Assessment of psychopathology across and within cultures: issues and findings

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Abstract

Research based information on the impact of culture on psychopathology is reviewed, with particular reference to depression, somatization, schizophrenia, anxiety, and dissociation. A number of worldwide constants in the incidence and mode of expression of psychological disorders are identified, especially in relation to schizophrenia and depression. The scope of variation of psychopathological manifestations across cultures is impressive. Two tasks for future investigations involve the determination of the generic relationship between psychological disturbance and culture and the specification of links between cultural characteristics and psychopathology. To this end, hypotheses are advanced pertaining to the cultural dimensions investigated by Hofstede and their possible reflection in psychiatric symptomatology. It is concluded that the interrelationship of culture and psychopathology should be studied in context and that observer, institution, and community variables should be investigated together with the person’s experience of distress and disability.

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1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, culture’s interplay with human behavior and experience has moved from periphery toward the center among the concerns of contemporary psychology. Psychopath-
ology has not been exempt from this trend. Against this background, we shall endeavor to provide a concentrated survey of the current state of conceptualization and knowledge in this area of inquiry. Cultural influences will be examined in their dual manifestations, across regions and boundaries around the world and within the ethnoculturally diverse milieus of many contemporary nation states. Accumulated findings will be reviewed, unsolved problems identified, and recommendations for future research and clinical practice formulated. To this end, we embark upon a consideration of the contrasting perspectives that have served as points of departure for the investigation of culture and abnormal behavior.

1.1. Culturalist and universalist orientations and their prospective integration

Herskovits (1949) equated culture with the part of the environment that was created by human beings. Marsella (1988, pp. 8–9) provided a more elaborate, psychologically oriented, description of the attributes of culture as follows:

Shared learned behavior which is transmitted from one generation to another for purposes of individual and societal growth, adjustment, and adaptation: culture is represented externally as artifacts, roles, and institutions, and it is represented internally as values, beliefs, attitudes, epistemology, consciousness, and biological functioning.

This conception overlaps with that of subjective culture as formulated by Triandis (1972).

How culture impinges upon and penetrates manifestations of psychological disturbance has been studied from two contrasting points of view. Universalists have focused upon differences in degree and number in preexisting, presumably worldwide, dimensions and categories. Relativists have been impressed with the scope of cultural variation and with the interpenetration of culture and psychopathology. Consequently, they have emphasized the uniqueness of phenomena within any given culture and the need to study them on their own terms.

Emil Kraepelin (1904) is usually considered the originator of the universalistic comparison of psychological entities. Specifically, he initiated the observation of the manifestations and incidence of depression in Java. Moreover, in a remarkably perceptive and prescient statement he anticipated the major tasks and issues of cross-cultural or comparative study of psychopathology:

If the characteristics of a people are manifested in its religion and its customs, in its intellectual artistic achievements, in its political acts and its historical development, then they will also find expression in the frequency and clinical formation of its mental disorders, especially those that emerge from internal conditions. Just as the knowledge of morbid psychic phenomena has opened up for us deep insights into the working of our psychic life, so we may also hope that the psychiatric characteristics of a people can further our understanding of its entire psychic character. In this sense comparative psychiatry may be destined to one day become an important auxiliary science to comparative ethnopsychology (Völkerpsychologie), (as quoted by Jilek, 1995, p. 231).

A more outspoken, radically relativistic, point of view upon psychopathology has been propounded by Benedict (1934); Devereux (1961); Nathan (1994); and Nathan and Hounkpatin
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