Cynicism - A Commonly Used Concept with Relevance to Mental Health

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ABSTRACT

Research on cynicism is relatively neglected in psychology and psychiatry literature. In this article, we address the history of the concept of cynicism, the psychological aspects of cynicism, including its developmental characteristics and the perception of cynicism as a defense mechanism, and potential patho-psychological mechanisms, leading to what we define as cynical personality disorder. We conclude with recommendations for potential psychotherapeutic interventions in the treatment of individuals who are characterized by a cynical personality.

INTRODUCTION

The term "cynical" or "cynicism" is increasingly used in daily conversation and appears ever more frequently in the media. Our literature search found, however, that little in academic or professional literature has been published about cynicism in general, and even less about cynicism's psychological underpinnings. The purpose of the current article is to review the history of the concept of cynicism and elaborate on the pertinent psychological and psychiatric aspects of cynicism that we believe are of relevance and importance to clinicians in the mental health field.

DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES

It is commonly understood that the cynic believes people are motivated purely by self-interest (1). The cynic, skeptical about the motivation of human actions, typically draws attention to allegedly hypocritical aspects of human behavior. For example, a cynic can refer to individuals who declare they are driven by positive values, such as altruism, when in fact, from the cynic's perspective, the declarations are false and are motivated by selfish desires for such things as money and power (1). Cynics tend to create varying degrees of discomfort and unease among people by highlighting seemingly sincere pronouncements and deeds of others and ridiculing them, pointing out that the others are actually disingenuous (2).

One of the main tools employed by the cynic to draw attention to his or her observation of the discrepancy between ideal and the quotidian practice is sarcasm. Sarcasm is a sharp or bitter expression or remark that conveys a meaning opposite of its literal meaning, and is designed to mock someone or convey contempt (3). Sarcasm in spoken language is often conveyed by using a slow, usually low tone intonation that sounds sardonic. An example of a sarcastic sentence is: "You have been such a good husband over the years," coupled with a slow and low tone intonation that conveys the message that the wife is unhappy with her husband's attitude towards her. Sarcastic comments can be perceived as humorous, but in reality they are frequently offensive and humiliating to the subject of the comments when he or she hears them. Sarcasm may even be perceived as verbal abuse, which bears aggressive intent (4). The cynic often uses sarcasm as a tool and is sometimes perceived as embittered (2).

THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF CYNICISM

The philosophical movement known as Cynicism originated in Ancient Greece in the late 5th century CE. The philosopher Antisthenes (365-445 CE), a notable and avid pupil of Socrates, is considered the founder of Cynicism. Antisthenes adopted and developed Socrates' ideas about living a life of virtue, characterized by hardiness with little

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room for emotions. Antisthenes took these ideas to the extreme and lived an ascetic life, claiming that he "would rather be mad than feel pleasure" (5). Whereas Socrates used irony and humor Antisthenes replaced these with earnestness and disapproval. The school of thought developed by Antisthenes and his followers came to be knows as Cynicism or the Cynic Philosophical Movement (5). The Cynics claimed that "the greater surplus of pleasures a person achieves, the greater surplus of pleasures he desires in the nearest future" (6). They believed that the incessant preoccupation and unending quest of individuals to achieve such "pleasures" leaves the individual at risk of "being tormented by anxiety and terror" being plagued by constant anguish and dread by the thought they may never reach their "desirable amount of pleasures or that they would lose the pleasures they already possess" (6). According to the Cynics the remedy to human suffering is to return to natural life – "temperance" (6) and to reject the advances of civilization and materialistic pleasures that they believed could never lead to happiness, tranquility or contentment. Thus the Cynic philosophical movement was considered the first uprising against the principles of civilization in the history of western thought (6).

Perhaps the most archetypical figure in the Cynicism philosophical movement was Diogenes of Sinope. Diogenes adopted Antisthenes' principles in the extreme, and his unconventional behaviors included living in a barrel in the marketplace, defacing the local currency and performing all of his bodily functions in public, including defecating and masturbating (5). Thus the Cynic philosophical movement was considered the first uprising against the principles of civilization in the history of western thought (6). Diogenes was named by the citizens of ancient Athens- *kyôn,* from the ancient Greek word κύων *(kyôn)*, meaning "dog" (7), being the source of the word cynic, as his wild behavior was considered similar to the behavior of dogs (8).

Diogenes and his followers adopted these demeaning expressions as defining and bragged that they adopted the natural way of life of dogs. That is, they ate, made love in public, went barefoot, and slept outdoors, just as free and shameless, they said as dogs in the streets or fields. Diogenes claimed that similar to a dog, the Cynic quickly distinguishes between its friends and enemies, and without any hypocrisy "barks" at those who disagree with him. The "dog" became the most associated symbol of the Cynic movement, and after the death of Diogenes, a sculpture of a dog was placed on his grave (9).

The Cynic movement spread with the rise of the Roman Empire in the 1st century CE and became popular for a

time. However, the movement disappeared with the fall of the Roman Empire in the late 5th century CE (10).

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN CYNICISM

After cynicism disappeared from ancient Rome, it re-emerged in the Renaissance era. Cynicism was used by writers in satire and parody as a means to criticize the values of society (2). These resurgent cynics resembled the ancient Cynic philosophers in their contempt toward pleasure, and in their disposition to expose the faults of the society.

In the 18th century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau played a central role in the modern evolution of cynicism, and was in fact often compared to Diogenes (10). In *Discourse on the Science and Arts* (1750) Rousseau radically contradicted the Enlightenment assumption that advances in art and science led to moral improvement in mankind. He argued instead that these advances led to corruption of manners and morals. Akin to Diogenes, he preached against contemporary civilization, insisting that the social forms and codes in his environment were artificial, and that social institution, such as marriage, stemmed from selfish motives (10). Rousseau's autobiographical writings published after his death surprised even his sympathizers. In particular, readers realized that in spite of his radical demands on parents regarding their obligations to their children's education, Rousseau himself gave up his five children to an orphanage. They also discovered that although throughout his life he expressed hatred towards the establishment and aristocracy, he actually had always been financially dependent on the favors of French aristocrats. The exposure of Rousseau, the cynic, as a moral hypocrite led to a change in the conception of cynicism and came to mean a hypocritical gap between words and deeds (10).

It is the 19th century historian Isaac D'Israeli who can be considered the person who gave "cynicism" its modern-day meaning. In his book *The Quarrels of Authors* (1814) (11), D'Israeli labeled the political philosopher Hobbes as a cynic, as Hobbes claimed that people are selfish and immoral by nature and only pretend to have altruistic motives for their behavior (11). This was the first recorded use of the concept of cynicism in its current, now familiar, sense – a disposition to disbelieve in the sincerity or goodness of human motives and actions (10).

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN CYNICISM

The Cynic of Ancient Greece differs significantly from the modern cynic. The ancient Cynic was optimistic about human nature and about society's ability to change.

Consequently, he preached to others to join his ascetic life, as a part of a journey to a happier life. The ancient Cynic was willing to make sacrifices in order to fulfill the values he believed in. He chose to live on the fringes of society and criticized it from the outside (6). In contrast, the modern cynic demonstrates pessimism and nihilism about the ability of humans to detach from their selfish nature. The modern cynic does not really believe a person can be happy. He continues to live within the society, taking part in the norms he actually opposes (1).

The ancient Cynic and the modern cynic do, however, share some characteristics. Both are disappointed with social failures, such as flaws in the ideals of liberty and democracy. Moreover, both kinds of cynics look disparagingly upon others, convinced that non-cynics around them are wrong (2). Both kinds of cynic are honest, act shamelessly, and use the humiliation of others in order to protest and expose society's hypocrisy. Both express the greatest mockery and disdain for the authority figures of society, especially political figures (1, 8).

COMMON USAGES OF CYNICISM IN MODERN LIFE
Cynicism in politics
Political cynicism is an enduring attitude towards politics based on the belief that the political object of cynicism (politicians, political institutions and the political system as a whole) is untrustworthy, immoral, dishonest, incompetent, self-interested and out of touch with citizens (12). Political cynics claim that politics corrupts the individuals who participate in it, but also attracts corrupted individuals from the beginning (13).

It is claimed that political cynicism may stem from the behavior of the politicians, who on the one hand condemn the public's cynicism, and on the other hand, deepen the public's cynicism by behaving inconsistently and failing to fulfil their election promises (14). Democracy fosters a particularly vicious cycle between the politicians and their voters. Specifically, politicians promote themselves by accusing other candidates of being cynical, while emphasizing their own allegedly pure motives (14).

The media also plays a central role in shaping the vicious cycle between politicians and voters. Specifically, the media emphasizes the selfish motivations that drive politicians, such as a desire for power and greed, and deplores the possibility that politicians are driven by ideals and altruism, as they claim (14, 15). Interestingly, in recent years, there has been a counter-attack by politicians against the cynicism of the media. The most prominent attack was led by U.S. President Donald Trump, who coined the expression "fake news." In doing so, Trump actually claims that the media makes cynical use of the news by distorting it to improve ratings (16). There are detrimental consequences to cynicism in the realm of politics as it distances citizens from the government and makes qualified individuals reluctant to engage in politics (14, 17).

Organizational cynicism
Organizational cynicism is widespread in the workplace in most western cultures (18). Organizational cynicism refers to negative attitudes toward one's employing organization. It comprises three dimensions: (1) a belief that the organization lacks integrity, which leads to: (2) negative affect toward the organization and to (3) a tendency to disparage the organization (19).

A central belief of the cynic within an organization is that the principles of honesty, fairness and sincerity are sacrificed to further advance the self-interests of the organization's leadership. The cynical worker believes that the organization's leaders are acting based upon hidden selfish motives, which triggers negative emotions toward the organization such as contempt, anger, distress and shame (20). The cynical worker may direct those feelings even toward genuinely proactive organizational actions, including initiatives to improve quality, community involvement and empowerment of the employees. The cynic may even feel pleasure at the failure of the organization to achieve high moral standards because it validates the cynic's mistrust in the organization (21). It was found that when an employee experiences the organization as too stressful and demanding, it can foster a coping mechanism of cynicism towards the organization (22).

Organizational cynicism is broadly associated with negative consequences, including a reduction in levels of performance, job dissatisfaction and reduced commitment to the organization (23, 24). A study that followed workers for six years found that perceptions of having a highly strenuous job at baseline evaluation elicited mistrustful and cynical attitudes in employees when they were followed six years later (25). In the same vein, another study has shown that there was a positive association among workers between work load and burnout, psychological distress that was largely mediated by the worker's level of depression (26).

Conversely, there is also evidence for positive consequences associated with organizational cynicism. Specifically, workers who identify a need to change ineffective procedures may contribute to work performance

(27). Yet, organizational cynicism has a mainly negative influence on workers because it may have a "contagious" effect. When an employee expresses negative remarks about the organization, others' attitudes may also become negatively affected. Thus, it is important for managers to consider implementing interventions that are aimed at reducing organizational cynicism (22).

Cynicism in medical education
Although students usually start medical school with excitement, idealism, and commitment to patients, as they progress through the curriculum the professional socialization experience often leads many to feel disappointed and to develop cynicism (28, 29). Testerman and his colleagues (29) suggested two potential pathways leading to cynicism among medical students, and tested these models empirically. The "intergenerational transmission" model assumes students develop a cynical professional attitude learnt and adopted from their role models – senior physicians and faculty members, who transmit their cynical attitudes to the students and residents (29). Conversely, the "professional identity" model suggests that medical students struggle to develop a professional identity while surviving demanding academic and clinical challenges in a complex and ambiguous ethical environment (29-31). They hypothesized that the process of developing professional identity can lead to a transitional crisis marked by a transient cynical attitude towards the medical profession. According to this hypothesis, as young medical doctors develop confidence and skills and achieve positions of authority in the medical team, their cynical attitude subsides. An empirical confirmation was provided for the latter hypothesis because Testerman and his colleagues (29) demonstrated that medical students are significantly more cynical than senior physicians..

There is also a large body of research about medical students connecting cynicism and sarcasm with burnout and depression (32), using a burn-out inventory survey, that found that cynicism is reported by 42% of medical students and exhaustion by 65% and feeling of low professional efficacy was reported by 21% of them. In a study of medical students in Oman (33), the authors found that three-dimensional aspects of Burnout Syndrome – emotional exhaustion, cynicism and low professional efficacy – were statistically significant predictors of the presence of depressive symptoms. Another longitudinal study with medical students in Portugal revealed that 19.7% of students had sustained high depression levels over time. These students, characterized by high levels of trait anxiety and who choose medicine for anticipated income and prestige, reported more relationship issues, cynicism and decreased satisfaction with social activities (34).

BIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CYNICISM
There is evidence that cynicism negatively affect general health. A study on 97,253 women, who were free of cardiovascular disease and cancer at study entry, measured cynical hostility using the Cynicism subscale Cook Medley Questionnaire (35). The study compared morbidity and mortality of most vs. least cynical-hostile (top versus bottom quartile on this measured trait) and found that the cynical-hostile women had higher hazard of cancer-related mortality and total mortality (35). While the biological correlates of cynicism are as yet largely unknown, a recent study has shown that autonomic dysregulation, measured by heart rate variability, was associated with burnout and depression levels of workers (36).

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF CYNICISM
Developmental aspects of cynicism
Although young children are usually gullible, as they mature they will develop an understanding of how self-interests influence what others say or think, in order to protect themselves from deceptions (37). Thus, some degree of healthy cynicism is crucial for developing adaptive social functioning (38). The ability to understand cynicism involves a basic recognition that inaccuracy is possible, which children are capable of doing (39). Studies have shown that even 4-year-olds can recognize that the claim someone is making is improbable and is likely to be deceptive or incorrect (40-42). However, identifying cynicism requires additional cognitive abilities that are achieved only at an older age (38).

Mills and Keil (38) defined three central cognitive mechanisms needed to be able to detect cynicism. These included understanding mistakes (simple errors not influenced by intentions), lies (motivated, intentional errors in statements) and biases (motivated but unintentional errors in beliefs). As abovementioned, it has been shown that children already at the age of 4 can detect mistakes and lies (42, 43). Mills and Keil (38) conducted research aiming to explore when children first begin to understand the third mechanism – detecting biases. They found that only at the age of 12 years can children understand and accept biases as plausible explanations for self-interested, incorrect statements. Therefore, they concluded, only at the age of 12 are the three cognitive mechanisms necessary for understanding cynicism matured (38).

It has been shown that cynicism tends to peak during the ages of 40 to 44 years (44). Cynicism seems likely to peak in this age group probably because people by this age tend to accumulate frustrations and are disillusioned by the unfulfilled fantasies and ambitions they held as young adults (44). Of note is that higher levels of cynicism have been found among minority groups, among widowed and divorced compared to married and single individuals, and among poorer people (44). Men were found to be more cynical than women (44, 45).

Studies that compare the use of cynicism in adolescence in relation to adulthood are lacking. From our experience, we often encounter frequent use of cynicism among adolescents. We believe adolescents employ cynicism as a means for forming their own values and identity – they distance themselves from the values inculcated in them by their parents and teachers. Therefore when we encounter cynical adolescents at the mental health clinic, we tend to be more forgiving and tend to perceive it as part of the appealing revolutionary nature of adolescents. Conversely, it is our experience that older people who are cynical are often perceived as bitter, lonely, and their cynicism is sometimes perceived as reflecting a sense of missed opportunity in their lives.

Cynicism as a defense mechanism

Although it was not mentioned as one of the original defense mechanisms proposed by Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud or Vaillant (46), cynicism can be perceived as a defense mechanism. Cynicism may be closely related to the defense mechanism of *reaction formation* (47). In particular, cynicism may function as a reaction formation against feelings of affection. Cynical individuals tend to activate strong reaction formation against affection because they tend to become anxious and embarrassed when confronted by emotional stimuli. In this way, the enactment of cynical attitudes keeps the individual safe by affording him to remain unaware of emotional or affectionate responses they feel toward the object (47).

Cynicism may also function as a *devaluation* defense mechanism (49). Specifically, when the cynic feels a great appreciation for something, this feeling may create stress for him, for example, people who are afraid they are not good enough to achieve employment roles to which they aspire. In an effort to reduce the accompanied stress, the cynic devalues what actually is of high value for him (49).

Lastly, cynicism bears some components of the defense mechanism of *projection* (47). It has been claimed that when cynical individuals experience their feelings and traits as negative, they may project these qualities onto others in order to deny their presence. For instance, a person who is devoid of genuinely altruistic motives will tend to cynically grasp others as being exclusively preoccupied with the gratification of their own drives and needs for security or comfort (47).

Cynicism has also been mentioned and studied in the literature as a humor style. An empirical study has shown that on factor analyses eight comic styles emerge, both in English and German speaking samples, fun, humor, nonsense, wit, irony, satire, sarcasm and cynicism (48). As expected sarcasm and cynicism were highly correlated and were not correlated with humor. They also found that sarcasm and cynicism negatively correlated with character strengths, humanity and moral goodness, thus suggesting that cynicism and sarcasm are maladaptive coping mechanisms.

Freudian understanding of cynicism

Freudians are often criticized for fostering cynicism (49). Freud defined Eros (the force of love) as the primary force that bonds people together and draws them into society (50, 51). Freud argued that Thanatos, the aggression drive, creates the superego and guilt which in turn imposes the necessary restraints on Eros (50, 51). Freud pointed out that there is an unresolved tension between Eros and Thanatos that render human beings to be miserable. Human beings created society in order to implement the principle of pleasure that drives them, but on the other hand they are prevented from fulfilling their pleasures by the superego. Freud believed that altruism does not really exist and, for example, viewed romantic love as geared by impulse (Eros) and idealistic behaviors towards society as geared by guilt feelings. Consequently, Sloterdijk (54), criticizing the Freudian theory, claimed that Freud "erected a theory that makes us all, whether we like it or not, into kynics," the name of the ancient cynics. In other words, the cynic's protest against the hypocrisy of the society actually reflects his frustration stemming from the unbearable tension that human beings have created between Eros and Thanatos/superego.

To our knowledge, the only reference to cynicism in Freud's writing is in a term he coined, "*cynical logic*." Freud suggested that cynical logic functions as a defense mechanism for dealing with the Oedipal jealousy that provokes aggression and is transformed into nihilism in relation to love (53, 54). In particular, when a boy discovers his mother's sexual activity, he reacts with devaluation of the mother and through generalization, devaluation

of all females, perceiving their behavior as shameful. The existence of his mother's desire is enough for her to be stamped as a prostitute. According to Freud, the boy then generalizes this feature from his mother to all women, concluding that all women who make love are prostitutes. Although viewing his mother as a contemptible woman, paradoxically, he desires her even more (53, 54). In fact, Freud claims that for the cynic there is nothing good, reparative or noble in humanity (53, 54).

Potential patho-psychological mechanisms leading to cynical personality

The research in the field of cynicism suggests several potential mechanisms that could explain the evolution of the cynical personality. One such suggested mechanism claims that cynicism is the result of experiencing a traumatic event which was perceived by the self as a narcissistic failure (53). The traumatic event, i.e., in an event where the love for a parent or for a romantic partner is not reciprocated, a cynic may respond with a detachment from feeling (55). The cynic represses his or her trauma of disappointed love, and may develop a belief that any love relations are futile and are based on weakness and a fear of loneliness and independence. Consequently, compassion, affliction and pain are no part of the cynic's world (53, 56).

A second potential mechanism leading to cynicism is narcissistic fear of failure (57). Particularly, cynicism may protect individuals from failure or rejection. In an effort to avoid a sense of failure or rejection, cynics may convince themselves and others that they are underachievers, not because they are incapable, but because they did not aspire to achieve in the first place. This passivity leads to a sense of isolation, loneliness and depression because it blocks basic needs of growth and self-fulfillment (57).

Another potential pathway that can lead to cynicism is rigid parenthood that suppresses the expression of emotions. In particular, caregivers may make a child feel ashamed or embarrassed to express a positive feeling or enthusiasm towards a person or ideal. This child may develop a rigid superego that tends to attack both his own ego and reacts cynically to others when strong positive feelings emerge or when enthusiasm towards a person or an idea are expressed.

THE VIRTUES OF CYNICISM

Although cynicism is often condemned for undermining a person's coping and social relations, it also has some important virtues (1). The main virtue of the cynic is that he is sensitive to, and able to, detect deception and hypocrisy and is often perceived as sincere and courageous when expressing his or her honest criticism (1). The cynic commonly uses humor or irony, which is engaging to the listeners. In many cases, the cynicism is directed toward those for whom the listeners already feel mistrust, for example, a politician who makes promises but later disappoints his voters. The more the listeners agree with the cynic's judgment, the more they will enjoy hearing the cynical criticism (58). From a social point of view, the cynic constantly reminds us that our society is often too materialistic and conformist. In fact, the cynic reveals hypocrisy that exists in society – in advertisements, politics and organizations, and helps others to acknowledge their naiveté (1). In this way, the cynic serves as a valuable critic who makes us reappraise our values. In cases where the cynical remarks are justified, criticism that is directed towards the "right" target and can recruit individuals to make a change. Cynicism has also the advantage of seeing reality as it is and accepting the negative aspects of reality stoically often with a stylish and witty sophistication (1).

In addition, in extreme situations (i.e., times of wars) the disengagement of the cynic can serve as a survival mechanism. Specifically, the cynic could use disengagement and detachment from emotions in order to defend himself from dealing with the emotional consequences of the tragedies experienced (1).

THE VICES OF CYNICISM

While cynicism offers important virtues, it can also negatively affect various aspects of the cynic's life. In desirable relationships, one must have hope for the relationship to develop in the future, to care about the other and trust in others' basic goodness. Due to the cynic's disengagement, the cynic rejects feelings of love and warmth towards others, and consequently refrains from the gratifying aspects of relationships (1). Importantly, cynicism may be addictive. Once the habits of a person are formed in a cynical direction, the cynic tends to find confirming evidence for hypocrisy and corruption everywhere, and interpret situations in accordance with his cynical beliefs (1).

Cynicism may also have a grave impact on society. The moral progress of society relies on the belief in positive values such as altruism and love, which the cynic refutes (1). The values of the cynic also oppose the values upon which we educate our children – to be kind, loving and to help one another. We believe that cynicism is therefore not educational.

CYNICAL PERSONALITY

Cynicism comes in varying degrees and in most cases people's use of cynicism is not pathological (1). However, there are also the extreme cases – people who believe that others are essentially motivated by self-interest and this belief comprehensively and negatively affects all or most of his or her relations. A cynical personality disorder includes a trait that stems from one's inflexible and pervasive attitude that all motives of all persons are only selfish. A person with cynical personality is cynical not only regarding specific areas related to his or her life (e.g., politics), but is cynical about multiple areas of life including organizations, work, friends and even family.

People with cynical personality do not rule out the existence of positive relationships between people, but believe that positive human behaviors are based merely on mutual respect of interests. They negate the existence of noble feelings and behaviors such as altruism or the desire to fulfill ideals. They even negate the desire for mutual care in romantic relations and believe that romantic relations are based on selfish interests. People with cynical personality believe they are more sober or clear-minded than others are and therefore feel superior to others, but at the same time also feel lonely. People with cynical personality are cold and overly rational, and rarely express emotions. They see life narrowly and negatively, which prevents them from seeing the positive aspects of events and relationships with their family, friends and others. In the end, they are not happy, experience loneliness and a sense of missed opportunity.

PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC TREATMENT OF CYNICAL PERSONALITY

In psychotherapy with an individual characterized by overly cynical personality, sarcastic and cynical comments should be perceived by the therapist as a defense mechanism that protects the cynic from a sense of vulnerability and neediness. The therapist should reflect to the cynical patients the countertransference feelings evoked by the patient's cynical comments. These cynical remarks of the patient and the countertransference they evoke should be viewed by the therapist as a window to the patient's cynical relationships outside of treatment. When therapists reflect their feelings toward the cynic's remarks, the patient will be able to achieve insight into his or her cynical attitude and will be able to better reformulate his or her relations - first with the therapist and then with others outside the therapy environment. In the therapy sessions, the therapist should patiently invite the cynic

to express his or her narcissistic vulnerabilities, frustrations and sadness that are driving the cynical defensive attitude. The therapeutic encounter is an opportunity to experience relations free of cynicism in the world of the individual who sees all things as cynical.

The cynical person often may challenge the therapist with cynical and even offending personal comments. Therapists should be careful not to join the cynical dialogue with cynical responses from their side, but to invite the patient into an authentic and more emotional dialogue. The therapist should remember that the issues to which the patient responds cynically probably reflect the patient's vulnerabilities and are exactly the content that should be worked through in the psychotherapy.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

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