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CHARISMATIC THERAPY CULTURE AND THE SEDUCTIONS OF EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING

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Abstract: Notions of ‘therapy’ have become ubiquitous in popular culture as a way to make sense of identity. This article argues that a particular notion of therapy, which is linked to a desire for ‘well-being’, has become a signifier for anxieties about subjectivity, loss and cultural change. Tracing some of the key debates about notions of therapy culture over the past fifty years within psychosocial and cultural studies, the article explores the relationship between aspects of therapy culture, notions of emotional well-being, celebrity culture and the emergence of ‘charismatic psychotherapy’ through examples taken from popular culture and the media, focusing in particular on representations of the celebrity therapist, Derek Draper. Taking a psycho-cultural approach, the article combines psychosocial and cultural studies with a psychoanalytic emphasis on object relations, where an understanding of the unconscious is contextualised by an awareness of the political and historical context in which those processes take place.

For many, the notion of ‘therapy’ promises to make you better. Today, this promise takes place beyond the consulting rooms of clinicians and is found more broadly in popular culture and the media, suggesting that the desire to heal and be healed is courted at every turn. The therapeutic turn in UK mainstream media is present in the growing focus upon the scrutiny of the self, where identity is now often constructed in terms of feelings and relationships, rather than being linked to social categories such as class (Anderson et al., 2009). The current cultural preoccupation with all things therapeutic is often traced back to Freud (Rieff, 1966, 2008; Rose, 1999). As is well known, Freud never promised a cure for his patients, but said that the aim of psychoanalysis should be to help people live with normal unhappiness (1930). Yet as I discuss, contemporary therapy culture appears to court a wider set of expectations about cure and the seductive promises of happiness and well-being than those set by Freud. These tendencies have crystallised around notions of celebrity, and this article will explore this development in relation to the celebritisation of the political sphere. The growth of celebrity culture and its influence upon the mediatisation of politics has been

well documented (Marshall, 2006; Yates, 2010) and scholars have also discussed the increased imbrication of political, therapy and celebrity cultures within the contemporary public sphere (Nunn and Biressi, 2010; Yates, forthcoming a and b). A key causal factor of these developments is said to be the loosening of traditional boundaries around public and private experience (Lasch, 1979; Sennett, 1977), and the emotionalisation of the public sphere has now become an increasing feature of modern life (Richards, 2007). Readers need no reminder of the death of Princess Diana and its aftermath, which both symbolised and arguably helped to create a shift in public attitudes in the UK regarding the public expression of feelings hitherto kept private (Richards, 2007).

I want to argue that notions of therapy in contemporary Western culture have become linked to a desire for emotional 'well-being', which can be read as a misplaced signifier for anxieties about subjectivity, loss and cultural change. Emotional well-being often appears to have replaced the notion of 'mental health', with all its potentially negative associations of mental illness and is therefore more consumer-friendly. The term often crops up in the sphere of politics, in government seminars and policy documents on the themes of education, happiness and mental health (Department for Education, 2010; David, Gooch, Powell and Abbott, 2003; Layard, 2004, 2006). The search for emotional well-being also has feminising connotations, which can be found in popular culture, through magazines such as *Psychologies*, which is aimed at a female market. The latter complements a particular mode of post-feminism, which focuses on notions of personal development where the political dilemmas of femininity are personalised and worked on at the level of the emotional body (Berlant, 2008). The desire for emotional well-being is also linked to the promotional arena of celebrity culture, where it has become a recurring theme of the therapeutic narratives associated with the emotional work of celebrities today (Nunn and Biressi, 2010). In striving to achieve emotional well-being in these different contexts, the goal is not about coming to terms with the kind of emotional ambivalence discussed in psychoanalytic discourses of the self, or the splits and insecurities associated with the experience of late modernity. Instead, there is the consoling promise of 'happiness' and of a unified self, achieved through strategies of self-management and personal development (Layard, 2006).

Much has been written in psychosocial and cultural studies about the therapeutic turn in contemporary culture and society, yet there are disagreements about the nature of its influence and its role in shaping subjectivities, and these debates provide the context for the discussion that follows here. As Barry Richards (2007) argues, does not the emergence of a

‘therapeutic ethos’ signal a positive development, where new spaces can emerge to facilitate self-understanding to help us live with the shifts and uncertainties of late modernity? Or does the growth of a so-called ‘therapy culture’ represent a form of emotional governance, where the desire to express oneself has, in the words of Frank Furedi (2004), become the ‘opiate of the people’? Anxieties about the ‘Dianafication’ of society, or concerns about the worrying rise of a so-called ‘Oprah Winfrey tendency’ within public life, illustrate popular versions of this negative perspective (Yates, 2001). The development of what I call ‘charismatic therapy’ is pertinent here. Applying the work of sociologist and cultural critic, Philip Rieff (1966, 2008), I suggest that the latter is linked to aspects of celebrity and therapy culture in which the language of self-promotion and the search for emotional well-being converge. As I discuss, charismatic therapy reflects both sides of the debate regarding the positive and negative aspects of therapy culture as either facilitating new, ambiguous psychodynamic spaces for creativity on the one hand, or the reactionary forces of emotional well-being culture, on the other. I use a discussion of the therapist and self-named ‘political campaigner’, Derek Draper, to explore the notion of charismatic therapy and its implications for subjectivity and cultural change in a Western cultural context, increasingly preoccupied by notions of therapy and the seductions of emotional well-being. Draper provides a useful case study in this context, as the gendered construction of his public identity as a celebrity therapist and political lobbyist exemplifies different aspects of the therapeutic turn discussed here. Throughout this article, I apply a psycho-cultural approach that combines aspects of psychosocial and cultural studies with an understanding of unconscious processes and an awareness of the political and historical context in which those processes take place. The application of psychoanalytic ideas to culture can be traced back to Freud and has since been developed in different clinical and academic contexts (see Bainbridge, Radstone, Rustin and Yates, 2007). Yet the psycho-cultural application of object relations psychoanalysis to the study of media, culture and society is a more recent development and can be found in this special edition and elsewhere (see Bainbridge (forthcoming); Ferguson (2010); Richards (2007); Yates (2007, 2010, forthcoming a and b). A key starting point for the psycho-cultural study of contemporary media, culture and society is mapping the coordinates of contemporary therapy culture, and the potential of the therapeutic spaces that emerge for the mutual shaping of identities, culture and fantasy. The aim of this article is to therefore contribute to the emerging psycho-cultural project by re-visiting discussions of therapy culture and to contextualise some of this work by tracing some key contributions to the

debate about therapy culture over the past fifty years. Derek Draper will be used as a case study to illustrate the particular moment of popular culture today, in which there is a fixation on celebrity culture that also permeates political and therapy culture. Before turning to Draper, however, it is useful to explore in more detail what is understood as ‘therapy culture’ in order to comprehend why it has come to be reconfigured in the way it has in relation to the emergence of charismatic psychotherapy, as promoted by those such as Draper.

Theories of therapy culture and its discontents

The growth of therapy culture has many critics, and the debate about its development has taken different forms in the US and the UK. In the US, the debate has been linked negatively to the ‘culture wars’, and right-wing critics apply a (misguided) liberatory reading of Freud’s secular worldview to what they perceive to be a collapse of morality in US culture since the 1960s.¹ On the (US) left, it is argued that the politics of emotion and self-interest have replaced more traditional ideological modes of political debate (Imber, 2004; Nolan Jr., 1996; Scialabba, 2007). In the UK, critiques of therapy culture have become aligned with concerns about the ‘dumbing-down’ of society, particularly in relation to education and a loss of academic standards, and there are concerns about the ways in which the emotional ‘well-being’ of children is now said to be more important than educational achievement (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2008). The link between therapy and educational standards also extends to debates about risk and concerns about the ‘mollycoddling’ of children in an overly risk-averse society.² A common theme amongst critics is that therapy culture creates passivity, constantly promoting the idea that ‘we are in need of help’ (Cummings, 2003). This image of the duped passive subject of therapy has much in common with that of the ‘duped’ consumer subject of mass society critiques exemplified for example, by the work of Frankfurt School (e.g. Adorno, 1991). As Furedi (2004) and others argue, the alleged ‘dumbing down’ is particularly present in aspects of the media that appeal to the lowest emotional common denominator. This viewpoint can be found in critiques of reality TV shows such as *Big Brother*, where it is argued that those such as Jade Goody are exploited for our enjoyment (Andrejevic, 2004; Biressi and Nunn, 2008; Nunn and Biressi, 2010).

Frank Furedi is perhaps the best-known UK exponent of the pessimistic view regarding the encroachment of therapy upon all aspects of life today.³ Indeed, following the publication of his 2004 book, *Therapy Culture; Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age*, he has become a popular spokesman on behalf of those who bemoan the loss of a particular

British stoicism associated, say, with the Londoners who he says survived the horrors of the Blitz without any need for the kind of counselling that would no doubt be advocated today.⁴ The loss of political freedom is also mentioned in Furedi's account.⁵ Echoing debates in the US about the relationship between therapy culture and the loss of a collective political sensibility, Furedi argues that therapy culture promotes a form of emotional correctness, which works as a form of social control, as political and social problems are individualised and reduced to the status of personal unhappiness. And perhaps he has a point. For example, in a neoliberal economy, where social and economic loss is often associated with being a 'loser', therapy is now advocated as a way to get people back to work (Leader, 2008). This notion was first promoted by the UK New Labour government as when, in February 2008, the UK Health Minister, Alan Johnson, talked about the significance of 'improving access to psychological therapies' through GP surgeries and so on (Johnson, 2008). However, the kind of therapy he was advocating was not long-term psychotherapy, but rather the cheaper, short-term option of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), a move that could be understood as one prompted by the utilitarian desire to save money and get depressed people back to work (Layard, 2004).⁶

Furedi's book does not set out to defend psychoanalytic psychotherapy against the encroachment of rationalisation and the promotion of the CBT. Indeed, he is highly critical of psychodynamic approaches that argue, in a stoical fashion, that we need to learn to live with 'disappointment' (Furedi, 2004). Furedi believes that rather than kowtowing to the 'colonising ambitions of the counselling profession', we should instead be turning to informal networks of friends and family for guidance and support (Furedi, 2004: 40-46). The kinds of therapeutic values described pejoratively by Furedi and others are arguably a far cry from the boundaried codes and practices of psychoanalytic psychotherapy, where the principles of Freud's stoical philosophy of 'endurance' (Richards, 1989) continue to play a key role in UK psychoanalytic psychotherapy trainings (Leader, 2008). Yet Furedi tends to collapse all the different therapies under the same label as 'the authoritarian world view' and fails to differentiate between the methods of CBT advocated by the government and those of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. As I discuss below, this distinction is significant when discussing the potential merits or not of so-called 'therapy culture'.

Furedi is not the first to talk about the influence of therapy in everyday life; writers in the broad field of psychoanalytic psychosocial studies have discussed it in various forms over the past fifty years. Philip Rieff's 1966 book, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*, is often cited

as a key text in this respect (see for example, Elliott, 1996; Lasch, 1979; and Richards, 1989). Rieff placed Freud and the growth of psychoanalysis at the centre of his narrative, arguing that psychoanalysis played a key role in shaping a new 'therapeutic ethos', which was linked to a growing cultural preoccupation with the self in Western societies. Rieff argued that the talking cure of psychoanalysis emerged as a response to the growing sense of disorientation within the secular, metropolitan context of modernity, where the old structures of authority were disappearing and where traditional modes of relating were dissolving. As Simmel (1903) argued earlier in the century, the experience of modernity gave way to new short-lived encounters and a faster pace of life, creating new anxieties and pleasures in their wake.

Cultural historians and psychosocial studies scholars have also traced the 'therapeutic' preoccupation with the self in the early twentieth century back to the development of mass consumer capitalism, and the growth of consumerism also contributed to this new metropolitan experience (Jackson Lears, 1994; Yates, 2010). Researchers have described the influence of psychoanalysis within advertising, and the 'harnessing' of the emotional loss experienced in the transition from the older societies to the new. Consumers were searching for 'intense emotional experience' in order to compensate for the growing sense of alienation and homogeneity related to the anomie of mass society (Andrejevic, 2004:144).⁷ Against this backdrop, psychoanalysis provided a narrative through which the split subject might begin to explore the social and emotional dislocations of modern life (Elliott, 1996: 56).⁸ Richards (1989) says that in a clinical context, the method of free association provided the means by which patients could begin to bring the psychological fragments of their lives back together. Yet as Rieff points out, the 'analytic attitude' employed by Freud, was not one that invited the kind of consoling 'transformative' self-narratives that can be found in contemporary therapeutic literature, where the emphasis often lies on the promise of cure. Instead, the Freudian analytic attitude was 'informative', designed to help individuals live with the uncertainties and disappointments of modernity. In that respect as Rieff argues, Freud refused the kind of authoritarian, positivist certainties associated with recent critical accounts of psychoanalysis as a regulatory, normalising practice (see Rose, 1999 as an example of such a critique).⁹

Whilst Rieff respected Freud and his work, he was less positive about the ways in which Freud's ideas were taken up and developed subsequently by his followers and society in general. Rieff agreed with Freud that a necessary tension between personal desire and a strong social order in a secular post-faith context is vital for creativity to flourish. Yet Rieff

argued that this insight has been lost. Instead, he said that an emphasis on the ‘virtue’ of freedom from repression, individualism and narcissistic self-obsession had become dominant. Rieff was writing in the 1960s and as a social conservative, his critique was linked to the counter-cultural activity that was taking place at that time. For Rieff, ‘Psychological man’ of the new post-faith era, has replaced the religious worship of gods with the ‘worship of the self’, driven on by an illusive desire for freedom (Scialabba, 2007). In his later work, *Charisma: The gift of grace, and how it has been taken away from us* (2008), Rieff articulates similar anxieties about the loss of social authority (and the necessary ‘renunciations’ which come from that), which he believes are necessary for human and social development. Applying the ideas of Max Weber, and in particular the notion of ‘charisma’, he develops his critique of contemporary therapies and bemoans the loss of ‘the sacred’ in contemporary culture. Rieff argues that the charismatic figures of today are superficial and are of the ‘spray-on’ variety, are ‘purely political’ and have little to contribute except ‘the doubt, scepticism they represent’ (Frank and Manson, 2008: ix-x). For Rieff, then, ‘therapeutic culture’ has created an amoral political climate and an ethical vacuum associated with the loss of ‘the sacred’.¹⁰ As I discuss, Derek Draper’s persona as a celebrity psychotherapist evokes Rieff’s critical vision of charisma and therapeutic culture. Draper’s second ‘fall from grace’, following the scandal connected to his political activist identity in 2009, shores up Rieff’s own scepticism about ‘therapeutic’ culture and the integrity of practitioners in the field of what I go on to define as ‘charismatic’ psychotherapy.

In 1979, Christopher Lasch also wrote about the emergence of therapy culture, and he framed this development in negative terms, linking it to a widespread development of narcissistic personalities. In his widely cited book, *The Culture of Narcissism*,¹¹ Lasch argues that, against a backdrop of Western consumerism and the fragmentation of the nuclear family, people have lost the capacity for attachment and meaningful object relations. Instead, they have become insecure, anxious and narcissistic and overly preoccupied with superficial appearance and the performance of self. He argues that the era of Oedipal morality and guilt has been replaced by narcissistic insecurity and self-obsession, and that short-term therapies and self-help books are used as a means to rescue a fragile sense of self. Lasch was writing before the growth of celebrity culture and also social networking sites, which enable modes of self-promotion that are linked to Lasch’s particular vision of narcissistic culture. As I discuss below, the recent rise of online blogging could be viewed negatively as a narcissistic tool of self-expression in this context.

However, Lasch's views have been contested on a number of fronts, not least for the implied nostalgia in his account of a mode of Oedipal morality associated with more traditional forms of paternal authority (Benjamin, 1990; Yates, 2007). Imogen Tyler (2007) has also critiqued Lasch's thesis in terms of its pathologisation of certain groups associated with so-called narcissistic traits beyond the clinical context. For Tyler, Lasch's thesis can be seen as part of a broader backlash in the 1970s against identity politics and those groups who challenged the hegemony of groups associated with ideological politics. She argues that books such as *The Culture of Narcissism* can be seen as an attack on career women, and other so-called minority groups who from the 1970s were stigmatised as self-obsessed products of a 'me'-orientated society. Today, the 'me' generation has found a voice in the online culture of social networking and blogging, showing how the 'me' generation places the experience of subjectivity firmly in the public domain, openly engaging with the personal and emotional language of therapy culture in a manner which is both individualised and shared.¹² The ambiguities of online culture thus indicate, perhaps, how Lasch's analysis fails to capture some of the psycho-cultural complexities of therapy culture today.

Discussions about the short term and self-interested narcissistic orientation of individuals within the era of late modernity are echoed in texts such as *The Importance of Disappointment* by the late UK therapist and sociologist, Ian Craib (1995). Here, Craib examines the increasing influence of welfare professionals who tell us how to feel. He explores the cost of this form of emotional management in a culture where messy emotions such as jealousy are considered off-limits and in need of quick-fix therapeutic solutions. Craib uses a Kleinian psychoanalytic framework to argue that we have lost the capacity to live with disappointment, and to acknowledge the limits of a good enough life. Instead, certain therapies are consumed as a quick route to happiness, and as a short term means to enhance the self. Like Rieff, Craib says that the practices and values of contemporary therapy culture have moved away from the insights of Freud and the philosophy of endurance he represented. Thus Craib makes a plea for a return to a more stoical outlook and to resist the urge to respond to the uncertainties and 'disappointments' of late modernity by rationalising and managing emotional responses through the pathologisation of ordinary and messy emotions such as jealousy.

There are also those who have critiqued therapy culture from a Foucauldian perspective, including Jacques Donzelot (1997), who focused on the emotional policing of the family, and Nikolas Rose (1999) who likened the 'therapeutic ethos' to a form of

‘governance of the soul’. Rose provides a compelling account of the ways in which ‘psy’ discourses now ‘saturate’ a popular culture where ‘public conduct’ is increasingly scrutinised and judged in terms of psychological and emotional ‘authenticity’:

By the later twentieth century, public life and public actions become intelligible only to the extent that they can be converted into psychological terms, understood in terms of expressions of the personalities of the individuals concerned (1999:267).

A particular theme that runs through Rose’s analysis of therapy culture and subjectivity is, paradoxically, the loss of an autonomous self. Although he discusses the ways in which the desire for an autonomous unified free self is constructed as a cultural and psychological ideal, he says that the possibility for real autonomy is continually foreclosed through the impingement of therapeutic discourses that tell us how and what to think and feel.¹³

Yet the very things that alarm Rose are explored in a more positive light by Anthony Giddens (1991), who is optimistic about the possibilities of selfhood and its potential fate in late modernity. Giddens links the emergence of therapy culture (and in particular what he calls ‘self therapy’) to new opportunities for self-development. He takes issue with Lasch regarding the bureaucratisation of public life and the drive towards rationalisation that it represents in a late capitalist age. Whilst acknowledging the ‘draining effect’ it has on some individuals, Giddens argues that individuals ‘never passively accept external conditions of action’ and therefore resist the encroachment of therapy culture in the ways described by Lasch (Giddens, 1991:72-73). There is little nostalgia in Giddens’ account about the loss of old structures and public codes of behaviour associated with a previous era. Yet his optimism regarding reflexivity and the possibilities of selfhood in late modernity has been critiqued for ignoring the differences in the deployment of power in relation to new knowledge systems, which Giddens sees as key to the processes of self-therapy (Rustin, 1994). Giddens makes use of D. W. Winnicott’s object relations theory to explore the potential for subjectivity in the late modern age (1991, 1992). However, his application of a psychoanalytic framework has been criticised for its ego-centredness, as the more contradictory, irrational aspects of subjectivity and the unconscious are not really addressed, and instead a narrative of ‘mastery’ is privileged (see for example, Elliott, 1996:73). Winnicott’s vision of the ‘self’ was one that emphasised paradox and ambiguity and he provides a more nuanced account of subjectivity than Giddens allows (Winnicott, 1974). Whilst Giddens escapes the problems of Rose’s all-

powerful vision of emotional governance, his account appears to fit well with the policies of the New Labour and current UK Coalition governments, where notions of ‘mental health’ and ‘mental illness’ caused by socio-economic circumstances are displaced by a fantasy of ‘emotional well-being’ (see for example, Burstow, 2010; Johnson, 2008). Given Giddens’ close links with the Blairite project of the ‘third way’, then perhaps this is not surprising (Giddens, 2003). As my case study of Derek Draper will go on to show, the contemporary political climate is saturated with these ideals and the current UK Conservative-led coalition government uses the same language of ‘emotional well-being’, emphasising a desire for the continuity of Johnson’s health and social care policy (Burstow, 2010). Anthony Elliott is also optimistic about the therapeutic ethos in contemporary life (1996), arguing for the continued relevance of psychoanalysis as a response to the conditions of late modern culture. Whilst holding onto the contradictions of subjectivity in a late modern context, he makes positive links between the contemporary cultural focus on feelings and emotion and the creative processes of the unconscious. Barry Richards (2007) argues that therapy culture is not just about the ‘sentimental expression of feelings’ as Furedi implies, but rather, it signifies a more complex set of psychosocial therapeutic processes, including a new reflexivity, and the creation of spaces for the development of a greater psychological awareness. He also argues that the media has the potential to provide containing structures where people can work through anxiety and difficult feelings and he cites the emotionalisation of broadcast entertainment as being significant in this respect. Elsewhere, I have also examined the ways in which certain Hollywood films create the space for emotional reflection and a psycho-cultural working through of feelings and fantasies in relation to masculinity and jealousy (Yates, 2007). As with Elliott and Richards (and Richards and Brown in this edition), this approach sees therapeutic culture as a set of processes rather than as an authoritarian set of discourses and practices which pacifies all in its wake, leaving its subjects in thrall to its platitudes and promises of self-knowledge.

Emotional well-being, charisma and the avoidance of disappointment

In discussing the concerns about therapy culture in popular and academic contexts, one can argue that a common set of concerns emerges related to themes of loss, mourning and the desire to repair the splits of contemporary culture. Following Craib (1995), one can apply the ideas of psychoanalyst, Melanie Klein, who emphasises the significance of maternal ‘phantasy’, the psychological object and its interactional role in the formation of the self.

Klein wrote at length about emotions such as love, hate, envy and sadness, which are experienced in relation to the parental figures of the imagination, and the psychological defences that emerge as a consequence of early emotional anxieties about loss (Klein, 1946). The application of these defensive strategies may be used productively or defensively in different instances to ward off anxieties that touch on ontological concerns about loss and separation and the survival of the self in an age of uncertainty and change. Craib's argument regarding the 'importance of disappointment' and the ways in which we may seek to avoid it, is significant here. Just as underlying concerns about therapy culture are linked to anxieties about the perceived losses of cultural change, so too can various aspects of therapy culture itself be seen as symptomatic of such avoidance strategies, seeking to avoid the pain of disappointment through a focus on issues of emotional well-being and the promotion of what I call 'charismatic therapy' in various media contexts, including television, radio, digital and print journalism and the self-help book industry. The term 'charisma' is being used here to connote the application of therapy in a post-Freudian era, where the pursuit of happiness and the avoidance of pain are pursued through the consumption of short-term therapies and promoted by charismatic therapists as a quick route to emotional well-being. This perspective of charismatic therapy confirms in various ways the melancholic view taken by Rieff and Lasch regarding the superficial nature of therapy culture.

The idea of 'emotional well-being' fits well with the notion of 'charismatic' therapy. The term 'emotional well-being' is often used interchangeably with notions of 'happiness' and 'emotional intelligence' as widely disseminated through the work of the UK economist and UK New Labour government 'happiness tsar' Richard Layard (2006). Layard's work has also proved influential for UK Prime Minister, David Cameron, who recently set up the 'Happiness Index' as a means of measuring human happiness.¹⁴ In continuing to develop this aspect of New Labour social policy, Cameron has been accused of denying the potential links between unhappiness and the inequalities of wealth and social class. Instead, the experience of happiness becomes linked to other, non-material factors, where socio-cultural and economic circumstances are perceived as less important than 'emotional well-being' (Heathcote, 2010).

As a banal catch-all phrase, the concept of 'emotional well-being' appears to refer to 'feeling good about one's self', thereby flattening out the messy complexities of subjectivity. The search for emotional well-being in this context is also linked to the growth of positive psychology, which argues in an instrumental fashion that there are positive steps that one can

take in order to reach this particular goal (Seligman, 2004).¹⁵ Today in the UK, positive psychology is less associated with the clinic and more with the popular consumption of self-help books. Yet the self-help steps advocated by positive psychology, which focus on the 'here and now', and which aim to change negative ways of thinking and behaving, sit well with the methods and objectives of CBT and personal coaching, which at a meta-theoretical perspective, reinforces the negative perspective of therapy culture discussed by Lasch and Furedi.

The terms 'well-being', 'charisma' and 'celebrity' coalesce because of their overlapping concern with feeling good about one's self. The internet age perhaps heightens this tendency because of its ease of access and exponential growth and popularity. As a key tool for self-promotion, there are aspects of life online such as social networking and blogging that can be readily harnessed by those seeking to create links between their personal experiences and their professional investments. In this way, feelings become related to business and professional success. Other media formats also promote this message – from magazines such as *Psychologies*; in the UK, television lifestyle and chat shows such as *Jeremy Kyle* (UK, ITV) or *This Morning* (UK, ITV); therapeutic encounters on radio-phone-in programmes such as *Vanessa* (UK, BBC Radio London); celebrity psychotherapy television shows such as *Shrink Wrap* (UK, More4, 2007-10);¹⁶ to parental websites such as www.mumsnet.com, where the theme of well-being is a recurring theme on its message board.

'Therapy' sites such as the one run by the UK celebrity psychotherapist, journalist and political activist Derek Draper can be seen as an extension of this culture, where concerns about therapy, celebrity and the desire for well-being converge to promise an experience of charismatic psychotherapy. Until recently, Draper had a column in *Psychologies* magazine where 'well-being' was aligned with looking and 'feeling good'.¹⁷ In this magazine, the 'Psychotherapy' sub-heading appeared under the main heading of 'well-being' and the therapy that is prescribed follows the ethos of CBT and positive thinking, where readers are invited to 're-write your script life', thus reflecting the instrumental approach taken in relation to the body in the rest of the magazine. As Featherstone (2007) and Lury (1996) argue, this instrumentalist approach to the body and mind mirrors the construction of subjectivity within consumer culture more widely.

As a key figure within the political culture of the (old) New Labour government, Derek Draper exemplifies this tendency very well. He is therefore a useful case study for the

analysis of what therapy culture has come to signify in contemporary culture, where the mediation of politics is often reduced to a range of PR activities and muddled with the public appetite for celebrity. Draper's (twofold) rise to fame and subsequent fall from grace became a *cause célèbre* in the UK press and on various internet sites and political blogs, where he appears to attract a very powerful response from other bloggers and also members of the public.¹⁸ As discussed earlier in relation to the 'me generation' discussed by Lasch and Tyler, blogs and websites such as Draper's provide a useful case for analysis, as they represent the overlap between popular culture, politics, government policy, emotional well-being, narcissism and celebrity culture. It is therefore interesting to explore the psycho-cultural intersections between those different spheres of activity as represented through Draper's public persona and also the vehement response to that persona from the press, political bloggers and members of the UK public.

From spin doctor to mind doctor: Derek Draper as the people's therapist

Derek Draper first acquired notoriety in 1998 as political advisor to UK MP, Peter Mandelson, and as a lobbyist whose boastful behaviour led to his downfall. At the time, Draper was recorded as saying that he could provide his clients with access to ministers for money and was subsequently sacked, ending up in the London 'Priory Hospital' with a nervous breakdown.¹⁹ His link with the Priory Hospital is significant, as the latter has become a mediated symptom of the 'celebrity-in-distress' – a move which therefore positions Draper alongside the likes of 'rehab' celebrities such as Amy Winehouse, pathologising his actions and letting him off the political hook. Draper's own much-publicised tale about his fall from grace and following that, his redemption, beginning with his exile in California where he says he trained as a clinical psychologist, have all the key ingredients of 'therapeutic man' writ large, and indeed it is an inspiring story of reparation, change and redemption. His website tells us that when Draper returned to the UK, he set up a psychotherapy practice, married the GMTV presenter Kate Garraway, created a corporate video company with her and became a father for the first time.²⁰ This transformation is documented in his many online sites and areas of self-promotion, which include his therapy, political and business websites, personal blogs, radio interviews, television presentations and also his columns as a journalist in the press and in *Psychologies* magazine, and he was even given the award of 'Mind journalist of the year'.²¹ In 2009, he published his book, *Life Support: A survival guide for the modern soul*, which at first received positive reviews as an intelligent and accessible self-help book,

‘full of common sense’ containing ‘a warm authorial tone of understanding’ (Millard, 2009:6). However, by early April 2009, Draper was in trouble once more over his involvement in ‘Smeargate’, an alleged plot to use a political gossip website www.Red.Rag.co.uk to ‘smear’ members of the opposition party and their families through claims of mental illness and sexual scandal (Merick and Bell, 2009).

Draper’s notoriety as a political blogger and ‘campaigner’ cannot be separated from the growth of celebrity politics and the growth of ‘spin’ in the marketing of politicians as ‘personalities’ (Evans, 2009; Yates, 2010). The marketing of political personalities has also been influenced by the growth of therapy culture. As we have seen, Richards (2000, 2007) takes a positive view of therapy culture and argues that a key aspect of the contemporary ‘therapeutic ethos’ is the management of anxiety. He also suggests that as a mode of political communication, spin can contribute to the psychosocial containment of such anxiety. He argues that New Labour policies and their friendly, informal mode of presentation also played a role in reassuring the public, managing anxiety and promoting a more emotionally literate society. The New Labour health minister’s desire to promote accessible therapy through CBT can also be read in this context (Johnson, 2008; Layard, 2004, 2006) as can its subsequent take-up by the new coalition government.²² Draper was active in promoting the New Labour government and their policies in this regard, as his journalistic interventions demonstrate. For Draper, state regulation of therapists and greater access to CBT can be seen in a positive democratic light (Draper, 2007). Yet, as we have seen, the New Labour government’s plans were widely criticised by those who argue that CBT is being promoted at the expense of long-term psychodynamic therapy, which is now subject to greater regulation, but which can be seen to both undermine professionals and also any work being done which foregrounds the workings of unconscious processes.²³ In response to this, Draper takes on the critics of government, and defends government policy in the *Mail Online*:

I won’t have people undermining the Government’s plans. I have seen CBT work. It was CBT therapy, in 1998, that first made me hopeful that my depression could be cured. Like many, I needed deeper therapy, too, but many others don’t want to dig deeper if they don’t have to. ... Therapists spend a lot of time trying to get patients to give up knee-jerk negativism and embrace the hope that things might turn out better than they expect. With all due respect, I would give the same advice to the critics of CBT. (Draper, 2009b)

A number of narratives and themes converge here, including the tale of his transformation and redemption through therapy; the feel-good New Labour message that ‘things can only get better’ complements the other policy-driven slogan of ‘well-being’. The confessional tone of the first person narrative is meant to convey, perhaps, a heightened sense of authenticity. Richard Sennett (1977) identifies the latter as being key to the modern charismatic persona, whose legitimacy in this context rests on what the person appears to reveal about him or herself in personal and emotional terms. As Sennett (1977) and Rose (1999) argue, charismatic public figures are now increasingly defined by displays of intimacy and a perception that they are revealing aspects of the ‘true’ authentic personality underneath. Sennett has discussed the way that the strategy of assigning a sense of authenticity to public figures through the display of intimacy and controlled emotional expression has been used to great effect with politicians such as Richard Nixon and one might add, more recently, Tony Blair (Yates, 2010). Derek Draper is recorded as saying that (now former) UK Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, would be more popular if he was more ‘himself’:

I don’t think that Gordon Brown needs therapy, but my hackneyed but genuine advice would be to be himself. What people want from their leaders more than anything is authenticity. (Draper, 2009a: 38)

There are also links to be made here between the display of emotional authenticity of male public figures and recent developments in the field of hegemonic masculinity (Yates, 2007; 2010). In the West, the notion of a private sphere of intimacy, feelings and relationships has traditionally been associated with cultural constructions of femininity. It is interesting that a particular kind of ‘new’ masculinity has emerged to define itself in these terms, as a means of shoring up a sense of emotional credibility in a therapeutic era. On his website, the construction of Draper as an accessible and sensitive therapist also represents such a move, challenging the machismo associated with the political sphere where he can also be seen to operate. Thus, as in the article cited above and also in others which can be found via links from Draper’s personal website, pictures of his celebrity wife and himself are presented alongside links to his discussion about parenting on a mothers’ website www.netmums.com, together with an article he wrote for the *Mail Online* about carrying out domestic chores at home with his wife (Draper, 2009b). The feminising characteristics of his

public persona are reinforced further by a link to his contribution to a discussion about 'happiness' on BBC Radio 4's *Woman's Hour* with presenter Jenny Murray, where discourses of well-being converge with those of feminism. The softening inflections associated with the feminised aspects of his therapeutic identity were arguably key in his rehabilitation as a public figure, lending him credibility for female audiences. The gendered nature of his appeal raises questions also about the gendered dynamics of therapy culture more broadly; it suggests that alongside the neoliberal values of self management identified above, the promotion of so-called 'soft' therapeutic values of compassion and care also exist in this context to shore up new modes of masculinity. The extent to which the latter represents a meaningful shift in representations of patriarchal masculinity is clearly open to discussion, chiming in with wider debates about the nature of the relationships between new forms of hegemonic masculinity and cultural change (Yates, 2007, 2010). Yet it is arguably the case that 'therapeutic' figures such as Draper present a number of challenges to those who bemoan the loss of patriarchal certainty within a changing symbolic order. As I discuss in the concluding section of this article, this same sense of loss pervades certain critiques of the therapeutic turn more generally.

It is interesting that Draper's public feminised persona as a therapist contrasts sharply with his performance as a political campaigner, which on television and in print, is far more combative in tone and in keeping with the stereotypical macho culture of politics. Yet the image of his face, which can be found on his book and elsewhere, reinforces the gentle qualities one might more readily associate with a healer or counsellor. In that picture, his face tips slightly to one side in a receptive pose, and in the iconic manner of Jesus, or a new age healer, his expression appears to exude the kind of calm serenity associated with a man at peace with himself and the world.²⁴ In this rehabilitated therapeutic role, then, Draper becomes more charismatic, thereby shoring up his identity as the empathic healer.²⁵

I have argued that the charismatic aspects of Draper's persona as a therapist lie in his consoling, feel-good approach to therapy, which can be easily consumed, and he uses marketing techniques of promotional culture to enhance his appeal. That appeal is also reinforced by the quasi-religious language he uses regarding the language of redemption and so on. The third link one can make to his status as a charismatic therapist is his relationship to celebrity. As we have seen, the glamour of celebrity is present for Draper in his publicised relationship to the TV presenter Kate Garraway. His celebrity credentials are reinforced and carried over into that clinical aspect of his identity when he provides a link on his therapy

page to his colleague 'clinical psychologist', Cecilia d'Felice, who acquired celebrity status as a television psychology expert on shows such as *Big Brother* (UK, Channel 4). Thus, discourses of politics, celebrity, therapy, redemption and personal transformation all converge around Draper to create an aura, which, given the contradictions of these different spheres, is hard to manage and sustain. The difficulty of containing these contradictions was made apparent by the actions of Draper himself during the recent scandal of 'Smeargate'.²⁶ Whatever the rights and wrongs of his behaviour in that scandal, it is clear that he attracted a lot of hostility from members of the public and the press even before it occurred. For example, before the story broke, political journalist and presenter, Andrew Neale, said that following Draper's appearance on *The Politics Show* (UK, BBC2), Draper received more 'hate mail' (via the show) than any other guest since the series began (Neale, 2009: 37).

Such hostility is interesting and can be explained at a numbers of levels. Firstly, Draper's political alignment with a crumbling New Labour project may be significant and the memories of his 'laddish' persona of the 1990s appear not to have gone away. As he said in a recent interview, his greatest pleasure used to be to 'go to conference, pull the fittest girl from the labour students, then make a speech. My idea of heaven'. As the interviewer dryly observed, Draper hardly comes across as 'a neo Nye Bevan' (Millard, 2009: 6). His links to the macho and often misogynistic culture of political blogging are indeed off-putting and one must not forget that 'Smeargate' came about after Draper condoned the smearing of a politician's wife as mentally ill, thereby using mental health as 'a weapon' rather than as an object of care and concern (Bennett, 2009: 27). Yet for many, the dislike of Draper appears to be connected to his newly feminised identity as a therapist and his sobriquet 'Dolly' continues to be used by journalists and political bloggers in a less than flattering way to undermine his masculinity.²⁷ The distrust of his links to the world of psychotherapy is apparent in the continual allegations about his bogus qualifications and many of the reviews of his book use the language of therapy and the chapter headings taken from his book to attack him.²⁸ Thus the language of transformation and redemption, which is a key theme of therapy culture and its narratives of well-being, are attacked in this particular context and Draper, as a symbol of New Labour and new therapy, provides a target for this aggression.

One could argue, following Richards (2007), that this aggression provides a means of processing anxiety about contemporary political culture, where in the public imagination, mind doctors and spin doctors have become the bad objects and have the power to manipulate and attack their victims in an unprincipled way. Yet, whilst the emotional work described by

Richards may have operated in the early days of New Labour spin, the containment of anxiety is not evident here. Instead, the language of envy and projection appear to dominate the political blogs and also the popular cultural landscape where Draper has become a national 'hate figure' (Young, 2009), derided by those in the Labour party and by newspaper readers as being 'pure poison' (Cecil, 2009). We shall have to wait and see whether, like other disgraced UK public figures such as MP, Jonathan Aitken, or reality TV star, Jade Goody, Draper will, following a period of contrition, once again employ the language of redemption in order to be accepted and forgiven once more.²⁹

Therapy culture as a symbol and symptom of return

One feature of the response to Draper's role in 'Smeargate' is that journalists used him to shore up support for increased state regulation and to attack the professionalism and autonomy of psychotherapists more generally. As the journalist Catherine Bennett put it: 'If you wonder why psychotherapy is in urgent need of regulation, just consider the actions of this practitioner' (Bennett, 2009: 27). Paradoxically, the debate in the press about regulation appears to reverse the argument used by Furedi and others about the ways in which people are rendered passive by the values and processes of therapy culture. Here, as in Bennett's article, the protection of 'vulnerable patients' by the state is juxtaposed against the danger of practicing psychotherapists who are opposed to the rationalisation of risk and the promotion of a 'safety first' culture.

Today we are witnessing the drive towards a greater regulation of psychodynamic therapies alongside the promotion of therapies with so-called 'measurable outcomes'.³⁰ David Cameron's desire to measure happiness should also be seen in this context. The desire for order here can be explained psychoanalytically as mode of concrete thinking associated with 'paranoid schizoid' anxiety (Klein, 1946: 1-25; Segal, 1973: 24-39). At the meta-theoretical level, what many academic perspectives on therapy culture have in common is a sense of loss and nostalgia for order in the context of uncertainties associated with the postmodern age. Yet, what therapy culture sceptics such as Lasch and Furedi also share is arguably a mistrust of its feminising aspects. The therapeutic values that acknowledge the existence of emotional vulnerability are culturally associated with traditional images of femininity. The unease around the alleged infantilising aspects of therapy culture may well be linked to concerns about these feminising connotations. As the poet, Blake Morrison (2003), argues, a central message throughout Furedi's book appears to be a dislike of enfeeblement and a plea to 'pull

yourself together'. So perhaps Furedi has more in common with the state than he thinks. As discussed, similar anxieties can also be found in popular culture where discussions about therapy and emotion often attract a similar form of derision. The emphasis on emotion, feelings and the self in therapy culture, challenges older patriarchal certainties, disrupting the traditional gendered categories through which we have made sense of the world, including the duality of emotion versus rationality. The maternal connotations of caring and nurturance associated with therapeutic discourse may also provoke anxieties related to the vulnerabilities of regressive dependency and fantasies of maternal engulfment.

As we have seen in my examination of Derek Draper as a case study, popular representations of therapy culture are contradictory. On the one hand they offer a consoling narrative of redemption through the fantasy of 'well-being'; yet on the other, they also open up spaces in order to problematise that desire for unity, providing a language to explore the contradictions of contemporary experience. The case of Derek Draper is apt in this context, as he appears to represent that duality. For example, whilst promoting New Labour policy about CBT and positive psychology, Draper also introduced readers of his book to Freud's theories of the unconscious and psychoanalytic orientated readings of attachment theory. In this sense, Draper could be seen as a populariser of psychoanalysis, using the 'sugar' of positive psychology to help readers digest the less palatable aspects of psychoanalytic theory as informed by the 'analytic' heritage discussed in 1966 by Rieff. Yet, in applying psychoanalytic language in a popular context (and even before 'Smeargate'), Draper laid himself open to attack, becoming a target for contemporary anxieties about risk, the lack of trust and the loss of old certainties, suggesting that mind doctors are no better than spin doctors in their apparent power and duplicity.

Our emotional engagement with these and other mediated images of therapy represents, perhaps, a desire to make sense of a range of questions related to identity and selfhood in a changing and uncertain world.³¹ Given the centrality of emotion and therapy in contemporary culture, it is surprising that psychoanalysis has not been used more in media and cultural studies to explore this development. This may be related to the tendency in these fields to emphasise Foucauldian principles of governance. The mistrust of psychoanalysis has a long history in media and cultural studies, stemming largely from the perception of psychoanalytic theory as a 'master discourse', blind to issues of cultural difference, history and political context (Blackman and Walkerdine, 2001; Nunn and Biressi, 2010). Rose's detailed analysis regarding the encroachment of therapeutic discourse has been influential in

this respect. Yet whilst holding on to Rose's scepticism, it is also necessary to acknowledge the contradictions of subjectivity, and the need to refuse the seductions of 'tight-fit' explanations of discourse analysis, where emotional responses are merely derived from the internalisation of 'psy' discourses, where psychoanalysis is said to play a key role. As Cooper and Lousada (2010) argue, the 'slaves' within psychoanalytic institutions have long since rebelled. Moreover, the psychoanalytic emphasis upon the unconscious and the precarious nature of subjectivity continues to undercut the seductive – if arguably paranoid – view of the psychological subject propagated by Furedi and others, who bemoan the loss of mastery, something which psychoanalytic theory takes as given. It would also be interesting to explore a group analytic perspective in this context, which, as mode of therapy, applies social and psychoanalytic understandings to individuals, groups, culture and society in a critical and politically aware fashion. Group analysis acknowledges personal vulnerability and retains an awareness of the decentred subject of psychoanalysis and its place in history; it also challenges the reductive and regulatory practices of CBT as a cheap mode of therapy as advocated by the state (Adlam and Scanlon, 2011).

Concerns about the state's utilitarian advocacy of certain therapeutic techniques may be well founded. Yet as I have argued, anxieties about the nature of therapy culture can, at a broader level, also be linked to debates about the nature of cultural and social change, as in the recent work on the relationship between mourning and the transition from modernity to an increasingly narcissistic and nostalgic postmodern age (Radstone, 2007). The old structures and stories through which we have made sense of our world have shifted, resulting in a sense of disorientation, loss and confusion where it is feared that feelings are more readily accessed than those spaces occupied by thought. Against this backdrop of ontological uncertainty and doubt, the notion of 'therapy' becomes both the symptom and solution, where the promise of cure creates yet more uncertainty and dissatisfaction, resulting in a yearning for something that cannot be returned to nor fully grasped. These themes of loss and mourning, together with the desire to repair the fragments of contemporary experience can be found in both academic and popular discourses about therapy culture today.

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Notes

¹ For further discussion of this anti-liberal stance, see Davison Hunter, 1992, Davison Hunter and Wolfe, 2006 and Imber, 2004.

² See Blake Morrison's (2003) critique of this tendency within Furedi's work.

³ The Website 'Culture Wars' which is linked to the Battle of Ideas Festival regularly cites Furedi and in particular the encroachment of therapy culture in education, see http://www.culturewars.org.uk/index.php/site/article/therapy_culture_revisited

⁴ He employs a liberatory discourse to argue that we need to free ourselves from the 'authority of the therapeutic world view' (2004: 40) which he sees as being closely aligned to the post-war growth of the Welfare state which he says set in place a culture of dependency amongst British citizens. Writing in a US edited collection of essays on culture on his views about the 'statist outlook' of the UK, it becomes apparent that Furedi's views on 'therapy culture' are bound up closely with fantasies of nation and loss, including the loss of freedom and the loss of a particular (masculine) British ideal of the British stiff upper lip. Furedi also bemoans the lack of opposition to the politicisation of emotion from British intellectuals whom he says are themselves wed to the statist ideals and 'the therapeutic ideal'. Yet as I discuss later, with the exception of those such as Anthony Giddens (1991, 1992), most UK intellectuals are critical of state interventions, evidenced perhaps by the ubiquity of publications and conference presentations that have addressed the theme of 'governance'.

⁵ Although this is under-realised as a point of discussion.

⁶ Not only is CBT short term, it is often computerised and delivered by low-paid workers.

⁷ Edward Bernays was Freud's nephew and allegedly played a key role in psychologically driven advertising campaigns (Yates, 2010).

⁸ Rieff (1966: 76) argues that previously, therapeutic meaning could be found in the church through religious communities and 'commitment therapy', which he contrasts with 'analytic therapy'.

⁹ As I discuss later, Freud's approach also contrasts with the certainties of CBT and the current UK government's measurements of happiness in the construction of a 'happiness index' (BBC, 2010).

¹⁰ The religious nature of psychoanalysis echoes Foucault's views about psychoanalysis as a secular form of 'confessional', a point developed by Rose (1994) in his critique of therapeutic culture and its techniques which he argues constitute a pernicious form of emotional management in a variety of social and cultural settings.

¹¹ See for example Day Sclater et al, 2009.

¹² The social networking sites Facebook and Twitter provide examples of this. For examples of relevant blogs and websites, see: Aaron Balick's website Mindsworth: <http://www.mindsworth.co.uk/Home.html>; or the website blog Feelings: <http://www.thoughts.com/tag/feelings>; or 'Confessions of a Serial Insomniac': <http://www.networkedblogs.com/blog/serialinsomniac/>; or Love Gives Hope: http://www.networkedblogs.com/blog/love_gives_hope/; or The School of Life: www.theschooloflife.com; all accessed 30 June, 2011.

¹³ At the end of the 1999 edition of the book, he asks us to imagine what it might be like if identity were constructed in terms of what we 'do', rather than who we are and how we feel.

¹⁴ This plan has also been influenced by the New Economics Foundation think tank, (<http://www.neweconomics.org/>), which in 2006 published its first 'Happy Planet Index' and, in 2009, created a website entitled 'National Accounts of Well-being', <http://www.nationalaccountsofwell-being.org/>, accessed 5 May, 2011.

¹⁵ Positive psychology became popular in the 1970s and 80s, and was then consumed in the mass market of popular psychology thereafter (see Heathcote, 2010, for a brief history of this development).

¹⁶ For a summary of television and Radio counselling shows, see:

http://www.shrinkrap.co.uk/television_radio.html, accessed 24 June, 2011.

¹⁷ See <http://www.psychologies.co.uk/Self-knowledge/Therapy/Psychotherapy>, accessed 6 May, 2010.

¹⁸ The aim here is not to examine Derek Draper the man, but rather to discuss representations of him and the textual implications of his image as a celebrity psychotherapist and political activist.

¹⁹ The Priory is a private hospital in London that is known for its treatment of addiction and, according to reports, is the rehab centre of choice for celebrities (Kirby, 2005).

²⁰ According to his latest book, he was at the time of writing in psychotherapy supervision with the renowned psychotherapist, Susie Orbach.

²¹ These websites include www.diy-therapy.com, www.LabourList.org, www.flowvideo.co.uk/http://derekdrapersblog.blogspot.com/, Accessed 25 January, 2010.

Draper also had a therapy column in the popular women's journal *Psychologies*. However, following 'Smeargate', the link to this journal has now been taken off his website (see Endnote xxvi). At the time of revising this article, Draper's psychotherapy website www.diy-therapy.com, is undergoing 'redevelopment'. An

archive of his journalist activity can be found on <http://www.journalisted.com/derek-draper>, accessed 3 June, 2011.

Draper can also be found on various networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube.

²² See Johnson's 2008 paper: <http://www.iapt.nhs.uk/2008/11/psychological-therapies-in-the-nhs-science-practice-and-policy-november-2008/>, accessed 23 March, 2010. The 2003 government DfES Research Report 'Emotional Well-being into primary education', also provides an example of this in an educational context (David, Gooch, Powell, and Abbott, 2003).

²³ See for example, the petition signed by the 'Coalition Against Over Regulation of Psychotherapy': <http://www.coregp.org/>, accessed 16 February, 2010.

²⁴ Draper has in fact talked about his 'redemption' and 'finding solace' in spirituality, yoga and prayer. He has also said that he is a practising Christian (Dodd, 2008).

²⁵ See: http://www.netmums.com/things/Dads_Takeover_Derek_Draper.2220/, accessed 29 June, 2011.

²⁶ 'Smeargate' refers to the alleged role played by Draper in accepting an email from Gordon Brown's political advisor Damian McBride about smearing the family of a member of the (then) government opposition and also various members of the opposition themselves. Draper is alleged to have replied: 'This is totally brilliant Damian' (www.Guardian.co.uk, 2009). The most damaging accusation for Draper was that he appeared to condone a plan to smear the wife of an opposition MP as mentally ill (BBC News, 2009).

²⁷ The biggest culprit here is the right-wing political blogger Paul Staines or 'Guido Fawkes', who was responsible for exposing Draper's role in 'Smeargate', see: <http://www.order-order.com/2009/04/mission-accomplished-mcbride-fired/>, accessed 15 February, 2010.

²⁸ The Amazon reviews of his book are mostly negative and often quite vicious: See <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Life-Support-Derek-Draper/dp/1848500440>, accessed 19 January, 2010.

There are also websites that are devoted entirely to bad reviews of his book, see for example:

<http://dizzythinks.net/2009/04/should-derek-draper-read-his-own-book.html>, accessed 19 January, 2010.

See also one posting by journalist, Toby Young (2009), who defends Draper and calls an end to the fighting, thereby reminding readers of the culture of 'masculine competitiveness' that underpins some of the attacks on Draper, leading one to speculate on what exactly is being defended by these men in relation to Draper and the latest scandal.

²⁹ It was only following Goody's death that the unfavourable press coverage became more favourable and her reputation was 'redeemed'. See Biressi and Nunn (2010) for further discussion of this theme.

³⁰ As also evidenced by proposals for UK state regulation of psychotherapy. For details of the petition set up to oppose this move, see: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/apr/09/letter-psychotherapy-health-professionals-council>, accessed 15 February, 2010.

³¹ Psychosocial studies writers have explored such questions at length over the years. Recent examples include: Day Sclater et al. (2009); Elliott and Urry (2010); Frosh (2010).

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