Introduction

THIS VOLUME contains the papers originally prepared for the Conference on Mental Health Research in Asia and the Pacific held at the East-West Center in Honolulu, March 28–April 1, 1966. We wish here to give something of the background of the conference, discuss the conference itself, and look briefly to the future.

Early in 1964 Dr. Edward W. Weidner, then Vice-Chancellor of the East-West Center, and Dr. Thomas Maretzki, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawaii, approached the writers concerning the development of a program in the area of the relation between culture and personality to be carried out at the Institute of Advanced Projects of the East-West Center. After an initial exchange of views, the area of study of the program was expanded to include the whole field of mental health. The plan was to invite a small number of scholars from several Asian countries and the United States to be senior specialists in residence for varying periods up to one year during 1965–66 at the Institute of Advanced Projects. The nine scholars who were senior specialists during that year are among the contributors to this volume. They were Dr. Chen-chin Hsu, Dr. Robert I. Levy, Dr. Thomas Maretzki, Dr. Phon Sangsingkeo, Dr. Lee Sechrest, Dr. Alan Stoller, Dr. Shogo Terashima, Dr. Pow Meng Yap, and Dr. S. M. Hafeez Zaidi. In addition, Dr. Yuji Sasaki,

also a contributor to this volume, was a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of Advanced Projects during 1965-66.

In the fall of 1964 it was decided to plan for a one-week conference at the East-West Center on the topic of mental health research in Asia and the Pacific Islands, using the nine senior specialists in residence as the nucleus of the participants in the conference. The writers were asked to be codirectors of the conference and to work with Dr. Maretzki and Dr. George H. Gadbois, Jr., then Associate Director of the Institute of Advanced Projects, in the selection of additional scholars to be invited to the conference as participants and observers.

Our aim was to have a small working conference of about 30 persons equally divided among Asians and Westerners. This design, in itself, made it impossible to have all countries in Asia represented, but we tried to cover as wide a range as we could. Unfortunately, it was not possible for some of those invited to accept because of pressing commitments. We were also sorry to lose the contribution of Dr. Joo Yong Soh of Korea who planned to attend but was unable to do so because of illness. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the institutional affiliations of the authors, Asian scholars were able to attend from the Philippines, Japan, Republic of China (Taiwan), Ceylon, Thailand, Australia, India, Pakistan, and Hong Kong; Western scholars came from the United States, Canada, and Scotland. Roughly half of the participants were Asians and the other half Westerners, as we had hoped.

Our plans called for a focus on research rather than on such topics as treatment or the training of personnel in this first conference. We thought of this first conference as a general stocktaking concerned with methods and findings of research. We hoped thus to provide an opportunity for scholars to exchange views on the best approaches to future research through international collaboration. We did not specify topics or areas to be covered by the scholars in their papers. Instead, we asked each scholar to write what he wanted, suggesting only that he place an emphasis on research which he had carried out in recent years. Happily, almost all the papers were received sufficiently in advance of the conference to permit their prior distribution to participants. The papers were *not* to be read at the conference. Instead, the author was instructed to make a brief, informal summary of his paper and then to open discussion on the paper.

In addition to participants who were specialists on various topics, we invited four "generalists" to listen to and discuss the presentations during the first four days of the conference; then on the fifth day each generalist was assigned the task of summarizing his impressions of the papers and of the discussion from his own particular point of view. As can be seen in the concluding section of this volume, Dr. Wittkower was asked to summarize his thoughts in terms of previous research done in the area of cultural psychiatry in Asia. Dr. Leighton was asked to direct his atten-

tion to problems of method and the identification of psychiatric disorders in different cultures. Dr. Wynne was asked to consider the study of the family as a strategic focus for cross-cultural research. Lastly, Dr. Lindemann was asked to focus his remarks around his research on the movement of populations and to make suggestions for future research on problems of social change.

Besides the participants in the conference who prepared papers, we also invited a number of observers who contributed substantially to the discussion. These observers were: Dr. Ari Kiev, of the Department of Psychiatry at Columbia University; Mrs. Margarethe Dalton, of the Asia Foundation; Dr. Joseph C. Finney, of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Kentucky; and Dr. Richard H. Williams, of the National Institute of Mental Health. We are very appreciative of the contributions made by these observers.

The East-West Center proved to be an ideal place to hold a small working conference. Because it is located in Hawaii, it was a good meeting ground for Asians and Westerners. The facilities provided by the Center were excellent, and the weather was delightful.

In the actual work of the conference, two chairmen—one a Westerner and the other an Asian—shared the burden of monitoring the discussion each day. These cochairmen worked well together, and we are grateful to them for their major role in helping the conference run smoothly. The five pairs of chairmen were: Dr. Erich Lindemann and Dr. Pow Meng Yap, Dr. N. C. Surya and Dr. Lyman Wynne, Dr. Phon Sangsingkeo and Dr. Eric D. Wittkower, Father Jaime Bulatao and Dr. Alexander Leighton, and, on the final day, Dr. Masaaki Kato and Dr. Alan Stoller.

The presentation of the papers at the conference was predominantly by geographical area, except the paper of the keynote speaker on the first day and the papers on the afternoon of the fourth day which were concerned with nosology and research strategy. We felt that the grouping together of papers concerning a particular country would result in discussion giving a cumulative impression of the research on mental health going on in that country. With this idea in mind, we started with the western part of Asia and moved eastward. We began with India, Pakistan, and Ceylon; we then shifted to Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, and Taiwan; turning northward, we discussed papers dealing with mainland China, Okinawa, Korea, and Japan; and, finally, moved westward to the Society Islands and Hawaii.

The discussion among the participants over the five days was very lively, stimulating, and informative, partly because the organization and planning of the conference made it unnecessary to have the papers verbally presented in their entirety. We think other reasons also contributed to the success of the conference. Of primary importance was the small size of the conference. Secondly, as seldom happens in such a conference, the

participants were equally divided between Asians and Westerners. Thirdly, and more importantly, by 1966 all of the Asian scholars had at least made an effort to grapple with real research problems (this would not have been true ten years earlier) and hence had pertinent questions of method, analysis, and theory to discuss with their Western counterparts. Finally, the Asian scholars succeeded in speaking meaningfully (if not always fluently) in English, a necessary factor since their Western colleagues, in large part, were unable to speak Asian languages. Thus it was possible for a real dialogue between East and West to take place during the five days of the conference. The gist of the discussion at the conference has been incorporated into the revised versions of the papers published here. This volume presents the findings of the conference, but it cannot convey, in itself, the stimulation of the discussion during the work of the conference.

We have given some thought to the broad issues that seemed to be involved in the dialogue between East and West which took place during the conference. Mental health research draws its theories and techniques mainly from modern psychiatry and social science, both alien to most cultures in Asia. How these new approaches have been accepted, or reacted to, in their actual application is a matter of great interest. How these new approaches have been used in research to further the understanding of the behavioral patterns of people as individuals, in small groups, or in nations in different cultural settings is of equally great interest for theoretical and practical purposes. These two major interests were in mind during the planning of the present conference.

Though we believe in the necessity and merits of a distinct approach for each culture in developing its own mental health program in order that specific needs and resources of local communities can be taken into consideration, special benefits also derive from an international cross-cultural forum. It is through such means that some agreement can be reached with regard to common denominators in human behavior regardless of biological, social, or cultural differences in various national populations; an expansion of horizons also takes place on such occasions through the opportunity to compare one's own familiar approach with the approaches of others using unfamiliar techniques based on different viewpoints. Another obvious benefit deriving from an international forum is the facilitation of communication among workers in the field. There is considerable diversity in the conception of mental health problems in various countries both in the West and the East, and the need for overcoming emotional and cognitive as well as geographic and historical obstacles to communication is great.

Two important considerations, as already indicated, entered into the drawing up of the list of participants for this conference. One consideration had to do with the balance between psychiatrists and social scientists and the other had to do with the balance between Asians and Westerners.

These considerations were met with apparent success, but it should be pointed out that the majority of the Asians invited were psychiatrists and that the majority of the Westerners were social scientists in various disciplines. Moreover, the Western psychiatrists who were invited were doubly trained in psychiatry and in the social sciences. In Asia, however, it is mainly the psychiatrists who are confronted with, and given the task of understanding, human behavior in their daily professional activities; only recently have Asian social scientists started to take an active interest in matters pertaining to mental health. In general, the papers in this volume are focused on specific topics, and coverage of major areas of interest in mental health is uneven. This result is not surprising in view of the latitude permitted the participants in choosing the topics for their papers and in view of the broad purpose of the conference, which was to initiate communication on problems of research in the field of mental health. Yet, as the conference progressed, it became clear that, thanks to the participants' grasp of their subjects and understanding of their cultures, a general picture regarding the trends and range of mental health research in Asia took shape.

We will resist the temptation to include our own comments on particular papers, for this might result in an unfair highlighting of certain papers and a consequent shading of others. In any case, the job of the generalists participating in the conference was to comment on the totality of the papers and the discussion, and they have done their job well in the final section of this volume.

After the conference was over, the participants went home and revised their papers in light of comments made during the discussion. As can be seen in the table of contents of this volume, the chapters are arranged topically although at the conference the papers were discussed predominantly by geographical area. We believe that the topical arrangement which we have adopted here is better suited to the needs of the reader.

The titles of the papers give an indication of their contents within the major divisions of the book, which are addressed, first, to issues in the identification and study of mental illness, and, second, to effects of social structure and culture on human behavior. The four concluding chapters are by the generalists who listened and participated during the first four days and, on the last day, gave constructive criticism on the content of the conference and suggested future directions for training and research.

We believe that this conference represents the first time that a group of Asian psychiatrists and social scientists from a wide range of countries sat down with their Western counterparts to discuss the problems and results of *research* on mental health in Asia and the Pacific islands. Such being the case, this conference should be seen in the perspective of previous and, to a degree, related conferences. If we look back over approximately 15 years, five conferences stand out as helping to lead to the

development of mental health research in Asia and the Pacific. The first of these conferences, The Western Pacific Seminar on Mental Health in Childhood, which was sponsored by the World Health Organization, was held in 1953 in Sydney, Australia. The purpose of this seminar was to examine the early development of personality and to consider how knowledge of this subject could be applied to problems concerning the health and education of children. No report was published from this conference, and the main conclusion seemed to be the need for further research. The World Health Organization and the Philippine Family Workshop jointly sponsored a second conference in 1958 in Banguro in the Philippines entitled The First Asian Seminar on Mental Health and Family Life. To some extent, this conference continued the discussion begun in the earlier conference in Sydney, but the discussion was broadened from a focus on childhood to a general concern with family life. Again, there was a wish for additional research and information. Thirdly, the World Health Organization sponsored a seminar held in Manila in 1962 which focused on the epidemiology of mental disorder. The main topic at this conference was how to interest governments and psychiatrists in Asian countries in obtaining factual information about the distribution of mental illness in the populations to serve as a basis for estimating and meeting the need for psychiatric services in each country. Fourthly, the Japanese Society of Psychiatry and Neurology and the American Psychiatric Association held a joint meeting in Tokyo in 1963. This conference was less broad in its geographic coverage but more intensively concerned with research and scientific communication than were the earlier conferences. Finally, there was the annual meeting in 1965 of the World Federation for Mental Health in Bangkok. The theme of this conference was education and mental health, and it emphasized the problems of training mental health workers to meet the psychiatric needs of a changing Asia. These five conferences show a gradually increasing emphasis over the years on problems of research and training. They provided, therefore, a background for our conference, and the experience gained from them helped to make our conference a success. At our conference enough research material was presented to enable us, in a limited and preliminary way, to evaluate methods and results in several countries in Asia.

As for the future, we are happy to report that through the National Institute of Mental Health in collaboration with the East-West Center and the Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawaii funds have been provided for a five-year program similar to the one which led to the conference reported in this volume. During each year a small group of senior specialists from Asia and the United States will be in residence at the Institute of Advanced Projects at the East-West Center, and there also will be an opportunity to hold several more working conferences of the sort reported here. As a natural development, the subsequent confer-

ences, however, will be more sharply focused. The themes to be emphasized during the first few years of the five-year program include methods in research, problems in the training of personnel for mental health work, and questions of child development.

For the present, the reader can judge the findings of the first conference by the papers presented here. We believe that this volume will be of general professional interest and also will serve a useful purpose in the teaching of mental health research in medical schools and in departments devoted to the several social sciences in universities in Asia and the United States.

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