POSTCOLONIAL DISORDERS: REFLECTIONS ON SUBJECTIVITY IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

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This book is a collection of essays reflecting on the nature of subjectivity—on everyday modes of experience, the social and psychological dimensions of individual lives, the psychological qualities of social life, the constitution of the subject, and forms of subjection found in the diverse places where anthropologists work at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The essays are a conscious effort to find new ways to link the social and the psychological, to examine how lives of individuals, families and communities are affected by large-scale political and economic forces associated with globalization, and to theorize subjectivity within this larger context. And the essays explore the role of colonialism in shaping postcolonial states and distinctive forms of subjectivity increasingly characteristic of contemporary societies.

Although these essays address the "nature" of subjectivity, they are ethnographic rather than primarily theoretical or philosophical; they are efforts to understand persons and lives lived under extraordinary conditions all too common in much of the world today. But it is precisely by attempting to make sense of lives that challenge comprehension—lives of Basque youth engaged in acts of revolutionary violence viewed as utterly mad by most of their Basque compatriots; visionary artists and a provincial politician gone psychotic, responding to social breakdown at the end of the Suharto regime in Indonesia; local officials and international specialists engaged in often fantastic humanitarian ventures in the Balkans or attempting to control AIDS in China and the Republic of Congo; women responding to the deaths of their infants in India; and

persons with mental illness caught up with psychiatrists and old colonial hospitals in Ireland and Morocco—that the authors in this volume address the most difficult problems of history, methodology, and theory.

Despite great diversity in the ways the essays in this book explore lives such as these, taken together they provide the basis for three broad, interconnected claims. First, these essays suggest that ethnographic studies of subjectivity are both feasible and productive, and that the analytic term "subjectivity" denotes a set of critical issues for anthropologists working in contemporary societies, issues different than those raised by classic studies of "self" or "person and emotion," opening new domains for ethnographic investigation. Second, taken as a whole, these essays support the claim that viewing subjectivity through the lens of the "postcolonial" provides a language and analytic strategies, often derived from the work of historians and literary critics, valuable for investigations of lives, institutions, and regimes of knowledge and power in the societies in which anthropologists work today. Indeed, the book suggests that whether directly addressed or not, the figure of the colonial haunts ethnographic writing today, and that thematizing the postcolonial has the potential to transform ethnographic writing about subjectivity. Third, this volume suggests that contemporary studies of subjectivity must necessarily address "disorders"—the intertwined personal and social disorders associated with rampant globalization, neoliberal economic policies, and postcolonial politics; and whether read as pathologies, modes of suffering, the domain of the imaginary, or as forms of repression, disordered subjectivity provides entrée to exploring dimensions of contemporary social life as lived experience.

We briefly examine these three key terms—subjectivity, postcolonial, and disorders—in turn.

SUBJECTIVITY

The increasing use of the terms "subject" and "subjectivity" in anthropology points to widespread dissatisfaction with previous efforts to understand psychological experience and inner lives in particular cultures, characteristic of an earlier generation of psychological and cultural anthropologists—however important and incomplete that work was. "Subjectivity" immediately signals awareness of a set of historical problems and critical writings related to the genealogy of the subject and to the importance of colonialism and the figure of the colonized "other" for writing about the emergence of the modern (rational) subject. Subjectivity denotes a new attention to hierarchy, violence, and subtle modes of internalized anxieties that link subjection and subjectivity, and an urgent sense of the importance of linking national and global economic

and political processes to the most intimate forms of everyday experience. It places the political at the heart of the psychological and the psychological at the heart of the political. Use of the term "subject" by definition makes analysis of the state and forms of citizenship immediately relevant in ways that analysis of the "self" or "person" does not, and "disordered states" is a trope for both the political and the subjective. It is thus little wonder that subjectivity becomes a framing device for exploring lives and motives in relation to the nearly incomprehensible social and political conditions described by the authors in this book.

In much of the literature on subjectivity, "subject" references the *sujet* of French psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, and feminist writing, locating discussions in theoretical territories that evoke strong reactions—positive and negative—within anthropology. Whether responding to Foucault's archaeology of the modern subject (Foucault 1997, 1998, 2000), Lacanian analyses of political subjectivity and gender (e.g., Žižek 1997, 1998, 1999; Copjec 1994; Kristeva 1982; Stavrakakis 1999), or Judith Butler's linking of subjectivity and subjection (1997), the resulting debates have opened new territories for anthropologists, cutting across subdisciplines and linking ethnographic work to feminist writing and gender studies, literary criticism, and diverse forms of cultural studies. This work has begun to create a new language and new forms of analysis for studies focused on subjective experience.

Given this promise, there are several reasons why much contemporary writing on subjectivity seems either overly theorized, lacking grounding in reflections on individual lives, or undertheorized, descriptive of social experience and emotions, but dependent largely on the analysis of cultural categories. First, poststructuralist writing has reinforced a broad anthropological suspicion of studies of individual lives and psychological experience. Critique of the humanist subject and the resort to analyzing "subject position" over actual lives in all their complexity have meant that the apparent promise of this theoretical configuration remains unrealized in much anthropological writing.[1] Second, however strong the conviction that the social and the psychological, the political and personal experience, are essential for understanding subjectivity, models for carrying out such analyses remain elusive. The social and the psychological are often brought together through assertion or the sleight of hand of metaphorical linkages: psychotic individuals linked metaphorically to mad crowds, as in popular discourse;[2] traumatic memory as individual and communal; anxiety, insecurity, paranoia, and dissociation of whole societies as well as individual experience. Deep analyses of individual lives are too seldom found in such studies, while the use of psychological terms for understanding group processes remains undertheorized. One of the central questions of this book is whether

current forms of theorizing, particularly those associated with writings on postcolonialism, offer new ways to link the social and the psychological.

Third, anthropological research, the authorial voice of the ethnographer, and the classic genre of ethnographic representations of the "other"—efforts to make sense of the difficult to comprehend, of a culture or tradition foreign to the writer or assumed reader, of the subaltern or persons belonging to stigmatized groups, or of lives lived under duress—are now subject to postcolonial anxiety. For example, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 1), director of the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education at the University of Auckland, writes, "From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful." Anthropologists are well aware of the colonial history of the discipline, and while "writing culture" has become subject to Orientalist critique, representing individual lives of others is often contested as speaking for the other. An important question for this book, therefore, is whether postcolonial theorizing suggests new positions for the ethnographic voice and new ways of writing for those interested in subjectivity under current conditions.

It was the conviction that developing new means of ethnographic analysis of subjectivity is critical for anthropology and the social sciences more generally, and an enormous respect for the difficulties in doing so, that led to this book. We remain convinced that some of the most interesting and creative writing in the social sciences and humanities is focused around studies of subjectivity. Our intuition that addressing issues of colonialism, postcoloniality, and neocolonialism is necessary to move the field forward led to the specific focus of the essays in this collection.

POSTCOLONIAL

Many of the essays in this volume were first presented in Harvard's Friday Morning Seminar on Medical Anthropology and Cultural Psychiatry.[3] For two years, this seminar met weekly to explore anthropological approaches to the study of "subjectivity"—in relation to illness and suffering, psychological experience and psychopathology, medicine and psychiatry. The first year addressed general theoretical and methodological issues associated with research and writing about culture, subjectivity, and human experience.[4] In the second year, we invited those who presented in the seminar to rethink some aspect of their

work on subjectivity by replacing the common anthropological trope "culture" with the category "postcoloniality" or "the postcolonial," entitling the seminar "Postcolonialism, Psychiatry, and Lived Experience." This challenge to reflect on subjectivity through the lens of the postcolonial was intended not as a commitment to the tradition of postcolonial scholarship, but as a provocation. It served as a challenge to members of the seminar to work through issues raised by postcolonial theorists, and as a provocation for presenters to rethink the place of "culture" in theorizing subjectivity in studies of the broad array of disordered experience investigated by medical anthropologists today; to place medical and psychiatric anthropology, studies of political subjectivity, and postcolonial theorizing in conversation; and to insert detailed ethnographic studies into a theoretical corpus that is often largely literary and seldom seems "experience-near."

Examining subjectivity through the lens of the postcolonial was not intended to replace consideration of globalization, neoliberal policies, medicalization, or other pervasive political and economic forces that increasingly shape modes of experience and what it means to be a subject in many parts of the world. It was certainly not meant to suggest a singularity of "the" postcolonial, as though colonialism were uniform or produced uniform subjects, or a sense of temporal or developmental linearity. These issues have long been discussed critically within historical and literary studies of the postcolony.[5] And it was not meant to suggest a single overarching theoretical position, as any reading of the essays in this book will quickly make evident. Our intention instead was to bring explicit attention to the haunting presence of the colonial, a specter often present but in only ghostly forms in current anthropological writings on subjectivity. Our goal is to recognize a set of problems that cannot be avoided and to develop new ways to address them in thinking and writing about subjectivity.

Introduction of the category "postcoloniality" into a seminar that had long focused on mental health services in the United States had particular meaning, provoking a reexamination of thinking on race, ethnicity, and culture, and on their relevance for psychiatry. A formal conceptualization of psychology and psychopathology in relation to the colonial legacy has been most clearly articulated by American Indian psychologists, where the examination of "postcolonial psychology," the effects for mental health of the "American Indian holocaust," "historical" or multigenerational trauma, and "historical unresolved grief," is well underway, and where the implications for healing and health care as well as for empirical research are being explored.[6] Attention to colonialism and the postcolonial movements of peoples, however, runs throughout ethnic studies in this country. For example, the language of postcoloniality makes classic writing

on slavery and the "racial self" among African Americans (Gates 1987) or on the border wars and the colonial history of Mexican Americans (Limon 1998) relevant to discussions of "health disparities," culturally appropriate services, difficulties in engaging minority patients in psychotherapy, and rates of involuntary confinement of the mentally ill among minority populations, in ways that analyses of "culture" or "ethnicity" or "cultural competence" often do not.[7] A focus on postcolonialism in the context of a long-running seminar on psychiatric services thus served as a reminder that the issues being discussed were as important for American society and its postcolonial peoples as for many of the former colonial societies in which anthropologists work.

What emerged in the seminar was a rich, diverse, and yet surprisingly coherent set of explorations and conversations, suggesting the great importance for anthropological studies to engage colonial, postcolonial, and neocolonial dimensions of both social pathologies and subjective experience. The presenters dealt with societies with varied relationships to European colonialism: Brazil, Haiti, Morocco, Ireland, Indonesia, Congo, Vietnam, India, Spain, the Balkans, and China. This diversity made obvious the plurality of experiences of colonialism, depending both on the colonizing nation (French, Dutch, British, American) and local civilizations. But the conversations nonetheless suggested the importance of rethinking some classic issues of psychological, cultural, and medical anthropology in relation to the postcolonial literature.

In one of the early presentations in the seminar, which we reproduce as the first chapter of this collection, Begoña Aretxaga, to whom this book is dedicated, made explicit how she would appropriate the category "postcolonial" for her writing about "political madness" in the Basque Country of Spain, and several themes she would trace through her essay. "At the risk of using postcoloniality here as a metaphor of a particular existential state," she wrote for this volume, "let me say nevertheless that something that characterizes the postcolonial state and the transitional state of countries like Spain or those of the former socialist bloc is a marginal status within the global political and economic order." Querying the "lived experience of politics in these altered states," as well as "the changing nature of the state in our postmodern global world," which for Aretxaga was more about fantasies of the state than about institutions, was the task she set for herself in the presentation to the seminar. And it is this task that occupied many of the authors of the texts that make up this volume.

We use "postcolonialism" in this book in the broad way suggested by Aretxaga to indicate an era and a historical legacy of violence and appropriation, carried into the present as traumatic memory, inherited institutional structures, and often unexamined assumptions. Postcolonialism denotes relationships between members of societies that were colonial powers and those that were

colonies or "crypto-colonies" (Herzfeld 2002); between powerful political, economic, and state entities and those that are marginalized; between knowledge structures and modes of experience shaped by the often violent relationships of colonialism; as well as a body of theoretical writing. We assume, as has often been pointed out, that the "post" in this terminology is seldom far from the "neo" of new and emergent forms of global hierarchy and domination. To attempt further definitions of postcolonialism, however, or an overview of a field as diverse and unruly as postcolonial studies, would hardly capture the wide-ranging ideas explored in the essays in this volume or the ideas that emerged in the discussions in the seminar.

DISORDERS

> The theme of toleration, thought to be the hallmark of civilization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at least in certain corners of Europe, was believed to carry the promise of ending all kinds of brutality. . . . For those who wanted to believe that superstition was on the way out, that a more rational and humane public and private existence was possible, there were reasons for confidence, and these prevailed well into the nineteenth century, reinforced by what were thought to be the marvels of modern science and technology. Such confidence has not survived our own century of violence, and is not likely to be restored very soon.
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> (Graubard 1996: vi–vii)

The strategic assemblage of ideas, institutions, and forms of domination that constituted colonialism—in the name of God, science, and capital or under the rubric of civilization, commerce, and Christianity—all functioned to establish and maintain a distinctive "order," a mode of social life and an enactment of "the Real" characteristic of a particular Enlightenment vision of reason, progress, and freedom.[8] As João Biehl's essay in this volume shows clearly, the establishment of this order and of bourgeois colonial governance in settings such as nineteenth-century Brazil required that authorities respond with harsh violence to any rebellion against this order, particularly if based on an affirmation of an autonomous symbolic order. This was as true of other colonial settlers as of indigenous peoples. Indeed, as Biehl's essay suggests, the very origins of the modernist equation of disorder with the mad, the primitive, and the bestial—all characteristics of "the Other"—are found in the efforts to enact and instantiate this particular colonial order. The theorization of madness and violence of

individuals, in the formal languages of psychopathology, and the interpretations of political violence of groups, using similar pathologizing terms, share these historical origins in the pragmatics and imagination of colonial rule and colonial order.

The third key term in this book, "disorders," thus provides an opportunity to explore modalities of social life and subjectivities that reflect, ironically, the establishment of political, moral, and epistemic *orders* through state violence that reproduces *disorder.*[9] "Disorder" and "disorders" therefore provide a lens for investigating the contradictions that emerge in postcolonial societies and the social conditions they produce. These include "disorderly states," both those that are autocratic and those that are weak or failed and depend on privatized militias and violence; conflicts between "imagined" national communities and primordial commitments, leading to forms of religious and ethnic violence perceived as new but often reflecting colonial strategies of domination via ethnic conflict; and social pathologies that occur differentially at the centers and margins of state power, mimicking those at the centers and peripheries of colonial governance. These also include the disorders emanating from the "new world order," the contradictions made apparent when the personal mobility and transnational identities of intellectuals are juxtaposed with the vast numbers of violently displaced persons; when mobile capital and emerging middle classes are viewed side by side with extreme poverty and the wide insecurity of increasing numbers of persons; and when social breakdown or natural disasters are responded to with new modes of mobile sovereignty emerging from global institutions of finance, development, and humanitarian relief.[10]

The essays in this volume examine subjectivity in relation to contemporary forms of just such postcolonial disorders and interventions aimed at remedying them. Authors here explore the complex lives of those affected by terrorism and political violence—perpetrators, victims, politicians, and activists—and the pervasive insecurity and trauma associated with the breakdown of state structures. They describe how dislocation and labor migration differentially affect poor women, and how these women's "unruly agency" disrupts their characterization as victims of "trafficking" or as "sex workers." The authors describe the emergence of new categories of "international crises" and "emergencies," from ethnic cleansing in the Balkans to HIV/AIDS in China and Africa; the global, humanitarian assemblages and "mobile sovereignties" organized to respond to these; and the complex positioning of actors—members of NGOs, government officials at national and local levels, human rights psychiatrists—within these assemblages. And they explore how the subjectivity of persons suffering clinical psychopathology inevitably is caught up in complexes of social and personal meanings that reflect colonial discourses on rationality and superstition, current

versions of psychiatric science, and institutional histories of the asylum and the clinic. Some of the essays reveal the darker sides of the global flows of capital and labor, which have produced the "flexible citizens" and "hybrid identities" of postcolonial theorizing (e.g., Bhabha 1994; Ong 1999). All of the essays examine the complex relationships between the social and the psychological, linking the "disordered states" of individuals and polities, exploring how and why the language of rationality and madness is so commonly used to make sense of political violence.

It is inevitable that anthropologists working as field researchers and advocates in "unstable places" (Greenhouse, Mertz, and Warren 2002) would attempt to represent the lives and experiences of individuals, families, and communities with whom they work as richly and sympathetically as possible. Reflections on the meaning of subjectivity and on the difficult theoretical and methodological problems that emerge in ethnographic representation of persons living in disordered polities are therefore not surprising. However, the challenge of understanding and representing the complexity of individual lives and of families and communities across cultures cannot be underestimated, and for anthropologists writing about persons attempting to fashion lives under extreme conditions the challenge is much greater.

We might note three broad strands of thinking and writing that have emerged in recent anthropological accounts of this kind. First, poststructuralist writing brought attention to the place of power in shaping any subject and to the place of "subjection" (particularly to Foucauldian disciplinary practices) and "subjugation" (to state domination) in shaping subjectivity.[11] But an immediate hazard of this framing is the representation of individuals as victims and an overdeterminist view of the role of governmentalities in producing unitary subjects and modes of consciousness. In response, "agency" and "resistance" have become key terms for exploring "where and how marginalization, dispossession and exploitation form the grounds of subjectivities in very different postcolonies" (Werbner 2002: 3), and writers find it necessary to stress contingency and creativity or "playful or aestheticised self-fashioning" (Werbner 2002: 2) to portray individual lives, for whom the image "victim" often seems inaccurate, partial at best, and demeaning.[12]

Second, there has been an increasing engagement with psychiatry and the clinical sphere among ethnographers attempting to write about the suffering of persons who experience severe violence, loss, insecurity, and oppressive conditions. The language of "trauma" has become ubiquitous, whether used generically to describe acute suffering, clinically to describe the dynamics of individuals with overt psychopathology, or critically to challenge the medicalization of forms of extreme human experience and avoid close attention to the

social and the moral.[13] Clinical terms—depression and melancholia, anxiety, dissociation, and paranoia—are increasingly present, employed in similarly diverse ways.[14] And awareness of the richness of psychotherapeutic literatures and techniques for exploring personal subjectivity is reentering anthropology, now with reference to psychological and psychoanalytic writing quite different from that of the 1940s and 1950s.[15] When used with technical precision, clinical language has the potential to distinguish between normal human responses to loss or violence and those that represent more extreme or pathological "clinical" responses, illuminating the role of individual psychology in coping with social conditions experienced by many. At the same time, diagnostic language has the potential to reproduce medicalizing tendencies or to assert universal categories without warrant. When used generically, clinical terms convey important everyday meanings of lived experience, but may be incomprehensible to those who work clinically with persons suffering from clinical syndromes.

Third, in part as critical response to these two forms of analysis, some have advocated "suffering" or "social suffering" as a more experience-near language of analysis. Arthur Kleinman and his colleagues undertook a series of workshops and conversations, supported in part by the Social Science Research Council, on social suffering and subjectivity, which led to three edited volumes.[16] If a language of power and political agency marks writing originating within the poststructuralist tradition, and the language of psychopathology and psychology marks that engaged with clinical practice, the work on social suffering, read as "the devastating injuries that social force inflicts on human experience" (Kleinman, Das, and Lock 1996), places particular primacy on the existential, the phenomenological, and the moral. Ethnographers and humanists sometimes make use of "suffering"—drawn from the language of religion and morality—as an analytic category, without fully exploring the complexity of using moral categories for ethnographic analysis and without detailing the relevance of the category "suffering" for local religious traditions or individual lives. The question of the validity of essentializing "suffering" as a distinctive mode of experience, a term akin to "victim," is thus raised by this work. Kleinman and his colleagues have attempted to clarify many of these issues and to further a humane, ethnographic voice that brings wide-ranging and theoretically diverse writing into conversation.

The essays in this book may be read as an effort to build on and explore alternatives to these three approaches.

We recognize that there is an obvious hazard to approaching subjectivity among postcolonial societies through a focus on disorder or pathology. If "research" is as suspect among indigenous peoples as Linda Tuhiwai Smith

indicates, research on social pathologies is particularly problematic, laden with colonial history and power relations. In the colonial context, the pathologies of native cultures were routinely cited as evidence of the inferiority of the colonized and as a mandate for intervention. In liberal societies, focus on the pathologies of indigenous peoples—or of the poor—is often equally used as mandate for intervention by powerful bureaucracies as well as social-service organizations. Recognizing, labeling, studying, and responding to social pathologies are thus located in complex terrains of postcolonial histories and relationships.

This book is of course not a set of analyses of disorders that purport to provide a mandate for interventions. Indeed, a benefit of linking "disorders" to "subjectivity" is the potential for increasing understanding of the lived experience of persons caught up in complex, threatening, and uncertain conditions of the contemporary world. Such a linking provides a focus on the historical genealogy of normative conceptions associated with order and disorder, rationality and pathology, and brings analytic attention to everyday lives and routine practices instantiated in complex institutions. Indeed, the essays in this book provide a critical examination of conflicting interpretations of postcolonial disorders and the local and global interventions undertaken to respond to them.

POSTCOLONIAL SUBJECTS, POSTCOLONIAL DISORDERS: LOOKING BACKWARD AND FORWARD

The authors of this volume provide strikingly innovative responses to the challenge of exploring subjectivity in relation to individual and social disorders, engaging the legacy of colonialism and its enduring effects in the societies studied and the intellectual traditions through which we investigate the modern subject and subjectivity. The result, we believe, opens new ways for engaging literatures often peripheral to much anthropological writing on subjectivity, for bringing psychological writing into conversation with the historical and political, for exploring how states and their peripheries figure in the imaginary and the everyday experience of social actors, and for suggesting a place for the uncanny as critical to subjective experience and its analysis. Running throughout is a sense of the hidden, the unspoken and the unspeakable, that appears in the fissures and gaps of the everyday and is very much a part of subjectivity in all its complexity. What begins to take form in the pages of this book is the outline of a project to develop new strategies for investigating and theorizing subjects in postcolonial societies and situations. We hope this book will contribute to initiating just such a project.

From the perspective that emerges within these essays, several literatures, pointing both backward and forward, become relevant to the project of investigating postcolonial subjectivities and postcolonial disorders within contemporary ethnographic research. First, much of the classic scholarship on colonial and postcolonial subjectivity becomes relevant to such a project in new ways. A powerful tradition of writing about colonial subjectivity begins with Frantz Fanon, the psychiatrist born in Martinique and educated in France, who found his mission in Algeria during the violent struggle to "decolonize" the nation. Fanon (1963) wrote vividly about violence as the means by which colonial powers and their settlers established and maintained domination of colonized peoples. He drew an absolute contrast, a "Manichean" dichotomy, between two "species" of men—the colonizers and the colonized (1963: 42, 93). As theorist and psychiatrist, his interest was in the consciousness of the colonized, in the traumatizing effects of experiencing and witnessing colonial violence, in the constant humiliation and degradation inflicted in the name of colonial mastery, and in how these produced the "mental disorders" he saw and treated in his clinical practice. Fanon's Manichean views and rejection of the "native" bourgeoisie who were educated in French schools meant that he sometimes—particularly in his earlier writings—gave little attention to the internalization of the colonial ideology, the development of a dual consciousness as part of colonial subjectivity, and the diverse forms of multiple and "hybrid" consciousness that emerged both in the colonial and postcolonial eras. In contrast, Ashis Nandy, Homi Bhabha, and others have made these diverse forms of consciousness central to understanding postcolonial subjectivity. But Fanon's theorization of the consciousness of the colonized *and* the colonizers, his placing of psychopathology within this context, his reflections on "the so-called dependency complex," and his linking of racism and colonialism are of ongoing relevance to anthropological rethinking of subjectivity.[17]

For Ashis Nandy (1983, 1995), the "intimate enemy" of colonialism, the internalization of colonial disregard for local cultures and values and the resulting self-hatred imposed through colonial rule, produced—and continue to produce in the postcolony—a split self in which one element is repressed or denied. For Nandy and others, including Tanya Luhrmann (1996), who explored self-criticism among the postcolonial Parsi elite of India that arose through identification with the colonizers, this schizoid quality of experience and identity is seen as being at once condition and consequence of colonial and postcolonial discourses and forms of oppression. Paul Gilroy draws on W. E. B. DuBois's notion of double consciousness to describe "the core dynamic of racial oppression as well as the fundamental antinomy of diaspora blacks" (Gilroy 1993: 30); Fredric Jameson (1991) describes the split subject as the indexical fig-

ure of postmodernity and its requisite ruptures of space and time. The latter is a move Homi Bhabha (1994: 90) evokes in his descriptions of the "not quite/not white" identity of the postcolonial writer/subject and also in his discussion of mimicry (91). What is wonderful about Nandy's writing, of course, is that he does not stop with a caricatured reading of Indian consciousness as ultimately self-hating, but goes on to provide detailed accounts of Indian intellectuals, Western medicine in India, and the emergence of Indian cinema, all describing complex forms of colonial and postcolonial subjectivity. Such forms of subjectivity are often discussed in postcolonial studies in the language of "hybridity"—a term derived from colonial racist ideologies often celebrated, oddly enough, with little sense of irony. Following Bhabha, the ambiguous, mixed identities common in the postcolonies are often elegized as spaces for creative subversion of master discourses. Remaining at the heart of this work, however, is the ongoing tension between modern, rational modes of subjectivity and selves and the "traditional," and the linking of this duality to colonial memories of power and humiliation. The essays in this book suggest ways in which this literature has special importance for anthropological studies of subjectivity.

Critics of postcolonial theory rightly express a sense of irony that a body of inquiry founded on consideration of difference remains mired in a language of singularity: "the postcolonial condition," "the postcolonial subject," "the postcolonial nation." This irony is akin to Bhabha's sense that in the sites of alterity, "the postcolonial perspective . . . resists the attempt at holistic forms of social explanation . . . forc[ing] us to rethink the profound limitations of a consensual and collusive liberal sense of cultural community" (1994: 173, 175). In quite practical ways, it also forces anthropologists to explore diverse "colonialisms" and "postcolonialisms," in much the same way that recent scholarship has urged the pluralizing of modernity ("modernities").[18] The project of developing new ethnographies of subjectivity, postcolonial subjects, and postcolonial disorders thus links directly with a second body of diverse literatures that critique unitary and evolutionary theories of modernity and the modern subject,[19] including criticisms of the absence of the analysis of colonialism in Foucault's critical genealogy of the modern subject;[20] widely accepted arguments about the emergence of contemporary taken-for-granted categories of gender, race, and the "stranger" in colonial societies and colonial theorizing; as well as a body of studies that set out to explore the diversity of modernities and forms of modern experience that emerge within the centers and peripheries of major colonial empires. Charles Taylor's exploration of the "massive errors" of acultural theories of modernity, including the "Enlightenment package error" (2001: 180), which assumes that all societies have to undergo a range of cultural changes experienced in Europe and North America (for example, secularization and the

growth of "atomistic forms of self-identification"), points to the sweeping range of issues encountered as anthropologists write about subjectivity in the societies in which they work. Our argument here is that normative assumptions about the modern subject surface at times unexpectedly in this work, challenging anthropological writing and any easy claims about cultural diversity (for example, do we really accept that secularizing forces are not inherent in modernizing processes?), and that addressing these issues adds to the dynamic quality of the project outlined here. It is also our argument that local and regional experiences with diverse European and American colonialisms (and crypto-colonialisms) shape not only "modernities" and "postcolonialities" but the theoretical traditions that arise within particular regions, leading to distinctive literatures from Africa, South Asia, the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia, for example. Attending to local and civilizational modes of subjectivity, rather than to easy arguments about "the global," devising strategies for ethnographic research in this vein, and bringing regionally based discussions concerning subjectivity into conversation with each other are also important to the larger project.[21]

In the previous section of this introduction, on "disorders," we suggested three strands of writing on subjectivity and disorder—poststructuralist writing on agency, clinically influenced writing on trauma and other forms of psychopathology, and ethnographies of "social suffering." At the heart of the project we are proposing are efforts to both incorporate and move beyond these modes of analyzing subjectivity, to link the political and the psychological in more clearly theorized ways, and to reject rigid dichotomizing of studies of the social and the individual, with anthropology on the side of the former, psychology with its "methodological individualism" on the side of the latter and therefore beyond the competence of anthropologists.[22] The trope of "madness" to reference disordered states, the activities of terrorists, primitive and irrational social groups, and the dark forces operating behind the scenes to cause chaos, appear over and again in the essays of this volume, drawn from local discourses in such disparate settings as Spain, Brazil, Indonesia, and Haiti, challenging anthropological interpretation. Developing theories that allow us to analyze such claims as more than mere metaphor, and methodological approaches that facilitate close linking of studies of individual lives and subjectivity to social analysis, are important challenges for the project we are outlining. Many of the chapters in this collection provide innovative contributions to such an approach to the ethnography of subjectivity.

One of the themes recurring in this introduction is an argument that studies of subjectivity need to pay attention to that which is *not* said overtly, to that which is unspeakable and unspoken, to that which appears at the margins of

formal speech and everyday presentations of self, manifest in the Imaginary, in dissociated spaces, and individual dream time and coded in esoteric symbolic productions aimed at hiding as well as revealing. This suggests close attention to memories and subjugated knowledge claims that are suppressed politically but made powerful precisely by their being left unsaid, to that which speakers strategically refuse to speak about in settings of surveillance and danger, to painful secrets and "poisonous knowledge" (Das 2000), and to traumatic memories and hidden transcripts, which may fade from everyday awareness but have explosive power when evoked. It suggests attention to forms of knowledge coded in highly symbolic art, in cartoons or in theatrical performances, as well as to that which is so embedded in everyday practices and assumptive worlds, shaped by contemporary assemblages of knowledge/power, that they become invisible to subjects, depending on their positions of power.

Obviously, these various ways of framing that which is hidden or left unspoken suggest diverse literatures and ethnographic methodologies as relevant to a project of investigating "postcolonial subjectivities" and "postcolonial disorders." They suggest the importance of an increasing body of writing on memory, traumatic memory, and memory politics and of methods aimed at observing or retrieving remainders of violence or traumatic historical events. Attending to the presence of the unspeakable points to the importance of what Derrida (1994: 10) calls "hauntology," an effort to understand specters and ghosts—the "specters of Marx" and the ghost that appears before Hamlet, but also the ghosts of those tortured and dead whose voices are heard in Haiti (see James this volume) and around the contemporary world. Derrida (1994: 9) suggests that analysis always requires attention to "mourning" ("attempting to ontologize remains"), to "language" and "the voice" ("that which *marks* the name or takes its place"), and the "work" of the specter ("whether it transforms or transforms itself, poses or decomposes itself"). Attention to the hidden also suggests the relevance of what Žižek calls the "veils" of fantasy. Žižek argues that "*narrative* . . . serves to occult some original deadlock. . . . It is not only that some narratives are 'false', based upon the exclusion of traumatic events and patching up the gaps left by these exclusions—Lacan's thesis is much stronger: the answer to the question 'Why do we tell stories?' is that *narrative as such* emerges in order to resolve some fundamental antagonism by rearranging its terms into temporal succession" (1997: 10–11).

But it is not only through the ghostly or apparitional that states and their disorders or traumatic memory or history shape subjective lives. It is also through the everyday. Jamie Saris argues in this volume that colonial encounters, resistances, and postcolonial contradictions need to be analyzed not only in periods of social breakdown but in relation to the "specific colonial apparatus in everyday

life"—including old colonial institutions, such as the Irish asylum he studies, which have been domesticated in local communities and cultures. Veena Das (2000) also argues that subjectivity should not be studied exclusively in relation to past traumatic events—such as the Partition in India—but also in relation to "the new forms of subjectivity" inhabited by the women she studied. "It is not that older subject positions were simply left behind or abandoned," Das writes, "rather, there were new ways in which even signs of injury could be occupied" (2000: 210–11).

The interplay between the ordinary and the exceptional brings anthropological writing on subjectivity into conversation with the emerging literatures on "states of emergency," referring to Walter Benjamin,[23] and Giorgio Agamben's analyses of "states of exception" (1998, 2005). Although bringing clear attention to the "exceptional," Agamben's work does so through careful analysis of legal procedures and forms of sovereignty.[24] His description of those spatial and social domains formulated through the suspension of ordinary rights and the institution of "exceptional" legal regulations, both in the name of the emergency, have eerie resonance for Americans living in the age of the Patriot Act and Guantánamo. Agamben follows Benjamin in arguing that "in our age, the state of exception comes more and more to the foreground as the fundamental political structure and ultimately begins to become the rule" (Agamben 1998: 20), suggesting mechanisms by which everyday subjectivities and those subjectivities associated with these exceptional legal statuses are far from clearly separated. This is also true of the literature on subjectivity on the "borderlands" or the "margins of the state," as we will discuss below. In her essay in this volume, Mariella Pandolfi links this discussion explicitly to the "emergencies" used to mobilize interventions and the new "mobile sovereignties" associated with the global humanitarian complex. But these increasingly common sites of social breakdown and intervention suggest that "states of exception" can usefully be extended beyond totalizing institutions, like the Guantánamo prisons, to spaces of "indeterminacy, flux, extreme potency and vulnerability" (Abramowitz 2005).[25]

Finally, any discussion of the secret, the hidden, the unspoken, and the unspeakable as qualities of subjectivity have resonance with a wide range of psychoanalytic theories, bringing them into complex conversation with the issues discussed in this introduction. Perhaps one way to comment on the potential of the Lacanian tradition for the project outlined here is a brief review of the creative and subtle use of that tradition by Aretxaga in her essay in this volume. Aretxaga sets out to explore the "political madness," the virtually incomprehensible violence that a group of Basque ETA members loosed on their own population beginning during the 1990s, alienating those previously sympathetic to their cause and debilitating their own apparent nationalist aspi-

rations. So self-defeating were their actions that a consensus grew that these radical nationalists were simply "out of their minds." "But what defined this state of insanity?" Aretxaga asks. On the surface, she suggests, the discourse on madness was linked to "an incomprehensible and traumatic excess, an eruption within the familiar order that defamiliarizes it." But Aretxaga argues that "the kernel of this madness is something much more problematic and secret, something that indeed must remain hidden. . . . The crazy violence of these young radicals might be less incomprehensible . . . if we see it as the manifestation of a phantom, the presence of an absence, the presence of a traumatic history that remains not altogether resolved."

To make this argument, Aretxaga draws on the analysis of Nicholas Abraham and Maria Torok (1959, 1986) of the phantom as a "secret that remains buried and can be passed from generation to generation, inherited as it were in an unconscious way." She pieces together the story of the *encapuchados*, the hooded youth who became the subjects of this new form of violence, and of the "uncanny character" of the family violence in which they engaged. In particular, she analyzes the story of Mikel Otegi, a radical youth who in "a lapse of consciousness" killed two members of the Basque police in 1995, and she references Lacan's definition of the unconscious as "the discourse of the other, which emerges precisely in the gaps, in the blanks, of personal and collective histories." Then, following this notion that madness is characterized by a "rupture . . . that finds itself patched over by fantasy," she explores how political culture "might function in ways analogous to that of a dream," amenable to analysis of the "hidden metonymic associations that trace a subjective structure present in nationalist violence and that articulate a knowledge that remains hidden, a knowledge that the political subject in question does not want to know."

We will leave the analysis and conclusion to the reader, but simply note that Aretxaga's questions, her willingness to pursue even that which may be hidden from the actors, and her assumption that a "subjective structure" revealed by this analysis is knowable suggests one promising theoretical and methodological frame for linking the political and the psychological. It suggests that it may be useful to move between trauma, memory, and commemoration at social and personal levels. It suggests further that in domains such as relations "between the sexes and within the family," as Sudhir Kakar says for the Indian subjectivity, *oneiros*—dream, fantasy—does not coincide with the cultural propositions on these relationships, "but consists of what seeps out of the crevices in the cultural floor," conveying a culture's versions of "the Impossible and the Forbidden" (Kakar 1989: 41). And it suggests that anthropologists remain at the level of "cultural propositions" at their peril if they are to explore subjectivity, the postcolonial, and disorder.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ESSAYS IN THIS BOOK

We have organized the essays in this book into three sections—"Disordered States," "Subjectivity in the Borderlands," and "Madness, Alterity, and Psychiatry." In what follows, we provide a rationale for this organization—given that many of the essays speak to each other in multiple ways and could be differently grouped—and discuss briefly how each essay speaks to the larger themes of this book.

Part I: Disordered States

The five essays in this section—by Begoña Aretxaga, Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good and Byron Good, John MacDougall, Erica James, and Mariella Pandolfi—explore the tension between our understandings of the dual meanings of "disordered states," referencing political states and disordered lives, the everyday and spectral or imaginary qualities of the state, as well as the dynamics of political subjectivity. The essays bring special attention to how the state becomes a subject in the everyday lives of its citizens (Aretxaga 2003: 395), imagined and at times fetishized as an actor, and how violent and rapacious states inflict anxiety, trauma, and suffering upon individuals. These authors engage disorders arising within five contemporary societies: postdictatorial, post-Franco Spain and the Basque Country autonomy movement; post–New Order/post-Suharto Indonesia, in particular, in Central Java and Lombok; post-Duvalier, post-Aristide Haiti; and the postcommunist collapsed states of the Balkans. Although the historical dynamics of colonial and neocolonial relations—of Spain to its far flung and internal "colonies," of Java to the Netherlands and to its own twentieth-century Indonesian expanse, and of Haiti to France and most importantly to the United States—are strikingly distinctive, a current, a resonance, runs across these essays and the analyses the authors bring to bear. This section concludes with Pandolfi's essay, which proposes an anthropology of intervention focusing on the politics of suprastate, humanitarian-military interventions in Albania and the Balkans.

The subjective fantasies of the state that appear in these essays are hardly those of the Weberian bureaucratic or democratic liberal state, but are rather imaginings and memories of experiences of states, past and present, linked to terror, insecurity, and betrayal—states like those described by Taussig (1992, 2003) in which "spaces of death" and hidden, secret forces of the state have for generations imbued daily life with collective anxieties, with an ambience of fear and terror (Indonesia and Haiti), oppression and resistance (Basque ETA), and an acute awareness of the fragility of normal life.

The haunting specter of the state in both memory and imagination and in everyday encounters with its agents are described and richly analyzed by each

author, highlighting varieties of political and subjective experiences.[26] In each case, the political is characterized by what Aretxaga describes in her essay as a "metaphor" of postcoloniality—"a certain dislocation and often violent disarray of things . . . in which the logical order of Cartesian thinking doesn't quite work." Thus the "madness" of politics, a common theme in these essays, comes in the guise of ETA and the *cipayos* and "the phantom of dictatorship" (Aretxaga); the disrupted world of reformation politics represented as haunting figures and powerful, disturbing images by contemporary artists (Good and Good); "dark forces" and "moral militias" (MacDougall); and "haunting ghosts" and the "magico-paramilitary" (James). These highly contemporary albeit historically laden disorders of the state, with roots in colonial and neocolonial relations of power, dislocation, and disarray, are more than failures of the normative state or barriers to an idealized political life in which there is collective and personal freedom from insecurity, fear, terror, and daily "nervousness" (Taussig 1992). Each of these essays introduces us to the ways in which the state and its deformations, and even suprastate actors in the humanitarian-military intervention world of intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations (IGOs and NGOs) (see Pandolfi this volume), loom large in the political subjectivity of citizens.

Begoña Aretxaga, in "Madness and the Politically Real: Reflections on Violence in Postdictatorial Spain," raises questions about the elements of postcoloniality that extend beyond what is normally considered the postcolonial world, notably marginal status within the "global political and economic order." Through the trope of political madness, Aretxaga seeks to understand the "incomprehensible logic" of the violence that arose in Spain's now-autonomous Basque Country, perpetrated by ETA against the Basque police. She pursues not only the contours and implications of the trope "madness" for describing political disorders and "altered states," but also its emergence at a particular point in time and history. Noting the bombings and killings of intimates—brothers, kin, friends, innocent compatriots—by ETA, which fostered a Basque Country fear of fratricide, and the curious labeling of the Basque police as *cipayo,* representing the police as intimate betrayers (*sipahi* was the name for Indian troops of British India), Aretxaga draws on a Lacanian analysis of the work of "displacement" in political culture to explore that which "the political subject does not want to know." The madness of violence of the radical nationalists, she argues, manifests a profound ambivalence toward the nation-state, a fear that the "unified sense of self as the colonized people" stands to be lost in a coming into nationhood.

This essay in particular explores the historical shape, structure, and feel of disorder as a sometimes unconscious process, recalling the memories of and

reactions to the disordered dictatorial state of Franco's Spain—the phantom of the dictatorship from which the Spanish democracy was not fully divorced—as well as a far more contemporary set of dislocations characteristic of globalized political terrorism. Aretxaga presented this paper in December 2000 to the Harvard seminar, prior to the al-Qaeda attacks of September 11, 2001, on the World Trade Center in New York and the March 2003 train bombings in Madrid. ETA was initially suspected of the latter. Throughout her work, Aretxaga provided a model for demonstrating that political madness, disordered states, and the apparently "incomprehensible logic" of "crazy violence is not [necessarily] meaningless."

Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good and Byron Good, in "*Indonesia Sakit:* Indonesian Disorders and the Subjective Experience and Interpretive Politics of Artists in Post-Suharto Indonesia," explore how in the early period of post-Suharto reformation—characterized by an exploding and refreshing sense of cultural freedom and expression—citizen-artists creatively and critically engaged in subjectifying the state through pointedly political art, generating narratives and fantasies both visual and discursive, private and public, and images of past, present, and future. Good and Good discuss a genre of "reformation art" found in public exhibitions from 1999 to 2003, as well as in artists' private collections. Profoundly cynical images of the state abound, drawing on the artists' experiences of the waning days of the Suharto New Order: the state as "sick" with political, economic, and moral decay, internal ethnic strife, corruption, and national disintegration (Yulikodo's *Indonesia Sakit*); the state as "empty of value," its nationalist ideology disempowered, its core symbol of the Garuda transformed into a distorted pig head, "just a mascot," after a generation of rapacious abuse and corruption (Alex Luthfi's *Kado Reformasi*); the state, the nation, the archipelago as gone "amok" (Entang Wiharso's NusaAmuk series on mob violence, mindless followers, and the all-consuming world of global products); the global anxiety of weakened states and the corrupted misuse of religion to foster terrorism, and a visceral, screaming desire to reject any internalizing of the fear of terrorism (Entang's *Don't Touch Me*). The paintings reveal how the transformation of political engagements led to these artists' newfound subjectivity as post–New Order Indonesian citizens, capable of publicly critiquing the state as well as reenvisioning, through their paintings, imagined possibilities for a new democratic Indonesian state.

John MacDougall, in "The Political Dimensions of Emasculation: Fantasy, Conspiracy, and Estrangement among Populist Leaders in Post–New Order Lombok, Indonesia," explores an alternative type of political madness to that discussed by Aretxaga, one in which individual paranoia mirrors local and national political events. In the immediate post-Suharto breakdown of order,

Soleh, a lawyer and advocate for the ordinary people and a once-powerful local leader in Megawati's Democratic Party of Struggle, found his political star on the wane. MacDougall tells the story of how the complex evolution of subjectivity experienced by nationalist activists against the New Order dictatorship, the rise of moral militias in post–New Order Lombok, the co-opting of dissent and activism by anticrime militias, and local forms of organized surveillance became entwined with Soleh's psychological disintegration, filled with conspiracy theories of the dark forces of a spurned national military and the Suharto crowd, intent on destabilizing the postauthoritarian state and its reformation and democracy movement and "eager to see Indonesia fall into chaos." Soleh's fall into madness mirrored his fear and that of many of his compatriots—at that time, and even in 2006, after a direct presidential election—that Indonesia would fall into political chaos.

Erica James, in "Haunting Ghosts: Madness, Gender, and *Ensekirite* in Haiti in the Democratic Era," introduces readers to the harsh Haitian world of insecurity, fear, and collective anxiety in a profoundly disordered state. James argues that Haiti's case is "within the arena of geopolitics"—a postcolonial global politics that has not been generous to Haiti, its "fragile path toward democracy" fraught with organized violence and "haunting ghosts." James weaves her analysis around the complexities of the geography of trauma, fear, and insecurity—the domains of terror that Taussig (1992) refers to as "spaces of death." Through the story of "Danielle," who seeks justice from the police for the murders of her husband and sons in the mid-1990s, which left her to support her youngest five children through prostitution, James raises questions not only about the fragility of Haiti's political and civil institutions and processes, but about the international community's interventions and identification of what Haitians suffer from (PTSD and HIV) and what they need (condoms). James returns frequently to "insecurity," identifying it as a longstanding theme for Haitians, related to political turmoil, military rule, violence, natural disasters, personal psychic and bodily experiences, and the contemporary conditions of living through a political transition at the site of international humanitarian interventions. As in other essays, the sense of the uncanny breaks through James's ethnography and analysis as she leads us from the collective nervousness of a nation, which suffers frequent trauma and terror, the madness of internal violence, and geopolitical exploitation, to the personal and subjective experiences of contemporary individuals struggling to eke out a living, hoping to be buttressed from constant fear.

The final essay in this section, Mariella Pandolfi's "Laboratory of Intervention: The Humanitarian Governance of the Postcommunist Balkan Territories," is an ethnography of intervention. Pandolfi focuses attention on the politics of

humanitarian intervention carried out by international and intrastate institutions in the crises in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Albania. When the postcommunist Balkan states disintegrated politically, devolving into ethnic genocide on Europe's margins, military-humanitarian intervention was mounted on a massive scale. Pandolfi's account is shaped by her own subjective experience as a global political actor and intervening anthropologist. She argues that over the past decade there has been a growth in the "gray zone" between humanitarian intervention, military humanitarianism, and the humanitarian war, of which collaborating academics are largely uncritical. Calling for anthropological analysis of interventions, Pandolfi focuses attention beyond the boundaries of specific states to disorders without borders and the obscuring of the true needs of civil society through the politics of intervention. "Without borders" becomes a rallying cry, the panache, the label for NGOs and local elites, "men without borders," brokers of intervention and humanitarian entrepreneurship. Although Pandolfi primarily addresses the Balkan cases, her theoretical and analytic arguments have relevance for understanding new forms of mobile sovereignties that transcend states, mimicking interventions of the colonial world.

Part II: Subjectivity in the Borderlands

The four essays in this section—by Sandra Hyde, Johan Lindquist, David Eaton, and Michael Fischer—explore subjectivity at the borderlands or margins of states and polities. The "borderlands" here refer not only to the geographical border areas of nation-states, but to the marginal spaces of governmentality, global economics, biopower, and moral politics.[27] These are spaces of contradiction and disorder, as well as sites of cultural fluidity, identity making, and diverse and marginal forms of citizenship.[28] They are settings of cultural, political, and economic traffic and border crossings, spaces through which laborers are moved and sites of "narratives of eviction" that shape subjectivity.[29] In this volume, multiple borders and overlapping, compounding marginalities are represented by HIV/AIDS among minority populations in a border region of China and in the Republic of Congo, itself a marginal polity; by young women and men who are migrant laborers in a free-trade zone on an island at the very edge of Indonesia, living at the edge of Islamic norms; and by the perpetual and constantly reworked boundaries and negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis.

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) initiated analysis of borderlands as critical domains for investigating processes of globalization—the opening, closing, and policing of massive flows of people, culture, capital, ideas, media, and images—and practices through which political centers and states are defined and managed. Borders, crossings, closures, and policing are integral to post-

colonial dynamics of power, consciousness, and experience, just as in earlier eras they held relevance for colonial and precolonial states;[30] they locate persons in terms of markets, labor, citizenship, and sovereignty, based on state regulations of inclusion and exclusion and universalized rights; they accentuate difference and hierarchy, policing and restrictions (Chinese HIV minorities and Southeast Asian labor migrants), as well as historical fault lines (Israel/Palestine), endless violence and insecurity, and failed states (Congo).

The four chapters in this section explore the relevance of such theorization of borderlands to the central themes of this book in two ways. They provide ethnographic analysis of disorders associated with marginal spaces—HIV/AIDS, trafficking, prostitution, exploitative labor practices—and the assemblages of state agencies, international organizations, and NGOs developed to manage, police, or treat them. And they provide rich explorations of *subjectivity* in these spaces, examining the complex and contradictory lives of bureaucrats and nongovernmental workers, activists, and afflicted communities, women whose unruly agency is not easily captured by global categories such as "trafficking" and "sex workers" or "women without morals" (Lindquist this volume), and soldiers and psychiatrists who over the years have tried uneasily to cross the diverse boundaries that define both Israel and Palestine.

Sandra Hyde, in "Everyday AIDS Practices: Contestations of Borders and Diseases in Southwest China," examines how in late-socialist China, HIV becomes a spatialized disease, identified with communities at the borderlands along China's multiethnic southern frontier. Hyde's analysis grows out of years of field research in the region of the former Tai kingdom that borders northern Thailand. She demonstrates, through the narratives of four state actors, how political subjectivity and everyday practices of surveillance and implementation of public health policies not only link local, national, and global interventions in China's HIV crisis, but how they also inscribe the sovereignty of the state onto subjects in the borderlands, labeling the population "at risk" through HIV discourses on "risky bodies" and "risky practices." Through the articulation of HIV/AIDS policies, individual state agents, such as police and public health bureaucrats, configure the state itself as an entity, thereby defining the hierarchical relationship between the Tai minority populations of the borderlands and the Han interior, identified with the central government. Hyde argues that "all over the globe associations with diseases [are] mapped onto certain places and people more readily than others," and in China this has occurred through the discursive construction of HIV disease and its geographical and ethnic borders through the everyday AIDS practices of state agents.

Johan Lindquist, in "Of Maids and Prostitutes: Indonesian Female Migrants in the New Asian Hinterlands," focuses on the space of migration of the

Growth Triangle, particularly Batam Island, at the borderlands between Indonesia and Singapore. Building on ethnographic research on Batam during and following the Asian monetary crisis, Lindquist privileges displaced narratives—"narratives of eviction"—of women trapped in the migrant labor markets of these hinterlands who have worked both as maids and prostitutes in search of economic success. These women are burdened with a nationalized cultural framing of migration (*merantau*), which includes romantic visions of new experiences, freedom, and risk but requires eventual success in accumulating new resources for family and future. Economic failure leads to intense embarrassment and shame (*malu*), an unwillingness to return home to family and village empty-handed, coupled with a fear of being lost and destitute in migration. In the face of these risks and the growing lucrative businesses in trafficking maids and prostitutes, Lindquist asks, "why do women go when they are called?" Critiquing the metaphors of channels and flows, Lindquist argues that "it is crucial to revalorize transnational labor mobility" in conversations about economic globalization and transformation, to acknowledge the moral tensions and contradictions of those who navigate these trajectories through affectively laden spaces of migration in the so-called borderless yet highly restrictive economic hinterlands.

David Eaton, in "Ambivalent Inquiry: Dilemmas of AIDS in the Republic of Congo," engages an alternative borderland in discussing the AIDS epidemic and the concomitant political and financial crises occurring in former French colonies of equatorial Africa. Eaton focuses on the postcolonial, postsocialist Republic of Congo prior to the 1997 civil war. Here the borderland is metaphoric and situational as much as geographic and postcolonial, a space where the HIV-afflicted lived in disordered settings, where treatments and interventions were virtually impossible, and where silence, denial, and refusal were constant, a space "complicated by the social disruption, insecurity, and violence associated with difficult political transitions in the region over the past two decades." The discourse on AIDS was "embedded within . . . larger systems of political discourse and historical consciousness." "*Le pays est malade* [the nation is ill]," Congolese say, asking "Is this country cursed?" AIDS is interpreted through the trope of national affliction and within a rich imaginary and symbolic order derived from colonial memories, colored with deep mistrust of the "foreigner" and global biomedicine through which AIDS literally becomes a postcolonial disorder. Eaton discusses local ways of managing and curtailing speech about and knowledge of AIDS, highlighting the role of sorcery as indexing global power relations, racism, and the politics of international health interventions as much as speaking for local culture.

In the final essay, "To Live with What Would Otherwise Be Unendurable, II: Caught in the Borderlands of Palestine/Israel," Michael Fischer presents new

ethnographic work on Palestine and Israel and the "borderland of disorders (psychic and otherwise) where there is strong resistance to third-party intervention. . . ." Fischer draws our attention to the critical importance of subjectivity: "the payoffs and feedbacks among registers of the political, psychological, and bodily selves . . . as witnesses in situations of trauma, as agents in judgments of ethical action, as partners in creating elementary forms of social life." Invoking two ethnographic situations—conversations with a Gaza psychiatrist and an ethnographer of joint Palestinian-Israeli patrols—he contrasts the psychoanalytic and therapeutic discourses and the subtle choreography of emotion and gaming of the joint patrols with the seemingly thin responses and discourses of humanitarian intervention. Fischer urges anthropologists and the actors in these dramas to find folds in the borderlands, pores in the membrane, holes in the defenses, and modalities of border incursions in small intersubjective exchanges and talk, where "just gaming . . . is not just gaming but gaming toward justice." Fischer asks that we turn the mirror back upon subjectivity, returning to unstable grounds of witnessing and to performative rhetorics of subjectivity. He concludes this section of essays on the borderlands, challenging anthropologists by asking, what can the method of ethnography of social contexts do when using sites in this violent border war as crucibles? In general, this section of essays challenges ethnographers to attend both structurally and psychologically to borderlands and to the complex modes of contemporary subjectivity that evolve within them.

Part III: Madness, Alterity, and Psychiatry

The six essays in this final section—by João Biehl, Jamie Saris, Stefania Pandolfo, Sarah Pinto, Janis Jenkins and Michael Hollifield, and Kathleen Allden—address the subjective stakes of postcolonial disorder through the lenses of psychiatric models and "other" or "altered" mental states, as well as the negotiations and institutional entanglements associated with such states. These essays hold in tension the ways that categories of moral, mental, and emotional experience are at once spaces *in which* and techniques *by which* globalized power dynamics and postcolonial realities are grappled with. Ascriptions of madness, bestiality, fatalism, and disease are, on the one hand, addressed by these authors as means by which colonial and postcolonial "orders" are made and "disorders" pacified. On the other hand, it is in domains of emotional experience that fall along the margins, or that erupt into clinical, legal, and interventionist apparatuses, that the authors locate the intimate straits, the deep contradictions, and the often impossible stakes of transnational and transcultural structures of power and meaning.

It is worth recalling that major mental illness has long been a site for complex theorization of subjectivity by psychiatrists and anthropologists alike.[31] It

is equally true that colonial and postcolonial psychiatry—knowledge structures, modes of practice, the colonial asylum, and contemporary postcolonial engagements within these institutions—have been settings for historical and ethnographic research.[32] Here, "disordered states" and "madness" are not metaphors but everyday realities. Investigations of subjectivity in these settings require special forms of listening, with an ear sensitive to the personal, cultural, and historical. The essays in this section indicate the value for the larger project of understanding postcolonial subjectivity of this work. Today, psychiatrists and anthropologists have increasingly been drawn into the globalized spaces linking mental health assessments with human rights work. In these settings, instrumental and moral issues challenge the theoretical and analytic in complex and interesting ways, as Allden's essay suggests.

João Biehl, in "The Mucker War: A History of Violence and Silence," examines the forging of a German *Kultur* in Brazil during the late nineteenth century, and the role of "a fratricidal war" and the colonial German bourgeoisie's use of natural and medical sciences, institutionalized religion, and contemporary media to stigmatize and eventually eradicate a millennial cult popular among poor German immigrants, called Mucker, which translates as "false believers" and "stubborn people." Biehl argues that the making of the Mucker as "Other," "as mad and bestial," was part of the larger Enlightenment project to transplant a rationalized scientific and enlightened German Self in the south of Brazil. His essay provides a reading of one of the traumatic foundational moments of this project, implicating the Brazilian German bourgeoisie's effort to constitute new, modern citizens in the colonial outposts of the time. He goes on to argue, provocatively, that the story of the Mucker war is "a continuous legend of the present," an "interpretative reservoir" of contemporary events, and the phantasm determining the course of reason and ethics.

Jamie Saris, in "Institutional Persons and Personal Institutions: The Asylum and Marginality in Rural Ireland," presents a detailed ethnography of a classic postcolonial institution—a state mental hospital built as a colonial asylum by the British in Ireland—through describing the daily life of a former mental patient of the hospital, who has become "the town character." Saris reflects on the life of this man, exploring Irish notions of being a "character" or "queer" and cultural margins between the respectable and unrespectable. He opens space for a modest understanding of the subjectivity of a man whose speech is apparently "crazy" but who is still quite effective in making assertions about local politics and community relations. Focusing on the quotidian, Saris argues that "colonial encounters and the resistances they provoke, postcolonial contradictions and the unsatisfactory results that they often inspire, need to be analyzed beyond moments of violence and in high literature. It is in the presence

of specific colonial apparatuses of everyday life, the various changes that they effect, [and that are] wrought upon them that both colonial and postcolonial experience needs to be examined."

Stefania Pandolfo, in "The Knot of the Soul: Postcolonial Conundrums, Madness, and the Imagination," presents a single case study of a young Moroccan man experiencing the onset of psychosis, who was brought by police at the request of his mother to a psychiatric emergency department in Morocco, where the author met the patient. Her essay takes the form of a circumstantial commentary, in which she weaves observations of other patients and psychiatric ideologies with reflections on contradictions of the postcolonial era in Morocco. Pandolfo follows the complex language shifts of the patient as he speaks to the psychiatrist, as he speaks to and about his mother, and as patient and psychiatrist speak to each other. Arabic includes the mother; French provides dialogue between patient and psychiatrist that is exclusive, private, modern. In this Moroccan situation, French is the language of the former colonizers, the language of education and modernity. The indigenous is Arabic, the language of religion and magic, the nonmodern. The patient, Pandolfo tells us, finds his "cultural home" unlivable; he complains that his mother forced him "to consult with a Qur'anic healer against [his] will." He tells his psychiatrist in French that "he invents stories of jinns" and enacts them, practicing "literature in life." His mother exclaims of her son that "he is knotted"—an image of bewitchment from Moroccan magic and a term for the "complex" in modern psychology. Pandolfo explores how the personal subjective mirrors the "knottedness" of postcolonial Morocco, where the colonial and the indigenous live uneasily in this conflicted young man. Pandolfo's ethnography suggests that Fanon's original diagnosis of the subjectivity of the colonized may be of more continuing relevance than the diagnoses of many postcolonial theorists.

Sarah Pinto, in "Consuming Grief: Infant Death in the Postcolonial Time of Intervention," juxtaposes ways of addressing and coping with infant death in the context of rural poverty and transnational intervention in rural India, placing side by side the stories told repeatedly by grieving mothers and the universalized phrases associated with the pedagogies of health intervention. In juxtaposing ways of rendering causality in a region of India with high rates of infant mortality, Pinto identifies a structure similar to what Julia Kristeva (1989) calls "depressed speech," in which repressed or disavowed elements return as a "symptom of a larger disorder." The language of intervention, in particular, has roots in colonial representations that pathologize maternal reactions to babies' deaths and that locate the cause of such deaths in women's lack of affect. But women's stories of grief—especially those that link the complexities of everyday life to failed institutions and infrastructures, while referring to "the hands

of God"—allow the persistence, rather than absence, of maternal grief to function as a sustained commentary on life and death on the margins. At the same time, Pinto shows the ways postcolonial structures and meanings articulate with and are refused by domestic and neighborly relations, in which intimate intersubjectivities are formed between women through talk about death.

Janis Jenkins and Michael Hollifield, in "Postcoloniality as the Aftermath of Terror among Vietnamese Refugees," address "the transformation of lived experience" and modes of subjectivity for Vietnamese refugees, primarily military men who have resettled to the United States. Focusing on the experiential themes of "alterity, trauma, and memory," the authors trace the experiential components of postcolonial forms of power and transformation, locating the conflicts of "fragmented selves" and the intrapsychic and intrasomatic "violence within" in the historical dynamics of the postcolonial nation-state's coming into being, as well as in the larger global and political contexts. Jenkins and Hollifield identify "the postcolonial problem of alterity," in which subjectivities "are transacted in relation to geography, religion, and political affiliation," as one of the key challenges to understanding postcolonial subjectivity.

Finally, Kathleen Allden, in "Cross-Cultural Psychiatry in Medical-Legal Documentation of Suffering: Human Rights Abuses Involving Transnational Corporations and the Yadana Pipeline Project in Burma," introduces the Istanbul Protocol, guidelines for documenting consequences of torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment and severe human rights abuses, which was developed by seventy-five forensic physicians, psychologists, human rights monitors, and lawyers representing forty institutions and fifteen countries from 1996 to 1999. Allden considers the role of such guidelines, and of the medical and psychiatric disciplines that created them, in addressing human rights violations linked to activities of "corporate globalization and the new global economy." She recounts a legal suit brought by Burmese (ethnically Karen) villagers against the pipeline company Unocal. Allden discusses her own role as a psychiatrist in documenting human rights abuses against the villagers who were working on the pipeline project, and she explores supranational disorders and supranational/transnational agents of power.

In order to universalize human rights claims, the Istanbul Protocol and psychiatric evaluations of abuse emphasize diagnostic criteria and the biological components of trauma. Although medicalized criteria enable victims who are often among the most economically marginalized to make claims against powerful multinational corporations, Allden nonetheless questions the utility of PTSD diagnoses across cultures. Allden's essay captures the dilemmas of representing subjectivity in the language of medicine and universal human rights versus the experience-near language of suffering, suggesting the importance of

multiple modes of investigating and framing the experiences of trauma and violence all too common in postcolonial settings.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The essays of this volume are far from a neat and ordered whole. Reflecting current modes of subjectivity, they are an unruly lot, more provocative than prescriptive, opening up issues rather than providing closure, hinting at the hidden, at times intentionally subversive. The common thread—linking subjectivity to the political, and that to the disorders of the contemporary, postcolonial world—provides a sense of conversation more than conclusion. And the effort to grapple with a common set of theoreticians, few of whom are anthropologists, suggests a common enterprise. Together, the essays provide a sense of work at its beginning, the initiation of a project, as we indicated earlier in this introduction. We hope readers will experience a similar sense of freshness in the writing that the editors have felt in trying to bring together these authors and essays. And we hope that readers will take up the many challenges staked out in the essays, will respond to the provocations, and will join in this project.

NOTES

1. One only need reference Žižek's book, *The Ticklish Subject* (1999), to be reminded of the remarkably provocative ideas about political subjectivity found in the body of work drawn on by a number of the authors in this collected volume, and the difficulty of linking these ideas to the investigation of individual lives or to social analysis.
2. In Indonesia, individuals and mobs both "run amok" (*mengamuk*) (B. Good, Subandi, and Good 2001; B. Good and Good 2001). The resort to metaphorical language of psychopathology when attempting to understand the behavior of crowds of course has a long lineage. See Tambiah (1996: chap. 10) for a review of the history of ideas about the "political psychology of crowds."
3. This seminar has met on a weekly basis since 1984, supported by a National Research Scientist Award from the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health (MH 18006) focused on "clinically relevant medical anthropology" and "culture and mental health services research." The program has been directed by Professors Byron Good, Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, and Arthur Kleinman.
4. Many of the papers from that seminar appear in *Subjectivity: Ethnographic Investigations* (Biehl, Good, and Kleinman 2007).
5. For example, see the discussions within the special issues of *Social Text* in 1992 and 2004. See in particular McClintock (1992) and Shohat (1992).
6. For example, Duran and Duran (1995), Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998), Duran et al. (1998), and Whitbeck, Adams, and Hoyt (2004); cf. O'Nell (1996).

7. For reviews of relevant data on mental health disparities by race and ethnicity, see B. Good (1992, 1997) and M. Good et al. (2005).
8. For a set of papers that explore the emergence of distinctive "global assemblages" in contemporary technology, politics, and ethics, see Ong and Collier (2005). The colonial origins of many of these assemblages remain largely unexplored in this interesting collection.
9. Classic theories represented the nation-state as producing rational order, threatened by disorders at its margins or a return to "nature" and to primitive and uncivilized forms of violence not yet subdued by rationality, represented by civilization and the civilizing state. These classic formulations of the state and its relation to order, theorization of the "margins" of the state, and the relevance of these for anthropology are explored in Das and Poole (2004).
10. Such a listing presumes a set of literatures far too wide to reference fully here. Some examples include Fabian (2000), Mbembe (2001), Siegel (1997, 1998), Steedly (1999), Aretxaga (1997, 2003, 2005a, 2005b), Taussig (1992, 1997), Tambiah (1996), Daniel (1996), Warren (1993), Feldman (1991), Greenhouse, Mertz, and Warren (2002), Das and Poole (2004), Appadurai (1996, 2001), Csordas (1994a, 1994b), Stiglitz (2002), Marcus (2000), and Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001).
11. See Werbner (2002) for a brief but cogent discussion of these distinctions.
12. See Okazaki (2002) and Lambek (2002) for examples of efforts to work through these issues ethnographically.
13. Examples include Caruth (1995, 1996), Antze and Lambek (1996), Young (1995), Hacking (1995), Leys (2000), and Robben and Suarez-Orozco (2000).
14. Examples include O'Nell (1992, 1996) and Khanna (2003).
15. Nancy Chodorow's book (1999) is a good introduction to this literature.
16. Kleinman, Das, and Lock (1997); Das et al. (2000); Das et al. (2001). This work builds on earlier phenomenological accounts, such as Kleinman (1973), B. Good (1994), Csordas (1994b), and Desjarlais (1992, 2003).
17. See Fanon (1967) in particular. The collection of essays on "the psychoanalysis of race" by Lane (1998) points to the ongoing relevance of Fanon's thought.
18. For example, Mitchell (2000), Gaonkar (2001a), and Chakrabarty (2002)
19. Mitchell's collection (2000) both reviews and contributes to a critical analysis of evolutionary theories of modernity and the modern subject, while providing a fascinating set of studies from India and North Africa indicating the diverse histories of "modernity" in these civilizational and colonial settings. Gaonkar's collection (2001a) provides both critical theoretical essays and ethnographic accounts of modernity from diverse societies. See also Rabinow (1996), Kolakowski (1990), and Habermas (1987) for relevant theoretical and philosophical reflections, and Cohen (1998) and Langford (2002) for ethnographic examples.
20. Stoler's critique (1995) of Foucault is notable in this regard (cf. Stoler 2002, 2006).

21. Again, it is worth noting the Mitchell volume (2000) and the project of bringing South Asianists and Middle East specialists with interests in subjectivity and multiple modernities into conversation with each other.

22. Byron Good has expressed this as follows: "Rather than juxtaposing the individual to the social or cultural, linked to a series of binary oppositions (the social, cultural, public, symbolic, cognitive, and conscious *rather than* the physiological, personal, private, psychological, affective, and unconscious), with anthropology on the side of the former, reductive psychology on the side of the latter, investigations of the social life of emotions should incorporate studies of individuals. . . . A new anthropology of the emotions . . . will have to be crafted through a serious confrontation with more diverse theorists of subjectivity, theorists who link the individual to the social and make psychological processes relevant to both" (2004: 532).

23. "The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that 'the state of emergency' in which we live is not the exception but the rule" (Walter Benjamin, from "Theses on the Philosophy of History"); see chapter 2 of Taussig (1992), "Terror as Usual: Walter Benjamin's Theory of History as State of Siege," for an ethnographic reflection on Benjamin.

24. See Agamben (1998, 2005); see also Das and Poole's discussion (2004) of Agamben in relation to their explication of the margins of the state.

25. In an unpublished commentary on Agamben, Sharon Abramowitz (2005) calls for analysis of how "social processes are enacted with (and outside) this anomic normative and extra-legal space," and for an approach that "decenters Agamben's static representation of the state of exception as universal and totalizing, and resituates the state of exception as a space of indeterminacy, flux, extreme potency and vulnerability, and most certainly as a power and violence-ordered space of contestation, with varying degrees of totalization."

26. See Steedly (1999), Aretxaga (2003), and Das and Poole (2004) for examples of a new anthropology of the state to which the chapters in this section contribute.

27. There is a broad literature that addresses borders, border zones, frontiers, and hinterlands. While the following is not an exhaustive list, it highlights some of the scholars whose work first addressed these concepts: Sahlins (1989), Hastings and Wilson (1994), Alvarez (1995), Lavie and Swedenburg (1996), Flynn (1997), Spener and Staudt (1998), Smith et al. (1998), Wilson and Donnan (1998), and Castillo and Cordoba (2002).

28. See, for example, Lefebvre (1991), Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 2002), Anzaldua (1999), Berdahl (1999), Hyde (2002), Winichakul (1994), and Das and Poole (2004).

29. W. Fisher (1997), Appadurai (1996, 2001), Aneesh (2001), Sassen (1998).

30. In the works of Eric Wolf, Janet Abu-Lughod, and Sidney Mintz.

31. See Jenkins and Barrett (2004) for a fine recent example. The introduction to that volume has a rich review of issues of "subjective experience" in studies of culture and schizophrenia.

32. See, for example, L. Fisher (1985), Kleinman (1986), McCulloch (1995), Pandolfo (1997), Mills (2000), Bhugra and Littlewood (2001); cf. Rhodes (2004) for a critical ethnography linking these issues to psychiatry in the American prison system.

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