
Recognizing Deep Structures in Organizations

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'Only let me say, that to my mind there is a great field of science which is as yet quite closed to us. I refer to the science which proceeds in terms of life and is established on data of living experience and of sure intuition. Call it subjective science if you like. Our objective science of modern knowledge concerns itself only with phenomena, and with phenomena as regarded in their cause-and-effect relationship. I have nothing to say against our science. It is perfect as far as it goes. But to regard it as exhausting the whole scope of human possibility in knowledge seems to me just puerile. Our science is a science of the dead world.'
(D. H. Lawrence, 1921)

Abstract

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The understandings of classical science are now increasingly under threat from twentieth century physics. The machine model of organization, informed by classical science, is therefore in need of review. Analytical psychology is used as a framework for re-assessing and providing new insights into the nature and management of organizations in contemporary society.

Introduction

The process of modernization has witnessed the emergence of specialized organizations designed according to mechanistic principles. The 'machine model' of organization has dictated the way the labour process and organizational activities in general have been designed. More recently the theoretical foundations on which the machine model of organization evolved have been increasingly undermined by the insights gained from particle physics. The notion of the world as a machine, where the component parts can be separated and studied independently in order to achieve an understanding of nature has now proved illusory (Bohm 1980; Capra 1975, 1980). Twentieth century physics now suggests that phenomena can only be explained in their relation to other phenomena, as a series of interconnections. These insights are relevant to the study of social phenomena, as science led to the emergence of a 'world view' which has dominated understandings of society and social relations.

The paper focuses on the psychology of C. G. Jung in providing an appreciation of the limits of rationalism, as depicted in the machine view. Several attempts have been made to apply Jung's ideas to an understanding of organizational processes (Mitroff 1983a, b; White and McSwain 1983; Krefting and Frost 1985). Much of this literature is somewhat complex and requires a detailed understanding of some of Jung's more

Organization
Studies
1990, 11/3:
395-412
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0170-8406/90
0011-0015 \$1.00

abstruse concepts. This paper aims to allow a wider dissemination of Jung's ideas, as applied to organizations.

The Machine View of Organization

The depiction of an organization as a machine evolves from the onset of the scientific age, as represented by the Copernican revolution. Descartes conceived of the earth, nature and the universe as a machine which could be explained by the interaction of component parts. It was Newton who further developed a mathematical understanding of nature and it was his 'mechanics' which became the foundation of new understandings in physics. Newton's ideas furthered the 'machine' model which led to the emergence of a 'social physics' whereby human and societal affairs were approached from the principles of Newtonian mechanics. The ideas of classical physics informed the writings of the classical writers on organizations, and achieved its most complete articulation in Simon's (1958) *Administrative Behaviour*. Denhardt (1981: 20) notes, 'Especially in its adherence to the assumptions of positivistic social science, and instrumental rationality, contemporary organization theory stands firmly in the tradition established by Simon some thirty years ago'. For Simon, 'man' is limited by the capacity of the human mind for rational problem-solving, which the 'real world' requires. Rationality, in Simon's view, can only be achieved through the participation of people in organizations, whereby rules provide a logic which is absent when humans act alone.

For Simon (1958) a 'rational existence' presupposes an institutionalized individual. This 'rational' approach underpins the bureaucratic ethic of work organization, which Simon sees as central in achieving efficiency. Bureaucratic organization, according to Weber, was the epitome of rationality and efficiency. Weber (1947: 337) comments, 'For bureaucratic administration is, other things being equal, always, from a formal, technical point of view, the most rational type'. A bureaucracy, for Weber, was an impersonal system, where human feelings and sentiments were parcelled out in the pursuit of rational action. Dahl and Lindblom (1953: 252) comment, in describing contemporary organization, 'Joy, love, friendship, pity and affection must all be curbed unless they happen to foster the prescribed goals of the organization'. Simon (1958: 198) notes that, 'the person acquires an organization personality rather distinct from his personality as an individual'. The level of depersonalization in work organizations has reached the stage where people are referred to in management vocabulary as 'human resources'. Such depersonalization leads people to treat one another in impersonal ways. Consequently it can be argued that contemporary management and organization lead to a fragmentation not only of the individual's psyche and sense of morality, but fragmentation in the society as well.

Depth Psychology and Social Relations

The Frankfurt School (Fromm 1932, 1966; Horkheimer 1947; Marcuse 1968; Horkheimer and Adorno 1973) has attempted to explain the nature of the dialectic existing between the individual and society by drawing on the insights of the human mind provided by Freud, together with a critique of contemporary capitalism. Taking the individual as a central dynamic in explaining wider social processes is justified by Fromm (1966: 58) who comments, 'In studying individual psychology as a basis for the understanding of social psychology, we do something which might be compared with studying an object under a microscope. . . . If our analysis of social psychological phenomena is not based on the detailed study of individual behaviour, it lacks empirical character, and therefore validity'. In arguing that psychoanalytic theory was compatible with a radical analysis of society, rather than being a diagnostic tool for individual pathology only, Fromm (1932) argued that 'collective ideologies' were the disguised and rationalized expression of instinctual drives. For Fromm (1932) psychoanalytical theory had to be a social enquiry and correspondingly social science needed to be psychoanalytically based. In using psychoanalytic theory, the attempt of the Frankfurt School was not to 'explain away' social phenomena but to emphasize the nature of the forces which go to produce the socialized individual.

Whilst the Frankfurt School has given wide expression to psychoanalytic concepts in describing contemporary society, little attention has been given, beyond individual pathology, to the voluminous writings of one of Freud's early and most distinguished disciples, C. G. Jung. In *Civilisation in Transition* Jung (1964a) approached the exploration and understanding of the socio-cultural situation through the constructs he elaborated at the individual level. More recently, the value of Jung's work has been grasped by several writers on organizations, in particular Denhardt (1981) and Mitroff (1983a, b).

Analytical Psychology and Organizational Analysis

The fundamental dichotomy in Jung's writings is that between consciousness and unconsciousness. Consciousness represents the means by which the psyche attends to and organizes information from the inner and outer worlds. It negotiates with external reality. The ego represents the centre of consciousness and 'appears to possess a very high degree of continuity and identity' (Jung 1969a: 540). Jung considered that consciousness is a late development in man, the original psyche being represented by unconsciousness. The unconscious represents those contents inaccessible to consciousness. It is much older than consciousness and represents the sea on which consciousness floats. For Jung it is only through the rounding out of the personality through the recognition and integration of unconscious contents, a process which Jung called 'individuation', that

the person achieves a greater self knowledge and understanding and thus more effective social relations and adjustment.

The Functions of Consciousness

A brief description of the functions of consciousness will be outlined before applying these concepts in organizational analysis. For Jung, human consciousness is characterized by four functions: Sensation, Intuition, Thinking and Feeling. The 'Sensation' function refers to the perception of things as they are, as channelled by the sense receptors. The 'Intuitive' function relates to the perception of inherent potentialities of things, using hunches and insights for gaining understanding and making predictions. The 'Thinking' function seeks to apprehend the world and adjust to it by way of thought or cognition, that is, by the use of logical inferences. The 'Feeling' function, on the other hand, apprehends the world through an evaluation of the pleasantness or unpleasantness, acceptance or rejection of someone or something. It is dictated by personal values. The 'Sensation' and 'Intuitive' functions represent different modes for the acquisition of information while the 'Thinking' and 'Feeling' functions represent different modes for the evaluation of information. These functions can be understood as representing the four points on the compass with Thinking-Feeling and Sensation-Intuition acting as polar opposites. Thus, for example, the more an intellectual or thinking capacity is emphasized, the less influence can feeling have, and vice versa. One of the four functions is dominant in consciousness and is known as the Superior Function, whilst its polar opposite, the Inferior Function, falls into unconsciousness and is not readily accessible for use. In addition, consciousness may include a second function, which Jung termed the Auxiliary function, which lies partly in consciousness and partly in unconsciousness and is therefore to some extent available for use in conscious activity. Thus, for example, an individual who demonstrates 'Thinking' as the Superior function might exercise 'Sensation' or 'Intuition' as the Auxiliary function, with the fourth function, 'Feeling', inaccessible.

In addition to the function type, an individual's psychological character is determined by his general 'attitude' which is the term Jung uses to describe the individual's manner of reacting to inner and outer experience. Jung distinguishes two such attitudes: Extroversion and Introversion. The attitudes represent the direction of energy or 'libido' as it relates to subject and object. The Extrovert orients himself predominantly by outward collective norms. In this way, the Extrovert can be poorly adapted to his/her personal self. The attitude of the Introvert, on the other hand, is determined mainly by subjective factors where the object has a secondary role. As a consequence the Introvert can be more poorly adapted to the environment.

The management of contemporary organization is predominantly charac-

terized, in terms of the model described above, as emphasizing a 'Thinking' and 'Sensation' orientation. This is not to be confused with the argument that management activity is rationally conceived or that it does not rely on intuitions. What is suggested is that the attempted systematization of organizations, primarily designed to increase control over labour and other resources (Littler and Salaman 1984), as characterized by the application of techniques stemming, for example, from Frederick Taylor, management science, operations management, accounting and corporate planning, is designed to achieve a logic of rational action. Denhardt (1981: 52) comments, 'Specifically, as the ethic of organization gives preference to decisions made (1) on the basis of specific factual data and (2) in line with strict logical procedures, there is an obvious emphasis on . . . sensing and thinking'. Factual data (Sensation) is collected from informational services including production, sales, accounting and other organizational activities and increasingly stored in computerized management information systems. Managerial decision-making can then make use of various quantitative and systematic analyses in attempting to achieve rationally based decisions.

There are, however, reasons to suggest that strict limitations exist on the extent to which rationally informed decisions can be made. First, information is seldom factual in the sense that it is objective. All information systems are inevitably selective. This occurs due to reasons of overload, individual differences, political and other factors. Second, research studies of managerial work (Mintzberg 1975; Hales 1986) indicate that, in fact, managers, when it suits their purpose, choose to ignore detailed information and rely on intuition and gut feelings. Whether managers express 'Thinking' or 'Intuition', the decisions typical of contemporary management, employing technical and cost criteria in the management of a technicist and capitalistic society, pay little, if any, attention to human value and social welfare (England 1967). Managerial decisions in private as well as in many public organizations are informed by such abstractions as market share, return on investment and other such economic indicators. Such decisions often require the manager to suspend personal and ethical involvement in the pursuit of organizational performance and profitability. In other words, the 'Thinking' function holds omnipotent power over and above personal values (i.e. 'Feeling') in the way corporate decisions are framed, so as to enhance the profitability of the organization. What is right, moral, ethical (and often legal), appears to be lost below the ethic of accumulation. Much publicized cases involving third world operations and multi-national corporations are perhaps the clearest testimony to this. Sampson's (1973) account of the role of ITT in the removal of a democratically elected government in Chile is a striking example of the suspension of moral values in corporate decision-making. The net result, in terms of the model described, is that the manager's 'Feeling' function is buried.

The management of the work process is more often based on scientific management principles which endeavour to rationalize the work process

by eliminating the 'human' factor with the aim of increasing predictability of operations. The so-called 'proletarianization of work' (Littler and Salaman 1984) is now argued to be moving beyond lower level employees into white collar and managerial work (Crompton and Jones 1982). Such work requires the performer to behave as an automaton, like Pavlov's dog, there being little if any element of discretion or autonomy, where to make the experience tolerable, the operator is required to repress feelings of monotony, boredom and self estrangement. The repression of such emotion, however, will only emerge in some other form at some other time, negatively directed either through masochistic behaviour or directed at others. Pertinent to this argument, Fromm (1966: XV) asks, 'How can mankind save itself from destroying itself by the discrepancy between intellectual-technical over-maturity and emotional backwardness?'

There are organizations which might be characterized in different ways. Some organizations display a clear entrepreneurial direction, being highly intuitive in the way they act on business opportunities and initiatives. It might also be argued that some organizations may display more of a 'feeling' orientation in the way the organizational climate is shaped and enacted. Work organizations have more recently become interested in the design of organizational culture (Peters and Waterman 1982) to elicit employee involvement, but such ideological initiatives often conceal the attempt to enhance management control through systematized management practices (Salaman 1979).

In discussing the 'attitude' types, the western world in the current historical epoch is characterized by extroversion. It can be argued that such a configuration is determined by the demands of the capitalist order which, in pursuing an ethic of global capital accumulation, necessarily conditions the externalization of human energy. In contemporary society, extroversion is more often associated with mental health and adjustment, whereas introversion is more often viewed as morbid and melancholic. It is therefore to be expected that extroverted behaviour comes to be valued and rewarded more regularly over introverted patterns of behaviour. This will be reflected in work organizations and will be manifested in the norms which regulate social behaviour. Currently, such behaviour goes under the name of 'inter personal skills' and refers to the extent to which the individual comes to appraise and 'effectively' relate to others. In this way, people are expected to wear carefully erected 'masks' which are primarily designed to reflect organizational rather than personal interests. Such masks, Jung referred to as 'Persona'. The Persona is the face the world sees and is an important means by which the individual attempts to cope with the demands of the social world. The danger, however, is that the greater the social demands are, the greater is the risk, over time, that personal identity is lost. In other words, the danger is that the individual comes to understand him/herself only through a publicly rendered definition. In contemporary organization, with the emphasis given to neo human relations practices of management, there is a danger that socially

artificial behaviour becomes manifest. In such circumstances, people become more suspicious of others, recognizing the pretence, superficiality and insincerity of their social relations and institutions.

For Jung, modern man was characterized by a rigid persona that he associated with extroversion and excessive rationality which had led to a loss of contact with the inner wellspring of being. The consequences of this were an inevitable adaptation and submission to the roles and expectations dictated by the state, the essential determinant of mass man. Freedom and liberation of contemporary man therefore lay in the dissolution of this persona and a reconstruction of the lost energies of human being.

The framework adopted here suggests that the Machine Model of organization has particular consequences for individual and social life. More specifically, the rationalization and systematization of management and organization, and the monopolization of profit and technical criteria lead to the loss of human 'feeling', whereby there is an absence of values informing the moral and ethical nature of decision-making, and where human emotion is often discarded and repressed.

The Dynamics of the Unconscious in Organizational Analysis

When the inferior function and the auxiliary function(s) fall below the threshold of consciousness they form part of what Jung (1969a) termed the 'Personal Unconscious'. The Personal Unconscious contains 'repressed, subliminally perceived and felt material of all kinds' (Jacobi 1962: 30). The Personal Unconscious might contain experiences the individual prefers to remove from consciousness, due to their unsettling nature, along with information that has been forgotten, due to the withdrawal of energy from such contents, together with inputs from the internal and external worlds which failed to be initially registered (through insufficient energy). The shadow can also potentially manifest more positive content that has been repressed. Jung used the term 'Shadow' in representing the contents of the Personal Unconscious, which constellates as a splinter personality. He defined the Shadow in the following terms, (1969a: 283) 'the shadow personifies everything that the subject refuses to acknowledge about himself and yet is always thrusting itself upon him, directly or indirectly, for instance, inferior traits of character and other incompatible tendencies'. What the individual chooses to deny about him/herself will be dictated by the society, which will define normative standards of thought and action (representing Freud's concept of superego) together with unique features that stem from the particular form of socialization. Jung (1969b: 76) comments, 'Everyone carries a shadow and the less it is embodied in the individual's conscious life the blacker and denser it is'.

The Shadow acts in a compensatory fashion in relation to consciousness. For Jung, the unconscious serves to correct the one-sidedness that the

conscious position might adopt and in this way the psyche is self-regulating. Such a position is based on the understanding of the relationship between opposites originally conceived by Heraclitus. For Heraclitus, a phenomenon can only be understood by reference to its opposite; thus day to night, high to low, life to death. In classical Chinese philosophy the 'Tao' is characterized by the dynamic interplay of the opposite forces of 'yin' and 'yang'. These are complementary although opposite energies through which the Tao (the 'Way') is achieved. For Jung, psychic functioning can only be understood in relation to the interplay of the forces of both conscious and unconscious activity.

In relation to the management of organizations, it has been described how the machine model of management and organization defines a style of rational action (a rationality emphasizing certain considerations over and above others). However, the reality of organization and managerial behaviour is somewhat different. In the manner in which myriad cognitive and social and political processes (Hales 1986) inevitably deny rational action, managers will attempt to reduce dissonance by banishing those elements which disturb self image and understanding to the unconscious. Such contents represent what Denhardt (1981) calls the 'Organizational Shadow'. In attempting to repress 'undesirable' contents, management invents ideological structures which are an attempt to convey to both managers and their public that management is rational, systematic and considerate (Salaman 1979). Public Relations campaigns in private and public organizations are often manufactured to create public images of social value and progress. Such images sometimes clash with reports of corporate behaviour involving unfair competition, taxation and financial irregularities, creative accounting, labour displacement and environmental pollution.

When an individual represses information in the unconscious, these contents will be manifested, according to Jung (1969a), in the projections the individual makes towards an external object or person. Thus, it is always the other who is to blame, the individual being unaware of the 'darkness' within himself. Jacobi (1962) states, 'For this reason, the exposure of the Shadow in analysis usually activates great resistance; frequently the analysand cannot bring himself to accept all this darkness as a part of himself, fearing that the painstakingly erected and maintained edifice of his conscious ego will collapse under the weight of the insight'.

The repressed irrational side of managerial activity will therefore find its form in the 'organization shadow' and be projected on particular individuals, work-groups, departments and trade unions conveniently placed to take it. That is not to say that they will be willing to accept it. At the same time, projections are not only uni-directional; all organizational participants are involved in the process. Whilst projections hold the key to understanding unconscious contents, this does not deny that the projections themselves do not accord in some way with 'social reality'. Whilst there may be external structural factors which are relevant in explaining social events, Jung, however, was of the belief that social

conflicts were often the result of the psyche at war with itself, and unless a deliberate attempt had been made to confront and integrate the 'Shadow' then external conflicts were the reflection of shadow material. Should we explain Hitler's role in history as the result of the injustice he felt with the Treaty of Versailles or should it be explained in terms of his intense wish for power and conquest? No doubt both sets of factors are relevant and this gives support to Jung's position that the individual psyche is crucial, and often forgotten, in accounting for action.

Because the feeling function is buried in the organizational unconscious, is seldom used and therefore primitive in form, when it is activated and projected it comes up with the 'slime of the deep'. Hillman (Hillman and von Franz 1971: 111) notes, 'inferior feeling is loaded with anger and rage and ambition and aggression as well as with greed and desire'. Hillman (Hillman and von Franz 1971: 110) further adds, 'Such wrong perceptions and evaluations are not only projections "to be taken back" but are manifestations of (inferior) feeling, attempting to comprehend and evaluate a world where it is partly blind and halt'. Hence the projection of inferior feelings in organizations can produce acrimony, conflict and outright civil war. Such effects can undermine the ideological structures which are aimed at achieving organizational unity.

An example which demonstrates the organizational shadow in action is taken from the account of Bowles and Lewis (1988a, b) describing the attempt to introduce new technology into Australian banks. Attempts to introduce the new technology and new systems of management resulted in serious problems of morale and involvement. In the management's analysis of the introduction of the changes, little or no consideration of the staff's response to the new organizational structure, new procedures, changes in job boundaries, and new control systems had been given. A pilot test in several branches had been attempted, but the evaluation was of a technical kind. The human system was all but forgotten. The management shadow then manifested itself in the way it attempted to explain the staff response. This focused on, for example, an accusation of incompetency among the young staff due to what was seen as the inadequate preparation for work given by schools, and accusing the union of agitation in the debate concerning new technology and unemployment, but more particularly, the staff themselves became the target. Bank staff who resisted the new operations were perceived by management as acting irrationally, being accused of laziness, immaturity, and lack of the will power and ambition to meet the opportunities that the new era of banking presented. Some senior managers attributed resistance to change by older bank staff as being due to the 'Paternalistic' banking to which these employees had become accustomed. One senior manager commented, 'Its not that the hard times are coming, its that the soft times are gone'. This was true to some extent, but the fact was that young staff seemed to respond to the new procedures in much the same way as the older staff. Senior management envisaged that a new breed of bank employee would resolve the problems. Early retirement and new selection procedures

would be used to this effect. Staff in the banks, however, reported that they were reacting to the lack of consideration shown to them in the way new procedures had been instituted. No form of communication with staff or unions over the introduction of new technology had taken place, despite government-level agreements signed by the bank employee's representative to this effect. Management of the changes appeared inferior in nearly all respects. However, in order to maintain self image, all aspects of dysfunctionality were projected elsewhere by management. No self questioning of the role adopted by management in the change process took place. Staff, despite their decline in morale, felt they were in no position to combat the changes due to the fear of loss of jobs. The bank's union were therefore unable to muster support for action and the staff's decline in morale and involvement was left to fester.

The case demonstrates the need for management to assimilate shadow material. In the case cited, it helped maintain an inefficient management system through management's blindness to their own action in instituting change. Where the organization shadow is so engrained, as it appeared to be in these banks, it is no easy task to reverse it.

Logos and Eros

Jung (1969a) described how psychic functioning consists of the contra sexual principles 'Logos' and Eros'. Logos, the masculine principle, refers to active, assertive, intellectual, discriminating and objective interest. Eros, the feminine principle, emphasizes relatedness, emotional and receptive characteristics, the bringing together. Criticism has been made of this gender stereotyping but Samuels (1985: 212) states, 'It is important to see that Jung was speaking in symbolic terms of psychological factors that are independent of anatomical sex'. According to the principle of opposites, if consciousness is characterized by the male principle, Logos, then unconscious activity would be characterized by the feminine principle, Eros, and vice versa. Jung used the term 'Anima' to represent the unconsciousness of the man and 'Animus' that of the female. Eros and Logos, as opposites, are part of the psychological make-up of all individuals of both sexes. What differs is the form of the relationship in any individual. Samuels (1985) notes that there are many other ways of denoting this basic dichotomy which do not involve gender: Apollonian-Dionysian, Classical-Romantic, Secondary-Primary, Digital-Analogic. The one exception is that of 'Yin' and 'Yang' which are gendered.

In applying this analysis to organizations, and continuing from the discussion of the functions of consciousness, contemporary organizations conform to the Logos principle by virtue of the focus on analytical and rational action. Little evidence of the Eros principle exists, although the manipulation of the ideological apparatus can purport to show a more humanely managed system (Salaman 1979). Work organizations, in Jung's terms, are therefore masculine phenomena, and if a gender dis-

inction is to be made, it can be argued that the idea of equal opportunity then becomes illusory to the extent that for women to be successful in organizations they must become 'pseudo men' displaying masculine values and behaviour. In such circumstances, Eros is repressed and culture itself becomes more homogenized. When an individual represses the feminine principle (Eros) according to Jung, it subsequently takes on a negative form which produces irritability, an irascible temperament, the individual being prone to swings of mood. Jung argues that when the masculine principle (Logos) is repressed, the individual becomes possessed by incontestable and uncritically accepted opinions and prejudices. As with all unconscious contents, such repressions are projected onto an external object or person. Managers often learn to survive in the competitive world of organizational life, a social reality that they help to create, by becoming more aggressive and competitive and justifying their behaviour and attitudes in terms of the surrounding social forces. In this way the feminine (Eros) principle is often repressed and depreciated as 'unrealistic', 'romantic', 'childish' and the repressed unconscious content projected onto a woman or women in general, and, as it represents part of the individual's discarded psyche, including the irrational and emotional elements, the projection is often derisory and belittling in form. As a result the 'feminine' comes to be devalued in the society at large.

What would an organization look like if logos and eros forces were balanced? From the current vantage point of an unbalanced patriarchal (logos) system of thought and action, it is problematic to imagine a world where the excesses of such a system are curtailed and Eros energies facilitate a wider and more comprehensive set of criteria for organizational action. But it might be expected that such a change would perhaps promote more organic forms of organization, perhaps smaller organizations, and the exercise of self leadership, for the full community of organizational members. More particularly, organizations might offer the venue for exploring one's personal myth.

Collective Unconscious

The most distinctive part of Jung's contribution to human understanding is his notion of the 'Collective Unconscious'. The Collective Unconscious, or 'Objective Psyche', as Jung called it, exists prior to the development of consciousness and represents the history of human life and experience in general. As such the Collective Unconscious is not a personal acquisition, but a collective phenomenon. Jung comments (1969a: 206) '... we all share a pattern of deep unconsciousness that is peculiar to human beings in general. This is the Collective Unconsciousness'. Whereas instincts, for Jung, are rooted in biology and drives (food, shelter, security, sex, dominance) the archetypes of the Collective Unconscious represent the psychic counterparts or images of the instinct. Jung (1964: 58) comments, 'what we call instincts are physiological urges,

and are perceived by the senses. But at the same time they also manifest themselves in fantasies and often reveal their presence only by symbolic images'. Jung further comments of archetype (Jung 1975: 37), 'An archetype means a type (imprint), a definite grouping of archaic character, containing in form as well as in meaning, mythological motifs'. Archetypes inform the understandings we give to and get from the world. They structure our understanding of life experiences in manageable ways, without which life would appear as teeming chaos, as happens in psychosis. Archetypes are historically laid down in the human psyche as a result of the accumulated experience of the species. In other words, whereas the body gives evidence to its phylogenetic evolution, similarly the human mind reflects its history and evolution. The archetypes thus represent those repeated experiences which leave traces etched into our mental lives.

Archetypes are most readily identified through their mythological representation across diverse cultures. For example, the Great Mother (Eve, Mary), the divine Child, the Hero and the Wise Old Man. But all human experience is potentially archetypal. Organizations, for example, create experience which becomes imprinted on our psychic lives.

Archetypes are inherited, according to Jung, but the content is variable, subject to environmental and historical change. In other words, 'ideas' are not inherited but the potential to experience the world in certain ways is. In discussing the mother archetype for example, Samuels (1985/26) comments, '... a contemporary baby starts off life with as yet unconscious tendencies — not to see his mother as good (pleasurable) or bad (painful), but to organize his individual experience of his early vulnerability around the patterns of "self", "mother", "good", "bad"'. In this way the child is structuring experience in accordance with innate psychological schema. The notion of archetype in fact bears certain resemblances with Plato's *Ideas* and Kant's *Categories of Knowledge*.

Many of the concepts addressed earlier are underpinned by archetypal structures. Whilst the Shadow is a 'personal' representation, it also has its own 'archetype', due to the fact that 'shadow' experiences recur in human history and therefore leave an imprint in the psychic structure of all individuals. Similarly, Eros and Logos represent archetypally determined principles of psychological functioning.

The archetypes of the 'group' and 'status and rank' are selected as examples to demonstrate how these deep structures inform and influence action in organization. Jung (1964a) argues that the social and psychological impoverishment of modern existence often causes the individual to pursue salvation in the ideology and institutions of the State. Jung notes that such involvement however proceeds to deny every remnant of individuality. The role of the State, in this context, can be equated with the role contemporary work organizations often attempt to play. With the decline in importance attached to the role of the Church, work organizations come to play a crucial role in the way individuals construct life meanings and structure their personal action (Bowles 1989). As Simon

(1958: 198) suggests, quoted earlier, 'the individual comes to acquire an organization personality rather distinct from his personality as an individual'. This means that individual initiative and self reliance are lost and replaced by group initiative and group dependence, as informed by the group archetype. The effect of this is that the individual is sacrificed and the inevitable consequences of the 'organization man', described by White (1963) emerge. The more the group archetype conditions behaviour, the easier the task of control by the State or the work organization becomes. Beyond a certain point, however, such an edifice of control will inevitably crack, as Odajnyk (1976) comments, because slavery and rebellion are inseparable correlates. Another feature of this archetype is that group activity often leads to restricted cognitive ability of the members due to the mutual imitation and dependence. Thus for Jung the morality of a group is in inverse ratio to its size. Jung (1966: 150) comments, 'any large company composed of wholly admirable persons has the mentality and intelligence of an unwieldy, stupid and violent animal'. This view tends to corroborate the more recent analysis of 'group think' suggested by Janis (1971) and provides the logic for smaller organizations, as argued by Schumacher (1975). But for our purposes here, it is important to realize how archetypes in the deep unconscious can, given the circumstances, lead to a monopolization of individual life and the atrophization of the personality.

The 'status and rank' archetype also has importance in organizational understanding. When an individual identifies with a job title and the status it affords, as a collective representation, the individual is exposed to the energy which emanates from such archetypal content and in this way the individual is subject to what Jung (1966) calls 'psychic inflation'. When this happens, the individual can take on the form of a 'mana personality'. The 'mana personality' can be portrayed as hero, chief, ruler of men, medicine man, saint or prophet; or at the opposite pole, a demagogue, dictator. Furthermore, such archetypal content can be projected onto a particular individual. Odajnyk (1976: 27) adds, 'In this way the individual so affected identifies with qualities that he does not in fact possess and over which he has no control; on the contrary the archetypes and the projections possess his ego and function through him'. In this way, the individual has made himself subject to the forces of the unconscious. At the same time, Jung (1966) notes how rarely an individual is able to master the archetypal content, rather than being mastered by it. In such situations where the ego is not obsessed with its own importance and self adulation, the resources provided by the collective unconscious can be used by the individual for social progress rather than mere self aggrandizement. However, in identifying with an office or title the individual can make an 'extraordinary extension of his personality and usurp qualities that are not in him, but outside him' (Odajnyk 1976: 19). In the twentieth century, Hitler and Ghandi were two figures who left a significant impression on world history, with the effects of their mana. In the case of Hitler, it is clearly evident how he

made the most extraordinary extension of himself into the archetypal energies, with the most catastrophic results. His ego consciousness became submerged in an energy quite beyond the more limited resources of consciousness. Ghandi, on the other hand, could be argued to have mastered the powerful archetypal contents with which his ego was in contact. Rather than mere self aggrandisement, the energies could be understood in this case to be used for constructive societal progress. No doubt contemporary politicians and business leaders could be classified according to whether they demonstrate positive or negative mana. It is certainly the case that in bureaucratic organizations, a structuralist ideology legitimates the gross inequality of the distribution of power, status, decision-making, economic and other rewards and such structural conditions make it more likely for 'psychic inflation' to occur.

Other analyses of archetypal contents informing organizational action, particularly in relation to takeovers and mergers have been made by Mitroff (1983a, b) and Hirsch and Andrews (1984). Such events are often depicted in the form of a love affair or marriage, rape or warfare. As Hirsch and Andrews (1984) comment in virtually all such formulations the 'acquiring executive is macho and the target company is accorded the female gender'.

Archetypes, then, are the means by which organizational experience is shaped and catalogued. They represent the 'schema' which underlie thought and sense-making capacity. These deep structures correspond to notions currently employed in nuclear physics (Bohm 1980) in explaining the 'implicate structures' which contain the unfolded empirical reality. It is interesting to observe how depth psychology and physics have converged in their understandings of deep structures containing both physical and mental life. These speculations have the effect of awe and require a new direction on epistemology in general.

Implications for Management

The aim of the paper has been to represent the 'irrational' side of organizational life through an appreciation of the human psyche as understood by Jung, who spent over sixty years studying its dynamic components. The intention is not to conclude an anarchic view of organization, but to understand better those forces which constitute social life in organization. The technological world appears bent on achieving more 'rationality', the current limitations of rationality being resolved through further systematization, tightening and codification. The critic might ask how rationalism has been seen to lead to improvements in living conditions in the twentieth century given the devastation through war, ecological disaster and social indicators expressing increasing difficulties of human adjustment. Is it more rationality that is required or is it a greater understanding of humanity that is especially called for? That is an understanding of human beings as possessing rationalism as well as irrationalism, logos as well as eros, light as well as dark.

In the Jungian paradigm, the person in analysis, through the presentation of dreams, fantasies and active imagination, is provided with the tools through which the 'irrational' side of the psyche can be integrated and thus individuation enhanced. But even if desirable, this is utterly impractical for managers. However, there are other means by which managers and organizational participants in general can further their own assimilation of unconscious contents. The use of metaphorical analysis allows unconscious contents to be revealed for open inspection. Metaphorical analysis has received much use in individual therapy (Grinder and Bandler 1976; Gordon 1978) but has received far less attention in the study of organizations. However, more recently, the work of Morgan (1983, 1986), Smircich (1983) and Krefling and Frost (1985) have directed interest towards a metaphorical understanding. Metaphorical analysis means, in this case, the attempt to liken organizations and organizational processes to other things, thus noting key elements and framing relevant issues. In this way, metaphors help to articulate subjects for which we do not have specific language. They allow expression of what would otherwise be inexpressible (Ortony 1975). Morgan (1986) talks of the advantages of metaphorical analysis in looking at things from 'new angles' and uses the term 'imaginization' to describe how the elicitation of metaphors can help to form new images of organizations and therefore to create new understandings and action. Krefling and Frost (1985) explicitly connect the use of metaphors with the tapping of unconscious material and in this way provide important vehicles for accessing meaning. More specifically, Krefling and White (1985) argue that in analyzing corporate culture, the use of metaphors can be used to identify 'blockages' in the way the culture operates, and hence provide basic clues to the underlying dimensions of the problem. Analyzing what an organization culture is and how it manifests itself would require the use of what Krefling and Frost (1985) call extended, multiple and mixed metaphors. In other words, a military metaphor can be extended to include regular army versus special troops, sabotage, passive resistance, civil defence, and so on (Krefling and White 1983). Conceiving of organizations as mixed metaphors can depict organizations as ivory towers, communities, garbage cans and living systems. Krefling and Frost (1985: 163) comment, 'Each metaphor evokes different images and thus may access conscious cultures in different ways'.

Metaphors can be used particularly in the identification of organizational shadows and archetypes. Through their familiarization with mixed metaphors, produced either by themselves or other organizational participants, managers, may hit upon images that allow confrontation with the unconscious aspects of their organizations, for which they are responsible. Krefling and Frost (1985) comment that attention to such evidence of 'underground activity' is very important for successful managerial action, and in the evocative imagery of such metaphors the keys to unlocking the deep structures of organizations are provided.

The intention here is not to reduce Jungian psychology with its immense

breadth and depth, to a focal reliance on metaphorical enquiry. It merely happens to be a readily accessible tool available in management development work. The analysis of the culture of organization more generally, particularly in respect to the use of myths, stories and rituals can be used to explore similar themes. To apply such techniques to management development requires managers to put aside the stereotypes and ego defences which are normally employed in everyday organizational life. The self reflective exercise of the individual in analysis requires an honesty in approaching unconscious contents which must be mirrored by managers if they are to learn more comprehensively about the processes of management and organization. Such a willingness might, by no means, be readily achieved. Western culture more generally informs action rather than reflection. However, it might be argued, judging by the evidence of emerging literature on organizations, that there has been some small move back of the pendulum. Nevertheless, metaphorical analysis, whilst a potentially powerful tool for assisting managers in exploring deep structures, requires a maturity often not realised. In the final analysis, organizational life is locked into deep patterns that underpin our existence. The depth psychologists and nuclear physicists have produced a revolution of knowledge in the twentieth century in the way physic and psyche are understood. The phenomenal world appears increasingly as a surface level masking the life structures within. The advancement of our epistemologies in the organizational sciences needs to integrate such understandings.

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