

# Appendix

## Oral history respondents

Name	Entry into general practice	Region	Interviewed
James Robertson	Mid-1970s	East end of London (inner city)	11 September 2012
Sarah Hall	Mid-1970s	East end of London (inner city)	15 October 2012
Christian Edwards	Early 1960s	Hampshire (provincial)	30 July 2012
Graham Hadley	Late 1960s	Midlands (urban/city)	19 October 2009
Jane Russell	Late 1960s	Midlands (urban/city)	19 October 2009
Roger Lea	Late 1960s	Devon (rural)	6 October 2009
Rupert Espley	Late 1950s	Devon (rural)	5 October 2009
Glen Haden	Early 1960s	Somerset (provincial)	20 June 2011
David Palmer	Early 1960s	Devon (provincial)	26 July 2012
Julian Adams	Late 1960s	Somerset (provincial)	20 July 2011
Giles Walden	Early 1960s	Devon (rural)	23 August 2011
Jeffrey Meane	Late 1960s	Somerset (rural)	13 August 2012
John Souton	Mid-1970s	Devon (rural)	16 September 2009
Jeremy Barrington	Late 1950s	Devon (rural)	14 October 2009
Robert Manley	Early 1960s	West Midlands (provincial)	4 January 2012
Richard Stanton	Early 1970s	Devon (provincial)	8 August 2012

Pseudonyms have been used in all cases to protect the anonymity of the GPs and to safeguard the anonymity of people and places mentioned in the interviews. Among the GPs were a number of respondents who fulfilled senior professional and academic posts in addition to the role of practising GP, including a professor of general practice, a former president of the RCGP and a former associate dean of general practice. Several of the respondents came from families with a long and well-respected medical family heritage.



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# Notes

## Introduction

1. *Mad Men*, Lionsgate Television, AMC, 2007.
2. See for example: Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, third edition 2007); Susan Faludi, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of Modern Man* (New York, W. Morrow and Co., 1999); James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005); Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, Anchor/Doubleday, 1983); Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man since 1945* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984); Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (London and New York, Routledge, 1996); and Frank Mort, 'Social and symbolic fathers and sons in post-war Britain', *The Journal of British Studies* (1999), 38 (3), 353–84.
3. It is generally accepted in medical circles that women are more likely than men to be 'diagnosed' with a mental health condition. This is a point discussed recently in Daniel Freeman and Jason Freeman, *The Stressed Sex: Uncovering the Truth about Men, Women and Mental Health* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013).
4. For a discussion of these debates, see Ali Haggett, *Desperate Housewives: Neuroses and the Domestic Environment 1945–1970* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2012).
5. See 'Gender disparities in mental health', Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse, World Health Organization (WHO), available at [http://www.who.int/mental\\_health/media/en/242.pdf](http://www.who.int/mental_health/media/en/242.pdf) accessed on 9 August 2013. The WHO notes that there are marked differences in rates of depression between countries, suggesting the importance of macro-social factors and also that mental illness in women in the developing world is intimately related to factors such as poverty, discrimination, socio-economic disadvantage and gender-based violence. See p. 3.
6. For recent discussion, see D. Wilkins, *Untold Problems: A Review of the Essential Issues in the Mental Health of Men and Boys* (Men's Health Forum, 2009), p. 32. For historical data see C. A. H. Watts, *Depressive Disorders in the Community* (Bristol, John Wright and Sons, 1966), p. 119.
7. Wilkins, *Untold Problems*, p. 29.
8. See for example J. G. Bancroft and C. A. H. Watts, 'A survey of patients with chronic illness in a general practice', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1959), 2, 338–45, statistics on 341. This subject is discussed more fully in Chapter 3 of this book.
9. A point made in Wilkins, *Untold Problems*, p. 33.
10. Royal College of General Practitioners' Archive, A CE G 12–1, Psychiatry and the general practitioner working party papers, agendas notes and reports.

11. These ideas are set out fully in Mark Micale, *Hysterical Men: The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2008).
12. See Micale, *Hysterical Men*. See also Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830–1980* (London, Virago, 1987) and Janet Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991).
13. On neurasthenia, see Ruth E. Taylor, 'Death of neurasthenia and its psychological reincarnation', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (2001), 179, 550–7; Edward Shorter, *From Paralysis to Fatigue: A History of Psychosomatic Illness in the Modern Era* (New York, Free Press, 1992).
14. Gastric disorders during the Second World War are explored more thoroughly in Chapter 1 of this book. For war trauma, see Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, *From Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (Hove, Psychology Press, 2005); Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: Shell Shock Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914–1930* (London, Bloomsbury, 2011); Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists, 1914–1994* (London, Pimlico New Edition 2002); and Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, Reaktion, new edition 1999).
15. The theory of performativity is set out in Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 1990) and developed further in Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter* (Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 1993).
16. Philip Hodson, chief spokesperson for the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy, Foreword to Wilkins, *Untold Problems*, p. 11.
17. Edward Royle, 'Trends in post-war British social history', in James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall (eds), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 9–18, on p. 12.
18. See Cynthia White, *The Women's Periodical Press in Britain 1946–1976: the Royal Commission on the Press* (London, HMSO, 1977); Cynthia White, *Women's Magazines 1963–1968* (London, Michael Joseph, 1970); and Brian Henry (ed.), *British Television Advertising: the First 30 Years* (London, Century Benham, 1986).
19. Paul Addison, *No Turning Back: The Peacetime Revolutions of Post-War Britain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 66.
20. For debates about the extent to which both systems were in fact 'egalitarian', see Michael Sanderson, 'Education and social mobility', in Paul Johnson (ed.), *Twentieth Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman, 1998 edition), pp. 374–91.
21. Royle, 'Trends in post-war British social history', p. 15.
22. James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall, 'Introduction', in James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall (eds), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, Routledge, 1994) pp. 1–8, on p. 1.
23. Chris Harris, 'The family in post-war Britain', in James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall (eds), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, Routledge, 1994) pp. 45–57, on p. 50.
24. Harris, 'The family in post-war Britain', p. 49. See Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957) and Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Networks* (London, Tavistock, 1957).
25. Raymond Firth, *Two Studies of Kinship* (London, London School of Economics, 1956) and Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London*

- Suburb* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960). See also Peter Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957).
26. See J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt, *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968a); J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt, *The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behaviour* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968b); J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt, *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969).
  27. See Stephen Taylor and Sidney Chave, 'Mental health in Harlow New Town', *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* (1966), 10, 38–44 and E. H. Hare and G. K. Shaw, *Mental Health on a New Housing Estate: A Comparative Study of Health in Two Districts of Croydon* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965).
  28. Mike Savage, 'Working-class identities in the 1960s: Revisiting the affluent worker study', *Sociology* (2005), 39 (5), 929–46, on 930.
  29. For discussion of the feminist movement between 1945 and the 1970s, see Haggett, *Desperate Housewives*. For a discussion of youth culture, see Addison, *No Turning Back*, p. 98 and Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London, Abacus, 2006), Chapter 6.
  30. Addison, *No Turning Back*, p. 200.
  31. See for example: Judith Huback, *Wives Who Went to College* (London, William Heinemann, 1957); Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956); and Viola Klein, *Britain's Married Women Workers* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).
  32. John Sutherland, *Reading the Decades: Fifty Years of the Nation's Bestselling Books* (London, BBC, 2002), p. 14.
  33. Sutherland, *Reading the Decades*, p. 33.
  34. For a detailed account of representations of masculinity in British and film, see Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London, I B Tauris, 2001). Spicer argues that male stereotypes can be categorised into cultural 'types' – some that arise during a particular historical moment (such as the 'angry young men') and others that are overarching archetypes (such as the 'fool' and the 'rogue' whose cultural histories are extensive). See also Stella Bruzzi, *Bringing up Daddy: Fatherhood and Masculinity in Post-War Hollywood* (London, British Film Institute, 2005).
  35. See for example the work of Alistair MacLean whose male characters typify this style.
  36. Sutherland, *Reading the Decades*, p. 63. See, as examples, works by Iris Murdoch, Doris Lessing, Penelope Mortimer, Maralyn French and Fay Weldon.
  37. For discussion of these authors, see Haggett, *Desperate Housewives*, pp. 19–22.
  38. Helen Mayer Hacker, 'The new burdens of masculinity', *Marriage and Family Living* (1957), 19, 227–33, on 227.
  39. Ruth Hartley, 'Sex-role pressures in the socialisation of the child', *Psychological Reports* (1959), 5, 457–69.
  40. Sidney M. Jourard, 'Some lethal aspects of the male role', in Joseph H. Pleck and Jack Sawyer (eds), *Men and Masculinity* (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1974), pp. 21–9, on p. 22.
  41. Victor J. Seidler, *The Achilles Heel Reader: Men, Sexual Politics and Socialism* (London, Routledge, 1991), p. ix.

42. Seidler, *The Achilles Heel Reader*, p. xi.
43. For a full analysis of men's liberation groups, see Michael A. Messner, 'The limits of the male sex role: An analysis of the men's liberation and men's rights movements discourse', *Gender and Society* (1998), 12 (3), 255–76. Messner notes that the men's movement broadly split between those who emphasised 'men's rights' and were opposed to feminist claims that patriarchy benefited men at women's expense, and those who aligned themselves with feminists to confront patriarchy.
44. Jourard, 'Some lethal aspects of the male role', p. 23.
45. Anne Rogers and David Pilgrim, *A Sociology of Health and Illness* (Maidenhead, Open University Press, fourth edition, 2010), Chapter 4.
46. John A. Ryle, 'Aetiology: A plea for wider concepts and new study', *Lancet*, 11 July 1942, 29–30. See also John A. Ryle, *Changing Disciplines: Lectures on the History, Method and Motives of Social Pathology* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1948).
47. For example, see Stephen Taylor, 'The suburban neurosis', *Lancet*, 26 March 1938, 759–61. For a full account of Taylor's views, see Rhodri Hayward, *The Transformation of the Psyche in British Primary Care 1870–1970* (London, Bloomsbury, 2014).
48. See, for example, the work of Franz Alexander (1891–1964) and Helen Flanders Dunbar (1902–1959).
49. J. L. Halliday, *Psychosocial Medicine: A Study of the Sick Society* (London: William Heinemann, 1948). For a full account of Halliday's theories, and his use of National Insurance claims as 'psychological documents', see Hayward, *The Transformation of the Psyche*, Chapter 3.
50. Mark Jackson, *The Age of Stress, Science and the Search for Stability* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013).
51. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 177.
52. Dorothy Porter, 'Introduction', to John A. Ryle, *Changing Disciplines* (New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction, 1994 edition), p. xxxi. See also Dorothy Porter, 'The decline of social medicine in Britain in the 1960s', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *Social Medicine and Medical Sociology in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam, Editions Rodopi, 1997), pp. 97–119. Important developments nonetheless include research into the links between smoking and lung cancer by Richard Doll and Austin Bradford Hill, and research into coronary heart disease by J. N. Morris. See J. Pemberton, 'Origins and early history of the Society for Social Medicine in the UK and Ireland', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (2002), 54, 342–46.
53. Porter, in Ryle, *Changing Disciplines*, p. xxxi.
54. H. J. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality on his style of practice', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners* (1969), 17, 82, supplement 3, 6–17, on 6.
55. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality', 11.
56. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, pp. 186–7.
57. A problem discussed in C. Gordon, A. R. Emerson and D. S. Pugh, 'Patterns of sickness absence in a railway population', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1959), 16, 230–43. See also Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 200.
58. The lack of attention paid to the influence of social and emotional factors on health at work is examined by R. Jenkins in 'Minor psychiatric morbidity in

- employed young men and women and its contribution to sickness absence', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1985), 42, 147–54, on 150. For a polemic debate about the new social theory, see James Le Fanu, *The Rise and Fall of Modern Medicine* (London, Abacus, 2000 edition).
59. This debate, its history and contemporary relevance is discussed in James Colgrove, 'The McKeown thesis: A historical controversy and its enduring influence', *American Journal of Public Health* (2002), 92 (5), 725–9.
  60. Colgrove, 'The McKeown thesis', 729.
  61. John Ryle, quoted in the editorial 'Social pathology', *Lancet*, 29 March 1947, 413–14, on 413.
  62. The origins of the broader cross-cultural movement are discussed further in chapter 5.
  63. Arthur Kleinman, 'Depression, somatisation and the "new cross-cultural psychiatry"', *Social Science and Medicine* (1977), 11 (3), 3–10, on 3.
  64. Kleinman, 'Depression, somatisation', 3.
  65. Arthur Kleinman, *The Illness Narratives: Suffering, Healing and the Human Condition* (New York, Basic Books, 1988), p. xiii.
  66. Bio-sketch, Laurence J. Kirmayer, WACP Newsletter, *World Cultural Psychiatry Research Review* (2006), 2 (3), 54–5.
  67. Laurence J. Kirmayer, 'Culture, affect and somatisation', *Transcultural Psychiatry* (1984), 21, 159–88, on 160. Kirmayer has been a prominent figure in advancing the notion of transcultural psychiatry in recent years by identifying, for example, the culture-biology interaction, i.e. the ways in which culturally determined behaviour refashions human biology. See Laurence J. Kirmayer, 'Beyond the "new cross-cultural psychiatry": Cultural biology, discursive psychology and the ironies of globalisation', *Transcultural Psychiatry* (2006), 43, 126–44.
  68. Kirmayer, 'Culture, affect and somatisation', 161.
  69. A point made by Elisabeth Hsu in Elisabeth Hsu, "'Holism" and the medicalisation of emotion: The case of anger in Chinese medicine', in Peregrine Horden and Elisabeth Hsu (eds), *The Body in Balance: Humoral Medicines in Practice* (New York and Oxford, Berghahn, 2013), pp. 197–217, on 200.
  70. John F. Kihlstrom and Lucy Canter Kihlstrom, 'Somatisation as illness behaviour', *Advances in Mind-Body Medicine* (2001), 17, 240–3, on 243.
  71. Kihlstrom and Kihlstrom, 'Somatisation as illness behaviour', 243.
  72. George L. Engel, 'The need for a new medical model: A challenge for biomedicine', *Science* (1977), 196, 129–36, on 133.
  73. S. Nassir Ghaemi, 'The biopsychosocial model in psychiatry: a critique', *Existenz* (2011), 6 (1), 1–8, on 3.
  74. Ghaemi, 'The biopsychosocial model in psychiatry', 4.
  75. The basic argument put forward in N. McLaren, 'A critical review of the biopsychosocial model', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* (1998), 32, 86–92.
  76. Suman Fernando, *Mental Health, Race and Culture* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 edition), p. 42. My emphasis.
  77. Fernando, *Mental Health*, p. 42.
  78. Hacker, 'New burdens of masculinity', p. 227.
  79. Hacker, 'New burdens of masculinity', p. 227.
  80. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 2.

81. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 3.
82. Joan Scott, 'Gender: A useful category of historical analysis', in Joan Scott (ed.), *Feminism and History* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 152–80. Originally published in *The American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053–75.
83. Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, Columbia University, 1999), p. 6.
84. See Stephen Whitehead, 'Masculinity: Shutting out the nasty bits', *Gender, Work and Organization* (2000), 7 (2), 133–7. See also John Tosh, 'What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain', *History Workshop Journal* (1994), 38, 179–202.
85. See Maria Lohan, 'Developing a critical men's health debate in academic scholarship', in Brendan Gough and Steve Robertson (eds), *Men, Masculinities and Health: Critical Perspectives* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 11–29, on p. 12.
86. R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept', *Gender and Society* (2005), 19, 829–59, on 832.
87. Connell and Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic masculinity', 833.
88. Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley, 'Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices', *Feminism and Psychology* (1999), 9 (3), 335–56, on 336.
89. Wetherell and Edley, 'Negotiating hegemonic masculinity', 336.
90. Steve Robertson and Robert Williams, 'The importance of retaining a focus on masculinities in future studies on men and health', in Giles Tremblay and François-Olivier Bernard (eds), *Future Perspectives for Intervention, Policy and Research on Men and Masculinities: An International Forum* (Harriman TN, Men's Studies Press, 2012), pp. 119–33, on pp. 121, 123. See also J. Hearne, 'Is masculinity dead?: A critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities', in M. Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1996) and K. Clatterbaugh, *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity: Men, Women and Politics in Modern Society* (Oxford, Westview, 2nd edition 1997).
91. Robertson and Williams, 'The importance of retaining a focus on masculinities', p. 125.
92. Micale, *Hysterical Men*, p. 57.
93. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, pp. 1–2.
94. Michael Roper, 'Slipping out of view: Subjectivity and emotion in gender history', *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005), 57–72, on 62.
95. Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What have historians done with masculinity? Reflections on five centuries of British History, 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, (2005), 44, 274–80, on 277.
96. Roper and Tosh, cited in Roper, 'Slipping out of view', 57.
97. Roper, 'Slipping out of view', 69.
98. For discussion about the use of psychoanalytical theory in history, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London, Arnold, 2000), pp. 56, 57.
99. Steve Robertson and Robert Williams, 'Men, public health and health promotion: Towards a critically structural and embodied understanding', in Brendan Gough and Steve Robertson (eds), *Men, Masculinities and Health: Critical Perspectives* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 48–66, on p. 59.

100. For the history of psychiatric services in Britain, see K. Jones, *A History of the Mental Health Services* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Andy Bell and Peter Lindley, *Beyond the Water Towers: The Unfinished Revolution in Mental Health Services 1985–2005* (London, The Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2005); and Helen Gilbert and Edward Peck, *Service Transformation: Lessons from Mental Health* (London, The King's Fund, 2014).
101. Indeed, recent research suggests that black and minority communities may be at higher risk of poor mental health and that their experience of mental health services is more likely to be negative; a controversial topic discussed in Wilkins, *Untold Problems*, p. 34.
102. Micale, *Hysterical Men*, pp. 282, 281.
103. Robertson and Williams in 'Men, public health and health promotion', p. 54.
104. A point made recently by Robertson and Williams in 'Men, public health and health promotion', p. 61; and by Micale speaking of earlier times in *Hysterical Men*, p. 281.
105. GPs were recruited from a range of sources, including the alumni department of Birmingham Medical School and from contacts at the Royal College of General Practitioners. Letters were also sent out inviting response from surgeries in the author's locality. An appendix is provided with details of respondents. All interviews are fully anonymised to protect the identity of the respondents, their colleagues and patients.

## 1 Psychological Illness and General Practice

1. Michael Shepherd, Michael Fisher, Lilli Stein and W. I. N. Kessel, 'Psychiatric morbidity in an urban group practice', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1959), 52, 269–74, on 265.
2. Greg Wilkinson, 'The General Practice Research Unit at the Institute of Psychiatry', *Psychological Medicine* (1989), 19, 787–90, on 787.
3. David Hannay, 'Undergraduate medical education and general practice', in Irvine Loudon, John Horder and Charles Webster (eds), *General Practice under the National Health Service 1948–1997* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998) pp. 165–81, on p. 167.
4. John Howe, 'Research in general practice: Perspectives and themes', in Irvine Loudon, John Horder and Charles Webster (eds), *General Practice Under the National Health Service 1948–1997* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 146–64 on p. 147.
5. Elianne Riska, 'The rise and fall of Type A man', *Social Science and Medicine* (2000), 51, 1665–74, on 1665.
6. Allan V. Horwitz, 'How an age of anxiety became an age of depression', *The Milbank Quarterly* (2010), 88 (1), 112–38, on 120.
7. Horwitz, 'How an age of anxiety', 119.
8. Horwitz, 'How an age of anxiety', 130. See also David Healy, *The Antidepressant Era* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1997) and David Healy, *Let Them Eat Prozac: The Unhealthy Relationship between the Pharmaceutical Industry and Depression* (New York, New York University Press, 2004). See also Christopher Callahan and German E. Berrios, *Reinventing Depression: A History of the*



- Treatment of Depression in Primary Care 1940–2004* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005). For an account of anxiety in the preceding period, see Andrea Tone, *The Age of Anxiety: A History of America's Turbulent Affair with Tranquilizers* (New York, Basic Books, 2009).
9. Horwitz, 'How an age of anxiety', 126.
  10. See the *International Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems*, Revision 9 (WHO, 1979), codes 296.2–296.4 and 300–1. Controversy still surrounds the differences between the current DSM V and the ICD-10 (currently under revision). Not only do diagnostic criteria differ between the two, but there is also disagreement about the values and disadvantages of the 'prototype' matching approach favoured by the ICD and the operational or 'defining features', approach favoured by DSM. See Mario Maj, 'Psychiatric diagnosis: Pros and cons of prototypes vs. operational criteria', *World Psychiatry* (2011), 10, 81–2 and Michael First, 'Harmonisation of ICD-11 and DSM – V: Opportunities and challenges', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (2009), 195, 382–90.
  11. Mark Jackson, *The Age of Stress: Science and the Search for Stability* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 141. See also Tone's *Age of Anxiety*. Tone describes the new chapter in what W. H. Auden had declared the 'Age of Anxiety', in which post-war America became 'suffused with atomic anxiety', pp. 93–4. The age of anxiety and the emergence of the concept of 'stress' is also discussed at length in Rhodri Hayward, *The Transformation of the Psyche in British Primary Care 1880–1970* (London, Bloomsbury, 2014), Chapter 3.
  12. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 146.
  13. See Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 160. For Alexander and Dunbar, see H. Weiner, 'The concept of psychosomatic medicine', in E. R. Wallace IV and J. Gack (eds), *History of Psychiatry and Medical Psychology* (New York, Springer, 2008), pp. 485–516.
  14. Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The social survey in social perspective', in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales and Kathryn Kish Sklar (eds), *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective 1880–1940* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 49–65, on p. 49.
  15. Brian Harrison, 'Rowntree, (Benjamin) Seebohm (1871–1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008 <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk/view/article/35856>, accessed 12 October 2014.
  16. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, Macmillan and Co, 1908 edition), pp. vii–viii.
  17. W. P. D. Logan and Eileen M. Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness 1943–1952: Studies on Medical and Population Subjects No. 12* (London, HMSO, 1957), p. 11.
  18. Logan and Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness*, p. 11.
  19. Logan and Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness*, p. 22.
  20. Logan and Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness*, pp. 22, 26.
  21. Logan and Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness*, p. 26. For comparable studies in the USA, see Callahan and Berrios, *Reinventing Depression*, pp. 30–1.
  22. Logan and Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness*, pp. 52, 54.
  23. Michael Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981 Second Edition), p. 11.

24. W. P. D. Logan and A. A. Cushion, *General Register Office Studies on Medical and Population Subjects, No. 14, Morbidity Statistics from General Practice, Volume 1* (London, HMSO, 1958), p. 34.
25. Logan and Cushion, *Morbidity Statistics from General Practice, Volume 1*, p. 38.
26. E. R. Bransby, 'The extent of mental illness in England and Wales', *Health Trends* (1974), 6, 56–9, on 57.
27. A. Ryle, 'The neuroses in a general practice population', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1960), 3, 313–28, on 315. See also R. E. Perth, 'Psychosomatic problems in general practice', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners, Research Newsletter* (1957), 4, 295–331. Perth suggested that 40 per cent of the population were at risk.
28. Ryle, 'The extent of mental illness', 313.
29. The shift from asylum-based care to community treatment has been well documented. See, for example, Andrew Scull *Decarceration; Community Treatment and the Deviant – a Radical View* (Cambridge, Polity 1994); Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac* (New York, John Wiley, 1997); and also covered in Ali Haggett, *Desperate Housewives: Neuroses and the Domestic Environment 1945–1970* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2012).
30. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, p. 4.
31. R. E. Kendell, 'The classification of depressions: A review of contemporary confusion', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1976), 129, 15–28, on 15.
32. Kendell, 'The classification of depressions', 17–18.
33. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, p. 17.
34. Brian Cooper, John Fry and Graham Kalton, 'A longitudinal study of psychiatric morbidity in a general practice population', *British Journal of Preventive and Social Medicine* (1969), 23, 210–17, on 212.
35. Cooper, Fry and Kalton, 'A longitudinal study of psychiatric morbidity', 211.
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104. Shepherd and Clare, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, p. 33.
105. David Hannay, 'Undergraduate medical education and general practice', in Irvine Loudon, John Horder and Charles Webster (eds), *General Practice under the National Health Service, 1948-1997* (London, Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 165-81, on p. 167.
106. Hannay, 'Undergraduate medical education and general practice', p. 168.
107. Hannay, 'Undergraduate medical education and general practice', p. 168.
108. Denis Pereira Gray, 'Postgraduate training and continuing education', in Loudon, Horder and Webster (eds), *General Practice under the National Health Service, 1948-1997*, pp. 182-204, on p. 183.
109. D. W. Hall, 'Vocational training for general practice', *Health Trends* (1973), 5, 80-82, on 80.
110. Pereira Gray, 'Postgraduate training', p. 185. For developments in general practice within the context of the organisation of the NHS, see Geoffrey Rivett, *From Cradle to Grave: Fifty Years of the NHS* (London, King's Fund, 1997), pp. 80-92.
111. Pereira Gray, 'Postgraduate training', p. 188 and Hall, 'Vocational training', 80.
112. Hall, 'Vocational training', 81.
113. Pereira Gray, 'Postgraduate training', p. 192.
114. 'Psychological medicine in general practice: A report prepared by the working party of the Council of the College of General Practitioners', *British Medical Journal*, 6 September 1958, 585-90, on 588.
115. 'Psychological medicine in general practice', 589-90 and 588.
116. Interview with Robert Manley.
117. Interview with David Palmer.
118. A point that emerged in several interviews with doctors who had contact with Sargant - for example, Jeremy Barrington.
119. Interview with Roger Lea.
120. Interview with Richard Stanton.
121. 'Michael Balint', Editorial, *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners* (1972), 22, 133-5, on 133.
122. The Tavistock Clinic was founded in London under the leadership of Dr Hugh Crichton-Miller (1877-1959), initially to explore the traumatic effects of First World War shellshock victims. Its vision was extended to provide systematic major psychotherapy on the basis of concepts inspired by psychoanalytic theory, for patients suffering from psychoneuroses and allied disorders. See H. Dicks, *Fifty Years of the Tavistock Clinic* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).
123. Michael Balint, Editorial, 133.
124. Michael Balint, 'The doctor, his patient and the illness', *Lancet*, 2 April 1955, 683-8, on 684.
125. Balint, 'The doctor, his patient and the illness', 684.

126. Michael Balint, 'Psychotherapy and the general practitioner', *British Medical Journal*, 19 January 1957, 156–8, on 157.
127. Michael Balint, Editorial, 133–4.
128. John Horder, 'The first Balint group', *British Journal of General Practice*, December 2001, 1038–9, on 1039.
129. Horder, 'The first Balint group', 1039.
130. Michael Balint, Editorial, 134. This was also the opinion of David Palmer (who became very influential in one regional vocational scheme). See also Marshall Marinker, 'What is wrong and how we know it: Changing concepts of general practice', in Loudon *et al.* (eds), *General Practice*, pp. 65–91, esp., p. 73; and Hayward, *The Transformation of the Psyche*, Chapter 4.
131. *The Future General Practitioner: Learning and Teaching* (Royal College of General Practitioners, 1972). This textbook illustrates a noticeable shift towards the importance of interpersonal relationships, patient-centred care and the consultation process.
132. Interview with Robert Manley. A point confirmed in H. J. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality on his style of practice', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners* (1969), 17 (82, supplement 3), 6–17, on 6.
133. Interview with Glen Haden.
134. Balint, 'The doctor, his patient', 685.
135. Patrick S. Byrne and Barrie E. L. Long, *Doctors Talking to Patients: A Study of the Verbal Behaviour of General Practitioners Consulting in their Surgeries* (London, HMSO, 1976), pp. 8, 9.
136. Byrne and Long, *Doctors Talking to Patients*, p. 191.
137. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality', 8.
138. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality', 11.
139. Walton, 'Effect of the doctor's personality', 12. These findings are echoed in R. R. Bomford, 'The anxious patient and the worried doctor', papers from a joint conference of the College of General Practitioners and the Society of Psychosomatic Research: 'The problems of stress in general practice', *Supplement to the Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1958), 1 (2), 10–13.
140. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, p. 55.
141. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, p. 33.
142. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness in General Practice*, pp. 52, 68.
143. Interview with Christian Edwards.
144. Interview with Richard Stanton.
145. Interview with Giles Walden.
146. Interview with Julian Adams. Gestalt therapy was developed by the Germans, Frederick and Laura Perls, during the 1940s. It focuses particularly on awareness of current circumstances and environment. Gestalt therapy developed in part as a reaction towards psychoanalysis and behaviourism during the mid-twentieth century, which were viewed by some as too deterministic.
147. Interview with Robert Manley.
148. Interview with David Palmer.
149. Interview with David Palmer.
150. Interview with Christian Edwards. Graham Hadley explicitly noted that his wife, who was also a GP and worked with him, ran late with her lists

- each day because of the 'worried well' – notably, according to Hadley, with 'bored housewives'.
151. Stephen Taylor, *Good General Practice: A Report of a Survey by Stephen Taylor*, Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust (London, Oxford University Press, 1954). See for example pp. 417, 430, 431. Lord Stephen Taylor of Harlow, who was a doctor and former Labour Member of Parliament, became influential in the development of general practice and published regularly about social and political issues that affected health.
  152. Watts, *Depressive Disorders*, p. 12.
  153. F. J. A. Huygen, *Family Medicine: The Medical Life History of Families* (Nijmegen, The Netherlands, Dekker and Ven de Vegt, 1978), p.11. For a British example of a similar theoretical approach, see Robert Kellner, *Family Ill-Health: An Investigation in General Practice* (London, Tavistock Publications, 1963).
  154. Interviews with Roger Lea and John Souton.
  155. Hopkins, 'The general practitioner and the psychosomatic approach', p. 11.
  156. Marinker, 'Changing concepts of illness', p. 80. A more radical critique of the family was of course also put forward by R. D. Laing and A. Esterson in *Sanity, Madness and the Family* (London, Tavistock, 1964) in which the authors argued that 'the family is the unit of illness: not the individual, but the family', p. 23.
  157. Stephen J. Hadfield, 'A field survey of general practice', *British Medical Journal*, 26 September 1953, 684–706, on 685, 686.
  158. Hadfield, 'A field survey of general practice', 636.
  159. Hadfield, 'A field survey of general practice', 689.
  160. Richard Moore, *Leeches to Lasers: Sketches of a Medical Family* (Killala, Ireland, Morigan, 2002), pp. 218–9.
  161. Moore, *Leeches to Lasers*, p. 220.
  162. Moore, *Leeches to Lasers*, p. 220.
  163. Moore, *Leeches to Lasers*, p. 220.
  164. Moore, *Leeches to Lasers*, p. 223.
  165. Shepherd, *Psychiatric Illness*, p. 55.
  166. David Morrell, 'Introduction and overview' in Loudon *et al.*, *General Practice*, pp. 1–19, on p. 4.
  167. David Pilgrim, *Key Concepts in Mental Health* (London, Sage, second edition, 2009), p. 176.
  168. For figures and analysis of suicide in England and Wales, see Kyla Thomas and David Gunnell, 'Suicide in England and Wales 1861–2007: A time-trends analysis', *International Journal of Epidemiology* (2010), 39, 1464–75.
  169. Emile Durkheim's classic study *Suicide* (London, Routledge, 1955) was cited as a classic epidemiological study.
  170. P. Sainsbury, *Suicide in London*, Maudsley Monographs No. 1 (London, Chapman and Hall, 1955).
  171. F. A. Whitlock, 'Suicide in England and Wales 1959–63, Part 2: London', *Psychological Medicine* (1973), 3, 411–20, on 411.
  172. Norman Kreitman, Vera Carstairs and John Duffy, 'Association of age and social class with suicide among men in Great Britain', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (1991), 45, 195–202, on 195.

173. Kreitman, Carstairs and Duffy, 'Association of age and social class with suicide', 199. Kreitman was director of the Medical Research Council Unit for Epidemiological Psychiatry in Edinburgh, where, from the 1970s, he undertook research into suicide, female depression and alcohol consumption. He coined the term 'parasuicide', a recognition, not acknowledged at the time, that most episodes of self-harm are not attempts at suicide. See Patricia Casey, Obituary, Norman Kreitman, *Psychiatric Bulletin*, doi: 10.1192/pb.bp.113.043521, accessed 5 March 2015.
174. Kreitman, Carstairs and Duffy, 'Association of age and social class with suicide', 199.
175. F. A. Whitlock, 'Suicide in England and Wales 1959–63, Part 1: the county boroughs', *Psychological Medicine* (1973), 3, 350–65, on 361, 362.
176. Whitlock, 'Suicide in England and Wales 1959–63, Part 1', 362.
177. R. W. Parnell and Ian Skottowe, 'Towards preventing suicide', *Lancet*, 26 January 1957, 206–208.
178. Watts, *Depressive Disorders*, pp. 124, 132.
179. Interview with Jeremy Barrington.
180. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 186.
181. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 191. For a full account of these concerns, and research into the social causes of stress and illness see Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, Chapter 5, 'Coping with stress', and Ali Haggett, *Desperate Housewives: Neuroses and the Domestic Environment, 1945–1970* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2012), pp. 86–95.
182. See for example, Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness* (London, Allen Lane, 1974).
183. George W. Brown and Tirril Harris, *Social Origins of Depression: A Study of Psychiatric Disorder in Women* (London, Tavistock, paperback edition, 1979), p. 279.
184. James Y. Nazroo, Angela C. Edwards and George W. Brown, 'Gender differences in the prevalence of depression: Artefact, alternative disorders, biology or roles?', *Sociology of Health and Illness* (1998), 20 (3), 312–30, on 324.
185. See Christopher Tennant and Paul Bebbington, 'The social causation of depression: A critique of the work of Brown and colleagues', *Psychological Medicine* (1978), 8, 565–75.
186. Brown and Tirril, *Social Origins of Depression*, p. 279.
187. See Nazroo, Edwards and Brown, 'Gender differences in the prevalence of depression'.
188. See Walter Gove, 'The relationship between sex roles, marital status and mental illness', *Social Forces* (1972), 51, 34–44. For debate about Gove's work, see Haggett, *Desperate Housewives*, pp. 107–8.
189. Jackson, *The Age of Stress*, p. 194.
190. Bruce P. Dohrenwend and Barbara Snell Dohrenwend, 'Sex differences and psychiatric disorders', *American Journal of Sociology*, (1976), 81, 1447–54, on 1452.
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192. Monica Brisco, 'Sex differences in psychological wellbeing', *Psychological Medicine*, Monograph Supplement, Supplement 1 (1982), 1–46, on 6.



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193. Brisco, 'Sex differences in psychological wellbeing', 37.
  194. Brisco, 'Sex differences in psychological wellbeing', 38.
  195. Monica E. Brisco, 'Why do people go to the doctor? Sex differences in the correlates of GP consultation', *Social Science and Medicine* (1987), 25, 5, 507–13, on 511.
  196. Brisco, 'Sex differences in psychological wellbeing', 42.
  197. Derek L. Phillips and Bernard E. Segal, 'Sexual status and psychiatric symptoms', *American Sociological Review* (1969), 34 (1), 58–72, on 60.
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  199. Warren, 'Male intolerance of depression', 150.
  200. Riska, 'The rise and fall of Type A man', 1666.
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## 2 Mental Health at Work: Misconceptions and Missed Opportunities

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2. Fraser, *The Incidence of Neurosis among Factory Workers*, p. 4.
3. Fraser, *The Incidence of Neurosis among Factory Workers*, p. 5.
4. Rachel Jenkins, 'Minor psychiatric morbidity in employed young men and women and its contribution to sickness absence', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1985), 42, 147–54, on 149, 150.
5. Vicky Long, *The Rise and Fall of the Healthy Factory: The Politics of Industrial Health in Britain, 1914–60* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 7–9. Long explores the negotiations between the trade unions, employers, the medical profession and the state.
6. H. A. Waldron, *Occupational Health Practice* (London, Butterworths, 1989 [1973]), p. 9. For a full account of the history of occupational health, see Arthur J. McIvor, *A History of Work in Britain 1880–1950* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001) and Paul Weindling (ed.), *The Social History of Occupational Health* (London, Croom Helm, 1985).
7. Waldron, *Occupational Health Practice*, p. 8.
8. Waldron, *Occupational Health Practice*, p. 10.
9. Waldron, *Occupational Health Practice*, pp. 10–11.
10. Long, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 11.
11. Charles Myers, *Industrial Psychology* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 9.
12. Sarah Hayes, 'Industrial automation and stress in post-war Britain', in Mark Jackson (ed.), *Stress in Post-War Britain* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2015), p. 75.
13. Hayes, 'Industrial automation', p. 75.

14. Hayes, 'Industrial automation', pp. 75–6. For earlier concerns about industrial fatigue, prompted by the First World War, see M. Greenwood, *A Report on the Cause of Wastage of Labour in Munition Factories* (London, MRC, HMSO, 1918).
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16. World Health Organization, *Mental Health Problems of Automation* (WHO Technical Report Series, 183, 1959), p. 5.
17. WHO, *Mental Health Problems of Automation*, p. 6.
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19. Lennart Levi (ed.), 'Preface', *Society, Stress and Disease*, Volume 4, Working Life (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. xi–xii.
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21. For the first detailed study of absenteeism, see Hilde Behrend, 'Voluntary absence from work', *International Labour Review* (1959), 79, 109–40.
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23. J. K. Chadwick-Jones, Nigel Nicolson and Colin Brown, *Social Psychology of Absenteeism* (New York, Praeger, 1982), p. 130.
24. J. K. Chadwick-Jones, C. A. Brown and N. Nicholson, 'Absence from work: Its meaning, measurement and control', *International Review of Applied Psychology* (1973), 22 (2), 37–54, on 40.
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26. Chadwick-Jones, *Social Psychology of Absenteeism*, p. 3.
27. Viviane Isambert-Jamati, 'Absenteeism among women workers in industry', *International Labour Review* (1962), 85, 248–61, on 252.
28. Isambert-Jamati, 'Absenteeism among women', 253.
29. *A Study of Absenteeism among Women* (London, Industrial Research Board, 1943).
30. Isambert-Jamati, 'Absenteeism among women', 255.
31. F. Zweig, *Women's Life and Labour* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1952), p. 111.
32. Zweig, *Women's Life and Labour*, p. 133.
33. See P. Froggatt, 'Short-term absence from industry', 200.
34. Behrend, 'Voluntary absence from work', 126 (my italics).
35. Behrend, 'Voluntary absence from work', 112.
36. Chadwick-Jones, 'Absence from work', 146.
37. Behrend, 'Voluntary absence from work', 112; a finding supported later also by P. Froggatt in 'Short-term absence from industry III', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1970), 27, 297–312, on 307.
38. *Off Sick* (Office for Health Economics, 1971), p. 19.
39. *Off Sick*, p. 5. For example, higher sickness rates were noted among female civil servants. See Debbie Palmer, 'Cultural change, stress and civil servants' occupational health, 1967–1990', in Mark Jackson (ed.), *Stress in Post-War Britain* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2015).
40. *Off Sick*, pp. 5, 6. A trend noted by all authors, see for example, P. J. Taylor and J. Burridge, 'Trends in death, disablement and sickness absence in the British Post Office since 1891', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1982), 39, 1–10, on 6.

41. *Off Sick*, p. 9.
42. P. J. Taylor, 'Individual variations in sickness absence', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1967), 24, 169–77, on 169.
43. P. J. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1968) 25, 106–18, on 109.
44. David A. Hamburg and Beatrix A. Hamburg, 'Occupational stress, endocrine changes and coping behaviour in the middle years of adult life', in Lennart Levi (ed.), *Society, Stress and Disease*, Volume 4, Working Life (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 131–43, on p. 138.
45. W. P. D. Logan and Eileen M. Brooke, *The Survey of Sickness 1943–1952, Studies on Medical and Population Studies* (London, HMSO, 1957), p. 51. See also W. P. D. Logan, *Studies on Medical and Population Subjects, No 14: Morbidity Statistics from General Practice Vol II* (London, HMSO, 1960), p. 15.
46. Interview with Jeffrey Meane.
47. Interview with Rupert Espley.
48. Interview with Roger Lea.
49. Interview with Rupert Espley.
50. See Allison Milner *et al.*, 'Suicide by occupation, systematic review and meta-analysis', Review Article, *BJP* (2013), 203, 409–16.
51. Peter Townsend, 'Inequality and the health service', *Lancet* (1974), 303, (7868), 1179–84 on 1179.
52. M. H. Brenner, 'Mortality and the national economy: A review and the experiences of England and Wales', *Lancet* (1979), 2, 568–73, on 568. Debates about the health disadvantages associated with unemployment and financial insecurity proliferated during the 1980s, for, as Brenner noted, there was a time lag effect following loss of employment: suicide was more common within the first year of unemployment, whereas chronic sickness, such as cardiovascular disorders, tended to increase after two or three years of unemployment. See Brenner, 'Mortality and the national economy', 571.
53. *Off Sick*, p. 6.
54. *Off Sick*, p. 8.
55. Logan and Brooke, *Survey of Sickness*, p. 52.
56. J. E. Ager and P. A. B. Raffle, *Patterns of Sickness Absence: Experience of London Transport Workers over Two Decades* (London, London Transport Executive, 1975).
57. See for example, Taylor and Burridge, 'Trends in death, disablement and sickness absence', 8–9.
58. Interview with Sarah Hall.
59. Interview with Glen Haden.
60. *Off Sick*, p. 8.
61. Logan and Brooke, *Survey of Sickness*, p. 53.
62. Logan and Brooke, *Survey of Sickness*, p. 54.
63. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', 106–18.
64. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', 111.
65. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', 114.
66. 21.4% of the 'frequently sick' group had spells of neurosis, in contrast to 12.5% of the controls.
67. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', 113.
68. Taylor, 'Personal factors associated with sickness absence', 111.

69. Interview with Giles Walden.
70. David Ferguson, 'Some characteristics of repeated sickness absence', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1972), 29, 420–31, on 430.
71. Ferguson, 'Some characteristics of repeated sickness absence', 430.
72. David Ferguson, 'A study of neurosis and occupation', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1973), 30, 187–98, on 187.
73. Ferguson, 'A study of neurosis and occupation', 193.
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75. Nerall and Wahlund, 'Stressors and strain in white collar workers', p. 126.
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111. A point made in McIvor, *Working Lives*, p. 161.
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113. Walker, 'Danger was a thing', 61.
114. McIvor, *Working Lives*, p. 161.
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124. Interview with Glen Haden.
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133. See A. McIvor and R. Johnston, *Miners' Lung* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007).
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162. See Banks, Clegg, Jackson, Kemp, Stafford and Wall, 'The use of the General Health Questionnaire'.
163. Jenkins, 'Minor psychiatric morbidity', 149. The only marked sex difference was that the rate of somatic symptoms with psychological origin in women had begun to rise – or were more evident in this style of study – by the 1980s.

164. Jenkins, 'Minor psychiatric morbidity', 152.
165. Jenkins, 'Minor psychiatric morbidity', 152.
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167. Banks, Clegg, Jackson, Kemp, Stafford and Wall, 'The use of the General Health Questionnaire', 188.
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### 3 Men, Alcohol and Coping

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3. W. K. van Dijk and A. van Dijk-Koffeman, 'A follow-up study of 211 treated male alcoholics', *British Journal of Addiction* (1973), 68, 3–24, on 4.
4. N. Heather and I. Robertson, *Problem Drinking* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004 edition), p. 26. For a discussion of the treatment of 'inebriates' in the nineteenth century see: V. Berridge, 'Punishment or treatment? Inebriety, drink and drugs 1860–2004', *Lancet*, December 2004, 364, 4–5.
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7. Berridge, 'The origins and early years of the society', 996.
8. V. Berridge, 'The impact of war 1914–1918', *British Journal of Addiction* (1990), 85, 1017–22, on 1017.
9. See Berridge, 'The impact of war 1914–1918', and also V. Berridge, 'The interwar years: A period of decline', *British Journal of Addiction* (1990), 85, 1023–35.
10. Betsy Thom, *Dealing with Drink, Alcohol and Social Policy, from Treatment to Management* (London, Free Association Books, 1999) p. 15. Thom cautions that although there have been broad shifts in explanatory models, differing

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  17. G. Watts, 'James Griffith Edwards', Obituary, *Lancet*, 6 October 2012 (338), 1224.
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  19. Heather and Robertson, *Problem Drinking*, p. 31. For a history of AA, see Ernest Kurtz, *Not God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous* (Center City MN, Hazleden, 1999 edition), and Alcoholics Anonymous, *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age: A Brief History of AA* (New York, AA World Services Inc., 2012 edition). There is little focus on AA in this book, largely due to the fact that its history is well known, and, aside from an acceptance that many patients might benefit from attending AA in parallel with and after medical treatment, many physicians were sceptical of the organisation. Due to confidentiality issues, research on AA was virtually impossible and many physicians found the organisation difficult to deal with. Max Glatt, in contrast, who promoted a more holistic approach, praised their methods and promoted them. For methodological difficulties surrounding research AA research, see, Paul E. Bebbington, 'The efficacy of alcoholics anonymous: The elusiveness of hard data', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1976), 128, 572–80.
  20. Heather and Robertson, *Problem Drinking*, p. 31.
  21. Conversation with Max Glatt, *British Journal of Addiction* (1983), 78, 231–43, on 233.
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  23. Denis Parr, 'Alcoholism in general practice', miscellaneous papers, personal papers of Sir (William) Allen Daley PP/AWD/H.6/3/2, Wellcome Archives and Manuscripts, also published in *British Journal of Addiction* (1957), 54 (1), 25–39. Sir Allen Daley, medical officer of health, served on numerous committees concerned with preventive medicine and health education, of which the Rowntree Steering Group was one. For the evolution of earlier organisations and societies such as the National Council on Alcoholism, see Thom, *Dealing with Drink*. See also Virginia Berridge, 'The society for the study of addiction 1884–1988', *British Journal of Addiction* (1990), 85, special issue.
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26. John Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics since 1830* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2003), p. 164.
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31. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, p. 20.
32. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, pp. 22, 25, 34, 39.
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34. SA/CCA/32 'Information week', transcripts of seminars, 1967, p. 8.
35. SA/CCA/32 'Information week', transcripts of seminars, 1967, p. 13.
36. SA/CCA/44 'CCA seminars on alcoholism' 1970, pp. 5–7.
37. SA/CCA/44 'CCA seminars on alcoholism' 1970, p. 12.
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39. For a psychiatric appraisal, see G. A. Foulds and Christine Hassall, 'The significance of age of onset of excessive drinking in male alcoholics', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1969), 115, 1027–32. Although social aspects such as childhood and marriage were considered, the authors of this retrospective study of alcoholics correlated alcoholism and problems in the interpersonal sphere as evidence of personality disorder and neurosis.
40. Conversation with Max Glatt, p. 234.
41. M. M. Glatt, 'A treatment centre for alcoholics in a public mental hospital: Its establishment and working', *British Journal of Addiction* (1955), 52, 55–88, 60, 61.
42. Conversation with Max Glatt, p. 234.
43. Conversation with Max Glatt, p. 234.
44. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, pp. 41, 63.
45. Conversation with Max Glatt, p. 237.
46. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, pp. 57–8.
47. SA/CCA/62, CCA 'Women alcoholics: Seminars, student surveys, agencies and work-group meetings', 1973–1975.
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- [accessed 28 January 2013]. This debate continues today. See R. Herring, V. Berridge and B. Thom, 'Binge-drinking: A confused concept', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (2008), 62, 476–9. The authors argue that the government and media continue to focus on women drinkers while mortality rates from alcohol are twice as high in men than women.
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  50. SA/CCA/62 'CCA Women alcoholics', minutes of meeting from the planning group.
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  59. Interview with Rupert Espley.
  60. G. Edwards, 'Patients with drinking problems', *British Medical Journal*, 16 November 1968, 435–7, on 436, 437.
  61. Denis Parr, 'Alcoholism in general practice', *British Journal of Addiction* (1957) 54, 1, 25–39, on 39.
  62. Interview with Rupert Espley.
  63. R. M. Murray, 'Alcoholism and employment', *Journal of Alcoholism* (1975), 10 (1), 23–6 on 25.
  64. K. J. B. Rix, D. Hunter and P. C. Olley, 'Incidence of treated alcoholism in north-east Scotland, Orkney and Shetland fishermen, 1966–1970', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* (1982), 39, 11–17, on 11.
  65. Rix, Hunter and Olley, 'Incidence of treated alcoholism', 15.
  66. Interview with Giles Walden.
  67. Interview with David Palmer.
  68. Interview with Sarah Hall.
  69. Interview with James Robertson.
  70. Interview with James Robertson.
  71. A point made by Richard Stanton.
  72. Interview with Richard Stanton.
  73. Interview with David Palmer.
  74. Interview with Robert Manley.
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80. 'Why 25000 men did not go to work', *Daily Express*, 22 October 1968.
81. M. M. Glatt, 'The key role of the family doctor in the rehabilitation of the alcoholic', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1960), 3, 292–300, on 292.
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84. N. H. Rathod, 'An enquiry into general practitioners' opinions about alcoholism', *British Journal of Addiction* (1967), 62, 103–11, on 109.
85. Rathod, 'An enquiry into general practitioners', 109.
86. David Robinson, 'Alcoholism as a social fact: Notes on the sociologist's viewpoint in relation to a proposed study of referral behaviour', *British Journal of Addiction* (1973), 68, 91–7, on 97, 94.
87. Herbert Berger, 'The prevention of alcoholism', *British Journal of Addiction* (1963), 59, 47–54.
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89. Berger, 'The prevention of alcoholism', 47, 48.
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92. Berger, 'The prevention of alcoholism', 51.
93. Berger, 'The prevention of alcoholism', 54.
94. Kenneth Robinson, 'Talk at the annual dinner of the society', *British Journal of Addiction* (1963), 60, 6–7, on 6.
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96. House of Lords, Fifth Series, 2 December 1965, 270 (1965) column 1409.
97. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, pp. 157–8, 161.
98. Advert for White Horse Whisky, *The Times*, 3 February 1958.
99. Advert for Dubbonet, *The Times*, 15 January 1954. ABV – alcohol by volume.
100. Advert for Guinness, *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1965), 9 (3).
101. Advert for Guinness, *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1965), 10 (2).
102. House of Lords, Fifth Series, 2 December 1965, 270 (1965), column 1403.
103. *The Times*, 2 January 1979.
104. R. Lemle and M. E. Mishkind, 'Alcohol and masculinity', *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 6 (1989), 213–22.
105. Lemle and Mishkind, 'Alcohol and masculinity', p. 214.
106. Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People* (London: Faber and Faber [1943], 2009), p. 42.
107. Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People*, p. 43.
108. Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People*, p. 42.
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112. Thom notes that a shift away from the disease theory towards a public health model of prevention did not come until the 1980s. Thom, *Dealing with Drink*, p. 130.

#### 4 Pharmacological Solutions

1. P. A. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs in general practice', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners* (1971), 92, Supplement 4, 1–77, on 1. Parish undertook research into – and taught – pharmacology. He stressed the importance of teaching pharmacology to GPs.
2. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 1. For an account of the development of prescribing policy and prescription charges, see Darrin Baines, 'The prescription charge and the Hinchcliffe Committee', *Prescriber* (2013), 15 November 2013, 40–2.
3. See Andrea Tone, *The Age of Anxiety: A History of America's Turbulent Affair with Tranquilizers* (New York, Basic Books, 2009), p. 196. For a full discussion of women and psychotropic medication in Britain see Ali Haggett, *Desperate Housewives, Neuroses and the Domestic Environment 1945–1970* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2012).
4. For the history of this discovery, see David Healy, *The Antidepressant Era* (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 43–8.
5. David Healy, *The Creation of Psychopharmacology* (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 4.
6. Mickey C. Smith, *A Social History of the Minor Tranquilizers: A Quest for Small Comfort in the Age of Anxiety* (New York, Pharmaceutical Products Press, 1985), p. 12.
7. Smith, *A Social History of the Minor Tranquilizers*, p. 12.
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11. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 6.
12. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 3.
13. Parish, 'The Prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 16. The survey included a total patient population of 133,081 registered with forty-eight GPs in the Midlands.
14. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 18.
15. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 19, 26.
16. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 26.
17. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 7.
18. John A. H. Lee, Peter A. Draper and Miles Weatherall, 'Medical care: prescribing in three English towns', *Milbank Memorial Fund* (1965), 43, 2, Part 2, 285–90, on 288.

19. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 22.
20. Interview with Giles Walden.
21. *British National Formulary* (BNF) (London, British Medical Association, 1952), p. 35.
22. Interview with Christian Edwards.
23. Interview with Richard Stanton.
24. Interview with Robert Manley. See also Richard Moore, *Leeches to Lasers: Sketches of a Medical Family* (Killala, Ireland, Moriggan, 2002). Moore recalled: 'mysterious substances like Syrup of Tolu and Pulv Tragacanth – relics of a bygone age', p. 220.
25. Interview with Giles Walden.
26. *BNF* (1952), p. 44.
27. For a cultural history of strychnine, see John Buckingham, *Bitter Nemesis: The Intimate History of Strychnine* (Boca Raton FL, Taylor and Francis, 2008).
28. *BNF* (London, BMA and The Pharmaceutical Society, 1960), pp. 50, 57.
29. *BNF* (London, BMA and The Pharmaceutical Society, 1963).
30. Interview with Rupert Espley.
31. See C. W. M. Wilson, J. A. Banks, R. E. A. Mapes and Sylvia M. T. Korte, 'Influence of different sources of therapeutic information on prescribing by general practitioners', *British Medical Journal*, 7 September 1963, 599–607.
32. Wilson *et al.*, 'Influence of different sources of therapeutic information', 599.
33. Wilson *et al.*, 'Influence of different sources of therapeutic information', 601.
34. Wilson *et al.*, 'Influence of different sources of therapeutic information', 603. See also C. W. M. Wilson J. A. Banks, R. E. A. Mapes and Sylvia M. T. Korte, 'Pattern of prescribing in general practice', *British Medical Journal*, 7 September 1963, 604–7.
35. Karen Dunnell and Ann Cartwright, *Medicine Takers, Prescribers and Hoarders* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 71.
36. D. M. Dunlop, 'A survey of 17,301 prescriptions on Form E C 10', *British Medical Journal*, 9 February 1952, 292–5, on 295. Dunlop went on to become the first chairman of the Committee on the Safety of Drugs, which was known for many years as the Dunlop Committee. Under his leadership, the Yellow Card Scheme was introduced in 1964, after the thalidomide tragedy highlighted the urgent need for routine monitoring of medicines. See The British Pharmaceutical Society, Hall of Fame: [http://www.bps.ac.uk/details/resourcesPage/6215841/Sir\\_Derrick\\_Dunlop.html?cat=bps1465bf3219c](http://www.bps.ac.uk/details/resourcesPage/6215841/Sir_Derrick_Dunlop.html?cat=bps1465bf3219c), accessed 7 January 2015.
37. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 62.
38. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 63.
39. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 69.
40. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 70.
41. *Research in Psychopharmacology: Report of a WHO Scientific Group* (Geneva, WHO, 1967), pp. 7–8.
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43. See for example, Dunnell and Cartwright, *Medicine Takers*, Chapter 3, and M. Balint, J. Hunt, D. Joyce, M. Marinker and J. Woodcock, *Treatment or Diagnosis: A Study of Repeat Prescribing in General Practice* (London, Tavistock, 1970), Chapter 4.
44. Advert for Libraxin, *British Medical Journal*, 10 January 1970.

45. Advert for Nactisol, *British Medical Journal*, 4 December 1965.
46. Advert for Stelabid, *British Medical Journal*, 4 October 1969.
47. See J. T. Silverstone and B. D. Lascelles, 'A double blind trial of Durophet M in the treatment of obesity in general practice', *Journal of the College of General Practitioners* (1965), 9, 304–10.
48. *BNF* (London, BMA and The Pharmaceutical Society, 1974–6), pp. 5–6.
49. *BNF* (London, BMA and The Pharmaceutical Society, 1976–8), p. 36.
50. Interview with Christian Edwards.
51. Interview with David Palmer.
52. Interview with Glen Haden.
53. Interview with Rupert Espley.
54. Interview with Roger Lea.
55. Ruth Cooperstock, 'Sex differences in psychotropic drug use', *Social Science and Medicine* (1978) 12B, 179–86, on 182.
56. Cooperstock, 'Sex differences in psychotropic drug use', 182.
57. Ruth Cooperstock and Henry L. Lennard, 'Some social meanings of tranquilizer use', *Sociology of Health and Illness* (1979), 1 (3) 332–47, on 335.
58. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 66.
59. Dunnell and Cartwright, *Medicine Takers*, p. 21.
60. Dunnell and Cartwright, *Medicine Takers*, pp. 21, 6.
61. Dunnell and Cartwright, *Medicine Takers*, p. 13.
62. Sanatogen guard book 1944, foreign market, History of Advertising Trust.
63. Sanatogen guard book 1944, foreign market, History of Advertising Trust.
64. Advert for Rennies, JWT/GD/007, History of Advertising Trust.
65. Advert for Rennies, JWT/GD/007, History of Advertising Trust.
66. See, for example, Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London, Marion Boyers, 2002 edition), p. 11.
67. Sadly, and perhaps with some irony, Harding died suddenly in 1960, at the age of 53, from a heart attack as he left BBC Broadcasting House.
68. The tricyclic antidepressants, for example, claimed to act on levels of serotonin and norepinephrine – the MAOIs claimed to reduce the breakdown of serotonin. For further information about the 'marketing' of stress, see also, Mark Jackson, *The Age of Stress: Science and the Search for Stability* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapter 4.
69. Advertisement for Horlicks, February 1957, JWT/GD/101, History of Advertising Trust.
70. Advert for Rennies, 1958, SKB guard book 87, 1957–1958, History of Advertising Trust.
71. Advert for Rennies, 19 May 1938, JWT/GD/007, History of Advertising Trust.
72. Advert for Hemotabs (ND, circa 1950s), SKB guard book (012), History of Advertising Trust.
73. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 37.
74. A point made in many of the oral history interviews; however, many doctors preferred the traditional envelope style of storing patients' notes.
75. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 38.
76. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 38.
77. P. Williams, J. Murray and A. Clare, 'A longitudinal study of psychotropic drug prescription', *Psychological Medicine* (1982), 12, 201–6, on 203, 205.
78. Williams *et al.*, 'A longitudinal study of psychotropic drug prescription', 205.

79. Kevin Koumjian, 'The use of Valium as a form of social control', *Social Science and Medicine* (1981), 245–9, on 245.
80. A topic covered fully in my earlier work, *Desperate Housewives*.
81. See for example, Cooperstock and Lennard, 'Some social meanings of tranquilizer use', 336.
82. Joanna Murray, 'Long-term psychotropic drug-taking and the process of withdrawal', *Psychological Medicine* (1981), 11, 853–8, on 855.
83. Illustrated in a number of the oral history interviews.
84. Parish, 'The prescribing of psychotropic drugs', 41. See also, Watts, *Depressive Disorders in the Community*, pp. 12–15.
85. See examples in Cooperstock and Lennard, 'Some social meanings of tranquilizer use', 338.
86. Cooperstock and Lennard, 'Some social meanings of tranquilizer use', 343.
87. Cooperstock and Lennard, 'Some social meanings of tranquilizer use', 341. Such studies were usually undertaken in the United States.

## 5 Special Cases: Sick Doctors and Ethnic Presentations of Psychological Illness

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2. a'Brook, Hailstone and McLauchlan, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1018.
3. Robin M. Murray, 'Psychiatric illness in male doctors and controls: An analysis of Scottish hospitals in-patient data', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1977), 131, 1–10, on 3.
4. M. M. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', *Journal of Alcoholism* (1976), 11, 85–91 on 85.
5. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 85.
6. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 86.
7. a'Brook, Hailstone and McLauchlan, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1017.
8. Murray, 'Psychiatric illness among male doctors', 5.
9. Editorial, 'Suicide among doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 28 March 1964, 789–90, on 789.
10. 'Suicide among doctors', 789.
11. 'Suicide among doctors', 789.
12. M. F. a'Brook, letter to the *British Medical Journal*, 4 March 1989, 603. By the late 1980s, it is notable that, in Britain, the rate of suicide among female doctors had reached an alarming three or four times the rate of the general public – roughly equal to the rate of male doctors.
13. 'Suicide among doctors', 789.
14. R. A. Franklin, 'One hundred doctors at the retreat: A contribution to the subject of mental disorder in the medical profession', *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1977), 131, 11–14, on 12.
15. Franklin, 'One hundred doctors at the retreat', 13.
16. a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1020.

17. a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1018.
18. Robin M. Murray, 'Characteristics and prognosis of alcoholic doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 15 December 1976, 1537–59 on 1538.
19. M. M. Glatt, letter to the *British Medical Journal*, 22 September 1979, 732.
20. S. E. D. Short, 'Psychiatric illness in physicians', *Journal of the Canadian Medical Association* (1979), 121, 283–8, on 287.
21. Short, 'Psychiatric illness in physicians', 287.
22. Short, 'Psychiatric illness in physicians', 287.
23. Leading article, 'Doctors' diseases', *British Medical Journal*, 9 December 1967, 467–8, on 467.
24. See for example the account from Robin M. Murray, 'The alcoholic doctor', *British Journal of Hospital Medicine* (1977), 18, 144–9, on 147.
25. Gareth Lloyd, personal paper 'I am an alcoholic', *British Medical Journal*, 18 September 1982, 785–6. (MRCOG – Membership of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists examination.)
26. Lloyd, 'I am an alcoholic', 786.
27. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 88.
28. a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1018.
29. Murray, 'The alcoholic doctor', 148.
30. John C. Duffy and Edward M. Litin, 'Psychiatric morbidity of physicians', *Journal of the American Medical Association* (1964), 189, 989–92, on 990.
31. a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1017.
32. Duffy and Litin, 'Psychiatric morbidity of physicians', 99.
33. A. Allibone, 'The health of doctors', in D. J. Pereira Gray (ed.), *The Medical Annual* (Bristol, Wright, 1983), pp. 141–50 on p. 146.
34. Allibone, 'The health of doctors', 147, 146.
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36. A. L. Simmonds, letter to the *British Medical Journal*, 10 December 1983, 1796.
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38. Ash Samanta and Jo Samanta, 'Regulation of the medical profession: Fantasy, reality and legality', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* (2004), 97, 211–18, on 211.
39. Notes and news, 'Alcoholism among the medical profession', *Lancet*, 2 December 1978, 1215.
40. Allibone, 'The health of doctors', 142.
41. Notes and News, 'Alcoholism among the medical profession', 1215.
42. B. Marien and F. Mckinna, Editorial, 'The elephant in the room', *Clinical Oncology* (2012), 24, 654–6, on 654.
43. a'Brook *et al.* 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1013, 1017.
44. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 87.
45. Murray, 'The alcoholic doctor', 149.
46. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 87.
47. Interview with David Palmer.
48. Interview with Christian Edwards.
49. J. L. Evans, 'Psychiatric illness in the physician's wife', *American Journal of Psychiatry* (1965), 122, 159–63, cited in a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1018.
50. Evans, 'Psychiatric illness in the physician's wife', cited in a'Brook, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1018.



51. Evans, 'Psychiatric illness in the physician's wife', cited in Leading Article, 'Doctors' diseases', *British Medical Journal*, 9 December 1967, 567–8, on 568.
52. S. E. D. Short, Review Article, 'Psychiatric illness in physicians', *Journal of the Canadian Medical Association* (1979), 121, 238–88, on 284.
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55. Jill Pereira Gray, Editorial, 'The family doctor's family', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners* (1978), 28, 579.
56. Allibone, 'The health of doctors', p. 144.
57. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 90.
58. Glatt, 'Alcoholism, an occupational hazard for doctors', 90.
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60. a'Brook *et al.*, 'Psychiatric illness in the medical profession', 1021.
61. See <http://www.bddg.org/10/history-of-bddg/> accessed on 15 January 2015. Nurses and female doctors have increasingly been vulnerable to mental illness, addiction and suicide.
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66. Samuel A. Corson and Elizabeth O'Leary Corson, 'Working situations and psychophysiological pathology – a systems approach', in Lennart Levi (ed.), *Society, Stress and Disease*, Volume 4, Working Life (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 226–47, on pp. 236–7.
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69. Corson and Corson, 'Working situations', p. 238.
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80. Bains, 'Race, culture and psychiatry', 141.
  81. Bains, 'Race, culture and psychiatry', 145.
  82. Simon Dein and Kamaldeep Singh Bhui, 'The crossroads of anthropology and epidemiology: Current research in cultural psychiatry in the UK', *Transcultural Psychiatry* (2013), 50 (6), 769–91, on 771.
  83. Dein and Bhui, 'The crossroads of anthropology and epidemiology', 771.
  84. Dein and Bhui, 'The crossroads of anthropology and epidemiology', 771.
  85. A. G. Mezey, 'Psychiatric aspects of human migrations', *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* (1960), 5, 245–60, on 245.
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  89. H. B. M. Murphy, 'Migration and the major mental disorders: A reappraisal', in Zwingmann and Pfister-Ammende (eds), *Uprooting and After* (New York, Springer Verlag, 1973) pp. 204–20, on p. 207.
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  93. Littlewood and Lipsedge, *Aliens and Alienists*, p. 128.
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  100. Stuart Crane, 'Problems of an immigrant population', Section of General Practice, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1970), 63, 629–31, on 629.
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  102. Crane, 'Problems of an immigrant population', 631.
  103. Farrukh Hashmi, 'Immigrants and emotional stress', Section of General Practice, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1970), 63, 631–2, on 631.
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  105. Hashmi, 'Immigrants and emotional stress', 632.
  106. Carne, 'Problems of an immigrant community', 629.
  107. Carne, 'Problems of an immigrant community', 629.
  108. Interview with James Robertson.
  109. Interview with James Robertson.
  110. Interview with James Robertson.
  111. Interview with Sarah Hall.
  112. Interview with James Robertson.
  113. A point made in both interviews with Robertson and Hall.

114. Interview with Sarah Hall. James Robertson also noted that somatisation was more common in immigrant groups.
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116. Interview with Sarah Hall.
117. Interview with Sarah Hall.
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121. Carne, 'Problems of an immigrant population', 636.
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124. Kleinman, 'Depression, somatization and the "new cross-cultural psychiatry"', 4.
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126. Department of Health, *Invisible Patients*, p. 36.
127. Department of Health, *Invisible Patients*, p. 34. It should be noted that women doctors are now particularly vulnerable to suicide.
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## Conclusion

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2. Tudor Hart, 'Going to the doctor', p. 553.

3. Arthur Watts, cited in Tudor Hart, 'Going to the doctor', p. 553.
4. Royal College of General Practitioners, *The Future General Practitioner* (London, RCGP, 1972), pp. 4, 6.
5. Bernice Tanner (ed.), *Language and Communication in General Practice* (London, RCGP, 1976).
6. RCGP Curriculum 2010, revised 7 May 2014, p. 5.
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9. Elizabeth Scowcroft, *Suicide Statistics Report 2014, Including Data for 2010–2012* (Samaritans, 2014), p. 8.
10. David Wilkins, *Untold Problems: A Review of the Essential Issues on the Mental Health of Men and Boys* (London, Men's Health Forum, 2011), pp. 15, 6. It is acknowledged that not all people who end their lives are mentally ill; however, there is a much greater risk of suicide among those with mental illness.
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12. Astbury, 'Gender disparities in mental health', p. 8.
13. Astbury, 'Gender disparities in mental health', p. 17.
14. Linda Morison, Christina Trigeorgis and Mary John, 'Are mental health services inherently feminised?', *The Psychologist* (2014), 27 (6), 414–16 on 414.
15. Morison, Trigeorgis and John, 'Are mental health services inherently feminised?', 415.
16. Dame Carol Black, *Working for a Healthier Tomorrow* (London, TSO, 2008), p. 16.
17. Black, *Working for a Healthier Tomorrow*, p. 16.
18. Black, *Working for a Healthier Tomorrow*, p. 16.
19. Policy briefing paper, *Improving Male Health by Taking Action in the Workplace* (London, Men's Health Forum, 2008), pp. 1–2.
20. Roger Kingerlee, Duncan Precious, Luke Sullivan and John Barry, 'Engaging with the emotional lives of men', *The Psychologist* (2014), 27 (6), 418–20.
21. Kingerlee, Precious, Sullivan and Barry, 'Engaging with the emotional lives of men', 418.
22. Kingerlee, Precious, Sullivan and Barry, 'Engaging with the emotional lives of men', 418.
23. Kingerlee, Precious, Sullivan and Barry, 'Engaging with the emotional lives of men', 421. Alexithymia is a psychiatric term/construct introduced in 1972 by Peter Sifneos. The word, derived from Greek, means inability to express emotion.
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25. Collectively put forward in a number of papers and articles, cited in Lynda W. Warren, 'Male intolerance of depression: A review with implications for psychotherapy', *Clinical Psychology Review* (1983), 3, 147–56, on 150.
26. Warren, 'Male intolerance of depression', 150.
27. David Mechanic, Editorial, 'The concept of illness behaviour: Culture, situation and personal predisposition', *Psychological Medicine* (1986) 16, 1–7, on 1.
28. Mechanic, 'The concept of illness behaviour', 2.

29. Arthur M. Kleinman, 'Depression, somatisation and the "new cross-cultural psychiatry"', *Social Science and Medicine* (1977), 11, 3–10 on 3–4.
30. A point made by Kleinmann in relation to other cultures in 'Depression, somatisation and the "new cross-cultural psychiatry"', 4.
31. An observation of Chinese culture in Kleinmann, 'Depression, somatisation and the "new cross-cultural psychiatry"', 4.
32. Warren, 'Male intolerance of depression', 148.
33. See Daniel Freeman and Jason Freeman, *The Stressed Sex: Uncovering the Truth about Men, Women and Mental Health* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013) and Daniel Freeman and Jason Freeman, 'The Stressed Sex?', *The Psychologist* (2014), 27 (2), February 2014, 84–7; and James Ball, 'Women 40% more likely to develop mental illness, study finds', *Guardian Online*, 22 May 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/may/22/women-men-mental-illness-study>, Last accessed 26 January 2015.
34. Freeman and Freeman, *The Stressed Sex*, pp. 29–30.
35. Martin Seager, Linda Morison, David Wilkins, Alison Haggett, Luke Sullivan and John Barry, Letter to the Editor, *The Psychologist*, printed March 2014. Martin Seager, a branch consultant for Samaritans, confirmed that the organisation receives approximately equal numbers of calls from men and women, suggesting that when men are assured anonymity, they might be more willing to report distress.
36. Seager, Morison, Wilkins, Haggett, Sullivan and Barry, Letter to *The Psychologist*, March 2015.
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38. Kingerlee, Precious, Sullivan and Barry, 'Engaging with the emotional lives of men', 418–19.
39. A point made in David Wilkins and Mariam Kemple, *Delivering Male: Effective Practice in Male Mental Health* (London, Men's Health Forum and Mind, 2011).
40. Bruce P. Dohrenwend and Barbara Snell Dohrenwend, 'Sex differences and psychiatric disorders', *American Journal of Sociology*, (1976), 81, 1453.



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