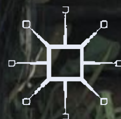
Culture, Mind, and Society

Afflictions

Steps Toward a Visual Psychological Anthropology

Robert Lemelson and Annie Tucker



Culture, Mind, and Society

Series Editor
Peter G. Stromberg
Anthropology Department
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA

The Society for Psychological Anthropology—a section of the American Anthropology Association—and Palgrave Macmillan are dedicated to publishing innovative research that illuminates the workings of the human mind within the social, cultural, and political contexts that shape thought, emotion, and experience. As anthropologists seek to bridge gaps between ideation and emotion or agency and structure and as psychologists, psychiatrists, and medical anthropologists search for ways to engage with cultural meaning and difference, this interdisciplinary terrain is more active than ever.

Editorial Board

Eileen Anderson-Fye, Department of Anthropology, Case Western Reserve University
Jennifer Cole, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago
Linda Garro, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles
Daniel T. Linger, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz
Rebecca Lester, Department of Anthropology, Washington University in St. Louis
Tanya Luhrmann, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University
Catherine Lutz, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Peggy Miller, Departments of Psychology and Speech Communication, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Robert Paul, Department of Anthropology, Emory University
Antonius C. G. M. Robben, Department of Anthropology, Utrecht University, Netherlands
Bradd Shore, Department of Anthropology, Emory University
Jason Throop, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles
Carol Worthman, Department of Anthropology, Emory University

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14947

Robert Lemelson • Annie Tucker

Afflictions

Steps Toward a Visual Psychological Anthropology

palgrave
macmillan

Robert Lemelson
University of California
Los Angeles, California
USA

Annie Tucker
University of California
Los Angeles, California
USA

Culture, Mind, and Society
ISBN 978-3-319-59983-0 ISBN 978-3-319-59984-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-59984-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017946191

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image © Elemental Productions
Cover design by Samantha Johnson

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

To Dorothy Lemelson: With the deepest respect, admiration, and love

Preface

Photo 1 Anthropologist Robert Lemelson at a *jathilan* performance in 2006

In 1996, as a graduate student in psychological anthropology, I went to Indonesia to conduct doctoral research exploring the influence of cultural context on the experience and trajectory of mental illness. The question I was interested in, addressed in a series of research projects by the World

Health Organization (WHO) (the International Pilot Study on Schizophrenia and the Determinant of Outcome of Severe Mental Disorders) in the 1970s forward, seemed straightforward enough: why people who have developed a psychotic illness in the developing world have a better outcome or recovery than those in the West. This has been termed "The Outcome Paradox." How could it be that people living in societies that had few dollars, or national resources, devoted to the care and treatment of people with serious mental illness, like Indonesia, would get better more quickly, than in the West, where large sums are devoted to the care and treatment of people living with mental illness?

The WHO researchers defined outcome as the ability to return home after an initial hospitalization, return to work, and have fewer severe symptoms, re-hospitalizations, and relapses. After engaging in the largest transcultural psychiatric epidemiologic research project in history exploring this important public health concern, they identified a number of domains that were related to differential outcome and recovery from mental illness. These included attributional models of etiology for illness, labeling of symptoms and syndromes, the relative flexibility of daily routines; types of treatment available and accessible, the degree and types of social support, and the family emotional climate a patient returns to, among others. However, they struggled to fully answer this question, in part because the clinical and epidemiological emphasis of the research, while being able to identify these important domains, in some ways lacked the textured specificity to parse out these factors, in particular cultural places and times. One of the needs cited for future research in the WHO final report, in reference to recovery factors for schizophrenia in the developing world, was a call for greater integration of ethnographic findings. They called for qualitative and anthropological research to tease out the contextualized specifics.

In addition to "The Outcome Paradox" seeming to be an important and complex question with real life implications, it was this call for ethnographic approaches that I responded to after taking a seminar on this issue with one of my mentors, Prof. Robert Edgerton, who had done foundational work on the relation of psychosis and culture. I picked Bali as a field site, following the suggestion of another of my mentors, Prof. Douglas Hollan, who had extensive research experience on the neighboring island of Sulawesi, among the Toraja.

Bali, Indonesia, is one of the most well-examined societies in the world by anthropologists. For over a hundred years they (alongside the now millions of tourists) have come to this beautiful and culturally elaborate

society to explore a wide range of topics. In anthropology proper, Bali is now seen as a place that is well understood, even overdone, and thus perhaps lacking in contemporary ethnographic interest. However, since I wanted to investigate the impact of culture on mental illness experience, a well-examined culture such as Bali seemed a good fit; there was already ample information about the myriad aspects of the ceremonial, ritual, and social life that might be relevant.

To conduct such a study I knew I would need to explore such diverse areas as explanatory models, local ways of understanding unusual sensory experiences, cultural shaping of putative psychiatric syndromes, and traditional and biomedical/psychiatric treatment systems. My conceptual toolkit included participant observation of locally available treatments; utilizing etic models such as psychiatric nosological and diagnostic systems to separate symptom and syndrome, disease and illness; and exploring the lifeworlds and life histories of my subjects via in-depth interviews. I also planned to use clinical and ethnographic forms of data collection including culturally contextualized diagnostic interviews; structured, semi-structured, and open-ended interviews; person-centered interview schedules; and community and clinical surveys. In my dissertation proposal, I briefly mentioned that I was interested in videotaping some of my research.

I was lucky at this early stage in my research career (1995–1997) to meet a Balinese psychiatrist, Dr. Luh Ketut Suryani, who had been involved with the WHO research and had done her own sophisticated work on culture and mental illness. In the mid-1980s she had spent a year collecting first hospitalizations for acute psychosis, and had a sample of 115 cases, which she investigated using a mixed method approach of clinical evaluation, interviews, and structured questionnaires. After meeting and discussing my interests with her, she agreed to have me work with four of her residents to re-contact these original patients, re-interview them, and do one of the first ten-year follow-up studies in this area. Over the course of a year and a half in 1996–1997, 95 of the original 115 were re-contacted and re-interviewed.

Toward the latter part of this fieldwork I received a letter from a colleague who was a researcher at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), who wondered if I would be interested in participating in a pilot research program at the NIMH attempting to find cases of neuropsychiatric disorders in the developing world. The impetus for this research was the then-recent finding about the pediatric autoimmune neuropsychiatric disorders associated with streptococcus infection, also known as the PANDAS hypothesis. Briefly,

this was a theory that some cases of specific neuropsychiatric disorders, such as obsessive-compulsive disorder and Tourette Syndrome, had their origins in multiple streptococcus infections in children who were genetically predisposed. The research team believed that in a place like Indonesia, with high rates of infectious diseases, it should be possible to find cases of neuropsychiatric disorders, and then link these back to elements related to the PANDAS hypothesis.

After multiple presentations were made to local psychiatric professionals about this research, one of the local psychiatrists, I Gusti Putu Panteri, who ran a private psychiatric hospital in Denpasar, Bali, approached me about collaborating on this project. He had been in practice for decades and had an extensively documented clinical caseload; several dozen of these patients were identified who fit the NIMH criteria. We then spent six months re-contacting these patients in their villages scattered throughout Bali.

Several months into this new research project, a friend and graduate student in anthropology who had some experience in the film world, came to Bali to stay with my family for several weeks. We agreed she would film me conducting my fieldwork. Beyond that, I did not give much thought to how I might use these films.

In the following few weeks, we gathered approximately thirty-five to forty hours of video with a dozen or so of my research subjects. Some of these were truncated interviews shot largely for their visual quality, while others were more complete ethnographic interviews. Upon returning to the United States, I put the videos aside and spent the next year and a half completing my dissertation. While writing, I was contacted by a young Javanese psychiatrist, Mahar Agusno, and his wife, psychologist, and English teacher, Ninik Supartini, who were interested in my research and potential collaboration.

After finishing my dissertation in 1999, I started a project with a geneticist who was exploring various aspects of the genetic basis of common neuropsychiatric disorders. She was interested in finding cases of Tourette disorder in Indonesia. My collaborators Mahar and Ninik assisted us with this project, initially collecting cases drawn from Mahar's clinical case log and then conducting a community-based study to find additional cases by going through villages in Gunung Kidul, a poor region of Central Java where Ninik was from and where many in her extended family still resided. Mahar had just finished his residency in psychiatry, which had required him to serve a large region of rural South-Central Java. This made him the ideal person to do the required community surveys. In late 1999 and early 2000,

they conducted a detailed survey of several regencies. Mahar and Ninik videotaped some of their subjects for research purposes. The genetics project soon foundered due to a lack of funding, but the anthropological project, which was a logical extension of my work in Bali, continued.

At this point, I also began teaching at UCLA, and I thought about the thirty-five to forty hours of film footage gathered in 1997. Around the same time, a young documentary filmmaker approached me, to give my anthropological opinion of a recent film he was directing. I thought the material and his approach interesting, and asked if he was able to work with me on editing the footage I had into small teaching pieces, for my classes. He agreed, and we produced several short videos. They turned out to be a big success with my students, and I decided to go back to Indonesia, re-contact the people in the footage, and follow them up, both for research and to expand upon the teaching films.

In the summer of 2000 I therefore returned to both Bali and Java. In addition to the young documentary filmmaker, I worked closely with Wayan Sadha, a cartoonist and journalist who provided an indispensable lens into the daily life of the average Balinese, and later with his daughter Sri. Unfortunately my collaborator on the neuropsychiatric research, Dr. Panteri, had had a stroke in 1999, making collaboration difficult. I was also able to work with Dr. Made Nyandra, a much younger Balinese psychiatrist "on his way up." As a Christian, Dr. Nyandra offered some interesting perspectives on the dominant Balinese Hindu community. In Java, my initial collaboration with Mahar and Ninik deepened into what became my closest and most longstanding professional relationship and friendship in Indonesia. I discovered that Mahar was deeply interested in the interplay between Javanese and Indonesian culture and the experience and outcomes of the people living with the different forms of mental illness he was treating on a daily basis. Ninik, as a psychologist with an interest in cultural psychology, provided great insight into many different aspects of Javanese culture.

In these early years, however, my understanding of film and filmmaking was still rather minimal. Having grown up on a television diet of documentaries made in the 1960s and 1970s, ranging from Mike Wallace's *Biography* series, to the Mutual of Omaha's *Wild Kingdom* and *National Geographic* specials, I had a very naïve understanding of just what good cinema or good documentary, let alone good ethnographic film, entailed. As an undergraduate and graduate student in anthropology I had been exposed to the typical if rather sparse set of classic ethnographic films, from John Marshall's

The Hunters to Timothy Asch's *A Man called Bee* and *The Ax Fight*; a range of other ethnographic snippets, typically focused on some aspect of technology, subsistence, or ritual life; and the occasional more complex film, such as *Ongka's Big Moka*. But my understanding of films was largely gained through watching and discussing them with my friends, and through the general diffusion of knowledge that permeates life in Los Angeles, where so many work in the film industry.

At this early stage, in 2000, I did not foresee the visual ethnography becoming extended beyond short teaching pieces. I simply hoped that if I could visually document the lives of my participants, this might bring my students into the world I was immersed in as an ethnographic researcher. Accordingly, as I traveled in Bali and Java continuing my ethnographic explorations of culture and mental illness, I saw the camera as little more than "an extension of my eyes," recording my ethnographic encounters while documenting the rich cultural life of the communities in Bali and Java.

In the following years, my experience, ambition, and love of filmmaking grew. I returned to Indonesia every year once or twice a year for two to four weeks at a time to continue this work. In the intervening months, footage would be edited and assembled into basic narratives; as I first began making teaching films with the materials shot, I designed the structure of the films around key research topics of interest in the field, such as cultural differences in the symptomatology and expression of illness, rather than around individuals or their personal stories and what was of primary interest to *them* in their lives. Yet, through filming subjects on repeated trips, I developed deeper relationships with the participants. Through these relationships I began forming a new understanding of the issues brought to the field with research question and hypotheses; ultimately, I realized that the footage collected was full of interesting *personal* stories, and that these stories eloquently articulated not just themes of my original research but wider issues in psychological anthropology.

With each successive shoot, my interest in film and filmmaking deepened and widened. Over the next five years or so, I began to read more extensively about film theory, the history of ethnographic film, explorations in storytelling, narrative, and character development, and many of the related technical issues involved in contemporary filmmaking. My understanding of what "good filmmaking"—and more specifically, good storytelling and good narration—entailed became more informed and nuanced.

Much has been made of the "Cambridge turn" in ethnographic film, and certainly a number of visionary filmmakers and anthropologists have come

out of the Boston area. Los Angeles is much less known as a center for ethnographic filmmaking. This is somewhat odd, as UCLA has an esteemed anthropology program and a famous film school, while USC has the visual anthropology program initially founded by Timothy Asch, which remains a rich source of young ethnographic filmmakers. Outside of these centers for training in ethnographic film, Los Angeles is also of course a global center of the film industry. Yet relatively few, if any, anthropologists have turned toward the film industry here as a resource or a source of knowledge, let alone inspiration or collaboration. In any case, it was not difficult for me to find thoughtful professionals in the film industry with an interest in ethnographic film; some had taken courses in anthropology or even had degrees in visual anthropology. Independent filmmakers in particular can share concerns with anthropologists, committed as they often are to "telling the truth," about the difficulties of contemporary life and including the voices and stories of those not included in mainstream films.

In 2006 I founded the documentary production company Elemental Productions, and have finished over a dozen films: *40 Years Of Silence: An Indonesian Tragedy* (2009) about the long-term effects of the 1965–1966 mass killings; the six films in the *Afflictions* series (2010–2011); *Jathilan* (2011), a film about possession performance; *Ngaben: Emotion and Restraint in a Balinese Heart* (2012), addressing the personal experience of funerary ritual; *Standing on the Edge of a Thorn* (2012), a film about the complicated pathways to sex work implicating personal vulnerability and social response; *Bitter Honey* (2014), a film about polygamy and gender-based violence in Bali; and finally *Tajen* (2015), on the Balinese cockfight, and other audio-visual projects, with additional projects in various stages of pre-production or production.

In 2009 I hired a graduate student, Annie Tucker, as a research assistant and writer to help develop study guides for the films. Annie received her PhD at UCLA in 2015, researching the interpretation and treatment of autism spectrum disorder in Java; her training in Disability Studies, experience living, working, and conducting research in Indonesia, and her fluent Bahasa Indonesia made her a natural fit as a collaborator. She is the second author of this book.

Through all of this, the project, most longstanding, foundational, and closest to my heart, stems from the original research on culture and mental illness in Bali and Java—the six films of the *Afflictions* series,[1] which are the subject of this book. One of the main purposes of this book is to complement the stories told and themes explored in the *Afflictions* series with both

a deep dive into a written ethnography and more practical guidelines about filmmaking in general. While there are often linkages between ethnography proper and ethnographic film on the same subject, works that specifically link the two are quite rare. Even rarer are efforts to not only connect these two but toprovide descriptive, reflexive accounts of the projects themselves, and the related issues of film production, issues of ethics and participant/collaborator/team relationships, and finally to advocate for film as a potentially equal partner to classic ethnography.

This bringing together of ethnographic film and the concerns and domains of psychological anthropology we term "visual psychological anthropology".

One of the stated goals of a visual psychological anthropology is the rendering of textured, person-centered life history narrative that instantiates these elements into a multi-sensory expression that feels "lived" to the viewer. Another is to connect the domains and the theory in psychological anthropology to the actual lives of participants in our research, and embed these in understandable and emotional stories. Tracking these themes and story, over time, is also key. Linking the visual aspect to the written work, so that each complement and add to each other, further strengthens this new endeavor. Integrating the visual, whether whole films, scenes and clips, or related material, with the written in an interactive digital format helps bring together the fields of ethnographic film and psychological anthropology. Another, more distal goal is to make the research of psychological anthropology available to a much larger, public audience, through the medium of film. This book attempts to address all of these issues.

Note

1. The films are available, for a discount to purchasers of this book, at www.elementalproductions.org

Series Preface

Psychological anthropologists study a wide spectrum of human activity: child development, illness and healing, ritual and religion, selfhood and personality, political and economic systems, just to name a few. In fact, as a discipline that seeks to draw the lines connecting persons and culture, it would be difficult to come up with examples of human behavior that fall outside the purview of psychological anthropology. Yet beneath this substantive diversity lies a common commitment. The practitioners of psychological anthropology seek to answer broad questions about how peoples' inner worlds are interwoven with their outer ones. And while psychological anthropologists may focus on emotions or human biology, on language or art or dreams, they rarely stray far from the attempt to understand the mental and physical possibilities and limitations that ground human experience.

Afflictions: Steps Toward a Visual Psychological Anthropology is a companion to the *Afflictions* film series, six ethnographic films about the experience of mental illness in various cultural settings in Indonesia. In proposing visual psychological anthropology, the authors introduce a sub-discipline centered on the implications of film for theory, ethnography, and the lives of the subjects who anthropologists study. As in much anthropology, the present book works simultaneously on two levels. The chapters here reflect both on the films in the series and on broader questions about ethnographic film, anthropology, and the practical and ethical implications of films that depict mental illness. The authors are attuned—among other issues—to the humanizing possibilities of films that remind us that their

subjects are examples neither of a particular culture nor of a diagnosis, but rather that they are human beings with day-to-day lives in families and communities. Overall, these chapters serve to consolidate and welcome a new area of inquiry in psychological anthropology, one that will undoubtedly help to determine the direction of the field in the coming years.

Tulsa, OK
USA

Peter G. Stromberg
Editor of *Culture, Mind, and Society*

Acknowledgments

In a project that spans twenty years, in the research, the film, and the written form, there are many people to acknowledge and thank.

First my writing partner and friend, Anne Tucker, always a source of steady and calm good feelings, combined with hard work and brilliance as a scholar. *Rajin pangkal pandai.* Thank you.

The following organizations for their assistance in getting the research accomplished and guidance along the way: the American-Indonesian Exchange Foundation, the Foundation for Psychocultural Research, the Indonesian Consulate General, Los Angeles, the Indonesian Department of Health, the JW Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the National Institute of Mental Health, Rumah Sakit Jiwa Bangli, Rumah Sakit Jiwa Magelang, Rumah Sakit Umum Wangaya, the Society for Psychological Anthropology, the Society for the Study of Psychiatry and Culture, the UCLA Department of Anthropology, the UCLA Medicine, Mind and Culture Group, the UCLA International Studies Overseas Program, Udayana University Department of Psychiatry, USC Center for Visual Anthropology, and the World Health Organization.

Thanks to the copy editor of this work, Anne Greenberger.

I would like to thank my psychiatric colleagues in Bali—I Made Nyandra, I Gusti Nyoman Sastradi, Ni Anak Agung Indriani, and I Gusti Nyoman Mahayasa, especially my two main colleagues I Gusti Putu Panteri and Luh Ketut Suryani, without whom this project would never have started.

To Judith Rapoport and Allan Fiske for helping launch the neuropsychiatric research component.

I would like to thank the people I have worked with in the many phases of the film production, both in the United States and Indonesia. Kathy Huang, Darwin Nugraha, Carolyn Rouse, Mieke Douridas, Luis Lopez, Luh Putu Artini, Anak Agung Indra Kusuma, Darwin Nugraha, Luis Lopez, Rachmi Diyah Larasati, Leslie Dwyer, Ayu Martiani, Degung Santikarma, Anak Agung Gede Putra, Agung Alit, Anak Agung Ngurah Termana, Juliana Wijaya, Upadi Yuliatmo, and Handi Ilfat.

Thanks to Dag Yngvesson and Wing Ko, for all the work they put in as directors of photography and other work related to *Afflictions*. And to my first mentor in anthropology, Barbara Yngvesson.

On the Elemental stateside, I would like to thank my long (and shorter) term staff Yee Ie, Putu Robin Geni Wijaya, Alessandra Pasquino, Riawaty Jap, Putu Surmiasih, Chin Rodger, Briana Young, Emily Ng, Martha Stroud, Yulin Sun, and Irine Prastio.

To the *Afflictions* composer Malcolm Cross, for his phenomenal scores, and to music editor and friend Richard Henderson, for our long discussions about R. Crumb and Frank Zappa. Also for Pak Nyoman Wenten, for bringing the complexity of Balinese music to our soundtrack.

Editors are the unsung heros of filmmaking, and I would like to thank Sandra Angeline, Heidi Zimmerman, Herbert Bennett, and Michael Mallen for their work editing *Afflictions*.

In particular, I would like to thank my long-time editor Chisako Yokoyama for her effort not just on *Afflictions*, but also on other related projects. And to my friend and consulting editor Pietro Scalia—strength and honor.

To my friends and colleagues Mahar Agusno and Ninik Supartini, for many years of dedicated work and close abiding friendship.

To my numerous colleagues and friends in the Department of Anthropology at UCLA and beyond who have given me guidance and feedback over the years on this emergent project, including Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, Byron Good, Cameron Hay-Rollins, Alex Hinton, Jason Throop, Devon Hinton, Janet Hoskins, Laurence Kirmayer, Hildred Geertz, Abby Ruddick, Unni Wikan, Eileen Anderson-Fye, Jill Korbin, Tom Weisner, Jason Throop, Aomar Boum, Linda Garro, Carol Worthman, Mel Konner, Gilbert Herdt, Rick Shweder, Geoff Robinson, Deena Newman, Charles Stewart, Romo Baskara Wardaya, Adrian Vickers Alan Tobin, and Emeran Mayer.

My long-time colleagues at The Foundation for Psychocultural Research: Connie Cummings, Mamie Wong, and Irene Sukwandi; and the Board of the FPR: Beate Ritz, Marie Françoise Chesselet, Douglas Hollan, Marvin Karno, Steve López, Carole Browner, and Marjorie Kagawa-Singer. All with very great affection. I am most lucky to have such a committed and wonderful board, and most particularly staff, as I have had for these many years.

To Peter Singer, for friendship in the time remaining to both of us.

To my dearest of friends and wise advisor Caitlin Mullin whose loss is still felt most keenly.

To Wayan Sadha, my best friend in Bali. *Saya merasa kehilangan kamu*. And his daughter Ni Luh Gede Sri Pratiwi, for many years of friendship. And to Nyoman Asug, for our long talks while driving. To Made Reni and Ketut, for lifelong friendship. *Saya merasa kehilangan kamu juga, Bu Made*.

Special thanks are due to the participants of the films in the *Afflictions* series. Ni Ketut Kasih, Nyoman Kereta, Bambang Rujito, Gusti Ayu Suartini, I Wayan Yoga Adi Suwarduana, Estu Wardhani, and their respective families to whom I have an abiding respect and gratitude.

To my dissertation committee Robert Edgerton, Allen Johnson, and particularly Douglas Hollan and Marvin Karno for mentorship and abiding friendship.

To Shihan Tsutomu Ohshima, and my seniors at Shotokan Karate of America, especially Marion Taylor and Brian Maeda, who taught me the meaning of "The Way- who will pass it on straight and well".

To my friends in Los Angeles (and elsewhere), but especially to Sam Nichols, David Yoshimaru, David Hertz, Stewart Norman, and Mike Massey for enduring friendship.

To my mother, Dorothy Lemelson, to whom this book is dedicated, brother Eric, and nephew Jeremiah and his mom Jennifer Bruml.

To the rest of my large and supportive family.

To my children Noah and Zoe, the source of my joy, love, and respect, and their mother Susan Morse who helped raise these amazing people.

To my beautiful, brilliant, and always sweet and supportive wife Seinenu Thein, without whom this book would not have been written.

As always, to the memory of my father Jerome Hal Lemelson.

Anne Tucker would like to thank her co-writer Robert Lemelson for his ongoing mentorship and enduring support. She would also like to thank

Constance Cummings, Mamie Wong, and Yee Ie for their crucial feedback and assistance during the preparation of this book.

Both authors would like to thank Rachel Krause and Kyra Saniewski, our editors at Palgrave, and Peter Stromberg, the series editor for the Culture, Mind, and Society series, for ushering the book to publication. We would also like to thank our anonymous reviewer, whose comments and suggestion provided us the opportunity to clarify and expand certain key aspects of our arguments.

Contents

Part I Steps Towards a Visual Psychological Anthropology 1

1 Visual Psychological Anthropology: A Vignette and Prospectus 3

2 Perspectives on Integrating Ethnographic Film into Psychological Anthropology 25

3 The Lived Experience of Culture and Mental Illness in Indonesia 49

Part II *Afflictions*: Culture and Mental Illness in Indonesia 71

4 The Bird Dancer: Social Rejection and Social Suffering 73

5 Shadows and Illuminations: Interpreting and Framing Extraordinary Experience 99

6 Family Victim: Encountering Deviance and Representing Intersubjectivity 111

7 Memory of My Face: Globalization, Madness, and Identity On-screen 135

8 Ritual Burdens: Culturally Defined Stressors and Developmental Progressions 157

9 Kites and Monsters: Continuity in Cultural Practices 177

Part III The Practice of Visual Psychological Anthropology 191

10 The Process of Visual Psychological Anthropology 193

11 Collaboration, Intervention, Compensation, and Ethics 245

12 Visual Psychological Anthropology: Implications for Teaching and the Future 273

Appendix 287

Index 297

List of Abbreviations

AAA	American Anthropological Association
ADHD	attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder
APA	American Psychiatric Association
B.B.	Bahasa Bali
B.I.	Bahasa Indonesia
B.J.	Bahasa Java
BGTC	basal-ganglia-thalamocortical circuits
CBT	cognitive behavioral therapy
CD	compact disc
CSTC	cortico-striatal-thalamo-cortical pathways
DER	Documentary Educational Resources
DOSMD	determinants of outcome of severe mental disorder
DSLR	digital single lens reflex
DSM	*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*
DVD	digital versatile disc or digital video disc
ECT	electroconvulsant therapy
EE	expressed emotion
fMRI	functional magnetic resonance imaging
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
ICD	International Classification of Diseases
IDA	International Documentary Association
IPSS	International Pilot Study of Schizophrenia
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KPSI	Keluarga Pasien Schizofrenia Indonesia??
KPSI	Komunitas Peduli Skizofrenia Indonesia??
MMAC	Medicine, Mind, and Culture, at UCLA

NAMI	National Alliance on Mental Illness
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIMH	National Institute of Mental Health
OCD	obsessive-compulsive disorder
OK	okay
PANDAS	pediatric autoimmune neuropsychiatric disorder
PCE	person-centered ethnography
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia
PKK	*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*
PLOS	Public Library of Science
PNI	Indonesian Nationalist Party
PPDGJ	Pedoman Penggolongan dan Diagnosis Gangguan Jiwa
PSE	Present Status Exam
PTSD	posttraumatic stress disorder
RAID	redundant array of independent disks
RSJM	Rumah Sakit Jiwa Magelang
SSRI	selective serotonin reuptake inhibitor
SVA	Society for Visual Anthropology
TS	Tourette Syndrome
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
USC	University of Southern California
VPCE	visual person-centered ethnography
WHO	World Health Organization

List of Figures

Preface	Anthropologist Robert Lemelson at a *jathilan* performance in 2006	vii
Part I	Arjuna meditates, beset by beautiful women (From the Mead Bateson collection)	1
Part II	Ritual ceremony in a family temple (From the Mead Bateson collection)	71
Photo 4.1	Gusti Ayu Suartini	73
Photo 4.2	Gusti Ayu gets treated by a *balian* who uses massage therapy	75
Photo 4.3	Gusti laments her brother's treatment of her	80
Photo 5.1	Nyoman Kereta	99
Photo 5.2	Kereta receiving treatment by a *balian usada* or literate healer	102
Photo 6.1	Estu Wardhani	111
Photo 6.2	Estu consults with one of his traditional healers	113
Photo 6.3	Estu, his wife, Ana, and their daughter, Mega, under graffiti in his stall which reads "Life without hope"	115
Photo 7.1	Bambang Rujito	135
Photo 7.2	Bambang participating in a *jathilan* dance performance at a mental hospital in central Java	149
Photo 8.1	Ni Ketut Kasih	157
Photo 8.2	Ni Ketut Kasih evaluated by her psychiatrist, Dr. Panteri	160
Photo 8.3	Ni Ketut Kasih in the warm embrace of her family	170
Photo 9.1	Wayan Adi Yoga Suwarduana	177
Photo 9.2	Wayan Yoga refuses to be bullied because of his disorder	180
Photo 9.3	Wayan Yoga, now an adult, continues his artistic endeavors	183

Part III The story of the False Pedanda (From the Mead Bateson collection) 191
Photo 10.1 Lemelson discusses the shoot with Kereta 198
Photo 10.2 Bambang's wife Yatmi's strategy for dealing with her husband's illness 215
Photo 10.3 Kereta and his wife, Made Ada, reflect back on their marriage 217
Photo 10.4 Local crew taking notes during a production shoot 219
Photo 11.1 Local collaborators and crew shoot an interview 250

PART I

Steps Towards a Visual Psychological Anthropology

Photo 1 Arjuna meditates, beset by beautiful women (From the Mead Bateson collection)

CHAPTER 1

Visual Psychological Anthropology: A Vignette and Prospectus

1.1 The Multiple Afflictions of Gusti Ayu, "The Bird Dancer"

Surrounded by her family, Ni Gusti Ayu Suartini sat cross-legged on the front veranda of her house in rural Central Bali. She was being shot on video by a cameraman and interviewed by a foreign anthropologist and an Indonesian psychiatrist. It was the year 2000, and three years had passed since the anthropologist had originally interviewed her. Gusti did not look well. A baggy red t-shirt swallowed her slight frame and her hair, which had once been shoulder length, was shorn, practically down to the scalp. Her forehead and arms were covered with scabs. At times seeming shy but curious and other times looking down at the floor despondently, Gusti began to tell her story to the small research team and film crew, as her family chimed in.

Gusti looked self-conscious and uncomfortable as her siblings urgently described how Gusti shouted dirty words, seemed compelled to hit herself, moved her body in strange ways, and most troubling, frequently spit copious amounts of saliva. The neighbors called her crazy, possessed, or cursed. Her mysterious illness was embarrassing to her family and shamed them deeply. They believed Gusti had damaged the family's reputation, hurting their own chances of finding marriage partners, and brought financial misfortune. Quietly, Gusti asserted that she had no control over her behavior, but she joined her family in begging for a cure. Even though Gusti had been formally diagnosed with Tourette Syndrome by a respected Balinese psychiatrist several years previously and prescribed medication, she and

© The Author(s) 2017

R. Lemelson, A. Tucker, *Afflictions*, Culture, Mind, and Society,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-59984-7_1

her family struggled with what her disorder meant and how to respond to it, and desperately wished it would just go away.

During follow-up ethnographic fieldwork and videography over the course of many years, Gusti continued to struggle, sometimes saying that she felt she was disgusting and even asking for help committing suicide. As time passed, however, and she continued to search for satisfying explanations and effective cures for her disorder, she also began to distance herself from the social environment that excluded, rejected, and devalued her. Gusti left her natal village and established friendships with peers who were not bothered by her symptoms; she gained self-confidence and self-worth; she found work. Her life began to change and she had ongoing conversations, both on- and off-screen, about these changes.

Almost two decades after she first joined the research and filming project, in a smart white blouse, Gusti set out from her hotel room in Indonesia's capital city of Jakarta, making her way through a bustling landscape of escalators, taxicabs, and skyscrapers toward a packed screening room on the campus of the illustrious University of Indonesia. Together, Gusti and the audience of students, professors, clinicians, counselors, and community members watched *The Bird Dancer* (Lemelson 2010a), a film about her life that located her struggles not just in her bizarre symptoms, but in her social world. After the screening, Gusti sat on a panel for a Q&A session. With a firm voice that still showed a hint of her original shyness, Gusti used a pointed metaphor to describe how she believed prevalent attitudes toward people with neuropsychiatric disorders and mental illness could be re-oriented. She said:

> Let's say you have eight eggs, and one looks rotten from the outside, but on the inside this egg is actually just fine, not rotten at all, then how do you solve this problem to make sure you don't throw it away by mistake? Because the owner of this particular egg really cares about it.

In a person-centered interview in 2009, Gusti sat in the hot Balinese sun, in a friend's courtyard, and talked about her life and its recent twists and turns. Gusti had made several good friends, people she could "share her heart" with (B.I. *mencurahkan isi hati*). She said:

> If I think about it, now it seems better, because I found work and so I'm free from the house. I wasn't so happy at home, often hearing things from people in the village, you know, insulting me. Now I have a job here, I have many friends. I'm so happy.

At this point, Gusti had been involved in longitudinal visual ethnographic research on mental illness and neuropsychiatric disorder for almost twenty years. This project was an experiment in what could be called visual psychological anthropology, an effort to bring the topics and insights of psychological anthropology to bear upon ethnographic film. While the research team and film crew were working toward developing this approach, Gusti had been filmed going about her daily tasks, having painful and contentious discussions with her family, addressing existential and spiritual concerns about her life and her condition, daydreaming about finding a true love, and growing into her new identity as an activist for people with Tourette Syndrome and other neuropsychiatric disabilities. Representative moments from parts of her entire adult life had been captured on film and edited into a feature-length visual ethnography which has been screened not only at the event in Jakarta, but first privately for Gusti and her immediate family, then her village community, Indonesian mental health advocacy organizations, universities, conferences, and film festivals in Indonesia, the United States, and beyond. The changes in her life have been profound, as she transformed from a depressed and outcast teenager into a self-assured and self-advocating woman.

This impact on Gusti's life would probably not have resulted from participating in a standard written ethnographic project that could be written, read, and disseminated without her participation, understanding, or input. Nor would the film have become what it was—or reached such a wide audience—without learning with and from Gusti about her life and following her lead as to how it should be represented on-screen. She was an active participant in shaping the evolving understanding of her story, quietly but emphatically moving away from an early narrow focus on her symptoms to a much more complete investigation of her compelling life concerns. The experience of filming Gusti taught invaluable lessons about developing relationships with subjects, understanding their life histories, and representing their stories in a sensitive and empathetic manner. The collaborative and bidirectional process of shaping this initial film about Gusti was a powerful experience, and—because of the visual element—one for which there were few precedents in psychological anthropology, but the process revealed much about the practice and application of the discipline. To most fully understand not only Gusti's subjective and inflected reality but also how this was both influenced by and influential to the *Afflictions* film