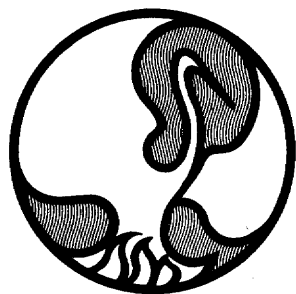


# PHOENIX Journal of Transpersonal Anthropology

Volume V, No. 1, 1981



(formerly *New Directions*  
in the Study of Man)

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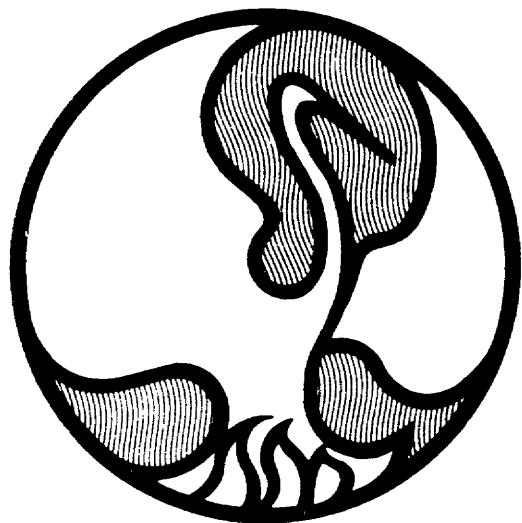
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## A New Venture

In our Editorial to the last issue of the *Phoenix*, we told the story of the formation of our new Association for Transpersonal Anthropology (ATA), in which the *Phoenix* was to play an integral role. This current issue marks the beginning of that new relationship of *Phoenix* with ATA, and it develops further the theme of the meaning and importance of transpersonal anthropology which was discussed in that editorial. In that issue we commented that

...we must still, as anthropologists, come to grips with the cultural aspects of both the objective and the experimental ways of understanding, and this would seem to be the special value of transpersonal anthropology. We are more aware of personal biases and cultural distortions—or should be—than those who are not familiar with the many ways of knowing and being in the world. We can increasingly deal with wider human experience and we are in a position to incorporate the study of consciousness into the vast amount of cultural anthropological, and psychological or psychic research. As the Association, we wish to encourage the study of the transpersonal aspects of culture, and also the cultural aspects of the transpersonal. This is part of anthropology in its broadest sense—the study of consciousness and the extra-sensory intuitive content of culture. As Ron Campbell has pointed out,

Transpersonal anthropology research is the investigation of the relationship between consciousness and culture; altered states of mind research; and the inquiry into the integration of mind, culture and personality (2) (Lee 1980:4).

This issue thus marks the beginning of a new venture, and a new stature for the *Phoenix*. Its name has been modified to fit its new status as the Journal of the Association for Transpersonal Anthropology. It has shed what we might call its large fluffy baby look for a sleeker, more streamlined shape. You will notice that the pages are smaller and the print is larger, so that each issue should henceforth be easier to carry about, put on a shelf, and read comfortably. The artwork has had to be reduced—our artist, Rachel Feferman, said she now felt as if she were doing macrame—but we still think that a bit of illustration adds joy and fun to the reading, however serious the material at hand. You will notice the signs of

obvious growing pains of course. For example, our aim is to change our referencing method to that of the *American Anthropologist*, but we are still only halfway there. Will future contributors please take note however!

With this issue then, the first of the two parts of Volume V, we are in fact celebrating the official marriage of the *Phoenix* to ATA. The union has been a trifle illegitimate before this, but with the highly successful first annual meeting behind us we feel that we are entering on a period of greater stability and growth. That meeting lasted three days and was held in conjunction with the Southwestern Anthropological Association Annual Meeting March 18-21, 1981, in Santa Barbara, California. An account of the meeting will appear, more or less concurrently with this issue of the journal, in *NATA*, our Association newsletter. We *do* include in this issue a list of the Charter Members (1980) of the Association. We also include dues and subscription information for those who wish either to join ATA or to subscribe only to the journal.

We are also celebrating another kind of union, a kind of three-way affair—and until now highly illegitimate—between anthropology, parapsychology, and the transpersonal. Parapsychology has for many years now constituted an acknowledgedly “scientific” and objective way of studying the phenomena which may be loosely called the psychic or paranormal, and this has become known as “psi research.” On the other hand, the much newer transpersonal approach—to life as well as to the scientific enterprise—has been adopted by those who have come to believe that the exploration of the inner world of man, or of human consciousness, is a worthy way, and anciently respectable, of beginning to understand ourselves and the cosmos more fully. This process of coming together, and the great need for it, is discussed by psychologist *Stanley Krippner* in our lead article. We are inclined to optimistic hope that transpersonal anthropology may prove to be the very catalyst that is needed to bring about what Krippner describes as a “*rapprochement* of psi research and transpersonal research on a professional level,” and we share his hope “that the encounter will stimulate the best efforts and the wisest thinking from not only parapsychologists but from transpersonal anthropologists and psychologists as well.”

### Parapsychology and Anthropology

*Clarence Weiant*, anthropologist and archaeologist, has been for years a pioneer in promoting the need for anthropologists to consider the parapsychological in their own work and to take notice

of the work being done by parapsychologists themselves. He first addressed himself to this need long before such an attitude had even begun to be respectable. The first of his two papers gives the text of his signal talk given in 1959 at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Mexico City, on “Parapsychology and Anthropology.” At the time, little comment was made—it seemed as if his colleagues preferred to muffle such ideas by silence. But ideas are not that easily disposed of, and subsequent events are proving that he was right. At that time, he raised an intellectual challenge and proclaimed, “How can a science which purports to be the Science of Man ignore it?” He has recently written a short article, included here, which is a personal comment suggesting that—contrary to his own early (1915-1919) training in the physical sciences—modern physics has now brought us to the point where “*some* scientists at least acknowledge the existence of a domain that is both non-material and *real*. They have taken, perhaps inadvertently, the great leap from the physical to the metaphysical.” (Works by two such physical scientists are reviewed by Ann Palm in this issue.)

*Jeffery MacDonald*, author of the next paper, “Theoretical Continuities in the Development of Transpersonal Anthropology,” represents a new kind of student in anthropology through his work in transpersonal anthropology. In his paper, which covers the period of 1896 to the present, he outlines the development of this new discipline. He points out that “the theoretical nature of the interrelationship of culture, psi, consciousness, and personality has been a recurrent theme.” He adds that, nevertheless, “no overall model has been developed.” He has been working on developing such a model and outlines this in his paper.

*J. Norman Emerson* pioneered the use of the psychic in archaeological fieldwork, thereby suggesting another facet of the union of parapsychology and anthropology. He called this approach “intuitive archaeology,” and devoted the last seven years of his life, until his death in 1978, working with it in a practical way. He had already spent some thirty years doing what he termed “stones and bones” archaeology when he discovered, by seeming chance, an acquaintance, George McMullen, was able to psychometrize, or project himself into the past through contact with an artifact. George was reliable most of the time in describing past activities, suggesting sites to be dug, and providing unexpected, testable data. His special interest and ability seemed to be with Huron material (Canadian Iroquois), although he had never had any formal training whatsoever. At the time that Dr. Emerson publicly announced his new research, he was the respected dean of Canadian archaeology. We publish here the talk he gave at that time, in March, 1973, at the Annual Meeting of the

Canadian Archaeological Association in Vancouver, British Columbia. Entitled "Intuitive Archaeology: A Psychic Approach," the paper was heard uncomfortably by his colleagues, and the remaining years of his research were not easy ones. In an earlier issue of the *Phoenix*—Volume III, Number 2—we published his last official statement, until then unpublished, which he called "Intuitive Archaeology: A Pragmatic Study." In that paper, he revealed that it had been his "recurring experience that the pursuit of intuitive or psychic studies tends to be accompanied by a number of 'deep personal shocks,'" so it became clear that Dr. Emerson was not only combining in his own work a combination of the parapsychological and anthropological, but also was beginning to experience the transpersonal. He had become convinced that the work he was doing was "somehow 'patterned' and that this is also an 'emergent pattern' that is somehow being led in a synchronistic sort of way."

### Anthropology and the Transpersonal

The "transpersonal" implies going beyond the personal, beyond the so-called "normal" state of consciousness in which we spend most of our waking hours—or think that we do. The exploration of other states of consciousness has become the prime object of attention for many scientists. In addition, there are many individuals who have begun in recent years to search for self-understanding and, hopefully, enlightenment. Some are in Academia; most are not.

In anthropology, some of us have reached the conclusion that the inner world of the individual, in any culture, is a fit subject to explore. Since our own doorway into that inner world is the one most immediately available to us, this is not only a good place to begin but indeed the essential one. We cannot hope to understand the far reaches of that world by attempting to see it in others from the outside only. *Philip Staniford*, among anthropologists, has perhaps carried this approach the furthest, and in his article on "Re-Visioning Anthropology" he speaks of his own inner exploring and developing. Few others have yet been willing to be so frank and open. For some who have not entered the inner fantasy and visionary worlds—except every night in their dreams—articles by Staniford have proved disconcerting. The two strains of the objective, parapsychological approach, and the intimate personal/transpersonal approach clearly have not yet been truly wedded. Staniford has described them metaphorically in the following way:

To the north and west we have the hard side,  
an attempt to invade respectability with legitimized para-  
psychological anthropology—  
To the experiencing soft underbelly of south and east we have  
speculative, widely inquiring transpersonal psychology  
fellow travelers willing to turn a fast idea system and  
further transpersonal psychological dimensions...  
Perhaps the challenge is to be gently inquiring and patient  
between us and see what kind of exchange can enhance the  
values and support of us both. It is a challenge that faces  
many aspects of anthropology, society, the planet—a micro-  
cosm where we can learn to joust and exchange to mutual  
advantage (personal communication).

The transpersonal movement, as such, has its roots—or perhaps we should say its visible roots—in the decade of the 1970's. We were especially fascinated when we received the next paper entitled "Seeds of Change: A Time for Reorientation," by *Patricia Hunt-Perry* and *Arthur Stein*. Its timeliness was all the more remarkable since neither of the authors knew of the Association for Transpersonal Anthropology, formed a short time before. This paper thus puts our own approach into its appropriate historical setting, and we see that transpersonal anthropology is not only closely related to transpersonal psychology but also, in part at least, to an even wider movement which is affecting the whole of American and world society.

Those of us who lean towards the inner exploration aspect of this dual approach to science are much interested in the new approaches to education that some transpersonal psychologists and educators are working to develop. In his article, "Consciousness, Psychology and Education," *Tom Roberts* discusses this theme in depth. As Roberts says, in his concluding statement, "Reason is the jewel of our normal state [of consciousness]. It brings us the inestimably valuable analytic and linear capacities...If one state can do so much for our culture and our civilization, how much might the systematic cultivation of other states add?"

We have prevailed upon one of our Editorial Board members to allow us to publish a poem she had previously written for a school science class, and it seems particularly appropriate as a kind of conclusion to Tom Roberts' article. *Tisa Abshire-Walker's* special interest in anthropology is the world-view of other cultures, and more particularly that of the various North American Indian cultures. In her teaching at Foothill College, she has helped many students to see a different and, yes, transpersonal view of the world through the eyes of other peoples, and hence to begin their own inner exploration.

## East and West

While the West has been so occupied with developing the "analytic and linear capacities" which, to quote Tom Roberts again, has led to our "sequential views of time and space, linear thought, linear time, linear space, and the technologies and sciences of that state—medicine, law, even telephones, stereo systems, and television sets," the peoples of the East, and in particular India, have been developing ways of thought based on an exploration of the inner world of man and our relationship with the Divine. In recent years, there has been a great deal of mutual exchange between East and West and one of the results has been an attempt by some thinkers to bring about a melding of the best in Eastern and Western thought. Integral psychology is one of the outgrowths of this development; its foremost exponent was Sri Aurobindo, whose name is beginning to be better known in the West and who ranks among India's greatest thinkers and religious men. Before his death in 1950, he had had an extraordinary career which was in itself a bridge between East and West. Educated at Cambridge University in the classics, he actively struggled against the British as a nationalist leader; he engaged in academic pursuits in India, and composed literary works while living as a political exile in Pondicherry in the French section of India. He founded an ashram in Pondicherry, and through her work with him the French-born woman known in India as The Mother later founded the famous religious community of Auroville, situated not far from Pondicherry. *Ronald Campbell* is an anthropologist and integral psychologist who has developed a theoretical approach bringing together anthropology and Aurobindian thought to develop what he calls a "psychocultural evolutionary model," by which he attempts to explain, reconcile and integrate the concepts of altered states of mind, culture and personality. His article on "The Nature of Transpersonal Anthropology" thus concludes the various approaches examined in this issue.

Four of the above-mentioned papers were initially presented at our program in Santa Barbara. We hope in the future to publish some of the many other papers which were given at the meeting. Not so easy to translate into print were the many experiential approaches, such as the self-revelations by members of Staniford's symposium, and—perhaps the highlight of the three days—the discussion of shamanism by Joan Halifax, followed by the magnificent drumming and chanting of Prem Das, trained as Huichol shaman after his intensive discipleship in India under Baba Hari Das. Staniford's review of Michael Harner's *The Way of the Shaman*, in this issue, will be of particular interest to those seeking material on shamanism.

## Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson

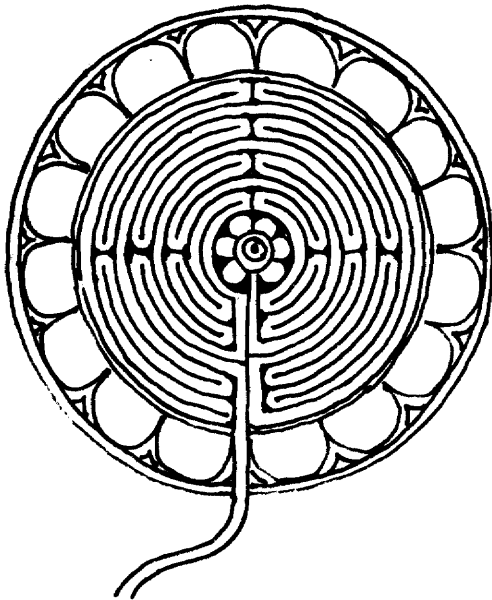
Two more things remain to be said, and if one could avoid being linear in writing they should also have come first. As we pointed out in the Editorial to our last issue, we are dedicating Volume V to the memory of two doughty and controversial pioneers in anthropology, Mead and Bateson. They were both mavericks who neither sought nor held tenured and prestigious positions in the mainstream of anthropology. But their openness to new ideas led them into their early partnership and work, which was literally based on a cross-fertilization of ideas, products of their own fertile minds as well as their respective British and American backgrounds, to produce new and seminal viewpoints. Although they went their separate ways, they remained close friends who treasured each other's views, and continued to seek each other's advice and counsel. In the second part of Volume V, we hope to provide more food for thought about them both and the important roles that they had to play in bringing about change and innovation, and what we see as their relevance to the development of transpersonal anthropology, although neither would have recognized that name.

In this issue, we must suffice it to say that they together pioneered in the use of ethnographic fieldwork, and thereby hangs a salutary tale. Anthropologists, as self-acknowledged participants-observers in the field, have gradually moved from an emphasis on the observer role to the reverse. Photography reveals the change. An early photograph (1938) shows Mead and Bateson at work among the Iatmul of New Guinea. We see two Westerners, dressed in summer garb and looking much as they might have done back in England or the U.S. Gregory photographs the near-nude natives while Margaret, clad all in white, sits on a log apparently interviewing them. It is clear that the observer role was still uppermost. Since those early days, a change has taken place as the fieldworker has tried increasingly to blend into the culture. The increased emphasis on the participant role may be seen in Napoleon Chagnon's films from his fieldwork among the Yanomamo of the Amazon Basin. After his harrowing early months in the field, Chagnon came to the point of dressing like the native men and as far as possible adopting at least the outer aspects of their lifestyle, and of attempting to become one of them, if only fictively and linguistically.

Anthropologists have thus become practiced at being both the observer and the observed, and through this kind of fieldwork have helped to bring about a greater understanding and appreciation of cultures other than our own, and perhaps of our own as well. But we see that another step forward is needed, with the scientist

embodying the inner experience, and uniting within his or her own self both the observer *and* the experienter. The trick is *not* to do both at once, that is, to be clear about keeping the two roles separate and yet benefitting from the experience of both. Another and related aspect of this new kind of fieldwork is the greater respect for the inner life of those we study in the field, and this is the special contribution that anthropologists can make. It is not enough to adopt the outer trappings or merely to observe, but consciousness must be seen and experienced as the true source of the outer life, however that may be expressed and in whatever cultural garb. But we cannot appreciate the inner world of others unless we also make our own inner journey—unless, really, we are willing to face and undertake *self-transformation*, which is at heart the essence of the transpersonal.

Shirley W. Lee  
Managing Editor



## Psi Phenomena and Transpersonal Experience

*Editor's Note: The following paper was presented as the introduction to an exciting program on Saturday afternoon, March 21, at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Transpersonal Anthropology, Santa Barbara, March 18-21, 1981. The afternoon was devoted to an examination of "The Shamanic Experience", both objectively and experientially, by Joan Halifax, medical anthropologist, and Prem Das, Huichol shaman.*

Among the once "taboo topics" now being investigated by social scientists are psi phenomena and transpersonal experience. Because of their former taboo status and because of their somewhat exotic reputation, they are often viewed as synonymous by neophytes. In actuality, they represent two quite different areas of study with only an occasional overlap. One need only examine the best known professional journals in these areas. One will search almost in vain for a parapsychological article in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* or for a transpersonally-oriented paper in the *Journal of Parapsychology*.

Transpersonal psychology is concerned with such areas as meta-needs, ultimate values, unitive consciousness, peak experiences, ecstasy, mystical experience, self-actualization, transcendence of the self, sacralization of everyday life, cosmic awareness, individual and species-wide synergy, transcendental phenomena, and the theories and practice of meditation and spiritual paths. Transpersonal anthropology—a much younger discipline—shares an interest in these topics but investigates them through anthropological methods rather than psychological ones.

Parapsychology, on the other hand, is the scientific study of the extrasensorimotor behavior of organisms; in other words, the interactions between organisms and their environment (including other organisms) which defy explanation in conventional terms.

Parapsychological (or "psi") phenomena include clairvoyance, telepathy, precognition, and psychokinesis; they can be studied by transpersonal psychologists (e.g., Osis, 1970) but are also studied by psychoanalysts (e.g., Ullman, 1975), humanistic psychologists (e.g., Tart, 1977), behaviorists (e.g., Persinger, 1975), biologists (e.g., Nash, 1978), physicists (e.g., Whiteman, 1973), and so on.

Psi phenomena may occur in certain of the altered consciousness states which are of special interest to many transpersonal psychologists. Examples would include dreams, meditation, out-of-body experiences, psychedelic states, and near-death encounters. Indeed, several parapsychologists are well known for their non-parapsychological investigations of altered states (e.g., Tart, 1975; Van de Castle, 1971).

In the anecdotal literature, it is an easy matter to find purported psi experiences that occurred in transpersonal settings. Moody (1976, p. 99) tells the story of a girl named Kathy who lay near death in a hospital bed. She claims to have floated out of her body into another room where she saw her older sister crying and pleading with her not to die. Later, Kathy revived and surprised her sister by telling her exactly where she had been standing and what she had been saying. Kathy's sister verified the accuracy of these impressions.

Sometimes transpersonal experiences and psi phenomena are combined in a laboratory setting. One subject in a telepathy experiment was being "sent" a postcard-size reproduction of Chagall's painting "Feast Day: The Rabbi with a Lemon." She reported the following experience:

A painting of the sky, clouds, and God stretching forth His hand and touching the finger of a man whose hand is outstretched too . . . A spark is ignited by God's touch. He has white hair and a flowing white beard. His eyes are like lightning too. I feel good about this thought, as if to say, "That's it, now I've got it." This picture seems to say that Man is dependent on God for his discoveries and intuitions. Religion and God and the search for some new discovery in reality seem connected with this picture and my thoughts right now. I see space, distant myriad stars, expanding universe, stars flying away from each other, and Man's voice resounding, "Who are you? Where are you?" I feel embarrassed by these thoughts as if I'm a religious fanatic. Yet at the moment they fill my head (Krippner, 1968, p. 52).

The first laboratory experiment specifically designed to investigate connections between psi and transpersonal experience was instigated by the American Society for Psychical Research

(Osis, 1970). Subjects were selected who reported spontaneous transpersonal experiences. They were divided into compatible groups which met weekly. Various meditation techniques were used to reactivate their experiences. The groups sat together for half an hour, each trying in his or her own way to reach a changed state of consciousness. A psi task was then administered as well as mood scales and psychological tests. Factor analysis determined five relatively clear-cut factors which characterized the ways in which the responses to the scales and tests were linked together.

1. Nondefensive openness, characterized by a feeling of close unity with others in the group, even extending to "oneness with all that is."
2. Alert stillness, a state in which the mind is alert but concentrated, not filled with thoughts and images.
3. A buoyant mood which is brought to the session—a feeling of freedom and being at ease.
4. A sense of the meaningfulness of life with accompanying insights.
5. An intensification of and change in the individual's state of consciousness which becomes charged with love and joy.

Correct psi responses were significantly associated with factors one and five, "feeling of oneness" and "intensification and love." It is no wonder, therefore, that some spontaneous experiences containing these elements also contain material of interest to parapsychologists.

Transpersonal experience, of course, usually occurs without ostensible psi phenomena. Bendit and Payne (1943, pp. 183-184) cite such an example:

I was sitting on the seashore, half listening to a friend arguing violently about a matter which merely bored me. Unconsciously to myself, I looked at a film of sand I had picked up on my hand, when I suddenly saw the exquisite beauty of every little grain . . . Instead of being dull, I saw that each particle was made up of a perfect geometrical pattern, with sharp angles, from each of which a brilliant shaft of light was reflected, while each tiny crystal shone like a rainbow. The rays crossed and recrossed making exquisite patterns, of such beauty that they left me breathless . . . For a second or two, the whole world appeared as a blaze of glory. When it died down it left me with something I have never forgotten.

Transpersonal experiences can also occur in a laboratory setting. Masters and Houston (1966, pp. 307-308) quote one of their LSD subjects who observed:

My body became the body of bliss, diaphanous to the rhythms of the universe. All around and passing through me was the light, a trillion atomized crystals shimmering. I was carried by the light to an Ecstasy beyond ecstasy and suddenly I was no longer I but a part of the Divine Workings . . .

Masters and Houston (1966) have observed that the mystical literature reveals comparable gradations of experience as a person moves from the level of bodily sensations and sensory enhancement to a heightened understanding of one's own psyche to a level inhabited by visionary and symbolic structures to—in a small proportion of cases—the very depth of reality. It is this final level that is often called “religious” or “mystical”; one has attained an integral relationship with God, with the cosmos, with the “Ground of Being.” Psi phenomena seems to be alien to this state, perhaps because it transcends the traditional conceptual categories of information exchange. This may be why some spiritual teachers warn their students not to become attached to “siddhis,” or psi phenomena, when they occur on the way to enlightenment; the spiritual path has more important experiences to offer.

Psi is not alien to ordinary consciousness and it would be incorrect to give the impression that clairvoyance, telepathy, precognition, and psychokinesis only occur in altered states. Most of the early laboratory experiments at Duke University involved no altered states of consciousness (Rhine, 1934). However, a psi experience often brings with it a change in consciousness. For example, it is reported that James Wilson, a student at Cambridge University, suddenly felt violently ill and began to tremble for no apparent reason. As his health had been satisfactory up to that time, he was terrified by the strangeness of his condition; he later recalled that he felt as if he were about to die. He attempted to ignore this feeling and concentrate on his studies but it was impossible. He visited a friend who was shocked by his appearance and offered him a drink. After a few hours of diversion, Wilson felt better and went to bed. The next day he discovered that his twin brother had died at the very time that he had become ill (Randall, 1975, p. 69).

Perhaps one factor which blocks communication between parapsychologists and transpersonal anthropologists and psychologists is the controversy engendered by each field. Transpersonal anthropologists and psychologists often play down the role that psi phenomena assume among the people that they study. Parapsychologists often avoid the discussion of transpersonal experience,

instead pointing—almost with pride—to the number of agnostic thinkers in their midst. Charles Richet, the Nobel Prize-winning physiologist, refused to accept any explanation for psi that did not postulate an extension of human faculties, stating that the human mind has no means of perception other than the senses (in Tabori, 1972, pp. 104-105).

Hereward Carrington and C. D. Broad were other parapsychologists who remained agnostics throughout their lives. Although William James became more amenable to the topic of life after death in his later years, he once stated, “I remain uncertain and await more facts, facts which may not point clearly to a conclusion for fifty or a hundred years” (in Murphy & Ballou, 1960, p. 209).

Parapsychologists have been accused of stupidity, carelessness, and fraud (e.g., Gardner, 1952). Transpersonal psychologists and anthropologists have been attacked on the grounds of naivete, dogmatism, and irrationality (e.g., Ellis, 1977). It is no wonder that there have been pressures for the groups to stay in their own camps. However, some recent trends will probably necessitate a greater degree of cooperation in the future. One development is the interest in life after death (e.g., Moody, 1976), the topic parapsychologists call “the survival question.” For decades, anthropologists have been studying primitive belief systems that include reincarnation, “soul” travel, or concepts of the afterlife. Another development is the increased interest in “psychic healing” (e.g., LeShan, 1973; Krippner & Villoldo, 1976) and the accelerating research in this area by parapsychologists and by psychologists interested in healer-patient relationships, placebo effects, brain endorphins, and spontaneous remission. Both fields are matters of practical concern—of death and life, as it were.

Not only are the various groups interested in the same subject matter; appropriate methodologies are of common interest to parapsychologists, transpersonal anthropologists, and transpersonal psychologists. How does one measure the degree to which a spiritist is “possessed”? How does one determine whether a shaman's patient is cured? Some traditional methods (e.g., a charting of kinship systems, administration of projective techniques) will be quite appropriate for these unusual fields of study; in other cases, new procedures will have to be developed. Cooperation between those interested in psi phenomena and transpersonal experience will accelerate the evolution of these tools and techniques.

A final commonality is the necessity of creating theoretical structures for both transpersonal experience and psi phenomena. If a native healer can ameliorate the condition of a patient who is miles away with no knowledge of the intervention, what is the mode of operation involved in this procedure? During a peak



experience, an out-of-body experience, or a near-death experience, what are the brain's physiological activities? Does quantum mechanics hold the answer to these riddles? Or is the holographic model, bootstrap theory, information theory, or general systems theory a more useful key to explaining the transpersonal and the paranormal?

Future developments may force a *rapprochement* of psi research and transpersonal research on a professional level. It is to be hoped that the encounter will stimulate the best efforts and the wisest thinking from not only parapsychologists but from transpersonal anthropologists and psychologists as well.

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