

What does Cultural Diagnosis Mean? —The Anthropologist's Contribution to the Study of Violence—

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*“When a knowledgeable old person dies, a whole library disappears”
An old African proverb
“Given enough time, everything that is old will become new again”
Source: Conway (1997)*

I. Introduction

When the cold war was over, we expected that the 21st century would be peaceful, progressive, and politically stable. On the contrary, the strong consciousness of ETHNICITY was dramatically emerged in eastern European ethnic groups that were controlled by the old Soviet Union. The worse situation was the case of old Yugoslavia where were divided into three parts with arms. As we know, that war was the terrible genocide.

The fact that the past scientific research and analysis gather so many different specialists needs to be stress. No profession can get alone the right perspective to comprehend the destructiveness of violence, we need different points of view to fight against it and hopefully to transfer this knowledge to the policy making body. It is my hope that our policy makers and society will begin to realize the importance of the anthropological aspects which I am going to discuss in this short paper.

Now, I would like to take this opportunity to share the role of Anthropology in this issue with policy makers and anthropologists but, let me first show about the role of anthropology in the process of development and its connection with violence. I believe that the anthropological theory should apply to the practical field. Another word, I would say that anthropologists must put on two hats (theoretical and practical).

II. The Role of Social Anthropology in Development and in the understanding of violence

What methodologies in social anthropology have so far contributed to research in socio—economic development and the implementation of development projects? How useful will these methodologies be to development work in the future?

The topic of development has become part and parcel of most social anthropologists today in their field research in third world countries-whether they like it or not. This I can vouch for from my own experience working in Southeast Asia.

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Until recently, development projects carried out from developed countries to developing countries did not usually change the cultural contents of benefit groups to such an extent that the groups could not cope.

However, starting in the late 1960s, in the midst of international aid competition, development geared towards giant projects began to appear. The pace and scale of development has now grown to the point where cases of cultural destruction of local peoples have become common, triggering (belatedly) academic interests. External pressures on indigenous cultures due to dramatic changes are devastating ethnic groups. It is only natural that anthropologists who are aware of this fact are becoming skeptical of development projects that exceed the ability of natives to adapt. Destruction by current socio-economic development projects include the natural environment of nature as well as the adaptability of inhabitants. In several instances, social anthropologists have come to learn these realities about ruined lives and surroundings by being on-site during the period of development. The development policies and principles of Japan and the Western countries toward developing countries have not been able to keep up with these epochal changes. Anthropologists have pointed out for characteristic attitudes held by donor nations toward ODA and the recipients that are contributing to the current unintended and unwanted conditions:

1. An Euro-centered colonialist orientation which frequently seeks to create centralized national structures and modernistic societies as were envisioned by ethnocentric colonialists during the time of Western empire;
2. A belief that the most effective way for ODA to lead to modernization is through donors and recipients both using Western management style only;
3. An assumption that all societies go through the same processes of development, which produces monistic and linear development policies;
4. An absolutist argument, combining the above three points, equating development to modernization in the West. This point of view denies a validity and role to the recipient country's culture in the task of development, identifying Western cultural values as pre-eminent (Y. Kikuchi, 2004: 3).

Such an absolute position informs most policy determination. Development plans formulated from this thinking should theoretically result in developing countries being transformed into members of the developed countries with the change including a transfer of value systems (which is a sort of cultural violence) as well as knowledge, wealth, and technology of industrialized societies of Europe and America will have been possible for the first time.

Shaped by their pasts, the industrialized countries thus believe in sustained development through concepts of Western nationalism, political and administrative system. Assessing the impact of development, in the context of this culturally, biased historical framework, social anthropologists are primarily conducting research through a 'people oriented' approach that seeks to maximize the interests of the ODA recipients. The aim of social anthropology is to perform comparative research on social organization and the meaning and basis form man's existence.

In other words, social anthropology, through, comparative studies, analyses how

the social structure of the inhabitants of a region is applied and on what rules the social behavioral patterns stand which characterize that particular society. In this sense, when it comes to the cultural situation of aid recipients and the drafting of development policies, anthropologists, in theory, are able to share findings from their field work which facilitate ODA being implemented in a manner efficacious to the recipient culture.

Anthropologists doing research on social change in developing countries can give direct and practical ideas to people who are engaged in formulating development plans about how to fashion ODA so that it works in conjunction with a recipient society's integral values and social arrangements and not in conflict. As a result, one can expect the creation of policy recommendations that will be highly effective and just, that means without cultural violence.

The growing problem of refugees in recipient countries provides an example of the role that social anthropologists can play in ODA work. In multi-racial developing countries, national or cultural minorities are driven to regions that are unhealthy or inappropriate for production under government-led socioeconomic development plans. I define such displaced people as 'Development Refugees or Domestic Refugees' who are traumatized and they are tortured often by the implementation of governmental policies (Y. Kikuchi, 2004b: viii). For politicians who belong to the majority, national minorities do not contribute to electoral votes and so get overlooked by national welfare. It is a pity that not only the local government but also donor countries have this apathy towards 'development or domestic refugees.' Anthropologists who study cultural minorities not only have a moral obligation to report the actual development situation of the area where they research, but it is also hoped that they can recommend realistic and culturally sensitive ways to improve the delivery of ODA. I have confronted the importance of what I like to call 'committed anthropology' in my own work with refugees from international, civil wars in developing countries and natural disaster like Hanshin-Awaji earthquake which we experienced in Japan in 1995.

For the past ten years I have participated in a project sponsored by Harvard University to study refugees and mental trauma due to violence. Until recently, the trauma suffered by the surviving refugees has received mostly psychiatric treatment. However, some American psychiatrists are now realizing that mental stress cannot be cured by medical treatment alone. Thus, they have sought the co-operation of social anthropologists for insights into culture, group mental health norms and patterns of stressed behavior.

In this respect, the Harvard project has found that international institutions like the UN and governments of donor countries have not been very positive and enthusiastic when it comes to the relief of people who suffer from trauma brought about by war, political violence, domestic conflicts caused by socio-economic development project and natural disaster. Such victims receive very little help through development aid programs because the development policy has the strong bias to the economic efficiency, not cultural efficacy. In addition, most of the non career bureaucracy is not professional for the development, cultural diversity, violence and human rights. In short, they are single celled organism. Such an atmosphere is unfortunately tolerate or overlooked by the superior career officers who are capable.

Documenting and diagnosing symptoms of mental disorder for aid eligibility is

more difficult to practice than doing the same for illness like cholera or tuberculosis. Even worse, when ODA projects are implemented for evacuated refugees without properly taking into account these traumatized people, the rush for results may cause development to fall short of its potential good.

III. ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization is based on kinship ties in general. The corporate model of so-call 'modern and industrialized organization,' creating 'community' from non-relatives, widely practiced in Japan and the West, is not prevalent in the most of developing countries.

In general, the family structure has so many variations. But in this speech, I will simplify family structures and it's relations into two types of structure: an ancestor-oriented or unilineal (patrilineal or matrilineal) kinship structure and ego-centered or bilateral or cognatic kinship structure. Until 1945, Japan was typically a unilineal kinship system in structure where the first son dominates in the patrilineal type of kinship system, based on birthright. The father and eldest son form the nucleus of the family. However, sons-in-law can succeed as heirs to the household, since emphasis on lineage is not high, as in bilateral societies. This means the family (Ie) takes precedence over the members where even non-kinsmen are qualified to perpetuate the family line.

In bilateral kinship systems, blood consciousness is very strong, comparing to Japan and sons-in-law normally ineligible to manage the household. Hierarchy among siblings is based on order of birth, regardless of gender; it is a sexually fair society, unlike the Japanese family, which is extremely sexually discriminatory.

The unilineal kinship system exhibits rudimentary aspects of corporate consciousness; there are more people surrounding one individual than in the ego-centered bilateral kinship systems (See Fig. No. 1). Corporate group proportionally increases

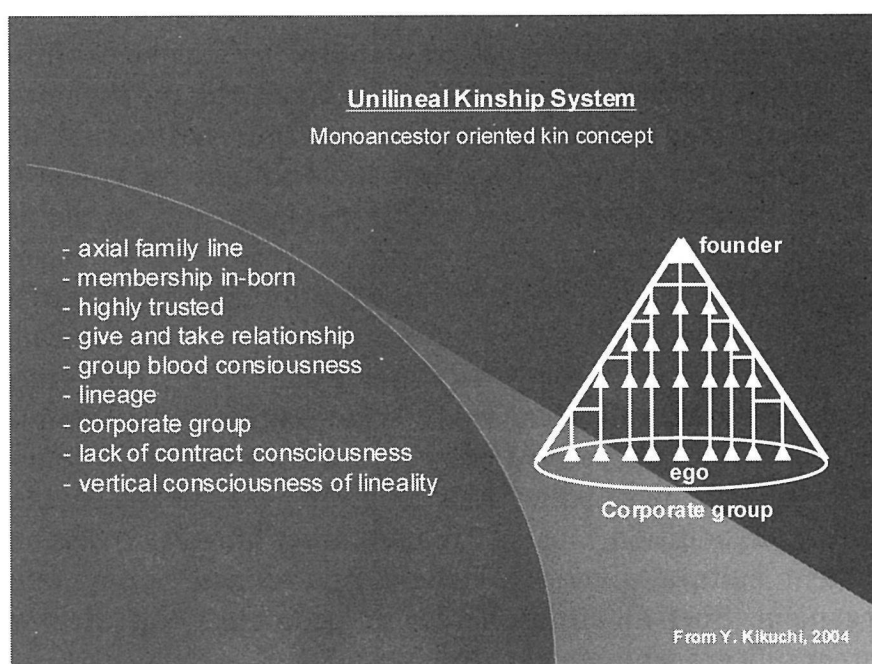


Figure No. 1

with each generation. In sociological terms, everything is defined by kinship: group members can enjoy protection from their forebears' legacy. While the membership is given in born, rights and obligations to the group are clearly defined. For the family members, the perpetuity of the family strengthens the solidarity of the group. The perpetuation of the family or *Ie* demonstrates ancestral deference, leading to a trust-based group. In this sense, Japanese type of unilineal society can be 'highly mutual trust-based society.'

However, bilateral kinship societies do not have the cross-generational protection afforded by the family name or inheritance built up by forbears (See Fig. No. 2). The individual in a bilateral society must build mutual aid relationship himself in order to survive. Thus, he/she forms kinship relations oriented toward himself/herself. For the individual, personal kindred is the only reliable form of human relation. While bilateral societies are focused on personal kindred, they also have to branch out to meritorious contractual quasi-families that will be trustworthy. Therefore, they can also be called 'eskeptical or distrust society.' In bilateral societies, the basis for human relation is person-to-person, supported by gain-and-loss relations. In an obvious move to seek mutual aid relations, the individual tries to increase the number of people who can help each other through the ritual kinship system, such as *compadrazgo* in Catholic societies. This serves to rationalize the profit-loss relation between two parties in bilateral societies. Based on this informal kinship system, prioritizing their kin would ensure their own future. At the social level, individual relation is emphasized, and gain-loss relations between two people are preferred over public institutions.

The fact that kinship is relatively tenuous in Japanese society is shown by the existence of patrilineal kinship system prioritizing eldest sons. In other words, I prefer to call 'first son orientted patrilineal kinship system' in traditional Japanese society. Practices such as disinheritance system and qualifying sons-in-law for successor for

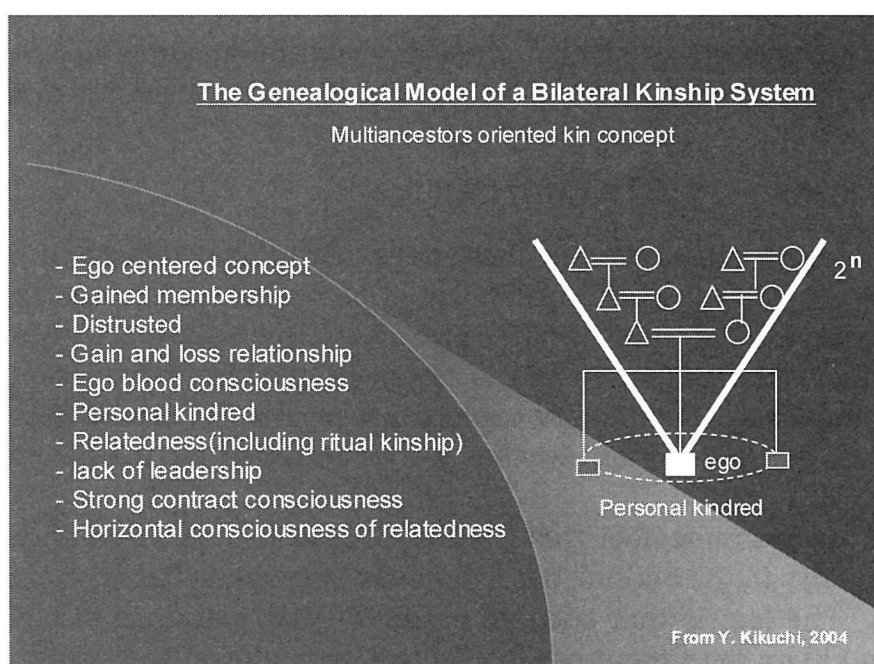


Figure No. 2

even the axial family are conceptually different from the strong blood consciousness toward relatives in bilateral societies and patrilineal societies in China, Korea and East Africa. This behavior toward kin may seem harsh, but on the other hand, it is very effective for supporting a family or group. In other words, in order to perpetuate a family, informal family centered structure must give into formal public institutions which have come to play an important role. The extent to which individual behavior is tolerated within a society has been restricted; the society or group has replaced the role formerly played by the family in relation to individual. Differences in basic kinship systems can thus be understood from this comparison.

Unilineal societies in East Africa such Kenya (patrilineal) and Zambia (matrilineal), are structurally similar to the Japanese, but a major difference is that the former have strong blood consciousness similar to bilateral societies. Due to this fact the gain-loss based interest group increases to the extent of the generational depth. Therefore, strong blood consciousness encourages profiteering practices like nepotism and cronyism in bilateral societies. This type of blood consciousness is also observed in Latin America. Kinship behavior in Latin America is basically similar to the bilateral extended family in the bilateral societies, where Catholic baptism is also practiced. What is characteristic in Latin America, however, is that national elites of colonial descent still persist even to this day.

Even in unilineal societies with strong blood consciousness similar to bilateral societies, the gain-loss based interest group increases to the extent of generational depth. In such cases, strong blood consciousness may encourage the practice of nepotism or cronyism. Although the basic kinship structure of such societies may be unilineal, the common behaviour factor shared by these societies and bilateral societies is the exclusion of non-kinsmen whom they distrust. Such behavior helps to create strong blood consciousness (which contrasts with the Japanese case, where the continuity of the group takes precedence over the lineality of the individual). We should consider how a society can go beyond kinship relations and interact at the community level. For without an awareness of these invisible links binding any society, any intervention to help persons affected on account of violence cannot expect to achieve success.

IV. VIOLENCE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Why we kill each other, even in these days. After the collapse of Berlin Wall we thought and expected that 21st century would be peaceful. But our expectation was completely destroyed after the collapse of Soviet Union. Minority people suddenly realized what their ethnic identity means as I mentioned in Introduction.

We never thought that ethnicity could cause such a big ethnic friction and chaos among the ethno-cultural minorities that were controlled by the communist government.

We should always remember that Civilian Nationalism is based on judicial institution (rational loyalty to the nation), but Ethnic Nationalism is based on the strong blood consciousness. The fact is that such an ethnicity with religious discipline can make people blind to kill or clear the other disciplined people from their sight.

The case of Peruvian Society: What are the main characteristics of Latin American Social Relations?

Upon the observations and the studies I have made, I consider the following four:

1. Fictive kinship ties, for example, the *compadrazgo* system.
2. Dyadic contract, meaning a reciprocal exchange arrangement between two individuals becoming the corporate group beyond the nuclear family. The dyadic contract can be established with equal or superior status or with supernatural beings such as Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the saints.
3. Patron–client ties, informal contract between peasant villagers and nonvillagers including supernatural beings.
4. Machismo-Gender relationship, influenced by Spanish culture.

V. HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT in 3D Antro-metrics

In anthropology much of the preceding discussion about indigenous populations and genre relationships has been related to the question of Human Rights in developments. Anthropological transcultural research and the increasing feeling of its important role place it in a key position to talk about Global Human Right problems (Messer 1993).

On this account, in considering what anthropologists have to contribute to the issue of human rights, we must first ask some basic questions:

1. What are human rights?
2. Is there a universal set of human rights?
3. Are local cultural definitions of human rights that clash with those of other groups defensive?

No states would go on record as being opposed to human rights. Yet those from different states and from different political, cultural and religious traditions, continue to disagree on which rights have universal force and who is protected under them. Ethical relativists argued, however, that anthropologists had not discovered any universal moral values, each society's values are valid with respect to that society's circumstances and conditions. No society could claim any superior position over another regarding ethics and morality. So we should better speak of Ethic relativism.

When we think about Cross–Cultural Research on Diagnostic Categories and their Criteria as anthropologists' role, we have an opportunity to submit the new diagnostic categories and their criteria to systematic cross cultural research, both through combined clinical and ethnographic research and through collaborating in epidemiological studies.

In Mental Health and Psychiatry, anthropologists have almost entirely focused their attention on culture-bound disorders to the exclusion of studies of brief psychoses, schizophrenic disorders, manic-depressive illness, depression, and anxiety disorders. Culture plays a profound role in the experience and expression of symptoms—in the process of symptom–formation. Anthropologists would, therefore, expect that diagnostic criteria defined as symptoms will vary cross–culturally.

In that perspective, transcultural care is concerned with a comparison between

cultures in terms of their caring behavior, health and illness (indigenous concept), values, their beliefs and patterns of behavior. The focus of this approach is on the care-giver who has to develop expertise in understanding the groups he/she is working with in order to effectively deliver care. Thus, the clinician is taught to recognize and understand the values, beliefs and practices of different cultures and in so doing is enabled to deliver care in a culturally sensitive and appropriate manner.

For cross-cultural caring, key issues in this approach are how well the cross-cultural bridge can be established in order to allow, for instance, a white European

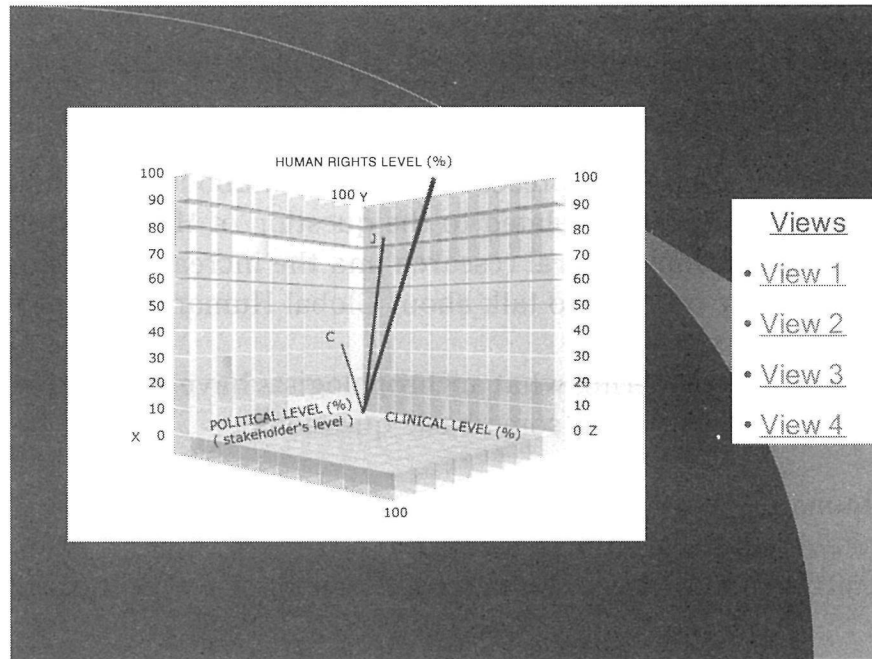


Figure No. 3

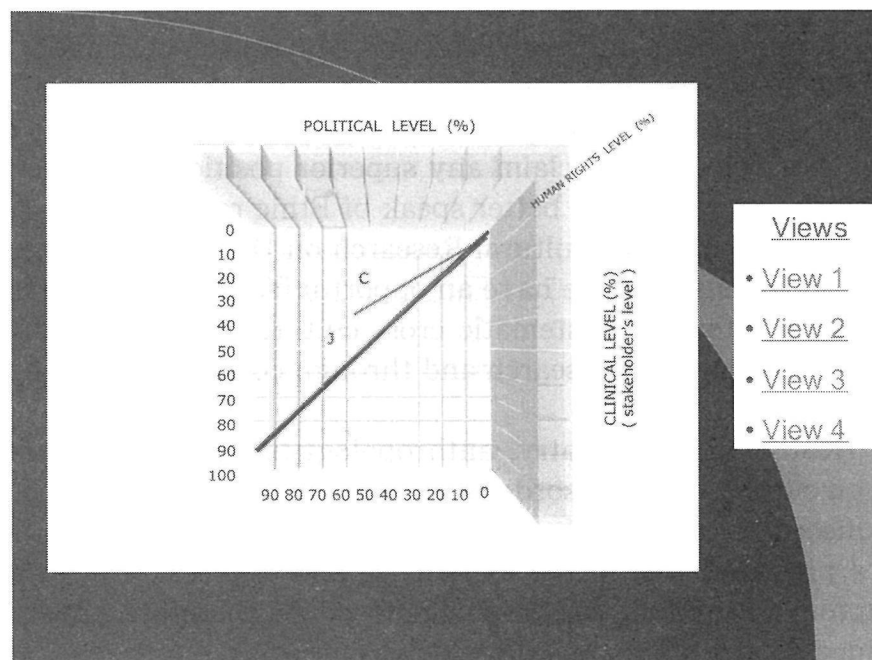


Figure No. 4

What does Cultural Diagnosis Mean: The anthropologist's contribution to the study of violence?

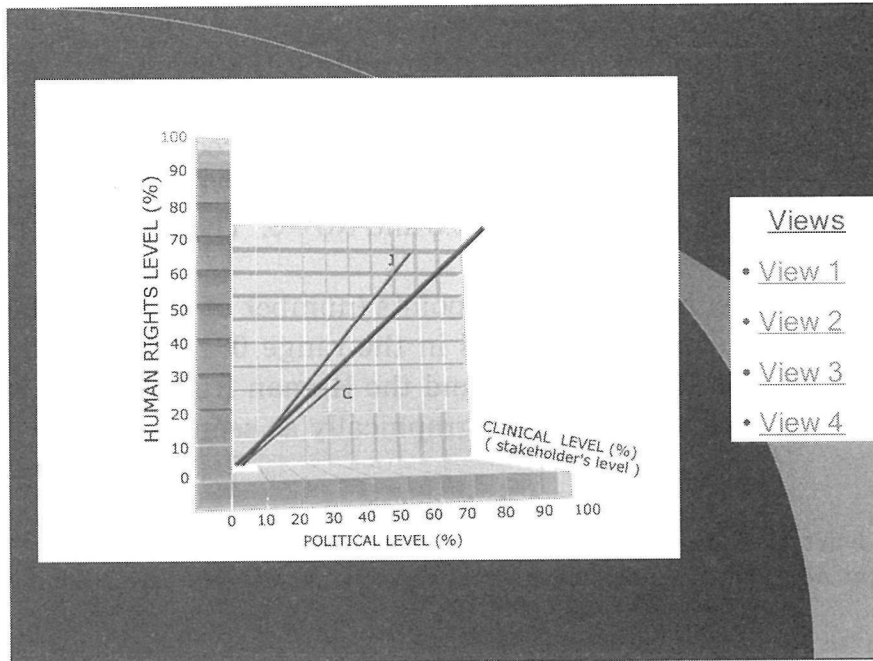


Figure No. 5

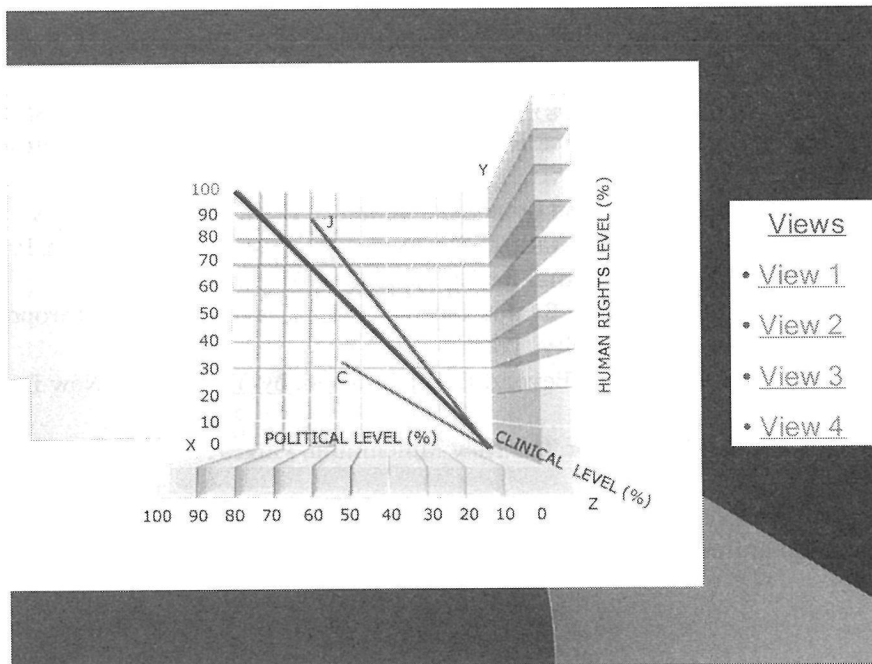


Figure No. 6

obstetrician to care for an Indian woman. On this concern the multicultural care system will enrich its potentiality with the professional collaboration of anthropologists. To this account I would like to propose the following method.

3D Anthro-Metrics (Method of Pre or Post Evaluation)

Example of graph analytical technique: I created originally this 3D graphic method for the evaluation for the ODA project in 1994. But this 3D graphic method can apply to for the evaluation of the policy analysis which anthropologist can contribute the

element resources of Cultural Diagnosis.

The graphical presentation must start by finding the evaluation indices (satisfaction) for the Political Level, Clinical Level and the Human Rights (stake holder's) Level.

For the stakeholder level, questionnaires were prepared in advance and an interview survey was conducted. The replies to the questions were Yes=1 and No=0. For the three-level questions, Yes=1, A little=0.5 and No=0. The formula for calculation of satisfaction was:

The evaluation index is points/Total points (number of respondents): $x = 100$.

This method gives evaluation indices in the range 0–100%. Where the Political Level scores x %, the Clinical Level y % and the Human Rights (Stake holder's) Level z %, the results (x, y, z) can be presented graphically as seen in Fig. No. 1, 2 and 3.

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