

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

# UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA  
313/761-4700 800/521-0600



MIAMI INSTITUTE OF PSYCHOLOGY  
OF THE  
CARIBBEAN CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ERIKA  
BOURGUIGNON TO CROSS CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL SATISFACTION OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

JANET ANGELA ESCOFFERY

1999

**UMI Number: 9927753**

**Copyright 1999 by  
Escoffery, Janet Angela**

**All rights reserved.**

---

**UMI Microform 9927753  
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized  
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

---

**UMI**  
**300 North Zeeb Road**  
**Ann Arbor, MI 48103**

**Copyright**

**Janet Angela Escoffery**

**1999**

I guarantee that no part of this dissertation is a violation of the copyright or other laws of the United States of America, or the laws of the State of Florida, or the ethical principles of the American Psychological Association. All ideas expressed by others and facts obtained by others are accurately, completely, and appropriately cited and referenced and if presented in the words of someone other than myself are appropriately indicated as quotations. Any idea expressed without citation or any fact presented without citation is wholly original with me.

I also guarantee that this dissertation is free of any defamatory, libelous, or harmful material. I guarantee that I will defend the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies/Miami Institute of Psychology from any legal or ethical action of any sort that may result from this dissertation or its publication or presentation.

If any publication, presentation, test or other type of written, oral or electronic material is created based on this dissertation, both I and my Dissertation Committee Chair will be listed as authors and the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies/Miami Institute of Psychology will be listed as the institutional affiliation.

  
Janet Angela Escoffery

3/23/99  
Date

The dissertation of Janet Angela Escoffrey, "An Historical Review of the Contributions of Erika Bourguignon to Cross Cultural Psychology" directed and approved by the committee listed below has been accepted by the Faculty of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies, Miami Institute of Psychology Campus in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

4-6-99

DATE

Dissertation Committee:

Mariano Alemany

Mariano Alemany, Ph.D., Chairperson

Jose M. Rivera-Berg, Psy.D.

Jose Rivera-Berg, Psy.D., Reader

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Raymond for his enduring love and support during this process. To my family who have encouraged and cheered me on by long distance. I thank them all for their patience, kindness and tolerance.

With special thanks to Dr. Mariano Alemany for his encouragement, inspiration and forbearance. Without his gentle guidance this project would have been impossible.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS. . . . .	v
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vi
LIST OF APPENDICES . . . . .	vii
VITA . . . . .	viii
ABSTRACT . . . . .	ix
INTRODUCTORY LITERARY QUOTE. . . . .	xii
 CHAPTER	
I.    Introduction . . . . .	1
II.   Method . . . . .	15
III.  Erika Bourguignon-Her Life and Work. . . . .	19
1924 - 1946. . . . .	19
1947 - 1960. . . . .	24
1961 - 1970. . . . .	27
1971 - 1980. . . . .	37
1980 - 1990. . . . .	43
1990 - Present . . . . .	46
IV.   Clinical Contributions . . . . .	50
 REFERENCES . . . . .	 60
APPENDICES . . . . .	70

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
1	Occurrence of Culturally Patterned ASC's. . .	34
2	Social Characteristics and Behaviors Associated with ASC's . . . . .	35

LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
A	Bourguignon E. Bibliography. . . . .	70
B	Bourguignon E. Citation Index. . . . .	75
C	Bourguignon E. Progeny . . . . .	84

## VITA

- April 20, 1949 -- Born, Kingston Jamaica
- 1969 -- B.A., University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica
- 1988 - 1992 -- Crisis Counselor, Switchboard of Miami, Miami, Florida
- 1992 -- M.S., Psychology, Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies/Miami Institute of Psychology
- 1993 - 1994 -- Crisis Response team leader, St. Luke's Addiction Recovery Services, Miami, Florida
- 1994 - 1996 -- Inpatient therapist, St. Luke's Addiction Recovery Services, Miami, Florida
- 1995 - 1996 -- Pre-Doctoral Internship, South Florida Evaluation and Treatment Center, Miami, Florida
- 1996 - 1998 -- Clinical Coordinator, Catholic Charities, Child Welfare Division, Miami, Florida
- 1997 - 1999 -- Adjunct Professor, Bachelor's Program, Miami Institute of Psychology, Miami, Florida

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

An Historical Review of the Contributions of  
Erika Bourguignon To Cross Cultural Psychology

By

Janet Angela Escoffery

Doctor of Psychology

Miami Institute of Psychology

of the

Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies

1999

Mariano Alemany, Ph.D., Chairperson

This dissertation examines the life and writings of cultural anthropologist Erika Bourguignon relating to altered states of consciousness and possession trance states. Her unique body of work on this topic is widely quoted in the psychological literature in reference to dissociational states.

The evolution of the study of history in psychology and the unfolding of interest in cross cultural issues are addressed to provide the historical and cultural context within which this study is placed. At present, there is renewed interest in the dissociative disorders and we are indebted to psychological anthropology for much of the current understanding of altered states of consciousness. This debt is acknowledged.

Erika Bourguignon is a well renowned psychological anthropologist and educator. She was born in Vienna, Austria as Erika Eichorn, and came to the United States at the time of the Anschluss. She was educated at Queens College in New York and received her Ph.D. at Northwestern University. Fieldwork took her to Haiti in the 1940s under the direction of M.J. Herskovits. Her observations of possession and trance states during her stay there led to the obtaining of a National Institute of Mental Health Grant. The result was a cross cultural, global study of the occurrence of Dissociational States. It is to this landmark project, and it's aftermath that we are indebted.

A brief review of the literature on altered states of consciousness prior to Bourguignon's work establishes the conceptual framework that existed when she began her task. Following this, a review of her writings relating to possession, trance, altered states and dissociative phenomena is undertaken.

Primary sources used for this study included Bourguignon's books and articles published from 1954 until the present. The other primary source of information was Dr. Bourguignon herself who graciously communicated with me over a period of several months. Secondary sources of information regarding Vienna at the time of the Anschluss were obtained from general reading on that topic. Supplementary reading on Austrian history, the holocaust and

the Jewish exile experience served to enhance the backdrop to Bourguignon's life. Additional secondary sources were obtained from the archives at Ohio State University and provided a chronicle of Dr. Bourguignon's career at that institution from Instructor in 1947 to Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology in 1999.

"We do not suffer from illusions of grandeur thinking  
that history begins with us."

Vygotsky, 1982.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study is to examine the life and writings of cultural anthropologist, Erika Bourguignon, and to explore the impact that her findings have made on the evolution of psychology in the late 20th century. In order to place her contribution in its appropriate context, a brief review has been done of the emergence of both historical psychology and cross cultural psychology as areas for study and research. The main thrust of Bourguignon's work has revolved around altered states of consciousness, encompassing both, trance states and possession states. A brief historical review of anthropological works has also been undertaken. These works pertain to trance and possession states and form a backdrop for the current base of knowledge in the area. In addition, I have also summarized the rise and fall of interest in altered states and other dissociative phenomena in psychology.

Psychology is a centuries old science, but as a formal discipline it is a relative newcomer, being little more than 100 years old. This field has not evolved in a vacuum and the scholars who have created it hail from myriad disciplines: philosophy, theology, anthropology and medicine to name but a few. Benjamin (1988) states that it is the product of "complex forces within psychology as well as the cultural, political, economic and geographic forces external

to psychology".

During the past 38 years interest has grown in the area of historical research. Prior to the 1960's there were few works and limited interest in the field. In 1929 Boring published his classic text A History of Experimental Psychology. Following this milestone, occasional courses in the history of psychology began appearing in university curricula. But the current momentum was ushered in during the 1960's with the founding of the Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences. During that eventful decade also, the largest collection of unpublished psychological works was assembled at the University of Akron in Ohio as the Archives of the History of American Psychology (Wertheimer, 1980). In 1965, Division 26 - The Division of the History of Psychology was approved by the American Psychological Association. In addition, 1967 saw the establishment of the first doctoral programs dedicated to the history of psychology at the University of New Hampshire and at Carleton University in Canada. In 1968 Cheiron: The International Society for the History of Behavioral and Social Sciences was formed to promote international cooperation in pertinent historical studies. Since that time, course work in the history and systems of psychology has become a requirement in accredited graduate programs in psychology across the country. Most recently, in February of

1998, Division 26 launched it's own official journal History of Psychology confirming the continued growth in this field of research.

There are several approaches to the study and presentation of history. Viney (1993) discusses history in terms of chronological and narrative components while Brozek and Pongrantz (1980) describe the "biographical, descriptive-analytical, quantitative, social and socio-psychological" factors. This study is based on the premise that "History is the interpretative study of the human past" (Viney, 1993, p. 3). It utilizes several elements both empirical and explanatory in presenting the past. Empirical data has been gathered by examining articles, letters, newspapers, official documents and papers to gather information. This data has been interpreted in narrative or explanatory form in the light of present events in the field of cross cultural psychology.

The psychological literature reveals several rationales for historical studies. The range encompasses avoidance of the errors of the past; assistance in the solution of current problems; insight regarding the course of future problems as well as an experience in enrichment and "wholeness" for the new psychologist (Wertheimer, 1980). Helson, in his article What Can we Learn From the History of Psychology? stresses the importance of learning "the driving

power of ideas, concepts, and theories", the joy of reading history for its own sake and the experience of being in tune with the socio-cultural events of our own time. All are valid motives; however, the major thrust of this study lies elsewhere. Sarup (1978) in discussing the historical antecedents of psychology refers to "anticipations" and "foundations" as ideas or works that foreshadow later concepts and theories. Additionally, Pongratz (1980) in The Roots of the Growth of Science acknowledges the obligation that scientific psychology owes to advances in neighboring sciences. This study then seeks to address the debt owed to psychological anthropology in the growth and development of a cross cultural perspective in psychology.

The concept of "culture" has long been recognized in history and the social sciences. However, as with many other complex concepts, no one definition is widely accepted. Historians maintain that interest in culture began with the first writers of history. Scholars of the behavioral sciences have various perspectives on their view of culture. For anthropologists, from the outset, culture has been at the core of their discipline. Sociologists are more concerned with complex modern societies. Psychology, on the other hand has been relatively delayed in attending to cultural variables due to a tradition that held that its major function was to formulate laws that would hold for

all individuals regardless of origin. This divergence in outlook then has led to several definitions. Anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) suggest that:

culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values. (p. 181)

An equally influential definition proposed by Herskovitz (1937) states that culture is "the man-made part of the human environment." Triandis (1972) makes a further distinction between physical and subjective culture: the former includes the man-made environment while the latter comprises people's response to the same in the form of values, attitudes and roles.

Geertz (1973) in The Interpretation of Culture goes a step further adding the concept of "symbolic form" to his definition. His definition captures the flavor of much of current cognitive cross-cultural research:

culture denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.

As the concept of culture has been defined and redefined to include many of the major influences on human behavior it would stand to reason that this area would have been a prime area of study from the beginnings of psychology. This was not the case. Although scientists in other fields have long recognized the need for such a specialization it has evolved in fits and starts. In the 1930's Malinowski (1931) wrote:

between the spheres of psychology and anthropology, there is today a No-man's land. Whether or not this will ever be claimed as a special branch of science, it must for the present be filled by workers in both fields making excursions toward the other's province. Nor should the serious worker in either field ignore or resent such excursions, for they may have much value for him in indicating new lines of research. (p. xi)

Paradoxically, while "culture", as a domain of study in psychology is a relative newcomer, Wundt already recognized it in Germany as early as 1888 in his publication Volkerpsychologie. He devoted ten years to the development of his cultural psychology and considered it central to the field. He felt that individual psychology was not sufficient to explore higher mental processes, because these depend upon the collective human experience. His perception was one of mutual interdependence of individual psychology and

Volkerpsychologie: "only the individual psychology and Volkerpsychologie together constitute the whole of psychology" (Wundt, 1908, p. 228).

In spite of the role attributed to Wundt as the "grandfather" of psychology, this large volume of work made little impact on American psychology. In proof of this fact, Schultz (1992) refers to a survey of ninety years of articles published in the American Journal of Psychology. Less than four percent of the citations of Wundt's works referred to Cultural Psychology while more than 61 percent of the references relate to his Principles of Physiological Psychology. As psychology struggled to become a science in the tradition of the natural sciences, the laboratory became the site for investigation of behavior and the socio-cultural context was placed at the periphery of study.

The political and intellectual climate of the early twentieth century had a strong orientation toward biological explanations of group differences. The orientation toward different "races" with separate origins emphasized differences rather than similarities. In this climate, cultural variations were treated as manifestations of inferiority due to race difference. In spite of this, a few early pioneers undertook studies that addressed cultural variables.

Early in this century Sir Francis Galton was the

originator of the study of psychological differences between individuals and groups entitled Hereditary Genius. Working at the same time was William Rivers, an experimental psychologist at Cambridge. He joined the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits in 1898 and undertook the first systematic study of "primitives" by psychological methods which was published in 1901.

During the first half of this century scattered studies were conducted in several countries (e.g., Africa and India), but their focus was not comparative. In Latin America, the main impetus for cross cultural studies came from the foundation in 1951, in Mexico, of the Inter-American Society of Psychology.

In the United States, World war II and its aftermath stimulated interest in the characteristics of other nations both allied and enemy. The 1960s saw an expansion of outlets for publication of cross cultural studies including the Journal of Social Psychology, and the International Journal of Psychology. In 1970 the Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology appeared, and in 1972 the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology was established. Thus, by the mid 1970s the field had officially "arrived" as a sub specialty of psychology.

Throughout it's protracted birthing process, cross-cultural psychology has inherited much from psychological



anthropology. The field of anthropology has seized upon and accepted psychological concepts in order to enhance it's work, however, this acceptance has not been reciprocated. Jahoda and Krewer (1997), state "few psychological texts cite any anthropological work, and though the contributors fail to mention it, this also applies largely to texts in cross-cultural psychology". In his article reviewing the foundation and subsequent thirty year history of the IACCP, Jahoda (1997) recalls that the burgeoning interest in 'culture' was spawned by the post war revulsion against racism; the process of decolonisation; interest in social change and the legacy of the culture-and-personality school of anthropologists starting with Boas in the 1920s and on through Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict.

A review of the literature on altered states begins with the classic work on Possession by Oesterreich, first published in 1921. In this work he carefully describes and analyzes dissociative phenomena starting with cases from the gospels forward to the early twentieth century. He defines the universal features of possession and formulates two categories, the somnambulistic and the lucid. There are several differences between these. In somnambulistic possession the individual loses consciousness of self and speaks with the voice of the intruder, whereas in the lucid form the individual retains awareness of self but is

conscious of 'a spirit within his own spirit.' Oesterreich (1921). He makes further distinctions between spontaneous and artificial possession. In the spontaneous form possession occurs without the compliance of the individual while the artificial kind involves a voluntary mental technique which starts and ends at will. He speaks of a third basic and important differentiation between the overt and latent forms. Possession is overt when the possessing spirit speaks spontaneously through the mouth of the one being possessed. In latent possession the person is unaware of being possessed and may manifest symptoms of physical or mental disturbance.

Oesterreich looks at possession in wide ranging cultures and traces it's history from antiquity to modern times. He also reviews religious and political attitudes and concludes by asserting that 'The foregoing documents have placed beyond doubt the wide distribution of the phenomena of possession over the habitable globe' (Oesterreich, 1921).

During the 1940's Alfred Metreaux spent time in the Republic of Haiti doing anthropological fieldwork. His resulting work, Voodoo in Haiti has become a classic document describing not only the complex beliefs and practices of Voodoo but also a record of the rituals involving altered states of consciousness.

He explores the relationship between spirits and men

and indicates that possession and trance are common. Possession by a loa (god or good spirit) is sought after and considered desirable while possession by evil spirits is not. He points to an element of the theatrical in the trance behavior witnessed in ceremonies but indicates that they are no less real for being ritualized and formalized. Here trance and possession take place both in private and in public and are an accepted part of life. He notes several functions of trance including escape from unpleasant situations, avoidance of responsibility for actions, submission to masochistic tendencies and last but not least, pleasure.

In addition to his meticulous descriptions, Metreaux also explores various psychological explanations for these behaviors. He notes that ritual possessions are often attributed to hysteria and that there is a strong component of histrionics and exhibitionism present. A Freudian interpretation of repression is discounted because the subject's behavior is rigorously laid down by tradition. Instead of expressing himself the possessed tries to personify a mythological being whose character is foreign to him.

Nineteen fifty-one saw the publication of the renowned work on trance by Mircea Eliade titled Shamanism: Archaic Technique of Ecstasy. He covers the entire phenomenon of

shamanism and places it within a religious context.

Shamanism is primarily a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia and utilizes trance (ecstasy) as a way to soul travel. He points out that shamanism and possession have much in common, trance being the most obvious. However, the difference here is that in possession trance one is occupied by some spiritual entity, while the shaman's trance is perceived as a journey undertaken in the company of spirits that he embodies. In other words he possesses the spirits and uses them for his voyages.

Other works, not exclusively dedicated to altered states of consciousness, but important to this historical framework were also in existence at the time Dr. Bourguignon began her fieldwork. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor was considered the father of cultural anthropology. His most significant work, Primitive Culture was published in 1871 and even served to influence Darwin's theory of biological evolution. However, in 1958, several chapters of this book were reprinted under the title of Religion in Primitive Culture. His discussion of religion is generally considered to be his most signal contribution to anthropology. In it, he proposes 'animism', a belief in spiritual beings, as the most basic or earliest form of religious belief. Possession and trance behaviors he ascribes to those lowest on the social evolution scale. He refers to possession as "the dominant

theory of disease and inspiration among the lower races" (p. 210), and concludes that they are gradually superseded when medical knowledge improves. He admits that the symptoms 'Hysteria and epilepsy, delirium and mania, and such like bodily and mental derangement still exist', but he concludes that in the 'civilized world' the 'physician reigns in the stead of the exorcist'.

When physician, William Walters Sargant (1957), wrote Battle for the Mind, his interest in disease focused on brain washing and conversion. He had done extensive research in World War II on battle fatigue and post traumatic stress symptoms. This led him to look at similar processes taking place in religious conversion, spirit possession, political conversion and the consultation of oracles in ancient times. He adapted a Pavlovian stimulus/response perspective in looking at these phenomena and proposed that extreme emotional stress could ultimately lead to a breakdown or loss of previous conditioning. In this state the mind is susceptible to increased suggestibility and 'supposed' religious possession may occur. He also makes note that trance may be self induced or become "a conditioned pattern of brain activity" (p. 115). In his view, trance has not only been utilized by religions to indoctrinate believers but is also used in the political arena to achieve compliance with the current dogma.

Several authors have looked at these important works and debated the mental health of those involved in possession and trance behaviors. Their opinions range from Deveraux's (1970) diagnoses of 'serious neurosis or even a psychotic in a temporary state of remission' to Herskovit's opinion which considers trance 'a normal cultural phenomenon in certain societies.' In Life in a Haitian Valley (1937) he rejects the idea of neurosis as an explanation of Haiti's voodoo cult. Instead, he states 'For in terms of the patterns of Haitian religion, possession is not abnormal, but normal; it is set in its cultural mold as are all other phases of conventional living'. He also addresses what he terms 'the compensations' or secondary gains that accrue to those possessed, i.e., attention, release from distress and satisfaction of unfulfilled desires.

These works paint the backdrop for Bourguignon's work on altered states and encompass much of what had been documented on the subject. In effect they are the forerunners of her wide ranging study on world prevalence of altered states.

## CHAPTER II

## METHOD

Historical research lends perspective to the examination of current psychological thought by placing it in the context of prevailing developments in other sciences. In addition, it reviews the social and cultural milieu in which these ideas were formulated (Wertheimer, 1980). Its importance to the field of behavioral research is captured in Kerlinger's (1973) definition: "the critical investigation of events, developments, and experiences of the past, the careful weighing of evidence of the validity of sources of information on the past, and the interpretation of the weighed evidence" (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 701). The historical researcher then has much in common with the task of others in the field, namely the collection, evaluation and interpretation of data.

Biography has often been the lens through which history is studied. However the philosophical basis from which it is viewed has been a subject of controversy in psychology. Boring (1950) presented the Zeitgeist theory, which focuses on the spirit of the times as the creative medium for the evolution of new concepts. The great person theory takes the contrasting view as stated most aptly by Emerson (1981) History "resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons" (p. 138). According to this

perspective with Wundt we have the formal discipline of psychology, and, with Freud we have psychoanalysis. No mention is made of the backdrop provided by politics, science or culture. Thomas Kuhn (1972) poses yet another view. He likens science to solving puzzles. Each scientist finds pieces and the objective is to force the findings into a preformed box or paradigm. However, anomalous findings that do not fit neatly into the prevailing scheme trigger a reorganization or paradigm shift. In effect a scientific revolution occurs in which old perceptions are replaced by new vision. Bourguignon's work relating to worldwide distributions of altered states has prompted just such a paradigm shift.

In order to accomplish this biographical and historical study of Dr. Bourguignon's life and works, we have engaged in archival research. This form of research has been described by Hill (1993) with a circular analogy: "In archival work, what you find determines what you can analyze and what you analyze structures what you look for" (Hill, p. 6). However, to avoid becoming ensnared in this labyrinth, I have organized my research by focusing on those of her works that have contributed to current psychological thought.

Historical research utilizes primary and secondary sources of information. Primary sources are original accounts or documents whereas secondary sources are records



of events which are, at best, one step removed from the original. If available, primary sources are preferable to secondary ones as this limits distortion and misrepresentation of circumstances (Kerlinger, 1973).

The first step in this archival research was a literature review. In order to do this I have compiled a master bibliography referencing all published books and articles by Bourguignon. Those works pertaining to dissociative states and psychological anthropology have been reviewed.

A master biography file was then established to chronicle Dr. Bourguignon's life, education, career and accomplishments as a psychological anthropologist (See Appendix A). This facilitated the identification of life situations and events that have had a significant impact on her work.

I have also compiled a citation index of the authors who have influenced her major works (See Appendix B). Additionally, a progeny listing has been compiled to indicate the vast number of authors in all of the social sciences who have been influenced by her works (See Appendix C). All of these listings and indices have been gathered from the Social Science Citation Index and Science Citation Index.

Additional primary sources of information have been

obtained from the archives at the Ohio State University Library in Columbus, Ohio. The library collection is under the direction of Bertha Ihnat. It contains biographical files and magazine articles relating to Dr. Bourguignon's career at Ohio State University and chronicles her professional journey from Teaching Assistant through Professor emeritus. Contact has been made with Dr. Bourguignon and communication by telephone and e-mail has lasted for several months. She has been most gracious in her assistance. She has provided additional biographical information and generously shared her views on the evolution of culture bound syndromes in psychology.

Secondary sources regarding the Anschluss and other historical and biographical information were obtained from reading biographies and historical accounts of that period. These works have enhanced the understanding of the cultural and historical climate prevailing during Dr. Bourguignon's early life.

All of the above named sources have provided this researcher with valuable information to present a comprehensive study of Dr. Bourguignon's life and her impact on the current thinking in cross cultural psychology and culture bound syndromes.

CHAPTER III  
ERIKA BOURGUIGNON-HER LIFE AND WORK  
1924-1946

Erika Eichorn Bourguignon was born in Vienna, Austria on February 18, 1924. She was the only child born to Leopold and Charlotte Eichorn. Her family was Jewish and of comfortable means. Bourguignon's father was a businessman and her mother a physician. She attended Chajes Gymnasium - Vienna's Jewish university-preparatory, secondary school. During these years she lived with her parents in an apartment on Liechtensteinstrasse, around the corner from Berggasse No. 10, the home of Sigmund Freud. In reflecting on her memories of Vienna, she indicates that she could see the trees of the Freud courtyard from her apartment. In her younger years she was cared for in the afternoons by a fiercely religious Catholic nanny while her mother worked. Erika's recollections of her Kinderfrau reveal the family's philosophical approach: 'She disapproved of my parents, not only for being Jewish but also for their lack of religious observance and their Social Democrat and 'modern' attitudes'. In fact she indicates that her father was scathingly antireligious (Bourguignon, 1996).

Erika's childhood spanned the period of the 'Red Vienna' (1919-1933), under the Social Democratic Regime. Following the demise of the Hapsburg Empire and the

tremendous hardship resulting from the Great War, Austro-Hungarian society found itself in a period of extreme disruption. In October 1918, the parliament voted to establish an Austrian state incorporating all districts inhabited by ethnic Germans, including assimilated Jews and Slavs. Three political parties formed the new government: the Christian Social Party, the Social Democratic Workers party and the German workers party. Although the Social Democratic party was the smallest of the three parliamentary blocs it had a preeminent role in the government because it was seen as best able to maintain public order in the face of the potential for revolution created by the economic collapse and military defeat. The Jewish community identified closely with liberalism and socialism and were therefore social democratic supporters. The other parties were conservative, anti-Semitic and racist. This ultimately led to the polarization of the society. However, during the 1920's and early thirties the socialists controlled Vienna and implemented an ambitious program of working-class housing, health schemes and adult education. 'Red Vienna' thus acquired a unique reputation in Europe as a time of stability enabling economic reconstruction and relative prosperity.

In 1933 Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany. A native Austrian, he announced his intention of annexing Austria as

part of his Lebensraum plan for uniting all the German speaking peoples in Europe. On March 12, 1938, Hitler arrived in Vienna and on that day Austria ceased to exist as a political entity. The Anschluss or union with Germany was greeted with enthusiasm and was approved by plebiscite on April 10, 1938. During the next several years, practically the entire Jewish intellectual elite of the country were expelled or fled in the face of the Arayanization of the country.

Erika's parents left Vienna and took refuge with her grandmother in Belgium. She was sent to boarding school in Switzerland for three months, while they waited for visas to come to the United States. Her father had obtained tickets from Belgium to New York, however the outbreak of World War II severely limited transatlantic shipping and her stay in Switzerland extended to one year. Finally, her father was able to obtain tickets from a relief organization. The family then traveled to Genoa, which was neutral at the time, and embarked on the journey that would bring them to New York in the fall of 1939. Erika was fifteen, and although sheltered by her parents from the horrible realities she recalls the fears and anxieties of the trip and the palpable tension of travelling through U-boat filled Mediterranean waters.

Her recollection of these early years in New York is of

anxiety for family members who were either left behind in Austria or scattered throughout Europe doing menial tasks in order to survive. America had not yet joined the war and there was minimal information made available to the public about the events taking place in Europe. The other predominant sentiment she recalls, was one of paranoia about speaking German because of the popular pro Nazi sentiment prevailing in New York. The immigrant community therefore felt further alienated by not being able to openly speak their language. The younger immigrants were quick to learn and in the ensuing role reversal became the parent figures; translating, writing letter etc. This added intergenerational conflict to the stress of acculturation.

After graduating high school, she attended Queens College in New York from 1941 - 1945, and obtained her Bachelors degree. She clearly recalls two main aspects of her experience during those years. Her first memory is of not wanting to be identified with the refugee community and of wanting to be recognized as an American as quickly as possible. The second memory is of her encounter with anthropology. She viewed this as a discipline that allows you to stand back and see what is happening in the present. In effect it helps to obtain a balanced view of things. She postulates that this distancing may be one of the reasons so many exiles went into the social sciences at that time.

Bourguignon (1991) writes about her teacher and mentor, Hortense Powdermaker. She was a student of Malinowski and had a keen interest in psychoanalysis; in addition she was 'a strong and independent personality' with strong opinions. (Bourguignon 1974). It was in two courses offered by Powdermaker, 'American Minority Peoples' and 'Culture and Personality' that Erika's interest in the field was sparked. After graduation she continued to correspond with Powdermaker. When Bourguignon applied for graduate work in anthropology she recalls her mentor advising her to hedge her bets by keeping some interest in sociology since 'there were few jobs in anthropology especially for women and Jews'. In spite of this caveat, she went on to the University of Connecticut for a semester of graduate work and then to Northwestern where she gained her Ph.D.

During the summer of 1945, while at the University of Connecticut, she undertook a research study on the drinking patterns of the New Haven Jewish community. She then went to Northwestern to work under cultural anthropologists A.I. Hallowell and M.J. Herskovits. In the summer of 1946 she did field work at the Lac de Flambeau Indian Reservation in Wisconsin. In preparation for fieldwork she obtained training in Rorschach test analysis by attending the Rorschach Summer School. At the end of 1946 Professor Herskovits received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to

do research in Haiti and he suggested that Dr. Bourguignon go because of her knowledge of French. It was during this year in Haiti that she became acquainted with possession trance behaviors.

#### 1947 - 1960

On her initial trip to Haiti in 1947, Erika's main focus was a broad, open-ended ethnographic study. Prior to this time, relatively little fieldwork had been done in Haiti. There were anecdotal and sensationalistic accounts of Haitian life and customs written during the American occupation from 1915 - 1934. In 1937 Professor Herskovits had published Life in a Haitian Valley, a study of the village of Mirebalais. His great interest in African studies has taken him to observe Afro-Americans in Surinam and fieldwork in West Africa. He was impressed with the continuity that Haitian culture showed with ancestral African traditions. Although puzzled about the phenomena of spirit possession the approach taken to this field work was open-ended and 'not that of problem oriented research'. It was felt that focused research would limit the attention of the researcher to selected aspects of culture and the possible neglect of others. Therefore data collection was open. It was organized and categorized after the fieldwork was complete (Bourguignon, 1978). From this scattered and unsystematic collection of data came a doctoral dissertation



and several articles on the cognitive and behavioral environment including the class structure, dream interpretation, folk beliefs and a collection of Rorschach protocols. When analyzed, these early works fall into three major and recurrent themes. One theme revolved around the hierarchical universe that pervaded all levels of Haitian society. She describes the two major social groupings, the 'elite' and the 'masses' and their attitudes toward each other. There are no equals. In all spheres, be it political, economic, familial or cult group there are superiors and inferiors (Bourguignon, 1952). A Second theme of disguise and transformation appeared in her analysis of Rorschach protocols (Bourguignon, 1955). She noticed that this theme was borne out in ritual possession behavior, which transformed a person's internal and external existence. This theme of transformation was also observed in an analysis of dreams and was apparently related to anxiety about the dangers of the world (Bourguignon, 1954). A third, aggressive oral, theme was perceived in her analysis. This is most clearly seen in relation to folk beliefs relating to cannibalism and zombis and refers to eating i.e., feeding the spirit or being fed or nurtured by them (Bourguignon, 1959).

Having observed these themes emerging from her data, Bourguignon then turned to the question of how they might

serve to clarify our understanding of the widespread possession trance behaviors observed. During this time frame she gained her doctorate, and in January of 1949 became an Instructor in Anthropology in the Department of Sociology at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. She continued in this position until 1956 when she was named assistant professor. She held that position until 1960 when she was named associate Professor. In the 50's she continued to analyze the data from her Haitian experience using it as raw material for her seminars with graduate students. During this decade, while she was concerned with establishing her academic career, several works were published that served to maintain her interests in this subject. In 1957, Sargant published his work Battle for the mind in which he noted the similarity between brain washing and possession experiences. In a different vein, Metreaux, in 1959 published his study Voodoo in Haiti in which he emphasized the theatrical and histrionic elements of possession phenomena.

During this period also there was concern with the limits imposed on anthropological research because of unstandardized reporting methods. In 1954, G.P. Murdock published an Outline of World Cultures, which presented a representative sample of world cultures, organized into regions. Following this, in 1957 the World Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1957) was published with data on 565

societies divided into six major ethnographic regions. These works were destined to revolutionize cross-cultural anthropological research by bringing order into the masses of accumulated data. These studies, among others, then led Dr. Bourguignon to undertake her broad worldwide study of possession states.

1961 - 1970

In the early 1960's Dr. Bourguignon continued to evaluate her Haitian materials and in mid decade she published an article outlining a theory of spirit possession (Bourguignon, 1965). This work is based on Professor Hallowell's contention that self awareness is a generic human trait and is both social and cultural in origin. It considers how the culture serves to maintain personal identity within the behavioral context. Viewing her Haitian material from this standpoint led her to look not only at continuity of personal identity but also culturally sanctioned discontinuity in the form of ritual dissociation or spirit possession. In this article she distinguishes between 'trance' and 'spirit possession', and points out that they are not interchangeable. Belief in spirit possession involves a cultural theory, which may or may not involve trance. However, trance is a physiologic state marked by reduced sensitivity to outside stimuli and in extreme form can resemble coma. She notes that religious or

emotional trance is called ecstasy. In the Haitian context then, she perceives these behaviors as self-serving and self-enhancing in dealing with the rigid positioning in their hierarchical universe. She suggests that ritual dissociation might best be understood as 'dissociation in service of the self' and 'provides the self with an alternate set of roles, in addition to his everyday inventory of roles, in which unfulfilled desires, 'unrealistic' in the context of the workaday world, get a second chance at fulfillment'. In this world of poverty and degradation, dissociation in the form of ritual possession then provides an outlet and chance for self-fulfillment not otherwise available (Bourguignon, p. 57). In addition to clarifying the terminology she choose the term dissociation as the most neutral with regard to any implication of pathology. It is here that she postulates for the first time that dissociational states are to be found in all parts of the world and possibly in all societies and may in fact be a part of man's psychobiologic heritage.

In 1962, as a result of her continuing interest, she, along with two colleagues, submitted a proposal to the National Institute of Mental Health to coordinate a cross cultural study of dissociational states and linked beliefs. Their intial plan was for a two year library based study but was extended to five years and included support for several

field investigations. This work, which came to be known as the Cross-Cultural Study of Dissociational States, was the first such broad based study, and it is on this work and it's findings that much of our current knowledge is based.

The research proposal outlined the aims of the study and the anticipated problems. It was noted that although dissociational states were only discussed clinically in Western society, in many other societies they were institutionalized and culturally rewarded. There were no conventional hypotheses formulated for testing. Instead, it was suggested that the behaviors in these cultures would differ significantly from those states involving hallucinations. The proposal asserted that dissociation was a species wide phenomenon and the goal of the study therefore was to map its worldwide distribution.

The first task was an exploratory investigation of the descriptive ethnographic literature. This vast labor revealed data that was scattered and unsystematic and influenced by bias in both perception and language. During the five years, over twenty-two hundred sources, in several languages were investigated. The work required a cooperative effort to search, assemble, translate and code the material. In order to establish an outline for assembling this data several decisions were in order. The first one, a definition of terms was necessary in order to select material and

categories for classification.

'Belief in possession' was defined to mean that an individual's behavior was interpreted by themselves or their society to be that of another entity. This individual is seen as a receptacle and is transformed for a period of time. 'Trance' was defined to mean any altered state of consciousness that served to modify memory, sense of identity, perception etc. Where these alterations are culturally interpreted as due to possession they are referred to as possession trance. If this belief is not present, then they speak of trance. Societies were then examined for either or both beliefs.

In selecting societies for study, the literature on over 1200 cultural sub units was examined. Of these, 488 societies were chosen as a representative sample of those included in Murdock's (1967) Ethnographic Atlas. These societies constituted the total universe of societies studied by anthropologists (Bourguignon & Greenbaum, 1968). The United States was omitted from the sample. This decision was taken since it was impossible to assign one category to the society in light off the fact that differing beliefs e.g., Glossolalia and demonic possession exist in certain subcultural units. Crisis movements were also omitted from this study. Data was collected but the study was confined to stable traditional societies.

The progress of this large body of work made a 1966 Conference on Trance and Possession States possible. It was held in Montreal and Dr. Bourguignon presented her paper World Distribution and Patterns of Possession States in which she offered her findings up to that time. Evolving typologies were presented. These categories were divided into positive and negative poles, with the positive behaviors being sought after and the negative having pathologic connotations i.e., being caused by or causing physical illness. Beliefs associated with trance behavior were divided into 'naturalistic' and 'supernaturalistic'. The supernatural was further divided into two groups: possession belief and non-possession belief. Possession belief was further divided into trance and non-trance behaviors. She then examined the worldwide distribution of the phenomena with rather broad strokes. Maps were provided to visually depict the physical distribution of possession and trance states worldwide.

While this preliminary data was being accumulated she was also concurrently reviewing the relationship of trance and possession trance to dance. In 1968, with the publication of Trance Dance she traces the history of European and Asian ecstatic, visionary and curative dance and it's relationship to social change. She also reviews the appearance of possession trance dance in the Americas among

the descendants of West Africa: in Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad and Brazil. This wide-ranging and comprehensive review not only increases our knowledge of the worldwide existence of trance behaviors but also leads to some intriguing conjectures about dance in our society. She points out that ecstatic dance expresses some aspect of society in symbolic terms either by maintaining or modifying certain conditions of the culture. She contrasts the ecstatic dance of traditional societies with that of American teenagers, noting the difference between the group focus and the more isolated behaviors. She also wonders if this difference is not indicative of a larger social theme, one of striving for individuality and independence (Bourguignon, 1968).

In 1968, the Final Report: CrossCultural Study of Dissociational States was presented. It answered the questions: How widespread are possession beliefs? And how widespread are trance behaviors in an institutionalized religious context? According to their data, 74 percent of the societies have some form of possession belief. The incidence varied from 88 percent in the Pacific to 52 percent in Native North America. The conclusion was that these possession beliefs are cultural artifacts and are therefore not universal. However, with regard to Altered states of consciousness the answer is that they are



virtually universal, appearing in 90 percent of the sample. This 90 percent, in fact, was deemed to be a conservative judgement because of incomplete reporting in the remaining ten percent. Possession trance on the other hand was not as widespread and varied according to region. The reported 72 percent seemed to be associated with traditional societies of relative complexity. These societies are more highly differentiated and present a greater number of roles for the population. Possession trance rituals often take place within cult groups and may be a reflection of the society's social structure. One other finding of note indicated that men are more likely to seek trance and women to experience possession trance (Bourguignon, 1972). From these initial results and after further analysis Bourguignon developed a model of culturally patterned altered states of consciousness linking their existence and behaviors with social evolution (See Tables 1 and 2). At the conclusion of this research she makes several assertions that are of importance. She states that a concern with altered states of consciousness is neither esoteric or faddish, rather, it sheds light on our universal human nature and the manner in which we build cultures. She considers their study to have great relevance to culture change, social and ecological stress, psychopathology and a variety of other subjects.

The research design and method employed by Dr.

Table 1

Occurrence of Culturally Patterned ASC's

Definition	Occurrence	Social Characteristics
Trance:  Ritual Use of ASC's in religious practice Eg. Visions, contacts with supernatural beings	90%	Hunting, gathering, little stratification low political complexity
Possession Trance:  Link trance to a belief in spirit possession	74%	Agricultural complex, class structure high political complexity
Trance & Possession Trance:  Uses both forms of ASC's	65%	Intermediate Substinence

Table 2

Social Characteristics and Behaviors Associated with ASC's

---

**Trance:**

Subsistence economy, low accumulation, hunting and gathering and fishing. Small populations, lack of political complexity, slavery, nomadic or semi-nomadic, no jurisdictional hierarchy.

**Behavior: ACTIVE**

Direct contact with spirits, active seeker of spirit, followed by memory, solitary activity. Typically involves men. Drugs, sensory deprivation, spirit journey (physically passive). Secret, independent: individual may acquire power through spirit helper.

**Possession Trance:**

Highly differentiated society, rigidity, high dependence on agriculture, high social stratification, high jurisdictional hierarchy, structured cult groups.

**Behavior: PASSIVE/ACTIVE:**

Acting out of spirit roles followed by amnesia. Actor is passive vehicle for spirit. Suggestion, dance drumming group atmosphere, typically involves women. Obedience to spirits and submission of will.

---

Bourguignon in this study was originally a simple one. Basic source material was gathered from the Ethnographic Atlas as well as societal studies. A representative sample of 488 was drawn from the 863 societies coded. This data was then sorted and coded numerically and distributions were presented in the forms of totals and percentages. This was done in order to assess regional variables and to simply quantify the available data. Initially, correlation studies were not done. However, as the original distributions became available some hypotheses were posed and correlational studies were done. All statistical computations were done by the program ORDMAT distributed by the Human Relations Area Files (Bourguignon, 1973). In her article Altered States of Consciousness within a General Evolutionary Perspective: A Holocultural Analysis (Bourguignon, 1977) she details these and subsequent steps undertaken in this research. Her work is significant for its disciplined methodology combining both emic and etic classifications and was the forerunner to other large-scale cultural studies.

Dr. Bourguignon was named professor of Anthropology in 1966. Having presented this report, she continued to analyze the material and it prompted further studies well into the 1970's. She continued teaching, with psychological anthropology becoming her area of specialty, and her name soon became almost synonymous with altered states of

consciousness. Her teaching was not confined to the anthropological field. From 1962 through 1965 she also lectured at Columbia State Hospital in their psychiatric training program.

1971 - 1980

In the 1970's Dr. Bourguignon's work slowly began to center on more broad studies of culture and human nature. However, these works all have the thread of altered states of consciousness and possession belief running through them. This was an incredibly active and productive period in her career. In 1971 she became acting chairman of the department of anthropology and was formally named to the post in April of 1972. During this decade also, she authored two books and co-authored another while continuing her teaching duties.

Early in the 1970's she turned her attention to religion: the relationship between institutionalized or sacred altered states and societal change. One essay on Afro-American religions looks at the influence of Africa on religion in the United States as well as Brazil, Haiti, Cuba and Trinidad. She explores the historical reasons for the diversity found in religious expression in these cultures and proposes that the differences may be responsive adaptations to drastic and harsh life condition peculiar to each country (Bourguignon, 1970a). She continues this theme of social adaptation when reviewing ritual dissociation

beliefs in the Negro Caribbean. An exploration of the rituals of the lower class populations in Haiti, St. Vincent, Trinidad, Jamaica leads her to conclude that they 'provide not only a structured world view but also a system of defense and attack in an essentially hostile society and a hostile world'. In effect, they are related to aspects of social control both historic and current.

Social change continues to be of concern in Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change, a work co-authored and edited by her in 1973. In her introduction she refers to two processes, 'microchange' and 'macrochange' relating to individual and social change. She postulates that trance, when linked to possession cults, provide an avenue for the expression of dissatisfaction in times of social crisis and may lead to a restoration of equilibrium on the individual level. As such, altered states are 'potentially important instruments of social power and thus, of social change' (Bourguignon 1973).

In the foreword to Trance, Healing and Hallucination. Three Studies in Religious Behavior, a work published by three of her students, she points to the diversity of possession trance behaviors and the range of societies in which they exist and insists that these are the norm: 'the 'odd' societies appear to be those that have not' (Bourguignon, 1974a).

In The Religious Uses of Altered states of Consciousness she considers altered states within the framework of modern industrial societies. In these societies the use of these states appear to acquire a different significance and characterize the individual rather than the society as a whole. She looks at crisis cults, Pentecostal groups, the drug culture and at what appears to be new age groups and suggests that within this framework, those who utilize altered states are 'most alienated from the total society, most demanding of immediate gratification,' (Bourguignon, 1974).

In a 1972 publication, she addresses the content of dreams and combines her theory with that of altered states. In her view, dreams are culturally patterned with standardized meanings. Societies use dreaming for varied reasons; for divination and for the acquisition of power over the supernatural. This latter is more likely to be located among the Shamans of North America. She then looks at Rapid Eye Movement (REM) sleep in which dreaming occurs and places it along a continuum with REM sleep dreams, Trance and Possession Trance. She concludes that they are all culturally patterned, ritualized altered states of consciousness, and thus need to be addressed not only from an individual but also a societal perspective (Bourguignon, 1972).

In the mid 70's she continued to publish findings from the original study and in Culture and the Varieties of Consciousness (1974) she brings together the research on altered state and looks at the emergence of ASC's in western culture in regard to the drug culture prevailing at that time.

In 1976, Bourguignon published Possession a work that has become a classic in the field. It is vast and comprehensive in it's coverage and is also widely quoted in the literature. In it she presents, once again much of her Haitian descriptive material. However, she undertakes a comprehensive review on the existing literature on possession phenomena. She begins with biblical descriptions and definitions and cites Oesterreich (1966) as well, to point out that possession involves not only belief but also physiologic manifestations in terms of sensations and behavior. She also refers to Charcot's work in nineteenth century France and takes note of his reference to the striking similarity between his hysterical patients with those of 'possessed' person of earlier times. She goes on to trace the history of modern dissociative phenomena and public interest by naming several current books and films dedicated to the topic. Once again she stresses the cultural element in this phenomenon and turns to present day religion. She looks at the positive side of possession



belief in Christianity, namely the idea of being 'filled' with the Holy Spirit. She contrasts this with the Catholic practice of exorcism; the belief of Pentecostal and Holiness churches that illness is of the devil and driving out the devil is in effect healing the patient. She also charts the development of modern 'charismatic' movements among Catholics and Neo-Pentecostolists who utilize dance as well as 'speaking in tongues' in their rituals. She perceives these developments as taking place because of societal stress. In effect they are 'a retreat from reason and a retreat from accepting responsibility for one's own life decisions' (p. 62).

In 1979 Bourguignon published a textbook Psychological Anthropology: An Introduction to Human Nature and Cultural Difference. In this important work she draws on her then, thirty years experience in fieldwork and teaching to reflect on the division of cultural anthropology that has come to be known as psychological anthropology. She acknowledges that it is an interdisciplinary field that draws much on psychological works. In addition to the overlap, she delineates the differences in approach. She notes that psychologists in the United States are more likely to study behavior here rather than that of traditional or primitive societies. However, with the advent of cross-cultural psychology, this distinction becomes somewhat superficial.

Psychology concerns itself with similarities in behavior while the anthropologist concerns themselves with both comparisons and similarities and with the evolution of that behavior. The second difference of note involves methodology. Psychological research, as a rule, tends to be experimental and statistical in a controlled setting, whereas the anthropologist works holistically in natural situations or field research. As a result, when both anthropologist and psychologist work on what appears to be the same problem, they are often speaking at cross-purposes. She perceives a change occurring here with improved communication between both disciplines. In her section on perception and cognition she acknowledges and relies heavily on the work of cross-cultural psychologists

One chapter of this work is devoted to altered states of consciousness, and covers much of what has previously been published. However, she observes that little beyond speculation was known about the physiologic aspects of altered states and that several psychologists had chosen this as a field of investigation: the distinction between normal waking and altered states.

For the first time, she considers the issue of mental illness and the culture bound nature of disease and treatment. She notes that psychiatric disorders exist in all societies and are recognized as such. However, there are

important differences in the way in which they are treated and explained. She looks at the question of deviant behavior and indicates that behaviors may emphasize stress points in that particular society. She also raises the possibility of mental disorders being unique to a particular culture and of utilizing the knowledge gained by anthropologist in a collaborative effort against disease. This is a theme to which she will return in later works.

At the end of the 1970s, she published one other significant work, Spirit Possession and Altered States of Consciousness: The Evolution of an Enquiry (Bourguignon, 1978) in which she reviews the history of her research up till that time. This article condenses much of her research on altered states of consciousness and presents an amalgam of the findings. She lists the great number of ethnographic studies and other large scale studies on the subject that have come about as the result of her groundbreaking work. She remarks on the increased interest on the topic as a result of the widespread 'drug culture' of the 60's and points out that the comparative anthropological perspective lends an added dimension and clarity in viewing the stress of acculturation in our own society.

1980 - 1990

During the decade of the eighties, Dr. Bourguignon's focus shifted toward women's issues albeit remaining within

her original framework. She began with the volume A world of Women: Anthropological Studies of Women in the Societies of the World (Bourguignon, 1980) which emerged from a course, of many years standing, taught by her on the Anthropology of Women. She and her contributors review twelve societies and look at three central concerns: the economic roles of women, both public and private; women's status and the effects of culture change. Several of their findings challenge a number of stereotypes and are quite striking. Of particular importance to this study are the findings that culture change may reinforce traditional value and opportunity for creation of a private power network through participation in spiritist religions.

In 1983 she addresses the interaction of biological and cultural processes involved in possession trance among women. Other studies have identified subsistence practices, stress, pellagra and calcium deficiency as contributory factors in producing trance behaviors. These are not seen as competing, but rather as complementary theories.

In 1986, in a tribute to A.I Hallowell, one of her early teachers, she credits him with being the founder of psychological anthropology and with being a pioneer in the field of Altered states of consciousness (Bourguignon, 1986). In 1989, she turns her attention to Multiple Personality Disorder and its treatment. She presents two

cases, one of a black woman living in New York and the other of a Brazilian man living in Sao Paulo. The woman is diagnosed with Multiple personality Disorder and treated by an American psychotherapist while the male is treated in a ritual religious setting in the Umbanda cult in his native country. Both are treated successfully and she contrasts the treatment and worldview of the healers in the industrial and traditional societies. One is considered pathologic; the use of dissociation or splitting resulting from a developmental defect of the ego, while the other is considered a 'real' entity and is socially encouraged to give expression to this personality (Bourguignon, 1989).

In 1989, she returns to the topic of trance in considering the existing definitions and typologies of trance and shamanism and their impact on cross-cultural research. Her concern is with having a satisfactory group of etic terms for use in comparative research. This terminology would provide similarity without overwhelming the emic meanings in existence in the cultures being studied. She reviews the literature on the topic and concludes that the term 'shamanism' is misleading if applied to all ritual trancers. In her view, the social and cultural context of the trance and the trancer need to be considered when attempting a formal typology.

As she approached her sixty fifth birthday in 1989, Dr.

Bourguignon had plans for a well-earned retirement. She had been teaching and writing for 40 years, received numerous accolades, including the distinguished Scholar Award and been instrumental in the launching of several careers. Sadly, this was delayed when her husband, Belgian artist, Paul Bourguignon died in 1988. At that time she decided to continue her active career. Two years later, in 1990 she retired as Professor emeritus. However, she has continued teaching on a part-time basis, she advises graduate students, writes articles and actively attends and chairs conferences.

#### 1990 - Present

Retirement, notwithstanding, she continues to write on her subject of choice. Her focus has remained on the role of women, social change and the part played by possession behaviors. The nineties, thus far, have seen three articles emerge on the status of women.

In 1992, she continued to explore the aspects of religion that mediate distress and culture change. She presents two cases of recent note. The first occurred in Africa in 1984 and was reported as the formation of a new possession cult by women who had lost children or been unable to conceive. The second case hails from Malaysia in 1975. Several ill-treated, female factory workers had been afflicted by spirit possession, which necessitated the

closing of their factory. She notes that both cases were hailed in western psychiatric terms of pathology by the authorities but were cast in traditional religious terms by the participants. From her perspective, both social and personal distress is expressed in traditional terms. She also observes that religious revival and fundamentalism is increasing at all levels of society both modern and traditional. She cites the growth of Christian fundamentalism in this country, Jewish fundamentalism in Israel, increased conservatism in Islam and speculates that fear and dissatisfaction might be the fuel for these movements. She perceives religion as providing security, coping strategies and a buffer against mental illness in these changing times. She acknowledges that religion and its relationship to mental health is both complex and variable and suggests that in the face of increasing migration, development, revolution etc. more research is needed to evaluate its role. She returns to the concept of syncretic change to deal with syncretic religions i.e., a combination of psychiatric and traditional attitudes and treatments (Bourguignon, 1992a).

At the same time she was also considering the role of fantasy and culture change in the career choice of women. Much of this relates to cultural expectations, however, she speaks of an underlying fantasy in possession trance

rituals. She sees these cults as being ritualistic and engaged in symbolic manipulation which has implication for the individual, the family and the larger society. She begins to explore the fantasies of power, sexuality and pregnancy underlying these phenomena. These interpretations she notes have evolved from years of observation and seem to take a new, somewhat analytical stance (Bourguignon, 1992b).

Her third article on women published in 1995, refers to social change in East Africa but is once again concerned with the role of possession trance religions. Here, she poses two questions. She asks if these religions are on the rise everywhere and if so, why? She also wonders about the preponderance of women in these religions. In answer, we find that these religions are indeed on the rise in Africa particularly in urban areas where social change is most accelerated. The response to the second question is more complicated. The majority of participants in these religions are women but men are also involved now. She sees communication as the primary functions here. The spirit in these trance rituals forms a bridge between the sexes in a less than equal society. So once again possession religions are portrayed as agents of social change (Bourguignon, 1995).

Her final work to date that concerns us was published



in 1994. In it she discusses the shifting interest in trance over the years. The early works were interested in trance and it's connection to religion as a form of worship or divination. During the past twenty-five years, interest has shifted to a concern with psychopathology and to the healing mechanisms of trance religions as well as to the trance itself as a cathartic or therapeutic process. She notes that this is a complex topic, ideally suited to interdisciplinary research as it impacts several dimensions: the psychological, biologic, developmental, pathologic and therapeutic to name a few. She proposes further work on integrative models of trance behaviors, bringing together work from various disciplines in order to arrive at a 'universalist approach, leading to an understanding of both the unity and the diversity of human nature' (Bourguignon, 1994, p. 309). It is in this regard then, that we look at Dr. Bourguignon's work and it's ongoing contribution to the evolution of cultural knowledge in clinical psychology.

## CHAPTER IV

### CLINICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

In order to fully appreciate Dr. Bouguignon's contribution to our current knowledge of culture bound syndromes, a look at the classification of psychiatric diagnosis from the historical perspective is in order.

A study of history and of western society shows that illness is universally experienced. Psychiatric disorders are 'human behavioral anomalies that are culturally shaped, explained and dealt with in terms of established conventions and meanings' (Fabrega, 1997). In antiquity, such illnesses became integrated with general medical complaints. Then, in medieval times Christian religious elements such as exorcism were added. Most explanations of illness were functional in orientation and looked to special characteristics of the individual. In the mid Seventeenth century under the influence of Descartes and Newton, this focus shifted to a mechanistic one in which each organ was felt to affect the other and, in turn the whole organism; an almost modern concept. Then in the eighteenth century the brain and nervous system with 'nervous fluids, nervous energies and nervous forces' (Porter, 1987) were considered the basis for understanding of disease. In the nineteenth century disease began to be classified impersonally and biomedically with descriptions devoid of personal or situational

characteristics. Thus, the language of psychopathology became purely phenomenological (Fabrega, 1996). Throughout this time, there existed no formal classification of mental disorders. One of the first classifications was made by Kraepelin, a German Psychiatrist who detailed four kind of dementia. Although his categorization was not universally accepted it did point to the need for some such system. In the United States statistical classifications were instituted for the censuses of 1840 and 1880. They were limited in scope with the first containing one category: idiocy/insanity, and the second containing seven categories: mania, melancholia, monomania, paresis, dementia, dipsomania and epilepsy. World war II finally prompted the need for more comprehensive classifications and in 1952 the first Diagnostic and Statistical Manual was produced. This contained a glossary of mental disorders. Over the next several years, more comprehensive symptom focused diagnostic categories were added (DSM-IV, p. xvii). Cultural considerations were not addressed until the advent of DSM-III-R in 1987, and that attempt was minimal. Dr. Arthur Kleinman recalls that he was requested make a contribution to the Introduction cautioning users about the potential misuse of the classification when applied to ethnic minority groups. He drafted a letter that was subsequently compressed into two paragraphs. It is his considered opinion that

'Those two paragraphs, in spite of the editor's good intention, are symbolic of DSM-III-R's limitations when applied across ethnic, cultural and international boundaries: namely, they are too little, too late" (Kleinman, 1991).

In 1991 when the formal work began on DSM-IV, the National Institute for Mental Health supported the Group on Culture and Diagnosis in an attempt to remedy this lack. The resulting Cultural Formulation Outline was incorporated into DSM-IV bring greater flexibility in diagnostic formulation. Mezzich (1995) the group leader writes about the convergence between anthropologic considerations of culture and psychopathology. Their attempt then, set in place a system that would focus on the cultural identity of the client; the cultural factors pertinent to the client's illness; the client's personal perspective and the intercultural elements of the therapeutic relationship. The possibility of a 'cultural axis ' was considered but discarded. This Cultural Formulation constitutes a significant innovation in cross-cultural care (Mezzich, 1995).

Perhaps the rethinking of the concept of culture in anthropology in recent years has had an even greater impact on current classifications. The Nineteenth century notion of culture was racist in tenor, with a strong moral message of higher and lower levels of civilization displaying either

enlightened or primitive behaviors. Earlier in this century, the term culture came to imply a demographic description of population and often became confused with ethnicity. More recently, culture was understood as a shared orientation and set of values about the self, illness and treatment. While this approach tended to foster cultural sensitivity it also led to some stereotyping of behaviors.

Contemporary anthropology is now elaborating a more sophisticated notion of culture. This is the concept that culture is the process that emerges from daily life. It is built up of every day patterns, routines, rituals, language and core value orientation. It is a social phenomenon and part of the interconnected group encompassing family, work setting, networks, religious groups and whole communities (Kleinman, 1996; Lewis-Fernandez 1995). This in turn has led the cross cultural field into an examination of the relationship and interconnection between social world and illness, indigenous syndromes and healing systems. These factors, resulting in the recent effort to make the DSM-IV more culturally relevant should have been, in the opinion of one author, the 'central focus of the fourth revision' (Lewis-Fernandez, 1995). However, the final version of the DSM-IV only incorporated a small proportion of the recommendation with the Cultural Formulation placed in an Appendix. Several culture bound dissociative and trance

disorder were also dropped and relegated to the same Appendix. Apparently, the anthropologic component characterizing the experience of the person, their family and social network was not as highly rated by the editors.

Dissociation or trance behavior has a long history in psychology and anthropology. It has been systematically studied since the 1770's when Mesmer devised his healing system dubbed 'animal magnetism'. One of his pupils discovered 'magnetic sleep' when he attempted to heal Victor Race of a lung infection. He noted that Victor became highly suggestible, seemed to be able to read his thoughts and underwent a personality transformation. When he was awakened, he could recall nothing of what had transpired. This magnetic sleep would later be called hypnotic trance, however, the magnetizers called the dual state they observed, "double consciousness" (Crabtree, 1992). The term hypnosis was not coined until 1852, but by that time mesmerism and hypnotism had fallen into disrepute.

Trance states return to focus later in the nineteenth century in France with the work and observation of Janet and Charcot. Considered a symptom of hysteria by Janet, trance phenomena was studied for signs of pathology. Others, working at the same time disagreed. In the United States Morton Prince, William James and Boris Sidis held 'that dissociation was a normal human function, and that

multiplicity was a fact of ordinary life' (Crabtree, 1992). In Britain, the concept of 'double consciousness' was a well-defined clinical entity of dissociative symptoms. (Hacking, 1991). Unfortunately their view did not hold due to the overwhelming influence of Charcot and Janet. Freud was greatly influenced by Charcot and focused on the existence of the 'unconscious' instead. The rising popularity of his early work eclipsed the work on dissociation and changed the focus of enquiry.

At the beginning of the twentieth century interest in dissociation had waned and it was not until the Vietnam War when the association between trauma and dissociation was observed and systematically studied. During the drug culture of the sixties also there was renewed attention. During the early seventies and eighties studies of dissociative disorders and multiple personality disorder started to appear. This in turn sparked renewed interest and controversy in and about the phenomena.

During the eighties and continuing into the nineties, there has been a proliferation of interest in cross-cultural research and now of clinical applications. New publications abound on the practice of this discipline. In view of the fact that the United States is becoming one of the most ethnically diverse societies in the world, this is a timely situation indeed (Comas-Diaz, 1998).

The history of Possession trance states in world literature is widespread. Western sources vary from the Bible to Greek Mythology and history, to reports of the Great Witch-Hunt of the Middle Ages to Oesterreich's classic work. Much of this tradition is largely negative with regard to this phenomenon. Non western cultures (which are 80% of the world and one-third of the United States) (Lewis-Fernandez, 1992) have an even wider distribution of possession beliefs and behaviors. Because of this, a proposal for 'trance/possession' disorder was considered for the previous edition of the DSM but was not adopted. The academic consensus of the eighties was that possession syndrome may occur as a symptom of Multiple Personality Disorder (DSM-III-R, p. 271) with an alternate personality influencing behavior. Reference is also made to possession trance being exhibited as part of psychotic behavior.

Recent work in non-western cultures showing the preponderance of this syndrome over other dissociative disorders (Lewis-Fernandez, 1992), again prompted the proposal for inclusion of Trance and Possession Disorder in the DSM-IV. The criteria for diagnosis recognized the cultural and religious aspects of possession trance and included the caveats:

the trance or possession state is not authorized as a normal part of collective cultural or religious



practice. The trance or possession State causes significant impairment in occupational or social functioning, or causes marked distress. (Cardena, 1992).

Once again, consensus could not be reached and the controversy raged with a series of articles focused on the question: Are Trance and Possession Disorders? Arguments ranged from inclusion for the sake of gaining clearer perspective on 'human consciousness and personal identity' (Cardena, 1992) to a suggestion for a new category of 'Trance and Possession Suppression Disorder' from which a large part of the West might be held to suffer' (Leavitt, 1993). The result was inclusion of Dissociative Trance Disorder in Appendix B of the DSM-IV under the title of "Criteria Sets and Axes Provided for Further Study" (DSM-IV, p. 727).

It is important to note that concern with possession phenomena is not of significance only to non-western cultures. As recently as June 28, 1998, an article appeared in the Miami Herald entitled: "The Exorcist of Notre Dame: An Ancient Tradition Flourishes". It chronicles the history of possession and exorcism within the Roman Catholic Church. Currently there are 95 exorcists in France and demand for their services is at an all time high due to "social and cultural dislocation" in the opinion of Rev. Claude Nicolas.

In addition, on January 27, 1999, the New York Times reported that the Vatican had issued a revision of the exorcism ritual contained in its Canon Law. This was the first such modification in two hundred years. It appears then, that recognition of possession trance phenomena on is on the rise.

Research on trance continues unabated. Medical anthropologists are now looking at trance behaviors from several perspectives. Richard Castillo, a medical anthropologist began this work in 1990 with his study of meditation (Castillo, 1990). After several studies he has come to some interesting conclusions regarding trance. He views intense focusing to be the physiological mechanism of trance induction. In reviewing the literature on cognitive neuroscience he postulates "the organization of culture has its psychological correlates in the organization of the mid-brain. Culture specific organizations will exist, not in gross anatomy, but in the structure of individual neurons and in the organizational formation of neural networks (Castillo, 1995). In addition, study of neural network plasticity indicate that repetitive use of synapses increase their functional strength. This would indicate that culture experience itself reinforces specific neural pathways (Castillo, 1996). This concept should prove to be of great importance in the treatment of culture specific illness by

leading to the incorporation of traditional and modern methods of therapy.

As previously noted, much of our current attempt at an integrated cultural approach in psychology is due to knowledge gained by the anthropologic method. Erika Bourguignon, in her original groundbreaking study and the body of work that followed has been instrumental in our progress. It is to be hoped that as we mature as a discipline we might be able to remove 'culture bound syndromes' from the Appendix of the DSM and acknowledge them as cultural patterns of distress. This would be fitting tribute indeed to the anthropological contributions in general and Dr. Bourguignon in particular.

As previously noted, much of our current attempt at an integrated cultural approach in psychology is due to knowledge gained by the anthropologic method. Erika Bourguignon, in her original, groundbreaking study and the body of work that followed has been instrumental in our progress. It is to be hoped that as we mature as a discipline we might be able to remove 'culture bound syndromes' from the Appendix of the DSM and acknowledge them as cultural patterns of distress. This would be fitting tribute indeed to the anthropological contributors in general and Dr. Bourguignon in particular.

## References

American Psychological Association. (1994). The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

American Psychiatric Association. (1987). The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (3rd ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Alarcon, R. (1995). Culture and Psychiatric Diagnosis: Impact on DSM-IV and ICD 10. The Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 18(3), 449-455.

Boring, E. G. (1950). A history of experimental psychology (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bourguignon, E. (Ed.) (1988). Exile: A memoir of 1939. by Bronka Schneider. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1996). Vienna and memory: Anthropology and experience. Ethos, 224(2), 374-387.

Bourguignon, E. (1991). Hortense powdermaker. The teacher. Journal of Anthropological Research, 47, 417-427.

Bourguignon, E. (1952). Class structure and acculturation in Haiti. Ohio Journal of Science, 52, 317-320.

Bourguignon, E. (1954). Dreams and dream interpretation in Haiti. American Anthropologist, 56, 262-268.

Bourguignon, E., & Nett, E. W. (1955). Rorschach populars in a sample of Haitian protocols. Journal of Projective Techniques, 19, 117-124.

Bourguignon, E. (1959). The persistence of folk beliefs: Some notes on cannibalism and zombis. American Journal of Folklore, 72, 36-46.

Bourguignon, E. (1965). The self, the behavioral environment and the theory of spirit possession. Context and meaning in Cultural Anthropology. New York: McMillan Free Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1968). Trance dance. New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation.

Bourguignon, E. (1968). A cross-cultural study of dissociational states. Columbus, Ohio: Research Foundation, Ohio State University.

Bourguignon, E., & Greenbaum, L. S. (1968). Diversity and homogeneity: A comparative analysis of societal characteristics based on data from the Ethnographic atlas. Occasional papers in anthropology: No. 1. Columbus, Ohio: Dept. of Anthropology, Ohio State University.

Bourguignon, E. (1970a). Afro-American religions: Traditions and transformations. In J. F. Swzwed (ed.), Black America. New York: Basic Books.

Bourguignon, E. (1970b). Ritual dissociation and possession belief in Caribbean Negro religion. In N. Whitten & J. Swzwed (ed.), Afro-American anthropology: Contemporary perspectives. New York: The Free Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1972). Dreams and altered states of consciousness in anthropological research. In F. L. Hsu (Ed.), Psychological anthropology (pp. 403-434).

Bourguignon, E. (Ed.). (1973). Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1974). Culture and the varieties of consciousness. An Addison Wesley Module in Anthropology, 47. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Bourguignon, E. (1974). Foreword, In F. Goodman. J. Hanney & E. Pressel (ed.), Trance healing and hallucinations: Three field studies in religious experience. New York: Wiley.

Bourguignon, E. (1974). Cross-cultural perspectives on the religious uses of altered states of consciousness. In Zaretsky & M. Leone, Religious movements in contemporary America. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1976). Possession. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp Publishers.

Bourguignon, E., & Evascu, T. (1977). Altered states of consciousness within a general evolutionary perspective: A holocultural analysis. Behavior Science Research, 12, 197-216.

Bourguignon, E. (1978). Spirit possession and altered states of consciousness: The evolution of an inquiry. In Ed. G. Spindler, Psychological anthropology. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1979). Psychological anthropology: An introduction to human nature and cultural differences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bourguignon, E. (1980). A World of women: anthropological studies of women in the societies of the World. New York: Praeger.

Bourguignon, E. (1983). Women, possession, trance, cults and the extended nutrient-deficiency hypothesis. American Anthropology, 85, 413-416.

Bourguignon, E. (1986). A. I. Hallowell, the foundations of psychological anthropology and altered states of consciousness.

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Trance and shamanism: What's in a name? Special Issue: Shamanism and altered states of consciousness. Journal of Psychoactive drugs, 21(1), 9-15.

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Multiple possession trance and the psychic unity of mankind. Ethos, 17(3), 371-384.

Bourguignon, E. (1992a). Religion as a mediating factor in culture change. In J. F. Schumaker (Ed.), Religion and mental health. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1992b). Women's experience: Fantasy and culture change. In L. Boyer & R. Boyer (Eds.), The psychoanalytic study of society, 17: Essays in honor of George D. And Louise A. Spindler (pp. 143-169). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, Inc.

Bourguignon, E. (1994). Trance and meditation. In P. K. Bock, Psychological anthropology (pp. 297-313). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1995). Possession and social change in Eastern Africa. Anthropology Quarterly, 68(2), 71-76.

Cardena, E. (1992). Trance and possession as dissociative disorders. Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 29, 287-300.

Castillo, R. (1990). Depersonalization and meditation. Psychiatry, 53, 158-168.

Castillo, R. (1995). Culture, trance and the mind-brain. Anthropology of consciousness, 6(1), 17-32.

Castillo, R. (1996). Culture and mental illness: A client centered approach. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.



Cherion: The International Society for the History of Behavioral and Social Sciences. Internet:  
<http://www.cherion.com>.

Comas-Diaz, L., & Griffith, E. (1988). Introduction: On culture and psychotherapeutic care. Clinical guidelines in cross-cultural mental health. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Inc.

Contemporary Authors (1980). Vols. 85-88. Detroit: Gale Research Co.

Crabtree, A. (1992). Dissociation and memory: A two-hundred year perspective. Dissociation, 5(5), 150-153.

Eliade, M. (1964). Shamanism: Archaic technique of ecstasy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ellenberger, H. F. (1970). The discovery of the unconscious. New York: Basic Books.

Emerson, R. W. (1969). Essays: Second series (p. 264). Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

Fabrega, H. (1996). Cultural and historical foundations of psychiatric diagnosis. In E. Mezzich et al. (Ed.), Culture and psychiatric diagnosis: A DSM-IV perspective. Washington: American Psychiatric Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Hacking, I. (1991). Double consciousness in Britain. Dissociation, 4(3), 134-143.

Hart, O., & Friedman, B. (1989). A readers guide to Pierre Janet on dissociation neglected intellectual heritage. Dissociation, 2(1), 3-14.

Herskovits, M. J. (1937). Life in a Haitian valley. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Hill, M. (1993). Archival strategies and techniques. Newbury Park: CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Jahoda, G. (1997). On the origins of the international association of cross-cultural psychology. Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin, 31(3), 4-7.

Jahoda, G., & Krewer, B. (1997). History of cross-cultural and cultural psychology. In J. Berry, Y., Poortinga & J. Pandey (Eds.), Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Theory and methods (Vol. 1, pp. 1-42). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Kerlinger, F. (1973). Foundations of behavioral research. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

Klineberg, O. (1980). Historical perspectives: Cross-cultural psychology before 1960. In H. Triandis & W. Lambert (Eds.), Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Perspectives (Vol. pp. 31-69). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Kleinman, A. (1996). How is culture important for DSM-IV? In E. Mezzich et al. (Eds.), Culture and psychiatric diagnosis: A DSM-IV perspective. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.

Kroeber, A., & Kluckhorn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. Papers of the peabody museum of American archeology and ethnology, 47 p. 181.

Kuhn, T. S. (1970). The structures of scientific revolutions (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Leavitt, J. (1993). Are trance and possession disorders? Continuing commentary. Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 30, 51-57.

Lewis-Fernandez, R., & Kleinman, A. (1995). Cultural psychiatry: Theoretical, clinical, and research issues. The Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 18(3), 433-448.

Lewis-Fernandez, R. (1992). The proposed DSM-IV trance and possession disorder category: Potential benefits and risks. Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 29, 301.

Men and Women of Science (1973). Vol 1. New York: Jacques Cattell Press.

Metraux, A. (1959). Voodoo in Haiti. New York: Schocken Books.

Mezzich, J. (1996). Cultural issues for DSM-IV. In J. Mezzich (Ed.), DSM-IV sourcebook. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.

Mezzich, J. (1995). Cultural formulation and comprehensive diagnosis: Clinical and research perspective. The Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 18(3), 649-657.

Misra, G., & Gergen, K. J. (1993). On the place of culture in psychological science. International Journal of Psychology, 28, 225-243.

Murdock, G. P. (1954). Outline of world cultures (3rd ed.). New Haven: HRAF Press.

Murdock, G. P. (1962). Ethnographic atlas. American Anthropologist, 59, 664-687.

Oesterreich, T. K. (1966). Possession. New York: University Books.

Parron, D. L. (1994). DSM-IV: Making it culturally relevant. In S. Freidman (Ed.), Anxiety disorders in African Americans. New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Porter, R. (1987). Mind Forg'd Manacles. London, England: Athlone Press.

Sargant, W. (1957). Battle for the mind: A physiology of conversion and brain-washing. Cambridge: Malor Books.

Schultz, D. (1992). A history of modern psychology. Ft. Worth: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

Simons, M. (1998, June 28). The exorcist of Notre Dame: An ancient tradition flourishes. The Miami Herald, p. 21A.

Solsten, E. (1993). Austria: A country. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress.

Tagliabue, J. (1999, January 27). Vatican's revised exorcism rite affirms existence of devil. The New York Times, B1.

Triandis, H. (1972). The analysis of subjective culture. New York: Wiley.

Tylor, E. B. (1958). Religion in primitive culture. New York: Harper and Row.

Viney, W. (1993). A history of psychology: Ideas and context. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Wertheimer, M. (1980). Historical research-why? In Brozek & Pongratz (Eds.), Historiography of modern psychology (pp. 1-23). Toronto, Canada: CJ Hogrefe, Inc.

Who's Who in America. (1999). Vol. 1 A - K. New Providence: P. Reed Elsevier Inc.

Wimmer, A. (1990). Expelled and banished: The exile experience of Austrian Anschluss victims in personal histories and literary documents. Journal of European Studies, 22, 343-363.

Wundt, W. M. (1916). Elements of folk psychology; outlines of a psychological history of the development of mankind (trans. Schaub, E. L.). New York: Macmillan.

APPENDIX A

BOURGUIGNON E. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bourguignon, E. (1995). Possession and Social Change in Eastern Africa. Anthropology Quarterly, 68(2), 71-76.

Bourguignon, E. (1994). Identity and the constant self. In L. B. Boyer, R. M. Boyer, H. F. and Stein (Eds.), Essays in honor of George A. De Vos. Psychoanalytic study of society series, 19, 181-212. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, Inc.

Bourguignon, E. (1994). Trance and meditation. In P. K. Bock (Ed.), Psychological anthropology, 297-313. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

Bourguignon, E. (1992). Women's experience: Fantasy and culture change. In L. B. Boyer, R. M. Boyer, S. M. and Sonnenberg (Eds.), The psychoanalytic study of society, 17: Essays in honor of George D. and Louise A. Spindler (p. 143-169). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, Inc.

Bourguignon, E. (1992). Religion as a mediating factor in culture change. In J. F. Schumaker (Ed.), Religion and mental health (p. 259-269). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1991). Possession. Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1991). Hortense Powdermaker, The Teacher. Journal of Anthropology Research, 47(4), 417-428.

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Multiple personality, possession trance, and the psychic unity of mankind. Ethos, Sep, 17(3), 371-384.

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Trance and shamanism: What's in a name? Special Issue: Shamanism and altered states of consciousness. Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, Jan-Mar, 21, (1), 9-15.

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Competition and complementarity in the utilization of health resources in Africa. In K. Peltzer, and P. O. Ebigbo (Eds.), Clinical psychology in Africa (south of the Sahara), the Caribbean and Afro-Latin America: A textbook for universities and paramedical schools (p. 107-115). Zaria, Nigeria: S. Asekome & Co.

Bourguignon, E. (Ed.). (1986). Margaret Mead, the anthropologist in America. Occasional papers in anthropology: no. 2. Columbus, Ohio: Department of Anthropology, Ohio State University.

Bourguignon, E. (1985). Religion and justice in Haitian Vodoum. Phylon, 46(4), 292-295.

Bourguignon, E. (1983). Women, possession, trance, cults and the extended nutrient-deficiency hypothesis. American Anthropology, 85(2), 413-416.

Bourguignon, E. (1980). A World of women: anthropological studies of women in the societies of the World. New York: Praeger.



Bourguignon, E. (1979). Psychological anthropology: An introduction to human nature and cultural differences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bourguignon, E., Crapanzano, V., and Garrison, V. (1978). Case Studies in Spirit Possession. American Ethnology, 5(1), 186-188.

Bourguignon, E., & Evascu, T. L. (1977). Altered states of consciousness within a general evolutionary perspective: A holocultural analysis. Behavior Science Research, 12(3), 197-216.

Bourguignon, E. (1976). Possession. San Francisco, CA: Chandler & Sharp Publishers.

Bourguignon, E. (1973). Culture and the varieties of consciousness. Addison Wesley Module in Anthropology, No. 47. Addison Wesley Publishing Inc.

Bourguignon, E., & Greenbaum, L. S. (1973). Diversity and homogeneity in world societies. New Haven, CT: HRAF Press.

Bourguignon, E. (Ed.). (1973). Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1972). Dreams and altered states of consciousness in anthropological research. In F. L. Hsu (Ed.), Psychological anthropology (p. 623). Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.

Bourguignon, E. (1968). A cross-cultural study of dissociational states. Columbus, Ohio: Research Foundation, Ohio State University.

Bourguignon, E., & Greenbaum, L. S. (1968). Diversity and homogeneity: A comparative analysis of societal characteristics based on data from the Ethnographic atlas. Occasional papers in anthropology: No. 1. Columbus, Ohio: Dept. of Anthropology, Ohio State University.

Bourguignon, E. (1966). World Distribution and patterns of possession states. In R. Prince (Ed.), Trance and possession states. Montreal: Bucke Memorial Society

Bourguignon, E. (1965). The self, the behavioral environment and the theory of spirit possession. Context and meaning in Cultural Anthropology. New York: McMillan Free Press.

Bourguignon, E. (1968). Trance dance. New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation.

Bourguignon, E., & Nett, E. W. (1955). Rorschach populars in a sample of Haitian protocols. Journal of Projective Techniques, 19, 117-124.

Bourguignon, E. (1959). The persistence of folk beliefs: Some notes on cannibalism and zombis. American Journal of Folklore, 72, 36-46.

Bourguignon, E. (1954). Dream and dream interpretation in Haiti. American Anthropologist, 56, 262-268.

APPENDIX B

BOURGUIGNON, E. CITATION INDEX

## Citation Index

- Bourguignon, E. (1995). Possession and Social Change in Eastern Africa. Anthropology Quarterly, 68(2), 71-76.
- Boddy, J. (1994). Ann Rev Anthro, 23, 407
- Corin, E. (1979). Social Sci Med, 13, 367
- Herskovits, M. J. (1937). Life Hatian Valley.
- Hurston, Z. N. (1938). Tell Horse.
- Kehoe, A. B. (1981). Am Anthropol, 83, 349.
- Kendall, L. (1985). Shamans Housewives O.
- Kenny, M. G. (1986). Passion Anslem Bourne.
- Kramer, F. (1993). Red Fez Art Spirit.
- Lambek, M. (1981). Human Spirit Culture.
- Lerch, P. B. (1982). Urban Anthropol, 11, 257
- Lewis, I. M. (1971). Ecstatic Relig.
- Lewis, I. M. (1986). Relig Context.
- Oesterreich, T. K. (1966). Possession Demonical.
- Raybeck, D. (1989). Med Anthropol Q, 3, 139.
- Sharp, L. A. (1993). Possessed Dispossess.
- Stoller, P. (1989). Fusion Worlds.
- Stoller, P. (1994). Am Anthropol, 96, 634.
- Bourguignon, E. (1991). Hortense Powdermaker, The Teacher. Journal of Anthropology Research, 47(4), 417-428.
- Adorno, T. W. (1950). Authoritarian Person
- Alexander, R. M. (1942). Our Age Unreason
- Brickner, R. M. (1943). Is Germany Incurable

- Brown, E. (1942). 71 Publ Aff Pamphl
- Dornell, R. (1990). E Sapir Linguist Ant
- Davie, M. (1936). World Immigration
- Dollard, J. (1937). Caste Class So Town
- Erickson, E. H. (1942). Psychiatry, 5, 457
- Freeman, D. (1991). Curr Anthropol, 32, 322
- Herskovits, M. J. (1941). Myth Negro
- Horkheimer, M. (1936). Authoritat Famile
- Horney, K. (1937). Neurotic Personality
- Inkeles, A. (1961). Psycholo Anthro Approach, 172
- Johnson, C. S. (1943). Patterns Negro Segre
- Kardiner, A. (1939). Individual His Soc
- Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1959). Sociol Today, 39
- Linton, R. (1936). Study Man
- Lynd, R. S. (1929). Middletown
- Powdermaker, H. (1939). Freedom Cultire Studies
- Powdermaker, H. (1943). Am J Sociol, 48, 122
- Powdermaker, H. (1944). J Negro Education, 13, 295
- Powdermaker, H. (1944). Probing Our Prej
- Powdermaker, H. (1945). Am Anthropol, 47, 155
- Powdermaker, H. (1945). Am Anthropol, 47, 308
- Powdermaker, H. (1945). Sociol Action, 11, 5
- Powdermaker, H. (1948). Am Anthropol, 50, 666
- Powdermaker, H. (1966). Stranger Friend Way
- Reik, T. (1941). Masochism Modern Man

- Sapir, E. (1924). *Am J Sociol*, 29, 401
- Sargent, S. S. (1949). *Culture Personality*
- Wolf, E. R. (1971). *Am Anthropol*, 73, 783
- Wolf, E. R. (1981). *Totems Teachers Pers*, 35
- Young, K. S. (1942). *Sociology*
- Young, K. S. (1954). *Isnt One Wife Enough*
- Bourguignon, E. (1989). *Multiple personality, possession trance, and the psychic unity of mankind. Ethos, Sep, 17(3), 371-384.*
- Bastide, R. (1960). *Relig Africanes Bre*
- Blatty, W. P. (1971). *Exorcist*
- Crapanzano, V. (1973). *Case Studies Spirit*
- Deveraux, G. (1955). *Study Abortion Primi*
- Deveraux, G. (1978). *Ethnopschoanalysis*
- Figge, H. H. (1973). *Confin Psychi*, 16, 28
- Goodman, F. D. (1981). *Exorcism Anneliesse M*
- Gruenewald, D. (1977). *J Nerv Ment Dis*, 164, 385
- Horton, R. (1969). *Spirit Mediumship So*
- Kenny, M. G. (1981). *Psychiatry*, 44, 337
- Kenny, M. G. (1986). *Passion Ansel Bourne*
- Keys, D. (1981). *Minds B Milligan*
- Lambek, M. (1982). *Human Spirits Cultur*
- Laskey, R. (1978). *Psychoanal Rev*, 65, 355
- Lerch, P. S. (1980). *World Women Anthr St*
- Ludwig, A. M. (1972). *Arch Gen Psychiat*, 26, 298

- Pressel, E. (1977). Case Studies Spirit
- Schreiber, F. R. (1973). Sybil
- Suttcliffe, J. P. (1962). Int J Clin Expt Hyph, 10, 231
- Thigpen, C. H. (1957). # faces of Eve
- Bourguignon, E. (1989). Trance and shamanism: What's in a name? Special Issue: Shamanism and altered states of consciousness. Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, Jan-Mar, 21(1), 9-15.
- Bendict, R. (1934). Patterns Culture
- Brown, D. E. (1988). Am Anthropol, 90, 421
- Brown, J. (1986). Immodest Acts
- Demartino, R. (1966). Terre Remords
- Dentan, R. K. (1988). Am Anthropol, 90, 420
- Dentan, R. K. (1988). Am Anthropol, 90, 423
- Eliade, M. (1964). Shamanism Archaic Te
- Hallen, B. (1986). Knowledge Belief Wis
- Horwatt, K. (1988). Ethos, 16, 128
- Hutchinson, G. B. (1985). Ecstatic Relig Anthr, 8, 3
- Kendall, L. (1985). Shamans Housewives O
- Leacock, E. (1988). Central Issues Anthro, 8, 3
- Lee, R. D. (1968). Trance Possession St
- Lewis, I. M. (1969). Spirit Mediumship So
- Lewis, I. M. (1971). Ecstatic Relig Anthro
- Lewis, I. M. (1981). Folk, 23, 25
- Ludwig, A. (1968). Trance Possession

- Marshall, L. (1969). *Africa*, 39, 347
- Nanda, S. (1988). *Am Anthrol*, 90, 422
- Paul, R. A. (1988). *Am Anthrol*, 90, 418
- Peters, L. (1980). *Am Ethnol*, 7, 397
- Peters, L. (1981). *Ecstasy Healing Nepa*
- Price, R. (1982). *Ethos*, 10, 409
- Robarchek, C. A. (1987). *Am Anthol*, 89, 356
- Rouget, G. (1985). *Music Trance Theory*
- Shirokogoroff, S. M. (1935). *Psychomental Complex*
- Spiro, M. E. (1978). *Burmese Supernatural*
- Winkelman, M. (1986). *Ethos*, 14, 174
- Bourguignon, E. (1985). *Religion and Justice in Haitian Vodoum. Phylon*, 46(4), 292-295.
- Davis, E. W. (1983). *J Ethnopharmacology*, 9, 85
- Hurbon, L. (1979). *Culture Dictature Ha*
- Kakar, S. (1982). *Shamans Mystics Doct*, 99
- Kerboull, J. (1973). *Vaudou Magic Reli*
- Mintz, S. (1976). *Ishi Occassional Pap*, 2, 23
- Simpson, G. E. (1978). *Black Relig New World*, 70
- Simpson, G. E. (1980). *Ultimate Reality Mea*, 3, 187
- Bourguignon, E. (1983). *Women, possession, trance, cults and the extended nutrient-deficiency hypothesis. American Anthropology*, 85(2), 413-416.
- Ayers, B. (1967). *Cross Cultural Approach*, 111
- Bilu, Y. (1980). *Ethos*, 5, 24



- Brown, J. K. (1981). HDB Cross Cultural, 581
- Crapanzano, V. (1973). Hamadsha Study Moroc
- Ferchiou, S. (1968). Homme, 8, 64
- Ferchiou, S. (1972). Homme, 12, 47
- Foulks, E. F. (1972). Anthro Studies, 10
- Foulks, E. E. (1973). Biosocial Interrelay, 1
- Goodman, F. D. (1981). Exorcism A Michel
- Gussler, J. D. (1973). Relig Altered States, 86
- Katz, S. H. (1970). Am J Phys Anthropol, 32, 299
- Kehoe, A. B. (1981). Am Anthropol, 83, 549
- Linton, R. (1956). Culture Ment Dis
- Pressel, E. (1973). Relig Altered States, 264
- Wallace, A. F. C. (1959). Ama Arch, 1, 264
- Bourguignon, E., Crapanzano, V., & Garrison, V. (1978).  
Case Studies in Spirit Possession. American Ethnology, 5(1),  
186-188.
- Crapanzano, V. (1977). Case Studies Spirit
- Douglas, M. (1967). Cahier Etudes Africa, 7, 639
- Lewis, I. M. (1971). Ecstatic Relig
- Manoni, M. (1970). Psychiatri Son Fou
- Muller, J. C. (1976). Transcultural Psychi, 13, 168
- Reimer, T. T. (1976). Transcultural Psychi, 12, 147

Bourguignon, E., & Evascu, T. L. (1977). Altered states of consciousness within a general evolutionary perspective: A holocultural analysis. Behavior Science Research, 12(3), 197-216.

- Aberle, D. F. (1961). *Matrilineal Kinship*, 655
- Barry, H. (1959). *Am Anthropol*, 61, 51
- Barry, H. (1968). *Ethnology*, 7, 207
- Barry, H. (1976). *Ethnology*, 15, 83
- Bryant, E. C. (1966). *Statistical Analysis*
- Driver, H. E. (1967). *Am Anthropol*, 69, 332
- Driver, H. E. (1973). *HDB Social Cultural*, 327
- Ember, M. (1971). *Ethnology*, 10, 98
- Erickson, E. E. (1974). *Behavior Sci Res*, 9, 7
- Erickson, E. E. (1974). *Studies Cultural Diff*, 63
- Evascu, T. L. (1974). *Holocultural Study*
- Greenbaum, L. S. (1973). *Annual M Am Anthropol*
- Kenny, R. A. (1960). *Behav Sci*, 5, 291
- Loftin, C. (1974). *Studies Cultural Dif*, 25
- Marsh, R. M. (1967). *Comparative Soc*
- Murdock, G. P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*
- Murdock, G. P. (1969). *Ethnology*, 8, 329
- Murdock, G. P. (1973). *Ethnology*, 12, 379
- Randall, R. (1961). *Philosophy Sci*, 28, 15
- Randall, R. (1963). *Am Anthropology*, 65, 1053
- Randall, R. (1964). *Am Anthropology*, 66, 863

- Randall, R. (1970). Behavior Sci Notes, 4, 282
- Randall, R. (1970). HDB Method Cultural, 974
- Randall, R. (1971). Behavior Sci Notes, 6, 95
- Randall, R. (1975). Hraflibi Prog Man
- Slayer, J. (1966). Am Anthropology, 68, 708
- Schaffer, J. M. (1969). Am Anthropology, 71, 706
- Schaffer, J. M. (1979). Behavior Sci Notes, 4, 299
- Schaffer, J. M. (1971). Behavior Sci Notes, 6, 229
- Schaffer, J. M. (1974). Studies Cultural Dif
- Swanson, G. E. (1960). Birth Gods Origin Pr,
- Swanson, G. E. (1973). Ethnology, 12, 259
- Tatje, T. A. ( ). Main Sequence Kinshi
- Voeglin, C. F. (1966). Anthropological Ling, 8

APPENDIX C

BOURGUIGNON, E.

PROGENY

Bourguignon, E. (1992). Religion as a mediating factor in culture change. In J. F. Schumaker (Ed.), Religion and mental health (p. 259-269). New York: Oxford University Press.

Demarini, V. (1995). *Social Comp*, 42, 121

Bourguignon, E. (1991). Possession. Prospect Heights, ILL: Waveland Press.

Spiro, M. E. (1996). *Ethos*, 24, 165

Bourguignon, E. (1989). Multiple personality, possession trance, and the psychic unity of mankind. Ethos, Sep, v17 (3), 371-384.

Mills, A. (1994). *J Am S Psyc*, 88, 309

Daie, N. (1992). *Be J Med Ps*, 65, 119

Richards, D. G. (1990). *J Hum Psy*, 30, 54

Bourguignon, E. (1983). *Cent Issues Anthr*, 5, 59

Dougherty, M. C. (1985). *Ann R Anthr*, 14, 219

Webster, S. K. (1986). *Women St In*, 9, 219

Cassidy, M. L. (1989). *J Comp Fam*, 20, 1

Bourguignon, E. (1983). *Transcultural Psychi*, 20, 259

Stein, H. F. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 195

Boddy, J. (1994). *Ann R Anth*, 23, 407

Bourguignon, E. (1983). *Am Anthropol*, 85, 413

Locke, R. G. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 3

Messer, E. (1984). *Ann R Anthr*, 13, 205

Winkelman, M. (1986). *Ethos*, 14, 174

Sered, S. (1988). *Man*, 23, 506

Bourguignon, E. (1980). A World of women: anthropological studies of women in the societies of the World. New York: Praeger.

Tiffany, S. W. (1982). *Women St In R*, 5, 497

Evans, M. (1981). *Third World*, 3, 339

ura, S. (1985). *Sociol Rur*, 25, 97

Muecke, M. A. (1984). *Asian Surv*, 24, 459

Okelly, C. G. (1981). *Cont Sociol*, 10, 743

Bardhan, K. (1985). *Econ Polit*, 20, 2261

Geisler, G. (1993). *World Dev*, 21, 1965

Phillips, L. (1990). *Lat Am Res*, 25, 89

Sered, S. S. (1990). *Am Anthropol*, 92, 306

Comasdia, L. (1988). *J Comm Psyc*, 16, 21

Comasdia, L. (1987). *Psychol Wom*, 11, 461

Huzier, G. (1987). *Social Comp*, 34, 415

Bourguignon, E. (1979). Psychological anthropology: An introduction to human nature and cultural differences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kitahara, M. (1984). *E Anthropol*, 37, 153

Spindler, G. (1982). *Anthr Educ*, 13, 109

Tapp, J. L. (1981). *Bk# 20620*, 343

Winkelma, M. (1982). *Curr Anthr*, 23, 37

Broch, H. B. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 262

Duru, M. S. (1983). *Anthro Q*, 56, 1

- Katz, R. (1982). *Ethos*, 10, 344
- Kilbride, P. L. (1981). *J Cross-Cul B*, 12, 118
- Leacock, E. (1985). *Dial Anthro*, 10, 69
- Lyons, H. (1985). *Can R Soc A*, 18, 499
- Noll, R. (1985). *Curr Anth*, 26, 443
- Reiss, I. L. (1981). *J Marriage*, 43, 271
- Caughey, J. L. (1980). *Ethos*, 8, 173
- Howard, A. (1980). *Am Anthrop*, 82, 449
- Morris, B. (1985). *Man*, 20, 722
- Witztum, E. (1996). *Br J Med Ps*, 69, 207
- Witztum, E. (1990). *B Menninger*, 54, 524
- Spiro, M. E. (1996). *Ethos*, 24, 165
- Fabrega, H. (1995). *Med Anthr Q*, 9, 431
- Krippner, S. (1996). *Dreaming*, 6, 71
- Das, A.K. (1995). *J Couns Dev*, 74, 45
- Fabrega, H. (1995). *Social Sc M*, 40, 881
- Thornton, S. (1995). *J Soc Work*, 31, 67
- Jegede, O. J. (1995). *Sci Educ*, 79, 233
- Bilu, Y. (1994). *Isr J Psych*, 31, 170
- Bilu, Y. (1993). *Cult Med Ps*, 17, 197
- Shaara, L. (1992). *Am Anthrop*, 94, 145
- Blay, S. L. (1991). *Soc Psy Psy*, 26, 245
- Mageo, J. M. (1991). *Ethos*, 19, 352
- Csordas, T. J. (1990). *Ethos*, 54, 524
- Boddy, J. (1988). *Am Ethnol*, 15, 4

- Bourguignon, E. (1979). Highest State Consci, 331
- Ward, C. (1984). Ethos, 12, 307
- Bourguignon, E. (1978). Making Psychol Anthr, 478
- Shankman, P. (1984). Curr Anthr, 25, 261
- Spiro, M. E. (1996). Ethos, 24, 165
- Etsuko, M. (1991). Cult Med Ps, 15, 453
- Bourguignon, E., & Evascu, T. L. (1977). Altered states of consciousness within a general evolutionary perspective: A holocultural analysis. Behavior Science Research, 12(3), 197-216.
- Levinson, D. (1982). Behav Sci R, 17, 59
- Ward, C. (1982). Women St In, 5, 411
- Ward, C. (1980). Human Relat, 33, 149
- Ward, C. (1979). J Alter S C, 5, 19
- Barry, H. (1980). Bk# 14501, 1980, 445
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). Rev Rel Res, 19, 253
- Winkelman, M. (1986). Ethos, 14, 174
- Winkelman, M. (1990). Ethos, 18, 308
- Krippner, S. (1996). Dreaming, 6, 71
- Grund, J. P. C. (1996). Social Sc M, 42, 691
- Shaara, L. (1992). Am Anthrop, 94, 145
- Horwatt, K. (1988). Ethos, 16, 128
- Bourguignon, E. (1976). Possession. San Francisco, CA: Chandler & Sharp Publishers.



- Broch, H. B. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 262
- Haule, J. R. (1983). *J Psychol T*, 11, 108
- Haule, J. R. (1984). *Psychoan R*, 71, 635
- Kenny, M. G. (1981). *Psychiatry*, 44, 337
- Murphy, J. M. (1982). Bk# 27328, 6, 49
- Ness, R. C. (1982). Bk# 28545, 5, 35
- Noll, R. (1985). *Current Anthropology*, 26, 443
- Noll, R. (1989). *J Psych Dr*, 21, 47
- Bilu, Y. (1980). *Ethos*, 8, 24
- Bilu, Y. (1989). *Isr J Psych*, 26, 138
- Bock, P. K. (1977). *J An A Rel*, 45, 398
- Lambek, M. (1980). *Am Ethol*, 7, 318
- Peters, L. G. (1980). *Am Ethnol*, 7, 397
- Peters, L. G. (1989). *J Transpers*, 21, 115
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). *Rev Rel Res*, 19, 253
- Swanson, G. E. (1985). *J T S Behav*, 15, 331
- Kemp, S. (1987). *Psychol Me*, 17, 21
- Littleto, C. S. (1986). *Ethos*, 14, 76
- Winkelman, M. (1986). *Ethos*, 14, 174
- Nourse, J. W. (1996). *J Roy Anthr*, 2, 425
- Cardena, E. (1996). *J Parapsych*, 60, 89
- Daniel, Y. P. (1996) *Ann Tourism*, 23, 780
- Makris, G. P. (1996). *Africa*, 66, 159
- Pollock, D. (1995). *J Roy Anthr*, 1, 581
- Boddy, J. (1994). *Ann R Anthr*, 23, 407

- Spanos, N. P. (1994). *Psychol B*, 116, 143
- Spanos, N. P. (1991). *J Pers Soc*, 61, 308
- Stoller, P. (1994). *Ann Anthropol*, 96, 634
- You, H. L. (1994). *Cult Med Ps*, 18, 361
- Taves, A. (1993). *J Relig*, 73, 200
- Hughes, D. J. (1992). *J Transpers*, 24, 181
- MacDonald, C. (1993). *Homme*, 33, 7
- Atkinson, J. M. (1992). *Ann R Anthr*, 21, 307
- Colley, J. P. (1990). *Anthropos*, 85, 651
- Hancock, M. E. (1990). *Man*, 25, 505
- Huber, B. R. (1990). *Ethnology*, 29, 159
- Stein, H. F. (1990). *Social Sc M*, 30, 987
- Boddy, J. (1988). *Am Ethol*, 15, 4
- Giles, L.L. (1987). *Africa*, 57, 234
- Ruby, J. D. (1991). *Parasit Tod*, 7, 173
- Bourguignon, E. (1976). *Transcultural Psychi*, 13, 5
- Csordas, T. J. (1983). *Cult Med Ps*, 7, 333
- Favazza, A. R. (1982). *Am J Psychi*, 139, 728
- Griffith, E. E. (1984). *Am J Psychi*, 141, 769
- Peters, L. G. (1982). *Am Ethnol*, 9, 21
- Sande, H. (1993). *Nord J Psy*, 47, 41
- Glick, D. C. (1990). *Sociol Heal*, 12, 151
- Bourguignon, E. (1976). *Transcultural Psychi*, 8, 5
- Finkler, K. (1981). *Cult Med Ps*, 5, 65

- Bourguignon, E. (1976). Culture Bound Syndro
- Buckley, P. (1981). Schizo Bull, 7, 516
- Leff, J. (1977). Br J Psychi, 131, 329
- Glik, D. C. (1986). Social Sc M, 22, 579
- Bourguignon, E. (1974). Trance Healing Hallu
- Giesler, P. (1984). J Am S Psyc, 78, 289
- Lex, B. W. (1976). Zygon, 13, 276
- Bourguignon, E. (1974). Culture Varieties Co, 47
- Locke, R. G. (1985). Ethos, 13, 3
- Kagan, R. C. (1980). Chin Soc A, 12, 126
- Buchdahl, D. (1977). Ethos, 5, 466
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). Am J Sociol, 83, 890
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). Rev Rel Res, 19, 253
- Bourguignon, E. (1974). Relig Movements Cont... 228
- Wuthnow, R. (1981). Int J Comp, 22, 121
- Noll, R. (1985). Current Anthropology, 26, 443
- Haule, J. R. (1984). Psychoan R, 71, 635
- Volinn, E. (1985). Sociol Anal, 46, 147
- Kroll, J. (1982). J Nerv Ment, 170, 41
- Kroll, J. (1986). Pschol Me, 16, 745
- Pollakel, A. (1978). Anthropos, 73, 461
- Dronfiel, J. (1995). Antiquity, 69, 539
- Bourguignon, E., & Greenbaum, L. S. (1973). Diversity and homogeneity in world societies. New Haven, CT: HRAF Press.

- Barry, H. (1982). *Ethnology*, 21, 165
- Barry, H. (1980). Bk# 14501, 445
- Hewes, G. W. (1981). *Behav Sci R*, 16, 167
- Nash, J. (1981). *Ann R Anthr R*, 10, 393
- Searcy, W. A. (1983). *Am Scient*, 71, 166
- Chilungu, S. W. (1976). *Curr Anthr*, 17, 457
- Goodenou, W. H. (1979). *Artic Anth*, 16, 39
- Greenbaum, L. (1977). *Behav Sci*, 12, 45
- Crump, S. T. (1974). *Man*, 9, 504
- Schneide, H. K. (1974). *Curr Anthr*, 15, 259
- Frost, P. (1988). *Persp Biol*, 32, 38
- Orser, C. E. (1994). *Hist Arch*, 28, 5
- Ucko, L. G. (1994). *Sex Roles*, 31, 185
- Mulder, M. B. (1991). *Res Explor*, 7, 166
- Bourguignon, E. (Ed.). (1973). Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Bilu, Y. (1982). *Megamot*, 27, 251
- Bilu, Y. (1989). *Isr J Psych*, 26, 138
- Asante, M. K. (1984). *J Tranpers*, 16, 167
- Deters, H. (1982). *Z Exp A Psy*, 29, 223
- Dittrich, A. (1981). *Psychologie*, 40, 189
- Haule, J. R. (1984). *Psychoan R*, 71, 635
- Haule, J. R. (1983). *J Psychol T*, 11, 108
- Katz, R. (1982). *Ethos*, 10, 344

- Lazar, I. M. (1985). *Oceania*, 55, 161
- Locke, R. G. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 3
- Noll, R. (1985). *Current Anthropology*, 26, 443
- Hunt, H. T. (1984). *Perc Mot Sk*, 58, 467
- Hunt, H. T. (1985). *Perc Mot Sk*, 60, 239
- Kehoe, A. B. (1981). *Am Anthropol*, 83, 549
- Noll, R. (1983). *Am Ethnol*, 10, 443
- Noll, R. (1989). *J Psych Dr*, 21, 47
- Peters, L. G. (1982). *Am Ethnol*, 9, 21
- Peters, L. G. (1980). *Am Ethnol*, 7, 397
- Peters, L. G. (1989). *J Transpers*, 21, 115
- West, L. A. (1979). *J Alter S C*, 2, 219
- Harwood, A. (1977). *Cult Med Ps*, 1, 135
- Alissa, I. (1978). *Int J Soc P*, 24, 167
- Alissa, I. (1977). *Psychol B*, 84, 570
- Beckford, J. A. (1976). *Sociology*, 10, 335
- Bilu, Y. (1980). *Ethos*, 8, 24
- Corin, E. (1979). *Soc Sci M B*, 13, 327
- Derios, M. D. (1977). *Human Org*, 36, 14
- Derios, M. D. (1976). *J Psyched D*, 8, 263
- Dobkinde, M. (1976). *Sage Res Pa*, 5, 5
- Dowling, J. J. (1975). *Human Cont*, 7, 607
- Hood, R. W. (1976). *Rev Rel Res*, 17, 172
- Lex, B. W. (1977). *Addict Dis*, 3, 287
- Pattison, (1978). *Pastoral PS*, 27, 119

- Roberts, K. A. (1978). *Sociol Focu*, 11, 111
- Stephen, M. (1979). *Oceania*, 50, 3
- Stirrat, R. L. (1978). *J Anthr Res*, 33, 133
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). *Am J Sociol*, 83, 890
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). *Rev Rel Res*, 19, 253
- Weidman, H. H. (1976). *Soc Sci M B*, 13, 95
- Wijesing, C. P. (1976). *Aust NZ J P*, 10, 135
- Ohnukitl, E. (1980). *Ethos*, 8, 204
- Pattison, E. M. (1980). *J Relig H*, 19, 275
- Levine, S. V. (1976). *Can Psychi*, 21, 411
- Berg, P. L. (1974). *Social Forc*, 53, 142
- Eng, E. (1974). *Human Cont*, 6, 665
- Isambert, F. A. (1974). *Arch SS Rel*, 19, 194
- Long, J. K. (1974). *Am Anthro*, 76, 382
- Rios, M. D. D. (1974). *Curr Anthr*, 15, 147
- Kemp, S. (1987). *Psychol Me*, 17, 21
- Finkler, K. (1986). *Int J He Se*, 16, 627
- Finkler, K. (1987). *Social Comp*, 34, 381
- Giesler, P. V. (1986). *J Parapsych*, 50, 123
- Giesler, P. V. (1988). *J Am S Psyc*, 82, 77
- Goodman, F.D. (1986). *J Hum Psy*, 26, 81
- Kua, E. H. (1986). *Aust Nz J P*, 20, 361
- Mageo, J. M. (1996). *Am Ethnol*, 23, 61
- Spiro, M. E. (1996). *Ethos*, 24, 165
- Shapiro, D. J. (1995). *Am Ethnol*, 22, 828

- Nourse, J. W. (1996). *J Roy Anthr*, 2, 425
- Putnam, F. W. (1996). *Ch Adolesc*, 5, 263
- Pereira, S. (1995). *Br J Hosp M*, 53, 582
- Pollock, D. (1995). *J Roy Anthr*, 1, 581
- Boddy, J. (1994). *Ann R Anthr*, 23, 407
- Desardan, J.P. (1994). *Homme*, 34, 7
- Walsh, R. (1994). *J Hum Psy*, 34, 7
- Walsh, R. (1989). *J Transpers*, 21, 1
- Lewiswil, J. D. (1993). *Curr Anthr*, 34, 55
- Laughlin, C. D. (1993). *J Anthr Res*, 49, 17
- Taves, A. (1993). *J Relig*, 73, 200
- Shaara, L. (1992). *Am Anthrop*, 94, 145
- Aycock, A. (1992). *Man*, 27, 479
- McCormick, S. (1992). *Beh Neurol*, 5, 161
- Hughes, D. J. (1991). *Ethos*, 19, 161
- Hughes, D. J. (1990). *J Transpers*, 22, 175
- Glick, D. C. (1988). *Social Sc M*, 27, 1197
- Huizer, G. (1987). *Social Comp*, 34, 415
- Terhaar, G. (1988). *Afr Affairs*, 87, 185
- Csordas, T. J. (1987). *Social Sc*, 24, 1
- Giles, L. L. (1987). *Africa*, 57, 234
- Kemp, S. (1987). *Psychol Med*, 17, 21
- Krippner, S. (1987). *Ethos*, 15, 273

Bourguignon, E. (1972). Dreams and altered states of consciousness in anthropological research. In F. L. Hsu (Ed.), Psychological anthropology. (New ed.) (p. 623).

Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.

Peters, L. G. (1982). *Am Ethnol*, 9, 21

Vandewie, M. (1981). *J Psychol*, 109, 3

Grindal, B. T. (1983). *Journal of Anthropology Research*, 39, 60

Herr, B. (1981). *Ethos*, 9, 331

Kennedy, J. G. (1981). *Ethos* 9, 249

Levine, S. (1982). *Ethnology*, 21, 63

Ward, C. (1980). *Human Realt*, 33, 149

Ward, C. (1979). *J Alter S C*, 5, 19

Dekoninc, J. (1978). *Can J Beh S*, 10, 329

Stephen, M. (1979). *Oceania*, 50, 3

Goodman, F. D. (1975). *Psychiat Cl*, 8, 243

Goodman, F. D. (1972). *New Soc*, 22, 565

Lex, B. W. (1976). *J Alter S C*, 2, 109

Lex, B. W. (1976). *Zygon*, 13, 276

Roll, S. (1976). *J Cross-Cul*, 7, 335

Roll, S. (1974). *Interam J P*, 8, 111

Watson, L. C. (1977). *Ethos*, 5, 388

Oleary, T. J. (1973). *Behav Sci*, 8, 123

Mageo, J. M. (1996). *Am Ethnol*, 23, 61

Hegeman, E. (1995). *Group*, 19, 31



- Orel, T. (1988). *Can Int Soc*, 85, 295
- Christia, W. A. (1987). *Am Ethnol*, 14, 140
- Bourguignon, E. (1970). *Afro Am Anthropology*, 122
- Fischer, R. (1971). *J Psyched*, 3, 31
- Fischer, R. (1971). *Dis Ner Sys*, 32, 373
- Davis, M.E. (1972). *Ethnomusic*, 16,38
- Bourguignon, E. (1970). *Black Am*, 142
- Baer, H. A. (1981). *Phylon*, 42, 207
- Baer. H. A. (1988). *Rev Rel Res*, 29, 413
- Hutchinson, R. (1988). *J Leisure*, 20, 10
- Bourguignon, E. (1970). *Origins Mechanisms*, 187
- Bentall, R. P. (1985). *Br J Cl Psy*, 24, 159
- Bentall, R. P. (1986). *Behav Brain*, 9, 519
- Bentall, R. P. (1994). *Behav Brain*, 25, 51
- Bentall, R. P. (1991). *Br J Cl Psy*, 30, 213
- Bentall, R. P. (1990). *Psychol B*, 107, 82
- Kroll, J. (1982). *Psychol Med*, 12, 709
- Goldstein, A. G. (1976). *J Abn Psych*, 85, 423
- Alissa, I. (1978). *Int J Soc P*, 24, 167
- Alissa, I. (1977). *Psychol B*, 84, 570
- Alissa, I. (1976). *Psychoth/Tr*, 13, 156
- Schwab, M. E. (1977). *Mental Heal*, 4, 344
- Fischer, R. (1971). *J Psyched*, 3, 31
- Fischer, R. (1971). *Dis Ner Sys*, 32, 373
- Goodman, F. D. (1973). *Psychiat Cl*, 6, 97

- Hoffman, R. E. (1986). *Behav Brain*, 9, 535
- Canton, H. (1986). *Zygon*, 21, 319
- Haeskede, H. C. (1995). *Int J Ger P*, 10, 487
- Haddock, G. (1993). *Beh Cogn Ps*, 21 335
- Bourguignon, E. (1968). A cross-cultural study of dissociational states. Columbus, Ohio: Research Foundation, Ohio State University.
- Grindal, B. T. (1983). *Journal of Anthropology Research*, 39, 60
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). *Am J Sociol*, 83, 890
- Swanson, G. E. (1978). *Rev Rel Res*, 19, 253
- Goodman, F. D. (1973). *Psychiat Cl*, 6, 97
- Naroll, R. (1970). *Am Anthrop*, 72, 1227
- Winkeman, M. (1986). *Ethos*, 14, 174
- Castillo, R. J. (1994). *Cult Med Ps*, 18, 1
- Zatzick, D. F. (1994). *J Nerv Ment*, 182, 586
- Bourguignon, E., & Greenbaum, L. S. (1968). *Diversity and homogeneity: A comparative analysis of societal characteristics based on data from the Ethnographic atlas. Occasional papers in anthropology: no. 1*. Columbus, Ohio: Dept. of Anthropology, Ohio State University.
- Nichols, C. (1983). *Philos...S...Sc...* 13, 207
- Srivasta, R. (1979). *Man India*, 59, 247
- Naroll, R. (1976). *J Confl Res*, 20, 187
- Lancaste, C. S. (1976). *Am Anthrop*, 78, 539

- White, D. R. (1970). *Am Anthrop*, 72, 378
- Streidte, K. H. (1974). *Curr Anth*, 15, 343
- Shaara, L. (1992). *Am Anthrop*, 94, 145
- Bourguignon, E. (1968). Trance dance. New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation.
- Daniel, Y. (1980). *Black Sch...* 11, 61
- Bourguignon, E. (1968). *Divination...*
- Godin, A. (1975). *Arch SS Rel*, 20, 31
- Goodman, F. D. (1969). *Conf Psych*, 12, 113
- Goodman, F. D. (1969). *J Sci St Re*, 8, 227
- Bourguignon, E. (1966). *Trance Possession St...*
- Lazar, I. M. (1985). *Oceania*, 55,161
- Pedersen, D. (1985). *Social Sc M...*21, 5
- Noll, R. (1985). *Current Anthropology*, 26, 443
- Finney, Jr. (1985). *Journal of Psychology*, 13, 172
- Giesler, P. (1984). *J AM S Psyc* 78, 289
- Haule, Jr. (1984). *Psycholanalytic Review*, 71, 635
- Locke, R. G. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 3
- Noll, R. (1983). *AM ETHNOL...* 10, 443
- Peters, L. G. (1982). *American Ethnol...* 9, 21
- Peters, L. G. (1989). *J Transpers*, 21, 115
- Suwanler, S. (1976). *Aust NZ J P*, 10, 119
- Koss, J. D. (1977). *Am Ethnol*, 4, 453
- Peters, L. G. (1982). *American Ethnol...* 7, 397
- Elguindy, H. (1995). *Am J Dance*, 17, 69

- Lewiswil, J. D. (1993). *Curr Anthr*, 34, 55
- Blay, S. L. (1991). *Soc Psy Psy*, 26, 245
- Shaara, L. (1992). *Am Anthrop*, 94, 145
- Bourguignon, E. (1966). *American Ethnol...Soc...3*, 38
- Smith, D. S. (1981). *Journal of Social Psychology*, 114,

209

- Bourguignon, E. (1965). *September M West Div Am Psy*
- Pattison, E. M. (1967). *Social Psy*, 2, 174
- Bourgue, L. B. (1971). *Sociometry*, 34, 1
- Bourguignon, E. (1965). *Context...meaning...culture*
- Lazar, I. M. (1985). *Oceania*, 55,161
- Haule, Jr. (1984). *Psycholanalytic Review*, 71, 635
- Herr, B. (1981). *Ethos*, 9, 331
- Locke, R. G. (1985). *Ethos*, 13, 3
- Peters, L. G. (1982). *American Ethnol... 9*, 21
- Peters, L. G. (1989). *J Transpers*, 21, 115
- Dann, G. M. S. (1979). *Sociol Anal*, 40, 208
- Honigman, J. J. (1977). *Ethos*, 5, 263
- Honigman, J. J. (1969). *Ann Am Poli*, 383, 145
- Kiefer, C. W. (1977). *Ann R Anthr*, 6, 103
- Lowentha. I. P. (1978). *J Anthr Res*, 34, 392
- Peters, L. G. (1980). *An Ethnol*, 7, 397
- Weidman, H. H. (1979). *Soc Sci M B*, 13, 95
- Pattison, E. M. (1973). *J Nerv Ment*, 157, 397
- Teoh, J. (1973). *Aust Nz J P*, 7, 283

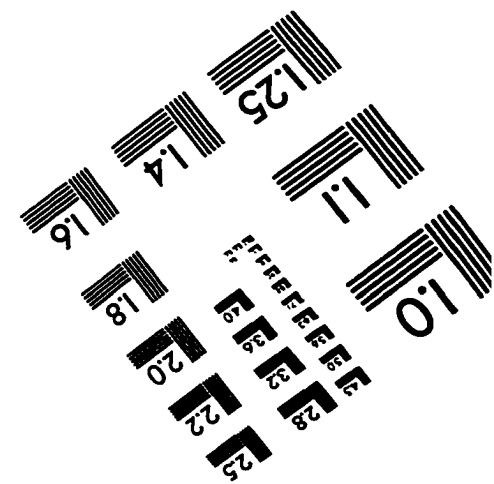
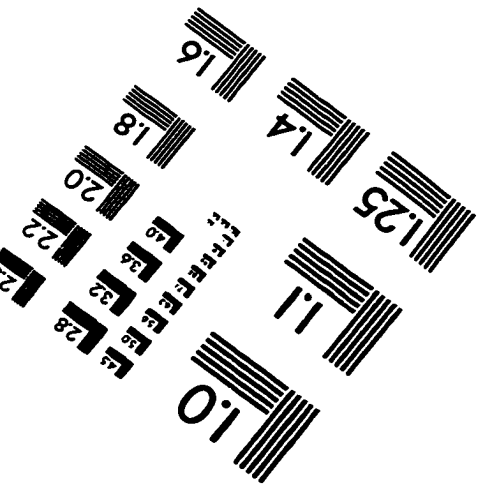
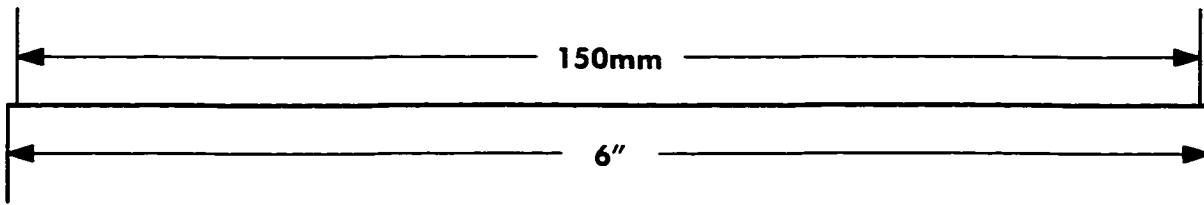
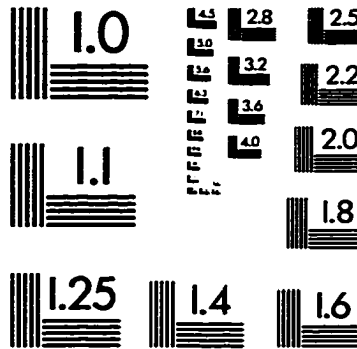
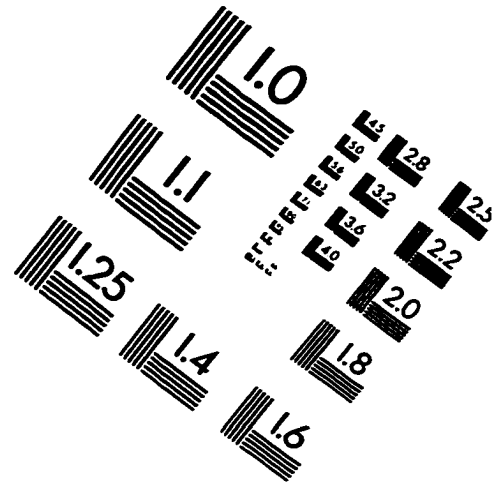
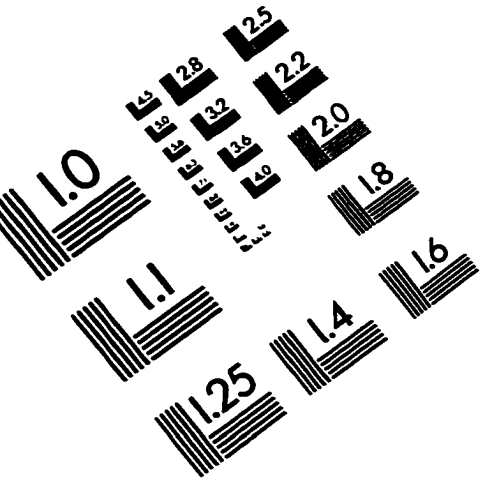
- Robbins, R. H. (1973). *Am Anthropol*, 75, 99
- Connor, J. W. (1970). *Int J Soc P*, 16, 136
- Spiro, M. E. (1996). *Ethos*, 24, 165
- Boddy, J. (1994). *Ann R Anthr*, 23, 407
- Shaara, L. (1992). *Am Anthropol*, 94, 145
- Hughes, D. J. (1991). *Ethos*, 19, 161
- Csordas, T. J. (1987). *Social Sc M*, 24, 1
- Bourguignon, E. (1964). *Transacultural Psychi*, 1, 71
- Gordon, K. K. (1964). *J Am Med A*, 189, 238
- Bourguignon, E. (1959). Title unknown. *Journal of American Folklore*, v72, 36.
- Davis, E. W. (1983). *Journal of Ethnophar...*, 9, 85
- Snow, L. F. (1974). *Ann Int Med R*, 81, 82
- Bourguignon, E. E. (1954). Dream and dream interpretation in Haiti. *American Anthropologist*, v56, 262-268.
- Eisenbrau, M. (1984). *Cult...Med...Ps...* 8, 315
- Kennedy, J. G. (1981). *Ethos* 9, 249
- Kuper, A. (1979). *Man*, 14, 645
- Robbins, P. R. (1991). *J Soc Psych*, 131, 143
- Labarre, W. (1989). *Am Imago*, 46, 203
- Denten, R. K. (1988). *Psychiat J*, 13, 51
- Denten, R. K. (1988). *Social Sc M*, 27, 857
- Kracke, W. H. (1987). *Psychit J*, 12, 65

Bourguignon, E. E. (1949). Title unknown. Primary  
Records of Culture, v1.

Green, R. (1980). Signs. 6, 248

Medicine, B. (1975). Hist...8, 50

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



**APPLIED IMAGE, Inc**  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved