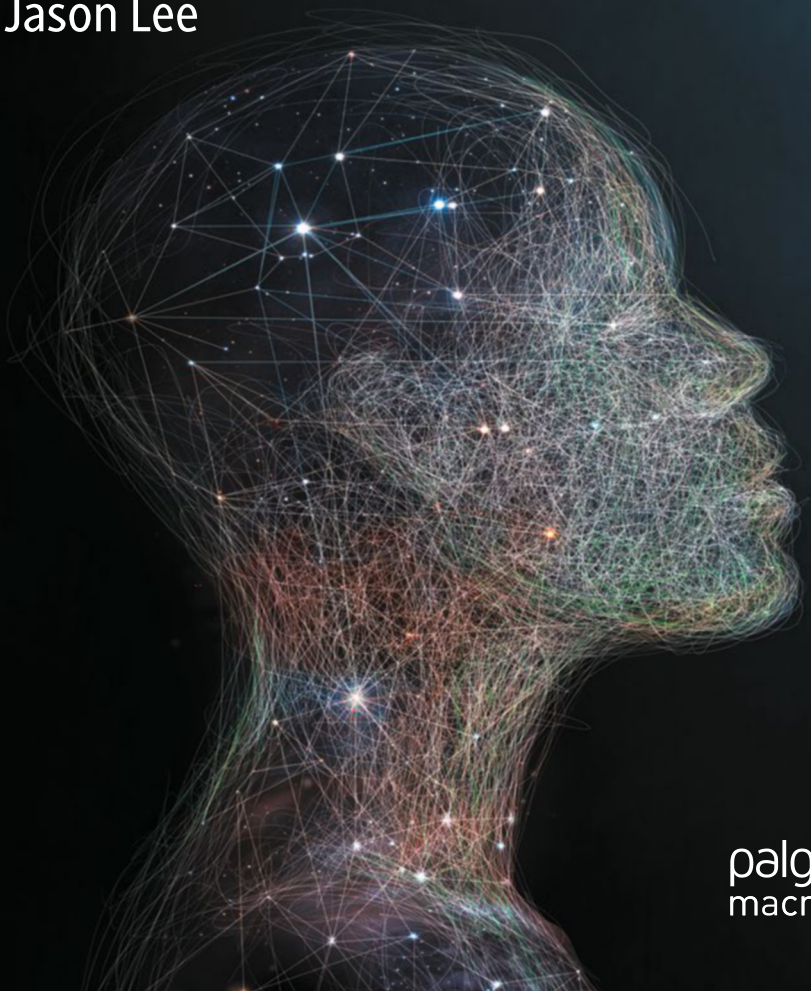
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Film and Media

Digital Cultures and the Politics of Time and Memory

Jason Lee



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Lee is the author or editor of 20 books on contemporary culture and media, including: *Culture, Madness and Wellbeing – Beyond the Sociology of Insanity* (London: Springer, 2023); *Nazism and Neo-Nazism in Film and Media* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); *Sex Robots – The Future of Desire* (London: Palgrave, 2018); *The Psychology of Screenwriting* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014); as editor *Cultures of Addiction* (New York: Cambria, 2010); *Pervasive Perversions – Paedophilia and Child Sexual Abuse in Media/Culture* (London: Free Association Books, 2005). Lee's novels include *God Paints in Blood* (Northampton: Close to The Bone, 2024); *Spit Roast* (London: Roman Books, 2015); *Unholy Days* (London: Roman Books, 2012); and *Dr Cipriano's Cell* (London: Arts Council, 2011).

Through founding the inclusive film company Evolution Film, Jason Lee is the Associate Producer on *Ryan Can't Read* (Rhys Chapman, 2024), and Executive Producer on *Up and Down* (Richard Elson, 2023) and the bilingual *Pawen* (Richard Elson, 2023). Lee is the editor of Amsterdam University Press's Transgressive Media Culture book series. He is Disability Network Chair for the Media, Communication, and Cultural Studies Subject Association, a Senior Fellow of Advance HE, and an External Examiner for University College Cork.

CHAPTER 1

Identity

1 Triggering, Interdisciplinarity, Definitions

The purpose of this book is to explain how post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) became so ubiquitous. This book examines the intricate relationships between trauma, memory, and media, including the various cultural, psychological, and social dimensions of PTSD. It analyses PTSD in film and media emphasising the cyclical nature of traumatic experiences and their pervasive influences on society. Through cinematic and media examples, philosophical insights, and discussions on societal shifts and anxieties, this work provides an examination of PTSD across different cultural contexts, shedding light on its profound impact on human experience and societal structures. The book also addresses the role of social media internationally, the pornography industry, and conspiracy theories, in perpetuating trauma and shaping societal attitudes, advocating for interdisciplinary approaches to foster healthier perspectives and support those affected by trauma and exploitation. In this opening chapter definitions of PTSD are elaborated on, and the significant literature introduced with the historical trajectory of the development of PTSD as a diagnosis explained. There is a difference between how PTSD is clinically and scientifically understood and how it is popularly perceived. This is addressed with its meanings and influences, and how the meanings have altered with time and under the influence of the internet. As well as introducing PTSD contextually, this

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opening chapter explicates the thorny issues of identity and triggering and how these relate to concepts of authenticity politically. This helps to deepen our understanding into how PTSD has come to be framed and so ubiquitous, unearthing the significance of its relationship to popular cultural forms including film and media. This chapter also tackles the related subjects of mourning, plus psychological experiments with film concerning PTSD, and surveillance, discussing a range of films, including *Peeping Tom* (Michael Powell, 1960).

'Each day the towers of central London seemed slightly more distant', remarks Dr Robert Lang sitting on his balcony eating an Alsatian while, 'the ragged skyline of the city resembled the disturbed encephalograph of an unresolved mental crisis'.[1] In this line, novelist J.G. Ballard sums up part of the ominous mental chaos of *High-Rise*, first published in 1975, adapted for cinema by Ben Wheatley in 2015. Three months have gone by in the narrative by this point. These are what we come to understand have been three months of war. War can be considered to be 'madness' but has also been considered to be sanity.[2] These three months have instigated all manner of mental health issues, including PTSD for the 2,000 inhabitants of Lang's exclusive London tower block. Despite the characters trying to escape into a tower block just outside the city there is a repressed 'unresolved' mental crisis linked to an underlying violence that is unleashed. The underlying belief here is you can never really escape human viciousness. Clinically, PTSD strictly speaking was not utilised as a diagnosis in psychiatry until the 1980s. Although *High-Rise* is a novel of the 1970s, it contains elements of what today we would call PTSD and trauma, distinct categories that have developed over time which we shall see have become ubiquitous.

One in three people who have a had a traumatic experience, such as violent assaults, serious road accidents, and serious health problems, have PTSD.[3] This can develop straight after an event, weeks, or even years later, and can include reliving the event through nightmares and flashbacks.[4] Flashbacks can be more traumatic than the event itself. The English word trauma stems from the Greek meaning wound or alteration which is also analogous to pierce. Traum is German for dream. This is significant because we shall see how trauma and PTSD, like film and media, play with the real and unreal. One symptom of PTSD is insomnia. In Ballard's dystopian fictions this is akin to nightmare. PTSD in some circumstances through flashbacks is a form of waking nightmare, as illustrated powerfully in the film *You Were Never Really Here* (Lynne Ramsay, 2018). Creative

narratives are part of the imagination and numerous film theorists and filmmakers have equated films with dreams.[5] The protagonist in fiction is normally the main character in a story who has been wounded the most, the one most traumatised and pierced. Similarly, the author or director of the film possesses the greatest ability to imagine, to traum or dream, so a book of this nature should not be surprising.

Medical professionals agree that the most influential diagnosis of the twenty-first century is PTSD, but it is often confused with other disorders, including postnatal depression.[6] PTSD is illustrative of the current era. Just as anxiety dominated post-World War II, each era has its own popular diagnosis.[7] Traumas, and their related psychological components, dominate media discourse today. The violence related to these traumas captivates and enthrals, holding our attention dramatically, from lowbrow and highbrow talk shows, to podcasts of countless variations, documentaries, rolling news, television series, films, games, and social media.

This book is primarily a work of cultural studies but will be of use to researchers in film and media studies, sociology, philosophy, politics, history, and psychology. There is an international component concerning China and Korea; many of the films and media examined are distributed globally in multiple languages and have an international impact. There is an analysis of global platforms such as TikTok and WeChat. A variety of forms of film and media are addressed including social media, the internet, celebrity culture, and online behaviour including revenge porn. The terms cultural PTSD, indefinite PTSD, state sponsored trauma, among others, are introduced and explained, as is the notion that PTSD has become privatised. Chapter 1 was outlined above. Chapter 2 analyses the economic cultural paradigm within the context of PTSD, drawing on anthropologist George Bataille among others. Through this we further develop the meaning and understanding of the relationship between screen media, memory, trauma, and time. Film case studies are utilised to illustrate how what Bataille termed the accursed share cojoins with PTSD's notion of continually returning to the wound, plus Badiou's work on ethics is utilised in the context of time and PTSD. Chapter 3 explains how PTSD holds a unique and significant place when coming to further our interpretation into how we experience and comprehend time. This is explained through narrative analysis, film case studies, and by employing and developing the work of the philosopher Henri Bergson. We learn how continuity editing expands felt time. Chapter 3 also explains the political context of PTSD, and digital

media including TikTok and WeChat, positioning media and its use and impact within a global context.

Chapter 4 analyses film franchises and PTSD, paying particular attention to *Batman* and television. Chapter 5 scrutinises activism and PTSD, plus has film case studies on *Get Out* (Jordan Peele, 2017) utilising Bergson and Deleuze in relation to language, memory, and time, and *Aftersun* (Charlotte Wells, 2022). This is elaborated through an interpretive paradigm drawn from Laura Mulvey's *Death 24x a Second* (2006). Chapter 6 investigates affect, trauma, and the collective, deepening our understanding of PTSD, time, and memory, in relation to film and media. This chapter examines postcolonialism and film with reference to war in a variety of films, including *Fremont* (Babak Jalali, 2023). Chapter 7, Screening, analyses films, including *Women Talking* (Sarah Polley, 2023), in relation to PTSD and the work of Gilles Deleuze, plus reality television and conspiracy. Chapter 8 concludes, focusing on pornography and technology within a Korean context, plus AI, elaborating on the significance of PTSD, socially and culturally.

Countless cultural narratives build on content related to PTSD that we engage with today on multiple digital media platforms. No book can comprehensively cover this hence selectivity is imperative, but I hope this does not skew this chronicle and analysis. I did not start off with a thesis I am trying to prove or disprove by selecting evidence. My main aim is to reveal the nuances of our understanding of PTSD and extrapolate the meaning of this from and within these cultural forms and vice versa, to understand these cultural forms and their content and time. In terms of methodology, choices are made for breadth and depth to deepen our understanding of PTSD through the power of popular culture, film and media, and the consequence of time and memory in identity formation. A variety of original formulas and new useful terminology will be introduced including those mentioned previously, plus the terminology post-identity trauma.

Being swamped by online news and with emails hammering at us from our multiple devices, demanding our attention as if there is no escape, has become normalised. There appears to be no separation between our human identities and these messages and devices. Identities are now so solidified and created by this interface, to switch off can feel like suicide. More people stare down at their screen than look up at the face of a fellow human for the majority of the day. This is more than just the fear of missing out (FOMO) which can exacerbate mental health problems. We develop who we are through our online presences. Distinguishing between

the online and offline can be problematic. The weight and importance extended to the online world in terms of desire can make it more significant than the off-line self. Auditory environments prioritise oral elements and participation, but the literary and digital are concerned with the visual and individual.[8] Online media has changed the nature and speed of interactions, including the capacity for spreading traumatic issues, isolation, and fear—media equals trauma and trauma equals media which offers another explanation for the ubiquity of PTSD discourse. We began with a seminal work of 1970s fiction, but if we step back only as far as the 1980s trauma was exclusively equated just with the extremes.[9] This included: military combat, rape, and natural or human-made atrocities. Today many more people claim to experience some form of trauma or PTSD, especially online. Allied with this 'triggering' is a buzz word which plays off the idea of personal trauma. Within this popular discourse everyone has some form of PTSD just waiting under the surface to be triggered by some external event relating to historic personal events. In one interpretation this is an equalising factor. It is the new normal and there are multiple reasons for this.

Definitions vary across regions, as do methodologies, leading to divergent metrics. While six to nine per cent of North Americans and Canadians experience PTSD, for Australians the figure has been specified as low as two per cent but the previous point needs highlighting.[10] Despite 80 per cent of those with PTSD having other mental illnesses, the central difference between PTSD and other mental illnesses is that PTSD comes from external factors.[11] We can understand then that PTSD is more acceptable. This makes it different from a personality disorder, for example. The external world is to blame, not me. By this I am not blaming individuals, but pointing out that PTSD is different. With PTSD there is not something innately 'wrong' with the individual such as with a personality disorder which can be treated but does not change within a lifetime.[12] This in part explains why PTSD is ubiquitous, and also why terms such as triggering have become fashionable which has fed into film and media discourse and vice versa.

The language of mental health is constructed within a highly moralistic framework.[13] People with mental health problems are often still thought to be evil with illness a punishment for sins. Unfortunately, people who are mentally ill are still often judged as morally bad, as if there is something wrong, ontologically, that is with their being, their essence. Many other mental problems, or what I prefer to call mental unwellness, are about

moral issues, in terms of how they are constructed both by the media and medically, and how they are used in court cases.[14] Another important element is that time runs backwards with PTSD towards the historic trauma hence the 'post' part makes PTSD unique. There is the running from the 'triggering' aspect to the traumatic previous event found in the present. A relationship exists between PTSD and how time is perceived, understood, felt, and experienced. This book addresses the vexing question of time and how it is experienced in our digitally mediated world.

As we are all going to die most of us have the sense that the clock is running out, but this is only if we are subsumed with and subservient to Chronos, that is, linear and limited time. Even within the present there is a way to experience the infinite and step away from this subservience. Many can relate to the notion of social media stealing our time when we really know we should be doing something else. Last week, the final week of January 2024, I spent six hours a day on my phone, up 24 per cent from the week before. This sounds like a lot, but I do use my phone for work. In 2023 the average for users around the world aged 16 to 64—across different platforms and devices, so total screen time—was 6 hours and 37 minutes per day.[15] Instead of seeing social media as stealing time in this space, 'time spreads out into an endless present'.[16] This makes it attractive as a form of transcendent eternity. Despite the negative attention especially with regards to mental health, social media can be viewed as a form of benign meditation.

PTSD involves the intrusion and repetition of traumatic past events now taking place in the present.[17] This includes images hence its correlation with visual media and culture. It is important to remember—(a) this is no mere dead memory. It is alive as if taking place for the first time right now, and (b) it is always transfigured by the remembrance.[18] This is part of its uncanny nature, and what makes it so fascinating for cultural, historical, sociological, and psychological analysis, and for philosophers of time. Analysis of PTSD raises challenging questions concerning identity and free will. Those who suffer from the symptoms of PTSD appear to have no control over them. This could lead us to question the assumptions of some health treatments. How can you think differently, for example applying cognitive behavioural therapeutic techniques, if you have no control on how you think or feel or if your mind-body keeps returning you to the moment of trauma? In terms of phenomenology, you are there, even if it was 40 or more years ago. This is where conceptualisations of reality break down.

Talking about true or false memories misunderstands how memory works.[19] The best way to think of memories is not as a series of accurate photographs, but as constructed paintings.[20] We find this hard to accept because despite the gains of postmodernism we live in a literal world, although we need to be careful of an either/or approach. Some people do have eidetic memories, that is the ability to see an object for a few minutes after it is no longer present, plus it includes auditory memories and over stimuli. Interestingly, the memory is not an internal memory, but an external mental image. This is normally found in a small number of children but not adults. Photographic memory is the ability to recall details on pages or numbers in detail. While there is scepticism over this ability it is known those with autism do have similar extraordinary abilities when it comes to memory. For the average person, memories are 'neither false nor true—they are constructed in the moment', they include fragments of what did happen plus our 'biases' and 'motivations' with the 'cues that we have around us in the present'.[21] Some state memory is totally fabricated.[22] This of course is a fabrication; memory is more complex than a mere story that is purely of the imagination.

Many clinicians concur with the Freudian view that with severely traumatic events we block them out and repress them. We may have no conscious memory of the most difficult and harmful events we have experienced.[23] The Nicolas Cage horror film *Longlegs* (Osgood Perkins, 2024) plays with this view for cinematic purposes, including playing with time, as do many films of this genre. Concurrently, the memory of that event could be accessible. Trauma and the role of memory in positioning individual and cultural identities are intrinsic to this analysis which includes frameworks drawn from sociocultural, post-structural, and postcolonial theory, among others. Trauma studies developed most fully in the early 1990s and relied heavily on Freudian theory. The later models which I develop in this book became pluralistic including concepts concerning the limitations of language. Traumatic neurosis concerns the compulsion to repeat, that is, repeat the memory of the painful event with the hope of mastering it. The difficulty is trying to remember if we only partially remember. This narrative of remembering of events is thought by many clinicians to be crucial to recovery, but this is not the case.[24]

The relationship between the digital image and time is overt. The relationship between the image and trauma is more than covert.[25] Taking a photograph was a form of trauma delivering a 'posthumous shock' the process 'functionally congruent with Freud's theory of trauma'.[26]

According to Boris Groys there was a diversification of the conditions under which a copy is produced then distributed. 'Were technology to guarantee the visual identity between the different visualizations of the same data, they would still remain non-identical due to the changing social contexts of their appearances'.[27] The digital image functions like a Byzantine icon, a visible representation of invisible digital data for Groys. The digital file is supposed to be more material and tangible, but it remains invisible its identity a matter of belief.[28]

Groys explains that each act of visualisation of digital data amounts to a revelation of the same data, just as we are obliged to believe that every performance of a certain religious ritual refers to the same invisible God. Opinion about what is identical and what is different, or about what is original and what is copy, is an act of belief, so Groys argues digital video substitutes guarantees of spiritual immortality with the technical guarantees of internal repetition in this world. This is a repetition that becomes a form of immortality because of its ability to interrupt the flow of historical time.[29] The prospect of materialist technically guaranteed immortality places human actions in a loop and for Groys both practises, ritual and video, are the Nietzschean promise of the eternal return of the same with this technical guarantee a matter of belief. To recognise two different images as copies of the same image, or as visualisations of the same digital file, means to value immortality over originality. To recognise them as different would be to prefer originality in time to the prospect of immortality but both decisions are acts of faith.[30] If everything is photographed where is the line between objectivity and subjectivity? This is the position of the experiences of PTSD where the re-engagement with the traumatic event through a trigger is experienced as real with the past happening in the present, or even more real than the experience of the trauma itself. From this we observe how the digital image is the perfect medium to understand PTSD.

The most detailed initial work on trauma was initially framed as work on hysteria, a gendered term that had been in use since the seventeenth century. This was believed to be a female ailment concerned with the uterus. Jean-Martin Charcot conducted work in neurology in the field which was continued by Pierre Janet, William James, and Sigmund Freud. Symptoms, which included amnesia, initially believed to be physiological were then found out to be psychological. With the medicalisation and monetisation of trauma, PTSD was first included in the 3rd edition of *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) published

in 1980. This is one of two manuals used globally by medical professionals and the insurance industry. PTSD was classified as a psychologically distressing event outside the range of usual human experience accompanied by fear, terror, and helplessness causing significant distress. In the next edition of the DSM in 1994, PTSD became classified as a trauma, or stressor-related disorder, rather than an anxiety disorder.

In the traditional trauma model pioneered by Cathy Caruth, PTSD was an event that fragments consciousness preventing direct linguistic representation.[31] Trauma here is an unsimulated event that shatters identity, remaining outside normal memory. The critical emphasis on trauma's non-speakable element rests on the claim that extreme experience fractures both language and consciousness, causing lasting damage.[32] There is the idea that there is an absence of normal consciousness, but preserved just beyond the limits of understanding is a timeless wordless state which continues to inflict pain.[33] Caruth's influential 1996 book *Unclaimed Experience – Trauma, Narrative, History* established the trajectory for trauma studies.[34]

In this book I shall develop Bergson's approach to time and the concepts of perception of memory in relation to PTSD, film and media and digital cultures. PTSD is viewed as an involuntary flashback to a time of trauma as in the Netflix mini-series *A Nearly Normal Family* (2023). Here, a 15-year-old girl is raped. Four years later intimate behaviour triggers her memory. In the history of recent trauma studies there is more of a transhistorical or intergenerational quality.[35] This resonates with developments in cultural theory such as post-colonial theory. The impact of an unrepresentable even unknowable traumatic experience on the individual psyche has been applied to collective emotional experiences of groups, implying history fails to adequately represent traumatic events.[36] We could include within this feminist, race and postcolonial theory in the work of J. Brooks Bouson, Suzette Henke, Deborah Horvitz, Michael Rothberg, and Laurie Vickroy.[37] The pluralistic model provides attention to the variability of representations and this includes work by Greg Foster, Amy Hungerford, and Naomi Randall.[38]

Traumatic events are framed by social contexts and cultural models and memories with narratives and life stories and cultural models influencing what is viewed as prominent.[39] In Naomi Mandel's *Against the Unspeakable: Complicity, the Holocaust, and Slavery in America* (2006), the analysis of trauma concerns for example Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*, adapted for film in 1998.[40] Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) is a term

developed by Joy DeGruy Leary and others.[41] What remains unspoken about trauma can be a result of cultural values which shows the importance of the approach here which emphasises the different media framing and cultural values. We can understand intergenerational transmission of trauma but terms such as post-memory are problematic.

There have been significant legal miscarriages through people erroneously believing that the mind works like a camera, recording everything with an ability for total recall.[42] The influence of film and media here is obvious, but we only remember through forgetting. When we see images of our past the past becomes present then time speeds.[43] We have more images now than we ever had, so this is another reason felt time has sped up. This problematic view of snapping memory, what I term the camera-mind view, has led to problems, especially in the 1980s and 1990s concerning false memory syndrome fuelling moral panics.[44] By 1994 juries became more sceptical of allegations. Elizabeth Loftus has definitively shown across her publications and open lectures how traumatic memories can be implanted.[45] The concept of false memories can also cause victims to doubt their memories and has also been used in miscarriages of justice. Memory is an aspect of identity more akin to storytelling. The more we tell a story, or have a memory, the more it changes. We embellish or edit depending on our interlocutor which can include ourselves dialoguing with our own memory. Memory then is not contained in the individual, or even the event of experience. We should note also the early sociological work of Erving Goffman here on performance and everyday life.[46] Memory relies on audience as does trauma, so there is a performative element and of course a narrative element returning us to film and media.

As explained, PTSD is wider than just memory-related trauma but *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) keeps PTSD as exclusively about memory.[47] This makes definitions easier, but life is not so clear cut. Popularly, anything can be deemed traumatic, including words and images, even looks on a face. This is from someone saying a word 'triggers us', to something on television that sets us off, or a comment on Facebook. This may not be clinically accurate, but it illustrates how the subject of PTSD and triggering has become absorbed and promoted within popular social and media discourse.

When the term PTSD was introduced for psychiatric purposes, it was for extreme examples. This has shifted with many forms of events now deemed traumatic. In the postmodern era, or post-postmodern era, when everything became relative with value systems non-delineated in this

context, it also ironically became more literal. Now metaphor becomes the reality. The danger of saying everyone has trauma is that it means no one has. This also downplays severe trauma and prevents those with extreme trauma receiving treatment with already scarce resources spread even thinner. However, one way or another, we are all now victims of trauma at least culturally within a culture of fear framed by mediated PTSD. So, how did we all become so traumatised? One argument of this book is that media has had a central part to play in this. For example, TikTok has become a mechanism for framing trauma. From the early 2020s, videos with the hashtag 'trauma' on TikTok had been viewed 25 billion times. This underscores both the power of that platform and the ubiquitous nature of the term. We will examine the legal controversies surrounding this platform and explore a case study.

According to the Urban Dictionary, any trigger is something that reminds someone of a previous trauma. Being triggered is having 'intense emotional or physical reaction, such as a panic attack', following being triggered.[48] Being triggered directly relates to early studies of post-traumatic stress, and reminders of trauma from loud noises, so it concerns metaphorically triggering distressing and debilitating thoughts and feelings that can induce panic attacks, among other symptoms.[49] Triggers are forms of sensory input ranging from smells and violent movie scenes to physical spaces and people. The development of triggering is directly related to online media. Ali Vingiano's 2024 article 'How The "Trigger Warning" Took Over the Internet' is a comprehensive examination.[50] The popular language of triggering emerged most fully in the late 1990s and early 2000s on online message boards and was used to notify readers of explicit content ahead of discussions such as those around eating disorders and self-harm.

The Oxford English Dictionary's earliest evidence for 'trigger' as a verb is from 1902 in the *Nottingham Evening Post*. Finding the exact origin of on-trend words is not easy, but in 2001 fan-fiction writers and bloggers on *LiveJournal* warned readers that their content could be triggering with the term triggering being in common use by 2003.[51] In the two decades since, one argument is it has been used as a way of preventing freedom of speech as in, 'do not speak like that, it triggers me'. Trigger warnings take off with the rise of social media in 'the 2000s on *FuckYeahTriggerWarnings* via Tumblr, and content warning (abbreviated to CW) being a popular substitute'.[52] In the 2010s trigger warnings became widely used in classrooms and popular media as an alert to trauma survivors. On the flipside, critics

claim these trigger warnings have 'merely coddled sensitive, not genuinely traumatized young adults (sometimes derided as safe-space-seeking soy-boys or snowflakes), stunting their resilience and readiness for the real world'.[53] Views on this are often generational. Studies claim there is no evidence standard trigger warnings help and may even be damaging, although in my film own work with people with PTSD they have been useful.[54]

We live in a fragmented world where media discourse primarily offers up three main headlines daily, if that. Sometimes the United Kingdom news is dominated by just one, such as the death of Prince Philip. Political spin doctors talk of a good day to release bad news. This fallaciously frames and unites us in an apparent whole but we must question such framing and its related ideologies. Sociologists have tried to explain such framing through wider contexts such as metanarratives.[55] PTSD with the related notion of triggering has become a metanarrative, possessing meanings and purposes far beyond its psychological or psychiatric definitions having become symbolic of wider social developments.

Having originally been used on social media sites, trigger warnings are now at the start of films and text-based media, including news articles on websites framing digital cultures. Charities utilise these as a way of promoting their activities, such as Samaritans. Connected to PTSD, triggering is politicised and connects to issues concerning free speech and time. The contemporary world is a culture of anxiety. People claim to be triggered by major events that have no relationship to their environment, even minor events plus words, intentions, or facial expressions. This triggering discourse alters time, over emphasising the real or imagined past's impact on the present, politically. There is a strong argument victimhood has replaced collective solidarity, identity politics outstripping collective political action, although the two are not always so divided.

Similarly, mental health has been politicised and weaponised.[56] This is not mental health or mental ill-health as clinically defined, but mental health as defined by the individual who may self-identify with any number of labels as an explanation for how they feel and deal with life. This has become a problem for psychiatrists, especially in the private sector when the client identifies with a disorder which according to the professional is not what they have.[57] How can anyone challenge this if this is what they self-identify with? Those born before, during, or just after World War II now in their 70s and above, and often those raised by parents such as these, are more likely to have been raised in an environment where