Culture, Medicine, Psychiatry and Wisdom: Honoring Arthur Kleinman

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It is both a pleasure and an honor to celebrate Dr Arthur Kleinman and his work in this volume year of *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* (2016), the very Journal he founded some 40 years ago while at the University of Washington School of Medicine. Born in New York City, Professor Kleinman is, as most readers know, an anthropologist, Sinologist, ethicist and a psychiatrist. He is Professor (since 1982) and former Chair of Anthropology (2004–2007), Professor (since 1982) and former Chair (1991–2000) of Social Medicine (now Global Health and Social Medicine), Professor of Psychiatry (since 1982) and, until very recently, The Victor and William Fung Director of the Harvard University Asia Center (2008–2016). He is also Board Certified in Psychiatry and Neurology.

Currently, Dr. Kleinman is Professor of Medical Anthropology and Psychiatry in the Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, and Professor of Psychiatry at the Cambridge Hospital. He is the Esther and Sidney Rabb Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), and continues as a member Harvard University's Asia Center. And in 2011, he was named Harvard College Professor. He has been the curator for Medical Anthropology at the Peabody Museum since 1982. From 1992 until 2002, he served as the Presley Professor of Medical Anthropology at Harvard Medical School.

Aside from his academic positions, Professor Kleinman also holds several hospital positions, since 2004 he has been the Senior Medical Anthropologist in the Division of Social Justice and Global Health of the Department of Internal Medicine at the Brigham and Women's Hospital and Psychiatrist at the Cambridge Hospital.

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Education

Professor Kleinman is now in his 34th year at Harvard. He is a graduate of Stanford University (1962, with Highest Honors) and Stanford Medical School (1967). He also holds a Master's Degree in social anthropology from Harvard (1974). Trained in psychiatry at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Kleinman is a leading figure in several fields including medical anthropology, cultural psychiatry, global and mental health, social medicine, and medical humanities, the latter in which he has emphasized patient narratives and the ethics of clinical, and other, care as well, and most recently, a search for meaning, specifically, wisdom (cf. Kleinman 2014a, b; 2015a, b).

Fieldwork, Research and Teaching

He has conducted long term research in China, in Taiwan, from 1969–1970, 1975 and 1977–1978. In addition, he has conducted short-term research during some 22 sojourns in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other sites in China, as well as a stint in East Africa. In addition, medicine in his home turf was the subject of research from 1983–1986.

His earliest published work focused on biological aspects of neonates (Yang and Kleinman 1970; Yang et al. 1971) and immunological aspects of toxemia (Yang and Kleinman 1974), work rather unknown to his followers today. His widely known research initially focused on the shape of psychiatry in China (1972) and illness experiences, which led to comparisons with US psychiatry and the development of a central critique thereof (Manschreck and Kleinman 1977; Kleinman 1977a, b) as well as its diagnostic entities, especially depression (Good and Kleinman 1995; Kleinman 1977a, b, 1980a, b). Having been concerned with the construction and experience of illness in the 1970s, in 1980 Kleinman produced one of the most influential books in the history of medical anthropology and the social sciences of medicine, his *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture* (1980).

This work quickly became the standard text for medical anthropology globally and garnered the Welcome Medal for Medical Anthropology. It provided a number of key and influential theories as well as methodologies for medical anthropology (and other social sciences of medicine). These include the Illness/Disease distinction, the Explanatory Model construct (soon reified and rigidified even by anthropologists) and the dynamics of illness conceptions, the notion of the Local Health Care System, and the Semantic Sickness Network (based on Byron Good's classic, "The Heart of What's the Matter" and his Semantic Illness Network (1976) 1(1) of *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, it is worth noting).

Arthur Kleinman has solo authored six published books including *Patients and Healers*. These include, *the Social Origins of Distress and Disease*, *Depression*, *Neurasthenia and Pain in Modern China*, *The Illness Narratives*, *Writing at the Margin*; and more recently, *What Really Matters*. He has also co-written and co-

edited books on culture and depression; SARS in China; world mental health; suicide; placebos; AIDS in China; and the relationship of anthropology to philosophy (as he probes some of the Ultimate Concerns of life and death). He has produced with his co-authors and co-editors some 33 such volumes in all. Professor Kleinman is currently writing a seventh book on caregiving based on his articles in the *Lancet* and the *New England Journal of Medicine* and other venues (e.g., 2014a, b).

Many of his books have focused on policy often closely critiquing accepted theory and or practice with the aim of changing both on the ground (e.g., Cohen et al. 2002; Goldsmith et al. 2002; Petryna et al. 2006; Kaufman et al. 2006).

Of particular importance are his volumes, *The Illness Narratives* and the *Social Origins of Distress and Disease*. In these volumes, Kleinman is getting to the crux of the matters of suffering he later considers and the social dimensions of illness, the voices of illness and violence *qua* chaos in daily life. His work addresses subjectivity and is a clarion call for concern for the inner lives of others. Here, Kleinman is at his most personal as he moves from understanding the experience of social violence and upheaval in others to the constraints of caregiving and the blunt force trauma of loss in his own life (Kleinman 2006, 2014a, b, 2015a, b).

Professor Kleinman's published articles number some 276 since his first publications in 1970. His current fieldwork projects include a comparative study of eldercare for dementia in six Asian settings; an ethnographic study of trust in the doctor-patient relationship in China; and development of Southeast Asia studies at Harvard.

In addition to his vast publication record, Professor Kleinman has amassed a most impressive record of teaching in four units of Harvard University (around 40 different courses) and a heavy burden of mentorship. In regard to the latter, he has produced, as chair, some 75 PhD students (work completed), and 20 MD-PhD students while serving on innumerable other dissertation committees and guiding several hundred Postdoctoral Fellows and International Fellows. Among his many students, I would be remiss if I did not single out Paul Farmer (MD, PhD Harvard), world-renowned physician and anthropologist to the poor.

As can be gleaned from the above, Professor Kleinman has shouldered the responsibility of chairing three different units of Harvard University, in Anthropology, Social Medicine and the Asia Center. In all, Professor Kleinman has created a stellar career that is yet in full tilt in all of these activities—publishing, teaching, administration and mentoring. The arc of his career has moved from very early concern for biological process to issues of Chinese healing and psychiatry, to studies of Chinese medicine and illness experiences, to the critique of western biomedicine and psychiatry, to formulations to improve and humanize clinical encounters, to the ethics of medicine and of daily life and to life's ultimate questions and the implicated relevance of wisdom. That is, he has developed a focal concern on 'what really matters' as his book title indicated (see Kleinman 2006). His current focus on caring as moral action is part of the larger enterprise, the concern for 'how we endure' the untoward, for we all must, at some point, for ourselves and for others. Kleinman's own words best conclude this all too brief overview of a magisterial body of work and give a flavor of his current interests:

“Assisting family and professional caregivers as well as patients to endure may not be assessed today as a measure of the cost-effectiveness of health-care systems, and yet it is at the very core of what human experience is about and what caregiving should be about. Our cultural images today seem blinded to life’s limits and dangers. While emphasising human flourishing and celebrating happy outcomes, they obscure the reality of human conditions. Physicians can work hard at achieving the best outcomes, while still acknowledging that their patients, like they themselves, must prepare for lives lived under some degree of constraint. This means that each of us at some point must learn how to endure: the act of going on and giving what we have. And we need, on occasion, to step outside ourselves and look in as if an observer on our endeavours and our relationships—personal and professional—to acknowledge the strength, compassion, courage, and humanity with which we ourselves endure or help to make bearable the hard journeys of others. These are the qualities that make acceptance and striving, if not noble, then certainly deeply human—worthy of respect of ourselves and those whose journeys we share.” (Kleinman 2014b:120). (N.B. UK spelling)

Arthur Kleinman: Awards, Prizes and Honors

We are able to but mention a very few of the large number of awards, prizes and honors bestowed upon Professor Kleinman in his career. These include the 2016–19 Visiting Professorship at Sun Yat-sen University School of Sociology and Anthropology, the 2015 Fei Xiaotong Memorial Lecture, the 2014 Higgins Lecture, Clark University, a series of lectures in South Africa, and the 2012 Felts Lecture, Flexner Dean’s Lecture at Vanderbilt University School of Medicine. In 2011, he was the Magisterial Lecture at the University of Milano (Italy) and the Institute Lecture at the Institut Pasteur (Paris). In that year, he also received the Distinguished Faculty Award from The Harvard Foundation, Harvard University. Professor Kleinman received the George Foster Practicing Medical Anthropology Award from the Society for Medical Anthropology in 2008. 2007 saw him named as the Honorary Professor in the Fudan University, Shanghai, China and as the recipient of the 2007 Medical Humanities Excellence Award from the Imperial College in London. In the previous year, he received the Career Achievement Award from the Society for Medical Anthropology.

The American Psychiatric Association named him the Distinguished Life Fellow in 2005. Other awards of distinction include the 2004 Doubleday Award in Medical Humanities from the University of Manchester, UK and being named, in 2003, Distinguished Fellow of the American Psychiatric Association, prelude to his being awarded the Distinguished Life Fellow by that professional organization. From the American Anthropological Association, CMP’s honoree received the Franz Boas Award in 2001. He gave the 1997 William James Lecture at Harvard Divinity School, named for one of his favored scholars and inspirations. His honorary Doctorate (of Science) came in 1996 from York University in Toronto, Canada. In

that same year, he was awarded the Distinguished Citizen Award from the World Federation of Mental Health.

In 1993–94, he was the Fritz Redlick Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, California. While in 1993 he was named Honorary Lifetime Fellow in the American Academy on Physician and Patient with 1992 seeing him named Fellow of American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Professor Kleinman is also a Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1992) and of the American Psychiatric Association (1985), and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1984). Since 1983, he has been a Member of the then Institute of Medicine (now National Academy of Medicine) of the National Academy of Science. He received the Wellcome Medal for Medical Anthropology from the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1980 for his book in that year, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*. While this list is nearly overwhelming, the reader should be aware that this list omits a large number of lectureships and hundreds of invited talks.

Professor Kleinman's funding has come from a large number of sources, local national and international including, Fogarty Center, NSF, Freeman and the Greenwall, Culpepper and Russell Sage Foundations, and Carnegie Corporation (several), Robert Wood Johnson, MacArthur and Rockefeller Foundations (several), Wenner-Gren (several), NIMH (several), and the Social Science Research Council. He has held a number of consultancies as well.

Our honoree has had a large number of editorial responsibilities for a number of journals including, among many others, Global Public Health, Ethnography, Transcultural Psychiatry Research Review (now Transcultural Psychiatry) Medical Anthropology Quarterly, British Journal of Psychiatry, the Milbank Quarterly as well as being the Founder and Editor-in-Chief of Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry (1976–1986). He has chaired or co-chaired a number of international meetings and served in an advisory capacity for a number of international organizations.

Below, the reader will find the bibliography of Professor Kleinman's work that he has kindly furnished. In this, because of the sheer volume of work in print, we include only published books, articles and chapters. Omitted are his many published reviews, commentaries, prefaces and the like. (See References after bibliography)

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