robert Lemelson Foundation Fellowship provided me with a precious opportunity to explore the field and reflect on my project before long-term fieldwork.

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Mentoring Matters

Mentors and Mentees 101: Getting Started in Graduate School

By Neely Myers

Getting started in graduate school is hard. I've found these 12 tips helped my graduate students and me make a smoother transition.

1

Meet with your mentor early. Meet with your mentor before the first semester starts, to try and get a sense of deadlines and expectations for the first year that will need to be met. Is there anything you can get started on over the summer that will make your first semester easier? For example, do you need to contact the student disabilities office to put accommodations in place? Is there any former coursework you are hoping to transfer in as graduate credit and when is that due? Do you need support from the English as a Second Language office? Help with graduate-level writing? Having these conversations ahead of time can help you put the resources you need in place right away.

Make a shareable plan. Use Google Sheets to create an outline of each anticipated year of graduate school (Fall/Spring/Summer) and add when you think you might take each course during those years. Add key exams, required classes, and when you might take Electives. Add key grant deadlines for each year, such as the Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grants, Society for Psychological Anthropology/Robert Lemelson Student Fellowship Program, and National Science Foundation Grant deadlines (for the Graduate Research Fellowship Program and Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grants). Share with your mentor to discuss whether there are deadlines missing (for example, for departmental travel funds). Also, talk to your mentor about whether your timeline is realistic. For example, students often don't realize that you likely need to apply for grants two years in advance of having the funds available for use because it is very likely you will revise and resubmit your applications after you receive feedback on the first round.

2

3

Research funding opportunities. Speaking of funding, it is never too early to start thinking about it. The sooner you decide where you want to do fieldwork the more your advisor can tell you about funding opportunities available. You also need to consider what you will do if your project is not funded but you want to go ahead with your fieldwork. What kinds of employment might you find while you are also in the field? Is this something your adviser would support you doing? Are there local projects you could take on? Is this something your advisor is open to discussing?

Investigate flexible course options. Ask your professor if there are classes they recommend to ease the burden during semesters with more intense required courses or times when you might be studying for Qualifying Exams, etc. so that you know what you can add in. Are there independent studies, research internships, etc. available for course credit that can help you move toward your goals?

4

5

Explore enrichment opportunities. Research enrichment opportunities and ask for advice about items like language training you might need or special methods workshops and ask for their advice.

Share your vision for work/life balance. Looking at your timeline, you might also consider other major life events or plans. Are you planning to get married or have children? Life happens and it's important to be realistic about your life goals with your mentor early on as well as your academic goals, especially because fieldwork can be really challenging for families, couples, and so forth, without good planning. Note that some people are afraid to talk to their mentor about these things and if that is true and these are important to you, you might consider looking for a new mentor.

6

7

Meet regularly. During the first semester, ask to meet with your mentor once every few weeks for at least a half-hour to check in about research goals, grant deadlines, your performance as a TA, issues you might be having in class, or resources you might need for extra support. Meeting regularly can help you stay on track and keep your mentor in the loop with your plans and challenges.

Note your progress. Start a running Google Doc to guide your meetings with your mentor that you can both add to over time. You can add topics or questions to the Doc before you meet and then during the meeting it will be helpful to take notes on the Doc. This makes it easy to see advice given over time, as well as is a good way to make sure you both are on the same page in terms of the advice being given and next steps.

8

9

Understand work rhythms. Set up expectations about deadlines. How far in advance of a due date does your mentor want to see a document? How long do you need to revise? For example, I usually ask for a grant submission 6-8 weeks ahead of the due date. This way, I have 2 weeks to review, they have 2 weeks to rewrite, and I have 2 more weeks to review before they submit. What are your mentor's expectations about deadlines? What are yours?

Explain your style. It is also very helpful to have a conversation about working styles and deadlines. Some students work best with a lot of structure, deadlines, and direction. Others prefer to operate independently with an occasional check in. Some professors want to micromanage their graduate students, setting up lots of readings, practice essays, and other activities as part of the advising package. Others are more interested in meeting on occasion. Be sure to ask your advisor about their mentoring style and preferences and make sure they fit early on. It is often okay to change advisers early in the process if there is another faculty member who may be a better fit.

10

11

Gain research experience. Some students are really interested in extra opportunities like research experience for hands on practice and sometimes even extra funding. Be sure to ask your adviser about such opportunities if they interest you. We often don't want to overload you or ask you to do too much but are willing to add you into things if you have extra time

Ask about publishing. Be sure to ask about publishing opportunities for your previous research and/or volunteer work, as well. Being an author on a paper early on in your graduate career can be helpful when applying for funding and jobs! It's very helpful for your mentor to know what you have done that could be published and how they can be supportive.

12

Neely Myers, PHD, is a psychological and medical anthropologist who studies how people recover from psychosis, trauma and substance use in various social contexts. She is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at SMU and an Adjunct Associate Professor of Psychiatry at UT-Southwestern. She is also the Editor-in-Chief of Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry.

The Accompanist: For Paul Farmer in Praise and Remembrance

By Woody Gaines

Paul Farmer
1959-2022



Dr. Paul Farmer pictured at Koidu Government Hospital. Dr. Paul Farmer visits health facilities supported by Partners In Health in Kono, Sierra Leone. Photo courtesy of Partners in Health.

This is a very difficult piece to write, for the subject was the dearest person to me and the dearest I have ever met. He was much more than the world's most important medical humanitarian. It is hard to contemplate a world without him. He was, after all, on a mission, to 'save the world' (as Tracy Kidder subtitled his biography of "Ti" Paul, *Mountains Beyond Mountains*). Ti is my nickname for Paul, or rather, one of them, and is Haitian Patois for Petit. In what follows, I try to give a glimpse of Paul as a person and how, in part, he came to be who he was, though his impact is so great now, he will live on much more than in just our memories.

Our paths crossed some 42 years ago (1992) when Paul was a sophomore at Duke University and I was there to give a job talk for a position vacated by the retiring distinguished psychiatric-psychological anthropologist, Weston LaBarre. Years later, Paul and I would write his biographical entry in the *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*.

At the talk, Paul, in our first interaction asked a question. He was noticeable because of his question, which he remembered long after I had forgotten it, and the fact that he looked very much like Buddy Holly, one of a few cultural music heroes of mine. When meeting over the years, we sometimes said hello by saying, "What was the question?"

This little remembrance highlights two things. First Paul had an eidetic memory, and second, he was trained as an undergraduate in psychological, psychiatric and psychoanalytic (not his favorite) anthropology in medical anthropology, my *métiers*. But his honors thesis, which I chaired, was of two minds and presaged a decision he would make later, while at Harvard. That is, he actually wrote two honors theses, one on depression in women and the other on Haitian immigrants, some of whom he worked with near Durham. The latter group, of course, would lead him far from things psychological.

In his senior year, I suggested that he apply to Harvard. I called Arthur Kleinman to tell him I had an extraordinary student that he absolutely must have. I went on about his brilliance and his seriousness and his kindness, the latter so much so that my second nickname for Paul was St. Paul, a sobriquet he rather lived up to later in life. After making the introduction of Paul to Harvard, Kleinman asked me "Is he really that good?" I replied, "Arthur, he is the Second Coming." He was. I once asked Weston LaBarre, the three of us having become a group, if he had ever had a student like Paul; he replied that he had, "once...in 1933." It was LaBarre's 1946 paper, *Social Cynosure* and served as the concept Paul and I used to organize what was his first major publication, *Visible Saints* (in *CMP* 1996).

This extraordinary and gifted healer and medical humanitarian had many facets of which most people are unaware. In what follows, we will see a bit more of Paul as a person, a multifaceted person. Some of the things that he was derive from his time at Duke, though this received short shrift in Kidder's book (for which he personally apologized to me).

Clearly, I did know that Paul was a singularity, but as Harvardians and I later learned, he was even more than we could have imagined. By calling him the Second Coming, I had actually "undersold him" as Kleinman recently said. This singularity was so evident that gave Paul a key to my office so he could use it anytime he wanted. We not infrequently worked there all night, he on his papers or reviews (he was the student body's art critic) on a table to the left of the office door and me, at my desk, on publications.

We sometimes wrote our respective papers start to finish in one night; unfortunately, he took this bit of inadvertent modeling into PIH, as some of his charges told me he expected that they should finish their articles in a day or two. "Just write it!" he would say. I learned also that my giving him my office key was extremely meaningful to him and he mentioned it in several papers he presented. At Harvard, when he became a professor (and later chair) of Social Medicine (which he renamed, Global Health and Social Medicine), he bestowed his office key on a few fortunate individuals. I never found another so worthy.

Working all night was not unusual for either of us. In fact, Paul would start classes on Monday and then not sleep again until Thursday evening. The all-nighters were common for him and remained so; indeed, the Saturday night before his death on Monday morning of that March day, found him staying up all night with a patient that he heroically, but vainly, tried to save. He then worked the next day finally retiring late Sunday/Monday never to awaken.

In his coursework, Paul took or audited very course I taught while at Duke, so we spent time together most every day for two years. He was, of course, my student, but soon became my dear friend and, after the death of his father, a bit of a father figure for him; a multiplex relationship, the latter dimension of which I only recently became aware of through the kind offices of Katherine Kralievits, Paul's gifted, and full of grace, Chief of Staff. (Paul sometimes did need herding, as I have said in other contexts.) So, Paul was well schooled in Psychiatric-Psychological Anthropology and his move to Harvard was an extension of those interests given the faculty there involved in these issues (psychiatrist Kleinman and Good, DelVecchio Good and Becker). However, the Haitians called to him, or he to them. He could see that the Haitians were in dire need of help, but the help they needed was not so much psychiatric or medical anthropological, in the strict sense, but rather they needed help with infectious diseases. And, so he went to work with and on the Haitians in Haiti and infectious diseases, where he often traveled while in school to the consternation of his teachers and later his colleagues.

Languages were never a problem and he learned Haitian patois very rapidly. He had a firm basis in French having studied it and learned more as an au pair boy in Paris where he learned the French of the children in his charge as well as that of their parents, one a lawyer, the other a physician. His garret sleeping room was once occupied by Marcel Proust.

While a student at Duke, Paul evidenced, and taught me, what I call his radical equivalence of all people. As he finished school and went off into the world of dangerous things and the structural violence afflicted the poor worldwide, this worried me most, as I did worry about him like a dad, but also like a friend and a brother. It soon became apparent that wherever there was affliction of largescale tragedy, Paul was likely to be there.

Once, there was a flood in a Haitian town and the news mentioned that the water was 4 feet deep or so. I thought to myself, 'oh no, Paul's there'; so, I called him and indeed he was there, standing in water up to his chest; he was fine but said he should not tell me what was floating around in the water!!!!

And so, with the TonTon Macoute, AIDS, TB, Earthquakes, Ebola and Covid 19, and abject poverty, Paul was there, trying to save the world. But it should be known that although Paul was busy taking care of the world, he did not care of himself. Once at a party, I found him wolfing down chunks of fat from the catered meat tray. I admonished him and he replied that it didn't matter, "I'm not going to live to see 50 anyway".

He made it to 62 despite his radical equivalence. That equivalence meant he would easily give his life to save another. This was a point of disagreement between us; I believed that he was more important than some others; he did not. He believed his patients were as important, if not more so than he, so he abused himself to accompany (his term) them on their particular journey, be it to health or death. The sick needed someone to be with them and he was not so important as to leave them alone. And, he set about building clinics, hospitals, medical centers and even a medical school, not just to provide medical accompaniment, but because all those institutions have to be built, staffed, maintained and supplied by locals, formerly mostly unemployed. In other words, his "chief strategist's" vision was not just medical but rather it was socially and economically transformative.

So, with no more space, ...**"What was the question?"**



Dr. Paul Farmer catches up with Dr. Chiyembekezo Kachimanga, head of noncommunicable disease care and a PIH veteran from Malawi. Dr. Paul Farmer visits health facilities supported by Partners In Health in Kono, Sierra Leone. Photo courtesy of Partners in Health.

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San José, Costa Rica
Photo By Breanne Casper

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