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Journal of Organizational Change Management (ISSN 0953-4814)

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Citation Details

Citation for the version of the work held in 'OpenAIR@RGU':

BROWN, M. L., MCDONALD, S. and SMITH, F., 2013. Jungian archetypes and dreams of social enterprise. Available from *OpenAIR@RGU*. [online]. Available from: <http://openair.rgu.ac.uk>

Citation for the publisher's version:

BROWN, M. L., MCDONALD, S. and SMITH, F., 2013. Jungian archetypes and dreams of social enterprise. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 26 (4), pp. 670-688.

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Jungian Archetypes and Dreams of Social Enterprise

Mary L. Brown, Seonaidh McDonald & Fiona Smith

Abstract

This paper considers organizational identity and the way in which cultural change involves repercussions at an unconscious, psychodynamic level. It considers, in Jungian terms, the nature of the relationship between individuals and their organization, and archetypal themes influencing both. Social enterprises in Britain face many challenges in retaining their aims to address issues of social deprivation, whilst at the same time being urged to become more commercially oriented, thus experiencing tension between the need for both philanthropy and commercial pragmatism.

We investigated a purposive sample of social enterprises and their leaders, to discover the archetypal themes influencing their strategies for change. Respondents appeared driven either by the archetype of entrepreneur or social reformer. Only one individual had apparently succeeded in balancing both roles through the process called by Jung 'individuation', that is, through understanding and acknowledging the less developed or preferred areas of the self, and refusing to project the less desired areas of his, and his organisation's unconscious. In psychodynamic terms only this individual had been able to reconcile ego-ideal and organizational ideal. It is suggested that engaging with the individuation process may assist organizations and their leaders to make better sense of the ambiguities of the change process.

Key Words: Jungian archetypes, social enterprise, ego-ideal, individuation, shadowing

Introduction

In this paper we aim to explore a less frequently explored aspect of organizational identity and the way in which organizational culture change may have repercussions at the unconscious, psychodynamic level. In the wake of financial exigencies global and national, current UK government policy now suggests that social enterprises, organizations which seek to address the problems of disadvantaged groups and individuals through commercial fund raising, should originate from interested groups and individuals, and be financed by them (Cameron, 2009, Muir, 2010). This follows a trend to apply business principles and processes to non-commercial organizations, and research has suggested that social entrepreneurs are often unhappy with a cultural shift from philanthropy to profit making (Dart, 2004, Chell, 2007). We question the view that the unease is simply a refusal to accept economic realities and the need to be commercially solvent, and suggest that the deeper intuitive patterns of human behaviour, which Jung called 'archetypes' (Jung, CW 8, CW 9) have significant influence on the way that individuals and organizations respond to culture change, whether sought or imposed.

The article thus contributes to the literature on psychodynamic approaches as a means of understanding responses to cultural change, in this case by social entrepreneurs in north-east Scotland. Jung was keen for individuals to become effective at understanding their own unconscious motives through a rigorous process of analysis (Jung, CW 12: 1 ff.), and in more recent times the principles of Jungian analysis have been applied to the study of organizations (Mitroff, 1983, Bridges,

2000), as well as to the question of organizational change (Carr, 2002, Matthews, 2002). The specific contribution of the current article, however, lies in considering, in Jungian terms, the nature of the relationship between individuals and their organizations, and the archetypes influencing both.

Jung (CW 8:440) appeared to suggest that archetypes are underlying ground themes – in effect, a psychic inheritance common to humanity. They are not accessible in themselves, except through dreams and fantasies, but their influence can be seen in the actions of those driven to act out an archetypal pattern. We argue that, in Jungian terms, in situations of fundamental cultural change, competing archetypes may be in play: those influencing individuals and those influencing their organizations. These archetypal patterns may be held in balance, but equally may conflict. Jung suggested that individuals or communities which lack understanding of psychic processes risk being ‘overwhelmed by archetypes’ – and as a consequence behave in exaggerated or bizarre ways (Matthews, 2002, p. 462).

The safeguard against such possession by archetypes is the development of individual consciousness and the integration of unconscious aspects (Jung CW 10), a process called by Jung ‘individuation’. He regards personality not as a given, but an achievement, and to achieve psychic unity it is necessary to address the shadow side of the psyche, where we hide the less developed or imperfect aspects of ourselves. Complete individuation is probably beyond human endeavour, except by a few exceptional individuals, but Jung suggests it is a mark of the psychically healthy individual to attempt it as a type of everyday heroism (Jung, CW 7: 56 f). Failure to attempt it can mean projecting less desirable aspects of the self onto other people or the external environment (Jung, CW 11: 138f), and attendant neurosis. The Jungian writer Robert Bly (1988/1992) described the process as “eating the shadow”, that is, accepting the contents of the psyche which are underdeveloped or unwanted as parts of one’s self, and refraining from projecting them.

In this conceptual paper we investigate, in Jungian terms, the relationship between the archetypal patterns influencing individuals and their organizations in times of change, and the consequences if the two are in conflict. Because of the ubiquity of organizations in our lives, organizational leaders encourage their members to mirror the behaviours, attitudes and values of the organization through concrete rewards and symbols (Carr, 2002), and in this context archetypes can be powerful ‘stakeholders of the organizational mind’ (Mitroff, 1983). Social enterprises in particular may be seen (for example, by Castoriadis (1987/2005) as symbolic structures which bridge the gap between the unconscious and the social order. Discussion by social enterprise scholars of the change from charitable to commercial organization (Kellock Hay *et al*, 2001) may focus on the macro-context (Stein, 2007) and not always account adequately for non-rational responses to the proposed changes. A consequence of reliance on rationalist approaches to make change happen may, as Fotaki (2006) discovered, involve those affected in attempted emotional ‘dispersal’ by constant frenetic activity. If social enterprises are to be increasingly financially self-supporting, to replace state funded initiatives to address disadvantage and social malaise, it is necessary to understand the psychodynamic issues affecting the entrepreneurs who are expected to make the idea work.

Consequently, we begin with a review of two separate strands of literature: that of social entrepreneurship and its nature, and that of the psychodynamic approach to understanding change, with its emphasis on the influence of archetypal patterns, suggesting that the former may not always adequately consider the non-rational drivers affecting individuals involved with social enterprise organizations, especially when the challenges they face may unconsciously attack deeply held ego-ideals (Carr, 2002). The methodology for the initial project and subsequent analysis through the lens of Jungian thought is described. An account of the main findings is followed by a discussion of the implications, and a summing up.

Literature Review

The 'Macro' Context of Social Enterprise

For the purposes of this paper, we define social enterprise as the use of non-governmental, market-based approaches to address social issues (Kerlin, 2006, p. 247). Smallbone *et al.* (2001) describe 'competitive businesses, owned and trading for a social purpose' (2001, p. 4), whereas Cox *et al.* (2005) suggest that there is a further difference of definition between the terms *Social Enterprise* and *Social Firm* (*ibid*: A1). The latter not only have a market orientation and a social mission, but also aspire to ensure that 'more than 25% of employees are people who are "disabled" by the way society works from securing appropriate employment' (*ibid*: B5). Many social enterprises have moved away from the narrow focus of non-profit organizational culture towards a more commercially oriented model (Dart, 2004). There is a spectrum of understanding, with, at one end, emphasis on the creation of social value, and at the other a trend towards more market driven, commercial initiatives (Dart, 2004). Not least there is a contrast between social enterprises and traditional non-profit organizations, the latter voluntaristic and funded by a variety of fees and donations, and the former hybrids blurring boundaries between profit and non-profit objectives.

That social enterprise in Britain is essentially pro-social is stressed by Chell (2007), who notes its origins as a response to social problems modelled on non-profit initiatives, especially in the 1980s as a response to the so-called 'Thatcherite' enterprise culture. Chell also notes the prevailing survival strategies of such non-profit initiatives have been based largely on grant dependency. But how far can social enterprises act entrepreneurially as opposed to being reliant on other funding sources? When their respondents proposed 'funding' as the major challenge they faced, Cox *et al.* (2005) briskly responded: 'Of course Social Firms need "supplementary income streams"... but here perhaps there is too much hang-over from the culture of hand-outs and dependency. The language and the thinking need to change!' (Cox *et al.*, 2005, B15). If the change is towards greater managerialism, writers such as Burt and Scholarios (2010) note the tension between what they term philanthropy and 'managerial pragmatism' and also the tensions attendant on promoting social goods in a commercial context. Writers on social enterprise (Dart, 2004, Burt and Scholarios, 2010) suggest that change is a particularly important challenge for these organizations, and will continue to be so in a period of economic austerity. Studies by Kellock Hay *et al.* (2001) of a Federation of Councils of Voluntary Service, and Parsons and Broadbridge (2004) of UK charity retail managers, reflect the pressures to 'modernise'. Although recognising the need to be more commercially successful, respondents were frequently ambivalent about this, feeling that the move towards more 'professional' management practice was not always in alignment with the original values of the organizations (Parsons and Broadbridge, 2004). The suggestion is that however 'rational', such changes were often greeted with anxiety and resistance.

As writers of the psychodynamic school have suggested, the responses of human resource experts have often ignored the emotions generated by enforced change, preferring almost to regard 'resistance' by employees as stupidity or wilful obstruction, rather than an example of psychological defence mechanisms (Carr, 2001, French, 2001, Fotaki, 2006). As French (2001) points out, it is of little importance whether the change is deliberate, or a response to environmental contingency: it is still the generator of a range of challenging emotion. Managers may be regarded as villains by those on whom change was imposed for wilfully disturbing their previous equilibrium, whereas managers could regard staff as villainous because they wilfully 'resisted' change. The point is that such views are frequently held, but rarely for reasons of logic or evidential cogency. Instead, they may reflect deeper psychodynamic drivers.

Accessing Archetypal Patterns through Dreams and Visions

A significant challenge for those attempting to use Jungian approaches to understand organizational behaviour is that Jung's language is poetic, even opaque, and his ideas contain much that is mystic, or metaphysical in nature. He described his work as consisting of "a series of different approaches... a circumambulation of unknown factors [which] makes it difficult to give a clear cut and simple account of my ideas" (Fordham, 1966, p 11). At times, for example, he appears to suggest that his archetypes possess personality and agency, like the gods of the Classical or Hindu pantheon (Harpur, 2010, p 49). They possess a numinous quality which accords them profound spiritual significance (Jung CW 8:342), and appear not as abstracts but personifications – or gods – who represent narrative patterns or myths which structure our unconscious psyches and determine our lives without our knowledge. "Not even our thought can clearly grasp them, because it never invented them" (Jung, CW 7). They may be experienced as emotions as well as images (Fordham, p 24). The idea behind the concept may be traced back to Plato's 'ideas' or 'forms', pure mental concepts imprinted on the mind before birth, as described by the Jungian writer Harpur, (2010, p 19f). From the archetypes arise the archetypal images which are more familiar from Jung's thought, such as the Animus or Anima, the Persona and the Shadow (Matthews, 2002), the last the "'negative" side of the personality, the sum of all those unpleasant qualities we like to hide' (CW 7:103), in contrast with the persona, or the 'mask' individuals wear to present themselves favourably to the world.

Notwithstanding the metaphysical nature of Jung's conclusions, Matthews has described the relationship between Jungian archetypes and the "'hard science" notion of complexity theory', making the point that an interdisciplinary approach which links hard science and the methods of the mystic, or metaphysical scholar, may enhance our understanding of complex social scientific phenomena (2002). The problem, however, which faces any psychodynamic exploration of organizational behaviour, is that if the unconscious is inaccessible, how do we learn about its impact on an organization? Although Jung wrote extensively about the analysis of dreams, in describing his journeys into the unconscious, he frequently blurs the distinction between sleeping and waking dreams, suggesting that whilst analysis of the former may be the principal way of accessing the unconscious, it is not the only way. 'Active imagination' he regards as a state of reverie in which one is not asleep but suspending judgement, merely noting the ideas which occur and the archetypal images they suggest. Jung's 'spirit guide', Philemon, 'arose out of the unconscious' (Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p 174) and Jung's experiences of this figure, the archetypal 'wise old man', seem to occur both in dreams and visions (*ibid.*). For the Jungian writer Harpur (2010, p. 79): "Dreaming goes on all the time: it is nothing more than the soul's imagining. We only associate it with night and sleep because that is when our guard is down, and we let the dreams in, or let ourselves be taken down into the dream. If we allowed the dream back in daylight hours the hardness of literal reality would be emulsified." Similarly: "All men dream," suggested TE Lawrence, "but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake up in the day to find it was vanity, but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible" (1935/1962 p. 23). The concept of dreaming may therefore encompass a dual meaning: it is both a fantasy, accessed through the unconscious, but also an aspiration to be aimed for in the conscious world, as Lawrence suggests here.

Thus, it may not be sufficient in a situation of significant organizational change for those affected to share their *conscious* concerns – there are deeper psychic struggles going on. As the psychodynamic writers Hutton, Bazalgette and Reed (1997) point out, our dreams of the organization are unique to our own understanding of what it represents – thus our *ego-ideal* may not match the *organization-ideal* (Carr, 2002). Hutton, Bazalgette and Reed refer to what they call 'organization-in-the-mind' – the organization which forms in an individual's inner psychic space as opposed to what is going on

'out there' (1997, p. 2). Thus what we know – our own ego-ideal, or 'organization-in-the-mind' – is the good object, and the force which seeks to challenge this, whether in the form of an individual or an environmental force, is despised. In Jungian terms, our persona, or the image we wish to project, is valued at the expense of the despised shadow, which latter is projected onto others. The individual who is aware of these psychic tensions will be able to move forward from such polarisation to accept the messy realities of organizational life, where priorities and values are constantly in flux (Hutton, Bazalgette and Reed, 1997, p. 8).

There have been studies of change management in non-profit organizations which sought to develop psychodynamic explanatory theories, but few specifically consider the views of managers in this context. Fotaki (2006) examined the unconscious processes involved in the concept of patient choice in the NHS, contrasting emotional drivers with the consumer model proposed by health officials, while French (2001) explored responses to change in a charity through the context of Keats' phrase 'negative capability', the state in which an individual is tolerant of ambiguity and paradox 'without any irritable reaching after fact and reason' as Keats put it (*ibid.*). Rather than processing their anxiety about the change – which was another example of increasing commercialisation – organizational members studied by French (2001) attempted emotional 'dispersal' by constant activity, creating a culture of presenteeism and overwork (*ibid.*).

Frequently, however, psychodynamic studies have tended to adopt a Freudian approach to psychoanalysis, although as Carr (2002) suggested, the 'split' between Freudians and Jungian theorists has been exaggerated, perhaps psychodynamically. Both were developing the concept of depth psychology, and the idea of the unconscious mind, an idea which is not wholly original to either, although extensively developed by both. For the purposes of the current paper, the main difference between the two centres on the development by Jung of the idea of the collective unconscious at a deeper psychic level than the personal level proposed by Freud. Whereas for Freud the unconscious appeared to have negative connotations, a place where unacceptable thoughts and wishes were consigned, Jung regarded it as a neutral 'natural entity' which was collective as well as personal, containing the archetypes which are the blueprints for human behaviour (Jung CW 7). If we are able to access these at an unconscious level, through the individuation process, they can be potentially positive guides to psychic development. Jung's view of humanity emphasises the concept of progress, of self-actualisation, more than adaption, as Freud would have it.

In his study of Australian education professionals undergoing cultural and structural change Carr links Freud's concept of the ego ideal with the concept of archetypes. In Freudian thought, the superego mind state in effect sets the rules for the adult ego by providing it with an ego-ideal, a sort of amalgam of attractive qualities taken from admired people such as parents or other authority figures, and which is continually under review. For Jung, a similar process is 'mirroring', where parental figures reflect back to an infant the appropriateness of its behaviour and actions. This psychodynamic process in Carr's account becomes the way in which leaders in work organizations, through symbolic and actual behaviour, encourage members to adopt the organization's values, attitudes and beliefs, so that the 'organization-ideal' is substituted for the ego-ideal. People mirror what the organization sees as an ego type – or even an archetype (Mitroff, 1983). In Carr's study, when education professionals were expected to become resource managers in their new managerial roles, the old organization-ideal (educator) was suddenly replaced by the new (manager) and the 'parent' organization (the Australian government) became the 'bad' parent, no longer fulfilling its duty of care to its 'offspring'. Change was driven through but at high cost both to individuals' psychic and physical health.

Sørensen (2008) considers the case of Danish entrepreneurs, who, he believes, are described by policy makers in their discourse as quasi-religious figures, whose creativity will 'save the world' of

Danish industry. Although he does not use the term 'archetype', preferring to relate his account to mythological figures, the account he presents – of 'a crisis, a savior and a monster' where the creativity of the entrepreneur confronts the monster of multinational capital (2008, p. 87) – has many references to the 'hero' figure and myth which for Jung is an important archetype. Sørensen suggests the fact that 'the entrepreneur is both mythological and religious is not necessarily a problem' (2008, p. 92), as creative new forms are developing, but the Jungian analyst might point to dangers in channelling an archetype, given their numinous character. Matthews (2002, p. 462) cites Jung in this respect: 'Succumbing to the fascinating influence of archetypes... is most likely to happen when the archetypal images are not made conscious'. Jung suggests that the autonomy of the archetypal figures may even enable them to escape from conscious control and become independent. A social science account of this process would perhaps describe it as individuals or organizations behaving irrationally in the face of challenges.

In the case of social enterprises, a rationalist account of the impact of change on these organizations might regard leaders' autonomy as limited by the need to secure funding and/or commercial success. The writers of the psychodynamic school would rather maintain that the unconscious in individuals and organizations functions as a 'mental territory' into which difficult and painful ideas are consigned, and defences against attendant anxiety are developed (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001, French, 2001, Carr, 2002). Jung's concept of the Shadow archetype can be invoked here, but for Jung, the action of splitting off the negative aspects of personality can never work successfully as a defence mechanism, because the Shadow may become a Frankenstein monster leading those influenced by it to ever more desperate attempts to hide these 'bad' aspects of the self, or worse, project them onto others who are then seen as bad themselves. In contrast, Jung seemed to believe it to be our psychological and moral task to bring our shadows to consciousness and dispel our bigotries and ideologies (Jung CW 10).

In linking environmental and psychodynamic influences, Stein's (2007) account of the Enron collapse combines what he termed the 'macro' account of events, emphasising the environmental influences on the company, and the 'micro' psychological account, through an analysis based on the Freudian Oedipus complex. His psychodynamic 'deep structure' approach suggested that both Enron leaders, Skilling and Lay, were influenced by unsatisfactory experiences of paternal authority figures, which led both individuals to regard other symbols of authority, in this case government regulatory procedures, as weak and unworthy of respect (2007, p. 1387). Consequently they set out to thwart the regulators in a way which ultimately destroyed the company. The Enron case is an extreme example of psychodynamic drivers leading to destruction. In Jungian terms it might be regarded as an example of possession by an archetype, in this case of the parricide, or the angry/vengeful child.

While psychodynamic authors have considered the action of archetypes at the level of the individual and the organization, in the current paper we specifically seek to problematize the issue by considering the relationship between the potentially conflicting archetypal influences in play for organizations and their leaders in times of change. What might be the consequences when the archetypal patterns are antagonistic – or, put another way, what are the consequences if the individual's ego-ideal (Carr, 2002) is different from the organization-ideal? In Jungian terms, what happens when the mirroring process reflects back unwanted or unpleasant Shadow images?

Research methodology

Forms of social enterprise have existed in Scotland for centuries, and there are now over 3000 examples (Social Firms Scotland, 2012). Enjoying relative economic affluence because of the impact of the energy sector, North-east Scotland has a significant number of social enterprises, and, as a historically rural economy, it has also been used to develop self-help initiatives. In order to discover how change from reliance on grant funding was affecting their work, leaders of five organizations were selected which provided a purposeful sample of organisations with different histories, cultures, organizational structures, management approaches and that were operating within different industry sectors and facing different commercialisation challenges. The aim of the sample was to provide maximum variation in terms of models and practices of social enterprise. Details of respondents, and the change issues affecting them and their organizations, are provided in Table (A). Both the managers who were involved in the data collection, and their organizations have been given pseudonyms and some of the details relating to their sectors and organizations have been suppressed or altered in order to maintain anonymity of respondents.

Since our research question was centred on neither the individual leaders, nor their organisations, but rather on the relationship between the two, it was important to research the leaders within their organizational contexts, but also to access their world views. The data were therefore collected using a two stage approach. During the first phase of the study, each of the leaders was shadowed for between one and two working days. Shadowing involves following an individual for a sustained period of time, noting all their conversations, behaviours and habits, whilst prompting them to provide a 'running commentary' on what they are doing (McDonald, 2005). Thus each shadowing episode provided two data streams: observation data about what was done, where, when, how and with whom; and this is supplemented by the commentary of the leaders which helps the researcher to understand the motives, beliefs, values and constraints underpinning the behaviour that is observed. Together these data streams give a rich and detailed picture of a day (or days) in the life of the leader, contextualised within the specific organisation. During the second phase of the data collection, each of the leaders that had been shadowed was then interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured, in-depth interviews which lasted between one and two hours each. General themes for interview questions were clustered around:

~what respondents saw as the main challenges for their organization;

~what they considered the organization's purpose to be: purely social or in part commercial;

~whether, in view of the government's interest in social enterprise as a commercial operation, they believed their organization would need to make changes in its strategic aims, operations, or services.

The interviews also presented the opportunity to further explore the organisation ideals and ego ideals suggested through the shadowing episodes.

It is argued that the process of being shadowed by the researchers, and in that context spending some time reflecting on their own values and actions, could have assisted the respondents to develop a process of 'active imagination', whereby consciousness is preserved but judgement is suspended, enabling the individual to access some of the unconscious drivers (Jung: CW 9 ii 24-40).

Data Analysis

Initially, thematic analysis followed the transcription of observation data, interview notes and tape recorded conversations. Where tape recordings were used, these were transcribed by the researchers. Following Glaser and Strauss (1967) a form of open coding was used to elicit initial categories of data. After close rereading of the data sets, these were grouped into five main themes: the culture and ethos of social enterprise as the respondents saw it; the beneficiaries of the

organization's activities; the relationship with the commercial world; finance and funding; management and leadership challenges. Data was then closely re-examined with reference to these themes and coded.

Conceptual framework

The original research was a time limited exploratory study; however, as a piece of qualitative research it was acceptable for individual cases to be selected for theoretical rather than statistical reasons (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 204, Flick, 2002, p. 64). We argue that the psychodynamic explanatory theory developed by the current article may supplement, deepen or question the arguments of other organizational theorizing (Carr, 2002). The conceptual framework we develop here proposes that in Jungian terms there are potentially two separate archetypal ideals in play in organizations: that of the organization itself, the organization-ideal, and that of each of its members, the ego-ideal. Jungian analysis has tended to focus on the latter, and it is often assumed by management writers that the two are aligned.

In this article we seek to investigate the psychodynamic relationship between organization-ideal and ego-ideal, through an investigation of a real-life sample of social entrepreneurs. We consider specifically the relationship in times of fundamental culture change, in effect here from the idea of a 'social ideal' to that of an 'enterprise ideal', where those influenced by these potentially competing archetypes seek to act them out in their leadership role. We investigate the consequences if such a cultural change unearths a discrepancy between the ideals of the organization and that of its leaders. The process of shadowing the individuals as they went about their roles enabled both the researchers and the respondents to engage in a process of active imagination, especially where respondents meditated aloud on the organizational issues which most concerned them, and the comments in Table B represent their own words and phrases.

Findings

Insert table A and B here

Respondents were well informed about the challenges facing their organizations, particularly the need to combine philanthropy with commercial acumen. In Jungian terms, what all the actors articulated to some extent was that 'social enterprise' was experienced by its proponents as two competing ideals: 'social' and 'enterprise'. These two archetypes at the same time extended and challenged each other, but ultimately were rival ideals which were held in constant tension and were mediated through the practices of the organizations and their leaders.

We will begin by looking at the meanings of each of these conflicting ideals for the organization leaders and then we will go on to consider how these tensions became manifest within the organizations they managed through their practices.

An enterprise ideal

The 'enterprise' archetype was present within the accounts of all five of our respondents. However the form that it took for each person was quite different. In all, our respondents had three personal

responses to 'enterprise'. For example, both *Malcolm* and *Flora* conceptualised contemporary capitalism as an 'anti-dream'. In Jungian terms, this represents an example of the Shadow, containing all they regarded as negative or malign. *Malcolm* in particular regarded the corporate world as endemically unjust and talked about those who he felt represented this dream with outright hostility, describing board members as 'leeches and parasites' obsessed with power and control. At the other end of the spectrum, we find an acceptance of the enterprise ideal, by *Bill* and *Ewen*. For *Bill*, a good social enterprise could be 'sustainable and viable. They can respond to social needs and make profits'. *Ewen* saw himself as 'not really person-centred', but 'I am strong on driving the business and driving the charitable aims'. However, it is not a positive reading of 'enterprise' that is held in opposition to the negative interpretation, but rather a neutral one. Here, the tenets of enterprise are accepted and go unquestioned as commercial exigencies. Enterprise is not read then as a necessary evil, but just as necessary and the archetype is accepted and utilised without being characterised as either dream or nightmare.

Only one respondent (*Rob*) appeared to be comfortable with 'negative capability' (Carr, *op. cit.*). *Rob* was uniquely able to see that new times and structures might require social entrepreneurs to express their values in a different way – one which took account of society's emphasis on business models such as 'Social Return on Investment'. Here is someone who is not prepared to accept the enterprise archetype as his personal ideal, but is realistic in his acceptance of those who do, and looks forward to subverting the archetype to make it work for his own, social, ends.

A social ideal

Rob's social(ist) ideal, both as imagined and striven for, is to address specific issues of social deprivation in the region. However his dream is expressed not only in the goals of his organization (which mirror his own) but also in his aspirations for its organizing processes. Specifically, he claimed that he had to encourage his board members not to accept his decisions unquestioningly: 'I could have said "do a backward somersault and a twist into the harbour" and they would have all walked across and done it!'. *Rob* seeks a more shared model of leadership, and in Jungian terms he is refusing to accept the projection of leadership from uncritical board members. Jung (CW 7: 387 f) talks of the dangers of the 'mana personality' or Leader archetype, which if unchallenged damages both 'master and pupil'. Equally, *Rob* refrains from projecting the negative aspects of his ideal, accepting that he might be regarded as an "ageing hippy" who believed in "peace and love – but I do it differently now". Here the social ideal is strong, explicit and positive, guiding both the goals and habits of the leader and his organization.

Other respondents were perhaps less self-aware. *Malcolm* and *Flora* were both ideologically driven, but not necessarily aware of how this coloured their perceptions. *Malcolm* had been a disgruntled teenage dropout, who now sees himself as fighting on behalf of society's underdogs. *Flora* is proud of her achievements despite an initially undistinguished academic career and early marriage and parenthood. Her fight for equality is essentially for herself but also for the others she sees around her who reflect her earlier self. Thus both of these class warriors see themselves, in different ways, at once fighting, and fighting their way into the capitalist status quo from the outside. In these cases the social ideal is depicted as a battle in which these managers are 'right' and of the side of the overlooked. Yet both individuals may be seen from the opposite viewpoint, to be on the 'shadow side of capitalism'.

Ewen and *Bill* had different career experiences from *Malcolm* and *Flora*; both the former had originated in small commercial enterprises and had arrived into social enterprise almost by accident. They had been hired initially for their vocational skills rather than ideological enthusiasm. *Bill's*

vocabulary regarding the ideologues was of interest – he termed them ‘pink fluffies’ in a pejorative way, signalling his unease with the social idealists amongst whom he found himself. Perhaps it is the perceived shadow side of himself which is projected here – as a business entrepreneur he is uncomfortable with being regarded as a social campaigner. Here the social ideal is accepted as the organizational ideal but it belongs to the others in the organization and not to these leaders.

Using organizational practices to mediate between ‘social’ and ‘enterprise’

Each of the organizations studied is operating in a changing environment where a ‘social’ ideal is no longer enough to sustain the organization and the ‘enterprise’ archetype must at least be acknowledged. The organizations studied have tried to resolve the inherent tensions between the ‘social’ and ‘enterprise’ archetypes in various ways. Three main strategies for handling these competing ideals are deployed: *dividing*, *struggling* and *utilizing* (the word is used here to suggest putting something to an unusual or unexpected practical use).

Dividing

In O1 and O2 *Bill* and *Ewen* manage these competing ideals by dividing them, using organizational structures to maintain and support them separately. In O1 this is manifest in *Bill* himself being brought in to give the organization enterprise expertise. He is necessary to personify (and manage) the ‘enterprise’ ideal representing the voice of commerce against the backdrop of a strong and well-established ‘social’ ideal. In O2 *Ewen* develops front shop and back shop arenas of activity to segregate the production of products (done by the differently-abled employees and managed by individuals experienced in social work) and the contact with the customer (managed by *Ewen* with his experience of running a retail outlet). In both cases the tension between ‘social’ and ‘enterprise’ is managed through a division of labour. In organizational change terms, the realisation of an ‘enterprise’ ideal is handled by simply adding on people and/or functions to a pre-existing ‘social’ ideal.

Struggling

In O3 and O4 ‘enterprise’ is seen by *Flora* and *Malcolm* at best as a necessary evil and at worst as an adversary in their pursuit of a ‘social’ ideal. They have both fought their way into management positions from what they perceive to be unconventional backgrounds and they still see themselves and their organizations as outsiders, forced to comply with other people’s ‘enterprise’ ideals. In these cases, the tension between ‘social’ and ‘enterprise’ seems to be developed and sustained through their conceptualisations of their organizing practices taking place in a battle ground.

Utilizing

In O5 *Rob* draws the ‘enterprise’ ideal into the heart of his operations, unthreatened by the change and ready to find new ways to reflect the influence of this archetype in delivering his ‘social’ aspirations. Here ‘enterprise’ is conceptualised as a welcome strategy for achieving ‘social’ goals and as such, the tensions seem well managed. In all of these examples, ‘social’ and ‘enterprise’ ideals are held separate in some way, whether they are conceptualised as different functions or roles within the organization, different sides of a battle, or one is viewed as subservient to the other. In every case, the ideals remain distinct from each other and the dual archetype is maintained.

(Mis)matching ideals?

Just as individuals have ego-ideals, Jung's notion of the shared archetypes of the collective unconscious suggests that organizations may too be subject to the influence of archetypes. This raises the question of whether the individual and organizational ideals are matched and, what the implications are if they are (or not) in alignment. Gan (2010) found that the vast majority of green entrepreneurs were initially motivated by 'enterprise' goals, but that many assimilated the green goals of their organizations into their own ego ideals over time. In our study, it seems in *Rob's* case that the ego and organization-ideal were aligned, but the other respondents appeared either to be challenged by the difference between the ego-ideal and the organization-ideal, or were trying to change the organization-ideal to match their own ego-ideal, whether that be a business aspiration or a social one. Such a strategy might well result in problems of psychodynamic 'splitting' and projection of shadow material, and attendant psychic unease. This was apparent in the narratives of *Flora* and *Malcolm*, both of whom appeared to be trying to make sense of their anger and frustration within their own life experiences by projecting them onto an 'evil' capitalist system.

Discussion and Conclusions

In Carr's (2002) study, education professionals faced rapid changes to their organization-ideal – one which in most cases had previously matched their ego-ideal, as educators. Now that they were required to be managers, many could not assimilate that role as a new ego-ideal, and suffered psychic and consequent physical distress as a result. In the case of this sample of social entrepreneurs, the situation was not so clear cut. It may be true to say that in the past, the ego-ideal of such people would have been that of the benevolent philanthropist.

However, the respondents in our study appeared to have a number of different ego-ideals. *Malcolm* and *Flora* see themselves as a type of 'benevolent gang leader', fighting for the underdog (as self-identified underdogs themselves) and regard their commercial colleagues as 'stuck up little suits... who drive to crush everything around them' (*Malcolm*). In Jungian terms one is the shadow side of the other: one can be either a freedom fighter or an evil capitalist. For *Bill* and *Ewen*, both 'escapees' from the commercial sector, the opposite picture is presented. They regard themselves as sensible realists who struggled to engage with 'tree huggers' or 'pink fluffies' – the implication being that such latter individuals are unrealistic and deluded. In psychodynamic terms this is an example of 'splitting' by both sides (Carr, 2002). As a defensive process, individuals dichotomise the world into 'good' and 'bad' objects: 'us' and 'them' in other words. Here it is seen as a way of defining one's identity, as capitalist/sensible realist or tree hugger/freedom fighter. For both groups, the other group is the Shadow, the unacknowledged and unconsidered archetype. Respondents reflect back into their organization their own perception; where *Ewen* and *Bill* see 'small business', *Flora* and *Malcolm* see 'socialist alternative'.

The ideals of our respondents represented their 'dreams' of organization, in that, like TE Lawrence's 'dreamers of the day', they sought to act upon their dreams, or imaginings of what their organization should be. The individuals we studied were all action-oriented, possibly extraverts in Jungian terms, seeking to enact at a conscious level the influence of archetypes of the unconscious. Only one respondent, 'Rob', had, it seemed, achieved a degree of individuation such that he is able to realise there are different archetypal patterns at play in his organization, and is able to refrain from projecting away the less desired areas of his, and the organization's unconscious. He is able to integrate the split and refuses to project his less developed qualities, in this case as a business leader: 'I love profit! I am going for profit as much as I can! The important thing is what you do with

[it].’ *Rob* is like a “sleeper” in his organization, in the sense of an ideologically driven spy who appears to fit in, until required to take action contrary to the organization’s overt values. In this role he is able to negotiate the ambiguities of the different roles he might have to perform. He uniquely appears to be able to tolerate the ambiguity of acting both as commercial manager and social revolutionary: in psychodynamic terms he has reconciled ego-ideal and organizational ideal.

In Jungian terms, *Rob* may be regarded as an example of an everyday hero: he may never reach the level of individuation of Jung’s self-actualising personality (CW 17: 284f). He has, however, what might be regarded as vocation by Jung, and to fulfil that vocation he has made significant attempts to understand his own inner life. In the process he both accepts the parts of himself which may be less developed, and refuses to accept the projections of his board that would turn him into an infallible leader figure.

If Freud’s main developmental emphasis was on childhood psychic development, Jung’s was on the development of adulthood, where adults are generally assumed to be less concerned with differentiation, and more with a search for integration and the transcending of opposites. The question is how far this reconciliation of opposites is always achievable for leaders of complex organizations. In contemporary social enterprises, where potentially conflicting archetypes are at work, it represents a particular psychodynamic challenge.

Future Developments

In this article we examined the experiences of social enterprise leaders in north east Scotland as they respond to cultural change in their sector. If the exigencies of the current financial recession mean that social enterprise can no longer rely on government and charitable funding, in reality they have to learn to balance the achievement of philanthropic aims with the need to be commercially viable. Viewed through the lens of Jungian psychodynamics, to be successful in this requires an ability to internalise the concept of negative capability – put another way, in a managerial sense, to manage the ambiguity inherent in the role. Apart from one example, respondents in this study appeared to embrace an ego-ideal of *either* a social reformer *or* a small business entrepreneur. The challenge is for them to be both – to understand that both are powerful archetypal images which for some may have particular resonances, either ‘good’ or ‘bad’. If Sørensen (2008) is right that entrepreneurs may unconsciously be regarded as saviours for society, it becomes even more necessary for social entrepreneurs to be cautious of political rhetoric which would cast them in that role, especially where anxiety about changing their ego ideal from social reformer to commercial high achiever acts as a free radical in the situation. The Jungian concept of individuation: of exploring the less preferred areas of the individual – or organizational – psyche and making sense of them, would seem to represent a process which could genuinely help organizations and their leaders make sense of the ambiguities of organizational change. Organizational ‘outsiders’ may assist the individuation process in a number of ways: through consultancy, for example, or mentoring of leaders and decision makers in the organization, but shadowing appears to offer significant new psychodynamic potential for assisting with development of the individuation process. The sample here was a small one: a longitudinal study like that of Carr (2002), with a larger sample, could go some way to discovering how further psychodynamic study of the role of shadowing as an individuation ‘tool’ might add to our understanding of organizational change.

Table (A) represents the biographic details of the respondents, together with the change issues affecting them and their organization. Source: Authors

Respondent Name and Biographic Detail	Organization	Change Issue: Personal	Change Issue: Organizational
<p><u>Bill: Org. O1</u> Left education early when Inherited and subsequently developed small family business. Sold out to larger competitor. Began distance learning degree, but bored with retirement from commercial life. Agreed to join O1 as senior advisor on commercial strategy, working for director with social work background.</p>	<p>O1 originated as a charity helping individuals with a mental disability. Over recent years it has developed its commercial arm to provide several services in hospitality and events management, but is also active in raising awareness of the issues facing its client group.</p>	<p>Proud of being a 'self-made man', Bill recognised gaps in his education which he was attempting to fill, but was frustrated by, as he saw it, the failure of O1 to appreciate what he could contribute to the therapeutic side of the organization. He was uncertain whether to remain or move on.</p>	<p>O1 had originated as a therapeutic organization and was mainly run by social workers. Whilst recognising the need to be self-sufficient and not reliant on grants, senior staff were reluctant to sacrifice the therapeutic ethos for the sake of greater 'professionalism'.</p>
<p><u>Ewen: Org. O2</u> Left education early and trained in specialist food preparation for major retail chain. Rose to supervisory position but when company folded Ewen became redundant. Began distance learning degree, then applied for and obtained role running O2 as project manager under mentorship of major funder.</p>	<p>O2 was an urban catering and retail business set up specifically to provide opportunities for work placements for young people with a mental disability. It received significant start up funding from local philanthropists with personal experience of the needs of these young people.</p>	<p>Ewen was gradually making the move from being a good technical supervisor to a project manager. Much of the therapeutic work of O2 was left to a specialist social worker, but Ewen was being mentored by one of the funders of the project to develop a more strategic approach.</p>	<p>There was a 'benefits trap' for project users of O2 which militated against making them full participants in the project – as employees rather than 'apprentices'. This exemplified the tension between being commercial and reliant on charitable grant funding.</p>
<p><u>Flora: Org. O3</u> Left education early to marry and have family. Worked as very successful salesperson for direct selling company. Obtained post in Local Authority and eventually rose to run project O3. Fiercely protective of 'her' project and team. History of successfully obtaining technical and professional qualifications and recently beginning to undergo management development.</p>	<p>O3 originated as a Local Authority initiative providing housing repairs to tenants. Currently it is mainly funded by grants but seeking to develop the potential commercial aspects of the project.</p>	<p>Flora was a later achiever who had had to be quite combative in obtaining a managerial role running O3, involving a perception on her part that she was subject to sexist attitudes by male technical peers who had less talent. Recently she had attended a management development course which had broadened her outlook and helped her to develop ideas beyond her 'local authority mindset'.</p>	<p>O3 had the potential to become a more commercially oriented project, but was 'stuck' by Local Authority rules of practice. Conversely, its funding was regularly reviewed and its survival not certain.</p>
<p><u>Malcolm: Org. O4</u> Left education early and tried range of jobs. Eventually became a community development activist. Keen to support mental health projects such as O4 because of family link with mental health issue.</p>	<p>O4 is a rural-based semi-agricultural project heavily sponsored by local philanthropy to provide training for possible eventual employment for individuals with significant mental health problems.</p>	<p>As a natural rebel who was openly critical of management <i>per se</i>, Malcolm had a choice between becoming more diplomatic in his search for project funding for O4, or going all out for commercial success, which would lose the therapeutic aim of the project.</p>	<p>Currently O4 was struggling commercially and its reliance on grant funding made its future uncertain.</p>
<p><u>Rob: Org. O5</u> Could have gone to university but instead went into Local Authority as management trainee and rose to be senior manager in community development field. He accepted redundancy package to enable him to run project O5.</p>	<p>O5 is a charity set up originally from a Local Authority project to provide advice and assistance on aspects of home economics to people on low incomes. It is currently developing a wholesale and retail arm.</p>	<p>Rob was an emotionally mature individual whose main challenge was to take others with him in terms of balancing commercial and social aims of project O5.</p>	<p>O5 was continuing to develop but had to manage associated tensions between the commercial and the development of social goods.</p>

Table (B) explores the ways in which there may or may not be a match between the individual's ego-ideal (organization-in-the-mind) and the organization-ideal, and the implications of this for future change. Source: Authors

Respondent	Personal Dream/Ego Ideal	Organizational Dream/ Ideal	Implications
Bill (O1)	<i>To combine commercial enterprise with a 'human face':</i> 'The "pink fluffies" are committed but they lack commercial sense'; 'These types of project are built on enthusiasm'; 'Social enterprise leaders [have to have] a bigger vision than their personal interest or hobby'.	<i>To use commercial projects to support the organization's therapeutic and social justice aims. The former should be subordinate to the latter.</i>	The mismatch between Bill's aspirations and the organization's ethos was ultimately unsupportable and he left soon after the interview with him.
Ewen (O2)	<i>To move successfully from an efficient technical supervisor to a strategic people manager:</i> 'Too many people in [this] sector are failing and are big time "whingers" ... the wrong people are jumping on the bandwagon'; 'I'm not religious, a "do-gooder" or "person centred", but I'm motivated by achievement'; 'I'm ambitious and want to go further'.	<i>To be less reliant on regular grant funding applications, partly by seeking funding from local contacts and philanthropy, but to develop the commercial aspects of the project.</i>	At the time, the interests of Ewen and O2 were aligned and he was grateful for the mentoring received from one of the project founders. He was quite clear, however, that he would be happy to go back to the commercial field if suitable opportunities were presented – he was not committed to social enterprise, but whilst involved he would do a good job as far as he could.
Flora (O3)	<i>To realise her potential as a senior manager:</i> 'I need challenges'; 'Professional and... management training developed my confidence... I got 90% in an exam and beat all the men ; 'I can wipe the floor with [Board Member].'	<i>To continue much as things were – regular applications for grant funding and the resulting stress on staff ("I didn't sleep for six months"-Flora) was just the way things are in Local Authority culture.</i>	Like Ewen, Flora was interested in developing her management skills and was intrigued by her new understanding of other than the 'public sector ethos'. If suitable opportunities presented themselves she would make a move.
Malcolm (O4)	<i>To temper his sense of fighting injustice with need for diplomacy to achieve his aims:</i> 'I never wanted to be a manager and now I am'; 'I'm not having people telling me what to do... money for projects like this is managed by morons'; 'I'm a pain... and can't keep my mouth shut... I have no "off" switch'.	<i>To become less reliant on grant funding and to develop the commercial aspects of the business.</i>	Whilst recognising the need to become more self-sufficient, Malcolm was struggling to modify his own values and sense of justice.
"Rob" (O5)	<i>To continue to develop as a committed social reformer by using the system effectively:</i> 'The best social enterprises grow organically from the issues'; 'I believed in "peace and love" and still [do] – they inform me to this day but I do things differently now... sometimes you have to "get real"; 'I've worked hard to create a good board'.	<i>To use profit in a way which would assist social development and help disadvantaged groups out of poverty.</i>	In O5 interests and values of the organization and its leader are aligned – not least because Rob instinctively understood the psychodynamic aspects of change and had been diligent in educating his board to avoid fantasy and 'get real' whilst practising social justice.

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Note: the majority of references to Jung's original works are taken from Storr's *The Essential Jung*, as cited below.

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