CLINICAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

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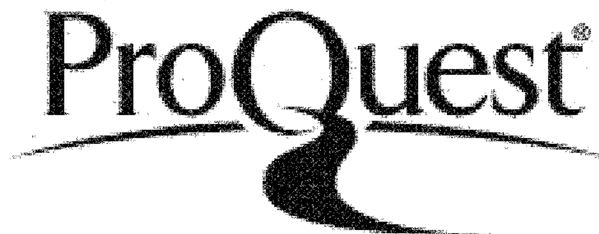

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ABSTRACT

Clinical Encounters in the National Security State

by

Fred LeRoy Erwin, Jr.

This study explores the lived experience of trauma, via the suffering expressed by counseling clients in relation to the apparatus and enactments of the National Security State in the United States of America. Using a multiple case, embedded case study research approach and method, this research explores the following questions through eight case vignettes: Is there a symptomatic relationship between impactful, negative personal experiences of traumatic suffering, and the activities, behaviors, and cultural milieu of American expressions of the National Security State, and how are these experiences described by the individual sufferer in the clinical context? A definition of the national security milieu is developed and utilized as a criterion for understanding the context of each case. Each case considers the national security context of the individual suffering. Analyses utilizing a Liberation Psychological approach and a Post-colonial perspective are presented and discussed with reference to the symptom manifestation and national security context of each case. The development and expression of trauma symptoms are discussed, and are analyzed and presented in relation to a measure of trauma symptom expression (the Trauma Symptom Checklist, Briere & Runtz, 1989), and to the diagnostic criteria of the DSM IV-TR for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (APA, 2000). Additional symptoms of complex trauma are noted and explored. The prospective application of postcolonial and liberation psychological theory and practice to the

establishment of personal psychological balance and communal well-being in each patient's situation of distress, suffering, and symptom emergence, is considered. A summary of findings is presented, describing the lived experience of chronic, complex trauma symptoms, in relation to the context of civic and personal relationships characterized by the patterns of the national security milieu as defined. As well, strengths and weaknesses of the present study are considered, and prospects for further study are offered.

DEDICATION

For my father

Human beings suffer.
They torture one another.
They get hurt and get hard.
No poem or play or song
Can fully right a wrong
Inflicted and Endured.

History says, Don't hope
On this side of the grave,
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up
And hope and history rhyme.

So hope for a great sea-change
On the far side of revenge.
Believe that a farther shore
Is reachable from here.
Believe in miracles
And cures and healing wells.

The Cure at Troy
by Seamus Heaney, 1991, CT 77

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I am grateful to all those who engaged in numerous, ongoing conversations about the work, reflecting with the researcher on the nature of trauma, the nature of human responses to extreme events, and who asked helpful and generous questions that both assisted the birth of the idea for this research and shaped its expression are almost too many to list. Special appreciation goes to the following: Dr. Carolyn Raffensberger, JD, Deena Metzger, PhDl, Alison Rose Levy, Mare Cromwell, Margo Stebbing, Sharon Health, Susan Rogers Hammond, and Deborah Edler Brown all shared in initial conversations about the dream direction that precipitated this research, with helpful encouragement and insight. Mabel Vasquez, John Valenzuela, Om Sharma, and Danelia Wild engaged in periodic conversations about progress and my emerging understandings of what I thought I was finding, and offered helpful insights and perspectives to the process of listening to the work. The members of the Blue Flag Topanga Darè community served as a spiritual container for the work during the months of research and writing. The staffs of Jinky's Café and Starbucks Las Tunas/Temple City kept me coffeed and encouraged.

My family, ancestral and living, provided much of the inspiration and both my earliest experiences and understanding of trauma, both theirs and my own, without which I might not have attended the nudge to follow this work. I am grateful for the capacity for gratitude I now carry for my family, and for all that they have taught me. Their encouragement in this project has been a source of strength.

The research remains my own, with its faults, limitations, and such errors as it may express. The support of these many tribes in visioning, sustaining and completing the work has been invaluable, and I celebrate their witness at the finishing line.

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The style used throughout this dissertation is in accordance with the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th edition, 2009), and Pacifica Graduate Institute's *Dissertation Handbook* (2011-2012).

Chapter 1
Introduction

Purpose Statement

The focus of the current study is the particular suffering and clinical significance, development, and presentation of trauma symptoms in persons having to function within the context of national security ideation and practices in recent American culture. Such ideation and practices include military recruiting and deployment, encounters with police in many forms in civic life, the constant absorption of nationalistic, often xenophobic propaganda, the colonization of the mind by corporate/colonial consumption and patriotism expectations, and the lived-historical effect of such encounters on individual psychology. The purpose of this study was to explore the clinical/cultural context of such encounters, and the symptoms and suffering that result, in the interest of healing and transformation. These symptoms and their related clinical syndromes were seen to have both individual/intrapsychic and collective, psychosocial manifestations. This qualitative study utilized a comparative clinical case study method designed to be both exploratory and descriptive in nature, instrumental in its intention to illuminate what may not be obvious to the casual observer, and collective in its scope via the exploration of a suite of eight cases encountered 1991 and 2001 as a pastoral counselor (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2009). The selected clinical vignettes originated in the researcher's years as a pastoral counselor/clinician working within the context of a local United Methodist Parish and in various relief organizations in a major urban center in the United States. The case informants presented for counseling at that time, and were seen for between six and ten sessions each. Each received additional referrals for licensed clinicians. Most informants were also known in the context of their parish life, their family settings, and their spiritual

development. These cases illuminate both the symptoms and syndromes of long term, chronic exposure to trauma, as well as the context of psychic colonization, social deformation and oppression within colonial and national security contexts that both drive and "normalize" such intrapsychic responses. From these clinically contexted explorations, it was possible to develop a practical schema to address these impacts, based in the insights from postcolonial and liberational approaches to psychology. The objective was to situate and detail a liberation praxis of clinical psychology that can clinically address the psychological experience of individuals within the colonial and the nascent national security state context in the United States of America. This combined context is selected because of the peculiar etiological relationship between historic colonialism and the emergence of national security ideology and practices. The relative lack of exploration of such trauma in the United States necessitated a comparison to the wealth of data from elsewhere, including the Latin American and Native American contexts.

To develop an adequate understanding of the history and development of the current national security state from its colonial roots to its current expression in and on the psychological experience of Americans, this study utilized case study and critical theory methodologies (Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2007, 2008; Morrow and Brown, 1994; Horkheimer, 1982). This allowed the construction of an historical-critical assessment of the developments that created context and meaning for those whose cases are presented, in their particular relationship with colonialism processes and the national security state. It also illuminated those entities as they may be seen to be developmentally and functionally related in purpose, intent, and psychological impact on the populations in

which they function. The critical theory employed in this study utilizes a "hermeneutics of suspicion," as developed and articulated by Paul Ricoeur (1976), to understand and interpret the case contexts, as well as the complex, metaphorical, and psychological meanings that those contexts gave rise to in the lives of those represented in the case studies. Such an exploration of the problem from a critical theory perspective permits opportunities for changes in insight and changes in praxis for those of us who bear clinical witness to the process of making meaning in such a national security context (Ricoeur, 1970; Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002; Creswell, 2007).

To assess the clinically emergent experience of individuals affected by colonial and national security processes assessed above, eight clinical vignettes were considered, expressing varying degrees of traumatization by some factor or combination of factors arising from the cultural, social context of those processes. These included three acute, classic experiences of trauma: The immigrant, the veteran, and the homeless person. Five comparative samples from seemingly more ordinary experience are employed to trace and illuminate experiences of more complex, chronic trauma: The Native American, the scientist, the scholar's son, the radical activist, and the artist activist. The relationship between trauma and context was traced in each of the vignettes presented, and a comparison of the etiology and nature of trauma response discussed.

From the data surveyed and analyzed by this methodology, a praxis of liberation psychology is proposed for the North American context in service to clarifying both the locus of symptom generation, as well as a strategy for addressing the possibility of individual healing and social transformation. This study, in exploring prospects for further research in this area, makes use of insights from developments in liberation

psychology and post-colonial studies in order to craft a way forward for working with the impact of this social-psychological phenomenon on the psyche of individuals within our cultural context. It addresses the problem of the civilian population of the United States of America as both beneficiaries of the colonial process, as well as those whose psyches are colonized. Finally, it seeks to address the question of wellbeing for both the individual sufferer, as well as the society in which the colonial/national-security process unfolds (Martín-Baró, 1984; Duran & Duran, 1995).

Relevance of the Topic for Clinical Psychology

For the purposes of this study, I am defining "trauma" in terms of the psychological experience of individuals and communities and collectives of individuals within the sphere of impact of a national security state. The national security state may be initially defined as the constellation and interactions of combined powers that include at least the following:

- Corporate business interests that focus on resource stripping to serve their own industrial/economic agendas (Bakan, 2004).
- Colonial powers' military-industrial complexes and other economic systems, including the prison-industrial complex (Sudbury, 2005; Selman and Leighton, 2010) and food industrial complex (Schlosser, 2001), that safeguard and securitize the business operations of these resource-dependent corporations (Nace, 2003; MacQuaig, 2005; Scahill, 2008).

- Governmental agencies concerned with public order, military conquest, and social organization in service to maintaining the viability of these resource-dependent corporations (Raven-Hansen, 2005);
- Those decision-making and policy-enforcing institutions of colonial powers' governments at home and abroad that are enmeshed with and consequently serve and protect primarily the interests of these resource-dependent corporations (Bovard, 2003; Krugman, 2004).

A colonial power may be defined as any political actor—nation-state or corporation—that colonizes, either physically, economically, ideologically, and/or culturally, an ethnos/ethnoi at home or abroad for the purposes of exploiting resources of labor or of land and natural resources. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, the nations of Europe were primary leaders in the Western colonial enterprise. During the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, Japan, Russia, China and the United States began to expand their colonial empires significantly and to lasting effect (Khodarkovsky, 2004).

The modern national security state (NSS) has its roots in the development of the colonial enterprise. Colonial development inevitably impacted local peoples' movement and opportunities via mechanisms of social control. It further implemented economic control of their income and dependencies, and resource stripping and environmental degradation of the landscapes in which they live. Colonial control invariably has resulted in the degradation of local cultural practices and patterns by imposition of the colonizing culture's economies, arts, and sciences, as well as imposition of patterns of subjection and control of local folk-ways, language, socialization, community networks and religious and spiritual connections, to assure acculturation and compliance of occupied

populations. Decades of study, detailed below, of the impact of centuries of colonial occupation of peoples' territories and lives have been chronicled by the disciplines of post-colonial studies. These include ethnographic, psychological, hermeneutic and sociological studies aimed at understanding the impact of colonial practices on local peoples' economies, landscapes, identities and psyches.

These practices, once imposed in American and European colonies, are now part of national security policies and applications at home (Bovard, 2003). It seems reasonable that we may expect to see the same symptomologies and complex formations manifesting among local populations that have were once primarily observed in the populations of former colonies (Bakan, 2004; Birch, 2007). A survey of the impacts of these practices will allow us to identify symptoms and symptom clusters (Duran, 2006; Martìn-Barò, 1984) arising within the context of the colonial and national security systems, and so more accurately understand the culturogenic nature of these symptoms. Within traditional colonial systems and among historically colonized peoples, these symptoms include trauma complexes (often intergenerational in nature), identity fragmentation, long-term depression, both social anxiety and generalized anxiety triggered by the context situation, learned helplessness, as well as social/civil disruption and segmentation which serve to complicate or impede both the identification and the treatment of the foregoing symptoms (Eyerman, 2002; Duran, 2006).

Such symptoms often manifest in ways that imperil an individual's capacities to function effectively within his or her context. I will argue and illustrate by clinical vignette that they are not in and of themselves pathology, or only secondarily so, a reflection of a societal sociopathy manifesting in the impacted individual. Alternatively,

these symptoms can be understood as scars, coping mechanisms, and potential energy centers from which resources can be mobilized to meet current needs and opportunities for healing and transformation, within the context of appropriate consciousness-raising and action. The particular lenses of liberation and postcolonial studies assert that the intrapsychic world of drives, impulses, and encounters with archetypal energies, never functions in isolation from social context (Foucault, 1973/1994).

The traditional, Western, psychoanalytic point of view isolates these phenomena in the intrapsychic world of the patient and labels them psychopathology, an intrapsychic problem of the individual patient (Martín-Baró, 1984). This provides a first occasion to employ the hermeneutics of suspicion: is this received narrative of which we are stewards fully accurate, or may there be more to the story of how symptoms emerge? And to what degree do these theories represent or get coopted in support of ideologies of oppression in order to suppress agitation for social change? The particular clinical understanding that liberation and post-colonial psychology bring to the study asserts that symptoms are in fact largely responses to either the internalization of particular cultural narratives determined and shaped by the power class of a society, or to acts of imposition by members or agents of that class, or those acting in concert with the dominant narratives. In particular, these symptoms need to be viewed as the normal psychic responses to assault of an emotional and often physical nature. The process of intrapsychic turmoil and the resultant symptom development may be viewed through the lens of a medical model of inflammation development. The human body's immune system responds to wounding and the invasion of foreign bacterial, viral, chemical and other agents by mobilizing defenses which result in symptoms such as fever, redness, and swelling in which the

immune system itself is actively working to allay the suffering while leaving the sufferer in great discomfort. The intrapsychic system of defense and drive may also be assessed in the same light when assaulted by the appropriate triggers. Such an approach allows us to theorize and explore possible changes in our clinical view of the symptom-creating system. Such a re-evaluation may alleviate distress in both the individual and the society. Postcolonial and liberation psychology points of view allow us to identify and address the specifically culturogenic symptoms that arise and present clinically among those subjected to the demands and interests of the National Security State.

My experience as a pastoral counselor for 24 years and a clinician in training for the last five years has led me to suspect that social and psychic dislocations related to chronic trauma are emerging in the experience and psyches of Americans related to and parallel to the traditionally colonial experience of peoples' economies, landscapes, identities and psyches. This led to a major exploration pursued in this dissertation, namely, the degree to which National Security State phenomena and contexts now form an active psychosocial crucible in which the psychological symptoms of trauma may emerge. The increases in rates of depression related to economic collapse (Levine, 2007), landscape pollution, toxicity and devastation (Schettler et al. 1999), and the decimation of American political culture by non-democratic policies and enactments witness this possibility on a broad scale (Chomsky, 2006). Clinic and hospital patients with whom I've worked as a clinician increasingly identify these directly as the major concerns triggering both relapse and emergent illness. If these observations correctly describe the emergent situation in which the American psyche now finds itself, this is of major importance, from a depth perspective, to clinical theory and practice across all strata of

American society. This theory and practice will increasingly be called upon to address such impacts among those who are most at risk of losing both physical and psychic resources, freedoms, opportunities and wellbeing, in the process of economic and cultural subjection. Such a praxis will further be required to address the needs of those on the "topside," who will lose less tangible resources but are complicit in the subjugation of others, and whose psyches naturally suffer as a result (Gilroy, 2004; Duran, 2006). The eight cases presented here trace the arc of disfigurement created in peoples' lives by the trauma of engagement with security-related complexes at work in American society today.

Further evidence of the need for such research in this population and context may be found in a random survey of recent psychological literature related to psychology as a general term and national security as a specific interest in the electronic databases of the American Psychological Association. In a random accounting of the first 336 entries in a search of these electronic databases for the Boolean topics "psychology" and "national security," only 47 articles, notes, or book reviews appear published in the official journals of the APA itself. Of those, in rank order, 16 articles and 1 book review (n=17) are concerned with how the discipline of psychology might be made a handmaiden of the National Security industry and the military industrial complex, either through developing terrorist profiles or supervising "interrogation" techniques. An additional 14 articles and 2 book reviews (n=16) debate the ethical merits of such involvements. That is, 64% of all articles published in APA organs in the last decade related to psychology and national security have entertained only the questions of how and whether the professional discipline of psychology could cash in on an expanding "field of opportunity"

(Mangelsdorff, 2006). An additional 10 APA articles and 2 book reviews focused on aspects of military psychology (n=12); one article treated a topic in the social psychology of national security. Only 5 articles and one book review have appeared in APA journals in the last ten years with tags related to the clinical impact of national security elements, all of them published in September, 2011, as part of a special issue of *American Psychologist* on the psychological impact of the events of 9/11/2001.

A further evidence of the need for research on this topic and its relevance for clinical psychology may be found in contemporary headlines. The months since this dissertation topic was conceived and approved, and data analysis undertaken, have seen a dramatic rise in social unrest in the United States related to a stagnant, cash-driven and corporate-dominated, political situation, continuing economic constrictions and massive unemployment, and protest over expansionist, imperial interventions in the affairs of other nations, all related to proposed National Security State necessities. In response, there has been a similar rise in official state and police involvement in crushing those protests, and in surveilling and infiltrating dissenting groups and jailing of their members, both at protest events and pre-emptively. These are but some of the manifestations traditionally associated with and included in the definitions of the nascent National Security State milieu explored in this dissertation.

Autobiographical Origins of the Researcher's Interest in the Topic

As a clinician and counselor, I find that I am paradoxically not interested much in pathology. What intrigues me, what holds my attention and moves me, is pathos, simple suffering. Perhaps the best way to describe the thing is analogy. Pathology is what psychiatry and psychology do to pathos—chop it, puree it, mold it, slice, dice, and mince

it, fold, spindle and mutilate it, to eventually reconstitute it in a safely packaged container called pathology. Like the difference between the cane and the processed sugar, one can no longer tell that the product bears any relationship to the actual thing of nature. So also with pathology—it allows the professions to "safely" handle and categorize things. But what gets lost along the way to the pathology is the simple pathos—the actual suffering, with its sometimes gory, blood and guts etiology, sometimes flamboyant self-destructive urges, sometimes simple lostness of soul. To say that pt. X is depressed tells me nothing. To know the story of how pt. X came to be that way: that he moved here from a far off place when a teenager, had survived war and torture and economic deprivation as a child in that far off place, that most of his family have either died or moved back to the far off place, leaving him alone and shy and unprotected, 35 years after the fact, still a stranger in a strange land; this reveals the pathos. This can be addressed person to person, soul to soul, as two who've seen suffering in its different guises and can share something of a healing journey together with it. There is mileage and a real journey to be had, and great adventure and real healing in and through the pathos. There is only a convenient box in pathology.

My interest in and involvement in liberation studies and post-colonial dialogue and healing arises from my earliest experience as a young person in racially segregated rural Ohio, where my father declined an invitation to join the local Masonic Lodge because they did not, at that time, admit African-American members. During my growing up years, I developed an interest in international affairs and the histories of European exploration and conquest, mentored by a Grandmother deeply committed to learning about the world beyond our little village. My own awareness of my own "otherness," and

my sense of the need for personal freedom, was heightened at the age of 12 or so by beginning a passage through the trials of adolescence as a young Gay male. At the turn of the 1970s, homosexuality was still listed as a disorder in the *DSM II* (APA 1968), and the events surrounding Stonewall in 1968 had barely launched the movement that would see the increasing acceptance and support of Gay men, Lesbians and other gendered identities in major urban centers, much less in society as a whole or my rural village. It was during this time, as well, that my interest in psychology developed, as I sought to explore the meaning of what I was going through in the *Collected Works* of C. G. Jung. My interest in otherness at this time extended as well to an interest in other cultures, locales and ways of being than the somewhat narrow confines of the Protestant family in a rural village in Ohio. Meanwhile, an elder brother serving the U. S. Navy in the Mekong Delta of Viet Nam kept the daily attention in my family's life on post-colonial struggles for freedom and the Euro-American penchant for intervention to protect vested interests.

My commitment to and interest in the field of study and methodologies proposed for this dissertation were deepened in my college years by my immersion in the baccalaureate Anthropology program at the University of Arizona in the late 1970s. This was a time in which American and European anthropologies were coming to grips with their role as handmaidens to the oppressive colonial administrations among indigenous peoples around the globe. For the first time, it was recognized and advocated that ethnography by local scholars of their own culture and cultural experience needed to be primary sources preferenced over the traditional etic accounts of outsider/participant observers. This was a time of great fermentation in the ethical considerations of

participant-observation and the benefits to be accrued not simply to scholars and the institutions sponsoring their research, but to the communities being studied.

These academic and experiential commitments developed further during my work in seminary, where my teacher Robert McAfee Brown was the leading North American exponent of the liberation theologies emerging in Latin America in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A time of great social foment and change outside of America, it was also a time when the social upheavals of the prior two decades in the United States were coming to their close and traditionalisms were returning to power. This is perhaps best witnessed by the rise of the Moral Majority and the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980. Through Robert McAfee Brown, I developed contact with such scholars as Father Ernesto Cardenal, Father Jose Comblin, and theoretician Paolo Freire that sustained and nurtured my connection to and deep interest in the psychosocial effects of the colonial process and the sustaining power of liberation theory in addressing and liberating both the individual and the cultural psyche in post-colonial settings.

The Researcher's Predisposition to the Topic

Struggling with resistance and lethargy in relating to a prior research topic, one morning I had a dream. In the dream, I was directing the remodel of a church facility, had done the design and passed it off to a choir director extraordinaire to implement. Her work was installed and celebrated in a major service of dedication. My mother was there, and my late father and some of my old teachers visited from the dead, including Robert McAfee Brown, who supervised my Masters' Thesis and whom I promised to one day to return and do PhD work with. After the celebration was over, all had left but a few others and me. My father, my teacher, and the remaining few were cleaning up the sanctuary

and preparing to go home. As I swept the floors, I heard a tiny voice crying. I moved a crumpled newspaper lying at the foot of a door, and there beneath it was an infant boy not more than a few weeks old. I called the others, who had discovered 3 more identical infants. We were able to trace them through the visitors list from the service, and they were twin boys of twin mothers by one of the mothers' fiancé. The fiancé of one mother had fathered both sets of twins. The birth of both sets of twins simultaneously brought shame to the families, and revealed the infidelity. Due to this infidelity, the wedding of the first twin had been called off, and no one had wanted the babies; these pairs of twins of twin mothers, effective quadruplets, are, in the dream, clearly First Nations people, and my sense was that they were from some Nation along the Northwest Coast or Southern Alaska. These children were given to me by the dream itself, with the expectation that I would nurture and care for them. These were, in the dream, spirit children of an endangered people, given to me to protect and tend as they recovered from their abandonment. Clearly this was a sacred task, a deep journey, a life commitment.

Later on the day of waking, I found myself in a lengthy internet discussion of the Brownshirts of Nazi Germany and the rhetoric of political discourse involved in the unfolding race for the 2012 elections in this country. It was a comparison of national security situations in Nazi Germany and the developments of national security policies during the Reagan years in America that had formed the center of my Masters work with the esteemed Dr. Brown. It seemed to me that clearly I was in a field, a serendipitous synchronicity that provided an opportunity to revisit an old but current concern in the context of what commitments and what life energies I was being given to nurture at this time. As I reflected on the juxtaposition of dream and conversation, old commitments and

studies and new tasks, I understood that I was being called back to the central passions and concerns to which my life itself had always pointed—the possibility of healing in situations of social dislocation and personal disorientation.

Subsequent to the dream that re-oriented my research, I discussed my passion for this topic in a gathering of several friends. One asked me what I hoped to be different as a result of this study. She then reformulated the query into the following set of questions: Who will be better off because I devote my intellect and heart/mind to this serious effort? What part of the world do I wish to change? Who are the change-makers that need to read this? Who needs to be involved in shaping the ideas? If I am fortunate, these will be the guiding questions to be entertained alongside this research, and provide the context out of which the work of the second half of my life proceeds and unfolds.

I identify my research stance of that of "homo hermeneuticus," (Kögler, 2008). I understand and experience the entire human enterprise of developing consciousness as that process of interpretation that begins with the first awareness of a difference between "bad breast and good breast" (Klein, 1952). It proceeds from that infantile moment all the way through the contemplation of and preparation for a "good death" as opposed to a frightening, lonely, isolated experience of dying (Kübler-Ross, 1981). All of this activity, in my understanding, takes place within the transference field engendered by our relationships with persons, events, environments and things in our immediate context. It affects our relations to and interpretations of the larger contexts of the world in which we live and die. I understand and experience this process as fundamentally a "narrative" process, embedded in the stories we tell one another and ourselves about our experience of the world. Insofar as the process is narrative, it is also "constructionist," in that it

remains subject to the vagaries of editing, revision, amendment, or reinterpretation that all good stories are subject to. As with any text, our human experience is analyzable, "interpretable" from within any number of hermeneutical frames of reference. Finally, I confess to the conviction that such a process ought to be liberational, at least in its potential to open out onto new horizons of self-perception, agency, and engagement that support and lead to our greater well-being and that of the families, communities and contexts to which we belong. Any psychology that does not strive from foreground to background toward the liberation of the soul from what colonizes it, is not worthy of being styled a "healing" art at all. And if psychology does not assist us to find the ground and passageways toward healing, it takes us nowhere.

I am, additionally, aware of writing and researching form within multiple contradictions. On one hand, I am trained in and am a clinician within the Western Medical paradigm of psychological and psychiatric illness. On another, I have been a long-term servant of Western Christianity, a religion that has been coopted far too often in the tasks of colonization and subjugation, and far more rarely in the work of liberation. On yet another hand, I am deeply committed to the ancient and indigenous wisdom traditions of communities around the world and throughout history, which have very different views of the etiology, cure and amelioration of mental illness. My own ancestral roots lie in the experiences of a colonized people who were effectively chased from their lands in Ireland 170 years ago at the time of the Great Famine. The experiences of those ancestors created a family culture that has learned across generations to treat with suspicion the dicta of government and dominant Western culture. My intellectual and spiritual formation are deeply steeped and situated in those very dicta, and I move

through my culture as a White male American who daily is accorded privilege and entitlements that persons from other backgrounds and genders do not experience. It is from the particular opportunities and constraints of this unusual situation that I research and explore in this dissertation process.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

This study undertakes an analysis of the history and consequences of National Security State violence and its impact in the psychological experience of eight particular individuals. In service to setting the context and need for such a study, I explore and analyze literature from a wide variety of fields. The first task will be to define what is meant by the terms *national security*, *national security state*, and *national security violence*. This entails an exploration in broad detail of the tactical aims and practical consequences of national security agents and their behaviors among the populations in which they are imbedded. To understand the nature of the implicit and explicit violence and the subsequent trauma associated with the apparatus and implementation of national security, I will explore the origin of national security patterns in the history of colonial occupation and the domination of indigenous peoples or other marginalized subcultures by agents of elite, wealthy corporate interests in the occupying power. From this exploration of deep context, I move to the literature that describes the development of the specific, nascent National Security State apparatus and elements in the United States and its satellite, client states, continuing to emphasize the link between the corporate elite and military/National Security State interests and their domination of indigenous or other marginalized peoples, including increasing percentages of the colonizing populations. The literature of colonialism and trauma provides insight into the trans-generational nature of such suffering. The literature of trauma studies further amplifies the relevance of the effects of brutal repression and containment tactics employed by National Security State interests to the concerns of clinical psychology.

Defining the terms related to colonialism and national security.

At this point, it will be useful to further develop and define what is meant by the term national security and its associated terms National Security State and national security violence as they will be used throughout this dissertation. First, a working definition of "colonialism" is provided to assist in understanding the historical development of the National Security State.

Colonialism may be defined as the occupation by a political power of a foreign territory and its peoples (and/or forcibly imported peoples). It may be motivated by religious, economic or political reasons. The power relationships between the home population, its colonizing populations, and the occupied indigenous populations, are unequal in regard to access, decision making, and governance. Osterhammel (2005) expands this:

> Colonialism is a relationship between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) population and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised (sic) people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonised (sic) population, the colonisers (sic) are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule. (p. 16)

The colonial enterprise is also observed to engage the following kinds of violence in all settings (Duran, 2006):

- Environmental violence: the destruction of the environment by mining, deforestation, mono-crop agricultural development, and resource depletion to serve the economic needs of the colonizing power.

- Economic violence: the economic disadvantaging of occupied populations in service to maintaining supplies of workers to labor to meet the economic needs noted above.
- Political violence: the disenfranchisement of occupied peoples, rendering their access to decision-making power impossible or irrelevant. This includes the exclusion form political participation of ethnic, racial and gendered minorities, though this short list would be far from conclusive.
- Physical violence: the forcible repression of political descent by military, paramilitary or police powers in service to maintaining the political and economic status quo identified above.
- Psychological violence: This includes but may not be limited to (a) the marginalization of indigenous ways of knowing, of education and cultural transmission, and of the relationships to the environment of the occupied peoples; (b) cultural destruction and dislocation both actively via the banning of local traditions of religious behavior and education, and passively by the cultivation of class barriers between local ways of doing and being and those imported by the occupiers; and (c) the active intimidation of dissent and resistance on the part of occupied populations, up to and including the use of violence (see above).

It is possible to distinguish between the concept of "national security," a goal for every nation state in the modern world, and the expanded concepts of the National Security State and national security violence. National security, as a very minimal definition, includes basic economic functioning, and basic security of a nation's territorial integrity, and the political function of governance without interference from other

nations. Romm (1993) defines national security in terms of economic security (the capacity to maintain full employment and a basic standard of living), environmental security (the capacity to maintain life within an environment that has not become so degraded that such an environment is no longer capable of supporting life), and energy security (the capacity to maintain a means of production and transport that is not unduly dependent on foreign sources of energy). To this he adds the concern for control of manufactured or imported illicit drugs of addiction that degrade the abilities of a population to function productively and proactively as citizens of the nation.

The definitions of National Security State and national security violence are more intimately intertwined. National security violence is a specific set of strategies, behaviors and interactions that arise under conditions in which a ruling party sees its interests best preserved by suppressing the basic freedoms of its own or a colonial population, subsequently interpreting this as the best interests of "national security." Such violence may be both physical and emotional in nature, and may include propaganda, surveillance, psychological intimidation, spying and recruitment of informants, incarceration, forced relocation, murder, exile, and military or paramilitary intervention in the lives of citizens (Martín-Baró, 1975, 1988). The "National Security State" proper may be defined as the structures, institutions, economic interests, and military/police/penal bodies that implement law and policy as part of the governance function for a political elite and their economic allies (Raven-Hansen, 2005). The National Security State similarly may be conceived in terms of government institutions and their intrusions into the lives and livelihoods of citizens for ends of social, economic and military control. Marcus Raskin

(1976) made perhaps the most broad-ranging observations about national security, and one that hints at the generative relationship between colonialism and national security:

> The national security state emerges from war, from fear of revolution and change, from the economic instability of capitalism, and from nuclear weapons and military technology. In practical terms its emergence is linked to the rise of a bureaucracy that administered things and people in interchangeable fashion without concern for ends or assumptions. (p. 189)

For the purposes of this study, I will modify Raskin's definition in minor ways that will allows us to identify its basic contours in wider application beyond the superpower America for which he developed his definition. The National Security State is that combination of economic interests (including those related to military technologies supplied to the National Security State government), military and law enforcement agencies, and government bureaucracies that administer the flow and movement of resources, goods, and people, as specifically applied to maintain the economic and ideational status quo and the desired ends of domination within (and often beyond the borders of) the National Security State. This definition, to be complete, must include both those actions of outright military or paramilitary repression and violence aimed at dissenters or opponents, as well as the psychological or "soft" violence of surveillance, infiltration, information manipulation and restrictive social regulations. In the colonial context from which the national security paradigm arises, this soft violence will be seen to be completed by further patterns of soft violence, including economic repression and isolation, the enforced relocation of colonized or dissenting groups, grinding and debilitating indebtedness and emergent poverty, as well as destruction of the landscape and environment of context, and the resource base supplied therein.

Colonialism and the historical context of national security. Colonialism as we have known it in the West can in some senses be traced to the expansion of peoples in the great migrations of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, as ethnoi migrated across Europe from Central Asia, conquering, mingling with and expanding into the territories previously occupied by other ethnoi (Mallory, 1991). The expansion of multiple empires in ancient times, notably Greece, Persia, Rome, the Baghdad Caliphate, and the great Khanate empires illustrate such processes. Each of these expansions represents a combination of primarily military conquest and expansion in service, secondarily, to securing greater access to resources that fuel the lifestyles of a ruling elite at the center of each imperial urge. With the emergence of the great age of European exploration and expansion (Boorstin, 1983), colonialism develops a primarily economic face supported by military conquest and occupation, a reverse of the more ancient model. Within this context, European interests first began to develop a corporate model of occupation and exploitation of local, colonized populations and natural resources. These usually developed in alliance with crowned heads of state who could provide military back up and protection for the developing economic enterprise, in exchange for a cut of the profits.

In this model, a "corporation" of investors was formed to plant a colony (the East India Company of Great Britain is a particularly robust example) in order to secure and exploit resources. Such resources, often in scarce supply in the planting nation, were also intended to be marketed by the corporate investors both to their home populations and to those of competing nations in their trading networks. So important was this latter intention, that over time this strategy was accelerated in the interest of securing such

resources not only for use by the home population, but also to keep other, competing, corporations and their national sponsors from securing these resources for themselves. These enterprises regularly required occupation of a territory already occupied by existing populations, and the subjugation of those populations by military or ideological means. Sometimes, colonial powers achieved this employing "treaty" agreements deceptively written to the advantage of one party over another, or subsequently ignored by one party in the process of further subjugating the other (physical and political violence).

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) attribute to the European/American Enlightenment a major expansion of the colonial mindset. In their analysis, this expansion advanced further developments that would manifest in the policies, behaviors, and attitudes related to colonial forms of violence. Beginning, by way of suspicion, to analyze the content and effects of the so-called Enlightenment, an intellectual movement in the European context, Horkheimer and Adorno address the development of Enlightenment values and their application through history, to ill affect on human landscape and human rights and meaning. "Enlightenment," they state, "understood in the widest sense as the advance of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters," (p. 2). They then proceed to catalogue the "triumphant calamity" Enlightenment values have worked in the world, not least through theories of knowledge and the application of same to Western economies and polities

> Knowledge, which is power, knows no limits, either in its enslavement of creation or in its deference to worldly matters. Just as it serves all the purposes of the bourgeoisie economy both in factories and on the battlefield, it is at the disposal of entrepreneurs regardless of their origins. Kings control technology no more directly than do merchants: it is as democratic as the economic system with which it evolved. Technology is the essence of this knowledge. (p. 2)

In the same work, Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) apply the rubric of suspicion to the stated purposes of Enlightenment thinking as "increase of knowledge," and identify fear of the unknown as the underlying motive of the entire enlightenment agenda. Understanding, and therefore control, were the desired outcomes, rendering the human being safe in an otherwise chaotic world. Human beings may be finally free from fear only when there is, at last, nothing else that remains unknown or uncontrolled. From this perspective, the authors argue that the Enlightenment drive to know nature was fundamentally the drive to control nature, to dominate the landscape with its resources, along with the human beings within it. Of these they assert: "Each human being has been endowed with a self of his or her own, different from all the others, so that it could all the more surely be made the same" (p. 5).

The intent and effects of colonial policies on the populations within which they were implemented have been devastating. Raw material extraction has led to resource depletion and environmental devastation. Economic domination and the accompanying cultural domination have required population control, manipulation, propaganda and policing policies that have entrenched patterns of racism and discrimination as state policy. The social control of local peoples' movement and opportunities has historically been achieved in colonial systems by settlement policies that aligned local populations with plantations' economic development in the roles of laborers, usually via either slavery or minimal remuneration insufficient for subsistence (Packenham 1992; Reader 1997; Ames 2008). These strategies ensured economic control of people's income, as well as fostering their dependence on landlords, corporations, and the largesse of corporate stakeholders. It also tethered peoples' geographic mobility, effectively

developing systems of indentured service. The invading corporation/plantation became the new legal owner of territory as well as production. Where this ownership and its corresponding restriction of population was not achieved by outright slavery, it was achieved by paying less-than-subsistence wages on one hand, while extracting with the other hand more-than-subsistence payments for everything from rent to the staples of basic existence: rice, flour, in some cases water for cattle and subsistence agriculture. Meanwhile, subject peoples thus indebted were additionally restricted from moving to other places to find new work by their very indebtedness to the local corporation. This limitation of economic opportunity created hereditary serfdoms in the coal mines of Wales, the farms of Ireland, the rancherias of Latin America, the homesteads of South Africa and the American West, the plantations of Kenya and India, the company towns of 19th and 20th Century American industry, and everywhere else Western Imperial and Colonial interests exercised their sway. The invariable effect of these policies was the enforcement of crushing poverty and the implementation of multigenerational systems of debt and indentured service (Packenham, 1992; Bandyopadhyay, 2004).

Colonized peoples have also been routinely subject to the resource stripping of the landscapes in which they live, for the benefit of colonial powers and their vested corporate interests (Chomsky, 1985, Lincoln & Slagle, 1987; Mander, 1991; Albrecht, Sartore & Connor, et al., 2007). Often such environmental dislocations included the clearance of vast tracks of local lands of their forests or other vegetative resources, resources that had sustained local populations for hundreds and thousands of years. These strategies were commonly interpreted to disenfranchised local populations as opportunities for economic development and advancement, promising jobs for local

populations in exchange for complacent cooperation in the proposed resource extraction. This environmental disruption was sometimes used to make room for the cultivation of mono-crops for consumption in the home land of the occupying power, leaving local populations at the mercy of market demand on one hand and catastrophic crop failure on another. The story of the potato in Ireland and of pineapple, sugar cane, and bananas in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Hawaii, tea and opium in South Asia, and spices in South Asia and the Pacific, recount the sad story of the ongoing consequences of these colonial strategies for local populations. Alternatively, after the clearance of native lands, mining interests despoiled the landscape and poisoned both water resources and future agronomic activities with toxic substances persisting in soil and water supplies long after the corporate colonists have abandoned the original project. Uranium mining on indigenous lands in the American Southwest, coal mining in Appalachia and China, and at locations around the world, and diamond and gold mining in South and Central Africa come to mind as three of the more damaging and long lasting local, mining-induced environmental dislocations. To this may be added the ongoing environmental devastation worked by the continuing extraction and burning of the fossil fuels coal and petroleum and the byproducts of their extraction in local economies and communities. These disruptive developments were frequently interpreted to occupied peoples as a local participation, via a peculiarly Western, industrial *participation mystique*, in the glory and advancement of the colonizer's homeland. The national authority back home (president, prime minister or regal), the local colonial authority, and the colonial corporate bureaucracy, become the self-styled benefactors of the occupied population, thereby encouraging the notion of good, compliant citizenship and ensuring participation in the

colonial system. In such a schema, the expectation of compliance was applied rigorously, divorced from all reference to personal or social rights of autonomy.

To these strategies and consequences of colonial occupation can be added the degradation of local cultural practices, including folk-ways, language, and social and religious gathering and symbolizing (Reinsch, 1905). This was historically achieved in many colonial situations by imposition of dominant-culture economies, arts, and sciences (Fanon, 1967; Duignan & Gann, 1975; Boahen, 1989; Cohn, 1996). These were introduced to increase the comfort and "at home" orientation of occupation troops, colonists, and corporate personnel. The export of McDonald's and Burger King mollify and provide succor for the American tourists abroad in the 21st century. In the past, the import of European architectural styles and the comforts of European foodstuffs, creature comforts, arts and learning eased the lives of the European and American expat managers of the corporate/colonial enterprises abroad. As dominant styles were introduced locally, they were invariably interpreted by colonist and colonized alike as "superior" to the local lifestyle product and to local, domestic architecture and culture.

Such export practices also provided a European-style education for European children born abroad. The introduction of European schools for expat children was, in most cases, shortly expanded to provide schooling to indigenous young people, at least among a select elite (Reinsch, 1905; Fischer-Tine & Mann, 2004). This further degraded local cultural practices by imposition of patterns of learning and knowing that separated the worldview of young learners inexorably from that of their parents. This education had the additional effect of isolating colonized youth from their traditional relationships to their land, their communities, their families, and their culture. Thus were local cultural

patterns subjected and controlled simply by eliminating them from the consciousness of younger members of occupied populations. Often, these children were subject to enforced relocation from their familial context to the "superior" learning academies of the European/American masters. There, local, indigenous youth could, in theory, be turned into mirrors of these "sophisticated" occupying, colonial masters own children (Milloy, 1999; Hoxie, 1984). This separation from indigenous culture and ways of knowing was further enhanced by formal and informal suppression of cultural gatherings/practices via ban and via discrimination against the defined "other," the foreign-ness and alien-ness of the European-American being assuaged by strident attempts to remake the local "other" in the Euro-American image.

By the early 20th century, owing in part to the development and export of Marxist analytical thought from Europe to the colonies, various movements of agitation for a larger voice in local affairs were heard from Ireland in the heart of Europe and as far away as Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific (Thomas, 2008). Great Britain and France were the largest imperial powers of the day, though Germany had a deep foothold in Africa, the Netherlands in the Pacific, and the United States in the Caribbean and in the Pacific (Alger, 1901; Horne, 2007). Over time, these movements for local control and/or homeland rule evolved into nascent anticolonial nationalism in the colonial world. At such points, the colonial powers were faced with developing strategies to keep local populations pacified, and to remove the threat of further developments toward autonomy or revolution. The cost of maintaining foreign colonists and their local elite allies in the manners of European comfort also engendered domestic opposition in the home territories of the colonial powers. Foreign challengers

for power emerged in the Middle East and North Africa—Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt—as local elites, often armed and encouraged by rival European states, attempted to overthrow the old colonial order of their respective occupying powers. From the development of these tensions, the linchpins of the modern National Security State first emerged. Colonial intelligence services developed that used local informants, infiltration, and surveillance, both among occupied peoples in the colonies and among anti-colonial agitators at home, to maintain imperial control in the years before decolonization. The traditional European empires and the emergent American empire, developed and depended on an elaborate security apparatus for the crucial role of gathering intelligence to intimidate, discourage and control dissent, locally and colonially. This development would be crucial for the further development from simple colonial occupation to the full-fledged, armed and dangerous National Security State.

During this historical frame, two voices located among the oppressed and colonized peoples of North Africa described in detail the effects of the colonial project on both the colonizer and the colonized. One is Frantz Fanon, the other, Albert Memmi. Memmi (1965/1991) describes in depth the transformation of the colonizer and the colonized by the colonial situation itself. He writes from the unusual position of one with links to both the colonized and the European colonizers, born of a Tunisian-Jewish mother and a Tunisian-Italian Jewish father. Being Jewish, he doesn't quite able to find a niche among the majority Berber-Arabic population; having European ancestry (in this case Italian) doesn't quite allow him to fit in among the colonial French, either. Memmi identifies the entire colonial project as an extension of European racism and superiority

on one hand, and the intent to strip the resources of the colonized others and their lands, for the good of economic development back home. He notes that the eager colonizer is faced with two choices, on arrival in the colony. One is to come to grips with the harsh reality of European imposition on the lives and properties and needs of the local population, and the unreasonable and unfair advantages these convey on the colonizer. If this were to happen successfully, the colonizer would enter a phase of refusal of the colonial enterprise, and develop an identification with and support for the colonized. Memmi notes that this development is sufficiently rare as to be, at best, a theoretical consideration. The second choice is to accept for the newly immigrated to accept the role of colonizer, with all the privileges attached thereto, and begin to rationalize the plight of the colonized away as the effects of their backwardness, moral depravity, technological (and, as commonly conceived in racism, mental) inferiority, and their general inclination to indolence. Of the colonized, Memmi carefully observes the evolution of the consciousness of self-rejection, the acceptance that the colonizer may well be morally superior as he is militarily and economically superior. Memmi describes the impact of colonial schools on this process, both for the colonized who are chosen to participate and be culturally stripped and rebuilt, as also for those who are deemed insufficient to recruit for education in the colonizers ways. Memmi presents these very nuanced portraits of his antagonists as products of the colonial situation itself, as mirror images of one another, of the adaptation and deformation of the moral spirit of the colonized, to the already deformed moral intention and rationalizations of the colonizers.

Frantz Fanon (1963/2004) describes the shifts within the experience of the colonized that allowed for the emergence of cultural consciousness (and its related

national consciousness). These shifts allowed also for a fresh assessment of the wounding and oppressive nature of the colonial enterprise on the colonized, and so for the emergence of cultural and national movements of liberation. Fanon, a psychiatrist, noted above all the peculiar mental and emotional wounds of the colonized, imposed by virtue of being an oppressed and marginalized people. In some ways, he notes, the Algerians about whom he writes were not really a people at all, but a part of the back drop of the colony, as its mountains, date palms and seashore. He notes that during the respective French and German occupations, other European nationals in the colony nevertheless to be regarded and dealt with as human beings, a status not accorded the native population themselves. "Because it is a systematized negation of the other, a frenzied determination to deny the other any attribute of humanity, colonialism forces the colonized to constantly ask the question, 'Who am I in reality?' " (p. 182). He notes that this places the colonized in a defensive position in all regards, and that the defenses involved in maintaining psychiatric balance for the oppressed are thus placed on high alert for the duration of the colonial period. This state of constant high alert eventually, in Fanon's view, gives way to a collapse of those psychic defenses, and the consequent hospitalization of great numbers of the native population. Horkhiemer and Adorno's (2002) view of the Enlightenment rationalization of control that drives the colonial enterprise, is confirm by Fanon (2004) also:

> A hostile, ungovernable, and fundamentally rebellious Nature, is in fact synonymous in the colonies with the bush, the mosquitos, the natives, and disease. Colonization has succeeded once this untamed Nature has been brought under control. Cutting railroads through the bush, draining swamps, and ignoring the political and economic existence of the native population are in fact one and the same thing. (p. 182)

The legacy of colonization did not end at the close of formal colonial status and the emergence of free, newly organized political units (Ripsman & Paul, 2010). As imperial colonization slowly began to end after the close of World War II, established colonial policies and procedures were often transferred to local elites among the occupied peoples (Benjamin & Hall, 2010). These were most often selected by colonial administrators for their favorable interactions with old colonial masters. The old colonial policies, in turn, often became the new National Security State policies, perpetuating the machinery of political and economic oppression that had been the population's lot for 400 or more years, now for the benefit of the newly installed political elite. This fostered the emergence of two, new, primary subcultures within the newly "liberated" context: The dominant elite, who assumed the roles of power and privilege once accorded to the colonists, and a new, interior colony of oppressed and marginalized local populations without access to power (Prakash, 1995; Taiwo, 2010). Even in those places where local elites were subsequently turned out by local revolutions, the domination and control policies of the old colonial masters were often replicated to the disadvantage of local populations (Okere & Njoku, 2005).

Colonialism and national security in the United States of America. The nation that became the United States of America is an amalgam of the colonial impulses of several European powers, notably England, France, and Spain (Zinn, 1980/1995). The 16th, 17th and 18th centuries saw these established powers competing for supremacy in Europe, as well as eagerly occupying and protecting from each others' influence or use the resources of local, indigenous populations around the globe. The Spanish and Portuguese conquest of South America, and Western and Southern North America

proceeded first with the establishment of colonies in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico coasts, the conquest of Mexico and the rest of Latin America, the exploration and conquest of the Western half of the continent. All such explorations were ostensibly pursued in the economic interests of exporting gold, spices and indigenous peoples to the home population. The French approach from both the Mississippi and St. Lawrence basins involved significantly less military presence and domination, but served the interest of the French Crown in importing valuable furs as well as fish and sugar for French consumption. The English approach on the East Coast of North America and in the Northwest of the continent centered on the acquisition of territory for the growth and export of crops, to feed a new addiction (as with smoking tobacco), as well as provide raw material for established industries (as with cotton for weaving), on the European continent.

Each of these enterprises required the control and domination of indigenous peoples of the Americas both to wrest territory for the occupation of colonial settlers and for the development of plantations devoted to the export of the desired economic goods. The impact on Native Americans in terms of death from disease, violence, and cultural decimation has been devastating over the five-plus centuries since contact (Stannard, 1993; Diamond, 1997). A Native American perspective on this devastation is offered in the work of Eduardo Duran (1996, 2006). Eduardo Duran's conceptualization of the "Soul Wound" (Duran & Duran, 1995; Duran, 2006) describes the legacy in the psyche of indigenous peoples of the intergenerational trauma of colonial violence. Duran asserts that this historical violence has had long-lasting, intergenerational effects, including its effects on families, on communities, on individual psychological symptoms, and on the

land and on peoples' relationships to it. In Duran's schema, families are the primary transmitters of both culture and trauma (Bowen, 1972, 1973, 1974a; Duran 2006). Once the family system is impaired or wounded via the cultural-colonial trauma of an ancestor, this trauma is fed forward via the unspoken story, the secret wound unrevealed, the material a family doesn't talk about. It is mirrored as well in the speech, attitudes and behaviors of the wounded one in relation to those individuals or that system in which the wound was created (Bowen, 1972, Duran, 2006). The impact on Native American families is further elaborated in the context of the old Indian School System, which disrupted the Indigenous family via kidnapping the children, to be placed in colonial education camps. In these, Native children were trained to behave like, and to espouse the values of, the occupying colonial power, and their original language and culture subverted or destroyed.

Duran hypothesizes and accounts for both the soul wound of the traumatized and the soul wound of the traumatizer. The military occupation personnel, the colonial administrators and expat business employees and their families, even the population back home, especially those who are dissenters and other minorities who nevertheless partake of the benefits of the colonial occupation in far distant lands, all participate at some level in the wound. My thesis is that this latter cluster of populations within the historic colonial structure are themselves now subject to the emerging psychological colonization of participants in American mainstream culture. Because these populations have begun more and more to experience the role of the traumatized, with the further development of National Security State ideation and policy in the United Sates of the 21st century, they will be the focus population for the reflections of this study.

Duran understands the impact of colonial soul-wounding on communities in terms of the policies of the colonizer which impair peoples' relationship with their traditional religions, social structures, ceremony, and world views, largely again through the preferential imposition of the colonizing power's education and the policing or banning of native gatherings to avoid (a) perpetuation of the Native connection to their world view, and (b) organizational nodes for potential resistance to colonial policy. Cultural transmission of values via religious instruction, rite and ceremony, or cultural event are endangered by the colonial interpretation of local religion and cultural events as faulty, primitive, subversive, or simply heretical to the world view of the colonizing power. Thus the Mayan, Aztec, Incan, Mississippian, Athapascan, Iroquoian, and other indigenous world views were suppressed in the colonization of the New World (Stannard, 1993). Thus, also, folk-religion and Catholicism in Ireland during the centuries of English occupation and the various religious societies of Africa, South Asia and the Pacific during the European colonial periods. This cultural degradation is furthered by the imposition of outright bans on speaking or teaching in the local language(s). This was additionally fostered through the imposition of the colonizers tongue as the official language of empire, and so of imperial subjects and their conduct of business or advancement within the new colonial system.

Duran's conception of the effects of the soul wound on the land, and indigenous peoples' relationship to it, is a direct reflection of his own situated experience as a Native American, and a recipient/participant in a culture-religious tradition that is deeply based in the relationship of the First Nations of Turtle Island to the lands on which they have lived and the resources those lands provided for the sustenance of their peoples. That this

relationship has been disrupted and damaged by colonial policy is beyond doubt. The practice of confining native peoples to reservations, as a means of social control, has disrupted the traditional hunting, gathering, and socializing ranges of Native Americans for generations. The social dislocation created by moving the various First Nations to reservations established half-a-continent away from their original homelands has generated a disorientation of many native peoples from their traditional landscapes with both their sacred and practical associations. The desecrations of both sacred places and the surrounding lands by the economic interests of American colonial government and business concerns has created and amplified economic and health burdens on the residents of reservations and of the urban experience of native peoples in both North and South America throughout even the modern period (Braveheart et al., 2011).

Duran and Duran (1995) explore the psychodynamics of these traumatizing events and the emerging potential for healing via a progression of the trauma/stress response healing arc. This begins with the impact or shock event, the moment of trauma that sets the arc in motion. This is, according to their postcolonial model, followed by an ego-split or dissociation, as the impacted individual seeks to regain emotional equilibrium and maintain the connections, attachments, if you will, on which life heretofore had depended in terms of trustful relations and connections to the community on which one depends. In particular, this model emphasizes the roles relationships in community, as represented in the relationship between the traumatized, and the person(s) who have initiated or perpetrated the impact or shock event. This process may give way to a sort of regression in which the impacted individual seeks to maintain a sort of idealized view of her or his relationship with the perpetrators of such shock via imaging that "this could not have

happened," and so returning to a prior, happier state of the relationship in which the impacted individual (or community) had been able to thrive and experience well-being.

For this state to be maintained over the long haul, this regression has to be supported by what Duran and Duran identify as the "Warrior Regression," in which what is powerful and angry and resistant in the impacted individual must be contained and managed via withdrawal from the traumatic stimuli (imagining it's not real or hasn't actually happened), and via repressing the actual urges to assert oneself and seek recognition either in individual or in community and political terms (cf. also Benjamin, 2006). This requires that the impacted individual shut down emotional responses to the experienced problems and impacts, and to some degree "buy into" the system that is creating the traumatic stimuli to begin with. This can, in many circumstances, lead the impacted individual to enlist in the ranks of those who protect the "colonizing" way of life, to actually protect the perpetrators. When whole communities are affected by such trauma, this has lead to the development of adulatory and compliant movements within the population. Such movements generally praise the advent of the administration of oppression, as well as the real or imagined benefits that such administration has brought to the previously "un-developed" (pre-colonized) community (Williams, 2006).

In this model of trauma development and resolution, the repression noted above typically gives way to an acceptance of things as they are. The experienced oppression, along with the energies maintaining personal and communal repression, give way to what Duran and Duran (1995) describe as magical thinking, denial, and accommodation. Denial often takes the form of thinking, "It's not as bad as it seems, it certainly won't get worse." As more and more individuals accommodate to this level of acceptance of the

colonized situation, each seeks to recruit others to this accommodated view, as a way of justifying and maintaining the comfort level of their own accommodation. When this level of comport cannot be maintained, when the colonial presence and policies continue to act as a source of irritation and damage to the individual and community, these may begin to search for ways to tweak the current system—to find just the right minor adjustments to make things OK. This most commonly results in reconceiving salvation or healing as an individual path, an accommodation each individual must make for himself in relation to the system of oppression. At times, this gives way to literal endorsement of religious paths that posit salvation as an individual concern, disempowering community as a path to active engagement in changing the system. All this results in various attempts at maintaining the colonized way of life, which may have some benefits over the prior way of living, but usually at the cost of much personal freedom and many cultural ways of being.

Duran and Duran posit that these developments in turn may give rise to an opportunity for change and liberation, for the psyche of the individual as well as the psychological and cultural community. This occurs when, over the long term, compliance with the colonial ways becomes more onerous, and individuals begin to perceive the changes they've undergone that may have actively damaged their way of life. Accommodation, and hopes for a piece of the colonizers' pie, give way to anger and to the realization that "Things will not get better." Optimism comes to be seen as an unrealistic posture relative the colonial power and to a potential change in status or circumstance for the oppressed. At this point in the model, anger and rage displace accommodation, but remain unfocused—the impacted individual and community cannot

cathect these feelings. At first, those impacted and undergoing this shift in perception have not identified where or at whom to focus the anger.

This is the stage at which Duran and Duran find potential for trauma mastery and healing to emerge. As noted elsewhere, this will begin with the process of discovering and validating the real story of what has happened. Such discovery and validation will involve moving past the perspective of the oppressed themselves, that the oppressor/perpetrator has really brought good things and made life better. It involves moving past older forms of denial and accepting the disappointing and sometimes tragic reality of the newly realized circumstance. It means accepting the damage done both by the original perpetration, and by the lengthy acceptance of the status quo once needed to protect the damaged sense of self of the impacted individuals and communities. This acceptance and the movement beyond it allow the opportunity for finding the appropriate focus for increasing anger, for realizing that the long adulated benefactors of the status quo may in fact be perpetrating the damages the community is realizing. This stage is descriptive the Durans' particular style of the "Limit Situation" described above, as outlined by Jaspers (1971) and detailed by Ellacuría (1969) and Martín-Baró (1986b). The latter identify this as the time of opportunity for deep personal and social change. Duran and Duran identify three ways of forward movement from the context of the postcolonial, Native American experience. The first of these include reclaiming rituals of initiation, the process of re-identifying self and community apart from and different than those who had been perpetrators of the experience of oppression, of trauma. This allows the second way forward to emerge, as the reinstitution of community. In this new frame, the oppressed find each other within the context of older, or at least, different cultural

values, that allow the opportunity for healing. For Duran and Duran, given the Native American context from which they write, the third way of moving forward involves listening to dreams as vehicles for self-understanding and for communal healing. In the Durans' culturally situated understanding, dreams are often understood in that community as guidance for gathering community around ritual, community support and resource sharing, as well as personal growth and recovery from impactful, traumatic events.

A second tragic strain of colonial domination in the Americas, and in the United States in particular, is detailed in the history of the importation and exploitation of slave labor from Africa (Rose, 1999; Eyerman, 2002; Buell, 2004). The forcible importation of an enslaved population enabled the development of the colonial economies of the New World and manifested all of the forms of violence identified with the colonial context (Stannard, 1993). It created vast pools of essentially free labor for economic exploitation. It excluded the enslaved from the political process and therefore from power. It used physical violence as a psychological deterrent to self-determination and resistance, aimed at both the individual and the enslaved community. It stripped the enslaved of their indigenous cultures both to ease the process of domination and to prevent the easy communication of dissent. Finally, it created a psychological wound that remains largely unaddressed and unhealed to this day (W. E. B. Du Bois, 1965; Eyerman, 2003; Williams, 2008). Like the indigenous populations of the Americas, the newly enslaved were kidnapped and permanently separated from their relationships with culture, language, and ways of knowing, their land and the spiritual ties thereto, and have been subject to a long and violent history as a colonized people in America.

The United States formally entered the international, imperial world of colonial administration and imperial concerns at the occupation of Hawaii in 1893, and irrevocably after the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the subsequent acquisition of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines (Alger, 1901; Horne, 2007). From that horizon forward, U. S. interventions, particularly in the Western Hemisphere in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, were frequent and often brutal, including Columbia and Panama in 1902, Mexico in 1913, Guatemala in 1933, Cuba in 1961, Grenada in 1983, and Panama in 1989 (Chomsky & Herman, 1979a, 1979b). Meanwhile, American colonial, occupational approaches continued to be expressed in the colonizers' treatment of African Americans from 1607 and Native Americans from 1605 and continuing from 1776, as well as contemporary immigrant communities at continuing points along America's ascendancy. The Irish, the Italians, the Jews, the Germans, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans and a host of peoples from other nations have been subject in turn to varying degrees of social isolation and replication of the colonial relationship on their immigration to American shores (Daniels, 2002). Each of these populations were exposed to various combinations of the defined National Security State intentions and strategies, including economic isolation and deprivation, ethnic, linguistic and religious persecution, and political disenfranchisement, throughout the history of the United States (Zinn, 1980/1995).

The further development and industrialization of these colonial patterns of control and subjection can be traced clearly in Post-World War II America (Waddell, 2008). American involvement in World War II changed U. S. civil-military relations in multiple ways. It moved the U. S. military into a prominent position within the national

government. It made the U. S. government, via the military, the primary consumer for significant portions of the Gross Domestic Product. It made the military dependent on civilian supply chains for basic necessities. The war effort supplied a mythology of righteousness to undergird every American and Allied maneuver for the sake of liberating the world from the Axis menace. The moral cause of the U. S. role among the Allies in defeating fascism in Europe and Asia continues to be the reference point for defending and extending American interventionism (Chomsky, 2000). Simultaneously, the Second World War made civilian suppliers, still smarting from the sting of the Great Depression, dependent on war-related incomes. In this way, the war established connections not seen before between key civilian/manufacturing and military/purchasing personnel, and on a scale unrivaled by other nations in industrial history. This fostered a new unity between manufacturing and the military, and gave birth to the "military-industrial complex." These new civil-military relations became institutionalized as America took on a greater and greater role in policing conflict around the world, and posturing as the new superpower in world affairs. The rise of the Cold War provided justification of the continued alliances of military and business interests. It further fostered the postwar development of National Security State concerns and behaviors, transacted between civilian contractors and military consumers. These alliances, often ignored and unexamined by those in them, have changed the very nature of governmental power in the United States.

During the Post-War/Cold War period, the military/industrial alliances were often confronted with dissent at home and rebellion abroad (Chomsky, 1985, 2006; Birnbaum, 2005). To maintain control and to support the atmosphere in which both the military and

their industrial partners could thrive, they deeply relied on the old strategies of colonial imperialism. Infiltration, information gathering, surveillance, intimidation and control were used throughout the period to maintain the status quo and discourage change (Chomsky & Herman, 1979b). From the 1950s forward, the traditional colonial concerns about revolution and control of the ideation and behavior of civilian populations in former colonies (notably Cuba and the Philippines) began to be turned in the United States toward its own middle and lower class citizens and against its own intellectual and media elite in order to suppress dissent, criticism and political activism (Chomsky & Herman, 1979b; Chomsky 2003).

Left undefined in the United States in 1947 at the passage of the National Security Act, the notion of "national security" nevertheless focused for at least a decade and a half on the military counterbalance of United States and Soviet super-powers in the then developing Cold War (Gareau, 2004; Gill, 2004; Waddell, 2008). The Permanent Committee on Investigations of the Governmental Operations Committee of the U. S. Senate, when chaired by Senator Joseph McCarthy during the 1950s, expanded domestic spying via the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency in a strategy to ward off what it considered to be the potential for threats from within America due to the influence of imagined Communist infiltrators (Nelson, 2008). In these developments we see the emergence of what I identify as the National Security State (NSS) pattern in American domestic life. These patterns became further ingrained in American civic life after the assassination of John F. Kennedy and with the expansion of the Vietnam War, the contemporaneous Civil Rights movement, and civil unrest related to these phenomena (Birnbaum, 2005). Under presidents Johnson and Nixon, national security strategies in

the United States expanded to include still more domestic spying, one form of national security psychological violence, in the interest of containing any possible threat to the state and the economic order from within (Chomsky & Herman, 1979a).

Classic patterns of National Security State engagements with the homeland populations are resurgent in the present, early 21st Century context in the United States of America (Birnbaum, 2005; Gale, 2005, Priest & Arkin, 2011). The social control of local peoples' movement and opportunities, as well as the economic control of their income and dependencies, has been largely achieved with minimal legislative engagement via the economic collapse triggered in the early 2000s by a serious, deep economic recession, and reprised in 2007 with the collapse of the nation's investment confidence and the loss of up to two-thirds of the nation's personal capital and wealth (Krugman, 2004). These economic events paired with the ongoing crisis in the mortgage industry and among its debtors will likely have lasting effects on income disparity and social inequality for decades to come (Birchfield, 2008), on top of the already growing inequalities that developed in the years since the recession of 1972 (Madden 2000). Rights to freedom of movement, as well as freedom of communication, association, and assembly have been steadily eroded since the passage of the Patriot Act in 2001 (Bovard, 2003; Miller, 2007). Increasing interference by economic concerns, especially multinational and national corporations, in the democratic legislative and regulation processes have become the normal pattern, outweighing the needs and voice of individual private citizens (Lapham, 1997; U. S. Supreme Court, 2009 ; Parenti, 2010). The casual disregard for public health and wellbeing by corporations in their economic activities goes largely unmarked or at least unregulated by the agencies given authority to do so (Schettler et al., 1999;

Markowitz & Rosner, 2003). Meanwhile, a recent study reveals that a mere 147 companies control 40% of the wealth in all transnational corporations (Vitali, Glattfelder, & Battiston, 2011).

Levine (2011) details a number of factors in the 21st century American context that parallel the social contexts of colonialism and national security based satellite states. These include the limitation of economic opportunity, as well as the policies and practices that lead to the development and enforcement of crushing poverty. He notes the paralyzing and pacifying impact of large amounts of debt, creating the internal atmosphere of fear and curtailing an individual's willingness to agitate or speak out due to the imagined prospects of being excluded from the economic system entirely. This is achieved by what he calls the "corporatocracy," by imposing on young people massive amounts of student loan debt, and on older citizens by burdens of indebtedness related to both personal credit and mortgage credit systems that indenture individuals and families to particular locations and jobs. In the new economy (Krugman, 2004) the impact of mortgages worth more than the property they were written for exacerbates this situation and has resulted in the wealth stripping of many citizens' resources and assets. The current system of debt creates a situation in which citizens are less inclined to question or resist authority for fear of losing a job and being unable to meet the financial demands of the system. Debt, he asserts, has a subduing effect on activism and leads to political passivity.

Levine identifies a number of additional factors present in American society that reinforce patterns of passivity, compliance, and fatalism. These are primary characteristics of colonized populations subject to National Security conditions, as noted

by Martín-Baró (1987a; 1989). In education as an example, the slow dismemberment of American public education over the last 30 years by resource stripping on the part of state legislatures and local school districts (Johnson & Johnson, 2006) leads to chronic underfunding and resource scarcity in American classrooms. Educators feel their task is increasingly that of producing students that can follow directions without objection, and pass tests on demand. With chronic underfunding, business interests who determine what supplies and texts are purchased are exercising increasing influence in the educational system, thereby shaping what is taught (Kovacs, 2010). Lyons and Drew (2006) identify how patterns they describe as "the cultural punishment of schools" via underfunding and increased classroom size has led in turn to increases in punitive measures against students, leading to inculcation of fear and the development of passive students and dependent citizens. Corporate influence in the curriculum choices of schools has further eroded most school's capacities to provide basic education in civics to students of secondary schools. The Intercollegiate Studies Institute (2011) has found in its annual survey of American Civics education that higher education produces no increases in civic involvement beyond voting, and that self education in civics is the primary means of increasing involvement among college students, most of whom no longer receive civics educations in the secondary school. Levine argues that failure to teach new generations of citizens how their democracy works inevitably produces dependent, disempowered, passive citizens among those already trained by an educational system devoted to teaching adherence to the status quo.

This cluster of social repression, indoctrination and inculcated fear that will be described throughout this dissertation by the alternative terms "colonial violence" and

"national security violence." Raskin's definition and evocation of the National Security State is amply illustrated in the current milieu: the economic instability of capitalism has resulted in huge portions of the American population out of work, underpaid, and without basic benefits. The continual feeding of the engines of war, weapons, and military technology in spite of a damaged economy that excludes huge portions of the population from economic stability and security has fueled calls for major redistributions of power that verge on revolution in the way America conducts its politics and business (Gareau, 2004). The prospect of and fear of revolution and change in turn creates a backlash from and a tightening of the reins among those who wield any economic and political power remaining in the system as it has been (Gill, 2004). The effects and escalations of these patterns can best be understood in terms of the colonization of the American population and its psyche by the composite parts and ideologies of the National Security State properly defined. The imposition of these soft and less-soft forms of violence in the environment of American life should be anticipated to eventuate in symptomology within the American populations not dissimilar to those experienced in other colonized populations across history and landscape. Further, if the experience of other colonized peoples can be taken as normative, the emergence of physical violence to enforce the will of the business and political elite will only be a matter of time. Indeed the emergence of police and civil bureaucratic control of things and people alike, without concern for ends or assumptions, as in the tear-gassing and pepper-spraying of civilians peacefully advocating for change, manifest the emergence of such violence, and fuel further calls for change. These are the processes that unfold around people in the national security context that also contribute to and maintain the environmental and economic violence, political

violence, physical violence and psychological violence typical of the National Security State system. These are the triggers of trauma, the triggers that allow the uncovering of old trauma long suppressed.

Psychological reflections on violence in the West

In the West, the psychology of violence has been explored and described multiple times by distinguished theorists and practitioners both in Europe and in America. The following brief examination, highlights how selected theorists have contributed to both the individualistic notion of psychological agency, and prepared the psychic soil for the societies in which the National Security State might flourish. Sigmund Freud, 1856-1939, identifies what he sees as basic stressors in the relationship between the individual and his social context (1929/1961), locating the source of this stress in the internal world of the individual, as the individual struggles with the conflicting needs of the social and animal drives within. These stressors are elaborated in the shape of Freud's conceptions of the universal desire to kill, as well as the universal desire for sexual gratification. These drives, located in the individual and described as though they are unmediated by social context, create ongoing conflict between civilization and the individual. Freud, in the spirit of most 20th century liberal commentary, and certainly in keeping with the spirit of this study, asserts that acting-out of these instincts in the social context is fundamentally harmful to both individual and community wellbeing. Freud sees clearly the function of civilization as containing these primitive impulses/instincts, and thus as the arbiter of laws that prohibit rape, adultery, and murder. The civilized demand for conformity to these rules sets up, in Freud's thought, a basic conflict between the needs of the social group and the individual's desire for freedom. The resultant discontent of

individuals within the strictures of the state or civilization, for Freud constitute the engine of confrontation between the two and the ultimate motivation for violence among the lower classes. Living through one World War and deep into the preludes of a second, does not seem to have moved Freud to investigate the particular social context as a primary generator of the symptoms of the individual. Freud's concentration on the inner dynamic misses the differential impact of income, status, social position and political access to eventuate the acting out of the drives he so carefully outlines.

Alfred Adler, 1870-1937, drawing heavily on the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche, first outlined a thesis in which the individual will to power shaped all human relationships and behaviors (1912/1917). This concept appears, in Adler's work, to have a bi-focal valence, in that it describes both the will and capacity to change for the better, and at the same time, an unconscious dynamic that motivates confrontation and conflict in the individual suffering from what he designated as "inferiority complex." This complex, in my hermeneutic a self-interpretation of powerlessness in relation to others, fuels the effort to change. When this is directed with care and support, it can manifest as creative change for the better, or as confrontations with or isolation from others who either actually manifest a superiority complex, or are interpreted as such by the individual trapped in the inferiority complex. In any event, we see that Adler's conception is rooted entirely in the unconscious psychodynamics of the individual, and so takes no account of the factors of socialization that create the symptoms of inferiority he described. We will accord here a measure of respect for the truth grasped in this theory, but note that it reinforces the Western ideation of individuality that will be critiqued by liberation and post-colonial studies. As with Freud, Adler's focus on the individual, interior landscape

of psyche misses the opportunity to see how the social context shapes both the drive and the individual's opportunities and impacts in acting on the drive.

Carl Gustav Jung, 1875-1961, also located the drive to conflict in the psyche and its complexes, though he understood these differently than either Freud or Adler. Jung's particular contribution to the concepts of human agency in this context are best understood by way of his concepts of the archetypes, and their powerful emergence in psychic life, and the shadow, that material in the psyche that has been disregarded, discarded, or rejected by the ego. In *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (1928), the relations between ego and the unconscious are examined from the perspective of the individuality of human unconscious psychic life. Jung makes room for the notion that a collective unconscious might influence or express itself through individual psychological developments, yet makes little space for a developmental perspective that would allow for the limiting effects of social life and social constructs throughout the lifespan as constraining, or expanding, the psychological opportunities of the individual. For Jung, expressions of conflict and confrontation are invariably manifestations of shadow material projected onto an "other," over-valuations or under-valuations of the other, which shape an individual's behavior toward others accordingly. Conflict, competition and violence are again identified as solely individual behaviors shaped by internal dynamics and unconditioned or constrained by the social context of those human behaviors or the learning context of the individual expressing those behaviors. In these essays, Jung also allows that society itself brings out the worst in the individual, and does so by preventing individuation and eliminating the innate capacities of the individual for growth through societal programs of education and in the state's control of behavior. He

recognizes that societies regress, in the sense that they drive individuals to behave in mob situations in mostly unruly and unseemly fashion, issuing in such crimes as regicide and riot. He does not, however, get so far as recognizing the fundamental role of society as an antagonist, provoking symptom as well as creating context for symptom emergence.

Meanwhile in the American context, German psychiatrist Erich Fromm, 1900-1980, began to make tentative connections in his theorizing between the behavior of the individuals and the social context in which the individual moved. Fromm had been but 14 years old at the outbreak of World War I, and had keenly observed the war hysteria and propaganda that shaped the German peoples' nationalism and its impact on individual and collective behavior. In 1934 he moved to the United States, where he observed the developments reawakening German *nazionalism* from afar. Fromm theorized (1941) that the individual, while desiring freedom and often achieving it in creative acts of self-discovery and self-expression, also craved a security that freedom could not provide. Fromm's formulation shares with Freud the explicit conflict between individual freedoms and social contracts that restrict those freedoms. For Fromm, however, the individual is seen as always responding to and within the context of the social contract, albeit in service to resolving internal conflicts. Fromm suggests that an individual's quest for freedom takes place within the dialectic of "freedom from" and "freedom to," the tension between conformity to society's expectation and demands on one hand, and the freedom, ultimately to emerge into its own "authenticity," its own way of being in the world. This quest can emerge in creative release and self-realization, or in individual experiences of emptiness and anxiety. When it fails to result in true "authenticity," which for Fromm appears to be the majority case, the individual experiences emptiness and anxiety. Unable

to replace the old order of societal rules with his/her own sense of authenticity, the anxious individual turns typically to one of three major avenues to find relief and haven from the experienced emptiness and anxiety. First, a relapse to conformity takes the individual safely back to the bosom of societal norms and expectations, eliminating the frightening specter of deciding and acting on and for one's own life agenda and providing regulation to the individual's internal state of upset occasioned by the fleeting attempt to achieve freedom.

A second haven for Fromm's anxious, un-authenticated individual is sometimes found in the commitment to authoritarian regulation by others or of others, often both. This position, according to Fromm, allows the individual to escape the anxiety of true freedom and authenticity by giving expression to both the sadistic need to control something or someone, and to be controlled. This authoritarian impulse may manifest simply in the rigid, perhaps sadistic control of the self and/or others, or in the masochistic impulse to be relieved of individual choice and opportunity by submitting to the control, even manipulation, of others. Finally, Fromm identifies a third path of escape from freedom as the movement into destructive behaviors aimed at others. In contrast to the sadistic impulse, the destructive escape wishes not to control something, but to destroy what it cannot control. In these escapes, Fromm attempts a typology of personality, respectively conforming, authoritarian, and destructive, as distinct from the personality realized in the creative act of both discarding the old order and creatively containing the resultant anxiety in the construction of a new order, via the creative personality. These patterns of escape manifest ways of allowing control, exercising control, or destroying what cannot be controlled. In Fromm's theses there are at least the awareness of the

interactions and influences of the social context on the individual's behavior, though these remain cast as free of ideology and social control. They remain only the heroic response (or non-response) of an individual, contained with his own pathology, not affected by the externals of the state or of societal dynamics.

In the work of B. F. Skinner, 1904-1990, professional American psychology articulates a vision in which the actions of an individual are entirely shaped and controlled by the social conditioning received from interactions with the social milieu (1972). *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* posits a world that needs to discard the old Enlightenment notions that prohibit the psychological reconditioning necessary to create a truly new society. Skinner envisions the possibility of developing a society engineered for greater happiness, productivity and harmony. Skinner in this thesis very nearly touches the liberationist perspective, but does so from precisely the opposite pole—from perhaps his own urge to control the "other" in service proposing, perhaps imposing, his perspectives on what would make a happy, productive and harmonious society. What he fails to take account of in this work is that this process is precisely already at work in all times and places and social conditions. The behaviorist apparently anticipates the benefits of social engineering, though seems unable to comprehend that the process is already at work in the employment of maintaining a status quo via media presented "normalcies" to the detriment of huge portions of the human population. Skinner does attack the individualism of prior psychological theories as failing to account for social influence and even construction in their preoccupation with the dignity of individuals and their freedoms to choose their own lot and their own paths to development. For Skinner, the entire project could be socially engineered to improve the lot of humankind, but only

once we pass through intellectual knothole that prevents the implementation of further social engineering.

R. D. Laing, 1927-1989, held an alternative view as to the etiology and treatment of serious mental illness, a view heavily influenced by existential philosophy (Laing, 1960). Laing disputed the prevailing view that mental illness arose primarily from dysfunctions of the individual psychic self, and saw such illness as deeply influenced by familial and cultural factors (Laing, 1960; Laing & Esterson, 1964). For Laing, the locus of interest in mental illness was in the actual, experiential suffering of the patient and the patient's attempts to communicate that suffering to an exterior world of observers and clinicians who lack the vital reference of the sufferer's internal maps, and so find it al incomprehensible. He considered that communications affected by psychosis were effectively meaningful attempts to communicate that fall short in their connection to others by virtue of not matching others' lived experience. This is largely in concert with one of my own theories of communications that originate in psychosis, that these are attempts, in perhaps mythic/symbolic terms, to communicate the "in vivo" internal experience of the patient. He largely accepted Foucault's criticism of psychiatry and psychology (1972/2009, 1975/1995) as tools of suppression and oppression of folks who simply process and interact differently than the mainstream population. In *Self and Others* (1961) he covers some of the same ground that Ricoeur (1994) would later explore, identifying the ways the developing ego identifies and defines itself in relation to others, in particular to the family, and the family context as cultural mediator. The culture, as mediated through the family, is the ultimate source of identified values inherited and apprehended by the developing ego that create the very interior conflicts out of which

mental illness arise. In this he comes close to the position that symptoms are responses to cultural context and especially to the variance between self-definition and the labels and identities projected onto, and internalized by, the individual from her or his culture. A special concern in Laing's theory as presented here (as in *Sanity, Madness, and the Family*, Laing & Esterson, 1964) is the ways in which family processes (the secrets and lies maintained to preserve power structures within the family and dignity in relations of the family with outsiders) shape the particular contradictions of existence faced by the developing human being. In this he expands and redirects the theory of the family as the generative crucible of mental illness first advanced by Bateson, Jackson, Haley, & Weakland (1956). In this he also anticipates on of the prime theses of liberation studies—the social transmission of the status quo as assumed, unquestioned good.

Murray Bowen, 1913-1990, discusses in detail a theory likening behavior of the individual in society to the behavior of an individual in a family system (1973, 1974b). He outlines how the same processes operate in both: Trianglings occur in the conversations with others that are aimed to recruit for and against support relative to a third node in the family system. Family projections are those internal discontents and ideation in which unresolved conflicts between two members of a system are projected onto a third, identifying the third member as the source of the problem and as the symptomatic individual or group within the system, the identified patient. Developed virulently enough, this projective process turns into scapegoating, a process in which this "identified patient" (Bateson et al., 1956; Bowen, 1972) becomes the focus of either reform or punishment to serve the needs for anxiety relief in the family or society which is itself the source of the problem. The development of Bowen's thought along these lines

was triggered first by his awareness that among his clinic staff, individuals tended to reproduce in the social setting the same dramas that affected them in their families of origin. It was a short step to conceive that this process might operate in society at large. Comparing family and societal patterns, Bowen noted that there were patterns in family progression and regression that he theorized would be matched in societal dynamics. He based this notion on observations of the varying degrees of inverse relationship between anxiety and security as reflected in the degree to which a family/society and its members were becoming more, or less, differentiated. In Bowen's view, individual or societal regression might be triggered by increasing anxiety. Such anxiety would be prompted by a number of different factors. Among them he noted increases of misbehavior or crime, which he theoretically related to those families and societies which had become more permissive and so created and intensified anxiety about changes underway within the social system. He also posited that increases in societal anxiety in the industrial or developing world are triggered by the increased awareness of population explosion. The decreased availability of spaces of retreat leaves individuals in constant contact with others, resulting in an increase in external friction, as well as internal anxiety and agitation. Once again, theory returns to the interiority of the individual to explain the rising symptoms of social perceptions and problems.

These are but some of the historical frames of psychological theory through which the professional approach to individuals and the societal context in which they move have been imagined across professional history, though these approaches do reflect still current perspectives in professional attitudes to the relations between the two. They both reflected the current thinking of their times, as well as shaping the development of that thinking

across time. That is, they promoted within psychology the status quo of individualism as the primary locus of interest in the profession. The primary importance of individual psychic life in these theories, while providing important information for individual development, has also masked the dynamics of social patterning in shaping the individual. This social patterning, according to a liberation perspective, is maintained largely through accepted ideological narratives that are promulgated by, supported by, and nested in these and other concepts of societal development.

Liberation and post-colonial studies emerged in the 1960s and 1970s with an almost polar reactivity to the thinking that had preceded it (Watkins & Shulman, 2010). Post-colonial studies in sociology and psychology immediately branched out, and over the last decades have produced a dizzying array of social theory, clinical theory, critical commentary, and psychosocial interpretations. Some of these studies have concerned themselves with deleterious affects of the long colonial periods (Ellacuría, 1969; Deloria, 1972/2003; Mander 1991; Hocoy, 1999a; Okere and Njuko, 2005; Babiker, 2006). Others have focused on how societies move forward with new patterns of knowing and self-exploration (Loomba, 1998; Obo, 2006; Onyango-Ouma, 2006). Still others have proceeded to advance theories and clinical approaches to address the ongoing effects of intergenerational trauma developed in the colonial settings (Duran & Duran, 1995; Gilroy, 2004; Duran 2006; Deloria, 2006; Fabian, 2006; Macleod & Bahtia, 2008).

Meanwhile, a consciousness arose in which minority or marginalized populations in social contexts around the world, sometimes immigrant populations, sometimes the urban or agrarian poor, sometimes peoples of color, ethnicity, gender or sexual minority, began to identify differentiations in social status and opportunity reflected in their

political situations, and post-colonial studies developed into liberation studies. These have produced liberation psychologies, anthropologies and theologies addressed to populations in Africa (Ezeh, 2006; Mills, 2006; Obo, 2006), Latin America (Freire, 1972; Martìn-Barò, 1974), and continental North America and Europe (Clark et al. 2010; Gilligan, 1993; Watkins and Shulman, 2010). Still further studies have developed for Western scholars new rubrics for understanding, relating to, and interpreting the "other" in cross-cultural context (Kleinman, 1988; Kleinman, Eisenberg, & Good, 1978; Mehl-Madrona, 2007). What these studies all have in common is a concern to place the experience of the voiceless, the marginalized, the dispossessed who have no place in the economy, social structure, or normative behaviors of their respective cultures, the minority subject to alternate societal experiences, at the center of study. These approaches give preference to the voices of the "other" in understanding the other's problems, purposely avoiding as much as possible the impositions of Western, professional categories of knowing on the other's experience. A complimentary commitment in these studies is to interpret up from the bottom, not down from the top. This allows the development of understandings of entrenched social theories in colonized contexts from the alternate perspectives of the poor, the powerless, and the disenfranchised. Finally, these studies share a commitment to ask what energies for changing self-understandings might be found or made available to transform not only the individual lives involved, but the societal structures and challenges that shape the possibilities of wellbeing available in their contexts. Liberation and post-colonial psychologies are, in this researcher's view, contributing regularly to a reshaping of clinicians' consciousness of the culturally (therefore politically, economically, and communally) context of the suffering patient. I

have kept this section of the review short in view of the longer expositions of the work of Martín-Baró and Duran and Duran, foundational voices of this movement that figure most prominently in this research.

From violence to trauma. Trauma is largely defined within the field of psychology in the context of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* first addressed the traumatic etiology of some symptoms labeled posttraumatic stress with the Third Edition (APA, 1980). This survives in the *DSM-IV-TR* (APA, 2000). PTSD had been described first among veterans of the Vietnam War (Horowitz, 1976). It was later extended to assist in classifying trauma related to both stranger and family violence (rape, domestic violence, sexual abuse, physical abuse) and further extended to those witnessing violence or abuse (Courtois, 2004; Parkinson, 2000; Herman, 1997).

The historical development of the PTSD diagnosis reveals a process of slow expansion to recognize further and further sets of human experience in which the psyche is traumatically impacted (Van der Kolk et al., 2005). The *DSM III* (APA, 1980) relied heavily on emergent sets of data related to combat trauma expressed in populations of Vietnam vets (Horowitz, 1976; Horowitz, Wilner, & Kaltreider, 1980), as well as more historical descriptions of similar experiences (Kardiner, 1941). At the time of these developments, additional posttraumatic disorders had been proposed and rejected. One of these was rape trauma syndrome (Burgess and Holstrom, 1974), which identified special problems related to trauma etiology not ultimately included in the initial PTSD formulations of the *DSM III*. These included violated sense of safety, impaired capacities for trust, and negative impacts on self-worth and self-identity, the latter often expressing

in dissociation and fragmentation of identity, implying damage to a coherent sense of self (Van der Hart et al., 2005). These same issues were later highlighted in the work of Walker (1979) on "Battered Women's Syndrome," which may have served to help expand the notion of PTSD as it eventually appeared in the *DSM IV-TR* (2000).

Current diagnostic criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in the *DSM IV-TR* are as follows. Within Criterion A, both of the following present: the impacted individual must have directly experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by an actual event that manifested a threat to her or his physical integrity. Additionally, the individual has to have experienced a response to this event involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror. The definitions of these latter are left open-ended (APA, 2000, p. 467).

Criterion B elaborates the items in Criteria A, and notes that one or more of the following must be present: "Recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections, or recurrent dreams of the event, or flashbacks, dissociation, and illusions as though the event were recurring, as well as intense distress at such internal or external cues that symbolize an aspect of the event, and lastly psychological reactivity to such internal or external cues" (APA, 2000, p. 468).

Criterion C continues this elaboration, and requires three or more of the following must also be present. There must be, on the part of the impacted individual, an "avoidance of thoughts, feelings or conversations about their particular trauma; avoidance of activities, places, or people that arouse recollection of the trauma; an inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma; markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities; feelings of detachment or estrangement; restricted range of affect; and/or a sense of foreshortened future" (APA, 2000, p. 468).

Criterion D adds any two or more of the following to the conditions for diagnosis. Two additional sleep-related criteria are added to the possible dream states noted above: difficulty falling or staying asleep. Irritability or outbursts of anger are relational conditions noted to arise in some patients. Difficulty concentrating, hypervigilance, and an exaggerated startle response are noted as potential impairments to consciousness (APA, 2000, p. 468). Criterion E adds the condition that these conditions must have prevailed for at least a duration of one month. Any similar stress condition enduring less that that would be classified as Acute Stress Disorder. Finally Criterion F adds the condition that the combination of disturbances noted above must cause "clinically significant impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (APA, 2000, p. 468).

Additional research has been underway since before the publication of the DSM IV (APA, 1984), seeking to identify further categories of clinically amenable trauma not currently identified within the narrow descriptors of the DSM IV-TR for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (Van der Kolk et al., 2005). This body of research elaborated a further symptom cluster of more complex posttraumatic stress adaptations. The resulting diagnostic category, "disorders of extreme stress not otherwise specified," or DESNOS (Herman, 1992a, 1992b), was recommended for inclusion as a separate disorder in the *DSM IV* (APA, 1984). These broader stress descriptions included recognition that stress disorders may arise from etiologies rooted on ongoing, chronic stress, involving a chronic reactivation of stresses rooted in impact events that may not be captured by the DSM criteria insistence on threat to life. This broader outlook on trauma development identifies several factors not fully explored in the tradition criteria for PTSD. These include

alterations in the regulation of affective impulses, alterations in attention and consciousness, alterations in self perception, alterations in the perception of the perpetrator, alterations in relationship to others, somatization and/or medical problems, and alterations in systems of meaning (Herman, 1992a). This extension of the trauma concept is additionally useful as an explanatory, diagnostic framework for some personality and dissociative disorders (Briere & Spinazzola, 2005). Assessment of such complex trauma responses is difficult, as symptoms vary in intensity from blatant to subtle, and from chronic to episodic, depending on additional life stresses (Ozer & Weiss, 2004). Eventually rejected as a separate diagnostic category, it was included as an elaborative descriptor associated with PTSD (Van der Kolk et al., 2005). Of note, this very set of trauma responses is utilized by Duran (2006) in his definition of the colonial, or soul, wound, from the post-colonial view of the recently colonized.

Trauma complexity. Christine Courtois (2008) reviews the most current understanding of complex trauma and its development with special reference to experiences and categories of trauma that may be missed by the criteria developed by the American Psychiatric Association and included in the *DSM IV-TR* (2000). Her review asserts a category of complex trauma. This is notable sometimes by way of etiology, as often such trauma develops as impactful events occur repeatedly and escalate over their duration. In families, these may be exemplified by acts of domestic violence or child abuse. In other situations, it may be notable for its etiological relationship to war. Related experiences that may give rise to such complex trauma include prisoner of war or refugee status. The rise of human trafficking, often related to regional conflict, provides another instance in which such trauma may emerge (Chung, 2009; Yakushko, 2009; Banovic &

Bjelajac, 2012,). Increasingly, researchers understand that complex trauma may additionally result from medical situations, including acute or chronic illness that requires intensive medical procedures and intervention, or a single traumatic medical event that is extreme in terms of pain, duration, or unexpectedly negative outcomes. "Complex trauma generates complex reactions, in addition to those currently included in the *DSM–IV* (APA, 1994) diagnosis of posttraumatic stress disorder" (Courtois, 2004, p. 86). Early and continuing symptom understandings for this presentation of Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (CPTSD) were initially laid out by Judith Herman (1992a) and include, at minimum, some expression the following characteristic constellation of symptoms, evidence for which is confirmed in the additional studies noted:

- Alterations in the regulation of affective impulses, alterations in attention and consciousness, alterations in relationship to others, somatization and/or medical problems (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004).
- Identity fragmentation, including: alterations in self-perception, alterations in the perception of the perpetrator, and alterations in systems of meaning (Herman, 1992a; Duran & Duran, 1995; Courtois, 2004). It should be noted that the notion of identity fragmentation carries an expanded valence in the work of social psychology, where it traces the initial states of disorientation to self, family, culture and its norms and values, and to the conflicts of identity and meaning-making that foster disorientation when patterns of loyalty, allegiance and sense of self are subject to shifting political and social tides and the potential of these to work traumatic damage on individuals and communities (Vali, 1998). Each of these valences is at play in this research, in

an effort to understand how the latter forms of developing fragmentations in loyalty and allegiance give rise to shifted patterns of meaning making and sense of self, and how these may later contribute to more clinically distinct states of fragmentation and dissociation.

- Long-term depression, including long-term (greater than one year) unresolved sadness, anhedonia, listlessness, lack of purpose (Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).
- Social anxiety, experienced as the inability to tolerate close social contact or to be comfortably present in crowds or gatherings (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).
- Generalized anxiety, the chronic anxiety state reflected, as above, in chronic unease and hypervigilance regardless of setting (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).
- Learned helplessness, the inability to conceptualize choices and options related to problem solving and strategies to change both one's internal and external circumstances, as well as a lack of volition to implement such choices and options as may be presented with further assistance from outside others (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1993).
- Social/civil disruption or segmentation which serves to complicate or impede both the identification and the treatment of the foregoing symptoms by undermining community resource mobilization, opportunities and rituals that promote social cohesion, and resource sharing (Herman, 1992a; Duran & Duran, 1995; Courtois, 2004; de Jong et al., 2005).

- Environmental anxiety as reflected in basic angst about the safety, security, and long-term stability of one's place of being in the world, and the continuity of one's past experience of the world of nature and social beings with the present and potential future experience of the same (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; Duran & Duran 1996; Duran, 2006; Albrecht, Sartore & Connor, et al., 2007).

Trauma and national security. Little literature is available regarding the intersection of nascent national security elements and the potential traumatization of populations living within National Security State contexts. What literature is available has been developed largely within the Latin American context. The Eastern European context, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, has seen a small flourishing of literature related to the topic (Forrest, Johnson & Till, 2004). In the United States, virtually the only literature related to the topic has emerged since the tragic assault on the World Trade Center's Twin Towers in New York City on September 11, 2001. Nevertheless, tracing the arc of domination and victimization within the history of colonialism and the shaping of nascent national security elements should leave little doubt that the exercise of power within these contexts is going to result in trauma among some segments of the populations that live in those contexts.

'9/11: Ten years later,' in *American Psychologist,* presents a wide ranging attempt to analyze perhaps the most recent and far-reaching national trauma on American soil in terms both of its immediate traumatic impact and its long-term, chronic effects in the lives of those most immediately effected, in populations throughout the culture, and on the cultural and perceptual context as well. Roxanne Cohen Silver (2011), in her

introduction to the issue, observes how much has changed in day-to-day life. These manifest as lines at airport security screenings, changes in surveillance at and around our public spaces and places of work, economic deprivations, and continuing posttraumatic stress reactions in those exposed both directly and vicariously to the violence of the terrorist attacks that day. She notes as well the phenomenon of increased suspiciousness of the average citizen toward others who look odd, different, or maybe are simply toting a backpack on a public conveyance.

Silver (2011) reiterates an observation from an earlier article devoted specifically to terrorism: "Of course, the goals of terrorism are inherently psychological in nature. Terrorists seek to create disruption by instilling fear and anxiety that leads to wide-ranging social, political, psychological, and economic consequences" (Silver & Matthew, 2008, p. 927). This observation is particularly germane to the present study, in that these are precisely the effects, if not the outright goals, of the corporate nation state in organizing social control, economies of scale, and the maintenance of the socio-economic-business elite in comfort out of earshot of the proletarian rabble (Chomsky, 2003; Lapham, 1997; Bacevich, 2008). The latter operate much more obscurely and with significantly less drama, but the effects are known in the population and show up in our clinics and consulting rooms just the same. They arrive in the panic of the immigrant from a land in political turmoil. They can be seen in the tears of the indigenous woman whose son was killed by the big city police. They present in the moral crisis of the employee of a multinational weapons manufacturer. They are visible in the life-arc of the woman whose parents were blacklisted during the period of influence of the so-called "House Un-American Activities Committee." They are active in the life of the homeless

African-American woman suffering form mental illness. They manifest as the philosophical suicidality of the youth who cannot sleep at night, believing that the impact on the environment and on human populations of his dad's work is stealing any possible future his generation may have on the planet. And they are the salient feature in the storyline of the artist who paints to understand and process the internalized trauma caused by his government in the lives of his friends. They are trauma responses, but trauma responses of a very particular shape, tinged by a very particular betrayal, and dominating internal landscapes and relationships to family and to culture alike. And they may be less unlike the experience of the warrior returned from combat than might be expected.

In a wide ranging review of posttraumatic stress literature on the post-exposure populations of New York City and Washington DC on and after 9/11, Neria, DiGrande, and Adams (2011) demonstrate that PTSD and its associated comorbidities Generalized Anxiety Disorder (GAD), Major Depressive Disorder (MDD), and Complicated Grief (CG), have long lasting courses and effects in high exposure populations. Their study, focused in these two geographies, note but do not expand on the prevalence of PTSD among Americans with high media exposure to the event, with post-exposure levels still at 5.8 percent nationally six months after the attack (down from 44% in the week after the event and 17% two months later). What they suggest may be concern for further research in both the national and local exposure populations is the role that the sequellae of the 9/11 events—war in Afghanistan and Iraq, curtailment of civil liberties, as well as the ongoing civil and economic turmoil—may be having in sustaining the symptoms as time goes by.

Huddy et al. (2005) and Morgan et al. (2011) explore the relationship between emotional response to the events of 9/11, and the variance between perceived threat and personal anxiety as determining forces in the support of policies implementing some of the measures which I include in my definitions of national security state policies, including surveillance, intimidation, social and political isolation of minority/occupied populations, and economic isolation. Citizens whose response to the events of 9/11 was more largely characterized as anxiety tended to support more "risk-averse" approaches to responding. These advocated more "wait and see" approaches to unfolding events, and were not supportive of rapid intervention at home or abroad. In contrast, those whose responses focused more clearly on perceived threat, who were more emotionally "angry," were more likely to support policies and interventions aimed at restricting immigration, racial/ethnic profiling, and restriction of civil liberties at home related to movement, association, communication, and public protest and gathering. In such a climate, the political promulgation of fear and the political maintenance of high levels of public anxiety, via either information or disinformation, serve to heighten the political and social divisions isolating these two psychological "camps" from one another. This isolation serves politically to maintain the status quo. In a follow up article, Huddy and Feldman (2011) explore these themes further and identify a difference between the angry, often authoritarian, personality response and an anxious response indicating a deeper sense of personal vulnerability. Their findings were that the latter were more characteristic of those who actually new someone killed in the 9/11 events or in the political and military sequellae of that event.

Prospects for healing the National Security wound

Ignacio Martín-Baró took the stance that the role of psychology lay primarily in addressing the concerns and needs of the oppressed and their communities. Whether this oppression took the form of economic injustice, class violence, social prejudice, as these reveal themselves in the hopelessness, helplessness, or psychosis of the consulting room, his psychological praxis consciously chooses to work primarily on behalf of those most impacted by differences in access to power in all its forms. Its central task was the reconstruction of an accurate, communal, historical memory of the individual within a social context in which the oppressed are denied their reality, told that things are just the way things are. One of its primary strategies was to be that of leveraging the stasis and lethargy of such a "fatalism" that accepted such a conclusion out of hand. Such work would develop in fatalism's stead the community's capacity for self-reflection, self-insight, and collective action (Martín-Baró, 1987a). The central concern of such a praxis was the health and well-being of both individuals and their communities, and their movement toward resilience and self-efficacy. Such a praxis, therefore, seeks to develop the capacity to rebound from psychological and physical harm, and the empowerment to take action on one's own behalf and on behalf of one's community. Martín-Baró, and liberation psychology after him, asserted that this praxis is best achieved by reinforcing resilience already present in the individual sufferer—by reconstructing the valid narrative, reconnecting the patient to his or her community, developing rituals and communal events where the story could be celebrated and affirmed (Martín-Baró, 1986b). This in turn leads, via raised consciousness within both patient and community, to the empowering of both to work for change based on the recognition of more authentic

narrative and the awareness of injustice and exclusion that has created the dis-ease of the patient and his or her community. This activation of agency in the patient is a key to the whole therapeutic enterprise for Martín-Baró, and the centerpiece of his commitment to work as a psychologist.

Duran (1986) likewise proceeds by assisting the patient to reconstruct the story that has been denied by the culture at large, an accurate history of the suffering of the patient related to and grounded in the historical situation that the patient has inherited and endured. This is key, as too often the narrative being lived by the patient has been constructed by the dominant, occupying culture. In reclaiming the proper and true historical narrative of the patient's trauma, the assistance and affirmation of community is required, and the patient must often be re-initiated into his or her community in a variety of ways. This embrace of ritual constructed to re-integrate the sufferer into the community of other sufferers is a vital part of the liberative process for Duran. In this context of ritual and re-initiation, the patient and the community are both energized to work for change from within the power of the new and more authentic narrative. In short, it activates agency on the part of the patient and the community around him or her.

An extensive review of the trauma literature (Luszcynska, Benight, & Cieslak, 2009) identifies such agency and self-efficacy as a measure of coping and recovery from acute, escalating, and chronic trauma. This analysis also extends the traditional definition of the trauma context to such acute events as natural disasters, episodes of mass violence, technological accidents. Also analyzed and included were such chronic exposure as is found in terrorism, community violence, and exposure to toxic hazards. It likens the experience of these chronic, ongoing, re-traumatizing events to the escalating exposures

typically found in the classic definitions of trauma related to war and to family violence of varying types. Each of the conditions and etiologies considered in this review were identified precisely because they were or are experienced collectively. Such a collective orientation makes this review particularly useful for creating context for the experience of trauma with and perpetrated by a cultural system, such as colonialism or national security. Notably, the review observes that key mediators of resilience and recovery from the traumas considered included factors such as the mobilization of social support, social sharing, social participation, and rituals reinforcing social cohesion—exactly the strategic orientation found in the work of both Martín-Baró and Duran.

Literature related to method and research approach

Critical theory (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2007) and the hermeneutics of suspicion (Ricoeur, 1994) together form an especially appropriate set of lenses for this study. Together they address in their own form and manner the traditional concern with nosology, the foundational aspect of "diagnosis" so pervasive in psychology, the concern with knowing what is. These critical, suspicious tools together allow for the emergence and revelation of the subtexts of society not normally visible to the embedded researcher or informant. They also allow the researcher to move beyond assessing what is, toward suggesting what ought to be. They move simultaneously toward self-understanding on one hand, and social transformation on another, one via the other in reciprocal fashion. They do this by allowing the researcher/clinician to identify her or his own embeddedness in a particular cultural narrative, a pre-shaped perspective, and by simultaneously inviting the critique of that embedded perspective in service to discovering what else is true, and what else is possible.

A major frame of reference in my approach to this study is the Liberation Psychology expounded by Ignacio Martín-Baró, 1942-1989. A Jesuit priest and practicing social psychologist, Martín-Baró applied the insights and process of Liberation theologies arising among the campesinos of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala as the ground to develop key insights into the critique of and practice of psychology. Throughout his work Martín-Baró was influenced by and employed the tools of critical theory and a "hermeneutics of suspicion" in analyzing the social contexts, self-perceptions and identities of participants in the political, social and individual dramas he was watching unfold in El Salvador. An approach most clearly articulated by Paul Ricoeur in his essay, "Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation" (1970), this approach shares much in common with the critical methodology of Paulo Freire, with which it also shares a common inheritance in European existentialism and phenomenology. That Duran, Martín-Baró, Freire, and Ricoeur all wrote from within or in response to their various experiences of physical or psychological violence is not coincidental.

Notes on a way of seeing: Liberation Psychology. Among insights Martín-Baró brings to the table is that the practice of psychology, when focused solely on individual suffering, and when conceiving psychopathology as strictly a development of and within the individual psyche, tragically misses the effect of the system within which the psychopathology develops. Martìn-Barò advocated a clinical, as well as collective, psychological praxis that could take account of the cultural-historical suffering as a system, one that generates so much of the suffering of the individual. This perspective provides a lens through which to further elaborate the impact of colonial and national security violence on the situation and psyche of individuals, families, communities, and

landscapes. Martín-Baró draws deeply on the insights of Paulo Freire, 1921-1997, and the development of practices of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970). From such a perspective, Martín-Baró advocated what this researcher identifies as a socio-clinical psychology, both as theory and as practical endeavor, that accounts both for individual suffering, and for the historical context of that suffering. He proposed a psychological "praxis" of conceiving and addressing the "truth" of human psychological experience not simply as the data of a life or a set of symptoms immediately at hand, but also as a task at hand: the task of promoting wellbeing in both the patient and in the society that shapes the patient's experience. In this he criticized the imagined "objectivity" of the psychologies of the West and their practice of "scientism" as the cult of the notion of objectivity in the natural sciences. He took the stance that psychology as clinical practice must take a stand regarding the suffering of people, and so must be concerned not only with what has been experienced by the individual, but also with the pathology inherent in the context of the experience itself. In his own words, he was concerned to develop a psychology that can account for "not only what has been done, but what *needs* to be done" (1986b).

To do this, Martín-Baró asserts that the psychologist must undergo a *concientizaciòn* (Martín-Baró, 1988). This concept he borrows from the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970). Concientizatiòn is the development of a critical consciousness that allows the practitioner to see through one's own, taken-for-granted assumptions about society and individuals in it, and approach such assumptions with critical reflection. It encourages the critical questions of whether these perceptions are either accurate or useful, and whether others perceptions or interpretations might not be equally valid. This emotional-intellectual movement can promotes a new level of naivete

regarding the influences reflected in one's understandings of and stance toward one's own embedded experience within role and culture. It reflects a willingness to question inherited attitudes and understandings, the "received text" of who we believe ourselves and our profession to be. Such a move may also reveal the degrees to which existing perceptions alienate the practitioner from the subject/object of his her reflections and practice. It may make more clear the ways in which culturally dominant (or dominated) media both reveal and conceal the truth of experience, and promotes an opportunity to question and align experience, perception and values. Martín-Baró followed closely the logic of Freire's 1972 article on pedagogy as a tool either for domestication or liberation. From this stance, he asserted that psychology likewise has no neutral ground to stand on. It must always be either complicit in the task of normalizing the abnormal experiences of human beings within cultural contexts that lead to psychological symptoms, or must consciously adapt an alternate praxis. Such a praxis would be one that supports the process of insight and liberation of the afflicted from that very context of their suffering, via social change and ongoing engagement with the systems of power and powerlessness inherent in the context in which symptoms develop.

In defining the role and context of the psychological practitioner, Martín-Baró (1984, 1985a) borrowed a conception of his mentor Ignacio Ellacuría (1969) and speaks of this social location, (his role as a Western-trained psychologist/priest/professional in a poverty-stricken, conflict-ridden country) as a "limit situation." This conception is adapted from the notion of *Grenzsituationen* in the work of Karl Jaspers (1952, 1971). In Jaspers' conception, limit situations are critical moments in individual development and self-realization, usually accompanied by intense, usually negative emotional experiences.

Most often these would include dread, guilt or acute anxiety. In these moments, the human mind confronts restrictions in its existing forms of conception and even conceptual/reflective processes. Out of such experience, Jaspers asserted that the mind can then either recant and recoil, or can allow itself to abandon the securities of limited older ideas and perceptions, and so to enter new possibilities of self-consciousness. Ellacuría developed, and Martín-Baró borrowed and developed further, this idea as a social phenomenon. In such a social "limit situation," a whole society, or significant segments thereof, may come to realize its limited, embedded, conditioned perceptions of the many narratives and roles within the context of their society, and so become open to the possibility of deep change.

Ellacuría described the limit situation of his own concern as a critical moment of realization that the traditional, "lawful" means of oppression for maintaining the traditional economic and class/racial injustices in post-colonial El Salvador could no longer work (1969). As these traditional, lawful means of oppression failed, Ellacuría recognized that the nation's power elites would turn to extra-legal violence and repression to protect their interests, and those of their economic allies and supporters/investors in other, more wealthy nations, especially the United States. Salvadoran campesinos were becoming *concientizados,* aware of the imbalance of power, economic status, class and racial divides that Salvadoran elites and the colonial powers before them had tried to keep quiet and ignore for generations. This dawning awareness, this "limit situation" was providing a context for change in the campesino's self-identity that had the potential to derail the whole of the Salvadoran social structure and vested economic interest. He worked among campesinos filled with the dread of recognizing

what had been taken from them, or what had been given up by way of complacency. Such workers of the land also were filled with guilt that younger generations were likewise being trapped in this complacency, and anxiety that things might remain ever the same. This "limit situation" was the context in which a new identity and self-awareness was emerging among the lower classes. The elite could already be seen, in Ellacuría's formulation, to be mobilizing forces of media and military repression to meet this emerging self-identity among the lower classes. This response in turn created a new limit situation, itself filled with dread, guilt, and anxiety about shifts in the balance of power, prestige and opportunity. The old balance reinforced the strictures and limitations of the old perceptive situation. Through the shift in perception brought forward within the limit situation of this social class as a group, Ellacuría identified the Salvadoran people as advancing toward change. He saw the reactive repression and violence of the elite as constituting a new limit situation out of which not only changes in identity, but changes in the praxis of what it means to be human, were emerging. Such shifts in the practice of what it means to be human would bring with them, he hoped, new experiences of solidarity, community, resistance, education and participation.

Martìn-Barò explicitly identified the work-zone of the Salvadoran psychologist within this "limit-situation." He regularly invited his North American and European colleagues to turn their energies toward a process of *concientizatiòn* that might lead to similar changes in identity, perception, and praxis. He was deeply aware that European and North American participation in the economic and colonial systems that had created the Salvadoran and Latin American situations (Gareau, 2004). This awareness fueled a passionate belief that a change in consciousness in those settings might also shift the

situation in El Salvador and other nations, much as treatment of the individual in the context of a family system changes the entire system. And he saw the impact of such a passage through our own Euro-American limit situation as changing the way professional psychology studied and treated both the oppressed peoples of former colonial settings, as well as the oppressed peoples found in the consulting rooms of the old colonial empires.

Martín-Baró advocated and detailed a process of identifying the pathology that creates symptoms in the social context of the symptomatic person, not in the personality or biology of the individual, nor exclusively in an uncontextualized individual "experience." In the particular context of National Security State violence in El Salvador, and in the larger context of the emotional and psychological violence of Western Culture, Martín-Baró consistently identified the culture as the pathogenic agent in symptom development. Those symptom clusters that Euro-American psychology employs to define disorders and psychopathologies, Martín-Baró identified as normal responses to abnormal situations. Even those disorders professional psychology identified as having an underlying biological component, Martín-Baró saw as essentially shaped by their social and cultural setting. Symptoms and psychopathologies are ameliorated or exacerbated by the context of the relationships of individuals with community, family, and the polis, the larger socio-political relationships within which all other relationships take place.

Some notes on a way of seeing: The hermeneutics of suspicion. In stressing the role of social context in creating individual psychological symptoms, Martín-Baró challenged old ways of seeing symptoms as matters of individual pathology and complex, and applied the hermeneutics of suspicion of Paul Ricouer to the question of the split between clinical and social psychology. As this is the same interpretive discipline utilized

in this dissertation, it is reviewed here in detail. Ricoeur identified Freud, along with Marx and Nietzsche, as the primary philosophers and advocates of suspicion as an hermeneutical strategy (1970). From Freud, Ricoeur borrowed the idea that one should "suspect" that the expressed, conscious responses of a patient are not fully accurate in and of themselves. For Freud, the "unconscious" always presents an option unknown to consciousness, an option that may add data to render a more accurate or more complete picture of the nature and etiology of a patient's distress. Under the influence of Marx, Ricoeur came to regard as suspect both the economic systems and the inherited narratives of benefit/production/ownership that align with them to create and reinforce the social-economic structures of a society. In regarding Nietzsche, Ricoeur found and identified with the task of questioning the very nature of reality as fundamentally interpreted, and to likewise suspect the promotion of any particular versions of it. As the common thread linking these three thinkers, Ricoeur traces the intellectual tack of Western Culture, and psychology in particular, to regard any consciousness the human can be aware of, as primarily 'false' consciousness. (1981/1987). The application of this decision allows us to question all received tradition, history, and narrative in regard to multiple criteria. These criteria may include the following: Who speaks and who does not? Whose stories are included/preferenced and whose are not? What is the Weltanschauung or "world view" of the speaker/writer/author of a given text, including the text of lived experience? And how do our world-view and situated perspective influence our particular reading and articulation of a text/life-event? This last question is a uniquely important part of every exercise in the hermeneutics of suspicion, in that it demands of the interpreter a commitment to levels of self-inquiry rarely achieved in the interpretive disciplines. It

allows the possibility of "creative dislocation" (Brown, 1980) from one's own perspective and creates the possibility of openness to the other.

Ricoeur (1981/1987, 2004) took the further step of applying these "rules of engagement" to the interpretive enterprise of understanding the texts of lived experience. This addresses the problem of interpreting history and time, and of reconstructing what is "real" in distinction to "fictional" or unreal, by forcing the interpreter's reflection on his or her own place in the context of human experience and history. He thereby supplied a new reference point for identifying and acting on the hermeneutical question of who speaks and who doesn't. This is the point of origin in modern philosophy for the notion that "all history is written by the winners." At the very least, this makes us aware that there are voices that are indeed left out of the 'traditional," received narratives of conquest and development.

The ethics of Ricoeur's arts of interpretation at this point demand of the interpreter the honesty of examining, assessing and including alternative voices for the narrative in question. "Hermeneutics seems to me to be animated by this double motivation: willingness to suspect, willingness to listen; vow of rigor, vow of obedience" (1970, p. 27). For Ricoeur, this first task, the willingness to suspect, was about doing away with "idols" of our own positions of reference, the inclination either to project our own wishes, intentions, and ideological constructions onto the "text," whether the text in question is parchment and print in front of us, or the vista of life lived in the panorama of history (2004). This 'willingness to suspect' is also a preparatory frame of reference for allowing the "other" to speak as other, as strange and alien, and yet of sufficient familiarity to address us from beyond ourselves (beyond the parameters of our own

projections) sine qua non "others" (1994). For Ricoeur, this frame of reference was itself framed by the presupposition that the "other" which speaks to us is always and everywhere a "sacred other" (1994, 2004).

The second notion identified in Ricoeur's ethics of interpretation is that of "willingness to listen." The willingness to listen develops the notion of the "other" still more fully, by asserting for the other the right and necessity of being heard on the other's OWN terms, unconstrained by our inclination as interpreters to hear everything only through our own frame of reference. That is, it begs of the interpretive task a "critical openness" that Ricoeur himself characterizes as "suspicion and hope" (1981/87). This critical openness is a unique anticipation of actually hearing the other from within the other's frame of reference, and so having our own frame of reference exposed and expanded. This will be a critical piece of the work in this dissertation as a reconstruction is made of colonial and national security histories and narratives of power and necessity, oppression and resistance. A primary goal will be allowing for traditional Western, privileged view points to be challenged, exposed and expanded in ways that open the possibility of personal and societal transformation.

Ricoeur's contribution of the notion of primary and secondary naivete (1976) explicates an ability to approach a text a second time under the conditions of beginner's mind, a state of "not knowing" or not relying on/trusting one's impression of the text to date. This leaves open-ended the possibility of new information emerging from the text that would change the interpretation. This addresses the problem of "foreknowledge," a description of the fact that the researcher's/interpreter's own concepts in approaching a study subject will invariably shape the conceptions he/she finds in the text under study,

and the resultant interpretations. Ricoeur (1981/1987) details a process of several steps to assist the hermeneut in achieving appropriate levels of naivete in each approach to the text, chiefly by applying techniques of suspicion to the interpretive process itself. Distanciation, the first step, involves an ideological and interpretive distance placed between the interpreter and text. This allows a process of stripping assumptions about the text, prior knowledge or prejudice about the text, via a rigorous self-examination of these "foreknowledges."

The second step, appropriation, is the conscious effort of the interpreter to close as much as possible the temporal and cultural gap between interpreter and text. To achieve this, the interpreter must "appropriate" these background factors of the text to him or herself, and so become a participant in the world of the text as much as possible. In this, ethnography, with its emphasis on participant observation, can be seen to be a major influence in Ricoeur's philosophy. It marks the effort by the interpreter to essentially become participant-observer in the world of the text or the interpreted subjects/phenomenon. This process leads to the dialectical pair of "explanation and understanding," which in the context of this sort of participant-observation allows the interpreter that stance of noticing and knowing the tension between self and other (1994). Explanation (who I am, who you are, or alternatively, who I am and who the text/subject is) forms a tension with understanding, rapport if you will, in which text and interpreter can create relationship in the context of Ricoeur's basic philosophical question: Who am I, and how should I live? The reciprocal movement between interpreter and subject within this question will inform the interpreter what the subject demands of the interpreter's life. This is particularly so in the application of Ricoeur's work to the human sciences, where

the hermeneutical circle is, as Giddens noted, a bidirectional phenomenon. This dialectic process serves to widen the interpretive horizon. The horizon in hermeneutics is normally understood as the range of "vision" beyond which we normally do not see. This is a particularly dicey challenge for the hermeneut, in that what we DO see clearly and distinctly so often hides other things, and limits our vision, excluding multiple alternatives that we can't or won't be able to see (Goleman, 1996).

Ricoeur presented a further ethical concern related to the interpretation of both historical record and case vignette—that of listening authentically to the voice of the other *as* other, to not seek to bend the text to one's own presuppositions. Within the context of the hermeneutics of suspicion, this is guarded against by what Ricoeur (1994) conceived as the constant repetition of the hermeneutical circle. In Ricoeur's conception, one first approaches a text in the context of primary naivete, of "not knowing" what the text will reveal, of setting aside the received wisdom about the text as well as one's expectations of what the text might reveal. This is so, whether one is dealing with literary text, historical documentation, or the "text" of one's own or another's lived experience. After one has "circled" the text in preliminary fashion, one is at a new point in relationship to the text. This becomes the context for developing what Ricoeur regards as "secondary naivete," the capacity to set aside the new set of learned relationship to a previously studied text. This is made possible by the application of suspicion, not surprisingly, to one's own process of understanding, and by the cultivation of an expectation that the previously studied text may yet reveal new insights and answers not yet suspected by the interpreter. This is the internal, ethical process by which the interpreter proceeds to analyze and interpret, analyzing, interpreting, and bracketing

one's assumption anew with each approach to the text. Accordingly, one prepares oneself in this model to approach the interpretive process in the expectation of truly "hearing" the sacred other in the text, as though for the very first time.

Following Ricouer, I conceive the hermeneutic process also to be the disciplined, cyclical approach and re-approach of "the text," in service to deepening and broadening the interpreter's understanding. The next step in Ricoeur's circle is "guess," the happy process of speculating who the "other" might be. In the human sciences as in the consulting room, this creates an opportunity for the text/subject to clarify that the interpreter has misunderstood entirely, or more happily leads to validation, that glimmer of self-recognition in the other that let's us know when we've understood and interpreted well.

Notes on a way of seeing: Critical Theory. In tandem with this "hermeneutics of suspicion," the tools and traditions of critical theory as applied to social critique and social change were employed throughout this dissertation. Modern social critical theory is situated in the work of Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), a figure closely associated with the "Frankfurt School" of social research. Horkheimer's concerns as philosopher and sociologist were with the identification and repair of social problems. Horkheimer (1941/1974) traces the destruction of German civilization to the rise of the National Security State in the Nazi period from 1932 forward. This critique takes into account Nazism's setting and its impact sociologically, economically, and culturally. Throughout, it takes careful measure of the oppressive impact of Nazism on both the native German psyche and the psyches of those subjected to its demands and to its designs to colonize and conquer vest stretches of territory. Whereas traditional theory attempted to achieve a

neutral observer position with regard to the question under study, critical theory makes an a priori commitment to a social critique that seeks a freedom from needless social encumbrances, combined with an interest in improving the practical life. Later, with Theodor Adorno (1947/2002), Horkheimer sets forth a critical theory of culture and cultural analysis that remains classic in sociology and social work, in which they examine the ways that reason and science had become unlinked from human freedom and had in fact become tools of domination and oppression, disfiguring the human spirit. Employing a Marxian framework as a point of departure for their discussion, Horkheimer and Adorno press from a slightly different angle the questions of dominance, subjection, and oppression in social constructions and interactions.

Jürgen Habermas (1967/1990) argued that critical theory, clearly an interpretive enterprise, lacked self-consciousness as a hermeneutical discipline. He argued for the conscious application of hermeneutic approaches in critical theory studies, noting that all interpretations are forms of theory in themselves—that is, interpretation via "a priori" knowledge. In the case of critical theory this a priori knowledge was constituted by its primarily Marxist assumptions. Conscious of this, for the purposes of this study I am adapting a hermeneutic, human science based approach, employing a hermeneutical phenomenology of suspicion (Ricoeur, 1970). As noted in the introductory section of this paper, hermeneutics is fundamentally the art of interpreting text and phenomena in light of their situated context and in keeping with the objective to understand the thing as the thing itself is (Palmer, 1969; Grondin, 1994).

When employed alongside or as part of a critical theory investigation, the hermeneutic task takes on an additional element as the analysis proceeds to move from

the data of things as they are, toward the psychology and pedagogy of things as they might or should be (Horkheimer, 1982). This process aims both at assessing and enlightening, for the sake of individual growth, and in service to the potential transformation of social structures to better serve the needs of those being studied. In this sense, such an approach is consistent with the concept of the double hermeneutic of Anthony Giddens (1987). By this, Giddens means to suggest that the social or human sciences do not simply interpret the world "out there" as an independent phenomenon. Rather, because of the reciprocal engagement between the scholar and those being studied, between the human science and its population, conceptions and their interpretations both change in both directions. This is in contrast to the natural sciences, which also seek to explain and interpret how things are in the province of the natural world, but do so in the absence of feedback from the natural world about the nature of science's conceptions or conclusions. Likewise, in the natural sciences, a scholar's description and interpretation of, for example, the geological formations of the Cambrian period in Wales and South England, do not change the fundamental nature or existence of those formations. The observations of the social scientist, however, do not exist without impact on the populations they study. Whether working in anthropology, psychology, or other social science spheres, it is entirely possible (perhaps even likely) that the observations, interpretations, and conclusions of the investigator will enter into the public consciousness and so define and shape the phenomena being studied: "The 'findings' of the social sciences very often enter constitutively into the world they describe" (Giddens, 1987, p. 20). In this sense as well, the social sciences are, always and ever, both descriptive and constructive.

The critical theory approach employed in this study is, thus, essentially a critical hermeneutics (Geuss, 1981; Habermas, 2001). The interpretive rigor of such an approach lies in its recognition of the researcher's place in the hermeneutic circle, and the reciprocal nature of the relationship between text/context and interpreter, as well as between the constituent parts of a texts and the whole. That is, interpretation begins with the hermeneut seeking to understand the text, and then begins yet again, newly influenced by this first understanding of the text, within a state of mind that Ricoeur identifies as primary and secondary naivete, respectively. This is not unlike Giddens' notion (1987) of the reciprocal nature of the relationship of the human sciences and the study of humans, the former often changing the context and understanding of the latter.

Hans-Herbert Kögler (1996) makes the direct link between critical social theory and the work of Paul Ricoeur and the hermeneutics of suspicion. He identifies the task of cultural criticism as that of making explicit the multiple and often contradicting narratives and contexts that inform and situate human consciousness (including self consciousness and identification). Expanding this notion, he makes the aim of cultural criticism that of addressing and revealing the class-bound nature of these narratives and contexts. He identifies this as a fundamentally "hermeneutic," interpretive process and identifies this as a locus of hope for transformation. Because there are multiple, class-based valences that shape identity, the process of self-interpretation must always be recognized as one "permeated with power," and therefore with the possibilities of domination. But because such cultural criticism is an interpretive enterprise, it is by its nature accessible to any participant at any level. Here enters hope: anyone able to muster sufficient suspicion to re-examine their own position within the multiple narratives has the opportunity of

renegotiating their self-identity. Thus can the "servants" in a domination paradigm move to a new self-understanding as the "oppressed" in a liberation paradigm, creating a new energy center for the possibility of change. The interpretive schemes of self-understanding are, therefore, necessarily more fluid than perceived among the structuralists and other advocates of traditional social-location theory.

Applied to the current study, this excursus on a way of seeing implies that one must practice the rigorous suspicion that symptoms occur in individuals as a matter of psychic interiority alone, and consider the possibility that traumatic social context (the national security milieu) may be a primary generator of symptoms as the normal reaction to abnormal experience.

The Need for Research on the Topic in Clinical Psychology

As can be seen in the foregoing literature review, evidence strongly points to social and political conditions in Western Culture have fostered patterns of colonialism. These have emerged in patterns of political, cultural and social control and repression in the former Western colonial powers. These conditions might broadly be identified in the modern context as the National Security State milieu. These conditions further create effects in the psychological experiences of both the oppressed in context, and in the oppressor or colonial power populations related to the colonial/oppressive context. These effects include patterns of identification of needs, self-image, other-image, and reinforcing behavior that perpetuate the dominant/dominating narrative in order to maintain the status quo and mitigate against personal and social change. It can also be seen that these conditions, as imposed in any context, can create the psychological context for the traumatization of the individual or groups of individuals, and the creation

of ongoing symptoms and syndromes of distress and psychological suffering. It can be further established that the National Security State milieu with the context of the United States of America is robustly active in government, industry, and culture. Its effects are intensifying, on local and personal economy, personal and community participation in governance, and personal and community dislocation. These may be measured by disenfranchisement and restriction of civic power, in long term, unavoidable exposure to surveillance, in environmental destruction, in toxic chemical pollution legacies, or in direct physical and psychological violence perpetuated in the name of state or economic interests.

It can also be established that within traditional colonial contexts, as well as within oppressed communities within traditional Western culture, emergent perspectives and strategies for dealing with these symptoms and syndromes maybe located within the streams of post-colonial and liberation psychologies. Studies that focus on the context of colonized, occupied peoples provide little, if any data, regarding the context of colonizers and colonizing agencies. This limits the possibility of creating the appropriate milieu for understanding or addressing these issues among this population. Trauma studies have outlined in detail how intensive trauma affects those involved as victims, while little literature is devoted to understanding the effects of trauma perpetration on the perpetrator. Little research is available, as well, on the effects and remediation of long-term, low-grade chronic traumatization of individuals and communities.

Virtually no literature has yet emerged on the long-term effects of trauma related to living within the national security milieu within the United States of America. Particulars of culture and economy might for a time mediate the nature and immediacy of

the symptoms presenting in the current context, but it can be anticipated that common stimuli and circumstance will eventually give rise to similar symptomologies. This socio-political-economic-ideological landscape can be expected to ultimately manifest in psychosocial distress. This may manifest as anxiety and depressive disorders (Duran, 2006; Duran, Firehammer & Gonzales, 2008). It may appear as PTSD and trauma spectrum responses (Martín-Baró, 1984, 1988). Or it constitutes as social and personal malaise (Gilroy, 2004) with an etiology and expression peculiar to the national security state within the U. S. context. In the intensive clinical laboratories of the developing, post-colonial world, the developments of liberation psychology and post-colonial psychology have provided insight and practical options in addressing these disfigurations of the human experience, this "bestiary of suffering" (C. Raffensberger, personal communication, August 21, 2011). This has allowed both individual and social relief to the suffering of oppressed peoples in their particular settings. It should be expected, therefore, that liberation insight and praxis may eventually prove useful in the treatment of these developments in the American clinical consulting room as they have among the indigenous people among whom they have arisen. A familiarity with and theoretical application of insights and strategies from the disciplines of post-colonial and liberation perspectives within this particularized context may become a useful part of each clinician's tool kit for transformation within himself or herself, as well as for the use of proper skillful means in addressing the suffering of patients. In addition to the private clinical application of these insights, their cultivation and dissemination may also be hoped to serve the end of cultural, social and psychological transformation.

The Research Problem and Questions

The research problem arises from the historical development of patterns of psychological and sometimes physical oppression, exploitation, social and environmental dislocation, family and community disintegration, and impairment of well-being, that arise in the context of imbalances of power and powerlessness in the political, economic and social life of a modern nation, as detailed above. The degree to which these elements are out of balance in the American context is the particular concern of this study, as well as the degree to which the various tools of physical and psychological violence and domination have been deployed by the political and economic elite to preserve or enhance their power and status, in preference to the needs of the poorer and more oppressed participants in this society. Also of interest is the degree to which the physical and psychological violence already in place is supported or promulgated by government and/or corporate institutions, agencies, policy and personnel.

The research question, then, has two aspects, in light of our explorations of recent and current developments in national security ideation and its concomitant violence, both physical and psychological, in the context of U. S. American culture. The first aspect of the question sets the symptom within the context: How are National Security State activities experienced by Americans as traumatic in any of the following ways: oppressive, repressive, coercive, and/or destructive of family, community, culture, or environment? That is, how are these experienced and described by the individual sufferer in the clinical context as traumatic suffering? A second, more speculative aspect of this question may be explored by this study, in consideration of the need for ongoing research, in order to present a prospective aspect: What insights and strategies from the

perspectives of liberation and postcolonial psychology may be developed and deployed in the clinical context to address and support the problem of healing and restoration of well-being to the sufferer?

Chapter 3
Methodology

Research Approach

The primary methodology of this dissertation is the comparative case study, as informed by the perspectives and disciplines of Liberation Psychology and the Hermeneutics of Suspicion. Case study research is situated within the broad history of qualitative research and arises out of the humanist philosophical traditions current at the turn of the European Enlightenment (Sjoberg et al., 1991). These traditions include such thinkers as Leibniz, James and John Stuart Mill, Hobbes, Locke, and Kant (Hothersall, 2004). As one type of methodology within this stream, case study research shares affinities, philosophies and assumptions in varying degrees with other qualitative methodologies, including phenomenology, ethnography, critical theory, grounded theory, and ethical inquiry (Creswell, 2008). Of these, ethnography is perhaps the eldest, developing as a tool for the conduct of cultural anthropology, the canon of which is represented by the works of such scholars as Miklouho-McClay, Malinowski, Mead, Bateson, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, and E. E. Evans-Pritchard in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries (Geertz, 1973, 1983). Ethnography's aim was the development of a thick, inclusive description of the life of some social unit (family, clan, tribe, nation, culture, civilization) based on the lived experience of those who were native members of those units, as filtered through the lived experience of the participant-researcher. Evidence in this tradition includes physical artifact, socially patterned behavior of all kinds, kinship and other relationship mediators, and patterns of discourse. This research tradition pioneered the practices of participant-observation, immersion in the data field, and the

discipline of the ethnographic field notes over several decades, and was largely systematized in the work of Clifford Geertz (1973, 1983).

Phenomenology developed in the early-mid 20th century out of the philosophical work of Edmund Husserl (1931). In the phenomenological tradition, evidence was developed from the systematic reflection on conscious experience and on the phenomena (thoughts, behaviors, emotions) that emerge from consciousness within the context of an experience. This represented an attempt (chiefly via Husserl's concept of "bracketing") to "objectively" study what is inherently subjective, the lived experience of an individual or group of individuals in relation to particular phenomena. This stream of research within the context of psychology as a disciplined way of knowing further developed into several streams via the work of Amadeo Giorgi, Steiner Kvale, and that of Glaser and Strauss, among others (Creswell, 2007, 2008).

Case study methodology has been a mainstay of clinical psychological research from the early days of Freud, Jung and others whose early material was developed from individual cases of patients they had seen in their consulting rooms (Freud, 1996; Jung, 1967). The case study methodology utilized in this study was based on the work of Robert K. Yin (2009). Yin's particular methodology was developed in the 1970s for use in education research, and has since been applied across disciplines as disparate as psychology, management and political science. Yin regards case study research as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). He goes further to outline nature of data collection and data analysis in the case study research process, as follows:

> The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there may be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 18)

In addition, this case study and its analyses included in its organization the three elementary forms outlined by Starke and Strohschneider (2010). These include persons delineated by identity and description, as well as situations delineated by constraints, opportunities, and contingencies to which the individuals represented in the study (and the study process itself) have been subject. All case analyses should be concluded, in Starke and Strohschneider's formulation, with explorations oriented to outcome in terms of possible changes available to the persons or their situation. That is, they may be prospective as well as retrospective, in keeping with the perspective of Duran and Duran (1995) as it is brought to bear in this dissertation.

Yin (2009) outlined case study approaches that include single cases or multiple cases, either holistic or with embedded subunits of analysis. This case study adopted the multiple case, embedded design. Cases were selected for their potential for comparison and triangulation between and across cases based on the replicability across cases of the embedded subunits. The embedded subunits of analysis in this case study related to impactful experiences of national security activities as developed and defined from the work of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1984) are presented in Table 1 (p. 185). Additional analyses of complex trauma incidence (Duran & Duran, 1996; Courtois, 2004) are presented in Table 2 (p. 186). The data analysis also came to include comparison to the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Table 3, p. 187; Briere & Runtz, 1989), and to the diagnostic criteria for PTSD of the *DSM IV-TR* (Table 4, p. 188; APA, 2000). This

approach allowed the rich, thick description and analysis of concrete individuals and their life situations as the defined units of analysis. The boundaries of this case study were set at eight cases of persons who, in initial and subsequent counseling sessions between 1991 and 2001, exhibited signs of trauma, the etiology of which was not, at the outset of analysis, able to be clearly documented. Criteria for comparison and triangulation across cases was the degree to which each case suggested similar or differing etiologies and the degree to which each case represented trauma symptoms related to some cause whose discovery was the object of this dissertation. Criteria for triangulation between cases and liberation and postcolonial formulations was similar—to what degree did the cases manifest similarities or differences in development and expression relative to the discovered stimuli thought to evoke trauma symptoms by the informants and the researcher on one hand (Martín-Baró, 1984), and by the possibilities for healing presented via liberation and postcolonial formulations on the other (Duran & Duran, 1995).

Yin advocated beginning the case study process by developing a "Case Study Protocol" which includes at least these elements:

- An overview of the case study, including objectives, issues related to fit of the method to the topic, criteria for inclusion or exclusion of cases, and questions about validity;
- Field procedures to be followed, including specific techniques for gathering data, development of concepts, parameters and strategies to be used in the study;

- Case study questions that guide the researcher through the particular analytical frame chosen for the case study under development;
- Rules and procedures for analyzing data and developing interpretations and theoretical implications from those data, including how the researcher developed and maintained a replicable trail of data management, analysis, and theorizing, as well as procedures for maintaining researcher reflexivity to assure a level of quality and integrity in the research process;
- A guideline for the report of data that outlined the basic presentation order of data and analysis, discussion and conclusion, in service to maintaining a goal-oriented guide for the quality of "presentation," conceived as the assurance that the researcher is presenting the actual experience contained in the cases studied, in contrast to the pet theory or ideology of the researcher her or himself.

An overview of the case study. The objective of this case study was to assess the impact of elements of the national security state as a phenomenon in the clinical presentation of psychological and spiritual stressors and mental illness. This was achieved by comparing and contrasting eight clinical vignettes and material from accompanying verbatims. Each of these cases is situated in the context of experiences of national security ideation and political/cultural behavior as these have developed within the cultural milieu of the United States at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries. After reviewing such impact on the human psyche as viewed in symptom expression and narrative in case vignettes, a second objective was to explore the prospects for psychological healing via liberation and transformation of these symptoms

in both the individual and the society in which the individual moves, consistent with Starke and Strohschnieder's (2010) view of the prospective aspect of the case study. These cases were gathered in the context and with the procedures outlined below. Data were analyzed according to the coding strategy detailed in the following sections.

Guiding Questions for the Case Study. The research design protocol developed for this study employs two theoretical frameworks for comparing and contrasting the experiences detailed by case study informants: Critical theory, in combination with the "hermeneutics of suspicion" (outlined above) form the interpretive lenses to be used in this study. Critical Theory arose in the context of sociological case study and social work research, and has been especially concerned with finding the voice of the voiceless and locating it within the larger cultural narrative. This approach was elaborated by Max Horkheimer in the essay "Traditional and Critical Theory" (Horkheimer, 1982). Traditional theories of social analysis were oriented only to understanding or explaining social structures and interactions as they presented, primarily through arts and literature, and sought to achieve a sort of neutral observer status in the process of the analysis following the pattern of bracketing established by Husserl (1931). This attempted neutrality contained an assumption that the phenomenon being described had come to be as it was as a part of the natural condition and development of the world. That is, such attempted neutrality failed to suspect the role of social conditioning, and the role of normative political/cultural discourse, in shaping the phenomena it sought to describe and understand. Thus, this approach removed serious opportunity for asking how things came to be as they were observed, and whether there might be other or better alternatives.

By contrast, critical theory (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002) intended to identify and critique the sources and dynamics of major social problems, and to provide a basis for changing society, adopting a commitment to analyze all parts of social structure and interaction from two basic perspectives: What is its impact on human freedom, and how does it improve the practical, social well-being? Where traditional theory had attempted neutrality, critical theory asserted a clear partisanship for the improvement of the social condition of those it studied. A key concept of critical theory that will be employed methodologically in this study was to offer a critique of the National Security State phenomenon in its current, historical specificity , the pattern by which it has been configured and deployed at this specific point in time (Horkheimer, 1941/1974).

Within this context, the background questions that were the reference points of this study were drawn from critical theory methodology (Horkheimer, 1982). In my own view, Critical Theory is especially concerned with and useful for finding answers to two critical questions. First, how do political and cultural systems impact the individual? And second, how do such systems disguise their own roles in that impact from themselves and from the individuals impacted? These two questions frame a larger series of questions that this study considers shaping influences in the expression of clinical symptoms. These include:

- Who is served by the dominant, background narrative, and who is not, and how does this shape the clinical picture in each case?
- How is power, both political and economic, distributed in this narrative, and to whose advantage, and how does this impact clinical developments of each case?

- Who wins, who loses, and what impairments in individual functioning emerge from these wins or losses, in each clinical case?
- How does the experience being interpreted impact, shape, or dismiss the formative experiences of identity and self-reflection in ways that illuminate each case history? And how do political and social awareness and engagements impact identity in its many facets, including the potential to alter or fragment same?

Further background questions applicable to this particular study were derived and adapted from the soul wound work of Duran (2006) and from the medical/clinical work of Kleinman et al. (1978) and Kleinman (1988). The approaches of these scholars set the clinical narrative squarely in the larger narratives in which they are culturally embedded, and raise questions specifically designed to address the individual experience of the sufferer and to allow the expansion of clinical perspective to include that of the patient:

- What was the contribution of the experience being interpreted either to the symptom development or symptom relief of the case under consideration?
- How was the symptom or illness defined in the respective narratives of pathology in the context of the case?
- What were the various perspectives on what has caused the illness or life-condition under consideration, and who decided which perspective was preferenced?
- When did the condition in question start, in what context?
- What did the symptom/illness "do?" How did the symptom/illness "work," or create impairment for the individual? And how did it function in the life of the

individual in question and in the social context in which that life played out, including family, community, and society at large, including culture, economics, and politics?

- What were the chief problems the symptom/illness has caused?
- What did the individual, family, or community fear most about the symptom/illness? How did it function as a source of dread or debilitation?
- And finally, what were the varying perspectives on what could be done to ameliorate the problem, and who decided which would be implemented?

These questions formed the philosophical background for this study, and guided the development of thick descriptions for each case. The more specifically formulated questions that guide the analysis of the data are best presented in the first of the research questions: How are National Security State activities experienced by Americans as traumatic in any of the following ways: oppressive, repressive, coercive, and/or destructive of family, community, culture, or environment? That is, how are these experienced and described by the individual sufferer in the clinical context as traumatic suffering? Each of these questions was considered in turn in the elaboration of each case presented in this study. From the material of the case itself, and the context of these case study questions, analysis proceeded via careful content coding of the vignettes, as outlined below.

Procedures for Gathering Data

Case study data were gathered in an essentially phenomenological, ethnographic way, within the counseling context and supplemented by the demographic and biographic

data of the informants. Each case included multiple counseling sessions conducted over the course of several weeks or more. In each case, informants were referred to licensed professionals for further counseling and psychotherapy due to the complexity of the trauma responses they were experiencing. Each informant directed the course of his or her own participation, disclosing or not disclosing only that data he or she was comfortable with sharing. In consideration of constraints of space and relevance, the data so gathered have been edited to include only the commentary or exchanges relevant to the current study, and have been presented in the write-up of each case.

The sample was drawn from a set of counseling sessions in the researcher's own prior experience, and were selected as illustrative of the subject under study. None of the case informants represented identified specifically as victims of chronic, complex trauma. In this sample, two African Americans, one Latin American immigrant who identified as Latina, one Native American, and four Euro-Americans are represented; of these, four were female and four were male. Informants included in this study ranged in age from 18 to 54 years old. Informants came from diverse geographic and cultural backgrounds, ranging from American urban ghetto to tribal reservation, from a rural, subsistence agriculture village, to American suburbia. Religious affiliations and political affiliations were not directly assessed, though all were participating in counseling, accessed via a mainline Protestant Church in a major urban setting.

The researcher possessed, at the time of data collection and of this collation and analysis, the following counseling and reflexive tools: listening skills, empathy, analytic skills, and prior experience with both case study research and content analysis. The

quality of this research may be judged in part by the degree to which these skills, represented in the writing, conform to those defined by Yin (2009):

- A good case study investigator should be able to *ask good questions* – and interpret the answers.
- An investigator should *be a good "listener"* and not be trapped by her or his own ideologies and preconceptions.
- An investigator should *be adaptive and flexible*, so that newly encountered situations can be seen as opportunities, not threats.
- An investigator must *have a firm grasp of the issues being studied,* even if in an exploratory mode. Such a grasp reduces the relevant events and information to be sought to manageable proportions.
- A person should *be unbiased by preconceived notions,* including those derived from theory. Thus, a person should be sensitive and responsive to contradictory evidence. (p. 69)

The field procedures followed in this study included the following specific techniques and strategies for gathering and preparing data, as well as particular parameters for inclusion and exclusion of data (Yin, 2009). The primary substantive data of this study were eight clinical case vignettes gathered over a 10-year period, from 1991 to 2001. Cases have been selected solely for their capacity to illuminate the theory and phenomena under investigation. The advantage of this methodology is that it gave a voice to those experiencing the phenomenon, as well as an opportunity to examine and analyze their relationships to other actors and groups of actors in the traumatizing systems of which they have been a part. All sessions with these counselees took place in a major urban center in the United States, though the populations these vignettes represent are varied. They include a Latin American immigrant, a U. S. military veteran of the Panama incursion as well as Desert Shield and Desert Storm military operations in Iraq; an African-American woman who lives mostly in the streets of a major U. S. urban center

and suffers from Chronic Paranoid Schizophrenia as well as likely Posttraumatic Stress Disorder; an indigenous "First Nations" American; an Anglo-American scientist; a sensitive young-adult intellectual of Anglo-American extraction; a radical activist whose parents (both academics) were blacklisted during the McCarthy Era; and an artist activist who spent a portion of his early adulthood in a religious community dedicated to the education of the poor, and who served in Latin America. In selecting cases, it was expected that the first four might exhibit a full range of highly developed trauma responses and symptoms by virtue of the particular triggers inherent to those contexts in which those cases were situated—immigration, combat, homelessness, and historic effects of colonization. This allowed the potential for a comparison with the latter four cases, in which the triggering and development of trauma responses was less clear.

Data on the development of national security ideation and policy has been explored thoroughly in the Literature Review. The eight clinical case vignettes provided the primary mode of exploring clinical impacts of the events and forces identified in that discussion. These encounters include rich-description context and symptom-related material (Geertz 1973, 1983). Each of these encounters took place within the original context of spiritual/ethical concern on the part of informants, arising out of the dissonance between their internal and external experiences of living within their particular context within the National Security State milieu. The eight clinical cases were considered in turn, and were content analysis coded for the same basic categories of experience, as outlined below.

Procedures for Analyzing Data

Primary aspects of this case study investigation have been triangulation and comparison (Denzin, 1984; Yin, 2009), standard case study procedures for cross-checking results between two or more researchers, theories, or informants. This study employed the latter two types of triangulation. Each of the cases considered was examined from the theoretical perspectives outlined by Martín-Baró (1984) and Duran and Duran (1995) respectively. The relevant question was, to what degree do the cases conform or depart from either or both theoretical models? The cases themselves allowed opportunities for cross-case triangulation, for mutual confirmation or contrast of results once analyzed by the content analysis procedures outlined below (Stan, 2010). This process identifies the degree to which the case vignettes conformed to or varied from a consistent pattern from case to case. These three sources of triangulation have been the processes by which construct validity and internal validity were established and supported in this case study research (Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2009). This has also allowed diversity of viewpoint as applied to the cases, comparing documentary resources to obtain multiple perspectives, situated the background and internal/external dynamics of the cases, and provided a double-check for the researcher's own perspective and biases and how theses may have effected the final analysis of the case data.

To operationalize the process of triangulating and comparing data and context between cases, the cases were then subjected to analysis via "content coding." The units of analysis employed allowed the researcher to organize themes emergent from the cases themselves. Content coding is a method of text analysis that is especially amenable to the case study approach to qualitative research (Krippendorff, 2004, 2010). It allowed the

researcher to construct descriptions of the key words or meaning content of case study data with reference to specifically defined units of meaning. For this study, the particularly defined units of meaning related both to the National Security State milieu and its characteristics as identified above (definitions follow below), and to the inner experiences of symptom emergence as related in the case studies considered. The content analysis of national security was initiated using the established framework and definitions of Martín-Baró (1986) to identify and examine national security meanings and actions in the U. S. context. The content analysis of symptom location used as its base the symptom location and patterning identified in the literature of complex trauma (Duran & Duran 1996; Courtois, 2004; Herman, 1997) to identify and examine the lived experience presented in the eight individual cases. All coding was done by the researcher alone, to control for consistency and accuracy of coding data. The following provisional definitions were used to guide preliminary content coding of materials establishing the National Security State milieu:

- "Normalizing propaganda and ideation" is understood as that propaganda that particularly emphasizes the individual, personal responsibility and duty of the individual for the fulfillment of the state's basic needs, especially through loyalty to the existing power structure.
- "Distancing Propaganda" is understood as that propaganda that defends the existing power arrangements by interpreting the disadvantaged or dissenting "other" as characterologically deficient and/or ideologically aberrant, yet demands of these "deficient, aberrant" individuals the same loyalties expected

of wealthier, more "normalized" citizens with more vested interests in the status quo.

- "Loyalty and Duty Propaganda" is understood as that propaganda that cloaks the power relationships of governmental and economic elites in the rhetoric of national necessity.
- "State necessity/State survival propaganda and ideation" may be defined as any rhetoric that identifies threat to the state as the motivation for policy and action on the part of the state and its security and policing forces, and places survival of the state in priority to or in limitation of the civil liberties, civic involvement, and other rights to participation of the nation's citizens.
- "Unequal Distribution of wealth" may be defined by any "non-normal" statistics-based mapping of wealth distribution across time within the economic milieu of participant contexts (or that of their class, context or limit-situation) in which their particular suffering or experienced suppression arises from, and can be mapped as well in those policies, laws and actions of the state or other actors that promote or enable such distribution within the National Security State milieu.
- "Unequal distribution of access to power" may be defined by any "non-normal," statistics-based mapping of voting patterns among suppressed participants or their class/context/limit situation, and can be mapped as well in those policies, laws, and actions of the state or other actors that limit the civic participation of any block of citizens with the context of the National Security State milieu.

- "Attempts at disenfranchisement" may be defined and detected within those polices, laws, or actions implemented by the state or other actors within the National Security State milieu that further delineate and limit the rights of citizens to participate in the civic process.
- "Psychological Intimidation" may be defined as those activities, including surveillance, infiltration of dissident groups, spying and recruitment of informants that serve to dissuade individuals from participation in projects related to social change or protest of the status quo.
- Alignments of business interests and government powers may be defined as the preferential access of business to influence in patterns of policy, governance and state action, and may be identified in nexus studies of ownership, lobbying, and policy implementation.
- "Detainment, incarceration or other isolation" are fairly self-evident categories, which in the context of this study are applied to individuals suspected of disloyalty or who are disruptive to the power class's process of normalizing the status quo via either protest or social networking.
- Intimidation via infiltration of dissident groups or surveillance of such groups or individuals may be defined as any attempt by state or corporate actors to investigate, gather information on, obtain foreknowledge of plans and actions or simply intimidate by clandestine presence the potential agency of such groups or individuals to act contrary to the desired ends or state or corporate sponsors of the colonized or National Security State milieu.

- "Restrictions on freedom of movement, gathering, association or communication" are likewise self-evident and may be detected and documented in those policies and actions of the state or other actors within the National Security State milieu to limit such social behaviors among citizens.
- Forced relocation, murder, and/or exile are merely extreme forms of detainment, incarceration and isolation effected against particular individuals or groups, usually leaders in resistance movements, educators and intellectuals, and the agitated poor.
- Military or paramilitary intervention in the lives of citizens may include search and seizure, intervention in gatherings for protest and consciousness raising, arrest, and strategized public violence that serve the ends of psychological intimidation.
- Personal damage may be defined to include the results of any emotional or physical abuse inflicted by National Security State actors on individuals.
- Social damage may be defined as any social disruptions caused by National Security State intervention which fragments communities, disrupts social ties, and prevents the mobilization of resources to engage in restoration of community or resistance to the dominant, colonized paradigm by individuals acting in concert as empowered communities.
- "Broad scale environmental damage caused by government or business or by partnerships/alliances of same" may be defined, detected and documented as any behavior or action on the part of such actors that afflict toxic or injurious environmental stimuli on a population within the context of that population's

health, aesthetic, or psychological orientations to their landscape and environment.

Additionally, symptom descriptors of chronic, complex trauma, possibly intergenerational in nature (Duran & Duran, 1995), including those defined in trauma literature (Herman, 1992a, 1997; Courtois, 2004), were coded using the following provisional definitions:

- Changes in the regulation of affective impulses, changes in attention and consciousness, changes in relationship to others, somatization and/or medical problems (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004).
- Identity fragmentation, including: changes in self-perception, changes in the perception of the perpetrator or other actors, and changes in systems of meaning (Herman, 1992a; Duran & Duran, 1995; Courtois, 2004), taking into consideration also the ways identity shifts, fragments, dissolves and sometimes reconstitutes in situations of complicated trauma, under the influence of social, cultural and political events and engagements (Vali, 1998).
- Long-term depression, including long-term (greater than one year) unresolved sadness, anhedonia, listlessness, lack of purpose (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).
- Social anxiety, as distinguished by an inability to tolerate close social contact or to be comfortably present in crowds or gatherings (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).

- Generalized anxiety, the chronic anxiety state reflected, as above, in chronic unease and hypervigilance regardless of setting (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; APA, 2000).
- Learned helplessness, the inability to conceptualize choices and options related to problem solving and strategies to change both one's internal and external circumstances, as well as a lack of volition to implement such choices and options as may be presented with further assistance from outside others (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; Peterson et al., 1993).
- Social/civil disruption or segmentation which serves to complicate or impede both the identification and the treatment of the foregoing symptoms by undermining community resource mobilization, opportunities and rituals that promote social cohesion, and resource sharing (Herman, 1992a; Duran & Duran, 1995; Courtois, 2004).
- Environmental anxiety as reflected in basic angst about the safety, security and long-term stability of one's place of being in the world, and the continuity of one's past experience of the world of nature and social beings with the present and potential future experience of the same (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004; Duran & Duran 1996; Duran, 2006; Albrecht et al., 2007).

Except where comparing case informant reports to existing trauma symptom categories (as with The Trauma Symptom Checklist, the *DSM IV-TR* criteria, and Judith Herman's descriptions of Complex Posttraumatic Stress factors), this study employed an "emergent coding" strategy based on the above categories, in which lists of meaningful words and concepts could be identified and assigned to each category in mutually

exclusive lists based on the texts or cases under consideration. This allowed some flexibility in assessing the content that arose from the case studies, while providing an overall conceptual framework in which the emergent coding was developed.

As data analysis proceeded via content analysis, the researcher relied on reflexive journaling related to the developing and expanding analytic categories and frames (Morrow, 2005). This assists the process of replicability and the content, internal and external validities of the study. Journal notes are integrated into the text of this chapter, and record the development of strategies for assessing and interpreting the data (Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2009). In addition, the researcher worked with a reflexive community comprised of fellow students and scholars who assisted the reflective process in the development and refinement of the analytical concepts of this study (Morrow, 2005); this community is named and thanked in the opening matter of this dissertation. The procedures here noted were designed to allow for the emergence of perspective from the cases themselves, and safeguarded against the inclination to craft this study solely from the perspective of the researcher, who by default of power dynamic of engaging in research is actually part of the system that may be assessed as causing the problem being studied (Dwyer & Dwyer, 2005). While the perspective of the researcher cannot be eliminated from the study (Morrow, 2005; Holander 2006; Yin, 2009), it is hoped that the case study approach as implemented within these constraints has allowed for the dual or multi-perspectival window into the world of the case study informant, and into her or his experience of the specific patterns of personal trauma and civic relationships under investigation.

This reflexive approach led, part way through the analysis process, to the awareness that an analysis and comparison of expressed symptoms would be a useful and appropriate, additional, analytical step, so the case study data were compared to the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Table 2, p. ; Briere & Runtz, 1989), a public domain instrument and predecessor to the more current Trauma Symptom Inventory (Briere, 1995, 1997). From this step the insight emerged that a comparison to DSM IV-TR criteria for trauma would provide further clarity about the trauma expressions under study. Currently the DSM recognizes only Acute Trauma Disorder, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (APA, 2000). Within the context of the above outlined precipitating trauma triggers, two analyses were used to compare symptoms and issues identified by case informants to the following lists of trauma symptoms and criteria: The Trauma Symptom Checklist (Briere & Runtz, 1989), and the PTSD criteria of the DSM IV-TR (APA, 2000).

Comparison of informant symptomology to the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40.

The Trauma Symptom Checklist– 40 (TSC– 40; Briere & Runtz, 1989; Elliott & Briere, 1992) was employed to generate a researcher-based assessment of the severity of trauma-related symptoms for each case informant (the 40-item test and case informant results are collated at Table 3, p. 187). A primary advantage of this instrument for the present research was its availability on line as a public domain document at <http://www.johnbriere.com/tsc.htm>. The TSC– 40 was developed as a 40-item self-report questionnaire. It evaluates expressed symptoms that might have arisen at any point in traumatic experiences either of childhood or adulthood. The TSC-40 yields a total maximum score of 40. Scores for six subscales may also be calculated. Subscales include

measures of Anxiety, Depression, Dissociation, Sleep Disturbance, and Sexual Problems. An additional subscale, the Sexual Abuse Trauma Index, assists in identifying victims of such abuse. In the normal research situation, respondents would rate how many times any item has occurred in the most recent 60-day period. Rating takes place via a 4-point Liekert-style scale, ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (often). The scale was developed to measure, and has shown predictive validity, in identifying a wide spectrum of traumatic experiences (Briere & Elliott, 1993; Gold, Milan, Mayall, & Johnson, 1994; Russ, Shearin, Clarkin, Harrison, & Hull, 1993; Wind & Silvern, 1992). TSC–40 normative data, developed from testing a nonclinical sample of women endorsing a history of sexual abuse, yielded a mean TSC–40 total score of 26.02 (Elliott & Briere, 1992). The standard deviation in that study was 12.1. This researcher was not able to identify normed research on this instrument developed from a sample that included males. As the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40 was not directly administered but retrospectively assessed, no attempt was made to generate a score for any participant via the Checklist's scoring protocol (Briere & Runtz, 1989). Rather, the Trauma Symptom Checklist was used in this research simply as a tool for comparing symptoms identified by case informants with an establish measure of trauma symptomology.

Assessment of informant symptoms in comparison to criteria for diagnosis.

Diagnostic criteria of the *DSM IV-TR* (APA, 2000) are organized around six criteria to be noted in a patient's case history, with varying levels of confirmed items being required to fulfill each criteria level and justify a diagnosis of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. Criterion A includes the expectation that adult patients have experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by an actual event or threat to the patient's physical

integrity. It also includes the expectation that the patient will have developed a response involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror to the event and its recollections. Both items are required to meet Criterion A, without which there can be no diagnosis.

Criterion B requires, that adult patients have "recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections of the event, recurrent dreams of the event; flashback, dissociation, illusion as though event recurring; intense distress at internal or external cues that symbolize an aspect of the event; and psychological reactivity to internal or external cues that symbolize an aspect of the event" (APA, 2000, p. 468). One or more of these are required to fulfill Criteria B and warrant a diagnosis of PTSD.

Criterion C includes an expectation that adult patients actively engage in "avoidance of thoughts, feelings or conversations associated with the trauma," as well as avoid activities, places, or people that arouse recollections of the trauma" (p. 468). Additional options include a patient's "inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma," expressing a "markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities," as well as express "feelings of detachment/estrangement," a "restricted range of affect," and a "sense of foreshortened future" (p. 468). Three or more of these are required to fulfill Criteria C and warrant a diagnosis of PTSD.

Criterion D relates chiefly to regulation of affect and consciousness, and requires that patient be noted to have "difficulty falling or staying asleep, irritability or outbursts of anger, difficulty concentrating, hypervigilance," or express an exaggerated startle response (p. 468). Two or more of these must be met to fulfill Criteria D and warrant a diagnosis of PTSD.

Criterion E and Criterion F speak to the intensity of impact of the symptoms noted above, by way of symptom duration (more than one month) and clinically significant distress or impairment. Each of these two criteria must be present to warrant a diagnosis of PTSD.

Exploration of informant stress via Post-Colonial and Liberation frameworks.

Finally, the case material was explored with reference to the psychodynamics of colonizing trauma and stress response as described in the Postcolonial outlook of Duran and Duran (1995), and those of the limit situations defined by Liberation Psychology (Ellacuría, 1969, and Martín-Baró, 1984). Exploration of the degree to which individuals "buy into" the system that is creating the trauma, enter denial, and try to adjust within the oppressive system, provides an opportunity to witness the double binds in which they live. For Duran and Duran, this is the time of becoming conscious of these double binds and being faced with the choice between ongoing subjugation and the moral possibility of change toward self-determination and restoration, or healing. Such a time is conceptually parallel to the process of discovering one's limit situation, as identified in Liberation Psychology. The "limit situation" in which each informant found themselves at the time these counseling sessions were conducted, describes the social location of the informant with reference to both the lived experience she or he describes, and the accepted narrative of how her or his society works, including how the informant came to be situated in a particular social location with reference to others. Such situations are often critical moments in individual development and self-realization. These moments were identifiable in the reflexive process available to us in the counseling setting, in which the human mind confronted restrictions in its existing forms of conception and even

conceptual/reflective processes. This exploration is offered, in the case informants' situation of distress, suffering, and symptom emergence, as an opportunity to establish both personal psychological balance, and communal well-being in a context within which both may be at stake.

Procedures for Presenting Data

Study results of the dissertation are reported via a format that allows for each aspect of the study to be considered in detail. The initial chapters have laid out an introduction to the study, a review of the relevant literature, and the methodology by which the study was pursued. A results chapter reports relevant portions of the clinical case informant material, presented in order to analyze the following elements:

- The history and development of the National Security State context of the case vignette under consideration, using the criteria and coding identified above. Tabulations of the nature of case informant contact with these developments, considered as direct experiences, specific fears, and general awareness of such problems, are presented in Table 1 (p. 185).
- Case informants own identifications of complex trauma symptoms with carious elements of national security activity are noted and tabulated in Table 2 (p. 186). These are explored and tabulated from the perspective of how categories of experience—propaganda, inequality, restrictions of rights, or civil violence—have variable impacted individuals in the study.
- The symptom constellation of each case vignette is identified and explored in comparison to the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Table 3, p. 187; Briere & Runtz, 1989).

- The development and expression of trauma symptoms are discussed, and the relation of those symptoms to the DSM IV-TR criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder are presented (Table 4, p. 188).
- The fit of each case with the symptoms of Complex Posttraumatic Stress (outlined above) is examined.
- An exploration of the results, reflective of the Liberation and Postcolonial perspectives of trauma, stress, and the potential for healing, is offered in keeping with the outlines of those perspectives outlined above.

A discussion chapter relates the summary of findings discussed in the results to the potential application of insights from postcolonial and liberation perspectives to the process of rebalancing experience and the making of meaning within the context of the vignettes and symptom presentations developed and presented within them. From the data thus gathered and analyzed, the prospect of applying postcolonial and liberation perspectives to both these cases and the continually developing National Security State milieu is discussed, and an assessment made of those prospects. As well, prospects for applying insights gained to contemporary clinical work and to further study will be presented, and limitations of the present study are discussed. Such a praxis, consistent with the critical theory hermeneutics by which it may be discovered, will aim to be both self-reflective and emancipatory, liberative in the highest sense of the word.

Procedures for dealing with ethical considerations

Human subjects were used for this study in the form of existing, not-previously-published clinical case vignette. Efforts were made to locate and acquire informed consent and permissions from those with whom these cases were collected. As none of

the informants were able be contacted to obtain permissions, identities of informants have been cloaked and concealed by way of thick description that changes as many elements of the identity of the presented case as deeply as possible without also concealing the clinical relevance of the case in regard to particular symptoms or trauma etiology. Every attempt has been made to ensure only the researcher (or only the researcher and the subject her or himself) could recognize the salient features of the case and informant. All research and writing was conducted within the framework of American Psychological Association code of Ethics, the ethical guidelines for inclusion of human participants in research established by Pacifica Graduate Institute, and the general moral framework for employing such material outlined by Smith (2000).

Chapter 4
Results

This chapter of the dissertation presents a summary of findings related to the content analysis undertaken. Material collated from case notes and case informant dialogue and context are reported to note the active presence in case informants' experiences of trauma symptoms related to the impacts of developmental elements of a nascent National Security State milieu. This material, additionally, indicates the development of trauma symptoms when compared with two sets of diagnostic assessment: the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40 (Briere & Runtz, 1989), and the *DSM IV-TR* (APA, 2000). Case informant material is presented and discussed relative to the trauma coding categories developed from current trauma literature for Complex Posttraumatic Stress (Duran & Duran, 1995; Herman, 1997; Courtois, 2004), and from the coding categories developed to identify elements of National Security State impact. Finally, the contributions of post-colonial (Duran & Duran, 1995) and liberation perspectives (Martín-Barό, 1984) to understanding the data are discussed.

This study provides one of the first descriptive and exploratory assessments of the impacts of nascent national security state milieu (propaganda and ideation, institutionalized social inequality, restrictions of civil rights, and sanctioned social violence) on individuals and their psychological symptoms. The sample was drawn from counselees who participated in sessions with the researcher from prior experience as a pastoral counselor, and were selected as illustrative of the subject under study. None of the case informants identified specifically as subjects within a national security state milieu, nor as victims of chronic, complex trauma at the time the case data were

collected. In this sample, two African Americans, one Latin American immigrant who identified as Latina, one Native American, and four Euro-Americans are represented; of these, four were female and four were male. Informants included in this study ranged in age from 18 to 54 years old. Informants came from diverse geographic and cultural backgrounds, ranging from American urban ghetto to tribal reservation, from a rural, subsistence agriculture village, to American suburbia. Religious affiliations and political affiliations were not directly assessed, though all were participating in counseling, accessed via a Mainline Protestant Church in a major urban setting. The researcher comes to the topic and has included these case informants based on the retrospective understanding that session material from this particular group of counselees reflected elements suggestive of a nascent national security state milieu, by which the counselees seemed to be affected. These elements included those forms of propaganda, social inequality, rights restrictions and sanctioned social violence already noted.

Trauma symptoms compared to the Trauma Symptom Checklist

Early in the process of analyzing and coding the case material, the case study data were compared to the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Briere & Runtz, 1989), a public domain instrument and predecessor to the more current Trauma Symptom Inventory (Briere, 1995; 1997). In the absence of an opportunity for case informants to actually take this test and have it scored, it was used in this research only as a comparative tool for assessing the relative frequency of trauma symptoms endorsed by case informants with reference to an established and fully investigated assessment tool with excellent reliability and validity.

The minimum number of symptoms from cases corresponding to items on the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40 was eleven, the maximum was twenty-one, and average symptom expression per case was 16.37 on a forty item list. Average deviation of the number of items assessed by the researcher was 3.78. In terms solely of items assessed by the researcher, four cases were noted to identify enough symptom items to fall within one standard deviation of the average number of expressed symptoms per case. One case fell just above that average deviation, while three fell just below. No scores were generated for this checklist per the TSC-40 protocols, as case informants had not been available to take the test.

The strongest symptom indicators mapped from case material onto this tool were noted in eight of the eight cases, and included anxiety attacks, nightmares, uncontrollable crying, not feeling rested in the morning, and waking in the middle of the night. Four out of five of these symptoms indicate strong sleep disturbance in all eight of the informants. Such a robust sleep disturbance is a common feature of complex, posttraumatic stress (Herman, 1997). The additional item, anxiety attacks, is also a frequent feature found in association with such stress.

One item, "spacing out," or going away in your mind, is a common dissociative symptom, and was endorsed in seven of the eight case reports. An additional five items were noted in six of the eight case reports. These included insomnia, another element common to the sleep disturbance noted in persons suffering from posttraumatic stress. The remaining four items noted in these six case cases included loneliness, sadness, trouble controlling your temper, and feelings of guilt. All but loneliness may be understood as symptoms of the problem of affect regulation, another common symptom

set among those suffering from complex posttraumatic reactions. Loneliness might well be understood as a consequence of such affective dysregulation.

An additional three items, feelings of isolation, flashbacks, and a desire to physically hurt oneself, were noted to correlate with only five of the case reports. Four further items were endorsed in only five case reports: Trouble getting along with others, memory problems,, feelings that things are "unreal," feeling tense all the time, and feeling that one is not always in one's body. Four of these, flashbacks, memory problems, feelings that things are unreal, and feeling that one is not always in one's body, are additional symptoms of the dissociation commonly found associated with posttraumatic stress. The remaining three, feelings of isolation, suicidal ideation, and trouble getting along with others, are commonly experienced consequences of the affective dysregulation already noted.

An additional nine symptoms on the Checklist were found in three or fewer cases. Of these, headaches, weight loss without dieting (noted in three cases) as well as stomach problems (noted in two cases), and dizziness (noted in only one case) are common features of somatization. Like many of the listed symptoms, these may have additional or alternate causes. Fear of men, a feature from the Sexual Abuse Trauma Indicator subscale, was noted in two cases in which informants had been sexually assaulted. In one of these cases, the rape was a clear feature of attempted social control in a paramilitary context. No other features of that subscale were noted in any of the cases. Feelings of inferiority were noted in 3 cases; restless sleep and unnecessary or over-frequent washing were noted in only two. Apart from the remaining items of the Sexual Abuse Trauma Indicator subscale (eight items), those items not found in any case report included two

related to somatization (passing out, and having trouble breathing), and the desire to physically hurt others.

It was notable that case material from Rosa, Greg, and Rachel, all of whose cases identified specifically military or paramilitary connections, was noted to express 19, 18, and 19 symptoms, respectively. Jacquie's case material, which, like Rosa's, included sexual assault, was noted to express 20 symptoms. Mike's case material, whose experience included no direct trauma triggers and no known prior, predisposing trauma, was noted to express 21 trauma symptoms, the highest number noted. The cases of Ben, Peggy and Joe were noted to express 12, 11, and 11 symptoms respectively, though these tended to be among the more severe symptoms listed on the TSC-40. These included nightmares and other sleep disturbance, as well as anxiety attacks, uncontrollable crying, and symptoms of dissociation.

Symptom expression compared to *DSM IV-TR* PTSD Criteria

Case analysis relative to *DSM IV-TR* criteria for trauma provided further comparison of the trauma expressions of the eight cases under study. Currently the *DSM IV-TR* recognizes only Acute Trauma Disorder, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (APA, 2000). Diagnostic criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder were noted in every case history. Criterion A, requiring that adults have experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by an actual event or threat to one's physical integrity, and that they will have developed a response involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror to the event and its recollections, are both present in only five of the eight cases. Three cases, those of Ben, Peggy and Mike, do not meet the first part of Criterion A (direct experience of the physical, traumatic trigger situation) for a full-fledged diagnosis of Posttraumatic Stress

Disorder. They do seem, by any estimation, to have had non-psychotic responses of intense fear, helplessness, and/or horror to some trigger, however. Reality testing was intact, at the time of counseling. A fourth case, that of Rachel, is noted to express symptoms relative to a series of seemingly more moderate trauma exposures, related to protestor/police interface and community organizing.

Criterion B requires that adults identify one or more of five possible stress reactions. Only the cases of Ben and Peggy express as few as three of five items. Mike's identified four such items. It was noted that these three cases are expressing non-psychotic symptoms related directly to elements of National Security State engagement, without any additional known, prior trauma. Only Joe's additional case identifies fewer than all five. The cases of Rosa, Greg, Jacquie, Rachel, and Joe, were noted to identify all five items. Thus, all participants met criteria for full diagnostic PTSD relative to Criterion B.

Criterion C includes an expectation that adult patients actively engage in "avoidance of thoughts, feelings or conversations associated with the trauma," as well as avoid activities, places, or people that arouse recollections of the trauma" (APA, p. 468). Additional options include a patient's "inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma," expressing a "markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities," as well as express "feelings of detachment/estrangement," a "restricted range of affect," and a "sense of foreshortened future" (p. 468). Three or more of these are required to fulfill Criterion C and warrant a diagnosis of PTSD. Four of the Criterion C items were identified in all eight cases. These were markedly diminished interest in participating in significant activities, feelings of detachment or estrangement, a restricted

range of affect, and a sense of foreboding about the future. Each of these is a factor contributing to the development of learned helplessness as a response to a precipitating trauma. Each of these may have additional or alternate causes. No fewer than four of the Criterion C items were found in any case informant's material. All case informants were found to meet all Criteria C requirements for a full diagnosis of PTSD.

Criterion D relates chiefly to regulation of affect and consciousness, and requires that patient be noted to have "difficulty falling or staying asleep, irritability or outbursts of anger, difficulty concentrating, hypervigilance," or express an exaggerated startle response (p. 468). Two or more of these must be met to fulfill Criterion D and warrant a diagnosis of PTSD. Only one case was noted to identify as few as two of these items. Three additional cases identified three items, two cases identified four such items. The remaining two cases were noted to identify all five items. All case informants were found to meet Criterion D items necessary for a full diagnosis of PTSD.

Criterion E and Criterion F speak to the intensity of impact of the symptoms noted above, by way of symptom duration (more than one month) and clinically significant distress or impairment. Each of these two criteria must be present to warrant a diagnosis of PTSD. These criteria are met in all eight cases.

To summarize, six of the eight cases may be found to admit of a full diagnosis of PTSD as currently defined in the DSM IV-TR. Most of these cases, within the counseling context, were concerned with ongoing effects of their exposure to trauma that might be reasonably traced to national security elements. Rosa and Joe were found to be exposed to civil war related trauma while living in Latin American nations at times that these were undergoing such civil unrest. These experiences, it was noted, occurred

within the definitional context of national security concerns within which Martín-Baró's categorizations were developed. Rosa had the additional related trauma of a rape committed by military personnel within the context of social control related to the civil war. Joe had an additional, perhaps predisposing trauma related to a home invasion incident by armed police as a minor, situated in the context of social control of minority populations in a major U. S. urban center. Greg's symptom history related to his combat exposure while in service in the United States' armed forces, as well as the potential predisposing trauma of having been raised in an urban center among a minority population that found itself essentially occupied by a police presence at all times. Jacquie met criteria primarily related to her homelessness and her ongoing, disruptive contact with police presence and intervention, and shared with Greg the potential predisposing trauma of having been raised in a minority community exposed to the presence of heavy policing. Rachel met criteria by virtue of symptoms that arose during and after her exposure to police force and intimidation, as well as social intimidation, related to her moral work commitments as an activist for causes she understood to advance to possibilities of peace and justice at a societal level. Ben met criteria through a primary exposure to the trauma of family violence as a young man, but shares with Greg and Jacquie the predisposing effects of having been raised in a minority community with little self-determination and often exposed to heavy police and paramilitary presence. Two remaining case informants, Peggy and Mike, evidence no predisposing trauma at all, and yet show a fairly high degree of symptom expression in all other categories.

Proximal causes of trauma and resulting symptom expression

As coding proceeded within the case informant material relative to the dynamic elements of a nascent national security milieu, it was noted that these elements could conveniently be categorized and understood as four related and interactive fields of activity noted. The four types of propaganda are thus grouped together and discussed together, and are understood to represent various directly and indirectly inculcated cultural messages conveying values and judgments to cultural participants. An additional four items related to social inequalities were grouped together. These include unequal distributions of wealth, unequal access to power, business/government alliances that block or circumvent popular participation in decisions affecting the common use access or profit from public resources, as well as various attempts to disenfranchise select segments of a population. These are understood and discussed together as major ways that distribution of power and participation are described in the case informants' narratives. A third set of four items represent moderate scale escalations in National Security State activity, and are noted to impact case informants by way of various restrictions of rights that developed within the social context in which case informants' narratives unfold.

Additionally, a final group of five features representing varying degrees of sanctioned social violence are noted to represent significant escalations of attempted control by the nascent National Security State, through activities that have impacted the lives of case informants in varying degrees. These features have the potential to result in significant damage, psychologically and sometimes physically, among case informants. They include:

- intimidation of dissent via infiltration or surveillance of dissident groups;
- escalated intimidations including the detainment or incarceration of dissident citizens;
- forced relocations or exile (including immigration in search of asylum due to sanctioned social violence), as well as extra-judicial murder;
- military or paramilitary interventions in the personal affairs of case informants, or in the civic life in which they live and move;
- broad scale environmental damage intentionally created, as sustained by or noted by case informants as affecting their lives and perceptions.

Tabulation of case content revealed that in four out of the eight cases presented, fully half the sample, endorsed all seventeen of the elements of national security propaganda, social inequalities, rights restrictions, sanctioned social violence with its related damage. No informant identified less than thirteen of these elements, and only one other informant endorsed fewer than sixteen. This is a significant finding of nascent elements of a national security state milieu, with such elements influencing material considered relevant by the case informants themselves. Of these elements, only "attempted disenfranchisement" (identified in five cases) was identified in fewer than seven of the eight cases. Taken together, within the context of this retrospective assessment, this is suggestive of a fairly significant correlation between the experience of trauma expressed by case informants, and the development of nascent National Security State culture and its elements within their society. In the discussion that follows, case informants and their narratives are introduced and explored in detail, in relation to the trauma symptoms and social contexts under study.

Propaganda as a moderator of personal values, social values, and ground of National Security State-related trauma. Propaganda was understood and coded in the study in two ways. Coding included targeted messages designed to include deceptive or manipulative information or emotional evocations, intended to motivate or elicit specific behavior in others. It was also understood and coded in the more general sense of the cultural narrative which itself is designed and maintained to motivate or elicit specific behaviors in societal members, and which also carries particular bias and often manipulative intent. This latter is often experienced retrospectively in terms of betrayal when a societal member recognizes that his or her experience of learning and expressing a particular societal value in their behavior has not produced the expected benefits of conformity to societal messages and expectations. Propaganda related experiences were described by case informants as impacting or triggering several traits in their lives that were noteworthy for their traumatic implications.

National security related propaganda (each of four defined types) was noted by all case informants at various points in their counseling experience. All but Jacquie experienced all four types of defined propaganda as impacting or influencing their experiences in relation to what this study defines as National Security concerns. Jacquie, a homeless African American woman suffering from schizophrenia, did not at any point discuss any role for "State Necessity" propaganda as part of her experience. This may be a reflection of the narrowed consciousness of her environment that Jacquie often manifested, more immediately concerned with the local police chasing her out of places to sleep than with issues of broader, national, or societal concern.

Normalizing and Distancing propaganda often occur together. The former outlines the duty of all citizens to act normally within their station in life and so support the state in maintaining the elite and the existing power structure, and so to thrive and find their own level of well-being within the state and society. Distancing propaganda is then used to explain why those who do not find such well-being, who to not feel a part of the great projects of state, including prosperity, are subversively different through their own fault. These were described in different ways by eight of eight case informants. One example, Rosa, was a 34-year-old widow from Latin America when I first met her in 1992. Her homeland had been conflicted with revolutions, rebellions and repression in the 1970s and 1980s, a place in which rape and execution were standard tools of social and political control. Her husband and eldest four children—all teenage boys—had been executed in 1985 by paramilitary death squads, at a time when their village was razed and everyone at home murdered on suspicion of supporting rebels in the nearby mountains. Rosa had escaped to the United States with assistance from the Sanctuary movement here, where she was living with her four youngest children, in a major American urban center. She spoke of such propaganda in these terms:

"All my life they've told me that us campesinos were lazy, good for nothing, worse than trash, even while the rich stole everything we campesinos produced from the land. And they told us that was just normal, that 'there would be poor always,' and that meant Jesus and the church were against us too. But my priest, he knew better. Still, 'do this, do that, all for the good of the state' were mottoes we were expected to live by. I don't trust them. I hate them. They're lies, but I'm not sure what I can do now."

Loyalty and duty propaganda and ideation were identified by eight of eight case informants. This was described mostly in terms of what government asked of citizens by way of taxes, civic behavior, and military service. For example, Greg was 25 years old in 1992 and had recently come home from what proved to be Gulf War I. He had first seen duty in the invasion of Panama in 1989, and would serve again in Yugoslavia in 1999. Greg spoke of "loyalty and duty" and "state necessity" propaganda (identified by seven of the eight case informants) in these terms: "They say this is a national security affair, that the nation needs us. Bullshit. They just want more war, 'cause war makes money. They ain't got enough money yet. So I gotta go die so they can get some more." He expanded further on another occasion: "I can't do it again," Greg reflected in one session. "I bought into all the lies, all the us-or-them thinking, all of it to feed a bunch of fat cats at the top. None of this was for freedom. None of this was for the people. It was for gas and for the people who make money off it." Here, the informant Greg makes a direct link in his own experience between his symptoms of distress and his insight into the colonial nature of his situation.

Rachel was a 45-year-old White female, whose family had taken refuge in France in the post-war years after 1950, to escape harassment in their community during a time when her parents were under investigation by the so-called House Un-American Activities Committee. Speaking from the experiences of a child exiled by the communist witch-hunt of America in early Cold War period, she described her own relationship to how such loyalty and duty are sometimes used: "They also put out that we are the problem, the activists, because we're always stirring things up. Or that our work is 'disloyal,' just like they said about Dad and Mom. When we were protesting nuclear

subs and missiles, they tried to paint us as radical traitors to America. We were not only not doing our duty, but actively undermining the 'state' and its needs, at least according to the news reports. And they were always trying to sell the idea that all this was just so necessary to keep us safe." Here, Rachel described the specific processes by which propaganda is used to marginalize and normalize, respectively, particular experiences.

Several case informants identified various ways that propaganda, and their buying into and being betrayed by same, contributed to their sense of alterations in their affective regulation and sense of self. Peggy was a 45-year-old physicist when we met in 1991, and worked in weapons procurement for the U. S. government, a career which was triggering a profound moral, spiritual and psychological crisis for her. Peggy noted the impact of militaristic propaganda and metaphor this way: "Usually in meetings, sometimes right after or as part of one of these panic attacks, I just find myself 'gone,' somehow. All we really talk about is killing, and how to do it most effectively. I mean, we actually talk about dimensions and specifications for weapons and ammunition, and we hardly ever mention people or bodies. But that's what it's all about, isn't it. And knowing that, some piece of me can't be there any more. It's like this out of body thing happens, and I can see every thing that's gong on, like I'm hovering above all of it, but I can't really hear it, I can't follow the arguments, I'm not really in touch with it." Here the case informant clearly identifies the relationship between her experience as a worker in the military-industrial complex, the primary agent of National Security in the United States, and her experience of symptoms, including anxiety and dissociation.

Mike was an 18 year old who lived with his parents, both of whom worked as chemists, work which violated Mike's own emergent ethics related to the environment.

He expressed an emerging double-bind between his own values and societal values in terms of his depression related to the cultural propaganda of consumption. He situated this within the context of broad scale environmental destruction: "It depressed me. I guess I never recovered [from reading Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring']. I had always been told that everything we humans did made the world better. And suddenly I knew it wasn't true. So I carry this awareness inside me while I live in the middle of streams of advertising propaganda trying to convince me to buy this, use that, dump this on my garden to scare away the bugs, and I know it's killing the planet. They want us to believe its all OK, and its not." Here Mike identifies in his own experience the colonial impact of resource harvesting and its consequent ecological impact, and hints at the anxiety he would later describe in greater detail.

Ben was a 26-year-old First Nations male when we first met and talked in 1996. When we first met, Ben lived with his young bride in University housing and they were expecting their first child. He was having a hard time adjusting to big city life, having recently moved to the city to pursue a college education. The dissonance between his sense of self on the Reservation and his sense of self in the city was "eating at" him, and he felt he was not fully able to be himself in the new setting. He expressed frustration with the double-binds created by the racial and cultural frames that often shaped propaganda that in turn shaped his relationships with others: "They expect me to be some kind of wunderkind, some ideal Indian, the great noble savage or something. Or they expect me to be dumb as dirt. I never get to be just me, and I don't know who that is anymore, anyway." Ben seems to express here the transgenerational effects of trauma and its resulting impairment of identity formation and self-esteem, as these where

brought into heightened states of anxiety by his shift in context from reservation life to city life.

Rachel addressed the quandary of recognizing the double binds and being able to find no way out of them: "You quit trusting. Well, I quit trusting. I stopped trusting them, and I stopped trusting myself. What does it mean to be an American? How do I participate in the lies without knowing? How do I make it hard for others to escape? How do I make sense of a system that seems bent on poisoning and killing and stealing? And how do I make sense of my living in such a system? Or, how do I escape?" Also feeling a stranger and unable to just be herself, Rachel spoke of it still another way: "I absolutely don't fit in anywhere. This culture and its killing ways, and usually for somebody else's goods. I walk down the street feeling like I'm wearing a sign that says I'm from another planet, feeling like nothing here makes sense. And it's not like I want to belong—this culture and how we live just make me sick. Nauseous sometimes."

In these vignettes one sees the emergence of the pattern of context and symptom, of national security concerns and activities evoking symptoms that negatively impact the lives and functioning of case informants.

Social inequalities as indicators of intensifying national security experiences. Relative social inequalities were noted by all case informants in the course of their counseling. Social inequalities have been understood and coded in the study to include at least four elements, including economic inequalities, differentials in access to power in centers of decision making, alliances of economic power and government agency that affect decisions governing use of the commons and the civic roles of citizens, and in the most basic experience of being able to participate in the governing process by way of

franchise, or the right to vote. These elements are typical of a developing National Security milieu, as noted. Each of the case informants related their sense of these inequalities to some sense of the development of a power base seeking to shut out access to participation, in reference often to some aspect of noted National Security propaganda. At this level of experience, case informants expressed both direct impacts, as well as the fear that such dynamics would emerge more forcefully over time. Every case informant had some direct experience of one of these social inequality elements either on their own, or via close friend or associate. Developments of experiences and fears of social inequality were described by case informants as impacting or triggering several traits in their lives that were noteworthy for their traumatic implications.

Eight of eight case informants identified unequal distribution of wealth and unequal access to power as problems that contributed both to their own experiences and fears, and to the problems in society that might exacerbate into greater National Security issues on a broader level. These inequalities were described by Greg in terms of vets unable to find work: "When they need us to fight, we're just fine enough for battle. When we need a good job after, they ain't so interested in what we have to offer, what we need, what dreams we have or have given up, even after we served our country and got them the damn gas they wanted." Greg also expressed an awareness of how propaganda was used to foster a sense of equality and equal access, while simultaneously maintaining social separations and inequalities. He resented having bought into the rhetoric of the American dream: "We all believed that if we were just good enough, behaved well enough, got along sweetly enough, we'd make it. It ain't true. We ain't all in this together. Men like me, we're in it because the fat cats pretend they're just like us, but

they're not out there bleeding when it comes to the battle field and the burning oil wells and the smoke and the choking and the dying."

Mike, aware of social problems and already anxious about finding work after college, identified it in terms of an unbalanced economy the serves some better than others: "Too much power, too much wealth, all in the hands of too few. It's gonna get worse. My senior project had me working in the soup lines and shelters down on skid row. They've never seen so many families. And they know it'll get worse because the whole tax thing is going to increase poverty. More people homeless. More people who can't feed their kids. More of the kids poisoned."

Jacquie was a 50-year-old African American woman when we met and began counseling together in 2000. She had been a teacher as a younger woman, graduating from a major University in the American Southwest with a Masters' Degree in education, and serving schools in a major urban area. She had been living on the streets for most of the prior 15 years, having developed schizophrenia in her late twenties. Jacquie, who was homeless, acknowledged the link between her homelessness and her access to power via disenfranchisement: "Sometimes I'm just like my slave ancestors: they say we can't vote 'cause we don't got a permanent address."

Rachel also spoke of the relationship between poverty and exercising civic power, as linked with the problem of alliances of corporate ends and state agency: "Keeping people poor is one way to keep them from voting. That's why our community organizing is so important. And why the corporations withdraw their grants when they learn we also do that work. If we're taking care of veterans, they're just fine with that, as long as we don't get political. If we register homeless people to vote, that's a whole other story, and

they want their money back. Or they won't renew the grant, even though their money didn't pay for any of that work. That was a whole different project. Business is part of the problem, you know. We like to say that we know the government isn't for sale, because the present owners are quite happy with it. Eisenhower warned us about the military-industrial complex. They won't let us do anything to endanger the profit machinery."

Peggy identified how her personal sense of powerlessness was resulting in panic attacks and emotional dysregulation: "It's like a wave of nausea at first, and for moment I feel like I might throw up. Then my heart pounds, and I sweat. It's so embarrassing. I can feel it in my temples then, the heart pounding, and that's often when the headaches start. If I'm in a position to, I go exercise. A good vigorous walk often clears the energy. It's interesting. If I can discover a point in myself where I can be angry about it, where I can just be pissed about the trap it feels like I'm in, then walk it off, that helps a lot. Sometimes, though, when I'm done with the walk and sit down again, it's a different story. I've learned I always have to close my office door. Sometimes I get back and just cry. I have no power. I'm a trapped animal. I can't move this way, I can't go that way, it's like I'm stuck in a cage."

Images of powerlessness and of the struggle to achieve a better balance of power also figure in Rachel's experiences of anxiety: "Sometimes I'll just be sitting there, and this image will cross my mind of some homeless person, maybe a wounded vet I know, maybe just another coworker, and this wave of partly nausea, partly anxiety, will wash through my body. I've learned I can let it go, let it move on through, by not becoming attached to it. Sometimes I talk to it, just say hi, ask if it belongs to me or to the person

I'm thinking of, and eventually it will disappear. Maybe after 10 or 20 minutes I'll be back to normal, breathing more regularly, not aflutter inside anymore."

Joe was a 48-year-old male of mixed/Hispanic ancestry when we met and began working together in 1998. As a young man, Joe had been a member of a Roman Catholic religious order of teachers, involved in working with the poor in Latin America. While there, he had some stressful contact with the National Security State apparatus in Guatemala. Joe also identifies his anxiety attacks with remembrances evoked by words and themes associated with power out of balance: "Sometimes, I will be watching TV and some political figure will be featured saying something that sounds so like the things that the powerful would say on TV in Latin America, and my stomach will tighten and a flood of grief and anxiety just wash through my body from my heart up to my head and down through the bottom of my feet. First time it happened, I thought I was dying. I didn't, and for a bit wished I had. I was days getting the toxic fear, the biochemistry of it, cleared from my system. It still happens, even with political figures I like, who don't know, just don't understand, how much our attitudes express the same sort of toxic attitudes toward the poor, the homeless, the ill, the mentally ill..."

Jacquie was aware of both the coercive nature power-out-of-balance, and of the cultural narrative beneath it, often as the basic racism and classism it expressed: "Somehow the White way is always the right way, ain't it? The Man always decides. They right, but they ain't, really." And another time, speaking of herself and her friends, and jesting with no one in particular, "We ain't none too elegant for the rich folk up the road, are we?"

Restriction of civil rights as moderator of traumatic experience. A further layer of social behavior identified in the literature related to nascent National Security State social challenges, includes restrictions placed via state agency on the behaviors and rights of citizens. These usually related to rights to free movement, gathering, association, and communication. Such restrictions of rights are commonly leveled at a nation's population when it begins to be clear that neither the general cultural narrative propaganda that has maintained certain behavioral norms, nor the targeted messaging propaganda designed to elicit particular behavior, any longer maintains the conformity of citizens to the required degree. Within this category of National Security related social challenges, cases were noted to express an entire range from both direct experience, to more frequent expressions of fear that this would develop within the U. S. context, to the simple awareness that it has happened elsewhere, and could easily develop in the United States, without identifying a particular element of fear or expectation. Experiences of such restriction were described by case informants as impacting or triggering several traits in their lives that were noteworthy for their traumatic implications.

Restricted freedom of movement was endorsed by eight of eight informants. Joe described a direct experience of such restriction from the time he was detained for questioning by military police in Guatemala. This story served for Joe as a window into the fear he felt that rights would one day be curtailed in the U. S. milieu: "I used to march with the ecologists back in the day. Of course, I did my share of anti-Nixon, anti-Vietnam work. I was never arrested or detained here. Never had the courage to volunteer for that. In Guatemala it was different. They just came and got me. Like they did everyone. No one could guess who would be next. In the back of my mind I carry

this constant worry, this ongoing "watch out, you may be next" about the day that it will happen here. So far, we've been lucky, as a society, I mean. It can't last much longer. Someday, you'll see, they'll come for the likes of you and me. Maybe because we're gay, maybe because we're liberals, maybe because we're activists, maybe because we're on the wrong street at the wrong time. But they'll come. You'll see."

Greg remembered the direct experience of one who had been responsible for taking away the rights of others, what that felt like, and how it affected him and them. "People don't believe what's creeping up on 'em. But I was there, I did to others, and I can see it coming here. We used to have to enforce curfew, watch who hung with who, bust up meetings of groups that were potential resistance—mind you, not even people we knew were organizing or nothing. And if you don't think the police are doing that here to you and me, you're just not paying attention."

Mike particularly feared a move he believed was coming from simple surveillance as experienced at school to more draconian measures of social control, including detainments, civil rights suspensions and restrictions, and the potential for government and police interventions. He knew some older activists who'd experienced as much in the Civil Rights Movement era. "It's gonna happen again. And they've had to learn to be more sophisticated. New tools. Old attitudes. Old behaviors. It's not gonna be good, and it's only a matter of time. You'll see."

Restrictions in freedom of communication were identified by only seven of the case informants. Jacquie alone did not note any experience or fear of disruption in her ability to communicate with others. This may be in part because as a person experiencing chronic homelessness and mental illness, her normal communications networks are

sufficiently informal and non-technical that she had identified no threat to her common patterns of contact and communication. Among the remaining seven participants, four identified direct experiences in which this basic right had been impaired, while an additional three noted a fear that this would develop as a social challenge within the U. S. context.

Sanctioned social violence as moderator of traumatic experience. Varying degrees of sanctioned social violence are expressed in the nascent National Security State. Such violence may be noted to include infiltration of dissident groups, as well as the detainment and incarceration of citizens protesting the status quo, or expressing dissident opinion. Escalations of such violence in intensifying national security milieu may also include forced relocation, exile (including migration), murder, and interventions by military or paramilitary personnel in the personal and civic lives of citizens. As noted with restrictions of citizen rights above, such challenges are commonly leveled at a nation's population when it begins to be clear that neither the general cultural narrative, nor the targeted messaging designed to elicit particular behavior, any longer maintains the conformity of citizens. Such forms of sanctioned social violence are also noted to commonly result in psychological and often physical damages sustained by those involved, of a personal, social, or ecological nature. The development of experienced or feared escalations of social and civil violence within case informants' particular contexts were described by case informants as impacting or triggering several traits in their lives that were noteworthy for their traumatic implications.

Social intimidation by way of infiltration was identified as a factor of direct experience by five of the eight case informants. The remaining three all expressed a fear

that this could in fact happen in the U. S. context. It is notable that four of the five in whose narratives direct experience was noted had been in groups, or had known of groups, that had been infiltrated and surveilled. The fifth identified, in the context of his military experience, as an infiltrator and perpetrator of sanctioned social violence. Rachel described her experience in these terms: "Back in the day, they used to try to get young Republicans to infiltrate the anti-war groups and report back, I don't know, to the police or something? There was this one guy who we thought was just shy. He'd come to the meetings and sit in the corner, never say much. Then the day came for a march through town, and he wasn't around. We learned later he'd been a watcher, because he couldn't contain his glee and sent us a note congratulating us on having the march stopped in the first block."

Mike offered a perspective on surveillance, one of both experience and fear: "There are cameras all over the schools. And they've installed metal detectors since the shootings started happening at schools around the country. Partly it's a good idea, but it's also a sign of how things just are. What makes you think this isn't the new 'normal?' Government, school officials, are getting the idea that they can just spy and track us and follow us anywhere, check up on us. And now I know kids whose parents are installing cameras at home. It's like we live in a war zone, or a prison state. And now they know they can make money off watching us all, they aren't gonna give that up, either. It's making it even harder to think about how we change things. Look at all the people who tried hard to change things in the past. They were spied on, watched, infiltrated, discredited, lied about—and now they've got even better tools for that."

The researcher noted the dreams presented by case informants to be an anomalous aspect of the case informants' expressions of alterations in consciousness. While only Joe, Rosa, Greg, and Rachel could be said to have experienced clinically defined "flashbacks," most case informants were having nightmares related to the experiences they were identifying as terrifying them in the waking world. Rachel and Peggy were both noted to have dreams related to surveillance. One of Peggy's dreams seemed to suggest the sort of surveillance she most feared: "In another nightmare, I'm in a dark field, in the deep of night, and I'm running from someone. Someone is trying to capture me and kill me, because I have information he doesn't want revealed. I know it's a 'he,' just intuitively, in the dream. And I keep running. And he's close behind me, because I can hear him panting as hard as I am, in the effort to capture me. And I know if he gets me, he'll murder me. Out in these fields, no one will ever find me. I don't know. Is it some government agent? I mean, it's a reasonable fear, I think, in my position. Or is it just my work, trying to kill me, and I can barely keep myself ahead of the death figure?"

Rachel also found herself having dreams not of an actual, past event, but a consciousness of terror projected into some as yet unlived future, shaped by fragments of her prior experience, related to surveillance and to detainment/incarceration: "I have these really realistic dreams where the police all come down to the Center where I used to work and round us up and take us to jail for helping the poor and organizing homeless protests at City Hall. And while we're in jail, they steal all our stuff and destroy our homes. They feed us rats and some gruel made of dust from the jailhouse floor. I get sick and throw up, but they won't take me for treatment. Others get sick, and the guards

don't care. They laugh when we throw up, and then bring more of their disgusting food and try to force us to eat. It's horrible."

Detainment and incarceration were identified by several case informants as part of their personal history. Greg had been intimidated and pushed around by the cops in the community he grew up in, and had been the one intimidating others in military operations in foreign countries. He'd been detained for questioning once in his home city, between tours of duty, for matching a suspect description in a nearby liquor store robbery, then released. He had also been the round up guy for locals in Panama, Iraq, and Kosovo, briefly taking other's freedom as his had been taken. He was aware first hand of the damages such events had caused in his home community, and often felt deep pangs of guilt that he'd become someone who could now inflict that on others, someone whose duty it was to do so. "I remember when the police would sweep the neighborhood, rounding up people, herding everyone together then picking out particular ones, just like we did on deployment."

Joe recalled his experience of being rounded up in Guatemala for questioning: "I wasn't sure I would come out alive. One of the Brothers I worked with had been killed by the Guatemalan police in the fall before they picked me up, suspected of aiding and abetting the rebel forces. I don't remember now how many days they held me. That's when I first thought about being a sacrifice. I thought, 'If it would bring peace for the people, I can bear the thought of their killing me here and now.' It didn't happen, and I'm glad. That's where my mind goes, though, when I'm most depressed and that old idea creeps back into my mind."

Mike imagined his future in terms of incarceration and detainment: "Someday they will do that just because enough people like me disagree with how things are. Someday they will crack down. They do it in other countries, mostly countries our government supports, and we applaud. Our government, our CIA, our police, teach those countries how to do the crackdowns. What makes us immune? Someday it will come home to roost. Guys like me will wind up in jail. We'll be pulled from our homes, stopped in the streets, followed into the woods if we try to hide. No place will be safe. And people just don't get it. Between the poison chemicals and the poison people, the earth doesn't stand a chance."

And Rachel, who had been arrested for civil disobedience multiple times in the past, also expressed a future that seemed likely to include more detainment and incarceration: "Maybe someday they'll raid my home and take me to jail because I've been a rabble rouser. But if I'm not a rabble-rouser, they may come anyway, because I let democracy go, didn't exercise my rights, and they'll get taken away for some other reason. And in the meantime, the big home, the planet, your local landscape, the people in it, are all being damaged every day by policies that deepen poverty, perpetuate war, and count things more important than people."

Forced relocation, murder or exile were identified as elements experienced by two case informants. Rosa's husband and eldest four children—all teenage boys—had been executed in 1985 by paramilitary death squads, at a time when their village was razed and everyone at home murdered on suspicion of supporting rebels in the nearby mountains. For Rosa, torture also was an impacting element related to this cluster. She had come in for counseling when she heard that her brother had been kidnapped and tortured by

paramilitary forces in her native country. She wanted to know if someone could live without a skin? "They flayed him, that's what my uncle says, and says that he doesn't have any skin left. Will he be able to live like that?" She spoke of the impact of such things with great force and simplicity: "They come and kill my family. They took a piece of me, a piece of my soul, my loving, my being. Something I can never have back."

Greg remembered his role on the opposite end of enforcing such tactics, and the impact it continued to have in his life: "Sometimes," he reported, "the only thing to do is check out, to forget, to space out, to go somewhere else. Sometimes remembering is too painful. I killed a man for being in the wrong place at the wrong time on guard duty. Not even in battle. What do you want to bet he was a dad? What if his kids wonder where he is, what he's doing, why he ain't never come home? Sometimes you gotta space it out, or you gotta kill yourself to get away from the guilt."

In addition to the military/paramilitary interventions described above by Rosa, these were identified as elements contributing to Joe's trauma experience from long before his time in Latin America. Joe traced his depression to the age of eight, and the memory of a home invasion by local police, who'd mistaken his family's home for one of the addresses they were to hit in a drug raid. "Things were never the same after that. I've never really been at ease, maybe. As things in the city get worse, my depression gets worse. Have you followed the local press coverage of the gang shootings lately? Week by week, we have as many gang killings in [city] as there are casualties in Beirut [with reference to Lebanon's civil war in the 1990s]. They have a 'civil war.' We are told we

have a 'gang problem.' If the death toll is the same, from several groups of people shooting at each other, what's the difference?"

Broad scale environmental damage was noted to have impacted several informants to varying degrees. Rosa remembered how the landscape and the people suffered together. "The soldiers, the rebels, they're all the same. They think you're not on their side, so they burn your crops. They don't trust what you do on the mountain, so they burn the forest down to watch you better. They don't trust your neighbor, so they burn his house down. They don't trust your village, so they burn it down, and spread chemicals on the land that keep anything from growing for years. It's so unfair, what they did to the land. It bleeds as much as the people, just for us trying to farm it and eat."

Ben had grown up in the environmental devastation wreaked by the United States government and by allied business interests on tribal and reservation lands. He expressed an understanding in which he saw that government was really secretly organized to provide business opportunities to mining and other extractive industries by keeping Tribal Councils well linked to funding opportunity, and he talked about it. "They come in offering money, and it looks really good, or they say it's a national emergency like they did back at the Big War (World War II), and they just come take what they need. Or, they say it makes jobs, and everyone wants jobs, so everyone jumps and asks how much we can make and how much do they want. And so, we grow up without forests, without buffalo, and our children play in the mine tailings that never got cleaned up, and get lung problems from the asbestos, from the boron, and cancer from the uranium dust that settles everywhere."

Part of Peggy's double-bind was that she knew her work to be part of the problem. "I just want to run out the room and warn everybody about the damage we're doing! People have to understand, we're developing programs that may end the possibility of life on earth. We're not making warheads anymore. Haven't for decades, really. But we're still using nuclear materials. We're using spent uranium on everyday bullets now—that's going to lay around on the ground and create harm for several thousand generations, and we don't know how much is too much, so ANY is too much."

Rachel only rarely touched on the topic of environmental anxiety, though she worked with disabled vets from the Vietnam era and knew from their experience the effects of Agent Orange and other chemicals on their nervous systems. From this she carried a considerable suspicion of everything the government at to say about "safety" of the chemicals used in her everyday life, and developed a commitment to use only organic, simple soaps and chemicals. "I never trust when a company says something is safe, and even less when the government says it's safe. Someone is making money somewhere. It's advertising, so it's propaganda. Look at the vets and Agent Orange. Look at the eagles and DDT. Remember Bhopal. We have no reason to believe the companies and the government and their lies about what's safe and what's not."

Mike, whose parents were industrial and pharmaceutical chemists respectively, spoke often of his concerns for the future of the planet and his knowledge of damages being done: "I live in a house where one parent is working to destroy the planet, and the other one is working to anesthetize the people on it to the fact the their world is being poisoned under their noses," he said, somewhat hyperbolically, but not in jest. Another time he spoke of damages to the local environment: "You know it will be uninhabitable

here, don't you? The soils are so full of chemicals, from the lead of the old automobile exhausts, to lack of new nutrients except for what the chemical companies force on us, and the water will be gone soon. We're ignoring all the signs of the collapse that is coming. So when it hits, it will be a 'surprise' to so many, and it will be devastating."

Even Mike's dreams were full of vision of what such intentional environmental devastation might look like. On returning from a spring break trip to the Sierras, he had a dream he reported in this way: "We had hiked the backcountry counting mountain goats, Big Horned Sheep, really, while I was there. In this dream, the arsonists are back and this time they're murderers, too. They're hiking all the backcountry where we had been. We hadn't covered our tracks well enough. They found our sheep, every one of them, and they killed each one. Then they lit fires to burn the carcass of each one they killed. The fires didn't touch the arsonists, none of them, they just walked right through them, kept going to find more of my sheep, the planet's sheep, and murder them. They didn't take horns, they didn't take fleeces, they didn't even take wool. They just slit throats as though they were making sacrifices. Then they were lighting fires. And the fires, each one, hundreds and hundreds of them, they burned across the grasslands and meadows and into the forests, and through the forests and down the mountains into the Big Valley, across the grasslands and farms there, up and down the state, until it was all gone, even the cities and towns. I woke up crying and couldn't stop. All my beautiful sheep, murdered, gone. All the landscape, turned to charcoal. How could anyone do that?"

Summary: Nascent National Security elements contributing to trauma symptoms

Case informants described each of four categories of national security-related experiences often in conjunction with the development of symptoms of complex trauma,

as noted above. Several patterns of interest, both in terms of what presented through the counseling encounters, and in terms of what did not present, were revealed. Case informants' sense of what might have given rise to the problems and symptoms they were experiencing (to the extent that these could be discerned in the case material) are summarized below.

Alterations in affective impulse regulation, attention or consciousness, along with alterations in relations with others, and somatization or medical problems, was most directly associated with experiences, fears, or awareness of potential or actual military or paramilitary intervention, by six out of the eight informants. Also endorsed strongly (six out of eight informants) was a link between such alterations and experiences or fears of personal, social or environmental damage that had been justified by security rationale. Those informants who had been historically more isolated from direct interventions by the military and from major ecological or personal losses seem to relate their affective dysregulation to propagandistic sources and to experiences and awareness of inequalities. Peggy and Mike in particular illustrate this pattern: their affective dysregulation symptoms relate almost exclusively to their expressions of propagandistic phenomena. By contrast, among those with actual experience of military or paramilitary violence and intimidation, this symptom cluster was more often described by in connection with those specific encounters. Rosa and Ben linked fewer than three nascent national security state elements to their experiencing the development of in affect regulation, consciousness, shifts in relations with others, somatization and medical problems.

Identity fragmentation (alterations in self-perception, in perception of a perpetrating other, or in meaning systems) was also described by informants in relation to

personal, social, and environmental damage by six of the eight informants, but far more closely (by seven out of eight informants) with their encounters and struggles with each of the four forms of propaganda assessed in the study. The dynamic of encountering, perhaps buying into and later disavowing such systems of information manipulation has a clear psychological impact. As the cultural narrative and implicit propaganda normalize systems of oppression, or create and maintain social divides, they impact both self-image and one's image of others in the society. As such narratives and propaganda demand unquestioning loyalty, or perpetuate narratives that glorify "the good of the state," these create fracture zones in the personal and social sense of self, creating a dissonance that the psyche cannot forever bear without significant debilitation. No informant was assessed to endorse fewer than seven of the seventeen national security elements to their experience of identity fragmentation.

Long-term depression (greater than one year) is the only factor described by at least one or more of the eight informants in relation to some combination of all seventeen national security elements under consideration. It was most often mentioned in connection with experiences and fears related unequal access to power (hence, having or seeming to have no power to change one's life or circumstance). It also correlated with elements of physical intimidation/sanctioned social violence (including racism, sexism, crime patterns, and police control), and with experiences or fears of military/paramilitary interventions and broad scale environmental damage. No informant spoke of fewer than eight of the seventeen national security elements experienced in conjunction with their ongoing experiences of depression.

Social anxiety (an inability to tolerate close social contact or to be comfortably present in crowds or gatherings) was less frequently described in relation to National Security elements. Such anxiety is described by half or more informants with reference to distancing propaganda, which creates and maintains social divisions by sustaining a notion of the inferior other or self. It was also noted in conjunction with experiences of unequal distributions of access to power and wealth. By contrast, generalized anxiety (a chronic anxiety state reflected in chronic unease and hypervigilance regardless of setting, not specifically linked to social gatherings or agoraphobia) seems to affect all eight informants. Only Rosa and Ben described fewer than five national security experiences in relation to their depressive symptoms. Their narratives spoke to a difference between actual experiences and feared experiences among those most affected by nascent national security state trauma. A contrast was also noted between informants of color, versus fears and awareness of real possibilities among the White, middle class informants of relatively higher assessed socio-economic status.

Learned helplessness was described in some form by all eight informants. This was defined as an inability to conceptualize choices and options for change or problem solving strategies, or lack of energy to implement such choices or options. Informants' narratives of learned helplessness suggest strong connections with experiences or awareness of inequality, suggesting that entrenched power structures one does not directly participate in have an effect on one's conception of one's power to change things. However, strongest correlations emerge between learned helplessness and the described experiences and fears of restrictions, intimidations and actual or feared military

and police/paramilitary interventions. No informant endorsed fewer than seven linkages between their sense of helplessness and some factor related to national security.

Social disruption (segmentation that serves both to complicate and impede the identification and treatment of the foregoing symptoms by undermining community resource mobilization, opportunities and rituals that promote social cohesion and resource sharing) proves to be another important factor for informants in their description of their experiences. Only two Greg and Ben describe fewer than five links between this experience and some national security element. Other participants endorse no fewer than nine and as many as twelve. Only Peggy identified loyalty and duty propaganda as a element influencing her sense of social disruption, largely out of a sense of how the security clearance her job requires could be affected by hanging out with the wrong crowd. No fewer than five informants describe this social symptom in relation to perceptions and experiences of inequality, restrictions of civil rights, or with actual or anticipated/fear of military or police/paramilitary interventions.

Strong associations also exist for experiences and fears of environmental anxiety (a basic angst about the safety, security, and long-term stability of one's place of being in the world, and the continuity of one's past experience of the world of nature and social beings with the present and potential future of same). In case material, this anxiety was noted to correlate with experiences of social inequalities, possibly as a reflection of how socio-economic status and other class perceptions affect one's sense of place in the world. Also noted to affect this symptom are the possibility or real experience of restriction of one's associations with others, with the ability to gather or communicate with important peers. The researcher understands this as a reflection of the various ways

our ongoing social relationships locate us in the world and contribute to one's sense of that world's stability. Environmental anxiety is also noted to be affected by military/paramilitary intervention, as well as by broad scale environmental damage created and justified by the national security state, reflections perhaps of the possibilities of real, sustained damage to one's physical place of being in the world.

Informant psychodynamics from the Post-Colonial and Liberation perspectives

Finally, the case material was analyzed with reference to the psychodynamics of colonizing trauma and stress response as described in the Postcolonial outlook of Duran and Duran (1995), and those of the limit situations defined by Liberation Psychology (Ellacuría, 1969; Martín-Baró, 1984). Exploration of the degree to which individuals "buy into" the system that is creating the trauma, enter denial, try to adjust within the oppressive system, provided an opportunity to witness the double binds in which they live. For Duran and Duran (1995), this is the time of becoming conscious of these double binds and being faced with the choice between ongoing subjugation and the moral possibility of change toward self-determination and restoration, or healing. As such, this represents a sort of "liminal," marginalized time that is conceptually parallel to the process of discovering one's limit situation, as identified in Liberation Psychology (Martín-Baró, 1984).

The "limit situation" in which each informant found themselves at the time these counseling sessions were conducted, describes the social location of the informant with reference to both the lived experience she or he describes, and the accepted narrative of how her or his society works. It included how the informant came to be situated in a particular social and psychological location with reference to others. Such situations are

often critical moments in individual development and self-realization. These moments were identifiable in the reflexive process available to us in the counseling setting, in which the human mind confronted the patterned restrictions in its existing forms of conception, as established by each persons degree of acceptance of the established cultural narrative of normative experience and behavior. It was identifiable as well in case informants' conceptual/reflective processes, as individuals confronted the disconnect between the internalized narrative and their own actual, lived experience. This exploration provided an opportunity to assess the case informants' situation of distress, suffering, and symptom emergence, as an as a process attempting to establish both personal psychological balance, and communal well-being in a context within which both may be at stake. Each of the case informants experienced and expressed this disconnect in various forms. The analysis presented here uses the case of Greg as its point of reference. Greg was a directly trauma-exposed veteran placed in the position of enforcing national security state concerns, and who had been raised a subject of those concerns as a member of a minority community in a heavily policed urban neighborhood. The cases of less directly trauma-exposed informants, namely Ben, Peggy, Mike, and Rachel, are compared and contrasted to Greg's case to assess the nature and depth of traumatic exposure.

Duran and Duran (1995) propose that there is a growth arc in the psychodynamics of a traumatized person as they come to grips with the traumatizing events of their lives, especially when the trauma is colonial, or social, in nature. From this arc emerges the potential for healing via a progression into the trauma/stress response. This healing arc begins with the impact or shock event—the moment of trauma that sets the arc in

motion—and continues to build into the situation Martín-Baró and Ellacuría identify as the "limit situation." The process and stages described by Duran and Duran are based in some degree on the classic stress-diathesis model as well as on the particular experience of colonized peoples. It seems that in practical terms, like the so-called "stages of grief" which they in some ways parallel, these may appear in the adjustment process in non-linear order, and may ebb and flow in, through, and around one another as the experience proceeds.

One of the challenges in conceiving or describing a "shock event" for the participants in this study was that their traumatizing agency and its sitz-im-leben had a vague historical horizon. Unlike a moment or defining time period of revolution, or of colonial contact and expansion, the National Security State arises, or has arisen in the U. S. context, slowly and partially, incrementally, and largely unnoticed within the culture. It came to be "normal" as its particulars arose at seemingly necessary junctures in U. S. history. So the shock event for most case informants actually lies at the moment they came to identify the disparity between the cultural narrative they believed they were living, and the violation of that narrative in their own lives. For Greg, this moment emerges from the fallout of his military service. That he had developed symptoms of complex trauma was evident. He was having difficulty controlling his emotions in multiple settings. He was not always able to accurately attend to his own needs or be present for his family. He began to remember the sanctioned social violence that had figured in his growing up years: poverty, lack of opportunity, police occupation of the neighborhood. He recognized the constellation of economic and social or racial/ethnic factors that impaired his access to more fruitful employment. These factors were further

heightened by his having been involved as perpetrator of the sanctioned social violence of war in the homes and neighborhoods of others, by his own participation in detaining and incarcerating others in those settings. He knew in himself the power of forcing others to relocate, of having killed some, of having pushed others into exile.

For Ben, this experience was shaped by his awareness of the contrast between the Native and Urban American lifestyles he'd been engaged in. Ben had the insight to know he was battling for his own sense of identity at this time. He was aware of the dissonance between his Native way and the dominant way he had embraced in his years at college, and keenly felt the judgment of these two aspects of his experience toward one another. "The City man inside me hates this tag-along Native that won't go home. My First Nations guts hate the alcohol, the damage I've done, the ways I've become just like everybody else in this town. I can't trust me. I can't trust you. I can't trust anyone." He was also deeply aware of the historical, intergenerational trauma that affected him through his family. The figures of migration and relocation also figured largely in Ben's sense of self and the story of what he was experiencing in this time. His people had been moved from one end of a continent to another to be settled in the late 1800s. Even settled, his father and mother had been hauled to yet another place, away from family and kin and tradition and subjected to the White Man's idea of schooling, in which his parents had been routinely beaten for not being "white" enough, both linguistically and culturally. He himself, though schooled on the Reservation, had been taught by White teachers, and had moved far away to the big city to continue his education and try to "fit in" with the White culture and history he'd been exposed to. Like Greg, he noticed that racist barbs, comments and attitudes, common in his experience in what he called the "white man's

world," were just another way to inflict violence without having to raise a hand to strike someone.

For Peggy, this crisis emerged at the moment she was able to identify the dissonance between her deepest inner values and the emergent fears that related to her work. She began by identifying the roots of an inner conservatism in the prairie town she grew up in: "It was all 'America, right or wrong, love it or leave it.' That was a land of no grey areas, no questions, no doubts. First it was the Cold War, with Bomb Shelter radiation placards in the Elementary School Cafeteria, and then the Viet Nam War and the split in the whole country. I was daddy's good little girl and stayed true to the cause, a real believer. I went to college, was smart, maybe clever, and ready to learn. Who knew I'd come out with the degree I got? And I was going to work in the energy industry, but then I wound up with the feds and in this program. And there's a piece of that little girl that still believes 'America, love it or leave it,' but there's another piece, too. If we don't stop, we're going to damage everything. When damage is nuclear, it's forever, effectively. And the energy piece is really no safer than the weapons."

The "Limit Situation" Mike found himself in seemed to emerge first and foremost in his sense of environmental anxiety, his sense of his place and future in the world, as circumscribed by his awareness of the perils abroad in the world around him. "All the problems with pollution and environmental collapse are like all the problems with racism and other social issues—we thought—your generation thought—they were solved in the 1960s, and they weren't." This has led, in turn, to a sense of identity fragmentation, an awareness of changed perceptions of who he is in a world full of nameless, faceless

destroyers: "My generation and our children are probably doomed. So how do I live, make a life, find myself, find honorable work, in a world that's destroying itself?"

The Limit Situation in which Rachel found herself had in some ways been developing across the landscape of her entire life. She had been raised in a counter-cultural household, both in terms of her family's spirituality and their anti-war activism. Her basic values of life were different from the dominant culture and its narratives, and had been from a very early age. This gave Rachel a very highly developed sense of the double binds involved in the work of the propaganda machine, as they manifested in her life. "Maybe it's just that I can see the lies more clearly than most people, because I grew up expecting them. They tell us they're defending our freedoms, even as those freedoms keep getting closed down. I see the double speak. I watched them try to disenfranchise the whole family when I was a kid, calling us 'commies' just because we were against the wars. They tried to discredit our values, and so remove us from society."

According to Duran and Duran's postcolonial model, the shock event is followed by an ego-split or dissociation. As with more personal, individual trauma, the impacted individual seeks to regain their emotional equilibrium and maintain the usual connections and attachments on which life heretofore had depended. These consist, in addition to one's personal relationships, of trustful relations and connections to the community on which one depends, including both the local and the national, cultural narratives in which the affected individual and her or his community move. In the limit situations emergent for these case informants, this attempt to regain emotional balance is largely missing. This may reflect the quiet, surreptitious nature of the emergence of the traumatizing

agency, or may yet be a reflection of the particular urgency of the situations in which the informants find themselves.

In addition, the traumatized individual must face the community in the particular, in the person(s) who have initiated or perpetrated the impact or shock event. This process may give way to a sort of regression in which the impacted individual seeks to maintain a sort of idealized view of her or his relationship with the perpetrators of such shock via imaging that "this could not have happened," and so returning to a prior, happier state of the relationship in which the impacted individual had been able to thrive and experience well-being. This process appears also to be missing in the case narratives presented here. Alternatively, it may be that case informants had already negotiated this phase.

The two case informants for whom this is a most active concern are Peggy and Mike. For Peggy, the particular faces of the community are represented by her peers at the agency concerned with purchasing weapons. "People just don't know. And the people I work for, the contractors I work with, spend enormous amounts of time and money trying to discredit or buy off the ones who do know." She also noted, "I can't talk to my peers at work about my misgivings, or I'd be thought a turncoat, a traitor. Or maybe a trouble causer, stirring up doubts and misgivings in other coworkers. And I can't talk to you, really, or to others in my social circle, without fear of generating attention and some bureaucrat's paranoia that I might be talking out of school." For Mike, these figures were most clearly represented in his parents: "I live in a house where one parent is working to destroy the planet, and the other one is working to anesthetize the people on it to the fact the their world is being poisoned under their noses." In some ways, these

particular persons, loved or well known persons, acted as both symbols and as shields of the national security state and its narrative.

For this interior idealization to be maintained over the long haul, it must be supported by what Duran and Duran identify as the "Warrior Regression." This process, in which what is powerful, and angry, and resistant in the impacted individual must be contained and managed via withdrawal from the traumatic stimuli. This requires the individual to imagine the stimulus is not real or has not actually happened. It further requires that any actual urges to assert oneself and seek recognition either in individual or in community and political terms be repressed (cf. also Benjamin, 2006). The impacted individual must shut down emotional responses to the experienced problems and impacts, and to some degree "buy into" the system that is creating the traumatic stimuli to begin with. This can, in many circumstances, lead the impacted individual to enlist in the ranks of those who protect the "colonizing" way of life, to actually protect the perpetrators.

Greg expressed an advanced stage of this process. He had begun to see the false social structures and webs created by the traditional narratives of the propaganda machines through his own sense of being betrayed and having betrayed his own values through his own involvement in the sanctioned social violence of war. Chiefly through his memories of his enactments of violence and intimidation against others, he found his own social world disrupted by the awareness that no one should trust him, that he can no longer trust the traditional narratives of cultural propaganda, and that the future – his own and that of his children—was at best limited within the context of the old story he'd been living. In short, he no longer trusted his own sense of place in the world—either the world he'd bought into and been betrayed by, or the world he had yet to construct.

Ben embodied this phase some years prior to our counseling together. His judgment of his First Nations' side was especially harsh, as he believed that if he were truly man enough, strong enough, none of the city's problematic, Eurocentric cultural baubles would have held any attraction for him. At the same time, he struggled with wanting to be a good American as well as a "good Indian," and considered for a time enlisting in the army at the outbreak of hostilities in Kuwait. This tug of war inside Ben was, he knew, rooted in the propaganda around him. And part of him had bought into the White Man's judgment of his people, of him.

Rachel expressed conflict between buying into the narrative of a government and culture she could not see as benign, and her lived experience of the damages that government and cultural institutions do. This had led her to part ways with some people who'd come into her life in the past, including her ex-husband. "They bought into a system I don't trust, and it was hard. Maybe that's what part of the problem was with Jim. He couldn't see, and I could."

In this model of trauma development and resolution, the repression noted above typically gives way to an acceptance of things as they are. The experienced oppression, along with the energies maintaining personal and communal repression, give way to what Duran and Duran describe as magical thinking, denial, and accommodation. Denial often takes the form of thinking, "It's not as bad as it seems, it certainly won't get worse." As more and more individuals accommodate to this level of acceptance of the colonized situation, each seeks to recruit others to this accommodated view, as a way of justifying and maintaining the comfort level of their own accommodation. Just as often, this phase

presents as the development of an accommodating helplessness, a spoken or unspoken assumption of being trapped and unable to move in any direction.

Ben reflected on this problem as it related to the reservation and ongoing colonial, extractive business interests: "They come in offering money, and it looks really good, or they say it's a national emergency like they did back at the Big War (World War II), and they just come take what they need." This seemed also to be the way he expressed the disempowerment and learned helplessness he felt—to acknowledge that others simply take what they want, and leave his people, him, with nothing, or with damaged families and environments, and there was nothing to be done.

Sometimes Mike's reflections on his experience of the U. S. social and environmental conditions gave way to such a sense of learned helplessness, "And there's not a damn thing we can do about it without setting ourselves up to get ignored, or discredited, or vilified, or worse. Probably get shot some day."

When this level of comfort cannot be maintained, when the colonial presence and policies continue to act as the grain of sand in one's shoe, the individual and community may begin to search for ways to tweak the current system, to find just the right minor adjustments to make things OK, to accommodate. Such attempts at maintaining the colonized way of life may have some benefits over the prior way of living, but usually at the cost of much personal freedom and many cultural ways of being.

This stage is notably missing in the case narratives of this study. Perhaps the closest representation of such a phase would be noted in Peggy's life. As Peggy was aware she was being watched, just because of her security clearance, she began to suspect her daughters, away at college, were also watched, and her husband as well. "I worry that

they won't leave them alone. Won't let them have normal lives like college girls should. If I were a secretary, no one would be tailing me or my kids. But in our day and age, because of what people know, sometimes it's just necessary. Maybe they aren't being watched. But it worries me that I move in a world where that can be necessary sometimes. And it bothers me that they live at the edge of that world, through no fault of their own." I once asked how she felt about working for such a government, and her response was: "I am the military industrial complex."

Duran and Duran posit the eventual arrival of an opportunity for change and liberation, for the psyche of the individual as well as the psychological and cultural community. This occurs when, over the long term, compliance with the colonial ways becomes more onerous, and individuals begin to perceive the changes they've undergone that may have actively damaged their way of life. At this point in the model, anger and rage displace accommodation, but remain unfocused—the impacted individual and community cannot cathect these feelings. At first, those impacted and undergoing this shift in perception have not identified where or at whom to focus the anger.

Greg seemed to be somewhere mid point in the process of identifying an object for his anger. He no longer held a firm grasp on the identities of the "others" in his life. His government had become both a source of pride and of loathing, an "other" that had betrayed him and had placed him in the position of betraying others in obeying his government's commanders. The whole conceptual boundary around what it meant to be a perpetrator of justified violence was shifting. In similar vein, Greg's systems of meaning around citizenship, authority, victimization and violence were all in flux. This emerging sense of betrayal, making his relationship to the state and its operations his primary

relationship of the moment, had effectively eclipsed his relationship even with his mother and children. In retrospect, this seems to have been mapping the emerging of Greg's sense of the betraying other on whom an appropriate anger could be focused.

Mike expressed a prospective form of this phase, anticipating problems that would emerge in social life in the West generally and in the United States particularly. Mike's intake of world and local news was such that he was minutely aware of the intimidative behaviors of authority figures everywhere, behaviors including and similar to those he already experiences at school, where he was surveilled 8 to 10 hours daily. And he feared the move from simple surveillance as experienced at school to more draconian measures of social control, including detainments, civil rights suspensions and restrictions, and the potential for government and police interventions. He knew some older activists who'd experienced as much in the Civil Rights Movement era. "It's gonna happen again. And they've had to learn to be more sophisticated. New tools. Old attitudes. Old behaviors. It's not gonna be good, and it's only a matter of time. You'll see."

His sense of powerlessness around changing the inequalities most likely to lead to civic unrest, also fed his fears of eventual paramilitary interventions he spoke of. "Too much power, too much wealth, all in the hands of too few. It's gonna get worse. My senior project had me working in the soup lines and shelters down on skid row. They've never seen so many families. And they know it'll get worse because the whole tax thing is going to increase poverty. More people homeless. More people who can't feed their kids. More of the kids poisoned."

Rachel's development of a focus for the appropriate anger of trauma had roots in her family's navigation of the particular developments of the American National Security

State over their life spans. These included a sense of ongoing persecution for views about war and peace, the traumatic suicide "protest" of her younger brother, and Rachel's own ongoing engagement with social issues related to power, war, peace, and the environment. Rachel had a well-developed, deep awareness of the personal, social, and environmental costs of maintaining the status quo. Consequently, she aligned corporations and government as emergent agents toward whom such anger might be focused. Through her work with disabled vets from the Vietnam era, she knew the effects of Agent Orange and other chemicals on their nervous systems. From this she carried a considerable suspicion of everything the government at to say about "safety" of the chemicals used in her everyday life, and developed a commitment to use only organic, simple soaps and chemicals. "I never trust when a company says something is safe, and even less when the government says it's safe. Someone is making money somewhere. It's advertising, so it's propaganda. Look at the vets and Agent Orange. Look at the eagles and DDT. Remember Bhopal. We have no reason to believe the companies and the government and their lies about what's safe and what's not."

In Jasper's original conception of the limit situation, a critical moment emerges in individual development and self-realization, in which they begin to see clearly the contradiction between their accustomed relationships and the narratives by which they have traditionally defined themselves, and some key aspect of their lived experience. This is commonly accompanied by intense, usually negative emotional experiences. These might include dread, guilt or acute anxiety. The human mind confronts old restrictions in its existing forms of conception, the ways it has normally defined and defended itself, even its usual ways of thinking, the process of what it means to be a

reflective being. Jaspers asserted that in the midst of such experience, the mind can either recant and recoil, or can allow itself to abandon the securities of limited older ideas and perceptions, and so to enter new possibilities of self-consciousness. Ellacuría developed, and Martín-Baró borrowed and developed further, this idea as a social phenomenon. In such a social "limit situation," a whole society, or significant segments thereof, may come to realize its limited, embedded, conditioned perceptions of the many narratives and roles within the context of their society, and so become open to the possibility of deep change. It is such a process that is witnessed in the development of consciousness in the case narratives here presented.

Chapter 5
Discussion

This section of this exploratory, case study presents a summary of findings related to the content analysis undertaken of the narrative of informants' cases. As well, this discussion explores prospects for applying insights gained from this data to contemporary clinical work, and suggestions for further research are presented, and limitations of the present study are discussed.

Summary of Findings

This study represents an early, perhaps the first, exploratory research on the development and impacts of national security state institutions and their personnel and actions on a civilian population. The sample was drawn selectively from a counseling case load to illustrate the case problem/research questions, and included persons who expressed a continuum of encounter intensities with national security state-related experiences. Each of the eight cases express varying degrees of post-trauma symptomology; all cases appear to meet criteria either for PTSD as it is currently defined in the *DSM IV-TR,* or for the more complex constellation of symptoms described in the proposed diagnostic category, Disorders of Extreme Stress. Three of the eight cases represented express classic PTSD with reference to high-magnitude stressors that include combat or civilian war trauma, all in the context of interacting with a National Security State milieu. The additional 5 cases are notable for the precipitating presence of lower-magnitude trauma, typically of longer, ongoing duration, resulting in largely the same set of symptom expressions. This relatively lower magnitude, continuous, largely mental trauma presented only minimal to moderate physical contact (if any) in case informants' lives, but was repeated and exacerbated across time with continuous exposure,

compounded by what informants described as a sense of inescapability/inevitability as an exacerbating factor.

In the sample, case informants were of diverse ages, genders, educational levels and represented varying locations, cultures, and family backgrounds. They also represent, in some measure, varying racial and ethnic identities, sexual orientations, and income levels. Religious and political affiliations were not noted at the time of data collection. This suggests that exposure and vulnerability to complex symptoms of post-trauma stress cuts across most of the standard categories of diversity with which psychological study is currently concerned.

The trauma prevalence and severity of trauma trigger of this study seems to be in line with that of other studies. In addition to the 9% of high magnitude stressor, combat-exposed vets who developed PTSD, the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study executive summary (Kulka et al., 1988) found that up to 4% of vets never deployed to combat areas, or directly encountering violence as part of their enlistment, nevertheless exhibited symptoms of PTSD. Spitzer, Abraham, Reschke, et al. (2000), document a PTSD diagnosis in 34.6% of psychiatric inpatients, with no difference marked between high-magnitude and low-magnitude stressors as triggers to symptom development. In the post-9/11 study conducted by Neria, DiGrande, and Adams (2011), 44% of a national, random sample were noted to have symptoms of PTSD in the week after the event, while prevalence dropped only to 5.8% nationally (non-locally, where continued prevalence was much higher) after six months. This represents a population whose only exposure to the precipitating event was media, with no direct physical contact with the events themselves, though it is likely some part of this population may have known or been

related to individuals more directly affected by the physical, life-threatening trauma of the event.

Thus, the individuals represented in this study seem be representative of the range of diverse responses to high- and low-magnitude triggers leading to post-trauma symptom expression. Siedler and Wagner (2006), Scott and Stradling, (1994), Dobson and Marshall (1996), as well as Litzinger (1997) also note a prevalence of low-magnitude trauma triggers to full-blown PTSD symptom expression. Solomon and Canino (1990), as well as Breslau et al. (1998) documented the emergence of PTSD symptoms in approximately one third of cases in response to the kind of low-magnitude stressors found among some case informants.

Case informants expressed varying level of consciousness of the traumatizing events, forces, or perpetrators in their experience. All case informants saw that society had certain narratives and rules that pressured and shaped them to act in certain ways, and live out particular relationships of normative obedience to society's demands. Rosa, Greg, Mike, Rachel, and Joe were very clear about the traumatic nature of their contact with National Security State functions and actors, and able to identify their effects in ongoing daily life. Jacquie, Ben, and Peggy were much less concrete in their awareness of the actors or actions creating the particular discomfort in their emotional lives, expressing instead an increased sense of fear around not knowing why these feelings and problems were arising in their lives. This undeveloped sense of the afflicting problem's source may have exacerbated symptom expression in the latter cases. What was consistently noted across cases was a sense of impairment of informants' personal agency and autonomy. Also noted were impairments to the functioning of their personal

relationships, their sense of control of their own environment, their self-acceptance, as well as their purpose in life.

Informants also differed in their level of engagement with the problem of the National Security State as a traumatizing factor in civic life. Their responses to their particular experiences of oppression ranged from passive acceptance to anger, from emotional immobilization to regular protest and direct action. Rosa, Jacquie, Greg, Ben, and Peggy were much less engaged with the problem, and represent an earlier stage of the development of trauma awareness. By contrast, Mike, Rachel and Joe were deeply engaged in the arc of reclaiming true history and community, of engaging the colonial presence and addressing the real damage done. Each of these informants was involved in various groups addressing the problems of National Security oppression and the resulting damages in the society. They represent a position much deeper into the developmental awareness of the limit situation, and a deeper expression of resistance, and reclamation of community, as described by Duran and Duran (1996).

Seidler and Wagner (2006) discuss the importance of "kindling" events in traumatology for understanding the development of symptoms in relation to low-magnitude trauma. Some overlap existed in case histories of prior trauma in several cases. Rosa's poverty, lower socio-economic class status, and the colonial history of her homeland, were all potential exposures to kindling conditions for trauma that emerged in the context of the civil wars that developed out of those conditions. Greg and Jacquie share the artifact of having been raised as African Americans in an urban context of high poverty, high crime neighborhoods with frequent negative-outcome encounters with local police who represented an occupying force. In Ben's case, being raised in the context of

interpersonal violence within the family and in the relative poverty and federally policed context of an Indian reservation in the 1970s Great Plains also represents a predispositional trauma.

Rachel's experience of her family's political exile and dissonant values represents a further possible setting in which kindling might be expected to occur. Finally, Joe's childhood in an urban context that also included high police presence, an inadvertent raid by police on the family home, and colonial aspects of economic development and displacement by outsiders not of the local community, likewise represents a potential, predispositional trauma. Each of the these potential kindling events, interpersonal family violence excepted, represents a variation of the characteristic elements of the National Security State in its nascent forms, well before the later, adult exposure to various traumatic triggers. By contrast, in the cases of Peggy and Mike, no discernable or reported kindling or predispositional trauma were noted.

Victims' awareness of perpetrators' sense of malice, disregard, and threat of death in context of a particular trauma are noted to increase severity of the psychological effect of such trauma, even when victims remain unharmed (Herman, 1997). This is a particularly relevant component of the current study, in which there is in each case an identified sense of malice and disregard on the part of the afflicting source, even when that source is not clearly identified. Where the case informants identified the national security actors even obliquely, this sense of malice and disregard was a primary attribute. The threat of death, or at least significant harm, while not imminent in all cases, is nevertheless present, and clearly shapes case informants' views of and relationships to the perceived perpetrators.

Herman (1997) identifies three major relational components that also compound the experience of trauma and stress that also figure in the present study. These were also noted by Kardiner and Spiegel (1947) with regard to combat survivors, and Foley (1985)90) with regard to rape survivors. These are all measures of the social support response to trauma survivors by family and community, as figured in the responses of a survivor's close relationships, community, and available professional helpers. Reactivity to trauma is greatly increased when trauma is discounted or deemed insignificant by partners, family members, and communities of those traumatized. Similar problems arise when trauma is discounted or ignored by the professional treatment community, namely medical doctors, psychologists and other helping professionals. This reactivity is compounded yet again when a trauma response is interpreted as a problem of personality structure, or when the victim is blamed for having been in the traumatic situation in the first place due to some unconsciousness need to be traumatized, often under the psychological rubric of "repetition compulsion."

These factors are, in varying combinations, at play in each of the cases presented. Like most homeless persons, Jacquie internalized and expressed the cultural narrative that the poor are largely responsible for their own problems due to unsavory character traits such as laziness. Rosa had internalized a similar cultural narrative in the context of the "campesinos" of her own homeland. Along with Jacquie and Rosa, Greg and Ben were aware of the internalized race-based cultural narratives that discount the being, experience, and importance of persons of color. Rachel and Joe, born into the Euro-American dominant culture, were both sensitized to and aware of the way these cultural narratives affected people they had worked with. These dominant cultural narratives are

also internalized by treatment professionals, and often impair their capacity to deliver empathetic presence or services to those affected by trauma in the context of such poverty or varied ethnic or racial background.

When these problems are set alongside the avoidance of trauma and its impacts by unaffected family or community members, the fragility of social support available to case informants and other trauma survivors is accentuated. Rachel, Mike, Peggy, and Joe, shared a relative socio-economic status that might be assumed to have insulated them from some of these factors. They, too, found their experiences discounted by others around them, or found themselves so affected that they could not share the trauma with those around them, and experienced their symptoms more acutely as a result.

This exploratory study therefore shows that characteristic elements of the National Security State have reached a sufficient level of intensity in everyday living that some portion of the citizenry has begun to experience ongoing symptoms of trauma, in the absence of the classic, definitive, high magnitude stressors, vis, combat, accidents, natural or man-made disasters, or personal threats to life and safety via health crisis, assault, rape, or child abuse. The low-magnitude context, content, and ongoing exposure to the mental and emotional impacts of exploitive cultural narrative, intentionally targeted propaganda, social inequality, increasingly restrictions and fears of restriction of individual rights, and sanctioned social violence, all appear to increase the likelihood of symptoms of post-trauma stress.

Herman's (1997) description of aspects of what she calls the "damaged self" also speaks to varieties of symptom expression identified in this study. Shame and doubt are manifest in the degree to which case informants can or cannot be frank and open about

their experiences of the National Security State with people in their lives other than the counselor. Case informants were noted to have increased problems with self-doubt and discounted any possibility of trusting agents or actors of the presumed other, the National Security dynamics that were the context of their specific symptoms. Greg and Mike expressed most clearly the sense that things were no longer what they seemed to be, and that the old rules they had learned regarding the social contract were apparently no longer binding, with the sense that society and state were now arrayed against them, and perhaps always had been.

For case informants, the sense of betrayal of important community relations precedes the question of whether supportive community could be assembled or reconstituted. This seems to confirm Herman's contention that trauma effects are increased when community or common values create the trauma, still more when community or common values create or exacerbate the consequent disconnect. This state of affairs shatters the bonds and connections between an individual and their community, leaving the sufferer unmoored from the basic network of survivability individuals need. Tied up in the role of civic indoctrination via family and culture, lies the deep betrayal case informants noted in recognizing their sense that others, somewhat anonymously, found the case informants, or their values, or the future, entirely expendable.

Case informants in this study also noted the co-occurrence of trauma and guilt. Guilt is often noted to increase when one knows one has been spared, or knows that others suffered a worse fate. This was the retrospective experience of Rosa, Greg, to some degree Ben, and certainly for Rachel and Joe. For Peggy and Mike, and to a lesser

degree Rachel and Joe, dissociated by way of absorption in the trauma as it is unfolding within them, this was experienced as a prospective rather than retrospective phenomenon.

Case informants expressed a variety of disconnections from their own basic functioning. The combinations of perceived societal betrayals, as well as lack of personal or community support, expressed the violation of case informants' human connections to peers, parents, neighbors, family and community. These appear to be the dynamics underlying the frustrations expressed by several case informants, questioning why others in the same situation cannot see, or do not act, in relation to the deeply perceived and experienced realities of the case informants. In this sense, the results of this study challenge the normative "diathesis-stress" model of symptom development, suggesting that symptoms represent not vulnerability, but normal responses to abnormal situations.

Implications for clinical settings and applications

The National Security State and our functioning and relationships within it are aspects of life that are going to be consistent in civic life for the foreseeable future. Clinicians may find it valuable to be aware of their own relationship to the structures, functions and actors of the National Security State. They may also find it useful to begin to pay attention to the particular relationships their patients are describing in relationship to ongoing, relatively low-magnitude social traumatization. Patients who are aware of the degree to which government surveillance of individual behavior, and corporate, colonialized control of civic life, may be especially vulnerable to such traumatization. In the researcher's own clinical experience, these manifest in all the ways described in this study, as well as in variety of forms of personal financial collapse, ongoing political discourse, as well as in events of extreme duress.

Emergent limit situations which patients potentially find themselves in the National Security milieu include increases in localized expressions of traditionally defined colonial violence. Economic violence is already noted in public discourse (Schneider, 2011) including the economic disadvantaging of occupied via financial market collapse and resulting foreclosure crisis, to maintaining supplies of workers to labor to meet the economic demands of the occupying financial institutions. Low-grade political violence has already been noted in multiple settings (Fahim & Al-Naggar, 2011; Maavak, 2011; Clover, 2012). This has included the surveillance and infiltration of protest movements organized by occupied peoples, rendering their access to decision-making power impossible or irrelevant. This continues the long process of exclusion form political participation of ethnic, racial and gendered minorities. This has regularly been accompanied by physical violence, in the forcible repression of political descent by military, paramilitary and police powers, in service to maintaining the political and economic status quo. Escalating environmental violence, including environmental destruction and exploitation by mining, deforestation, agricultural development, and resource depletion, proceed apace to serve the economic needs of maintaining the National Security State. These name but a few of the impacts already noted among psychiatric inpatient populations in the researcher's experience.

Clinicians may need to take note that civilian vulnerability to National Security State trauma will vary somewhat given the background and concrete situations of presenting patients. Factors such as diversity of identity, minority religious belief, or racial/ethnic minority status national origin and socio-economic status all increase risk of exposure to National Security encounters and traumatic impacts. These are among the

factors that clinicians may note shape the systems of meaning their patients attach to their views of actions of the state and corporations that affect them directly, as well as their sense of pressure from society to conform to particular norms of behavior and belief. As clinicians display understanding of these meanings in their concrete forms, and acknowledge them respectfully in therapeutic settings, it may assist patients to move through the process of identifying the real, concrete history of their experience, and empower them to find others who share that experience, and so create the crucible for resilience. This will allow the mutual, inter-subjective development of clinical perspectives to guide the collaborative work of restoration and healing.

A further aspect requiring clinician sensitivity and awareness is the consistent submersion of traumatic experience under the often mistaken rubric of co-morbid conditions (Herman, 1997). Van der Kolk et al. note that PTSD consistently co-occurs with other disorders:

> The National Co-morbidity Survey (Kessler et al., 1995) found that approximately 84% of people with PTSD had another lifetime diagnosis, with PTSD typically being the primary disorder. The odds ratios that individuals with PTSD meet criteria for three or more additional disorders range from 8 to 14. The Australian National Comorbidity study (Creamer, Burgess, & McFarlane, 2001) assessed 10,600 individuals and found that 88% of the sample with PTSD had at least one other diagnosis: most commonly major depressive disorder (48%) and alcohol abuse (52%). Of persons with PTSD, 59% had three or more disorders, and 51% (versus 6% of non-PTSD) met criteria for an Axis II diagnosis. In most cases, PTSD was the initiating disorder in all comorbid disorders, including personality disorders. The study concluded that it is rare, even in a community sample, to find pure PTSD and that traumatized individuals present with a variable constellation of depression, anxiety, and somatization. (p. 396)

This data suggest a more rigorous need for clinicians to listen attentively for signs of trauma in patients presenting for therapy around other emotional and coping-related issues. As increasing evidence of the effects of low-magnitude stressors contribute to

changing definitions of trauma, and as new means for measuring trauma emerge, the recognition of chronic exposure, low magnitude posttraumatic stress becomes for urgent and relevant. As conditions change rapidly on the ground in regard to constellations of National Security State power within civic life, the awareness of clinicians of its impact on patients in their consulting rooms becomes more urgent.

Future directions for research on the relationship between trauma and the National Security State are limitless. The problems of the inter-related issues of comorbidity and diagnostic mislabeling noted above are significant issues for studies such as this one. Any one of these case informants presenting in a clinical situation might easily be observed as having primarily depressive symptoms, socially-related or more generalized anxiety symptoms, or perhaps personality or substance abuse problems. This represents a serious inadequacy in the current state of Trauma Stress research, a serious opportunity for further, clarifying research on the nature of trauma and its multiform expressions. Future research needs to include the social and personal impacts of the National Security milieu in symptom development. Attachment and object relations, and their impact on exposures to national security cultural narratives of indoctrination, as well as experiences of National Security betrayal, are another fertile possibility. A study of the impact of national security actors as invisible interlopers in the consulting room and its inter-subjective dynamics, would make an important contribution. Benjamin (2006), offer a feminist critique of individuation as the Western value/conception leading to roles of domination (the colonial, National Security imperative), and consequent problems with recognition, relationship, and the inter-subjective third; explorations of both PTSD and the National Security milieu in relation to this critique may be fruitful. Additional topics

might include complicated PTSD in homelessness populations, among children and adults suffering from food insecurity, and as it arises in conjunction with chronic poverty.

Limitations

The limitations of this qualitative study are largely related to its relatively small sample size, and the retrospective approach to the data that is the typical challenge of all case study research. Sample size is generally considered to impact generalizability, as any case (or any eight cases) might represent the so-called "special case," or "black swan." On the other hand, all expert knowledge is composite, particular knowledge built up of one's working experience and knowledge of particular cases. Clinicians, in the researchers experience, do not move in relation to the patients on the basis primarily of theory, but of their experiences of case histories. Further, Flyvberg (2006) notes the advantage of the case study for generalizability. This study presents critical case accounts, that is, case accounts developed in a relatively normative population having a particular, critical experience. It may be reasonable to generalize from such cases to note that if the sample represented here is having these experiences, it is reasonable to expect that other cases in the normative population will also be expressive of the same problems.

A particular limiting aspect of the retrospective nature of this case study lies with assessment of symptoms and traumatizing experiences. There are now available to the researcher a number of testing instruments that might have been valuable to use with study participants in determining such things as degree of traumatization, experiences and degrees of dissociation, trauma symptoms expressed. The inability to employ such testing instruments with participants in vivo may be considered a limitation, as it places the onus on researcher evaluation. This is mitigated somewhat compared to some case

studies, in that the researcher gathered the data himself and did not rely on others accounts to make an assessment. Related to this limitation would be scientistic objections to the validity of self-report, as each of these cases is developed out of counseling materials relying exactly on self-report. This objection rests on positivist notions of the relative unreliability of subjective data, as all self-reported data must be. On the other hand, what individuals report feeling, thinking, remembering and wishing are all legitimate data, if not experimental data, suggestive of the need for further research in the field, and more responsive clinical attention in the treatment setting.

A further limitation of this study is the possibility of confounding variables of comorbid disorders of mood or personality. As noted above, the less-than-clear boundaries between our understandings of genuinely co-morbid, non-related disorders and trauma-related mood and personality problems represent both a field of limitation for this and any study of trauma, and an opportunity for further research and clarity.

Conclusions

The landmark *American Psychologist* special issue addressing the topic "9/11: Ten Years Later," drew particular attention to the problems of both National Security and related trauma as a new reality in American life. Psychology as a discipline has not been, outside the context of Latin America, in the forefront of addressing this relationship and its clinical and professional implications. This study provided a review a retrospective review of the problem as it was developing as many as ten years prior to the tragic events of September 11, 2001, through a qualitative approach to listening to the stories of those directly affected by the concerns, narratives, policies and actions of the National Security State. Results indicated that at least some significant portion of the general population is

experiencing various aspects of the National Security milieu as traumatic and damaging to life in ways that generate symptoms that would normally be diagnosable as signs of traumatic stress. Results also indicate that those traumatized within the National Security milieu may experience a process of development in their self-understanding. This unfolds as they move from the position of traumatized victim, to a serious understanding of their betrayal and identification of their traumatizing other, and into the reclamation of their relationship to community and its resources in the process of healing. That this happens even within the context of ongoing relationship with the traumatizing agencies of the National Security apparatus, including militarized local police, a surveillance society and ongoing damage to personal, social, and environmental resources, is truly a testimony to the human spirit seeking to transform both self and context.

The goal of this study was to throw a light on a process the author sees evidence of in everyday clinical practice, via the case narratives from a historical setting in which I had also witnessed such evidence. I am aware that the voices of the developing world setting, the indigenous and marginalized populations of post-colonial, non-dominant nations, are not witnessed here, and that this study approaches its topic from the context of the wealthiest, and as yet, least overtly affected, National Security State in the world—the United States of America. I am aware that persons who live under a National Security State apparatus in U. S. client states around the world have experiences that may challenge, and perhaps instruct, our understandings and clinical approaches to healing for those who encounter this sort of trauma. If, as seems likely, world resources grow more scarce and their harvesting more difficult, and as corporate economic interests and the agencies of the state that protect those interests mobilize to protect the status quo, we will

see trauma related to these problems of National Security oppression more and more frequently in the consulting room. Such oppression is a basic violation of human rights, with heavy consequences for the mental health of both individuals and affected communities. Such oppression is also an affront to the broadly humanistic goals of personal development espoused by the discipline of psychology. I hope that this dissertation study makes a small attempt to challenge its further development and some small contribution to understanding an under-studied challenge in society and toward psychological research toward empowering the traumatized to take back their lives and communities.

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Appendix A
Tables

Table I: Experience of informants with specific elements of nascent national security state propaganda, social structure, civil rights impairments and sanctioned social violence	Rosa	Greg	Jacquie	Ben	Peggy	Mike	Rachel	Joe	Endorsing cases
PROPAGANDA AND IDEATION									
Normalizing propaganda/ideation	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	8
Distancing propaganda/ideation	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	8
Loyalty and duty propaganda/ideation	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	8
State Necessity propaganda/ideation	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	7
SOCIAL INEQUALITIES									
Unequal distribution of wealth	E		E	E	F	F	E	E	7
Unequal access to power	E	E	E	E	F	F	F	F	8
Business/government alliances	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	7
Attempted disenfranchisement	E		E	F		F	F	F	6
RESTRICTIONS OF BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS									
Restricted freedom of movement	E	F	E	A	F	F	E	F	8
Restricted Freedom of gathering	E	F	E	A	E	F	E	F	8
Restricted Freedom of association	E	F	E	A	F	F	F	F	8
Restricted Freedom of communication	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	7
SANCTIONED SOCIAL VIOLENCE									
Intimidation: infiltration/surveillance	E	E	E	E	F	F	E	E	8
Detainment, incarceration of dissidents	E	E	E	F	F	F	E	E	8
Relocation, exile, extrajudicial murder	E	E	F	A	F	F	E	E	8
Military/paramilitary interventions	E	E	E	F	F	F	E	E	8
Broad scale environmental damage	E	F		E	F	F	F	E	7
TOTAL elements endorsed by case:	17	16	13	17	16	17	17	1	

E indicates direct experience of a case informant of the national security behaviors or consequences identified; F indicates a fear of such behaviors or consequences derived through rational though processes; A indicates an awareness that such behaviors happen in the world, as through the evening news, without specific fears that such will happen directly to the case informant or someone of importance to that case informant.

Table 2: National security stressors noted by case informants to affect case informant sense of symptom cluster features as defined in current trauma literature and in the current case study	Rosa	Greg	Jacquie	Ben	Peggy	Mike	Rachel	Joe
Propaganda noted to contribute to sense of:								
Alterations of affect, consciousness, relationships					√	√	√	√
Identity fragmentation	√	√		√	√	√	√	√
Long-term depression	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Social anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
Generalized anxiety		√			√	√		
Learned helplessness								
Social disruption					√			
Environmental anxiety								
Social inequalities noted to contribute to sense of:								
Alterations of affect, consciousness, relationships					√	√	√	√
Identity fragmentation		√	√		√	√	√	√
Long-term depression	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Social anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
Generalized anxiety		√			√	√	√	√
Learned helplessness	√	√		√	√	√	√	√
Social disruption	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
Environmental anxiety	√	√	√	√				
Restriction of Civil Rights noted to contribute to:								
Alterations of affect, consciousness, relationships		√					√	
Identity fragmentation			√					
Long-term depression	√		√		√	√	√	√
Social anxiety				√				
Generalized anxiety			√		√	√	√	√
Learned helplessness		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Social disruption	√		√		√	√	√	√
Environmental anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
Sanctioned social violence noted to contribute to:								
Alterations of affect, consciousness, relationships	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Identity fragmentation	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Long-term depression	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Social anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Generalized anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Learned helplessness	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Social disruption	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Environmental anxiety	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Table 3: Trauma symptoms endorsed as tabulated on the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40 (Briere & Runtz, 1989)

	Rosa	Greg	Jacquie	Ben	Peggy	Mike	Rachel	Joe
Headaches			√			√	√	
Insomnia	√	√	√		√	√	√	
Weightloss without dieting			√			√	√	
Stomach problems						√	√	
Feeling isolated from others	√	√	√			√	√	
Flashbacks (sudden, disturbing memories)	√	√	√				√	√
Restless sleep	√	√						
Anxiety attacks	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Loneliness	√	√	√	√	√		√	
Nightmares	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
"Spacing out" (going away in your mind)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
Sadness	√	√	√	√		√	√	
Dizziness			√					
Trouble controlling your temper		√	√	√	√	√	√	
Waking up early in the morning						√		
Uncontrollable crying	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Fear of men	√		√					
Not feeling rested in the morning	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Trouble getting along with others		√	√	√		√		
Memory problems	√	√					√	√
Desire to physically hurt yourself	√	√				√	√	√
Waking up in the middle of the night	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Feeling that things are "unreal"	√		√		√	√		
Unnecessary or over-frequent washing						√		√
Feelings of inferiority	√		√	√				
Feeling tense all the time				√		√	√	√
Feelings of guilt	√	√			√	√	√	√
Feeling that you are not always in your body	√	√	√			√		
Researcher assessed endorsements:	19	18	20	12	11	21	19	11

Table 4: Diagnostic impression per *DSM IV-TR*: Trauma symptoms endorsed in cohort as assessed against criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder	Rosa	Greg	Jacquie	Ben	Peggy	Mike	Rachel	Joe
Criteria A: Both of the following present:								
Experienced , witness, or confronted by actual event or threat to physical integrity	√	√	√	√			√	√
Response involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror	√	√	√	√•	√•	√•	√	√
Criteria B: One or more of the following:								
Recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections	√	√	√				√	
Recurrent dreams of event	√	√	√	√•	√•	√•	√	√
Flashback, dissociation, illusion as though event recurring	√	√	√			√•	√	√
Intense distress at internal or external cues that symbolize some aspect of event	√	√	√	√•	√•	√•	√	√
Psychological reactivity to cues that symbolize an aspect of event	√	√	√	√•	√•	√•	√	√
Criteria C: Three or more of the following:								
Avoidance of thoughts, feelings or conversations about the trauma	√	√	√		√			√
Avoidance of activities, places or people that arouse recollection of the trauma	√		√		√			
Inability to recall important aspect			√					√
Markedly diminished interest in participating in significant activities	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Feelings of detachment/estrangement	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Restricted range of affect	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Sense of foreshortened future	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Criteria D: Two or more of the following:								
Difficulty falling or staying asleep	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Irritability or outbursts of anger		√	√		√	√	√	
Difficulty concentrating	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Hypervigilance	√	√	√				√	√
Exaggerated startle response:	√	√	√					

Criteria E (symptom duration of greater than one month, which distinguished PTSD from Acute Stress Disorder), and Criteria F, Extreme distress of impairment, are met in all eight cases

√ = criteria met; √• = non-psychotic symptoms expressed, no known trauma

Appendix B:
Case Study Narratives

The Immigrant.

Rosa was a 34-year-old widow from Latin America when I first met her in 1992. Her homeland had been conflicted with revolutions, rebellions and repression in the 1970s and 1980s, a place in which rape and execution were standard tools of social and political control. Her husband and eldest four children—all teenage boys—had been executed in 1985 by paramilitary death squads, at a time when their village was razed and everyone at home murdered on suspicion of supporting rebels in the nearby mountains. Rosa had subsequently escaped to the United States with assistance from the Sanctuary movement. She lived with her four youngest children, in a major American urban center. Rosa worked most of six days a week as a housekeeper to make ends meet and feed her children. They shared a small apartment in a stressed and mostly poor neighborhood where the children knew it was not always safe to play out of doors. Rosa exhibited a hypervigilance that responded to the slightest noise or out-of-the-ordinary occurrence. Rosa and her children were able to participate in the Undocumented Amnesty program of the 1980s, which allowed them to become legal residents and begin working toward U. S. citizenship. Rosa spoke both Spanish and English, and held a Bachelors' Degree from a major Latin American university in the history of Latin American literature.

Rosa came in for counseling when she heard that her brother had been kidnapped and tortured by paramilitary troops in her native country. She wanted to know if someone could live without a skin? "They flayed him, that's what my uncle says, and says that he doesn't have any skin left. Will he be able to live like that?" I assured her that I didn't know an answer to that question, but her doctor might. In the meantime, I was certainly

available to talk about her fears and feelings about the incident and others like it in her long history.

Rosa also remembered how the landscape and the people suffered together. "The soldiers, the rebels, they're all the same. They think you're not on their side, so they burn your crops. They don't trust what you do on the mountain, so they burn the forest down to watch you better. They don't trust your neighbor, so they burn his house down. They don't trust your village, so they burn it down, and spread chemicals on the land that keep anything from growing for years. It's so unfair, what they did to the land. It bleeds as much as the people, just for us trying to farm it and eat."

When the researcher first met her, Rosa was already exhibiting symptoms of complex trauma, including dysregulation of affective impulses. She reported long stretches of simply crying uncontrollably, usually when home alone and worrying about the whereabouts of her children. She related this anxiety and sadness, as well as flashbacks and nightmares, to original trauma such as village kidnappings and eventually its destruction by paramilitary forces, and the damage to her own soul, her soul links to place and space and to those she loved in that place. "They come and kill my family. They took a piece of me, a piece of my soul, my loving, my being. Something I can never have back." She was unusually aware of the links between her experiences with the immigration officials of this country (and her fear of them) to those of her experiences with the military in her own country, and knew as well as that the military, police, and paramilitaries in her own homeland were being trained by U. S. operatives from the CIA from the School of the Americas.

Rosa's flashbacks and nightmares contributed to Rosa's already difficult and disrupted sleep patterns, including frequent insomnia, restless sleep, and not feeling rested in the morning. One of Rosa's dreams involved the burning of her village by paramilitary police. "I wasn't even there, but I can see it at night. I dream of it. They come while the people are still asleep. Many of the people they kill. Then they set fire, house to house. The roof structure goes first, and those houses that are thatch disappear first. The nicer houses, the roof falls in when nothing supports it any more. The tiles weigh so much, they crush everyone beneath. No one makes it out. Why do I dream this is I wasn't there? Why does it haunt me?"

Rosa was experiencing some identity fragmentation, alterations in her perceptions of herself and or others. There seemed to be no one with whom her relationships were without uncertainty. This she once expressed as a result of the high cost of trusting others in her homeland and here in the U. S. "I never know who I can be me with, and who I can trust to always be themselves. For along time I was afraid that someone here would turn in me in for deportation. At home I was always afraid of neighbors that might turn us in, and never knew who might be working for the soldiers or the rebels." This inability to trust herself, or others, or her systems for making sense of things, further seemed to contribute to her regular anxiety attacks and loneliness, symptoms of her disorientations to a world that had come to have great terror for her. Sometimes in mid-conversation, she would space out, seemingly unable to manage feelings of being unable to trust who she was, and who the other she was with, might be.

She also reported that when she was most afraid, perhaps at sirens in the urban night, she sometimes felt that she is not always in her body, that she could just depart and

not have to really be there all the time when it got too intense. "Sometimes I notice I've been away, somewhere else, like my spirit hides and doesn't stay with my body. I notice it most when I come back from wherever I go inside. Suddenly, I realize I've not been asleep, I've not really been awake and aware, either. One of the boys will ask if I heard the sirens, and I have to say no. But I was there. And, I wasn't there. How does this happen?"

Rosa also reported that her awareness that the stories of the propagandists contributed to her sense of identity fragmentation. "All my life they've told me that the campesinos were lazy, good for nothing, worse than trash, even while they stole everything we produced for the land. And they told us that was just normal, that 'there would be poor always,' and that meant Jesus and the church were against us too. But my priest, he knew better. Still, 'do this, do that, all for the good of the state' were mottoes we were expected to live by. I don't trust them. I hate them. They're lies, but I'm not sure what I can do now." Rosa's awareness of this betrayal was deepened on coming to America, where she quickly understood one of the dominant narratives to be that immigrants are lazy, worthless, and doomed to be among the poor. "I guess the poor are poor because they're lazy and worthless, too."

Rosa conveyed, in her walk, her affect, her slowness of speech, her sudden tearfulness, a sense of having been depressed a very long time. She had endured so many losses, and so many of those tragic and difficult. She often expressed a sense of guilt that she survived the village raid that killed her husband and eldest sons. "I should have been there. They shouldn't have died alone. I mean, they were with each other. But I wasn't there to hold them. But, I couldn't be there, either, because the little ones. They need

me. They wouldn't have had anyone. But still, I feel like I abandoned them by being away when the raid came.

Her change of status from young leader among the village women, to housekeeper in America, fed a sense of inferiority she often talked about, saying "Everyone thinks I'm stupid because I have an accent," and "Nobody believes that I have a college education. Americans don't believe we have education in Latin America." Her sense of inferiority was clearly related, however, to the internalized signals about the campesinos and the poor she also articulated, as noted above. With the loss of her husband and sons, the loss of homeland and supportive family structure, the loss of the mountains and fields she had been raised and lived in, Rosa articulated a particular lostness in the world, and a deep sense of feeling isolated from others. "There will never be another place for me. I mean, I'm here and all, and the babies are here. But, it will never be home. Home was destroyed for me. Home, and the ability to make home. No place, no place will ever be safe. No place, even that place, can ever be home again. And I am always alone, and still, always trapped in the place in my mind."

This inferiority and the cultural narratives that created and reinforced it, simultaneously fed into the minor social anxieties Rosa exhibited. She acted out the social dichotomies of rich and poor, sometimes with me or other members of the parish, and expressed a special anxiety being around those she thought were better off financially than she was (which she knew was nearly all North Americans). "I don't have a car, I don't have the money you have. Everyone judges me as just an ignorant immigrant. I suppose you do, too." And perhaps she was right, though I don't recall ever being aware of it.

Rosa also experienced a more generalized anxiety, totally independent of her social setting or situation, and it had much more vigor than her social symptoms. She recalled fears stemming from her days living in her village in the 1970s and 1980s, fears that the village might be infiltrated by a passing stranger, someone who might be a government agent. They had experienced this once, and it remained a fear in the mind of every villager, one that led to a violent encounter with the stranger, a peddler, and left Rosa with flashbacks. "I remember it and I see it. Sometimes at night. Sometimes in broad daylight. Whenever I see a group of young men gathered on a street corner, down the block next to a wall, I remember it." Thus, Rosa relived the day the younger men of the village beat the stranger to death, believing he had shared village information with the government troops, triggering a reprisal that killed two village children.

Rosa's sense of learned helplessness seemed to come of having had all her choices stripped from her over the years. Everything she had done to protect her family had come undone. And in the United States she had no power to influence anyone. As she migrated north and for many months and years after arriving in this country, her fear of being discovered and returned to her homeland was visceral. "I will die if they send me home," she would say, weeping. She also lived, along with her children, in a series of apartments that sometimes housed multiple other families in each unit, far more than was comfortable. But she had no power to change it, for she had no money to change it. So she soldiered on, but didn't like it. This helplessness was fueled by two of the stories she carried with her every day. She knew that she had been powerless to alter the destruction of the village on the day it was destroyed. And she knew that her whole countryside was faring this way at the hands of the paramilitary. "I cannot change the tides, I cannot

change things in my country, why should I expect to change anything here?" There was a certain fatalism that gripped her relationship to others and to the world. Periodically the helplessness would goad that fatalism to consider the ultimate protest: "If it weren't for the babies, I would just kill myself rather than keep going."

The National Security Analysis

In the course of our work together, Rosa touched in one way or another on all seventeen of this study's National Security elements in her story. Her long experience with the propaganda machines shaped many of the conflicts of her lives, including her struggle with her own identity. "You grow up, you listen to the stories of how things are, of how they have always been this way, and you never know that it's not really true, because no one remembers that it's not really true. But you accept it. And it changes you. It puts you in a box. I think sometimes I got out of the box a little when I got to go to college. I thank the priests for that. They made it possible. They were killed, too, the day they destroyed the village and killed my husband.

Her struggle with whether or not to be obedient and loyal to the state, or to support whole-heartedly the rhetoric of national necessity, were all caught up in the double binds these indoctrinations placed on her. "When they tell us we have to be this way, or that way, because the nation is in danger, I know it's a lie. But, is it better to support the lie or be arrested and taken away from the babies? That's how it was in my country. I think that's how it is here, too. Only most people don't know it."

She was aware first hand of the vast disparities in wealth and access to power, as well as the privileged position of business to determine what finally happens, in her own country and in the United States. She harbored few illusions about how the world often

works. "These are the fruits the companies really wanted—to be in control, to tell the government what to do. They picked who would succeed, they picked their allies to fill the big jobs and bought them off and trained them to keep the people under control. I think it's the same way in your country. The only difference is, your people don't know it. They still go along, thinking everyone can be president."

She had experienced her own movement restricted, and her places of gathering and links of association deeply inspected and disrupted, at home first, and later here. "We always knew the soldiers were following us. We got used to it. We quit noticing it, until another one of us would go missing. Or until a body showed up. Then, when I came to your country, I would be with others working and the La Émigré would come, and a raid would happen, and many of us would be taken away. I had always to remember my card. One time I lost the card, my documents, and it took months to replace everything. And I was always afraid to be seen with people from my own country, people who spoke my language. I think they look for us, listen for us, and round us up when there are too many of us in one place."

Even the Tuesday morning gathering of housekeepers from her country at the local market to buy groceries for the week was a source of anxiety for her, a time for wondering if they were still being watched by our government or her own. I ran into them once, gathered at the local market on a morning I was there to buy groceries. Rosa motioned me away, not to come greet her. Later, she explained, "It would have scared the others. They might have thought you were a spy, La Émigré coming to check us out, maybe watching us and following us to be picked up later. Best that we pretended not to see each other.

She and her people had been intimidated by landholders and their military backers, driven into exile, and knew the loss of her sense of place and safety in the world first hand.

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and *DSM IV-TR* Analysis

When Rosa's story was compared to and mapped onto the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Table 3, p. 187, Briere & Runtz, 1989), it registered at fifteen of the most trauma relevant items on the 40 item list. Her chronic, ongoing symptoms included insomnia, feeling isolated from others, flashbacks and restless sleep, anxiety attacks, loneliness, nightmares, spacing out, and sadness, a fear of men, not feeling rested in the morning, an occasional desire to hurt herself, feelings of inferiority, intense feelings of guilt, and a sense of not always being in her body.

That Rosa qualifies for a diagnosis of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder as it is currently defined in the *DSM IV-TR* is doubtless (Table 4, p. 188). In the 1980s she repeatedly experienced, witnessed, or was confronted by actual threats to physical and psychical integrity, and had responses involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror. She continued to have, on arrival in the U. S., Criteria B-related experiences: Recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections, flashbacks, often with intense distress at internal or external cues that symbolized an aspect of the event (as with the peddler being surrounded by village thugs) with significant psychological reactivity to internal or external cues that symbolized that event.

She continued to have difficulties with several patterns from Criteria C. She actively sought to avoid activities, places, or people that aroused recollection of the trauma, including the street gangs in her own neighborhood. "Some places I can't go.

They remind me too much of home, and it seems the soldiers might come out of the doorways at any time with their machine guns. I don't like the feeling, the anxiety, the feeling that my mind might flip totally into those memories and never come back. So I don't to those places anymore.

While Rosa worked 6 days a week, she had markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities, including those related to her children. "Work is OK. It makes me focus on other stuff. I don't have to be in my body when I work. I come home, I see my babies' faces, and my heart breaks, and I remember. So I want to go to bed, to go to sleep again, just to forget. I don't want to cook, and to clean, and to hold the babies and tell them stories, 'cause that was what I did the day before the came, and the day before that, and the day before that. I don't want to go to their school to talk to the teachers. I don't want to do the laundry. I just want to sleep, to make it all go away.

Rosa's feelings of detachment and estrangement were reflected in the sense that she was not always in her body. "Sometimes, I disappear when I'm on the bus. I don't think I sleep, I think I just make myself disappear in the crowd. I can't even feel my own pulse. And suddenly I see I'm miles past where I should have gotten off the bus, and I have to catch the bus back the other way, and I'm late getting home, and my babies miss me and worry about me. They remember how their father, their brothers disappeared, and it scares them when I'm late. It scares me, too. What if someday I go crazy, I go into that forgetting who I am place and never come back? Who will take care of my babies then? Will they get sent back to the troubles they left? Sometimes, even when I'm at home, I will feel one of the babies shaking me. I know I haven't been asleep, but I haven't been

at home, either. The Babies get afraid when that happens, too, 'cause Mama's not home, even when she is home."

Rosa's affect was often tearful and rarely bright, with little moderation of affect over the course of the time I knew her. "You must hate that I just come and cry like this, with no end of tears." I assured her that it was OK to cry, reminded her that I would not hurt her, and would be sure that nobody else could hurt while she was at the church. "Still, is there ever an end? Will I ever be able to go through a day without getting so wet in my own tears that I might float away. I wonder if someday it will start and never stop, and it makes me afraid."

Rosa's sense of the future was expressed in her belief that she should have died in her home country, and that her children and she would likely not survive the troubled neighborhood their economic situation required them to live in—she was sure she or one of the children would one day be shot. "Maybe they follow me here from my country. Maybe the gangs are just soldiers from my country, looking for us to wipe us out, to kill us off so no one alive remembers. If no one remembers, what then? I should have died in my country, I think, so I wouldn't be afraid of dying here so much." Rosa also had difficulty falling and staying asleep, as well as difficulty concentrating, and manifested a hypervigilance around strangers, especially on the street.

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

The limit situation in which Rosa finds herself is bound up with her direct experiences of the hostility of the governments in her homeland and on her arrival in America. The fundamental conflict between the role of government as helper and the role of the police and military as destroyers of possibility formed a crucible for her in both

countries. At first, her own government's soldiers were searching for her, she believed, to murder her and so keep her from fleeing. Then, on arrival here in the Land of the Free, our "soldiers" (her word for all uniformed personnel, including police) seemed to be searching for her to send her home where she believed they did not want her any more. Her personal identity had become fragmented both through the endurance of trauma and by the impact of that trauma on the mixed messages about her identities here and there, and was now in the process of shifting.

The Veteran

When I first met Greg in 1992, he was 25 years old and had recently come home from what proved to be Gulf War I. He was living in the neighborhood of the church with his wife and toddler son. By the time we began counseling together in 2001, he was a divorced father of two (son age twelve, and daughter age eight) living with his widowed mother in a major American urban center, not far from the home his children and their mother lived in, to provide easy access for their shared custody arrangement. The marriage had ended in 1999, largely due to behavior changes Greg and his wife had noticed after subsequent tours of duty—an inability to control his anger at times, an ongoing irritability that made it difficult for his wife and kids to guess or understand his moods, and a startle response to small noises and events that frightened his wife and kids. Greg was also using alcohol regularly, as a way to self-medicate his anxiety, and freely admitted as much. He didn't think much of Veterans Administration medicine or psychological help. He was discharged to the reserves, and was working part time selling shoes while he worked on a Bachelor's degree in psychology.

When the call came in 2001 to go active duty again, 26 days after the tragedy of the Twin Towers on 9/11/2001, Greg came to my office to talk. He had first seen duty in the invasion of Panama in 1989, then in Gulf I in 1991, and again in Yugoslavia in 1999. Now he was being called to serve again in an invasion he didn't support, at a time in his life that he had moved on to other things, and for a system he wasn't sure he trusted any longer. "It's like they think we don't notice that the rich never fight their own battles. Like, they can't see or they think we're so stupid we don't understand. I'm tired, I'm angry, but I'm not stupid. Let them fight their own war this time. When their sons and

daughters so, maybe I'll go, but maybe I won't. No, I can't. I can't do it again. I won't give them my body to enslave, to be fodder for their damned war."

Greg complained of continued trouble with insomnia. Getting to sleep was a chore, and once there he often could not stay asleep. Most of his nights, he reported, were restless, often wakeful, and he rarely woke up refreshed from his nights of tossing and turning. Frequently he had dreams in which he repeatedly lived through a "friendly fire" incident during Gulf War I that had claimed the life of a close friend just a few feet from where Greg himself had been standing. "I had just been there, I stepped aside, and Jimmy stepped up where I had been, and suddenly crumpled. The bullet was in his head, from the back. It had to be one of our own. And nothing was ever done. Just an accident they said. Maybe so. Maybe not. But it's there, again and again, in my dream. I should have taken that, not Jimmy. He was just a kid."

Sometimes another nightmare would come, one in which Greg himself would be killed in a similar incident, always by soldiers from his own side of the conflict, and his children be left fatherless. Tumultuous as his life sometimes was, Greg maintained great pride in sticking by his children and being sure their needs were met. He was now afraid that the nightmares were about to be realized, that if he went to war again he would not return. "What if this is a warning? Maybe I'm warning myself, or the universe is warning me, to stay home. Like I intend to do anyhow. Some will say I'm a coward. I say, I've given them too much of my soul already. I can't do it again. And this dream, it just reinforces that I've made the right choice."

"I can't do it again," was a common refrain for Greg. Sometimes he would state why: "I bought into all the lies, all the us-or-them thinking, all of it to feed a bunch of fat

cats at the top. None of this was for freedom. None of this was for the people. It was for gas and for the people who make money off it."

He also resented having bought into the rhetoric of the American dream. "We all believed that if we were just good enough, behaved well enough, got along sweetly enough, we'd make it. It ain't true. We ain't all in this together. Men like me, we're in it because the fat cats pretend they're just like us, but they're not out there bleeding when it comes to the battle field and the burning oil wells and the smoke and the choking and the dying." He also carried the burden of knowing it was different for him and for his cohort of younger African Americans. He had been born in a neighborhood that erupted in riot and flames following the acquittal of a cadre of white police officers in the brutal beating of a young Black man early in the decade prior to our counseling sessions. And he knew that the system didn't really let him "into the game" the way others with different color skin and different socio-economic background were allowed "into the game." This awareness that wealth and power are not shared equally, and that not all sacrifices are the same, fueled a rage that could not quite find a place to land, a rage that struggled to find an appropriate target and really express clearly and directly the betrayals he was feeling.

"When they need us to fight, we're just fine enough for battle. When we need a good job after, they ain't so interested in what we have to offer, what we need, what dreams we have or have given up, even after we served our country and got them the damn gas they wanted." He felt his loyalty had been betrayed and that doing his duty had bought no ground in his own battle to get a little ahead, or to at least not get any further behind. Now he was also questioning the recall to duty in new terms: "They say this is a national security affair, that the nation needs us. Bullshit. They just want more war, 'cause

war makes money. They ain't got enough money yet. So I gotta go die so they can get some more."

Greg was already feeling isolated from others and tended to sequester himself in his room for days at a time, according to his mom. "Yeah, sometimes I just don't want to see anyone. Sometime I get anxiety so bad, it's like I'm having panic attacks. I can't breathe, I can't see straight, my heart gets thumpy and racy like it's gonna jump outta my chest. I curl up on the bed and cry when I'm like that. For hours. One time, for three days. Then I hide 'cause I don't want mom to see me. I didn't ever want my kids to see me like that. Sometimes I'd yell at them to leave me alone, but they couldn't understand. No one really understands. Maybe someone else who's been there. But not kids. Not none of you guys." In this way he let me know just how lonely and isolated he felt, how unsupported by the community, because the community, and this researcher, lacked the experience to understand the frightening inner journey he seemed to be on.

Greg also expressed a deep sense that all of his experiences at war were coming home to roost, were following him in what was going on in civil society around him. "It's like every memory of every bad thing that's ever happened is following me, now. It follows me down the street and jumps out of the bushes at me when a car backfires, when something reminds me of a gunshot. Or when I see some homeless dude sleeping on the sidewalk in broad daylight, and think of the bodies I saw laying on the ground that way, crumpled up after they got hit by an American bullet. One was a vet. He even wore his helmet still, and I saw him there, sleeping off a bender probably, and it reminded me of Jimmy, laying there dead, and it all came crashing back over me."

Greg's coping skills compared to his stress levels were such that he often had trouble controlling his temper, getting along with others.

Greg also expressed an anxiety that more and more, our neighborhoods felt like the neighborhoods he'd patrolled on tours of duty. "You know, one day they're gonna follow you, too," he would say, referring to the relative ease I had in moving as a white male in neighborhoods where he, as a Black male, might be routinely stopped and asked to show identification. He knew this sort of profiling and its associated restrictions first hand, both as its victim at home and as a perpetrator on the ground in a battle zone. "They still follow me, sometimes. I walk out the store, and I notice security standing by the door, looking to see if I'm carrying anything extra. Just for being a black man in a fancy grocery store in a nice neighborhood. They stare at me like I don't belong here. Someday, they'll do the same to you."

He also felt some guilt about having been the 'watcher' on his own tours of duty. "We always had to look out for particular types, for 'cues and clues,' they used to call them. If we saw someone we knew was from one group, that alone made them suspect. Someday it'll be like that here. Hell, for me and guys like me, it's already like that here." His battlefield experiences left him especially conflicted about what he'd lived through socially in the United States in his thirty-two years. His insight in this area was tremendous—he had been both watched and watcher, in the United States and overseas, respectively. He had been intimidated and pushed around by the cops here, and had been the intimidator, (he once called himself the "pusher/shover guy") over there. "When you're patrolling, looking for someone, you have to be a pusher/shover sometimes. People don't like to be accosted in their own country. They look at you all defiant like,

like we didn't belong there. And, now I know, we didn't. It was none of our fuckin' business. But we bought the lies, and we went, most of us volunteers. And we pushed and we shoved whenever we had to, just to get hold of whoever we thought was guilty. Of whatever. We got to be judge and jury sometimes. Now I hate it. Now, I hate myself. It was so, so unnecessary."

Greg himself had been detained for questioning once between tours of duty, for matching a suspect description in a nearby liquor store robbery, but had been the round up guy for locals in Panama, Iraq, and Kosovo, briefly taking other's freedom as his had been taken. He was aware first hand of the damages such events had caused in his home community, and often felt deep pangs of guilt that he'd become someone who could now inflict that on others, someone whose duty it was to do so. "I remember when the police would sweep the neighborhood, rounding up people, herding everyone together then picking out particular ones, just like we did on deployment. Sometimes," he reported, "the only thing to do is check out, to forget, to space out, to go somewhere else. Sometimes remembering is too painful. I killed at man for being in the wrong place at the wrong time on guard duty. Not even in battle. What do you want to bet he was a dad? What if his kids wonder where he is, what he's doing, why he ain't never come home? Sometimes you gotta space it out, or you gotta kill yourself to get away from the guilt. I never done it, but I thought about it plenty."

He also knew first hand about unspoken restrictions on gathering and association. "Hanging with the wrong cats can get you a reputation, and they follow you more if you've been seen with someone they don't like. And don't go down to the pool hall for

the homey's birthday party, 'cause they'll just close it down early for 'too much noise,' and arrest someone."

The National Security Analysis

In the course of our sessions together, Greg identified sixteen out of seventeen of this study's basic elements in the workings of the national security state as factors in how his life had been shaped, how he might live his life and the choices he thinks he had (and choices that have been excluded), and how he thought the future may develop. One element he did not touch on directly was the unequal distribution of wealth, though he spoke candidly of war being the profit machine of the "fat cats." Also missing in the narrative of how he was functioning and where he saw the roots of his conundrum was any mention of any attempt to disenfranchise him, to take away his vote or his say in how things develop politically, though he seemed less than sanguine about his hopes of changing things by engaging in the usual political processes.

Greg quoted in various ways the full range of experience of propaganda narratives. "First they tell me, this little Black kid, that I can be president. Then, then they tell me that I'm bad, worthless even, because my parents are poor. The kids, the teachers, we all knew it was true. And we never talked about it openly, like it's a big secret that's not supposed to be true. Then, the news and the advertising, they tell us that a military career is a great way for the poor, the underprivileged, and for ethnic minorities to 'advance' themselves. You know, mama worked sometimes for the NAACP, so we were all about advancement. And I bought it. And now, it's like I'm stuck in their fuckin' nightmare forever."

"Then we get home, and there's no jobs, no education available, no therapy to help us work through the shit we've seen and done. We don't get hired, because we don't have a job. We don't get hired, because we're a vet, and they're afraid we might go postal, maybe. Or maybe I just don't get hired like I always didn't get hired, because I'm the Black guy. And I live in these nightmares that come from their war, and they tell me the war had no possible effect on me, that I wasn't disabled from their stupid experiments in modern warfare and their triumphant conquest of new oil fields. Then they tell us we shouldn't protest, shouldn't be angry, shouldn't pester them, because good soldiers don't do such things – it would violate our oaths of loyalty. So they try to stifle our freedom, and make us feel small for wanting them to be responsible."

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and *DSM IV-TR* Analysis

When Greg's story was compared to and mapped on the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Table 3, p. 188; Briere & Runtz, 1989) it registered on sixteen of the most relevant trauma related symptoms of the 40 item list. His symptoms included insomnia, feeling isolated from others, flashbacks and restless sleep, anxiety attacks, loneliness, nightmares and spacing out, trouble controlling his temper, uncontrollable crying, not feeling rested in the morning, trouble getting along with others, memory problems, a periodic desire to hurt himself, feelings of guilt, and a feeling that he was not always in his body. "Sometimes, like when I just lie in bed and cry, it's like I'm not really there. I can feel it all, and be sad, and at the same time, I can't. It's like, the tears keep me away from the real wound sometimes. Like, they shield me from feeling what else is there. And sometimes, I just suddenly become aware that I'm in the kitchen, at the refrigerator, and have no idea how I got there. Like, I was sleep walking in broad daylight. Or, I'm

with my kids, and can't remember what we've been doing for the past half-hour. Or, one of them asks me where I've been, and tells me I was mumbling about something, and that they were scared because they couldn't get my attention. Like, they keep asking me what I mean, and I guess I don't respond to them, 'cause I'm not really there. Scares the shit out of me. What if I tell them something they shouldn't be exposed to when I'm in that state? What if I let them see what I've seen? That would kill me, man."

From the forgoing, it is easy to assess that Greg meets both factors necessary for a diagnosis of Posttraumatic stress disorder in Criteria A. He has repeatedly experienced both at home and abroad, actual events and threats to both his physical and psychical integrity, and experienced the corresponding fear, helplessness, and horror. He has ongoing experiences of Criteria B factors, including recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections, nightmares and recurrent dreams of the event, periods of dissociation in an effort to avoid contact with the remembrances, intense distress at internal cues that symbolize the event and a profound psychological reactivity to those cues.

Greg struggled in an ongoing way with factors that contribute to Criteria C: he tries to avoid thoughts, feelings or conversations about trauma, to the extent of holing up in his room in fetal position for as much as days on end. During such periods, Greg exhibited no interest in significant activities that need his attention – daily self care, care for his responsibilities at work, care for relationships with his mother or his children. His feelings of detachment and estrangement were evident in his belief that his experience was so alien that no one else could understand him. His affect was rarely anything but sad, and I never saw him able to express happiness or joy. His sense of the future was bleak indeed, and included a certainty that there was not much future for him in a country

where he felt he was watched as carefully as he was trained to watch enemies of the state in other countries.

His difficulties with factors related to Criteria D had contributed to the ending of his marriage, including his irritability and anger, his restlessness, his insomnia filled nights, his difficulty concentrating and staying present when distressed, and the hypervigilance that made itself known in a startle response that scared his own children. That this man was already suffering from PTSD as his nation was preparing to ship him off to war again is almost certain.

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

The "Limit Situation" Greg found himself in presented a critical moment in his own development and self-realization. His mind was confronting many of the embedded, conditioned perceptions of the world he lives in, and the narratives that had governed his roles in that world. These now stood in contrast to his lived experience of the world and his actions and behaviors, his motivations and ideas of how things should or could be. This in turn presented an opportunity either to flee in retreat to maladjusted safety and conformity, or to enter new possibilities that will make new demands. This new opportunity and its demands would, if he were to negotiate the transit well, arise from his own soul and unfold along paths that change the old narratives and open new opportunities. That he had developed symptoms of complex trauma was evident. He was having difficulty controlling his emotions in multiple settings. He was not always able to accurately attend to his own needs or be present for his family. He sometimes spaced out entirely to avoid dealing with the internal stimuli that become so present in moments of recall and recoil.

He offered some present and cogent awareness of factors to which he was responding in his environment—his experience of having restricted freedom of communication, that others might be monitoring him and perhaps preparing to intervene against him based on their own fears of who and where he is in his own city. These factors were further heightened by his being involved as perpetrator of the sanctioned social violence of war in the homes and neighborhoods of others, by his own participation in detaining and incarcerating others in those settings. He knew in himself the power of forcing others to relocate, of having killed some, of having pushed others into exile. He had experienced first hand the personal, social, and ecological damage inflicted on others and left behind by U. S. troops on withdrawal after an invasion.

He understood and articulated, however subtly, that these experiences affected him both as one who enforced these realities in others lives, and who knows it could happen here, and that among some groups of people, already was happening here. Another significant aspect of this limit situation for Greg was a form of identity fragmentation. His awareness and perception of himself had changed. He was no longer the soldier who signed up to defend America from external foes. He saw himself as the servant of war profiteers and their oil industry allies.

He had begun to be aware of the falsity of normalizing, distancing and loyalty/duty propaganda, as well as the subterfuge of state necessity, and expressed resentment of the deceptions he saw expressed in those narratives. "They made us do shit we should never have done, in places we should never have been. And they did it by telling us a load of lies about other people, about ourselves. It's sick, what they did." His perception of his role as protector of the American way by intimidating, relocating, and

damaging others' personal, social, and physical environments, had been reshaped by guilt that had emerged in relation to it. His relationship to his values were now fractured by his having decreased the freedoms of others in the name of his own freedom and those of his fellow citizens who did not fight.

In similar vein, Greg no longer held a firm grasp on the identities of the "others" in his life. His government had become both a source of pride and of loathing, an "other" that had betrayed him and had placed him in the position of betraying others in obeying his government's commanders. The whole conceptual boundary around what it meant to be a perpetrator of justified violence was shifting. Greg's systems of meaning around citizenship, authority, victimization and violence were all in flux. This emerging sense of betrayal, made his relationship to the state and its operations his primary relationship of the moment. This obsession had effectively eclipsed his other relationships, even with his mother and children.

Within the context of all this discomfort, Greg's long-term depression may have been at risk of giving way to learned helplessness. Called up for duty in a war action he wanted no part in, he saw no way out. He was powerless over the propaganda machine and its build up of anticipation of the new war, the hunt for Bin Laden, and the imminent ousting of an evil government who was labeled as having harbored criminals, or so the new narrative was telling him. "This is just more 'make the world safe for democracy" bullshit. If this was a democracy, we'd vote on any and every war they wanted to send us to. And, we'd send the rich kids, too." He felt powerlessness over the military-industrial complex and its civic and business allies, and feared the disruption of civil liberties at home with restrictions on movement, gathering and association of those who oppose any

developing conflict. "Good soldiers never protest. Never have misgivings. That's what they try to tell us. More important than defending any constitution, is never questioning an officer, never questioning the need for war, never asking who's making all the money this time." He was also aware of having been allied with that very military-industrial complex, of having been part of the "system", a warrior in some now alien-seeming army doing to others what once had been done to him.

Already suffering from social anxiety at home, and sometimes unable to be present in public for hours to days at a time, it was hard to imagine him functioning well on the battlefield. "I jump around here like a sissy boy at every noise, how am I gonna do in a real war zone? It's someone else's turn. But hell, even that makes me feel guilty. I take that back. No one should have to go through what I went through. No one. I didn't mean it. But see, that's another sign that I've bought into the whole system. Part of me doesn't want the system to stop killing and crushing, I just don't want to be the lackey anymore."

It seemed to me that Greg had begun to see the false social structures and webs created by the traditional narratives of the propaganda machines through his own sense of being betrayed and having betrayed his own values through his own involvement in the sanctioned social violence of war. Chiefly through his memories of his enactments of violence and intimidation against others, he has found his own social world disrupted by the awareness that no one should trust him, that he can no longer trust the traditional narratives of cultural propaganda, and that the future—his own and that of his children—was at best limited within the context of the old story he'd been living. In short, he no longer trusted his own sense of place in the world—either the world he'd bought into and

been betrayed by, or the world he had yet to construct. "Some days, I wonder if there'll ever be a place for me again. If I ever get to feel safe in my own skin. If I'll ever walk down the street and not imagine some street fighter stepping out a door and taking aim at me."

Greg remembered the direct experience of one who had been responsible for taking away the rights of others, what that felt like, and how it affected him and them. "People don't believe what's creeping up on 'em. But I was there, I did to others, and I can see it coming here. We used to have to enforce curfew, watch who hung with who, bust up meetings of groups that were potential resistance—mind you, not even people we knew were organizing or nothing. And if you don't think the police are doing that here to you and me, you're just not paying attention."

At this juncture in the counseling or therapeutic process, were it conducted from a liberation psychology frame of reference, Greg might have been ready for the adventure of reconstructing the valid narrative. In his references to how he had been profiled and had profiled others for no particular cause, his awareness of injustice and exclusion were developing, in the process reconnecting Greg to his own community and the oppressions it had experienced. That the American experience of African-Americans is rooted in the relationship of slavery and colonialism is of special note here. This community, and the community of other veterans who no longer supported the war policy of the U. S. government, might become the contexts for developing rituals and communal events where the story could be celebrated and affirmed. Such ritual and story telling might provide an opportunity for Greg to forgive himself for buying into the dominant narrative, and to move from his changed consciousness (a factor for both someone in

Greg's position and in his supportive community) toward the activation of agency and work of inner and outer change.

The Street Person.

Jacquie was a 50-year-old African American woman when we met and began counseling together in 2000. She had been a teacher as a younger woman, graduating from a major University in the American Southwest with a Masters' Degree in education, and serving schools in a major urban area. She had been living on the streets for most of the prior fifteen years, having developed schizophrenia in her late twenties. She taught for another seven years after this development, before more significant elaboration of her symptoms made it difficult for her to focus well enough to teach middle school children. Unable to work, she lost the home she had recently purchased and wound up homeless. Jacquie had been the daughter of an MD and a nurse, neither of whom was still living. She had never married and had no children, and was out of touch with the one brother remaining from her birth family. She remembered no history of physical or sexual abuse. Jacquie sometimes experienced auditory hallucinations of a positive quality, the only active symptoms she ever experienced. "They tell me how good I am, how much they love me, how they are looking out for me and protecting me. Mostly they do a good job at that." Because of the positive, supportive nature of her hallucinations, Jacquie usually declined to take anti-psychotic meds. This complicated her housing situation, and my efforts at referral, as most housing assistance agencies were adamant that psych patients be medication compliant in order to be housed. Most of my encounters with Jacquie occurred around her visits to the parish office for food, when she would sit with me and report on her life and offer philosophical tidbits of how she saw the world.

One of the challenges Jacquie experienced was always feeling chased from place to place. It would be easy to attribute this sensation to the paranoia that so often

accompanies major psychosis, but this was a feature Jacquie experienced a remarkable degree of freedom from. Rather, living as she did in some of the city's nicer parks, she had some direct experience of being herded up and moved on or moved out. That is, this fear always presented as the reasonable anticipation, the conditioned response, of someone with considerable experience. It clearly expressed Jacquie's concern that her personal history would repeat itself. She would often sit in the office and just cry for half and hour or more after such an incident. Her sense of place and of her ability to contain and manage her emotional life deteriorated during the several sessions I saw her through.

Growing out of these experiences was the question of "who am I, and where do I belong?" She was keenly aware of the dichotomies of her life, of having been a teacher, and a successful teacher, as well as a homeless woman. She had been much better off than she was now, and she recalled that, sometimes wondering what happened. This was deepened by her early sense of indoctrination in the American myth during the Civil Rights movement. She had internalized both the oppression of her own situation as well as that of her African American ancestors, and at the same time apprehended and expressed in her life the dream of freedom embodied by Martin Luther King, Jr. She carried both the negative and the positive introjects of her age. She would sometimes ask, "Need someone to talk to, Pastor—what they doing to my people?" I would have to ask whether she was speaking of Black folks or homeless folks, for she could mean either. Sometime she meant to indicate both.

She had a keen sense of this society's destruction of her social and sometimes physical environment in both cases. "They came to the camp and rounded us up and moved us out this week," she reported once of the encampment where she and others had

gathered both for the safety of living together and the City's and County's lack of action to find more permanent housing solutions. The police had moved everyone on and confiscated most of their belongings. For Jacquie, this was a simple replay of the late 1950s, when the State of California had displaced her and her family from their Westside location to support the construction of the I-405 freeway through her city. She was aware of both the coercive nature of these acts and the cultural narrative beneath them, as well as the basic racism and classism they expressed: "Somehow the White way is always the right way, ain't it? The Man always decides. They right, but they ain't, really."

Actions such as these increased her experience of fear and paranoia, forcing her to be a migrant in her own land, a constant being-moved-around to preserve the sense of space and elegance of others. She once said of herself and her friends, jesting with no one in particular, "We ain't none too elegant for the rich folk up the road, are we?"

These experiences doubtless also contributed to her sense of her anxiety, though she herself located these more in her specific relationships. "I like you, 'cause you ain't always trying to give me meds, you don't tell me what to do, you ain't always wrecking my life, pushing me around, making me move on."

She reported these were the things that made her wary of others, of those who decided they knew best for her, and were ready to impose that idea on her. Just when she would get a good new community established with some other homeless folk she had met, the police would disrupt it. This sense of the regularly unfolding next loss fueled a sense of Jacquie's inability to do anything to change it, and her learned helplessness was robust. She resisted all efforts to encourage greater activity, including a campaign to register homeless persons to vote. Even her sense of her ability to provide for herself, day

by day, was fragile and despairing of any possibility of change. There were times I saw her every day because of this. "It's just gonna be like this. Too tired to fight it. Too tired to care. Nobody else does. I'm used to it. I know how to make it. I worry about the young ones I see now on the streets—they ain't got no skills. Who knows if they'll learn to get by, where to hide, how to avoid the cops, how to disappear into a shadow and not be seen by some idiot looking to roust you out and move you one?"

Jacquie's anxiety erupted most strongly in periods after a recent community connection had been disrupted—when a homeless village would get moved, or a peer from the streets get arrested and taken in. Then she would develop considerably higher anxiety about where she could stay that was safe. Each such event deepened her sense of not belonging in the world, already well developed in her sense of self as a homeless Black woman in America. "I just keep moving on. My people was Okies, some of 'em. Did I ever tell you that? They just learned to keep moving on. Me too, I guess. Maybe it's that underground railroad thing, too. Just staying a step ahead. Only now there ain't no final river to cross. No safe freedom."

The National Security Analysis

Over the course of our counseling together, Jacquie endorsed fifteen of the seventeen National Security elements under consideration in this study. As noted above, Jacquie had close contact with and was aware of the propaganda machine as it operated in her life and in the culture. "I remember those TV pictures when I was a kid. All those white sheriffs pushing us around down South, the water cannons, the clear signs that my people were nobody, no account, something grimy to be washed off the streets if they could. That hurt, even when I knew we were fighting for progress. Same time, the

teachers were telling us what a great country this US of A was, with all its freedoms. Just not for me. Not for Black folk. It's changed a lot. I'm grateful. But it hasn't changed enough." She knew she and others had been indoctrinated with internalized knowings that Black folk and homeless folk belong to the culture differently than others do.

Each change of encampment forced by the local police represented for her a forced relocation, a destruction of the village and a degradation of her sense of place in the universe, heightening her awareness of the precariousness of her life and her environmental anxiety. Each relocation expressed the same problem that had been clear when her family had been forced to move in the 1950s—that she and her people did not really belong anywhere, and had no power to fight for what was important to them. Jacquie's encounters with the mental health system since her symptoms began in the mid-1970s were too often like her encounters with the police—coercive, hierarchical, and designed to leave her without power. "Sometimes I'm just like my slave ancestors—they say we can't vote 'cause we don't got a permanent address."

Though this has been addressed in various ways in some places since, at the time it was absolutely true. She was accustomed to being watched outright, along with her homeless peers, from patrol cars and by beat cops, often prior to one of the regular relocations. She had been picked up more than once herself and detained as gravely disabled, "even though I was caring for myself just fine. I just don't have all the money the cops do. I can't dress fancy, and I don't often get to shower. But I brush my teeth every day. I wash as I can. I stay clean and I don't smell funny." Jacquie also knew that hanging around the nicer neighborhoods at night would almost surely draw the attention of the cops, who were rarely very helpful in her view. "They got all these people whose

only real job seems to be to keep me outa the park. They got so desperate in one neighborhood, they closed a park and built a car dealership there." I had lived in the neighborhood she was speaking of, and knew that this was, in fact, part of the political dialogue around developing that piece of property.

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and *DSM IV-TR* Analysis

When Jacquie's expressed symptoms were mapped onto the Trauma Symptom Checklist, she was found to have endorsed fourteen trauma related items and three additional health impact items on the 40 item checklist.

Her symptoms included insomnia, waking up in the middle of the night (often with nightmares), and not feeling rested in the morning. "Hard to feel all rested when you sleep with one eye open, waiting for Mr. Cop to come bang on your feet and tell you to move out. So, yeah, I don't sleep much. More during the day, really, as long as it ain't too hot. Besides, what's the point of going to sleep? Either I stay awake and wait for the cops, or I go to sleep and know they'll come for sure? They always come when I sleep, even in my dreams, and they bang me on the feet and tell me to move on. Or they steal my stuff and my cart with everything I own. Sometimes I dream of the time they stole the little tarp I was sleeping under, when we were all together, a bunch of us, down by the riverbed, and they threw it in the little fire we'd built to stay warm. I was so mad, and so afraid. And I wake up shaking, trying to run away so they can't steal my stuff, and I say, 'Damn, Jacquie, they still after you.' "

During the time I knew her, Jacquie was experiencing evident weight loss without dieting, and frequently complained of headaches. I asked about her increasing thinness, and she laughed it off. "I just can't eat enough, Mr. Pastor. Don't know what's

happening." I suggested she might want to see a doctor at the free clinic, and offered to take her there. "New, I just worry too much. Worry the weight off. All of it, I reckon. Maybe if I could just quit thinking about it all, worrying over it, I would get rid of the headache, too."

Jacquie frequently expressed a feeling of being isolated from others, and once said that, "No one can really understand what its like, to have it and lose it, to live with nothing and no one in your life. If you haven't been through it you can never understand." She also complained of loneliness and sadness, and confessed to spending lots of time crying when she felt frustrated and overwhelmed. "I don't think God ever meant us to do this sort of thing alone. I don't think God ever meant us to do this sort of thing, really. But I can't trust no one. If the cops ain't trying to steal my stuff, some one else is, probably. Some of the others [homeless peers] I trust, some of 'em, I don't. Can't ever be unguarded. Being that way is lonely-making, if you catch my drift. You know you're all alone, that no one watches out for you. Except Albert. He always watches out for me. He scared a young kid off once who was fooling with my stuff when I wasn't looking. But I don't see Albert around no more, and I guess it makes me lonely to know he may not be there. And lonely, lonely sir, it makes me cry."

Particularly in regard to dealing with police officers, Jacquie often reported trouble controlling her temper, a factor that doubtless did not serve her well in those encounters. "One time I got so mad I kicked one of 'em. Spent three days in jail for that one, nasty buggers. But they hurt me, and they were trying to steal my stuff. Sometimes, I just yell at them, and that makes them think I'm crazy, so they haul me off to the hospital, and I get all medicated up. Takes days before I feel myself again." Also, her

deepest reported sense of dissociation seemed to lodge in her relationship with the police. "Sometimes I just space out when they're around. If I can't see them, they don't exist." She also experienced flashbacks in which one or more police or hospital personal were trying to restrain her. Coming out of these, she would remark sometimes, "I just left my body, you know that?"

Anxiety attacks were common experiences for Jacquie, sometimes in my presence. When asked about such symptoms, she often reported feeling a sense that everything around her had dissolved, that things that had been solid were suddenly unreal. She traced her fear of men specifically to police, who also triggered her feelings of inferiority: "They just make you feel like nothing. Just like I felt around white folk when I was a kid." She went further to suggest that Black officers on the force had bought into some sort of deal and had become, for her at least, "just new slave masters."

Jackie reported frequent nightmares about waking suddenly to find her campsite invaded by marauding police out to destroy her things and harm her. Like her dream of the tarp taken and destroyed, she reported: "Sometimes I dream they come and steal the tents. You know, we had tents once? We set up a village with the help of some young folks that cared. Then, the police said it was a public safety hazard, but instead of just trashing us, they moved us closer to the police station so they could watch us better, I suppose. But sometimes in the dream they just come and trash all the tents, and wait for us to come home after word gets out, and they laugh at us. And, sometimes I dream they just chase us into the river when it's flooded, so they can be rid of us. Never have to chase Jacquie again if she drowns, do they?"

In considering diagnostic criteria in Jacquie's case, it seems clear that she meets both particulars of Criteria A for Posttraumatic Street Disorder. In her frequent experiences with police and with hospital personnel, she had witnessed, been confronted by actual event/threat to her physical and psychical integrity, and has responded with intense fear, helplessness, or horror. She was, at the time of our work together, experiencing multiple Criteria B disturbances, including recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections and recurrent dreams of the events themselves. She was having flashbacks, dissociating in various ways, and expressed intense distress at the mostly external cues in her life that symbolized aspects of these events, cues to which she had a high degree of reactivity, emotionally and physically.

Jacquie also experienced Criteria C elements with some frequency. Some of her most significant frustration develop out of attempts to avoid of thoughts or feelings about the related trauma: "I just can't shut it out. I hate that." She'd learned to avoid places where earlier encounters had taken place that she remembered poorly, including the sites of old encampments. She frequently hid after sighting a police vehicle, even if she knew it was heading somewhere else, just because such vehicles had become intrusive reminders.

Jacquie began to withdraw from participating in significant activities she had been part of in the past. She had been active in the homeless organizing community, but over time dropped one after another of her commitments. She spoke of feelings of detachment from that work, and a sense that others didn't understand her in that movement. "It was like I was some model homeless person, a spokes model for the homeless community. I got tired of not being just Jacquie. Not interested any more." Increasingly she expressed a

sense of estrangement from friends she had known (both homeless and activist) whom she also felt lacked her experiences of alienation and so could not understand where she was thinking and feeling. Her affect became more and more flat, as she became unavailable for herself and others. More than once she expressed a sense that she saw no stable future for herself as she grew older; she would say, "There ain't no place for me out there as I get older. No one to take care of Jacquie." Always hypervigilant and especially when police were involved, she also had trouble keeping her calm around them, exhibiting an irritability I rarely saw otherwise, using her anger as a boundary-setting tool.

The Limit Situation

The limit situation Jacquie faced seemed to be associated with police enforced restrictions on movement, person, belongings and place, as well as her regular gatherings with other homeless for support, and related intimidation factors. This created the sense that the narrative had been broken. "This land was made for you and me, just not for me, cause I'm too inconvenient, me and my other homeless buds." Jacquie's experiences of having been both better off , as well as poor and homeless, highlighted for her the differentials she knew directly in terms of access to wealth and power. "As long as I was a pretty young teacher with a house, I could be a member of society. When I wasn't no more, when the voices started, everyone thought I was nuts and couldn't reason or feel or act or vote, and suddenly my voice didn't seem to count anymore." Jacquie's sense of the sanctioned social violence and intimidation of police restrictions on her movement further focused this resentment: "No place for me and others like me in the great river of history. We're just the flotsam and jetsam, I suppose. We just get washed out to sea."

Jacquie also identified a sense that her place in the world, and her future, had somehow been permanently damaged, perhaps even stolen. "I've been moved on so many times, there ain't no place for me. Mama's house is gone. My house is gone. I don't belong anymore. Maybe it's time for me to be gone, too? What am I doing, hanging around in a world that doesn't seem to want me in it? The richies, the ones that makes the decisions, maybe they want the future all for themselves. Maybe, they don't even want no future? Ever think of that? If I disappear, what's to keep 'em from disappearing you, too? Ever think of that? Albert ain't never come back, maybe we ain't none of us gonna come back when we get disappeared."

Jacquie's broad experiences with the range of propaganda elements tells her to be normal while declaring her life abnormal and bad. The tension between these seemed to feed her long-term depression. Her sense of powerlessness related to access and resources also seemed to deepen the depression her affect conveyed: "They tell us to get a job, then they tell us we don't qualify or we're too crazy. They tell us to get off the streets, but won't help us get the resources to get off the streets. They want us to be too crazy to work but sane enough to fill out all their damn paperwork. How we supposed to do that? Truth is, they don't really want us to survive, I think." These dichotomies seemed to feed into her sense of social anxiety as well: "I can never tell how I'm supposed to act, whether they need me to act all crazy like, or if I should be myself."

Such ideas also informed Jacquie's awareness of the alliances that shaped her world: "They want us to buy booze and cigarettes, then chase us off when some get too drunk and make a scene. But they make a bigger scene. You know how many police officers it takes to haul one of us in? Jesus God Almighty but you'd think they needed an

army to keep us under control. Six, eight police show up every time one of 'em shows up. We got an army right here on the street. No wonder the gangs need guns! Who else gonna defend us from the cops?" This seemed to express Jacquie's experiences of both the economic, business alliances that create and support poverty and homelessness, while taking note of the various paramilitary interventions she and other street people faced daily. The cumulative effects of all these factors shaped Jacquie's sense of being caught between to world, and knowing that one of them was crazy-making, and that the crazy-making piece was outside her, not inside her.

The Native American

Ben was a 26-year-old First Nations male when we first met and talked in 1996. Ben was the oldest of four brothers, whose mother and father had separated when the boys were young. His father had been a tribal medicine chief. His parents had both been raised away from the Reservation in the so-called Indian School system, and later returned to the Reservation to have and raise children. When we first met, Ben lived with his young bride in University housing and they were expecting their first child. He was having a hard time adjusting to big city life, having recently moved to the city to pursue a college education. The dissonance between his sense of self on the Reservation and his sense of self in the city was "eating at" him, and he felt he was not fully able to be himself in the new setting.

He had begun using alcohol, he said to compensate for his awkwardness in the City/University milieu, as it seemed to have the effect of relaxing him in social settings. Ben nevertheless completed his degree in history, then had difficulty finding work and eventually fell out of touch. When he made contact again, it was 2001, and he was living with another First Nations adult male in a major urban area, and had little contact with his family of origin, several states away on the Reservation. All of Ben's family lived on the Reservation except his toddler son and his ex-wife, from whom he was by then estranged due to domestic violence that had erupted during one of Ben's heavy drinking episodes.

While not exactly hypervigilant, Ben was jumping at small noises coming from the children's play area outside my office when we met. His social networks had become disrupted, and he was no longer in touch with any of the young people he'd been in college with. Ben's support system was limited to his roommate and a small circle of

friends, and occasional contact with his Sponsor from Alcoholics Anonymous. He had trouble maintaining his composure with others, often dissolving into tears about the smallest problems. His primary inner question remained, "Who am I and how do I navigate in more than one world?" He felt that who he had been on the Reservation was someone he no longer knew. "I'm not that man, that boy any more. Those ideas are buried and gone. They didn't work. But I can't find anything else I can trust. The city way doesn't work either. Those ideas about who we are and how we survive, they're like clouds. People like you want us to walk on clouds, and clouds just let you down." Ben found himself trusting fewer and fewer people, seeing more and more of us around him as sources of betrayal and potential harm.

He talked at length about the violence that had unfolded between him and his spouse, though it would be much later before he take ownership of that violence. "Yeah, once I came home drunk, and I tripped on something coming in the door, and she was standing there and giggled at me, and I raised my hand and I swatted her hard in the face. And I burned from shame all the way to my toes. I knew I couldn't take it back. It scared me. It made her cry, it scared her. That was the first time she moved out, and she took the baby. It broke my heart. I betrayed her. I betrayed the baby. Maybe I should have died then. A warrior never hurts the peaceful." He did report that his father had similarly abused his mother on the Reservation, and that Ben had also been beaten by his dad, sometimes in front of the other boys in the extended family. "Whenever any of us was in trouble, and usually it seemed to be me, my father could call all the boys, the nephews, so I could be an example and a warning. My face would burn hot from the shame as they watched him cane me, or hit me with his hand in the face. I hated those moments, and I

hated him, and the way it felt when he hit my mom. So I hated myself all the more when I hit my wife." It was when he shared this story, that Ben also revealed that he had been depressed on and off since at least the age of ten due to this intergenerational pattern now playing out in same fashion in his adult life.

The theme of betrayal figured quite large at this time for Ben, who reported he avoided groups more and more unless they were First Nations groups, because he was tired of fending off what he considered the racist attitudes and comments of those he ran into in the urban setting. He expressed frustration that everyone either expected him to be some "wunderkind, some ideal Indian, the great noble savage or something. Or they expect me to be dumb as dirt. I never get to be just me, and I don't know who that is anymore, anyway."

So Ben was becoming more and more isolative, avoidant, and withdrawn. He reported he'd gotten in a few fights in the early months of our working together, because when he became over anxious about his surroundings he would often "just explode" to scare others off and set a boundary no one would dare cross. "Last week, I was on the beach when some jerks started being annoying. They were playing Frisbee at first, and their Frisbee kept landing on me where I was laying out and thinking. I began to wonder if they were toying with me, then I just assumed they had to be, and the next time it happened, I exploded. I grabbed one of them and threw him in the sand and held him down. The others gathered round and started pounding on me. I put in some good licks and left a few bruises, but eventually I felt the urge to walk away. Mostly they'd scattered then. I was ashamed again. What good am I to anyone when I can't hold my temper, when my anger is the only thing I feel?"

Ben reported a sense that things were unlikely to change, that somehow nothing he (or his family, or the tribe) could do would change his circumstances. "It's like I'm trapped on the Ferris wheel, and it just keeps going around and around. No way to get hold of the anger and change it. No way to get off the damn ride and walk steady on the ground." Asked if wanted to return to the Reservation for a time to chill and get his head together, he roundly rejected the idea. Ben developed a sense of fatalism that seemed rooted in his family's and tribe's long history of dealings with those who purported to want to help but never actually changed much. Throughout his parents lives and into his own, government officials had been less than helpful on the reservations, disrupting the lives of families as his had been. His being away from the land also was on his mind: "I can't think things through here because it's not my land. But neither is the reservation my land, any more – the mining people have polluted everything. Our water, our soil, all the things we need to live are either gone or poisoned." His estrangement from family, tribe, and his own sense of identity seemed to be growing stronger as he spoke.

The National Security Analysis

Ben had the insight to know he was battling for his own sense of identity at this time. And he could trace some of the links that made it so difficult. He was aware of the dissonance between his Native way and the dominant way he had embraced in his years at college, and keenly felt the judgment of these two aspects of his experience toward one another. "The City man inside me hates this tag-along Native that won't go home. My First Nations guts hate the alcohol, the damage I've done, the ways I've become just like everybody else in this town. I can't trust me. I can't trust you. I can't trust anyone." His judgment of his First Nations' side was especially harsh, as he believed that if he were

truly man enough, strong enough, none of the city's problematic, Eurocentric cultural baubles would have held any attraction for him. "I'm not a good warrior. I've had no resistance to the ways of the city, I've never been able to stay true to myself, my values, what has made me different as a Native man." At the same time, he struggled with wanting to be a good American as well as what he referred to as a "good Indian," and considered for a time enlisting in the army at the outbreak of hostilities in Kuwait. This tug of war inside Ben was, he knew, rooted in the propaganda around him. "All my life I heard white people in the town talking about "lazy, good for nothing Indians. Even in the movies, the Westerns, we saw how this was your people's views. Part of me wants to show you better, to make you eat dirt, to be so good at being like a White man, you'll be embarrassed at your own failures. Well, not you, but your people." Part of Ben had bought into the White Man's judgmental, derisive cultural narrative about his people, about him.

The figures of migration and relocation also figured largely in Ben's sense of self and the story of what he was experiencing in this time. His people had been moved from one end of a continent to another to be settled in the late 1800s. "The grandmothers weep, because they remember the weeping of their grandmothers, when they tell the story of the lands, our lands, that we were forced to leave. They passed the weeping on their children, my parents, and they passed it on to me. It's like I was born with a knife in my back, a sense of being driven like cattle to a new place, and I lived my whole life feeling that I was being driven. Driven to succeed in the White world. Driven to abandon Native ways to be successful. Driven to be a college man, because college degrees land better jobs. Driven to be ashamed of who I was born, and try to fit in to the world off the rez, and just

hope nobody would notice. It hasn't worked. It's just made me more lost, more totally not myself, no longer a part of the world I was born in, and never to be a part of your world."

Even settled, Ben's father and mother had been hauled to yet another place in their youths, away from family and kin and tradition and subjected to the White Man's idea of schooling. Ben related that his father had endured long and painful beatings in the so-called Indian School system, as a result of being stridently committed to speaking his native tongue in the school, alongside the English they were being taught. His father had been shamed, said Ben, by the forced cutting of his hair by school officials. Ben's mother had fared somewhat better, being more compliant with the wishes of school masters. Neither parent visited their families for more than eight years while in that system. "When they came home, it was like they had to learn to be Indian all over again. They had been totally stripped of who they were, but never really allowed to become the little White citizens the schools tried to make them be. I think that disorientation rubbed off on me, growing up."

Ben himself, though schooled on the Reservation, had been taught by White teachers, and had moved far away to the big city to continue his education and try to "fit in" with the White culture and history he'd been exposed to. Part of him was glad to move away from the Reservation, as he also knew that there were no vital economic interests on the Reservation—success for most, if they made it at all, meant leaving the Reservation. Things had begun to change as Indian Gaming began to reach more and more places, providing resources Tribes had never seen before. But Ben didn't see his future working at a Casino, either. In fact, he saw the casinos as just another form of

violence, as yet another imposition of the White man's bad habits on his people. "Your people are too ashamed to build these palaces your preachers call dens of sin and iniquity, in your own cities and on your own lands. So you get us to build them for you on our lands. And you bring your bad habits to our people. And our poor gamble away the earnings the tribe makes for them, and your people gamble away their earnings, and the tribes are blamed for the social and moral decay."

Ben wondered aloud about the impact of violence in his and his peoples' history. "I think we beat our wives because we were beaten and driven from our homes. I think we pay it forward on the vulnerable, because we don't know what else to do. I learned it from my father, who learned it from his, who learned it from your people." He also noticed that racist barbs, comments and attitudes were just another way to inflict violence without having to raise a hand to strike someone. They were, like physical beatings, part of the machinery for maintaining a cowed and obedient population. And he speculated that such populations were necessary for White-owned and operated businesses to hold their own among First Nations on their reservations.

Ben had grown up in the environmental devastation wreaked by the U. S. government and by allied business interests on tribal and reservation lands. He expressed an understanding in which he saw that government was really secretly organized to provide business opportunities to mining and other extractive industries by keeping Tribal Councils well linked to funding opportunity, and he talked about it. "They come in offering money, and it looks really good, or they say it's a national emergency like they did back at the Big War (World War II), and they just come take what they need. Or, they say it makes jobs, and everyone wants jobs, so everyone jumps and asks how much

we can make and how much do they want. And so, we grow up without forests, without buffalo, and our children play in the mine tailings that never got cleaned up, and get lung problems from the asbestos, from the boron, and cancer from the uranium dust that settles everywhere." This seemed also to be the way he expressed the disempowerment and learned helplessness he felt – to acknowledge that others simply take what they want, and leave his people, him, with nothing, or with damaged families and environments, and there was nothing to be done.

A frequent nightmare Ben experienced was one in which he saw his father hurting his mother. "I see it happening like it always used to happen. Then suddenly, Dad changed into me, and I'm hurting my own wife while the baby cries in the background. Sometimes, it's like I, the dreamer, can interact, and I try to stop myself in the dream. I actually walk up to myself, and try to take hold of myself to stop the blows. Then dream me ties dreamer me up, and I'm laying bound and helpless in another corner of the room in the dream. It's like I had no power over myself." It seemed that the piece of Ben's inner life that tried to change things was powerless over the flesh and blood man who did the actual harm.

Ben himself never knew the direct effects of arrest, detainment, or imprisonment, until the day he was arrested for Domestic Violence. But he had been raised a child on his people's Reservation in the wake of the era of Wounded Knee and the activation of the American Indian Movement. "It was interesting. We'd learn American history from school during the day, and come home and sit by the radio to listen for the latest news of the movement. And we would cheer when we heard something col had started, when there was a sit in, or when someone got arrested for protesting the old BIA [Bureau of

Indian Affairs]." So alongside his American History, as taught through the lenses of British settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth, he had lived in the crucible of friends, family, older peers becoming targets of FBI surveillance and of renewed local discrimination in the predominantly White farm villages at the edges of the Reservation. The stories of his peoples' experience of government betrayals, military interventions, exiles and forced containments were a living presence in his learning years. And he knew that the FBI weren't the only ones trying to infiltrate – that the whole system of White American values was permeating his life, his peoples' lives, and changing them, containing and diminishing them, permanently. This fueled his passion for history, his passion for a story that could set the record straight.

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

When mapped onto the Trauma Symptom Checklist, Ben's symptoms were, in some ways, among the least acute of the cases included in this study. He was having anxiety attacks several times a month, focused largely on being with non-Native groups where his feelings of inferiority were being triggered. "Sometimes, like at an AA meeting, I have this wave of nausea rise up through me. Part of me wants to pass out and disappear when it happens. I wonder if I blush; I feel hot but I can't tell. Sometimes, I must, 'cause there'll be sweat on my forehead. And then I feel like I'm disappearing, maybe, like those Star Trek transporter things are sparking all over my body and my edges are getting fainter, and I'm about to just be gone. I think the first time, I thought I was dying. When I'm able to, I try to ask it, what it means, to be inside me like that. What its trying to do. Sometimes I realize in the middle of it that something had been said that touched on my shame, my sense of always being less than. Maybe a reminder that I

don't fit in as an Indian here in the city, or a reminder of my violence at home, or something else that just makes me feel small and want to disappear."

Ben experienced multiple sleep disturbances, including his nightmares, which caused him to frequently wake in the night, and waking in the morning not feeling rested. "Sometimes I dream that I'm on the reservation, walking through the village. As I walk suddenly I notice none of the houses are there. The place where I grew up is gone. The neighbor house, too. Nothing but foundations. At the start of the dream, I was happy to be home, happy to walk the land again. Then I realized there was nothing but ghosts, but memories. Somehow, it had all been destroyed. When I wake up from this dream, I'm always crying in my pillow. I always call mom, just to be sure. So far, she's always been there to answer the phone. This dream scares me. Among my people, dreams are not just for me, for you, but for the whole village. I can't tell what the warning is. But it's clearly a warning. I don't know who to share it with. My college self thinks it's foolish. My reservation self knows better."

He began experiencing more frequent episodes in which he would find himself not paying attention to what was happening around him, having spaced out external stimuli and becoming preoccupied with an inner sense of dread. "Sometimes, I feel like I'm being stalked inside. Like, one side of me, college, city side, is trying to hunt down and destroy the Native side. Sometimes, it's the other way around—like my Native side is trying to be free by getting rid of college, city side. Then I get scared inside, knowing I can't really live without either one, at this point. And suddenly, I realize I've been in this horrible fantasy inside myself, for a long time. I haven't noticed how much time was passing. Or, I suddenly realize I'd set down after lunch, and it's now supper time, and I

can't account for any of the time in between, because I've been so absorbed in this awful sense of chasing myself down, seeking to destroy myself, one side against the other."

The overwhelming feature of Ben's emotional life was sadness. "I just get tired of feeling sad all the time. Feeling like I can't trust myself around others, for fear of just breaking into tears. Every day the same. Sometimes I've thought of suicide, but not anymore. At least, not recently. But I can't do that. I'm not alone. I'm carrying something for my people. Sometimes I just want to be done carrying it."

With these minimal symptoms, Ben still meets criteria for a diagnosis of posttraumatic stress disorder. The trigger event for Ben seems to have been his father's and his own involvement in domestic violence aimed at their partners. Just as telling, Ben's history as a First Nations man appeared to have set the ground out of which such trauma could grow and flourish. He was not only a witness and participant in the violence and betrayal of the intimate setting of the home, he was the inheritor of a long history of violent betrayals.

Ben's Criteria B identifiers include recurrent dreams of the event, the remembered domestic violence of his early home that are causing intense distress, and his psychologically reactivity to these cues. Ben's Criteria C markers include diminished interest in participating in the significant activities of his life, including engaging with his son from whom he is estranged. He also had a harder time staying focused on staying employed during this time, and frequently reported lack of interest in what he was doing. He commented on feeling detached from the world around him, and reported estrangement from both his First Nations culture and larger American Culture: "I don't belong anywhere, anymore." Ben's affect on most occasions was flat, disengaged, almost

shocky. He expressed his sense of the foreshortened future by letting me know he'd see me "if we're all still here next week." Criteria D expressions for Ben included difficulty staying asleep, in keeping with his other sleep disturbances. He was given to irritability, and occasional outbursts of anger that led to the fights he managed to get into. Long pauses, and lack of focus in our conversations, suggested he was also having difficulty concentrating.

The limit situation

Ben found himself in involved, in part, carrying the ancestral stories of forced relocation, as well as the history of the Indian schools and their impact on his parents, the attempted destruction of his culture that happened in those schools. Growing up in the resulting context of poverty, discrimination and racism went far to instill in Ben a profound sense of inferiority that he both recognized as a problem and struggled with daily. The confinement of the Reservation, as well as the destruction of Reservation lands by extractive enterprises backed by the government, accentuated Ben's sense of loss of place, above and beyond his being in the city. Propaganda and power issues found their way into Ben's life in his recognition of his people's dependency on the dynamics and impact of economies of scale originating off the reservation. His experience as an Indian on the Reservation was a double-edged sword that included both positive experiences of family and tribe, as well as intimidation when off the reservation, and the detainments, relocations and interventions that peppered the history of his peoples' interactions with dominant culture. The leakage between normalizing and distancing propaganda and the racism was inherent in his experience of unequal access to wealth and power, and

contributed both to his sense of inferiority and inadequacy, and to a sense of generalized anxiety that expressed as periodic anxiety attacks.

The Scientist.

Peggy was a 45-year-old physicist when we met in 1991. She was living at home with her husband and their two daughters, aged twelve and fourteen. She held a PhD in nuclear physics, and worked in weapons procurement for the U. S. government. She had been born and raised in the prairie states, where her father had been a pastor and her mother a homemaker. Peggy reported an unremarkable childhood with all needs met and no major trauma. She remained close to her family, including two brothers and both her parents, who remained "on the farm" in the prairie states. Peggy's husband worked as a museum curator in a nearby city, as well as teaching part time in a local university. Their daughters were frequently "honored" pupils at their local schools, and the family enjoyed a wide-ranging social and civic life. Peggy and her husband used alcohol socially, but there was no known, or avowed, or apparent alcohol abuse problem in the home.

Peggy came to my office in 1998 having developed something of a crisis of conscience. She found herself experiencing headaches during the day and insomnia at night, her mind obsessed with the deeply sensed reality that her work was a major betrayal of her inner life. "Every thing I touch, everyone I work with, is somehow involved in destroying. Destroying other peoples' lives. Destroying homes and communities. In some cases, destroying the planet, either with chemicals or with radiation. I'm a 'middle man', I guess a 'middle woman', in the economy of destruction. People don't understand how widespread it is. And always the rubric is, 'We hope we never have to use these weapons.' I want to serve life, not death. I can't keep doing this. But I can't walk away, either. It's not that easy. It's not just the money. I'm afraid I may know too much. Or, maybe I'm just afraid."

When she wasn't lying awake with insomnia, she was waking from having nightmares that centered on the weapons systems she had put in place and which she felt had made the country uninhabitable in the process. "I wake up in landscapes where all the buildings have been devastated by missiles I buy the guidance systems for. Always in this dream there are children, homeless and hungry, wandering in piles of rubble where their homes once stood, looking for family, and finding only one another. Then in the sky over these rubble piles I see faces. And inside me I know they are the faces of the ones who fired the missiles, you unloaded their payload on the helpless ones on the ground. The faces weep, and then they stare at me with cold, betrayed eyes, eyes that seem to say that I set them up. I wake up breathing hard, like I've been running away."

Peggy reported figures in many of her dreams following her around a barren landscape, begging for help she was not able to give them. She was experiencing intense feelings of guilt that this might actually happen, and at the same time feelings that the dream was more real than her every day reality. In the morning, she would not feel rested. "Once, I had this dream, and the children, they're orphans, really, and I know this in the dream, they follow me around, begging. They want bread, but there is none. I have money in my pockets and I offer them that, but they don't want it, because it's not worth anything. They want bread. They can't eat the money. I don't know what to do. But I can tell they know that I'm the one that made it possible that their homes would be destroyed. They want me to be responsible. It breaks my heart. Or maybe it just breaks the piece I thought was my heart. Sometimes I wonder if I really have one."

Peggy was experiencing increasing problems at work and in social settings with controlling her temper. "Last week my boss asked me for a report on a project we were

working on, and I exploded. I don't remember exactly what I said, but it was something sarcastic about 'can't you wait just a minute, I busy arranging the end of the world.' It's not like me to be that short with people. This guy's been a mentor and friend for ages. I bit his head off. But, he doesn't see like I do. I'm changing, as I think about these things and have these dreams, and maybe I just don't fit in any more."

Peggy reported feeling more isolated, depressed, and lonely. "I just can't function like this," she said on stepping into my office when we began working together to explore the problem. "I'm losing it. I sit alone in the lunch room, or go out so that others can't find me to try to start conversations. I can't face my husband when I get home at the end of the day—I just go to my room and let him fend for himself for supper. Thank God the girls aren't home, trying to cheer me up. I feel gray inside all the time. Just, blah. I know I'm depressed. And there's no one I can trust to get me out of it. No one."

Peggy knew with certainty she was being watched at some level; she reported that people with security clearances are routinely watched. She did not know to what degree she was being monitored, whether casually or closely. But she was aware that it was shaping who she felt she could comfortably hang out with, and who she felt she couldn't be seen with. She was very nervous just discussing it with me: "Just admitting it makes me nervous. What if they visit you for my next clearance review? But I've got to talk to someone. I have to trust someone, no matter what the risk."

Peggy clearly didn't like feeling this way. She wanted it not to matter who her friends were. "I feel like two people sometimes, with two sets of people that can never meet each other." This feeling was compounded by the political landscapes in which Peggy moved. At work, she had to be one person, obedient, loyal, secretive, discrete. At

church and in her private life, she felt she had to be someone else. And she was increasingly concerned that the people who knew her work-self might eventually meet up with those who knew her in other settings. Peggy had friends who were increasingly disaffected with government policies of involving international relations and the military, and wondered if it mattered to her job. "Maybe they'll throw me out next time I come up for security clearance. They'll find I have all these left friends and associates, and it will all come down. The façade I live in will just crumble. God, I'm afraid of that. And, I would be so relieved."

As noted, Peggy reported a high level of inner conflict about her work. On one hand she new herself to be in the center of a powerful situation and benefiting greatly from it. Her salary alone would have been more than enough to support her family, and she was afraid of walking away from the work because of the impact that would have. Her daughters were by now enrolled in Ivy League schools, and they could not support their continuing education without Peggy's work. But she increasingly saw the work she was doing as both a moral and physical threat to the planet and to her own children's survival. "People just don't know. And the people I work for, the contractors I work with, spend enormous amounts of time and money trying to discredit or buy off the ones who do know. Helping the public understand the truth of what we're doing, because they don't want to know, and the government doesn't want them to know, it just doesn't work. I want to scream it from the housetops, as they say, but am afraid they will just think I'm a crazy woman."

Peggy had been internalizing this sense for eight of the prior ten years, and by now was feeling completely depressed. She found herself unable to stop a system she saw

as damaging the future of life itself, but was also not able to leave it and find other work. She didn't believe she'd be allowed to leave, in fact. "Most people have just died in this job, usually young, because of the stress. And I have this terrible fantasy that comes whenever I get close to feeling like I can write my resignation – a fear that if I do, I may meet with some 'unexpected accident,' some unexplainable occurrence that ends my life. Where does that come from? Am I just being paranoid? It's like the stuff of a spy novel, I suppose. But I don't read those. And it's a real fear. One morning, about a year ago, I was so close to marching into the bosses office and saying, 'Enough! I quit'. I'd been thinking about it for a long time then. That morning I woke up and knew I couldn't. I knew, somehow. Knew. They'd never let me go, or if they did, they'd do something to ruin my career."

Peggy had lost interest in taking care of basic things like her home. She no longer indulged her favorite pastime of cooking, and reported growing increasingly disengaged from her husband and his needs in the relationship. She also acknowledged that from time to time, the stress would become too great, and she would have problems containing her fears and frustrations, which would suddenly erupt at home in some small disagreement or inconvenience with her husband. "He doesn't deserve that. I can't be taking it out on him. But sometimes the stress is so great, the pressure I feel, and I just can't control it. It's happened before I can think about it, or stop it. I hate when it happens." Peggy was afraid this could happen in other settings, maybe with friends, or with coworkers, and so spent less and less time in social circles with her peers from work, feeling stifled and constrained. "I just want to run out the room and warn everybody about the damage we're doing! People have to understand, we're developing programs that may end the

possibility of life on earth. We're not making warheads anymore. Haven't for decades, really. But we're still using nuclear materials. We're using spent uranium on everyday bullets now—that's going to lay around on the ground and create harm for several thousand generations, and we don't know how much is too much, so ANY is too much."

The National Security Analysis

In the course of our work together, Peggy identified seventeen out of seventeen of the National Security elements under consideration here as factors in the development of her situation. She began by identifying the roots of an inner conservatism in the prairie town she grew up in: "It was all 'America, right or wrong, love it or leave it.' That was a land of no grey areas, no questions, no doubts. First it was the Cold War, with Bomb Shelter radiation placards in the Elementary School Cafeteria, and then the Viet Nam War and the split in the whole country. I was daddy's good little girl and stayed true to the cause, a real believer. I went to college, was smart, maybe clever, and ready to learn. Who knew I'd come out with the degree I got? And I was going to work in the energy industry, but then I wound up with the feds and in this program. And there's a piece of that little girl that still believes 'America, love it or leave it,' but there's another piece, too. If we don't stop, we're going to damage everything. When damage is nuclear, it's forever, effectively. And the energy piece is really no safer than the weapons." Peggy still lived and breathed in an atmosphere in which war readiness and capabilities were paramount, and were uniformly interpreted as "necessary and good," at best, and a "necessary evil" by her own most cynical peers. "But necessary, and right. Always right."

As Peggy was aware she was being watched, just because of her security clearance, she began to suspect her daughters, away at college, were also watched, and

her husband as well. "I worry that they won't leave them alone. Won't let them have normal lives like college girls should. If I were a secretary, no one would be tailing me or my kids. But in our day and age, because of what people know, sometimes it's just necessary. Maybe they aren't being watched. But it worries me that I move in a world where that can be necessary sometimes. And it bothers me that they live at the edge of that world, through no fault of their own." I once asked how she felt about working for such a government, and her response was: "I am the military industrial complex.

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

Assessing Peggy's story against the Trauma Symptom Checklist resulted in evidence of twelve of the 40 items included in that assessment tool. Peggy reported ongoing tension headaches, often severe, and usually in relation to the difficulties she faced reconciling her personal values and her work needs. "Just having it lurking in the back of my mind all the time… I notice my brow is all knotted up, them feel it in my temples, then the back of my neck, and I can't make it go away. Sometimes some Tylenol helps, but sometimes not. The Doctor says I'm not having migraines, exactly, but doesn't know how else to approach it. When the headaches get really bad, they keep me up at night. These days, just being who I am seems to keep me up at night. I can't sleep, thinking about it all. I suppose that makes the headaches worse."

Peggy also found herself having anxiety attacks. Most of these, she reported, were while she was at work. "It's like a wave of nausea at first, and for moment I feel like I might throw up. Then my heart pounds, and I sweat. It's so embarrassing. I can feel it in my temples then, the heart pounding, and that's often when the headaches start. If I'm in a position, I go exercise. A good vigorous walk often clears the energy. It's interesting. If

I can discover a point in myself where I can be angry about it, where I can just be pissed about the trap it feels like I'm in, then walk it off, that helps a lot. Sometimes, though, when I'm done with the walk and sit down again, it's a different story. I've learned I always have to close my office door. Sometimes I get back and just cry. I have no power. I'm a trapped animal. I can't move this way, I can't go that way, it's like I'm stuck in a cage." In part due to her fragmented social identity, Peggy felt a particular sense of loneliness and isolation. "I can't talk to my peers at work about my misgivings, or I'd be thought a turncoat, a traitor. Or maybe a trouble causer, stirring up doubts and misgivings in other coworkers. And I can't talk to you, really, or to others in my social circle, without fear of generating attention and some bureaucrat's paranoia that I might be talking out of school."

In addition to the insomnia noted above, Peggy often manifested other sleep-disturbed symptoms. She reported waking often in the middle of the night, and often rising without feeling rested in the morning. She attributed these in part to the nightmares she experienced, several times weekly. Some of these nightmares were repetitive. "One of the nightmares I have a lot is waking up in a courtroom, with a judge, a female judge, done up like one of the judges from the old 'Rumpole' series on PBS. Big, curly, white wig, red robe, the whole shebang. And I'm being tried for assault. And I'm guilty. I did it. I confess. I ask to be locked away so I can't do anymore harm. She refuses, and says I have to go back and undo what I've done. That's her sentence. Then I wake up." Peggy related this to her weapons work, and felt that her crimes of assault were against not only humans, but more and more, the planet. "It's true, you know. I really am guilty. I can't avoid it. Neither can anyone else in this deadly culture, except by not knowing. Maybe

that's the real burden. Knowing not just what I do, but its real potential and actualized impacts, every day, and knowing that what I do makes it possible, even likely, maybe, that one day we'll blow the whole thing up. Or make it so toxic that it turns on us and kills us all off."

"In another nightmare, I'm in a dark field, in the deep of night, and I'm running from someone. Someone is trying to capture me and kill me, because I have information he doesn't want revealed. I know it's a 'he,' just intuitively, in the dream. And I keep running. And he's close behind me, because I can hear him panting as hard as I am, in the effort to capture me. And I know if he gets me, he'll murder me. Out in these fields, no one will ever find me. I don't know. Is it some government agent? I mean, it's a reasonable fear, I think, in my position. Or is it just my work, trying to kill me, and I can barely keep myself ahead of the death figure?" As Peggy recounted this dream, she broke down into deep sobs. After several minutes of letting herself breathe and grieve, she reported that this often happened, that this incident was just like the times she had to close her office up when she returned from a walk, so peers would not see her in such a state.

Peggy also reported problems "spacing out" at work. "Usually in meetings, sometimes right after or as part of one of these panic attacks, I just find myself 'gone,' somehow. All we really talk about is killing, and how to do it most effectively. I mean, we actually talk about dimensions and specifications for weapons and ammunition, and we hardly ever mention people or bodies. But that's what it's all about, isn't it. And knowing that, some piece of me can't be there any more. It's like this out of body thing happens, and I can see every thing that's gong on, like I'm hovering above all of it, but I

can't really hear it, I can't follow the arguments, I'm not really in touch with it. Like I'm there, but not there, not able to take it in. If we didn't have carefully taken minutes for me to read after, I'd be totally lost and not know what I was doing. Sometimes I get caught in this altered space, and someone will ask a question I need to respond to, but I have to bring myself back to the room, back to my body, in order to orient to what's going on and take a stab at answering the question. So far, every time, I've been able to do it. What happens when the day comes that I can't force myself back into my body? And, what if this being out of my body is the real part, and what's going on at the table is what isn't real?"

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

Comparing Peggy's symptoms to the diagnostic criteria for PTSD in the DSM IV-TR yields complex results. She appears to be missing both of the necessary items of Criteria A: No traditionally identified trauma-incidents could be identified in which she might have experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by actual events or threats to her physical or psychical integrity. Yet she seemed to be expressing a response clearly involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror to some phenomenon, specifically related to her work in weapons procurement. She once reported, "I'm just that I do what I do, but now I wonder if I have any choice?"

Peggy's match for items at Criteria B are more concrete. As there is no traditionally identifiable trauma incident in the past or present, there are no flashbacks, no recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections. At the same time, she is having recurrent dreams of some event, perhaps entirely internal, that are creating major problems and carry trauma themes and repeat in some detail, as though they are replicating a prior

trauma event. She also reports frequent dissociation, especially in the context of a work environment which she has come to construe as implicating her in the destruction of people and of the planet. Thus her work has clearly become a symbol or terror, horror, and in some sense real threat to both her survival and that of all humans, perhaps the planet itself. This is clearly creating intense distress at cues that symbolize an aspect of the event, in turn evoking psychological reactivity to her work, the vital symbol of her particular trauma.

At Criteria C, Peggy displays multiple symptoms. She spends significant chunks of time avoiding, or trying to avoid, thoughts, feelings or conversations about the trauma symbolized by her work. "I always try to have a stack of things to be busy at when people want to talk about their own problems with the work. I'm barely staying afloat myself. I can't be anyone's counselor." Her walking away and energetically "walking off" her feelings, and her increasing isolation from work mates, are both indicators of this. That she is also avoiding coworkers at social activities seems to indicate she is avoiding events and people that arouse recollection of the trauma symbol. It has been noted that Peggy expressed a markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities. Her feelings of detachment or estrangement are bested noted in her moments of frank dissociation, her 'out-of-body' experiences in or at events that likewise mark or manifest the symbol of trauma. In the time that we counseled together, Peggy was able to maintain a fair broad range of affect, which became more restricted only when she was expressing acute stress or distress at some new event that had expanded her sense of horror or anxiety. Her sense of foreshortened future is expressed clearly in her anxiety that her work may be damaging the planet, and in her fears about surveillance and her dreams that

others are trying to trap her, her sense of dread at the deadening effect her work is having on her own soul.

At Criteria D, Peggy identified with all but two of the items. Missing were an exaggerated startle response, and hypervigilance, though the researcher's assessment is that she did, indeed, manifest a sort of low grade, uncommonly scrupulous vigilance about who she was with and what was going on around her, expressive perhaps of a low grade paranoia. As noted above, she clearly identified with sleep difficulties, especially staying asleep, difficulty concentrating, and moments of sudden, impulsive, uncontrollable irritability and outbursts of anger, most often directed at her husband.

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

Peggy's frequent tearfulness and periodic angry outburst speak to the alterations she was experiencing in the regulation of affective impulses. Her periodic dissociative episodes likewise highlight her alterations in attention and consciousness. The combined effects of these were creating unintended and unpredictable changes in her relationships to her co-workers, her husband, and her social network. Peggy's headaches also suggest a pattern of somatization responding to the stresses she was experiencing. (Herman, 1992a; Courtois, 2004).

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

Feeding Peggy's fear of militarization of civic life was her precarious position as a watched individual with a security clearance. Also contributing was her awareness that military procurement work had gone awry in other places, mostly U. S. client states, resulting in patterns of displacement of persons, and destruction of their social and environmental landscapes. "The countries that buy weapons from us and through us have

nearly all developed into dictatorships or autocracies, those that weren't already. What's to prevent that from happening here? Or maybe it already has, and we haven't noticed yet."

Peggy expressed various forms of identity issue, especially as issues of trust and benevolence. He sense that the narrative she was living was not consistent with the narrative she had been raised to believe about her country and culture were leading her to question who she had become. The same double bind created questions about those she works for and how they are damaging, how she and her work are damaging, everything she loves and hopes for.

The Scholars' Son.

Mike was 18 years old in 1996 when we began to counsel together. He lived at home with his parents, and was registered to attend a local private/religious university while continuing to live at home. He was considering postponing his admission to undergraduate studies owing to significant personal turmoil about his future, the cause over which we began to counsel together. Mike was of Euro-American ancestry and was the middle child, having a brother aged 22, a recent college grad, and a younger sister aged fifteen. His parents were married and both worked as chemists, his mother in the agro-industrial sector making fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides, insecticides and similar home and agricultural products, his father for the pharmaceutical industry. Mike's support system consisted of his family members, of whom he was closest to his brother and sister. Mike's relationships with his parents were becoming increasingly strained, due his growing insights into the impacts he felt their work was having on the planet, and the future of life on that planet. The support system also included various peers Mike had retained from his childhood and educational years in his neighborhood, and a handful of future college classmates he'd met recently at a pre-enrollment orientation event at his university.

Mike's presenting problem centered on his relationship with his parents and involved his uncertainty of the future at multiple levels of experience. "I live in a house where one parent is working to destroy the planet, and the other one is working to anesthetize the people on it to the fact the their world is being poisoned under their noses," he said, somewhat hyperbolically, but not in jest. Case notes from our sessions indicate that Mike was suffering a number of significant and distressing (to him, at least)

symptoms. He found himself dealing with multiple sleep problems, including insomnia, waking up in the middle of the night, frequent nightmares, waking up early in the morning, and not feeling rested in the morning. Mike's nightmares included frequent references to the house he was living in (not always his home in the waking world, but always his home of residence in the dream) being destroyed by arsonists or in some act of war or natural disaster. In one such dream, he reported: "They come again and again to burn the house down, just like in some of the other dreams I've had. They're zombie kinds of people, they don't really see, they don't really care, they can't see we're human and need the protection and safety of home, they're just trying to destroy the safe space we need to just live."

He also reported terrifying dreams of environmental destruction, always human-caused. On returning from a spring break trip to the Sierras, he had a dream he reported in this way: "We had hiked the backcountry counting mountain goats, Big Horned Sheep, really, while I was there. In this dream, the arsonists are back and this time they're murderers, too. They're hiking all the backcountry where we had been. We hadn't covered our tracks well enough. They found our sheep, every one of them, and they killed each one. Then they lit fires to burn the carcass of each one they killed. The fires didn't touch them, none of them, they just walked right through them, kept going to find more of my sheep, the planet's sheep, and murder them. They didn't take horns, they didn't take fleeces, they didn't even take wool. They just slit throats as though they were making sacrifices. Then they were lighting fires. And the fires, each one, hundreds and hundreds of them, they burned across the grasslands and meadows and into the forests, and through the forests and down the mountains into the Big Valley, across the grasslands and farms

there, up and down the state, until it was all gone, even the cities and towns. I woke up crying and couldn't stop. All my beautiful sheep, murdered, gone. All the landscape, turned to charcoal. How could anyone do that?"

Mike's dreams had a quality of reality for him that struck me at the time as perhaps overly emotional, and at the same time left the impression of a conviction that these were as real events as though they had transpired in consensual reality.

Mike also reported ongoing stomach problems, and had lost fifteen pounds in the course of his Senior year in High School without dieting or trying. His doctors had been able to find no particular cause for this, and Mike denied any intention to avoid food or any patterns of disordered eating. He did, however, acknowledge loss of appetite and a significant depression. His knowledge that not everyone, especially his parents, understood or shared his passion for the planet and the need to protect it, left him feeling isolated from others much of the time, and he had difficulty connecting with organizations and communities who shared his concerns, his visions, his values, which increased his isolation still further. Mike's primary affect was one of almost unremitting sadness, and he confessed to occasional outbreaks of uncontrollable crying. When I suggested he might want to be evaluated by a clinician and consider being hospitalized for treatment for his depression, he refused: "I won't let them take away feelings that are real or pretend that I'm crazy. I know what I know, I know that it matters, and it upsets me that so few others care to know or know enough to care. They can't take that away from me. It's the energy that keeps me going."

This sense of aloneness, Mike confessed, sometimes led to a desire to physically hurt himself: "It's been a while sense I felt that way, but only because I'm convinced I've

got to keep going, got to keep being involved and telling people, hoping someone will listen, maybe enough will listen, that we can stop it all. As long as I've got that, I'm OK. I can't check out. There's work to do."

I came to understand that it was Mike's commitment to a future he wasn't sure existed for him or his children that kept him safe and kept him from checking out via suicide. He was in a sense sublimating this anger at his parents and their work into the energy of making things different, or at least trying valiantly so to do.

From time to time, during a session, Mike would just turn very pale and start sweating. When I would ask what he was feeling, what was going on, he would admit to having an anxiety attack. He admitted that these came on rather frequently, usually when he was remembering a horrible nightmare, or thinking about particular aspects of the future he fantasized was unfolding. They also came on, he said, when considering the science he understood about the particular damages he felt his parents' work was doing in the world. He seemed to live in the particular crucible of close experience with the environmental and personal impacts of these two industries, agrochemical and pharmaceutical, as symbols of the greater impact of all industrial work on the natural world he related to so differently than his parents could.

Mike also talked of "spacing out." He would report being aware in school that class had ended, yet he could remember neither the class itself nor any preoccupying fantasy. He also reported being conscious of being with others sometimes, yet feeling that the events themselves, and the people we was with were unreal, somehow out of time or not connected to the real worlds of others. Alternatively, he said: "Maybe it's that I'm unreal, that maybe I'm there but not always in my body, and so everyone else feels

unreal. Does that make sense?" This felt related, in my experience of Mike, to his report of feeling tense all the time, especially when he was working to educate people about his concerns for the planet and our future, and to feelings of guilt he expressed over not being able to change things fast enough, guilt over betraying and seeming ungrateful to his parents, guilt about not buying into the worldview of teachers and friends. There was a hyper-alertness to Mike sometimes, as though he might jump out of his skin at the least sound, when he was in the intensity of describing his knowledge of the environment and the way it was being damaged.

During his High School years, Mike had begun to the practice of washing his hands far more frequently than was required for personal hygiene, and stated expressly that this related to his knowledge of and fear of the chemistries that have been released in the environment that we are all exposed to every day. "The weird thing is I know they don't wash off. They're inside us, you know. We carry a "load," that's the scientific term, of these chemicals in our bodies, more and more from the day we're born. Mom and Dad admit it's happening all the time. I think maybe it's a ritual (the washing) for me, a way of trying to scrub that planet, as, like, an atonement for all the damage we've done, my family has done."

There were times when Mike's lack of sense of a future, and his disappointment in the lack of concern or involvement by others, led to a sort of anti-social quality to his interactions. This left Mike with periodic trouble getting along with others, having periodic scrapes that ended friendships, and when his anger around these issues led to alienating those who might eventually have become allies. "Sometimes, I know I'm too intense for others. But this matters so much. This planet is dying, and no one is willing to

admit it, and too many that know have lost the energy it takes to keep educating people. Pretty soon it will be too late. I can't take time with people who can't move."

The National Security Analysis

In retrospect, in the course of our sessions together, Mike was able to identify with all seventeen of the basic elements identified as part of the national security milieu that had the potential to shape human trauma and tragedy. He began our sessions exploring the nature of his depression, and how it related to a sense that everything safe and beautiful around him was being systematically destroyed. He was perhaps more acutely aware of the damage being done in the world to peoples' social, environmental and physical environments, than anyone I had known to that point. He traced his depression to the age of fourteen, and to his first encounter with the work of Rachel Carson. He read "Silent Spring" that year for a reading project at school, and was devastated. He was able to see the work his parents were doing all over the pages of Carson's masterwork. It was his first real encounter with material challenging everything he thought he knew about how the world worked. "I knew that if anything she said was true, and everything I knew about the chemical industries was true, that we didn't stand a chance of surviving as a species. It depressed me. I guess I never recovered. I had always been told that everything we humans did made the world better. And suddenly I knew I wasn't true. So I carry this awareness inside me while I live in the middle of streams of advertising propaganda trying to convince me to buy this, use that, dump this on my garden to scare away the bugs, and I know it's killing the planet. They want us to believe its all OK, and its not."

In this way, Mike was also able to connect his sense of depression, isolation and being different directly to his experiences of indoctrination and to experiences that challenged that process. "All day long they're trying to sell us stuff, at school, after school, from cigarettes to soap to new cars and gasoline, and all of it is considered 'good,' and all of it is breaking the planet down, making it a less habitable place to live, destroying our communities, pushing us apart, making haves and have-nots. So far, I'm a have, but I'm not so sure that's a good thing."

While Mike had been insulated from the experiences of relocation, of forced migration or exile, he anticipated these experiences in depth and often, as he considered what he knew to be true. "You know it will be uninhabitable here, don't you? The soils are so full of chemicals, from the lead of the old automobile exhausts, to lack of new nutrients except for what the chemical companies force on us, and the water will be gone soon. We're ignoring all the signs of the collapse that is coming. So when it hits, it will be a "surprise" to so many, and it will be devastating."

And his view of the prospects for change were not sanguine: "We'll never be able to change it. The people with the money will see to that. Because they want more money, they'll destroy us before they let us threaten their incomes." Mike's views of the power differentials he and others face were directly shaped by his already intensive experience of surveillance and intimidation. "There are cameras all over the schools. And they've installed metal detectors since the shootings started happening at schools around the country. Partly it's a good idea, but its also a sign of how things just are. What makes you think this isn't the new 'normal?' Government, school officials, are getting the idea that they can just spy and track us and follow us anywhere, check up on us. And now I know

kids whose parents are installing cameras at home. It's like we live in a war zone, or a prison state. And now they know they can make money off watching us all, they aren't gonna give that up, either. It's making it even harder to think about how we change things. Look at all the people who tried hard to change things in the past. They were spied on, watched, infiltrated, discredited, lied about—and now they've got even better tools for that."

Thus could Mike envision the impact these surveillance developments would have on the capacities of citizens to gather, develop movements for change, or express opinions other than those 'sanctioned' by the dominant narrative: "They already check out who we hang with, who we hold hands with, who we sit with at lunch, what our diaries and school papers have to say—why not just start using that information to decide who's dangerous and who's not? Some of my buds are turning out to be, like, libertarian anarchists. What if they hold that against me one day? And who knows, maybe they'd be right to by then."

Mike had no direct experience of being detained or incarcerated, exiled or imprisoned. He had no direct experiences of infiltration or being raided by police or the military. But he remembered well the deployment of National Guard troops in Los Angeles during the 1992 riots, and what he called his "intuition" told him that someday it would all happen right here. "Someday they will do that just because enough people like me disagree with how things are. Someday they will crack down. They do it in other countries, mostly countries our government supports, and we applaud. Our government, our CIA, our police, teach those countries how to do the crackdowns. What makes us immune? Someday it will come home to roost. Guys like me will wind up in jail. We'll be

pulled from our homes, stopped in the streets, followed into the woods if we try to hide. No place will be safe. And people just don't get it. Between the poison chemicals and the poison people, the earth doesn't stand a chance."

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

From the discussion above, it is noted that Mike identifies at various levels of intensity with nineteen of the 40 items on Briere & Runtz's 'Trauma Symptom Checklist' (1989). As the test was not directly administered but retrospectively assessed, no attempt was made to generate a score. However, the researcher's judgment is that Mike's score would meet all criteria for trauma exposure and a concomitant stress reaction.

Assessing Mike's experiences in terms of the DSM IV-TR's criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder creates an interesting picture. Criteria A of the DSM IV-TR guideline for diagnosis specifies that a trauma sufferer must have experienced both of the following:

- Experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by actual event/threat to physical integrity, and,
- had a response to that event involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror.

That Mike has experienced no direct threat that could be identified in these terms is clear. Assessed in slightly different terms, it is also clear that Mike lived every day confronting a particular knowledge and experience that was a huge threat not only to his own physical and psychical integrity, but to that of the entire planet. That this ongoing confrontation generated in his emotional life fear, a degree of helplessness, and horror is without doubt.

Assessing Mike's case via Criteria B of the DSM IV-TR framework, one finds multiple expressions of trauma-like responses. Mike's experience was missing recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections of precipitating events, and flashbacks. Instead, Mike experienced recurrent, intrusive, distressing projections of what he considered reasonably anticipated events given his knowledge base and his experiences in the world up through the time of counseling. Instead of recurrent dreams of a past traumatic event, Mike was having frequent, recurrent dreams of what his psyche seemed to know was possible in the greater scheme of things—the destruction of beloved habitats and beings with whom he had shared fairly intense emotional bonds. His patterns of dissociation were often attempts to just be elsewhere than in his very concerned, sometimes frightened body, as noted above. Just as often, they were occasions of their own terror, a participation in the ongoing illusion of an event recurring over and over that had not yet actually happened: "Sometimes, after my nightmares, I'll sit in class and just sort of check out mentally, and they'll replay and replay, like they're happening right in class. I know it's not real, but it feels so real. I mean, it's not an hallucination. It's real. Just, like, a waking dream, a wide-awake nightmare."

These ongoing internal cues, and the many external cues he encountered, such as news of new chemical releases or new findings about old and ongoing contaminations, symbolized aspects of the larger traumatizing condition in which Mike felt trapped, and clearly caused intense distress. Mike's psychological reactivity to such cues can be seen clearly in the pattern of symptoms in his life that conform to the expected patterns of Criteria C, noted below.

One of the most notable things about Mike's presentation throughout the time I knew him was his restricted range of affect. Apart from the periodic crying episodes he attested (but the researcher never witnessed), Mike's affect was pretty evenly flat across all the encounters we had. Mike displayed an acutely diminished interest in participating in significant age and stage appropriate activities of the "normal" High School student, and instead devoted his time to engagement with environmentalist communities and to amassing more and more knowledge about environmental, military and industrial threats to the planet. He sometimes expressed feelings of detachment, and recited his knowledge of what was unfolding around him in completely dispassionate tone—as though it were somehow disembodied knowledge. And his sense of estrangement ran deep, and included his parents and the 'system' he identified them with, what he sometimes called "the imperial culture, with its need to dominate and destroy." His estrangement was even deeper as it expressed in his relationships with peers and citizens who continued to buy into what he considered the propaganda machinery and so refused to see what he had seen, and move on it as he was trying to do.

What was notably missing among Mike's Criteria C experiences was any avoidance of thoughts, feelings or conversations about trauma he wrestled with. In fact, his wrestling with it in ongoing ways was the most remarkable and consistent aspect of our counseling together. He experienced no avoidance of activities, places, or people that reminded him of the traumatic visions and fears he lived inside. In retrospect, I sense his wrestling and engagement with these issues was his coping skill, a way to avoid becoming still more depressed by them—a sense that he could do at least this much, hold this small corner of experience that might be different, or that might make a difference,

his ongoing holding out for the hope of the possibility of change. He could recall in intimate detail every important aspect of the traumatizing visions and fears that shaped his consciousness at that time. This ongoing engagement left him with a sense of foreshortened future: "I see no reason to believe I or my children, if I ever have children, will ever survive the mess that's been made, and culture's defense of the mess." It also, left him with a sense of possibility: "If we do survive, it will only be because people will eventually wake up, soon, and bring the system down before it kills us all. And that's only gonna happen if someone keeps hammering away at it, a little bit at a time."

Mike had ongoing experience of three of the five items listed at Criteria D, requiring only two or more of the following. His disrupted patterns of sleep sprang at the very least from his nightmares, as well as from his difficult struggles with the ongoing dangers playing on his mind. "Sometimes I just lie awake at night and just can't turn my mind off. Either I replay the nightmare I just woke up from, or the last report I read, or my fears for the Sierra sheep, or whatever." His regular lack of sleep and his tendency to dissociate in class led to various forms of difficulty concentrating. And his sense of estrangement, noted above, sometimes fed his irritability with others, or led to outbursts of unexpected anger aimed at his parents or unsuspecting friends. He often regretted these, but was able to relate it directly to his frustration with others' lack of engagement. Mike expressed no sense of hypervigilance, and no exaggerated startle response. This lack seems best explained by the absence of a concrete, immediately identifiable triggering event, and to the rather gradual, consequential development of Mike's relationship to the traumatic problems he struggled with.

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

The "Limit Situation" Mike found himself in seemed to emerge first and foremost in his sense of environmental anxiety, his sense of his place and future in the world, as circumscribed by his awareness of the perils abroad in the world around him. "All the problems with pollution and environmental collapse are like all the problems with racism and other social issues—we thought—your generation thought—they were solved in the 1960s, and they weren't." This has led, in turn, to a sense of identity fragmentation, an awareness of changed perceptions of who he is in a world full of nameless, faceless destroyers: "My generation and our children are probably doomed. So how do I live, make a life, find myself, find honorable work, in a world that's destroying itself?"

Mike expressed a sense of social anxiety related to minor experiences of surveillance and control noted above, and the fear that these will get worse in his experience, as they had in other places exhibiting the sort of patterns he observes in America. Mike could see the double binds created by the propaganda machine, the call to buy, use, and consume, and the unspoken reality of the damages this pattern caused. He knew himself to be a rebel in response to the propaganda. This altered his sense of self in relation to the powers he saw destroying the world he and his children were supposed to inherit, as he found himself becoming increasingly radicalized in his thinking about those powers. "They think people like me are traitors, and one day they'll crack down. But in the meantime, I know that standing up and standing out for it is the only way forward. And I know I'm not a traitor. I want them to survive, too. But it's got to change."

Mike expressed a general sense of anxiety both about the environment and about the eventual social changes he thought might come as more and more people caught on to

the damage being done. He was minutely aware of the micro impacts of what was going on in the environment: "You know, they're spraying today. Do you know what that will do? Better stay inside, but it's still gonna be on everything in your garden. And 'wash it before you eat it' doesn't really work effectively." This he shared during a period of fruit fly control attempts be the County in the neighborhoods we shared, trying to warn me to avoid problems with my garden.

Mike's intake of world and local news was such that he was also minutely aware of the intimidative behaviors of authority figures everywhere, behaviors including and similar to those he already experiences at school, where he is surveilled eight to ten hours daily. And he feared the move from simple surveillance as experienced at school to more draconian measures of social control, including detainments, civil rights suspensions and restrictions, and the potential for government and police interventions. He knew some older activists who'd experienced as much in the Civil Rights Movement era. "It's gonna happen again. And they've had to learn to be more sophisticated. New tools. Old attitudes. Old behaviors. It's not gonna be good, and it's only a matter of time. You'll see."

His sense of powerlessness around changing the inequalities most likely to lead to civic unrest, also fed his fears of eventual paramilitary interventions he spoke of. "Too much power, too much wealth, all in the hands of too few. It's gonna get worse. My senior project had me working in the soup lines and shelters down on skid row. They've never seen so many families. And they know it'll get worse because the whole tax thing is going to increase poverty. More people homeless. More people who can't feed their kids. More of the kids poisoned."

Sometimes Mike's reflections in this vein gave way to a sense of learned helplessness: "And there's not a damn thing we can do about it without setting ourselves up to get ignored, or discredited, or vilified, or worse. Probably get shot some day."

One's sense of Mike's ongoing, complex trauma was clearly developed in the symptom clusters so far described. Shifts in his capacity to keep his affective impulses in check, his ongoing tendencies to dissociate in various ways, his continual sleeplessness and regular nightmares, deepening alienations from his parents and increasingly from uninvolved peers, his weight loss and loss of appetite and engagement with the processes of daily life, all speak to a significant trauma. It clearly doesn't (quite) fit the traditional diagnostic criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder. It clearly, nevertheless, seems to express a very real, very traumatizing set of interior events and exterior knowings that call for engaged clinical attention.

The radical activist.

Rachel was a 45-year-old White female when we met and began counseling in 1992. She lived by herself in a quiet neighborhood in a major American metropolitan area. Not working at the time we met, she maintained a periodic/intermittent employment as an activist/organizer, clerk and sometimes errand runner, mostly for non-profit outfits devoted to the causes of poverty elimination, discrimination elimination, anti-war activism, and environmental protection. She sometimes characterized her lifestyle as that of a "professional volunteer who sometimes gets paid." Rachel was well educated, holding a B.A. in English from a major liberal arts college, and an M.A. in Library Science from a large, West Coast university. Rachel was divorced, though on good terms with her ex-husband, and had one adult son, also a peace activist, who periodically lived with his mom when he was not living and working in other cities.

Rachel came by her activist lifestyle honestly. Her father had been a Quaker farmer and part time professor of sociology at a small liberal arts university on the Eastern seaboard. He had been a major anti-war activist in the late thirties and throughout World War II. Rachel's mother had been a homemaker during that time, giving her ample availability to act as her husband's publisher at a time when major publishing houses were refusing to even look at manuscripts that questioned the wisdom of war and its inevitability. The family had eventually taken refuge in France in the post-war years after 1950, to escape harassment in their community by those unsympathetic to their commitment to peace. Rachel's father and mother were, for a time, on the investigative list of the so-called House Un-American Activities Committee. They returned to the United States in 1961, following the inauguration of John F. Kennedy. Rachel had been

one of four siblings. Her older brother had followed his father back to the family farm and taken up farming when their father became too frail. Her younger brother had committed suicide in early 1970s, ostensibly as an act of protest against the Vietnam War. Rachel's younger sister had followed Rachel into a life of activism and work for others, and had become a Social Worker in a Midwestern metropolitan area.

Rachel came in for counseling to talk about the loneliness and sadness she was experiencing. She was sure she was suffering from burnout: "What else cold it be? I've just been fighting the good fight for too long. Maybe I've just gotten too tired to notice who else is still around me, still fighting along side me." Yet, she also reported feeling increasingly isolated from others: "Even the people I work with that are devoted to the same causes. It's like I have nothing in common with them, we don't share the same world, the same experiences. They're devoted enough, they just don't see the big picture, the whole systems of oppression. It's like, they're Band-Aid workers, not game changers."

Rachel was also experiencing anxiety attacks at the time we began working with each other. "Sometimes I'll just be sitting there, and this image will cross my mind of some homeless person, maybe a wounded vet I know, maybe just another coworker, and this wave of partly nausea, partly anxiety, will wash through my body. I've learned I can let it go, let it move on through, by not becoming attached to it. Sometimes I talk to it, just say hi, ask if it belongs to me or to the person I'm thinking of, and eventually it will disappear. Maybe after 10 or 20 minutes I'll be back to normal, breathing more regularly, not aflutter inside anymore."

I asked if she thought her anxiety might be a sign of her fear of some aspect of the people she was thinking of when this happened. "Well, sometimes it happens without anyone in particular on my mind. It's just there. But when I'm thinking of someone or seeing a face or their figure in my mind's eye, it's like I'm not afraid of them, but of the fact that I am just like them, just as hopeless, just as helpless, and vulnerable to the same wounds they are. And truth is, I've had some experiences that aren't so far from theirs. The closest I can figure out, it's a 'there but for the grace of God go I,' sort of thing."

Rachel also found herself suffering from headaches her physician could find no reason for, except perhaps tension headaches related to her work and the stresses she often worked under. She also reported insomnia, frequent waking in the middle of the night, rising in the morning without having had any real rest, and frequent nightmares. "I have these really realistic dreams where the police all come down to the Center where I used to work and round us up and take us to jail for helping the poor and organizing homeless protests at City Hall. And while we're in jail, they steal all our stuff and destroy our homes. They feed us rats and some gruel made of dust from the jailhouse floor. I get sick and throw up, but they won't take me for treatment. Others get sick, and the guards don't care. They laugh when we throw up, and then bring more of their disgusting food and try to force us to eat. It's horrible."

By the time she finished recalling this dream, Rachel was in tears. I asked what she felt, and what she thought the dream meant for her. "I'm so sad. I'm so scared. This is actually what they're doing to all of us, don't you see? They haven't rounded us up yet physically, but psychologically, this is what they're doing all the time. And maybe,

someday, they'll start doing it for real, in waking time. They'll take us all in, and make us all poor, just to prove their silly assertion that 'there will be poor always.'"

Rachel had had some encounters with police in the past, at times when she had volunteered to engage in non-violent, civil disobedience to make a point at a protest. She had been active in anti-nuclear protests around the Western United States, and had had more than one bruise from police handling at such events. I wondered aloud whether she thought these might have shaped her dream. "Who knows? I know I sometimes wonder if such things could happen here. We think not, or we're taught to think not, anyway. But I'm not so sure. And remember, my family chose to leave the country once because of their fear and the real threat that something like this seemed to be happening. I mean, no police that we knew of, and yet my dad knew we were being watched."

Rachel reported stomach problems that her physician could not find a physical cause for. "He says I probably have irritable bowel syndrome, and tells me I just worry to much. He says if I'd stay calm and not think so much, it would probably clear up. Maybe so. Who knows?" Rachel also knew she had a problem keeping her weight regulated, and clearly attributed it to her sense of anxiety about her life and about the world: "I eat when I'm wound up about something. And these days, I'm nearly always wound up about something. But there's so much to be wound up about. Part of the problem is that people should be wound up about war, about poverty that doesn't need to be, about freedom and our rights – and they aren't. Power likes it when we aren't upset. Upset should be the normal thing in our society, if people would just wake up. And what's interesting, is when I'm upset, I eat just like power does—I just eat everything in sight, it doesn't

matter. Maybe I'd eat someone else's food if I had the chance. That's what power does, what the powerful do, isn't it?"

Other problems Rachel reported included a pattern of being unable to remember things when stressed, and a problem of spacing out when things would get too intense. "Sometimes I'll be thinking about a project I'm working on involving organizing a march of homeless people from Skid Row to City Hall, and suddenly I'll be aware that I've been gone somewhere else, that I've lost my train of thought and don't know where I am in the process of the project, and sometimes there'll be tears in my eyes when I come back to attention. At first, I wondered if I was having little strokes or something, but the doctor doesn't find anything. He thinks there's just too much stress. And there is, lots and lots of stress. I'm always feeling tense all the time, like it all rides on me. And I'm always feeling guilty, like it's my fault these problems are still here, because I haven't, we haven't, done enough. It's not all my fault, I know, and it's not all mine to do, but I'm more a part of the problem, like you are, than of the solution. And I feel guilty about that. I think we all should. If we all woke up, maybe we would."

Rachel admitted to having trouble controlling her temper, mostly in meetings with government bureaucrats or citizens who expressed feelings or ideas that discounted her work. "I'm like, totally intolerant of people who say the poor are poor because they're lazy, or that vets are experiencing trauma because they're weak, or that people who address or point to the sorts of social problems I work on are somehow un-American. That one has followed me all my life, I suppose. And it hasn't gotten any easier. But when someone takes one of those lines in a meeting, or a hearing, or a planning session, or an education session, like at a church, I have to be very careful not to go ballistic. That's

what broke my marriage up. Jim just didn't understand, and kept denying that the problems I worked on mattered. And then, because I knew he wasn't on board with what I did, I got more and more testy with everything. Every little thing he did started bothering me to the point that I would explode. I knew he didn't deserve that, but I knew I didn't deserve to be stuck with someone who constantly denied the value of caring for the poor, the planet, or the victims of war. So eventually we agreed it had to end."

Just once, in Rachel's long history of struggling with these matters, she reached a point when she thought about the desire to physically hurt herself: "I was maybe thirty-seven years old. Jim and I had been divorced for years, and Matt," (Rachel's now adult son), "was fifteen, just thinking about starting driving. One night, I found myself feeling so lonely after a particularly scathing round of encounters with bureaucrats to try to get a march approved. I just sat on my bed and cried all night. I didn't go to work the next morning, so I sat in bed and cried all day. A night and a day turned into a week. I knew the other workers supported me and the work, but I was just so tired. Just so defeated. Just so longing for something to be simple. And I thought, just briefly, about just taking a bunch of pills and ending it all. But I couldn't betray Matt, and it would have been a total betrayal. It would have betrayed me as well. I knew I had to go on. And I remembered that the truth was, I loved my work, my coworkers, the people we served, and the causes we engaged. And I recovered, and finally, after like 8 days, I went back to the office and started again. I only felt that way the one time, thank God. Or, rather, when I feel like I'm sliding into that frame of mind, I remember the road out, and I always come back very shortly."

The National Security Analysis

Rachel identified and spoke of all seventeen of the national security elements at some point or another in our work together. Particularly clear was her direct experience of the work of propaganda as it intersected her work and her passion for justice. "Rich people and governments want us to believe poverty is normal, and that it only exists because poor people are lazy or 'unfit' to complete in a Darwinian world. It's totally absurd. Or that war is normal. Or sickness. It's just nuts."

She also had direct experience of propaganda aimed at her: "They also put out that we are the problem, the activists, because we're always stirring things up. Or that our work is 'disloyal,' just like they said about Dad and Mom. When we were protesting nuclear subs and missiles, they tried to paint us as radical traitors to America. We were not only not doing our duty, but actively undermining the 'state' and its needs, at least according to the news reports. And they were always trying to sell the idea that all this was just so necessary to keep us safe."

As a child, Rachel had been especially sensitive to the difference she experienced in how people she knew were treated, based on skin color, or on perceived social status. "It was always easy for me to see, the differences in the kind of power I had as a White kid, from the sorts of experiences my Black and Hispanic friends had. I came back to America as a teen in the 1960s, just as civil rights was exploding around us. I'd known Black kids in France and played there and thought nothing of it. I remember being scolded back here by another girl at school because I'd tried to make friends with a Black girl who'd come to Sunday School the week before. It made no sense. And I still see that way that kind of thinking pervades our culture."

She expressed particular concerns about how differentials in power were determined by differentials in wealth: "Keeping people poor is one way to keep them from voting. That's why our community organizing is so important. And why the corporations withdraw their grants when they learn we also do that work. If we're taking care of veterans, they're just fine with that, as long as we don't get political. If we register homeless people to vote, that's a whole other story, and they want their money back. Or they won't renew the grant, even though their money didn't pay for any of that work. That was a whole different project. Business is part of the problem, you know. We like to say that we know the government isn't for sale, because the present owners are quite happy with it. Eisenhower warned us about the military-industrial complex. They won't let us do anything to endanger the profit machinery."

And she worried about the future of voting rights for those she'd worked to register, and for herself: "Most of our homeless folk will never be allowed to vote. They'll find a way to keep the poor out of the voting booths if they can. And someday, they'll start with the rest of us. Not sure when, not sure how. But one day they'll start with people like you and me, and that will be the first freedom to go."

As a longtime activist, Rachel had had direct experience of restrictions on freedom and attempts at intimidation: "Back in the day, they used to try to get young Republicans to infiltrate the anti-war groups and report back, I don't know, to the police or something? There was this one guy who we thought was just shy. He'd come to the meetings and sit in the corner, never say much. Then the day came for a march through town, and he wasn't around. We learned later he'd been a watcher, because he couldn't contain his glee and sent us a note congratulating us on having the march stopped in the

first block." And she feared that such intimidations were continuing to happen, or that one day, they would erupt as major social problems: "I've been beaten by police before while I was trying to protect other marchers. I won't be surprised if it happens again. I know I'm making choices, but so are they, and the violence just isn't necessary. You can tell it hurts some of them to act that way, but they're 'under orders.'"

She knew as a result of her arrests what detainment was like, though she was rarely detained for long—"My max time was three weeks for repeated trespass at Lawrence Livermore, ages ago." She knew what it was like to face a long line of police preparing to intervene on a protest, and her whole life had been shaped by her family's experience of exile in her childhood. And she noticed the irony of the damages caused both by activist actions, and by inaction:

"There's this weird thing that happens. I warn the younger activists about it all the time. You know if you go out there and protest, that it's got the potential to damage you physically, emotionally, maybe socially. That maybe certain jobs will never be open. Like, the government's never gonna hire me for anything, right? But you know that if you don't go out, if you don't make the case, if you don't register a protest somehow, that it's only gonna get worse, and the damage is gonna be so much greater. Maybe someday they'll raid my home and take me to jail because I've been a rabble rouser. But if I'm not a rabble-rouser, they may come anyway, because I let democracy go, didn't exercise my rights, and they'll get taken away for some other reason. And in the meantime, the big home, the planet, your local landscape, the people in it, are all being damaged every day by policies that deepen poverty, perpetuate war, and count things more important than people."

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

In reviewing case notes from counseling with Rachel, it became clear that she had made reference to at least eighteen of the 40 items on Briere and Runtz's 'Trauma Symptom Checklist' (1989). Eliminating the eleven items of the 'Checklist' which no participants had identified with in any way (seven of which are on the Sexual Abuse Trauma Inventory portion of the Checklist), she is assessed to have registered at eighteen of 29 items, roughly two thirds of the most significant trauma indicators on the list. (As noted elsewhere, the remaining four items on which no participant registered are filler items used within the assessment tool to identify possible fudging or over-reporting to trauma impacts). As the Checklist was not directly administered, but used for comparison, it was not scored. Nevertheless, it seems likely that Rachel would be assessed via this instrument to have had significant trauma exposure with a telling list of active symptoms noted.

When compared to the DSM IV-TR diagnostic criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, Rachel's narrative yields interesting results. Criteria A would require that Rachel demonstrate the effects of both of the following: Having experienced, witnessed, or been confronted by an actual event or threat to her physical integrity, and having a response to that event involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror. At one level, this item is missing here as in Mike's, Peggy's, and Ben's profiles. On another level, it is difficult to assess the impact of either childhood exile, her younger brother's protest/suicide, or her regular encounters with police powers in the process of non-violent protest, in terms of the Criteria A items. In the view of the present researcher, Rachel's case is not ambiguous in this regard: These events were clearly sufficient to trigger the

development of long-term, chronic trauma exposure, the cumulative effects of which were manifesting as complex trauma in Rachel's life at the point at which we began counseling together.

With Criteria B, Rachel's case becomes still more clear. One or more of the Criteria B items must be present to support a diagnosis of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. Rachel's clearest endorsement of such criteria come through her dreams, which are not of a past event, but an evocation and elaboration of events of arrest and incarceration which have been part of her lived experience. She also reports that the dream represents a very real, and for Rachel, reasonable fear that its images are already happening in the metaphorical sense, and that they have yet to be made reality, but one day will. She never endorses the idea that she is somehow dreaming of the future, yet is very clear that such events are reasonably to be expected and feared in the American experience. That his internal cue symbolizes an aspect of her experience and evokes intense distress is certain. That this distress is a form of psychological reactivity is likewise clear, in the view of this researcher.

Elements of Criteria C (three or more) also illustrate Rachel's connections to a traumatizing reality in her life. In the time we worked together, Rachel displayed a narrow range of affect, falling mostly between downcast and sad. There was a palpable sense of depression even in her posture, mostly with shoulders hunched forward and in, as though she were expecting to be hit or trying to hide, to make herself as small as possible. She reported often trying to avoidance thoughts, feelings or conversations about trauma generally. More specifically, she reported sometimes just "shutting down emotionally to avoid it all—when it just gets too much, when I can't stop thinking about

what's happened to our workers and volunteers and marchers in the past, and how ignored we are by the culture at large. Then I just try to go away in my mind. Just to avoid it." This dovetailed, for Rachel, with an avoidance of activities, places, or people that arouse recollection of the trauma: "Sometimes I just stay away from the conferences, the big planning sessions, just to avoid having to wade through it all one more time. It's like replaying it all over again, and sometimes I just don't have the steel inside to do that again." Rachel also expressed feelings of detachment, estrangement on a regular basis, mostly from the dominant culture she moved in: "I absolutely don't fit in anywhere. This culture and its killing ways, and usually for somebody else's goods. I walk down the street feeling like I'm wearing a sign that says I'm from another planet, feeling like nothing here makes sense. And it's not like I want to belong—this culture and how we live just make me sick. Nauseous sometimes." Rachel expressed a clear sense of a foreshortened future, which connected to a diminished interest in participating in significant activities:

"This is all gonna be gone someday. Everything we take for granted, like freedom, food, civilization, safety, and my guts tell me this will come sooner rather than later. We can't keep taking and taking from every other culture and country on the planet without some repercussion. Maybe they'll revolt. Maybe it will all just collapse. I don't know. But it leaves me feeling like I don't even want to do the dishes sometimes. In fact, usually, I realize there's like a week's worth of dishes sitting in the sink and suddenly know that my depression is getting worse about it all, and I have to do something to shake myself awake again. But sometimes I just think, what the fuck, why bother?"

Rachel also manifested several elements related to Criteria D (two or more). She had difficulty falling and staying asleep, as noted above, and frequent difficulty concentrating: "I have to be really careful when I think too much about everything I and the movement have been through. Sometimes it means I can't concentrate on anything else. If I've been stuck there a while, it can take couple of days for me to get my focus back."

She was also frustrated by her irritability with coworkers or clients, irritability she felt was uncharacteristic, and out of proportion to her normal levels of frustration. "Now and again I just explode at someone, and I hate it. It's so not me. I'm the calm, steady one who helps others focus."

Additional factors contributing to Complex, Traumatic Stress

The Limit Situation in which Rachel found herself had in some ways been developing across the landscape of her entire life. She had been raised in a counter-cultural household, both in terms of her family's spirituality and their anti-war activism. Her basic values of life were different from the dominant culture and its narratives, and had been from a very early age. This gave Rachel a very highly developed sense of the double binds involved in the work of the propaganda machine, as they manifested in her life. "Maybe it's just that I can see the lies more clearly than most people, because I grew up expecting them. They tell us they're defending our freedoms, even as those freedoms keep getting closed down. I see the double speak. I watched them try to disenfranchise the whole family when I was a kid, calling us 'commies' just because we were against the wars. They tried to discredit our values, and so remove us from society. They couldn't do it then, though they made life very difficult. I'm surprised they didn't figure out ways to

take the vote away. And yet, they have. All you need is a felony, and you can't vote. Interesting, felonies disproportionately fall on the poor people I work with."

As noted above, Rachel's development of complex trauma certainly must have roots in the combination of family factors as her family navigated the particular developments of the American National Security State over their life spans. These included a sense of ongoing persecution for views about war and peace, the traumatic suicide "protest" of her younger brother, and Rachel's own ongoing engagement with social issues related to power, war, peace, and the environment. Rachel had a well-developed, deep awareness of the personal, social, and environmental costs of maintaining the status quo. This grew, at least in part, out of her experience of the damage being done to personal properties, social networks and ecology based on her intimate work with several social justice and engagement organizations. It manifested in part for her in her own awareness of her self-soothing-via eating pattern, and how that manifested a key aspect of the state and the culture.

Rachel's sense of social anxiety was not especially high, though she reported being often wary of new volunteers, strangers coming into the movement without reference to other contacts she already knew and trusted, in part owing to her experience of a "mole" in her cadre during her earlier protest days. Rather, a more generalized anxiety prevailed for Rachel, which she attributed to experiences and fears related to her history of social protest and engagement—fears that civil liberties restrictions would eventually be put in place and that paramilitary interventions would become a norm in social and civil engagements and protests.

Social disruption—attempts by dominant culture to keep voices of dissent or victims of oppression from creating community and ritual and sharing resources to build resilience—was something Rachel had known from childhood, emphasized by the family's flight to France, in an effort to locate and engage with such communities. And Rachel was aware of how privileged her family had been in having adequate resources to make it possible to make such an escape into exile. This, in turn, this fed Rachel's sense of social disruption, vis a vis real, lived experiences in protest actions in which her civil liberties were curtailed by police action.

Rachel only rarely touched on the topic of environmental anxiety, though she worked with disabled vets from the Vietnam era and knew from their experience the effects of Agent Orange and other chemicals on their nervous systems. From this she carried a considerable suspicion of everything the government at to say about "safety" of the chemicals used in her everyday life, and developed a commitment to use only organic, simple soaps and chemicals. "I never trust when a company says something is safe, and even less when the government says it's safe. Someone is making money somewhere. It's advertising, so it's propaganda. Look at the vets and Agent Orange. Look at the eagles and DDT. Remember Bhopal. We have no reason to believe the companies and the government and their lies about what's safe and what's not."

Rachel expressed conflict between buying into the narrative of a government and culture she could not see as benign, and her lived experience of the damages that government and cultural institutions do. This had led her to part ways with some people who'd come into her life in the past. "They bought into a system I don't trust, and it was hard. Maybe that's what part of the problem was with Jim. He couldn't see, and I could."

This perceived division in the outer world seemed to mirror Rachel's own inner conflict and contributed to her developing identity fragmentation:

"You quit trusting. Well, I quit trusting. I stopped trusting them, and I stopped trusting myself. What does it mean to be an American? How do I participate in the lies without knowing? How do I make it hard for others to escape? How do I make sense of a system that seems bent on poisoning and killing and stealing? And how do I make sense of my living in such a system? Or, how do I escape?"

Rachel's inability to escape these double binds contributed to the deepening of her long-term depression. These same elements contributed to her sense of learned helplessness, her powerlessness to change the system in spite of years of trying. She would continue that work for as long as I knew her, but always at the edge of wanting to stop, always at the edge of her energies to keep fighting for what she thought was right, and the edge of just giving up.

The artist activist.

Joe was a 48-year-old male of mixed/Hispanic ancestry when we met and began working together in 1998. He was a full-time artist. Joe had, in the past, lived with an older male partner in the vicinity of my office, but was single at the time of our work together. Joe had been born and raised in the city he lived in, to first-generation immigrant parents from Northern Europe and Latin America. His father had come to America after World War II to develop and run a furniture business. He met Joe's mother in Mexico, in the process of making contracts to import furniture, and married on the spot. Joe was an only child, born in the first few years of his parents' marriage. His father had died, but his mother continued to live in the community and Joe spent regular time each week involved in her care. His extended family on his mother's side were his primary support, and he was often a surrogate parent for younger cousins if the family had need.

Joe had acquired an M.A. in education and as a young man had been a member of a Roman Catholic religious order of teachers, involved in working with the poor in Latin America. After his service in Guatemala, Joe left the order and returned to the United States where he obtained a Master of Fine Arts and pursued his life as a working artist. He occasionally took on apprentices in art, as well being a guest lecturer at local colleges and universities.

Joe had a personal history that included various traumatizing events in his life and the lives of those around him. He remembered the civil rights period riots and other civil unrest in his native city during his childhood. His childhood home had once been mistakenly invaded by the City and County police, looking for drug dealers. During that

event, he recalled his family being harassed and his mother becoming so anxious that she hyperventilated and had to be taken to the hospital. Shortly after that incident, Joe and his family had moved to a new neighborhood to try to escape the memories and damage caused by that event. As an adult, Joe had worked as a teacher of English and art in Guatemala at the height of that country's civil unrest, and had several peers in the order who had been attacked by local police and paramilitary on suspicion of aiding the local rebels by virtue of teaching the poor. One of those peers was killed.

Joe and I began to work together at a time when Joe found himself unable to shake a long term and worsening depression. He traced this depression to the age of eight, and the home invasion by local police, who'd mistaken addresses for their raid. "Things were never the same after that. I've never really been at ease, maybe. As things in the city get worse, my depression gets worse. Have you followed the local press coverage of the gang shootings lately? Week by week, we have as many gang killings in [city] as there are casualties in Beirut [with reference to that country's civil war in the 1990s]. They have a 'civil war.' We are told we have a 'gang problem.' If the death toll is the same, from several groups of people shooting each other, what's the difference?"

Joe also reported anxiety attacks, some of which I witnessed during our counseling sessions together, and periods of uncontrollable crying. He reported one such period this way:

"I've been in bed for the last three days. There was a gang shooting on my street last week. I didn't know the rival gang member they killed, I don't think he was from our area. But one of the bullets entered the house across the street, and injured a baby. She's 6 month's old, for God's sake. Just a graze, but think. Shot at 6 months. Hell, it would've

been better for me to take it than her. It's just stupid. So I went to the hospital with the mother the next day, just to support her. When I got home, I did OK for a while, then went back down to the hospital to see her on my own. The next day, I couldn't get out of bed. I woke up with tears in my eyes, and just laid there crying. I've been in bed crying ever since. I just can't stop."

Already, prior to this incident, Joe had been having sleep problems. They only got worse after this. He would wake not feeling rested in the morning, after waking in the middle of the night to the least sound, worrying that someone was in danger of gang gunfire. About this time in our work together, Joe began to report frequent memory problems: "Sometimes, I just wander from room to room in the house, then off to the studio, and can't remember what I'm there for. It's like, something is sitting on my memory, preventing any information from coming forward. And then sometimes I start to think about something and can't remember the details. I was trying to remember something about Guatemala the other day, and I just couldn't find the sting to pull the memory up. It's so frustrating. I've never had this problem before."

Joe reported he had always suffered from what he called "my Catholic guilt," but allowed that such feelings were on the increase. "The bullet that little girl took, that should have been me." He also expressed a sense of the collective guilt was driving him to be involved in organizing against community violence, both from the gangs and from the police. "It's got to be stopped. If not now, when? If not me, who?" He reported feeling especially tense all the time when he was awake: "It's like I'm walking around on eggshells, with this pressure in my chest, and I know somehow it's a bomb, and I have to save everyone from it. It's a sense I'm going to explode." About this time, Joe also began

experiencing obsessive urges to over-frequent washing, an effort he related to trying to be rid of his sense of guilt. At one point, this developed into a full-fledged fear that he might physically hurt himself:

"I had this thought when I was in Guatemala. That maybe we, maybe I, could be a sacrifice to either the military or the rebels, a sacrifice that would be enough o make them leave the people in peace, and end the violence so that the peoples' lives could be better. Now I find myself thinking about that again, here. Maybe if I sacrifice myself, this would all end. And it's not just the gangs here. It's the police gangs, the government thugs that are trying to deport my neighbors, the corporations that want their money but won't pay them a living wage, the English-only idiots that made life hard for my mother years ago and are making it impossible for my neighbors – her people, my people – here and now. I don't think I'd actually hurt myself, but maybe I could offer myself to the gangs. I know it's stupid. But."

The National Security Analysis

Over the course of our counseling together, Joe endorsed seventeen out of this study's seventeen national security elements related to activities that induce trauma in exposed populations. He was especially aware of the varieties of propaganda that had shaped his life from the beginning. "I was aware early of the ways people treated my parents because the both had accents—and mom had brown skin. The clear message was that they were different. And that somehow made me different." Joe was also alert to lessons on how to fit in better:

"The church and the culture had ways to help me fit in. Other messages, other indoctrination to help me along. The message was always, 'Be good. Be nice and people

will like you. If you're nice and good, you'll succeed. Do good works, and you'll be admired. Give lots of money, be a good citizen, don't rock the boat, don't get out of line.' The tragedy was that there points at which my parents reinforced all these messages, in the hope that I would get on better than they had. So they wanted me to be a good little brown-white boy. 'Don't upset the nuns, the policeman, never make a stink, always do your best to be invisible.' It was something they couldn't do themselves with their accents and mom's Mexican face. Her people were Mayan, mostly, I think, from the South. It was interesting being stuck between the 'you're totally different' and the 'buy in to fit in' messages the culture presented to me at the same time, growing up."

Joe had also developed a keen eye for how power was not evenly distributed, especially in his comparatively poorer neighborhood. "When I was young, maybe fifteen or so, the neighborhood started changing. City Hall agreed to let a bunch of corporations come in—a big pharmacy chain, a big new supermarket chain, K-mart came early to our neighborhood. The neighborhood didn't really want these newcomers – we knew the butcher down the street, and druggist at the corner, the old couple with the dry goods store on the next street. We tried to fight to keep the big stores out. Or, at least, some of the families did. So it created divisions in the neighborhood, too. They also came in and started condemning houses, buying people out on the cheap and razing the old neighborhoods to build housing projects, slums, really. They called it 'community development,' but none of us thought we were under-developed until City Hall told us so. I suppose they thought we were a bunch of ignorant foreigners who needed to be told. Funny. My family was the only recent arrival on the block. Everyone spoke Spanish. But every other family on the block had been there for generations."

The invasion of his home by the city police force as a youngster had left an impression on Joe, and made him wary of power generally, and police specifically. He remembered being watched by the Guatemalan special forces, as all foreigners were, especially the religious institutes that were there teaching. "We were followed everywhere, just to be sure we weren't up to anything fishy. I often wondered if they ever interrogated people we knew or met with." While in Guatemala teaching, he had been detained by police for questioning as a spy:

"I wasn't sure I would come out alive. One of the Brothers had been killed by the Guatemalan police in the fall before they picked me up, suspected of aiding and abetting the rebel forces. I don't remember now how many days they held me. That's when I first thought about being a sacrifice. I thought, 'If it would bring peace for the people, I can bear the thought of their killing me here and now.' It didn't happen, and I'm glad. That's where my mind goes, though, when I'm most depressed and that old idea creeps back into my mind."

The Trauma Symptom Checklist and DSM IV-TR Analysis

Joe's expressed symptoms align with only ten of those of the Trauma Symptom Checklist (Briere & Runtz, 1989). Joe did endorse flashbacks, related to events that happened to the people he served among and with in his time in Guatemala. The murder of one of his peers from the order figured prominently in those flashbacks. While he did not witness this event, his flashbacks seemed to provide a very clear picture in his mind's eye as to what must have happened:

"I can see him coming up over the rise in the road outside the village where the ambush took place. Of course, it was never investigated, as the local police were likely

either involved, or merely afraid of the more powerful security forces. I see him over the rise, and there's a copse of trees there off to the North of the road. They must've been laying in wait there, and simply lowed him down on the road. His body was found in the copse off to the side of the road, but there was a dusting of fresh earth piled in place on the dirt road, as though to cover a blood stain or something. We never were able to find out for sure. Sometimes, I'll be sitting at my desk and suddenly I can see it in my mind's eye: A fusillade of bullets mows him down as he walks, with blood coming out his mouth as he chokes and falls and bleeds to death. It was their way, the paramilitaries. I'll never know if what I see is true. But I see it, as clear as if it were a message from [the brother] himself: 'This is what they did, Joe. This is what they did.'"

A witnessed incident that also affected Joe with flashbacks was a car bombing on a crowded market day in the village square. Joe and two others from the rectory had been on their way and just coming into the Market plaza and when they heard the blast and saw the chaos of bodies falling and, mothers running dragging bloodied children by the hand. "It was terrible. It hit every family in that village. Grandmothers, mothers, uncles and fathers peddling crops—every family lost someone. And there we were, saved from the blast itself, suddenly just moving without thinking to help the wounded, gather up the crumpled and dying, frantically paying with each and offering such comfort as we could. There were just too many. Too much blood. We couldn't really tell who was alive or dead. We just lifted limp hands and prayed for each one and moved on. We weren't medics. None came. We were powerless to change the outcomes. All we could do was be there with the grief, and overwhelming terror and grief, and the dirt gone muddy with the blood of the dying and sorely wounded. Sometimes I'll dream it, sometimes I'll be sitting

at coffee, walking down the street, working in the studio, and something will trigger the memory and its as though I'm right there. In the middle of it. Still helpless, still scared, still powerless to do anything to save anyone's life. I can feel my blood pressure go up, and with it my anxiety, a sense of panic. Sometimes I just start to bawl like a baby, weep and weep. I couldn't do that day. I had to be strong. The other brothers and I just hunkered down and did what had to be done. I didn't cry over it until the first time I had one of these wide-awake memory experiences—is it a flashback? And I bawled like a baby for three hours that day. Still do.

As noted in Joe's account, Joe was subject to episodic anxiety attacks, triggered by a variety of experiences. In addition to the sudden, disturbing memories noted above, the sight of a child who reminded him of one he might have seen in Latin America, a noise that reminded him of the sorts explosions he had heard, would set him off. Even American politics fed into it: "Sometimes, I will be watching TV and some political figure will be featured saying something that sounds so like the things that the powerful would say on TV in Latin America, and my stomach will tighten and a flood of grief and anxiety just wash through my body from my heart up to my head and down through the bottom of my feet. First time it happened, I thought I was dying. I didn't, and for a bit wished I had. I was days getting the toxic fear, the biochemistry of it, cleared from my system. It still happens, even with political figures I like, who don't know, just don't understand, how much our attitudes express the same sort of toxic attitudes toward the poor, the homeless, the ill, the mentally ill…" Joe trailed off at this point, and as I watched he went pale, began breathing more shallowly as though he were afraid to give himself oxygen, and started sweating. "What's happening, Joe? I asked. "It's one of the

attacks—just talking about it has brought one on. We have to stop now." So we did. We sat together while Joe let go long, heaving sobs that seemed to purge something of the energy of the anxiety. At last his breathing became more normal again. He clinched and unclenched his jaw and fists several times, as though making sure they still worked. We talked through the event itself, and then ended the session to start again the next time.

Joe reported minimal sleep disturbance. He never spoke of his dreams as nightmares, though they seemed, in the experience of listening to them, to be of that quality. He did report waking in the middle of the night, often, and sometimes being disoriented about whether he was in his own bed at the studio, or back in Latin America. He also reported rarely waking fully rested from a full night's sleep. In relation to his sleep pattern, he also identified a pattern of ongoing emotional, psychophysical tension: "It's like I'm totally keyed up some of the time, and when it's like that, I can't sleep well, I can't think well, I forget things, I can't focus, I get snappy with others around me. Sometimes the intensity just goes on and on for days. I can't turn it off. Sometimes I start washing while that's going on, like I get OCD or something, hoping that it will calm the intensity I'm feeling under my skin. It doesn't work, of course, but I just stand there, and wash, rinse, repeat, or go back every several minutes to wash again. Maybe the ritual of it helps calm me down, I don't know. Sometimes the intensity of it gets so bad and lasts so long, I start wanting to do anything to end it. It starts to feel almost like an anxiety attack, a little less intense, but not much, and relentless, continuous. The only times I've ever considered hurting myself, killing myself, have been in the midst of one of those really bad times when I just can't shut it off and it gets to be overwhelming. It brings up all the depression, the sadness, the failures of being unable to help, the guilt of being such a

useless foreigner in a war zone we had no business being in, and it gets to be too much." We had a long conversation about how Joe was feeling at that time, as he spoke, to be sure he was safe. As he was talking about it, he almost seemed to be summoning it.

In assessing Joe's narrative against the DMS IV-TR criteria for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, both items of Criteria A are clearly met. Joe had experienced, witnessed, and been confronted by several actual events that presented threats to his own or a loved one's physical and psychical integrity. Watching him recall and relive these in our sessions, it seems clear his responses to those events and their memories very much involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror.

Joe's Criteria B associations (one or more) were likewise robust. As noted above, he was able to identify and describe recurrent, intrusive, distressing recollections the events he and his community had lived through. While he did not endorse recurring dreams of the events themselves, his memories and flashbacks, his reconstructed fantasy of the murder of his friend, had the quality of dissociation, of his leaving the immediate surrounding of the consultations in a journey to another time and place. It occurred to me to wonder, more than once, if the anxiety, as intense as it was, might not have functioned as a sort of dissociative state to help him escape the immediate intensity of the helplessness and guilt he often described in relation to those memories. Those recollections that occurred during waking hours, he often acknowledged were illusions, fantasies: "But it's like they're really happening, all over again. I can taste the dust of the land in my mouth, smell the smells, of that day, actually hear the blasts and the screams all over again. I know it's not real. But it is. I'm not psychotic, I swear it." It seems clear that these internal cues, and the external cues that he met in the faces of children and

neighbors in his neighborhood that called up flashbacks, symbolized aspects of the events he faced, and generated significant psychological reactivity each time he encountered them. The developments of gang warfare in his own neighborhood in the time that we were counseling doubtless served to re-traumatize Joe and reactivate the prior traumas he had known, going back all the way to his childhood encounters with errant policing in his home city.

Joe fairly regularly wrestled with six or seven of the items on Criteria C (three or more required). During the early weeks of our counseling sessions, and periodically from session to session after thought, Joe noted an active avoidance of, even resistance to, thoughts, feelings or conversations about trauma generally, and especially those in his own history. Over time he became more comfortable and less avoidant, but there would still be days he would come and announce, "We're not going to talk about any of that today," setting a boundary that let me know he needed to exercise some self-care in allowing only "enough" material forward at a time. That said, he made no effort at all to avoid activities, places, or people that arouse recollection of the trauma. He traveled frequently to those old haunts in Guatemala and the countryside there, and in this country gathered with members of the Order he had once belonged to for reunions and memorials of that work and those times. I always felt that these rituals were one of Joe's ways of reconstructing community, and so reconstructing a sacred crucible for his own emotional process of healing and letting go. Periodically, he would express an inability to recall an important aspect of some specific trauma event, sometimes one he had even told me of before. Sometimes something as simple as being unable to remember what season of the year the market bombing had taken place (it was Eastertide, in late May, according to my

notes of his earliest shared recollection). Once, when talking about the murdered Brother in Guatemala, and for weeks after the little girl across the street was hit by a gang bullet, he could not recall their names in telling the stories or expressing his feelings about them.

There were times when Joe manifested a markedly diminished interest participation in significant activities. Often, this would manifest as weeks of depression, during which he would be unable to spend any significant time in his studio making art. At such times, he would often cancel multiple conversations with me. Later, as he began to reestablish contact with me, and with others, and with his art work, he would report these times of significant detachment and estrangement. "It's like the work, the art, you, all the other people in my life, just didn't exist, weren't important. You know how important you are, but in these last weeks, I didn't know. I couldn't access my knowing, maybe. I couldn't find the thread that held us connected. Sometimes, it's not just that you or the work didn't exist. I hated you. I hated the unfinished paintings and prints. It was like I needed, wanted a divorce from it all. It passed. It always does. But when that's the space I'm in, it's like I'm cut off from everyone and everything I love and need and value. So far, I've always come out of it. It worry that one day I might not."

Joe's affect, at times, could be quite broad, but not for sustained periods. Far more often, his affect hovered in a restricted range between depressive, downcast and just plain sad. Very often his body manifested his affect as clearly as his face. In his best moments, Joe stood six foot 2 inches tall, thin and straight and as in control of his frame as years of yoga had assisted him to be. Other times, in fact, more often, his shoulders hunched forward, his chin and forehead dropped forward, his eyes rarely left the ground except in

greeting; he always looked me in the eye when he said hello at the beginning of our times together.

Joe carried an intense awareness of a greatly foreshortened future for himself based on developments he experienced unfolding in the political and social situations of this country. While working in Latin America, Joe had been aware of the CIA role via the School of the Americas, in arming, equipping and training the Latin American military and paramilitary operatives who were responsible for the unequivocal social terror in which the peoples he served worked, as well as the likely perpetrators of the murder of his fellow religious. In the years he had been back in America, he often wondered how long it would be before such militarist social disruption would emerge in this country. "It's really only a matter of time," he would repeatedly warn. "All these militia types roaming around, blowing up government buildings in Oklahoma, hiding out in the mountains and woods of the Carolinas and Washington [state] and Idaho, they're on the radar screen. And if they are, we all are. It's just matter of time. Everyone in the activist communities knows it. We talk about it often." Joe had remained politically active, somewhat radicalized by his years in Latin America, and always ready to join peers and friends and fellow activists at protests he felt were necessary against U. S. aggression and militarism. This ongoing contact with the developing narratives of National Security kept him on edge and expectant of the sort of massive social and military interventions he had seen in Guatemala and elsewhere. And he felt that any who stood for freedom, or justice, as he defined them and lived them in his particularly non-violent way, would be caught up in the same nets as the more radical, violent elements that advocated for change by any means. He particularly feared the militia movement not only for its visions of home-

grown terrorism, but for its frequent associations with ideologies of race purity, language purity, and cultural purity that were more extreme, and in his view, more vile, than those at large in mainstream American culture.

Joe was also affected by Criteria D elements in his day to day life (two or more): He suffered from difficulty falling and staying asleep, often waking and ruminating on what the future might look like, whether or not someone with his values would survive, or if he, too, might be a martyr like his colleague in Guatemala. Events in his own neighborhood heightened this problem, and contributed to his often hypervigilant posture and agitation. "It's ironic that I didn't get killed in one of the most violent countries in Latin America at the time, but came home to lead the quiet life of an artist, and am at risk of being murdered in my own neighborhood!' Another time he recounted his hair-trigger startle response: "I jump at the slightest ting. A shadow moving, an unexpected sound, maybe not even a loud sound. One of my friends came in the back door the other day. I knew he was coming over, and he always lets himself in so I don't have to leave my work in the studio. He said 'Hi!,' and I almost hyperventilated!" Joe also reported difficulty concentrating, staying focused, especially when he was alone. He seemed to have no special problem with that one on one in a counseling session, which led me to wonder to what degree his concentration problem related to these deeply ingrained need to be hypervigilant, and how that kept him from being present to other things.

In addition to the regimen of posttraumatic stress outlined above, Joe suffered from additional symptoms expressing a more complex etiology, effect, and presentation. Joe expressed various aspects of identity fragmentation. At the political level of Joe's consciousness, this seemed to relate to his sense of what he called "the unholy alliances:"

"The Cabal in Latin America was always an alignment between the fruit companies, the coffee companies, the rubber companies, their wealthy owners in Europe, or more commonly America, and the wealthy local allies of those owners who usually also had a stake in keeping the oppression alive, and were often government officials or their family members. And always painting a picture of good and benevolent it all was. How the wealthy were really all these kind, devout, devoted benefactors caring for the poor by providing these clave like conditions for the poor to labor under, all the time beating or killing anyone who stepped out of line. What people don't get is that it happens here to, in the factories, among the immigrant farmworkers. We can't keep slaves anymore, but we can bring in farm workers, pay them like slaves, and send them home was 'illegal aliens' when they are no longer convenient to have around. American workers have it pretty good, compared to those in Latin America. They don't realize just how disposable they are. The day is gonna come, and everyone will be surprised."

Also contributing to the ongoing experience of traumatic stress was Joe's experience of having been detained for questioning in Guatemala, and his having witnessed the detainment of others there, both contributing to his fear of it developing here: "I used to march with the ecologists back in the day. Of course, I did my share of anti-Nixon, anti-Vietnam work. I was never arrested or detained here. Never had the courage to volunteer for that. In Guatemala it was different. They just came and got me. Like they did everyone. No one could guess who would be next. In the back of my mind I carry this constant worry, this ongoing "watch out, you may be next" about the day that it will happen here. So far, we've been lucky, as a society, I mean. It can't last much longer. Someday, you'll see, they'll come for the likes of you and me. Maybe because we're gay,

maybe because we're liberals, maybe because we're activists, maybe because we're on the wrong street at the wrong time. But they'll come. You'll see."

Witnessing the displacements, physical, social and environmental, as they unfolded in Latin America, also seemed to make Joe wary now that he was home and operating in a different environment. "Like I said, they would just take people off the street in the villages. Maybe they'd come back alive, maybe not. We already do that here with the mentally ill, the homeless. I volunteer in the shelters, and some of the guys that tell the stories of being whisked away to jail or to mental hospitals for days at a time are vets from the Gulf War [I], guys who couldn't keep it together when they got home, who are suffering from that weird mystery syndrome. They aren't convenient for the government to just let roam around telling stories, so they medicate them and put them away periodically. The rest of us assume it could never happen to us. It's not true. It's only a matter of time."

It's difficult to assess whether Joe's long-term depression deepened the complexity of the reactions he was having to stress, or whether the latter drove and deepened the long-term depression, or the exact degree to which it was simply a treacherous, reciprocal relationship. So many elements of his story seemed to contribute to that depression, from the early police invasion of his home as a child, to the dramatic events of his tenure in Guatemala, to his ongoing sense of disrupted and fragmented social and political developments at home, from the personal to the global. Clearly, this included the ongoing violence in his own local neighborhood. These events were, in some ways, symbols for Joe of a larger process in which social networks were being devastated and dismembered:

"The gangs are bad enough, but sometimes I think the police are the worst gang of all. They'd come into the neighborhood when I was little to round up trouble-makers, or those they thought were trouble makers. They'd be there to cordon off construction sites when neighborhoods were being flattened to make room for the big box stores. It's so depressing to watch this sort of thing around you all the time, and to be so powerless to stop it. Except maybe throw your body on the wheels of the machine to make it slow down. And if it's not the police, it's their bosses in the government and the corporations, always trying to divide people, telling people what's best for them, telling groups how much more special they are than other groups, or how much less special. They 'redevelop,' and thirty years later we find out they created a poison pit of chemicals in the process. They create 'amenities,' and a decade later we realize they drove out the poor folk who'd lived in the neighborhood for years and moved in a bunch of gentrified yuppies, like me, I guess. Sometimes, it's all so much, it's all too much to face."