

Samstag, den 10. November 2007

9: 00 – 12: 30 Anthropologie der Medikamente / Pharmaceutical Anthropology

Moderation I: Antonio Guerci (Genua); Moderation II: Annette Leibing (Montreal)

9: 00 – 09: 30 Claudie Haxaire (Brest) "Better than Viagra®. The Gouro tooth stick, a 100% natural product." / « Mieux que le Viagra®. Le cure-dent Gouro : un produit 100% naturel ».

09: 30 – 10: 00 Jonathan Metzl (Ann Arbor): Racial Pharmaceuticals: Schizophrenia, Civil Rights, and the Lessons of Haldol

10: 00 – 10: 30 Danuta Penkala-Gawenka (Posen): Some complementary medications in present-day Kazakhstan: An anthropological point of view

10: 30 – 11: 00 Kaffeepause

11: 00 – 11: 30 Brigitte Chamak (Paris): Pharmaceutical company strategies: the case of Risperidone and autism

11: 30 – 12: 00 Annette Leibing (Montreal): The hopeful community: Negotiating an ideal Parkinson treatment, online

12: 00 – 12: 30 Stefan Ecks (Edinburgh): The influence of drug distribution networks on antidepressant uses in India

12: 30 – 14: 30 Mittagspause

14: 30 – 16: 00 Ethik u. Internationale Regelwerke für die angewandte Ethnobotanik. Die Konvention für Biologische Vielfalt (CBD) Moderation / chair Barbara Fruth (Leipzig)

- Michael Heinrich (London): European Herbal Medicines - From local, neglected knowledge to European commodities?
- Bernhard Weniger (Strasbourg): Traditional Recognition and Validation of the Traditional Herbal Pharmacopeia of the French Overseas Departments: Scientific and Regulatory Aspects
- Discussant Barbara Fruth (Leipzig) am Beispiel des Cuvette-Projektes (Dem. Rep. Congo)

16: 00 – 16:30 Kaffeepause

16: 30 Schlussdiskussion / Closing discussion: (Moderation Ekkehard Schröder)

17: 45 Schlusswort / Fair well: Claus Deimel (GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig)

18: 00 Ende / end

**Claudie HAXAIRE « Mieux que le Viagra®. Le cure-dent Gouro :
un produit 100% naturel »**

Cette annonce sur internet ne renvoie qu'à un numéro de téléphone à Abidjan, sur un site présentant des images de racines non identifiées, mais intrigue nombre d'internautes avides d'assurances sur l'efficacité de ces racines. Les nouvelles technologies de l'information constituent ainsi une chambre d'écho aux idées reçues qui circulent en Côte d'Ivoire sur la spécificité de ce peuple en matière de performances amoureuses qui doterait les cure-dents qu'ils utilisent, au même titre que leurs voisins, d'un pouvoir aphrodisiaque incontesté. Le Viagra® est convoqué à l'appui de cette assertion, pour classiquement lui proposer une alternative « naturelle », constituant un renforcement de cette efficacité par l'image « scientifique » du médicament au sens de spécialité industrielle (*pharmaceutical*). Mais cette assimilation à la version « naturelle » du médicament rend-elle compte de ce que sont ces remèdes ? En effet, du point de vue de l'anthropologie (du remède) Gouro, ces assertions sont à interroger à un triple niveau. D'abord la focalisation sur UNE plante, fut-elle la plus efficace (mais de quel point de vue ?) ne rend pas compte de l'éventail des remèdes connu par l'ethnopharmacologie de cette région (LE cure dent Gouro). Ensuite l'assimilation de ces usages aux seules propriétés de provoquer l'érection et de « combattre la fatigue sexuelle » (Mieux que le Viagra®) pose question, alors qu'en Gouro il s'agit de la catégorie des plantes « qui donnent de la force aux hommes » ou « permettent de résister à l'intimidation ». Enfin l'attribution aux Gouro dans leur ensemble de qualités « amoureuses » (en français local) particulièrement développées pose question lorsque, comme c'est le cas ici, on entend par qualités « amoureuses » performances sexuelles, ce que sont très loin de confondre les Gouro eux mêmes, pour qui érotisme et amour courtois se répondent. Il faudrait aussi savoir que l'importance accordée aux femmes doit être replacée dans le contexte de l'organisation sociale et des règles matrimoniales de cette société. La comparaison avec le Viagra® issu de la recherche pharmacologique, insère donc ces « cures dents Gouro » dans un réseau d'intentionnalité (selon A. Gell) bien particulier. Elle voudrait asseoir leur efficacité en jouant d'attributions fantasmatiques en abîmes, les Ivoiriens fantasmant les capacités sexuelles de leurs compatriotes Gouro, tout comme les Occidentaux celles des Africains en général. Mais les interventions d'internautes sur les forums de discussions le montrent, l'image négative de ces mêmes Africains peut réduire cette offre commerciale à une « arnaque » et les cures dents à leur seule valeur de « bâtons frottes dents », ce qui sur le plan pharmacologique est également contestable et pose des problèmes de santé publique.

"Better than Viagra®. The Gouro tooth stick, a 100% natural product."

This advertisement on the Internet lists only a telephone number in Abidjan, posted on a website that shows pictures of unidentified roots. Many viewers have been intrigued and eagerly seek confirmation that these roots are effective. New information technology thus acts as an echo chamber for the clichés that circulate in Ivory Coast, crediting the Gouro people with special accomplishments in the domain of amorous performance. They are said to have tooth sticks, that they use just like their neighbours, endowed with an indubitable aphrodisiac power. Viagra® is mentioned to support this claim, classically to propose a "natural" alternative, and reinforce the purported efficacy via the "scientific" image of medicine in the sense of pharmaceutical product. But does this assimilation to a "natural" version of the pharmaceutical describe these remedies? From the viewpoint of an anthropology of the Gouro remedy, these claims are to be examined on three levels. First of all, the focus on a single plant, even the most effective one (but from what point of view?) does not cover the full range of remedies known to the ethnopharmacology of this region ("the" Gouro tooth stick).

Secondly, restricting the use of these remedies to their capacity to provoke erection and "combat sexual fatigue" ("Better than Viagra®") raises some questions. For the Gouro there are two categories of plants, those "that give men force" and those that "help resist intimidation". Lastly, attributing particularly highly developed "amorous" (in local French parlance) qualities to the Gouro at large raises another issue, when "amorous" qualities signifies sexual performance, as is the case here. The Gouro themselves, for whom eroticism and courtly love are complementary, make a clear distinction between the two. The importance granted to women must also be situated in its context of the social organisation and matrimonial rules of Gouro society. The comparison with Viagra®, a drug derived from pharmacological research, places these "Gouro tooth sticks" in a specific network of intentionality (according to the terms used by A. Gell). It is intended to establish the efficacy of the tooth sticks by playing upon Ivorians' fantasies of the sexual prowess of their fellow countrymen, the Gouro, that mirror Westerners' fantasies about the sexual capacities of Africans in general. But the comments posted in Internet discussion forums show that a negative image of these same Africans can denigrate this commercial advertisement as a "scam" and reduce the tooth sticks to their function as toothpicks. This is debatable from a pharmacological point of view and raises public health issues.

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Jonathan M. Metzl: Racial Pharmaceuticals: Schizophrenia, Civil Rights, and the Lessons of Haldol

African Americans are disproportionately stigmatized by schizophrenia. Since the early 1970s, studies have shown that, as a result of physician misdiagnosis, African Americans are overdiagnosed with the illness at a rate over 65% higher than white Americans, while underdiagnosed with affective disorders almost as frequently. In the US, African American patients also receive higher doses of antipsychotic medications, and are more often described by their doctors as being hostile or violent. My paper examines the antecedents, consequences, and implications of this diagnostic and treatment imbalance using historical and anthropological methodologies. The project's central argument is that the civil-rights era of the 1950s-1970s catalyzed a shift in American medical and popular understandings of schizophrenia. Over this time period, descriptions of schizophrenia shifted from a disease of white docility to one of "Negro" hostility, and from a disease that was nurtured to one that was feared. The paper's first and largest component tracks the expanded use of antipsychotic medications between 1930 and 1975 within a particular institution, the Ionia Hospital for the Criminally Insane in Ionia Michigan. Part two contextualizes changes at Ionia within shifting legal and psychiatric definitions of schizophrenia, as read through a historical analysis of policies and pharmaceutical guidelines that dictated care of the institutionalized mentally ill. Finally, the project's third segment explores how civil-rights era debates about the role of violence in promoting social change mapped onto popular understandings of the use of antipsychotic medications. Triangulating the historical connections between institutional policies, psychiatric practices, and civil-rights politics helps me grapple with some of the seemingly naturalized characteristics of present-day schizophrenia discourse, including race-based misdiagnosis, public fears of violent homeless mentally ill persons, or the fact that persons with schizophrenia reside in prisons far more often than in psychiatric care facilities.

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Danuta Penkala-Gawecka Some Complementary Medicines in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: An Anthropological Point of View

Complementary medicine in post-Soviet Kazakhstan is a broad and complex field that consists of beliefs and practices of different origins, ranging from traditional medicine of the Kazakhs and other local ethnic groups to the elements of Asian great medical traditions and new borrowings from the former USSR countries as well as from the West. The paper focuses on some examples of medications used in complementary treatments. Among them there are drugs used in Central Asia from ancient times, quasi-scientific inventions from the Soviet times and new “miraculous medicines”. The author analyses them from the anthropological point of view, within a wider context of the Kazakh nationalist ideology, power, tradition, myth and nostalgia for the Soviet past. The aim of the paper is to show the significance of these factors to better understanding of the reasons for the use and official acceptance of some complementary therapies and medicines.

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Brigitte Chamak: Pharmaceutical company strategies: the case of Risperidone and autism

Interviews with French psychiatrists show that, Risperidone is considered now as the best treatment for disruptive behavioural symptoms in children with autistic and other pervasive developmental disorders. The number of scientific publications praising the beneficial effects of Risperidone is impressive compared to those insisting on the Risperidone-associated diabetes mellitus risks and other metabolic problems. When the words Risperidone and autism are selected as key words, the Pub Med data base, used by scientists and physicians, starts by giving the references in favour of Risperidone. How do pharmaceutical companies succeed to promote their drugs despite huge side effects ? How do they succeed in preventing or discarding studies on these side effects ? How do new molecules appear as always better than the older ? We explored some mechanisms whereby company marketing can both transform the perceptions of physicians and shape the experience of those seeking treatments.

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Annette Leibing: The hopeful community: Negotiating an ideal Parkinson treatment, online

Treating Parkinson disease is a complex issue. Finding the ideal dosage and combination of medications for an individual depends on a number of factors. Virtual communities multiply the chances to get a good treatment through a collective weighing of advantages and dangers regarding certain treatments. In fact, virtual communities offer an especially rich terrain for studying the dynamic and multifaceted ways of integrating knowledge into health-related practices. This talk is about a “virtual ethnography” undertaken in order to study an Internet list of people suffering from Parkinson disease and their struggle to find the best possible treatment. It will be argued that, at least partly, hope as a social force and a “virtual embodiment” both play a role when dealing with medications online. www.meos.qc.ca aleibing@videotron.ca

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Stefan Ecks: The influence of drug distribution networks on antidepressant uses in India

What role do networks of *distribution* play in the widening use of psychopharmaceuticals around the world? To date, the social effects of psychopharmaceuticals have mostly been studied on four levels: marketing strategies of companies, psychiatric diagnostics, prescription practices, and popular/patient understandings of drugs. The ways in which medications are distributed have never been studied in detail. In comparison to established topics of research, drug distribution appears to be rather less intriguing. Distribution seems to be something purely technical, a mundane job that needs to be done with any commodity: inventories, storage, shipping, taxes, and so forth. Yet psychotropic drugs are a special kind of commodity, and the precise ways in which they are distributed has tremendous effects on all parts of the chain, including how doctors prescribe them and patients use them. The paper will present initial findings from the collaborative project "Tracing Pharmaceuticals in South Asia" on the distribution networks around fluoxetine (Prozac) in India.

> Dr. Stefan Ecks is Co-Director of the Sociology & Anthropology of Health & Illness (SAHI) Programme at the University of Edinburgh. From 2006 to 2009, he takes part in an ESRC/DFID-funded project that studies the trajectories of three key drugs (oxytocin, fluoxetine, rifampicin) through production, distribution, prescription and consumption in India and Nepal. Social Anthropology, School of Social & Political Studies, University of Edinburgh, Adam Ferguson Building, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LL
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14: 30 – 16: 00 Ethik u. Internationale Regelwerke für die angewandte Ethnobotanik. Die Konvention für Biologische Vielfalt (CBD) / L'éthique et les règles internationales pour une ethnobotanique et une ethnopharmacologie appliquées: Quelles sont les valeurs du savoir traditionnel? / Ethics & international rules for an applied ethnobotany and an applied ethnopharmacology: How do we value traditional knowledge?

Michael Heinrich: European Herbal Medicines: From local, neglected knowledge to European commodities?

Ethnobotanists have for decades investigated the use of medicinal and food plants in many regions of the world. While the methods have varied, this has resulted in an impressive documentation of locally used plants. Local traditions rely on information being passed on mostly orally from one generation to the next in one community or in a small region. In this sense local knowledge distinguishes one region from other regions. In Europe, but also other parts of the world herbal medicines have in recent years become under increased scrutiny regarding the products' quality and safety. As part of this increased scrutiny, the European Union recently established a simplified registration procedure for *traditional herbal medicinal products* for human use (Directive 2004/24/EC). As a consequence such local herbal medicine are now of interest, for example, to the phytopharmaceutical industry. While it has not yet been fully established what constitutes a traditionally used herbal medicine, the information recorded by ethnobotanists over decades now constitutes information which is of economical interest to the industry as well as one which offers local communities the opportunity to sell such products on a wider scale (Leonti et al. 2006). So far no product based on such locally

transmitted knowledge has been registered and further developments will certainly depend on the interpretations of this directive. However, the example highlights the commercial potential of such products, but also the enormous impact of the legal framework on an ‘exotic’ discipline like ethnobotany and ethnopharmacy (Posey 2002).

Posey, D.A.: 2002, ‘Commodification of the Sacred through Intellectual Property Rights’, *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* **83** (1-2), 3-12. // Leonti, M., S.Nebel, D. Rivera, and M. Heinrich (2006) Wild gathered food in the European Mediterranean: A Comparison. *Economic Botany* 60 (2): 130 – 142

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Bernard Weniger : Traditional Recognition and Validation of the Traditional Herbal Pharmacopoeiae of the French Overseas Departments: Scientific and Regulatory Aspects

The French regulation for herbal medicines defines 326 herbal drugs for allopathic therapeutical use. These herbal drugs are registered and figure in the French National Pharmacopoeia as part of the French pharmaceutical monopoly, with the exception of some of them which can be sold outside of the pharmacies. Besides, 196 herbal drugs, out of the 326 listed in the French Pharmacopoeia, benefit at the moment of a simplified registration procedure for marketing authorisation in France. The majority of these drugs are native to Europe.

In the French Overseas Departments, like Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guyana, exist strong popular medical practices, based on the use of local medicinal plants. Nevertheless, only a few of these medicinal species can be found in the French or European Pharmacopoeia, and none of these plants benefits from the simplified registration procedure for marketing authorisation in use in France.

The possibility for well-known herbal drugs native to the French Overseas Departments to appear in the French Pharmacopoeia, and eventually benefit from the simplified registration procedure for marketing authorisation, would be a recognition of the cultural traditions of these communities and led subsequently to employment opportunities especially in small and medium-sized enterprises. Furthermore, these herbal drugs could benefit in the future from the new European traditional herbal medicines registration procedure, which should apply in all European countries very soon.

Recently, the Working Group on Medicinal Plants from the French Medicinal Products Regulatory Agency (AFSSAPS) evaluated the safety and efficacy of two Caribbean herbal drugs, *Lippia alba* N.E.Br. (Verbenaceae), leaf, and *Senna alata* L. (Fabaceae), leaf, used traditionally in Martinique and Guadeloupe for digestive and skin ailments, respectively. Consequently, these two drugs were integrated in the French Pharmacopoeia in 2005. The establishment of analytical monographs for these two herbal drugs is currently under progress.

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