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# Culture and Psychopathology: Foundations, Issues, Directions

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The present article offers an overview of the historical influences, conceptual assumptions, and major findings and issues associated with the study of culture and psychopathology. The article traces continuing reductionistic resistance to the incorporation of cultural considerations in the etiology, expression, and treatment of psychopathology to historical and contemporary forces. These forces include 'cultural context' of Western psychiatry and psychology, which choose to locate the determinants of behaviour in the human mind and brain. A definition of culture that acknowledges its internal and external representations is offered, and steps in the cultural construction of reality are proposed. Within this context, the risks of imposing Western cultural views universally are noted, especially attempts to homogenise classification and diagnostic systems across cultures. 'Culture-bound' disorders are used as example of Western bias via the assumption that they have 'real' disorders, while the other cultures have disorders that are shaped by culture. Cultural considerations in understanding the rate, etiology, and expression are presented, including recommended criteria for conducting epidemiological studies across cultural boundaries, especially "schizophrenic" disorders as this problematic diagnostic category is subject to multiple cultural variations. The article closes with discussions of 'cultural competence' and 'multilevel' approaches to behaviour.

**Keywords:** culture, mental health, psychopathology, native Hawaiians, culture-bound disorders, diagnosis, healing

## Foundations

### Some Historical Considerations

In 1904, Professor **Emil Kraepelin** (1856–1926), the acknowledged **father of modern psychiatry**, reported that his classification and diagnostic system, developed and refined in 19th century Europe (e.g., dementia praecox, manic-depressive disorders), appeared to have little applicability to certain non-Western groups in Southeast Asia and the Lakotah Indian tribes in the United States that he visited as part of a global lecture tour. This limitation posed a serious challenge to efforts to advance a psychiatric classification system that would be universally applicable. To his credit, Kraepelin (1904) recognised that **the cultural background of the patients needed to be considered in arriving at a valid diagnosis**. He then proposed a new psychiatric speciality — **Vergleichende Psychiatrie** — **Comparative Psychiatry**. He wrote:

The characteristics of a people should find expression in the frequency as well as the shaping of the manifestations of mental illness in general; so that comparative psychiatry shall make it possible to gain valuable insights into the psyche of nations and shall in turn also be able to contribute to the understanding of pathological psychic processes. (1904, p. 9)

Kraepelin's brilliant insights and his proposal on the role of cultural factors in the frequency and manifestation of mental disorders were not unique, but reflected a growing interest in the role of culture as a determinant of human behavior in previous centuries. For example, the writings of many 18th and 19th century philosophers and social commentators such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1704–1788), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), and Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), all pointed to the socio-cultural milieu as an important determinant of individual and collective behavior. The well-known words of Rousseau come readily to mind when he asserted: "... Man is by nature

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# Culture Psychopathology

**Puja Mehta**



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