

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

This thesis explores archetypal patterns in the business domain<sup>1</sup> and their relation to the concept of business creativity, drawing on a Jungian understanding of the collective unconscious. My thesis is a hermeneutic<sup>2</sup> project, which aims to deepen our understanding of the business domain. It reflects my view that Jungian psychology offers a unique lens through which to examine the business world and thus opens up a perspective on business which has thus far remained unexplored, yet can significantly challenge and contribute to the existing body of psychologically oriented organisational studies. My argument is that the Jungian notion of archetypes presents a highly valuable tool for analysing the business world, especially at a time when this world is exerting such a profound influence on many areas of modern life and when creativity and innovation have become the principal means to competitive advantage. The need to adopt the Jungian approach is particularly the case given that the psychoanalytic organisational stance struggles to account for many of the tendencies in the business domain, largely viewing them, as well as the domain as a whole, as morally flawed or even pathological<sup>3,4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term 'business domain' to emphasise business world's specific characteristics and dynamics, which make it different from other domains (such as the domain of health services and educational domain) within the larger organisational life. There is a strong tendency in depth psychology to analyse business environment in the same way as (and often in the same chapter or on the same page with) schools, hospitals or charities. This generic approach does not take into account the fundamentally different nature of the domains, which are encapsulated within the organisational field. This topic will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> In analytical psychology, hermeneutics is the method that Jung developed and used to interpret psychological material (as opposed to Freud's 'semiotics'). Its essence is in interpreting the material as an 'authentic symbol', thus allowing this material to act as a 'signpost, providing the clues we need in order to carry on our lives in harmony with ourselves' (Jung, *CW7*, para. 492). For Jung, the key argument for hermeneutics was its therapeutic value. He states: 'the "explanation" should always be such that the functional significance of the archetype remains unimpaired, so that an adequate and meaningful connection between the conscious mind and the archetypes is assured' (*CW9i*, para. 271). As Murray Stein puts it: 'Hermeneutics has the therapeutic function of bridging such psychic splits and facilitating new integrations, which in turn allow for a new progression of libido' (1986, p. 49).

<sup>3</sup> Lee Grossman's understanding of pathology/perversity as an attitude towards reality is a useful guide in psychoanalytic organisational writers' usage of the term. Grossman (1996) makes a distinction

The chapters of this dissertation present, in turn, different archetypes as they are described in Jungian psychology and show their manifestations in the business domain by revealing some specific tendencies and patterns. As an important part of 're-visioning', the notion of business creativity and its intimate connection with archetypal energies will also be explored. By this means, I aim to show how, contrary to the prevailing psychoanalytic perspective, the business domain is creative and has soul (anima); the archetypal psychological approach can be helpful in containing unconsciously projected<sup>5</sup> contents in business while these contents are consciously explored; in this way, it can bridge the unconscious and ego consciousness.

Whenever we are operating within a certain domain, we are also dealing with the unconscious<sup>6</sup>, both personal and collective. While the psychoanalytic organisational approach<sup>7</sup>, with its focus on the

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between neurosis (where a crude fantasy is disowned and repressed due to its conflictual nature with reality) and perversion (where the perception of reality is altered or dismissed so that the fantasy can be entertained). The term is used cautiously in contemporary psychoanalysis as it implies a clear line between 'normal' and 'abnormal' as well as being associated with a judgemental attitude (Auchincloss and Samberg, 2012, p. 191).

<sup>4</sup> Examples include:

Levine, D. (2013). *Pathology of the Capitalist Spirit*.

Long, S. (2008). *The Perverse Organisation and its Deadly Sins*.

Sievers, B. (2006). *The Psychotic Organisation: A Socio-analytic Perspective*.

<sup>5</sup> Projection is the 'externalisation of unconscious psychic contents, sometimes for defensive purposes (as with the shadow) and sometimes for developmental and integrative purposes (as with the anima and the self)' (Stein, 1998/2009, p. 234).

<sup>6</sup> The unconscious is a 'psychological borderline concept, which covers all psychic contents or processes that are not conscious, i.e., not related to the ego in any perceptible way' (Jung, *CW6*, para. 837). Jung inferred that the unconscious consists of two parts: the personal unconscious and collective unconscious. The personal unconscious is the part of the unconscious that derives from one's personal life history. It includes unintentionally forgotten and repressed contents as well as perceptions that were not consciously registered (Main, 2004, p. 17). The collective unconscious is the part of the psyche that is innate and inherited by all humans. Its contents 'do not originate in personal acquisitions but in the inherited possibility of psychic functioning in general, i.e., in the inherited structure of the brain' (Jung, *CW8*, para. 842).

personal (including group relations) unconscious, is well developed, the Jungian approach<sup>8</sup> is in its infancy with the result that little has been said about the collective energies that dominate the field. Thus, in this thesis, I will not examine individual and personal psychology, but rather the wider psychological context in which the whole business domain exists and operates. The business domain, it is argued, shows evidence of unconscious contents and patterns, which are not put there by repression, but exist because business is a domain that rests on human thought and activities, which in turn rest on collective unconscious dominants which Jung called archetypes. In Jungian psychology, the archetype, as Murray Stein puts it, 'represents a possible pattern of self-organisation, hence of human identity, with a characteristic set of (...) [its] resources, its complexity, its power and its otherness' (1980/2016, p. 12). Archetypes 'lie in the unconscious background of the psyche and act like psychological "magnets" that draw fantasy, behaviour, and perception toward specific forms' (ibid). Such identification<sup>9</sup> with certain archetypal images<sup>10</sup> occurs both on the personal and collective levels. As such, archetypes emerge in groups, collectives and domains, such as business, and many individuals thus participate in them in one way or another.

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<sup>7</sup> I use the term 'the psychoanalytic organisational approach' to broadly denote diverse psychoanalytic organisational theories and concepts.

<sup>8</sup> I use the term 'the Jungian organisational approach' to broadly denote diverse Jungian organisational theories and concepts.

<sup>9</sup> Identification is a 'defence mechanism in which a person is completely overtaken by an emotional state (...) refusing to recognise the actual emotions, images, and content of that state' (Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1997/1999, p. 316). Strong archetypal identifications are equivalent to possessions. For example, a man can be under the spell of the anima. Jung stated: 'Archetypal images [take] possession of our thought and feeling, so that these lose their quality as functions at our disposal. The loss shows itself in the fact that the object of perception then becomes absolute and indisputable and surrounds itself with such an emotional taboo that anyone who presumes to reflect on it is automatically branded a heretic and blasphemer' (*CW8*, para. 413).

<sup>10</sup> Jung distinguished between archetypes and archetypal images. While the former are 'irrepresentable and unknowable', the latter are 'manifestations in consciousness deriving from the archetypes, the filling out of the empty form of the archetypes with imagery drawn from specific personal, social and cultural contexts' (Main, 2004, p. 18). Although this distinction is important, there is a tendency in Jungian psychology to use the words 'archetype' and 'archetypal image' interchangeably (e.g. Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1997, p. 315).

Archetypal identifications represent certain aspects of the self<sup>11</sup> and thus reveal a state of tension/balance between the conscious and unconscious energies. Due to its teleological/finalistic<sup>12</sup> orientation, Jungian psychology tends to claim a dialectical trajectory in the dynamics of the self in the sense that humankind is becoming increasingly self-conscious. This implies that archetypal identifications have meaning for the person, group or larger collective to whom they apply. The business domain, by its very nature, draws strong archetypal identifications, which ask deep and important questions and thus need to be brought into consciousness. As Stein notes, an archetype contains answers to the questions it poses. In therapeutic treatment, for example, following the archetypal pattern to which the patient adheres shows a way of working through a given problem (1980/2016, pp. 12-15). Indeed, it is one of the key tenets of Jungian psychology that the unconscious is wiser in most cases than consciousness (Jung, *CW8*, para. 850).

Following the archetypal pattern in a collective, such as the business domain, can be done with the help of mythical images, which are spread across different epochs, countries and cultures, and outline common patterns of human behaviour. Such mythologems (i.e. a mythical figure that reflects certain archetypal patterns), which include various figures in their stories as well as the themes and images clustered around them, present individual psychological structures and, in relation to groups and collectives, psycho-social and psycho-collective structures. On the basis of Jungian theory, Stein suggests that ‘the “architect” of a certain mythologem, at work long ago in ancient Greece, is presumably identical to a psychological factor that continues to design and erect the same structures in the modern psyche’ (2016/1980, p. 13). This architect is the ageless unchangeable self. Edward Edinger states that ‘mythology is the self-revelation of the archetypal psyche’ (1994/2013, p. 11). Following this logic,

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<sup>11</sup> The self is ‘our life’s goal, for it is the completest expression of that fateful combination we call individuality’ (Jung, *CW7*, para. 404). In Jungian psychology, the self is ‘the symbol of psychic totality, the central archetype of the collective unconscious, and the goal of psychic development’ (Main, 2004, p. 19).

<sup>12</sup> Teleology is a ‘philosophical system that focuses on the motive or power of a goal or end-point as a process of development – toward an end’ (Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1997, p. 319). Although it is conventionally stated that Jungian psychology has a teleological orientation (*ibid*), Jung used the term ‘finalistic’ and specifically wanted to distinguish this from ‘teleological’: ‘I use the word “finality” intentionally, in order to avoid confusion with the concept of teleology. By finality I mean merely the immanent psychological striving for a goal. Instead of “striving for a goal” one could say “sense of purpose”’ (as cited in Jacobi, 1973, p. 67).

chapter 5 presents Hermes the trickster as an example of such a mythologem and argues that he can be used as a symbol<sup>13</sup> of business creativity and possibly of the business domain. Throughout the thesis, I will use myths as metaphors, which shed light on the dynamics of the business world.

Ideally, awareness of archetypal patterns frees consciousness from identification with a complex<sup>14</sup> and opens it to greater complexity of insight, while preserving respect for archetypal forces. When no such awareness is present, the pattern tends simply to repeat itself, thus blocking the possibility of inner growth. For example, Narcissus keeps falling in love with his own image with devastating consequences (chapter 8), while the anima, in her guise as a seductive sea siren, whispers in the ears of Silicon Valley-inspired entrepreneurs that their ideas are special and that, just like Mark Zuckerberg, they too can become billionaires in their early twenties. Thus, many start-ups suffer defeat after defeat when the clock strikes midnight, all their resources are used up and they must face the painful truth that the idea on its own often amounts to next to nothing (chapter 6). Similarly, each financial bubble starts with the assumption that 'this time is different!' and proceeds with the trickster drawing something unexpected from its sleeve, thus breaking the pattern of fantasy-thinking (chapter 11). Finally, Phaethon keeps leaping into Helios' chariot, unintentionally killing himself and threatening to destroy the earth in the process. The dynamics of this myth, which in many ways parallel the dynamics of the 2008 financial crisis, can be understood in terms of the impact of the puer and senex (chapter 10).

When the business domain can see through its patterns and the forces at work behind its conscious structures, it becomes more 'psychological'. Given its current predominance, high levels of interdependence, extreme volatility and – despite all efforts – uncontrollable nature, business needs to

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<sup>13</sup> A symbol is 'not a sign that disguises something generally known – a disguise, that is, for the basic drive or elementary intention. Its meaning resides in the fact that it is an attempt to elucidate, by a more or less apt analogy, something that is still entirely unknown or still in the process of formation' (Jung, *CW7*, para. 492). As Stein notes, Jung 'relates the symbol to an understanding of psychological dynamics' (2016, p. 107).

<sup>14</sup> A complex is an emotionally charged cluster of ideas and images that 'behave[s] like [an] independent being' (Jung, *CW8*, para. 253). In developing this concept (between 1904 and 1911), Jung noticed that 'there is no difference in principle between a fragmentary personality and a complex (...) complexes are splinter psyches' (*CW8*, para. 202). Jung viewed the complex as the link between the personal and archetypal components of the psyche and referred to it as the 'via regia to the unconscious' (*CW8*, para. 210).

understand itself, and, as with any trickster, this is a complicated matter. Jungian psychology can be useful in identifying certain repeating patterns and can thus help to raise the level of consciousness of business, as well as in general.<sup>15</sup> However, before this can be done, the Jungian camp and depth psychology<sup>16</sup> in general need to face and break through their own identifications.

The current state of the depth psychological stance towards business can only be summarised as that of an impasse (chapters 2 and 3). Based on the existing literature (e.g. Shafer, 2013; Nigel, 2013), it appears that depth psychology has struggled to find much common ground with the business world. On the one hand, this is because it does not quite comprehend what the business domain is and how it can be approached. Hence, accusations of pathology are levelled by the psychoanalytic side (Sievers, 2013; Levine, 2013), while the Jungian side tends toward non-engagement together with occasional passive-aggressive claims of projection of the self.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the content of the depth psychological response to the tendencies of the business domain points to the existence of strong, predominantly anti-capitalist/anti-business identifications, which lie behind such often powerfully charged narratives.<sup>18</sup> If this is the case, these identification-based narratives cannot go further than to diagnose some sort of pathology (which makes them limited) and the search for a cure programme, which is very ethically oriented (and often makes them superficial).

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<sup>15</sup> Jung stated: "The libido that will not flow into life at the right time regresses to the mythical world of the archetypes, where it activates images which, since the remotest times, have expressed the non-human life of the gods, whether of the upper world or the lower (...) Herein lay the vital importance of myths: they explained to the bewildered human being what was going on in his unconscious and why he was held fast. The myths told him: "This is not you but the gods. You will never reach them, so turn back to your human avocations, holding the gods in fear and respect" (*CW5*, para. 466). On this basis, I argue that Jungian psychology and mythology can assist the business domain (and the analysis of the business domain) in becoming more 'psychological' (i.e. more self-aware).

<sup>16</sup> Depth psychology is an old but still useful umbrella term to link psychoanalysis and analytical (Jungian) psychology (e.g. Mathers, 2001, p. 10).

<sup>17</sup> Richard Auger and Pauline Arneberg, arguing for the case of greater Jungian immersion in organisational life, pointed out the introverted nature of the Jungian community and even its hostility towards large business and other organisations (1992, pp. 38-53).

<sup>18</sup> Here, we might be reminded of Jung's remark, albeit on a different subject matter, that: 'I shall not commit the fashionable stupidity of regarding everything I cannot explain as a fraud' (*CW8*, para. 599).

I argue that the archetypal dimension<sup>19</sup> of Jungian psychology is capable of breaking through the rigidity of this long-held depth psychological stance and shifting its perspective towards a more positive and less exclusionary view of the business world, thus guiding the way out of the current impasse between depth psychology and the business domain.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, principles (explicit or implicit), it could be argued, are often no more than our camouflaged borderline responses.

It is both a great pain as well as a gain for consciousness to identify the patterns by which we unconsciously conduct our lives.<sup>21</sup> Jungian archetypal psychology with its vivid imaginary comprising a variety of narratives, offers broad yet definitive strokes, which are both insightful and instructive in discerning individual and collective urges. Awareness of archetypal patterns and connections comprises a very important background to aid our understanding of who and where we are in the multidimensional space of our reality. In particular, this archetypal background is instructive in viewing business as part of the collective process. It points out a formidable tension within and outside of the business world between viewing businesses as 'things' to be calculated, manipulated, conquered or cured, and as collective processes, which are outside of our control and in which we can only participate, make our offer and possibly influence towards the as-yet unknown end. Managing this tension, it could be argued, requires a particular set of skills, which combine a realistic grasp of the

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<sup>19</sup> By 'the archetypal dimension' of Jungian psychology I mean diverse theories and concepts concerning the contents of the collective unconscious.

<sup>20</sup> This depth psychological stance towards the business domain, which appears to be set on automatic repeat, could be compared to the mythological situation in which Apollo keeps chasing Hermes, angrily calling him a thief and seeking justice at the court of Olympus, while Hermes is ever successful in sneaking away, and meanwhile sets traps into which Apollo predictably falls (Homer, in Hyde, 1998/2008, pp. 317-331). The resolution reached by Apollo and Hermes at the end of the myth could serve as inspiration for a genuine dialogue between depth psychology and the business domain. Apollo accepts Hermes' nature, eventually understanding its value and importance in the general order: he does not split him into 'good Hermes' and 'bad Hermes', nor does he suggest an ethically-oriented programme to make Hermes a better and more responsible god.

<sup>21</sup> Given that 'coming to consciousness' is a difficult and painful process, Edinger states that 'the whole body of mythology can be thought of as an example of Athena's mirror shield, which enabled Perseus to deal with Medusa. By reflecting it, mythology enables us to get some grasp of the transpersonal dimension, which otherwise would be overwhelming in its raw primordial power' (1994/2013, p. 13).

present together with an envisioning of the future; remaining in charge while retaining the ability to adapt, to be flexible and to improvise; the courage to take risks and create new patterns coupled with a willingness to feel, follow, seek and respond to the patterns of others. Creativity, it is argued, is the sine qua non for developing such a skill set. In chapters 4 and 5, I aim to show that business is characterised by an acute tension between conquering and cooperation, and that it is business creativity that brings these two aspects of business together, thus ensuring a balance (even if temporarily) between them. Chapter 5, relying on Andrew Samuels' repositioning of the mythical Hermes in the sphere of politics and economics (1993, pp. 51-78), argues that Samuels' vision of Hermes enhances our understanding of business as a series of trickster processes and even, through some unfortunate yet inevitable simplifications, could potentially contribute to a framework for the psychological analysis of this social phenomenon. Chapter 11 further explores this tension in the diverse manifestations of the trickster in business by drawing inspiration from financial commentator Nassim Taleb's (2007) conceptualisation of 'black swan' events.

To sum up this section, this thesis will argue that the archetypal background is instructive for understanding the dynamics of the business world and, importantly, can productively contribute towards a much-needed framework within which that world can be analysed. This background, as I argue, has been lost in the depth psychological approach to much of the organisational world and to the business domain in particular.

### *Creativity in business*

An important aspect of 're-visioning' business is elaborating the role creativity plays in it.<sup>22</sup> Despite paying heavy lip service to creativity in business, it remains unclear what is meant by this notion and

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<sup>22</sup> While uncertainty and change have always been common features of human life, a dramatic increase in interconnectedness and interdependence, characteristic of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, on the one hand, and intensified global competition, on the other, – and both further fuelled by the arrival of disruptive technology (social media) – have resulted in unpredictable social, economic and political trends, making uncertainty the norm. Financial markets, as particularly volatile constructs, are not just affected but defined by this uncertainty, which in turn results in the pace of change only ever increasing (chapters 6, 9, 10 and 11). As a diverse range of commentators (Leo Melamed (1996), Daniel Pink (2005), Amabile and Khairi (2008), Ken Robinson (2011)) have claimed, this situation has resulted in creativity becoming the principal productive force of the current stage of western economic development. While it has been widely accepted that we live in the knowledge economy,



how (or whether) it differs from creativity in other domains, such as art or science. This thesis explores this issue in relation to manifestations of archetypal patterns in business. In chapter 4, in particular, along with presenting business as a separate and unique domain within the organisational world, I use various sources, such as the Systems Model as presented by psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997/2013) and the Jungian notion of trickster, to suggest that business creativity is the ability to read the current patterns correctly and to produce that which others will need or want (including the manufacturing of needs/wants for certain products by playing on people's psychological follies and insecurities) for the purpose of monetary exchange. Thus, business creativity is not so much about one's creativity as part of the self-exploration or self-realisation process (as it is in art), but is primarily about satisfying the specific needs of the markets.

The most obvious example of business creativity is innovation<sup>23</sup>. The importance of innovation has become particularly well pronounced due to the current popularity and spread of start-up culture, which forces even well-established and successful companies to invest heavily in the creative and innovative efforts of their employees. For instance, it is their consistent successful innovation that has allowed Google to become the world's most popular search engine and consequently a financial leader that can respond appropriately to competitive economic, technical or social conditions (Vise and Malseed, 2008). Given its impact, start-up culture figures prominently in this thesis (chapters 5, 9, 10, 11, 12).

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what is important is not how much information/knowledge one acquires, but how it is processed, synthesised and communicated. It is in these processes that creativity shows itself as the driving economic force of our times. In fact, given the popularity gained by the concept of creativity in both academia and the business world, economists are increasingly using the term 'creative economy'. Thus, Daniel Pink (2005), a noted author of bestselling books on business and management, presented the stages and defining players of economic development as follows: agricultural age (farmers), industrial age (factory workers), information age (knowledge workers) and the current conceptual age (creators and empathisers). His thesis argues that creativity comprises the key competitive advantage of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

<sup>23</sup> Innovation is generally defined as the practical and concrete implementation of a new or significantly improved inventive product, service or process (Robinson, 2001/2011, p.142). While creativity does not equal innovation, it is the crucial part of the innovation process. Ken Robinson, expert on education, creativity and innovation, arguing for the importance of the holistic approach to developing our creative potential in order to successfully navigate innovation efforts in organisations, defines innovation as 'applied creativity' and creativity as 'applied imagination' (ibid).

*Problems and limitations with application of the archetypal perspective to the business domain*

While there is a great deal of value in relating personal and in this case social material to archetypal figures, there are also many dangers and limitations to so doing. As Stein reminds us, Jungian psychology, while honouring the organising force behind personal and social dynamics and structures, such as the numinous<sup>24</sup> that 'blesses complexes, inner dynamics, and internal relations among various inner figures', is careful to do so at a distance (2016, p. 13). While unconscious encounters with archetypal energies are inevitable and can result in possession, a more conscious encounter can also be overwhelming and often leads to inflation<sup>25</sup> and inflation-induced possession. Any identification locks a person into certain patterns of thinking, feeling, perceiving and behaving. Strong identifications lead to emotional affects<sup>26</sup>, attachments and stereotypical or even borderline responses. Finding one's myth may further tighten the grip of neurosis if that myth is taken literally, rationalised and amplified<sup>27</sup>. In such cases, the myth, stripped of its symbolic content and complexity, is turned into a sigh, which then becomes a curse. As if by way of revenge, archetypal personalisation drains the individual with its vast overpowering presence. Thus, it is not only awareness of one's myth that is required, but also awareness that living mythologically is a pathology (ibid, p. 14).<sup>28</sup> As Stein points out, it is the opposite

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<sup>24</sup> The numinous is a 'dynamic agency or effect not caused by an arbitrary act of will [which] seizes and controls the human subject' (Jung, *CW6*, para. 6).

<sup>25</sup> Inflation is an 'unconscious identification, that may be passing or chronic, with an archetypal image (positive or negative) or an ideal or principle that leads to grandiose and/or manic actions' (Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1997, p. 317).

<sup>26</sup> Affect is a feeling of sufficiently high intensity, which occurs at the point when 'our adaptation is weakest and at the same time exposes the reason for its weakness' (Samuels, Shorter and Plaut, 1986/2007, p. 11).

<sup>27</sup> Symbolic amplification is the 'process by which an analyst or analysand expands the meaning of an unconscious image or dream-figure by connecting it with an existing mythology, religion, literary motif, or other metaphorical system' (Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1997, p. 314).

<sup>28</sup> As Jungian analyst Rafael Lopez-Pedraza notes: 'The aim of a psychology based on the archetypes is to "look through" a situation in order to encourage psychic movement rather than to merely reduce the patient's condition to its mythical counterpart' (1989/2010, p. 12).

of 'wholeness', which is made up of complementing and contradictory forces. The very tension that the wholeness contains paradoxically ensures its balance. A 'reflexive consciousness'<sup>29</sup> is required to break archetypal identifications (ibid).

Reflexive consciousness, with its ability to reflect on and keep a necessary distance from the archetypal background of consciousness, does not dissolve or even necessarily alter the constellating archetypal content and its force. Yet it allows for a more flexible attitude on the part of consciousness and thus brings about a variety of reaction patterns. Despite these problems and limitations, archetypes (and awareness of archetypes) enrich human experience. They give our activities purpose and value and fill our lives with meaning<sup>30</sup>. They are behind our creative potentials. This thesis argues that awareness of archetypal patterns can also lead the way out of the impasse that is currently being experienced within depth psychology in relation to the business domain.

There are also a number of thesis-specific limitations. First, the above limitations also apply to this thesis: given that it is based on an archetypal perspective, uses myths as metaphors and is interpretative, it is subject to the author's personal feelings and opinions, both conscious and unconscious. Second, in my exploration of archetypal energies in the business domain, the focus will be on how they pull the psyche in certain directions (i.e. on how we identify with them), which becomes evident in their manifestations, rather than on the manipulation of these archetypal energies. As it follows from the above, it is impossible to manipulate these energies to bring about a desired outcome, precisely because they are unconscious. (However, we can recognise them and through the act of introspection, which allows for an enriched spectrum of responses, humanise them somewhat.) This

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<sup>29</sup> The 'reflexive consciousness' is the distance (measured in stages of consciousness) between the 'consciousness-embedded I', the part of the ego that participates in archetypal identification, and the 'reflective I', which observes and monitors this participation. 'Without this dual consciousness the participatory "I" is simply a puppet of the archetype' (Stein, 2016, p. 14).

Ego is a 'complex of ideas which constitutes the centre of my field of consciousness and appears to possess a high degree of continuity and identity' (Jung, *CW6*, para. 706).

<sup>30</sup> Meaning is 'the quality ascribed to something that gives it value' (Samuels et al., 1986/2007, p. 92). The concept of meaning was of high importance to Jung: 'A psychoneurosis must be understood, ultimately, as the suffering of a soul which has not discovered its meaning' (*CW11*, para. 497). However, Jung viewed meaning as an archetype and thus paradoxical in its nature (e.g. he remained open to the possibility of meaninglessness of some events) (Samuels et al., 1986/2007, p. 92).

imposes a limitation on this thesis, as it cannot be prescriptive: its aim is only to outline and raise awareness of archetypal patterns in business. It is also worth mentioning here that the thesis is written primarily for that sector of the Jungian-oriented community that is interested in the business world. Third, the thesis cannot provide a broad historical and geographical scope, as it is limited to the current western business culture. Fourth, due to the prescribed thesis length, I will only discuss archetypes whose manifestations I consider as most relevant for the business domain. For the same reason, some archetypes will be explored on their own, while others in tandem with their counterparts, thus emphasising the importance of their interplay in the business domain.

Finally, while Jung emphasised that archetypes are explanatory devices (heuristics), which stand for certain unconscious psychic processes<sup>31</sup> (*CW9i*, para. 80), many Jungian and post-Jungian writers (including Jung<sup>32</sup>) conventionally use the language of personification when describing archetypes. The issue with such representations is that they depict archetypes as things rather than concepts. Indeed, some commentators think of archetypes as things. In my thesis, I will be using the language of personification to avoid cumbersome explanations; however, it is important to stress that I use archetypes as concepts.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> In a sense, archetypes/archetypal images are metaphors for the unconscious psychic processes (e.g. the puer as a metaphor for the diverse psychic characteristics of a youth).

<sup>32</sup> Jung states: 'the fact that the unconscious spontaneously personifies (...) is the reason why I have taken over these personifications in my terminology and formulated them as names' (*CW9i*, para. 51).

<sup>33</sup> Although personifying archetypal figures contains the danger of viewing them as 'real things' rather than concepts, it does not necessarily imply that personifying and viewing archetypes as concepts are two contradictory activities. Hillman, for example, while treating archetypes as concepts (1976, p. xix), notes that '[n]aming with images and metaphors has an advantage over naming with concepts, for personified namings never become mere dead tools. Images and metaphors present themselves always as living psychic subjects with which I am obliged to be in relation. They keep me aware of the power of the words I work with, whereas concepts tend to delude me into nominalism' (*ibid*, p. 32).

*Relevance of the project*

1) The relevance of this project stems from the fact that very little depth psychology has been applied to business in general or business creativity in particular. Some commentators (Long and Sievers, 2013) have emphasised the need for such a perspective. As psychoanalytic commentator Leslie Shaw puts it: 'Since the earliest part of the twentieth century, anything psychoanalytic with regard to economic or financial studies remains banished' (2005, p. 293). Despite the fact that economists and politicians struggle to explain economic cataclysms, the idea that these crises might be of a psychological nature appears to have been rejected by the media and much of the relevant literature (Sievers and Long, 2013). It may be that there is a formidable unconscious social resistance to attempts at a deeper understanding of business from a psychological perspective and those rare attempts that do occur are 'handicapped (...) by economists' understanding of human beings' (Bain, 2009, p. 1). Even the promising new discipline of behavioural economics, whose very aim is to 'increase the explanatory power of economics by providing it with more realistic psychological foundations' (Camerer and Loewenstein, 2002), is limited to largely rational explanations of human behaviour in force majeure situations. The archetypal perspective, on the contrary, invites us to take a deep inward look, thus linking inner and outer events. As Jungian archetypal psychologist James Hillman puts it: 'The fantasy we call "current events," that which is taking place outside in the historical field, is a reflection of an eternal mythological experience (...) Nothing can be revealed by a newspaper, by the world's *chronique scandaleuse*, unless the essence is grasped from within through an archetypal pattern. The archetype provides the basis for uniting those incommensurables, fact and meaning. Outer historical facts are archetypally ordered so as to disclose essential psychological meaning' (1967, pp. 6-7).

However, it might not be mere arrogance/resistance on the part of the outside world that precludes a deep psychological perspective on business matters, but also an internal issue regarding what depth psychology can practically offer. Any attempt at such an explanation may force theorists to face the significant gaps in their own field of study (Sievers and Long, 2013). The important issue to overcome here is that of identification with what could be called the anti-commercial/anti-business stance, which prevents genuine engagement with business and often even turns this search for meaning, which is the definitive characteristic of depth psychology, into the plain accumulation of accusations of pathology. Hence, the issue of depth psychology's engagement with business, and consequently a certain degree of competence in business affairs, is paramount.

2) The re-visioning of the depth psychological perception of business from the Jungian archetypal perspective is particularly relevant in respect to challenging the overwhelmingly negative depth psychological view on business. The archetypal dimension of Jungian psychology makes it more difficult for splitting and projecting to occur, which, as I argue in chapter 2, underlie such a perspective, and thus has the potential to provide a stable functional bridge between the 'us' and 'them' in the analysis of business. It presents business as a social process, in which we all participate in one way or another. Arguably, the most fascinating aspect of capitalism, as a process rather than a thing/system, is that it is unclear who is producing what and for whom in the first place.

The justification of the negative view of business also comes from the too direct application to it of psychological theories, which is problematic from the outset. It could be argued that depth psychology makes (possibly, excessive) use of signs, and not symbols, in its analysis of business, an approach that often results in diagnoses of pathology (chapters 2 and 3). As Hillman notes, '[o]ften we condemn images and experiences as wrong, weak, sick, or mad simply because we have not discovered their archetypal sense' (1976, p. xxi).

3) Cooperation between the two (currently) distinct worldviews (business and depth psychology) provides valuable opportunities for each domain to individuate<sup>34</sup>. On the business side, the intense influence/pressure that business exerts on our lives, coupled with the growing interdependence between different domains as well as countries, makes it an area in which raised levels of consciousness are increasingly required. On the depth psychology side, non-engagement (the Jungian stance) or biased/prejudiced engagement (the psychoanalytic stance) can only result in feeding the shadow, which both approaches have already done.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Individuation means 'becoming an "in-dividual", and in so far as "individuality" embraces our innermost, last and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as "coming to selfhood" or "self-realisation"' (Jung, *CW7*, para. 266). Stein defined individuation as the 'process of psychic development that leads to the conscious awareness of wholeness' (1998, p. 233).

<sup>35</sup> For example, the most important issue with too direct application of psychoanalytic theories to business is that it represents a predictably unsuccessful attempt at dialog of one system with the other. Furthermore, it effectively turns both domains into even more closed systems than they currently are. This critique is thus not limited to the psychoanalytic take on the business agenda, but also (possibly to a

4) Additionally, as we strive to further our understanding of the business domain, the field of depth psychology, if re-oriented, has a lot to offer. Despite the fact that the diverse challenges faced by businesses require organisational consultants to be eclectic in their methods, there has thus far been little interplay between the Jungian and psychoanalytic approaches. This reflects personal and professional rivalries that are not relevant in the field of organisational consultancy. The psychoanalytic and Jungian approaches when working together, as well as providing checks and balances on each other, can deliver a more accurate depth psychological portrayal of the business world. Their cooperation can be productive and stimulating – especially in such a challenging, result-driven and controversial area as the business sphere and at times of rapid change and innovation. This dialogue or cooperation between the two approaches is another opportunity for each to individuate.<sup>36</sup> The archetypal perspective is broad enough to allow for this cooperation to happen (chapter 13)

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lesser degree) applies to the business world as another example of a closed system (as pointed out earlier, business needs to become more ‘psychological’ (i.e. more self-aware). The question is not whether, for example, equating the dynamics of the business persona with that of the false self (Levine, 2013, p. 268) is right or wrong, but rather that there is a fundamental problem with the criterion for judgment. The issue at the core of the relationship between the two systems is that they do not have many points of contact and are operating under their own discourse, valid within each of them, but of little value to the other system. (Philosopher Jean-François Lyotard referred to these situations as ‘the *différend*’ (1983/2007, p. xi).

Furthermore, these two largely closed systems are in tension with each other and thus it is only tempting to see the other as something foreign and paint it as the shadow. For example, while psychoanalysis may regard the business domain as destructive (Lawrence, 1995; Levine, 2013, Shafer, 2013, Morgan-Jones, 2013), narcissistic (H. Schwartz, 1990, 1991), neurotic (Sievers, 2003, 2013; Mark Stein, 2008; H. Stein, 2008), selfish (Gill and Sher, 2013), immature (Nagel, 2013) and greedy (Long, 2013), the latter may consider the former as equally neurotic, narcissistic and self-indulgent, as well as unpractical, over-reflective (little gets started and even less is finished), infantile (constant rehearsal of emotions or need for comforting environments), reserved, introverted, judgmental, one-sided and, in one word, delusional about the realities of life. It could be said that business and psychotherapy belong to different psychological types, which makes it difficult for them to have a dialog.

The particular problem for psychoanalytic analysis of the business agenda, which arises from this temptation to apply theories too directly, is that the view of the current business tendencies as being co-created by society at large, even if acknowledged, does not get the attention it deserves. This fact, however, is at the core of the issue and suggests a wider and deeper societal dynamics. My argument is that the archetypal dimension of Jungian psychology allows for a closer look at these dynamics.

The psychoanalytic organisational approach has been well researched and developed<sup>37</sup>, while the Jungian organisational approach (if such a term can be used) is still in its infancy and in great need of

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<sup>36</sup> It might be argued that the two original theories of Freud and Jung, as well as the subsequent theories that developed on their bases, present two different worldviews, and as such are incomparable (hence, they cannot be combined). However, it is also the case that they share substantial common ground, which allows for different modes of comparison and combination. For instance, defences and complexes, albeit different, perform the same fundamental task: when they become activated, we are prone to fantasy and are cut off from reality. If we view Jungian archetypal theory as predominantly concerning collective fantasies, and complexes as what engage archetypal energy on a daily basis, while defences appear in psychoanalytic theory as mechanisms for sustaining collective fantasies, the comparison between complexes and defences is greatly facilitated. Different authors, for example, have suggested diverse ways of comparing the two original theories. Thus, George Hogenson (1994) addresses the issue from the perspective of the personal unconscious factors of Freud and Jung, while, in his approach, Peter Homans (1995) adopts a more sociological perspective.

<sup>37</sup> It is worth noting that, arguably due to the slow progress made in recent years, there are growing concerns within the psychoanalytic community about the perceived gaps in psychoanalytic organisational theory. There is an acknowledgement that there is a possibility psychoanalytic approach, due to its principal emphasis on anxiety and defences, does not apply to other domains in the same way it applies to health care services (Hinshelwood and Skogstad, 2000, pp. 4-5). There are also some tentative calls for a new perspective. David Armstrong states that the emphasis on anxiety and defences is justified if there is a possibility of finding a container, but he questions the existence of an adequate container in many contemporary organisational settings (2010, p. 99). Yiannis Gabriel and Howard Schwartz also suggest that it is not only impossible to free organisations from anxiety, but also not desirable: what would then bind people together? (1999/2004, p. 77). Most other psychoanalytic authorities (Levinson, Zaleznik, Hirschorn, Diamond, Baum and Kets de Vries) agree that it seems impossible to free organisations from anxiety and the consequent use of defences. It appears that what is suggested is either the developmental framework (the adequacy of which is questionable in organisational/business settings) or that the regressive forces be tamed by rationality (*ibid*).

The Jungian approach, with its teleological/finalistic perception of the psyche as evolving and individuating, which remains the core principle of analytical psychology and the guiding idea behind the diverse work of many Jungian/post-Jungian analysts, may offer another way forward. Jung's distinctive view of the unconscious as purposeful and that the totality of the psyche is guided by the self made him careful not to lay much emphasis on rationality or to impose a programme to improve ego functioning; instead, he cultivated the natural emergence of the self in the psyche (Stein, 2010, p. xvii). As is evident from the writings of contemporary Jungians (e.g. Kalsched, 1996, 2013; Schwartz-Salant, 2007, Stein, 2016, 2017), although the developmental framework plays an important role in analysis, it is the



development. However, while (broadly speaking) the strength of the former comes from its description of group dynamics and the application of developmental theories, I argue that the Jungian approach not only helps to explain certain trends and dynamics but also adds a much-needed catalyst for analysing change, innovation and creativity. Thus, it is essential to start developing Jungian organisational approach. This thesis is a step in that direction.

5) Another relevant issue is that the form of creativity encountered in business today provides a particularly important point of contact between the business domain and depth psychology.<sup>38</sup> Business creativity, given the high speed and goal-driven environment in which it originates, arguably places more immediate requirements on understanding our own cognitive models of reality, as well as those of others. Further, while exploring the concept of business creativity, we might be drawn to the field of depth psychology as it offers an insightful way of looking at it. On the one hand, depth psychology views any creativity as a personal discovery process, largely unconscious, which leads to new insights and connections (e.g. Gordon, 1993, pp. 313-352). On the other hand, Jung suggested that creativity comes from sources deep in the collective unconscious (*CW15*, para. 130). Although the archetypal perspective is one of the defining features of Jungian psychology, this line of Jung's reasoning has remained largely unexplored and has only recently been gaining the attention it deserves (e.g. van den Berg, 2012). However, the archetypal perspective has certainly not been applied to business and this angle could provide a powerful counterpoise to the view of the business domain as stifling creativity with the

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synthetic constructive method that defines the essence of analytical psychology. Such a representation, it is argued, is more perceptive to the idea of business as a creative domain.

<sup>38</sup> As a point of reference here, we may again revisit the myth of Hermes mentioned earlier in relation to the depth psychological stance towards the business domain. In one of the final scenes, when Apollo discovers that Hermes has not only stolen his cattle, but also butchered three heads of it, and wants to punish Hermes once and for all, the latter begins to play the lyre that he created (for Apollo) at the beginning of the story (Homer, in Hyde, 1998/2008, pp. 327-331). Apollo is struck by the beauty of the music: 'Butcher of cattle, trickster, busy boy, friend of merry-makers, the things you're interested in are worth fifty cows. Soon I believe we shall settle our quarrel in peace'. Hermes' reply might echo in the ears of depth psychologists: 'You always have your eye on the bottom line, Apollo; well, now you don't need to be so rough and angry'. Apollo is amazed by Hermes' creativity and the two are thereafter able to find common ground on which to start their negotiations. More so, they become close friends and companions (although Apollo, who is still wary of Hermes' tendencies, 'for Zeus has given you the honor of initiating deeds of exchange trade among men all over the fruitful world', asks Hermes to swear an oath that he will never steal from him or approach his well-built home).

suggestion that business is, rather, a creative pursuit. Thus, the Jungian perspective (with its more positive view of unconscious processes) can offer a more vibrant and engaging view of business in general and business creativity in particular.

6) This thesis could also be considered a step towards healing both the business world with its wounds (self-inflicted or otherwise) and depth psychology with its wounded view of business. Jung believed that 'the approach to the numinous is the real therapy and inasmuch as you attain to the numinous experiences you are released from the curse of pathology' (Jung, 1973, p. 377).<sup>39</sup>

7) While the issue of how to legitimately cross the boundary between personal psychology and collective psychology presents as one of the key issues in psychoanalytic organisational theory, Jungian psychology offers another bridge in this respect. Given that it sees archetypal factors as a path to deeper levels of the inner world and as providing access to the collective layers of the unconscious, Jung's theory of archetypes applies to individuals just as it does to communities and collectives, such as the business domain.<sup>40</sup>

8) An additional issue is that of the popularisation of depth psychological views. An application of Jungian psychology with its vivid imaginary to such a popular and complex domain as business may be of help here, if properly communicated. Moreover, the archetypal dimension, by bringing Jungian psychology/depth psychology and the business domain closer together, may serve as an example for other applications of the 'joint lens' approach (e.g. politics, sociology). Given that the theories present a generalised model of the functioning of the psyche (on both the personal and collective levels), they are applicable to many aspects of our lives, stimulating increased levels of consciousness.

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<sup>39</sup> Edinger states: '[W]hen one pays attention to the unconscious, the unconscious is likely to show some kindness to the ego that does so. The cherishers are cherished. The Baucis and Philemon myth expresses a good reason for studying mythology. It is like entertaining Zeus and Hermes, letting them in and giving them whatever we have to offer. It is good for the soul' (1994/2013, p. 15). (Ovid's myth of Baucis and Philemon is about Zeus and Hermes coming to earth in search for a devout man. Only a poor old couple Baucis and Philemon offer them hospitality and, as a result, only this couple survived when a flood came (ibid).)

<sup>40</sup> As Hillman notes, 'the archetypal perspective provides a common connection between what goes on in any individual soul and what goes on in all people at a collective level. Archetypal, in other words, means fundamentally human' (1976, p. xx).

9) Although the analysis of the business domain from the Jungian archetypal perspective is at the centre of this thesis, this thesis also begs a question regarding the framework within which business culture can be approached. This, in my view, is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of the business phenomenon and would allow for more appropriate applications of organisational concepts and theories, as well as the emergence of new ones.

#### *Research methods*

My project is an attempt to link different worldviews: Jungian psychology and business. Currently, the differences between the Jungian psychological (or depth psychological in general) stance and that of business are profound (hence, for example, the dilemma between the search for truth and the search for solutions in business consultancy). An attempt at such a dialogue might be regarded as occurring between individuals who use different lenses with which to view the world and different languages in which to communicate or, worse, who assign different meanings to what they see and hear. Thus, it is important to find a methodology that can adequately reflect the differences as well as similarities between these perspectives. It might also be useful to emphasise that one of the aims of this thesis is not to somehow insert Jungian theory into the business domain or to merge the two together, but is rather to facilitate and strengthen our ability to see the same thing from different perspectives (i.e. to see it symbolically). This has the potential to cure the split that currently characterises the depth psychological stance on the business domain.

For the most part, my research is theoretical and interpretative and as such is based on the Jungian and psychoanalytic literature relevant to the topic. Throughout the thesis, I use a mixture of Jungian and post-Jungian perspectives.<sup>41</sup> To ensure this fits in terms of its application to the business agenda, the current business literature is also thoroughly explored. Additionally, I make use of mythological literature to shed light on unconscious dynamics in the business domain. However, given the above-noted differences in perspective, in my view, participative action research also lends itself well as an important additional methodology for the thesis. Susan Long, for example, defines participative action research as a type of problem-driven research, which diminishes the distance between the researcher

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<sup>41</sup> The boundaries between the Jungian and post-Jungian perspectives are not always clear-cut; however, as far as this thesis is concerned, this does not lead to any major inconsistency.

and the researched and emphasises the active involvement of both in the process of knowledge generation through active intervention (1999/2004, p. 264). An important characteristic of this research is that the roles of the researcher and the researched become positions to be taken up in the process, thus encouraging the capacity to find multiple positions within the self. The alternative would be the splitting and projecting of these multiple positions, which would result in a loss of valuable information. Thus, participative action research allows for the alternate adopting of the Jungian/depth psychological stance and the position of a businessperson, who is trying these approaches from the practical standpoint.

As an approximation to participative action research, my project, apart from the relevant literature, also relies on active engagement with both the business world and depth psychology through relevant courses, workshops and conferences. Importantly, during the project, I observed and actively participated in the life of an organisation as a part-time employee in a financially-oriented start-up firm. This gave me first-hand experience of start-up culture, which is now prominently reshaping the business world, not least in terms of its creativity and innovation. As a result, start-up culture features prominently in this thesis. In addition, I was able to gain some practice as an occasional consultant through my previous employment position at a large IT firm in Moscow.

### *Synopsis*

**Chapters 2 and 3**, the critical literature reviews, begin the exploration of the above issues. Given the extreme scarcity of psychoanalytic accounts of business, chapter 2 gives an overview of the key psychoanalytic organisational concepts and theories that are currently used to examine organisational/business culture and outlines their links with creativity whenever possible. While the first section presents key concepts and theories, the second shows how the latter are applied to the analysis of business. Here, we will see where the psychoanalytic emphasis on the pathological aspects of the business domain comes from and why this approach makes it difficult to see the other side of the business world, which is positively creative.

**Chapter 3**, the Jungian organisational literature review, addresses the issue that while some Jungian ideas (shadow, symbolic amplification, individuation and typology) have found their way into the vocabulary and practice of some organisational psychologists, there is no systematic approach to

analysing organisations/businesses from a Jungian/post-Jungian perspective. This chapter thus offers an overview of various attempts to integrate Jungian psychology into organisational life.

**Chapter 4** further develops the argument of the previous chapters that there is currently little understanding within the depth psychological community, or other communities, of what the business domain comprises. As a consequence, business creativity, as well as other concepts relevant to the business domain, cannot be established beyond giving them lip service. The main aim of this chapter is to explore the concept of business creativity, which, it is argued, is different from creativity in other domains (e.g. art and science). In developing my argument, I will emphasise business as a separate and unique domain, as well as outlining some possible reasons/misconceptions responsible for the confusion surrounding the concept of business creativity.

**Chapter 5** presents Hermes the trickster as a symbol of business creativity and possibly of the business domain. The myth of Hermes illustrates that creativity does not have to be about aesthetics, harmony or higher (i.e. non-personal) goals. Hermes, through his cunning and wit, shows that creativity can come from all sorts of places: it can be liminal and mischievous, self-regarded and goal-oriented. A direct link between Hermes and the business domain is that this cunning and creative trickster becomes the god of trade and commerce.

**Chapter 6** explores anima and animus manifestations in business. My argument is that the 'functional' syzygy of anima and animus (i.e. a situation where the anima and animus are dynamically relating to each other) is required to generate creativity in business. It is this syzygy that brings about the analytical imagination that is so crucial for a successful business project.

**Chapter 7** demonstrates the case of shadow manifestations in business using the example of British Petroleum and its role in the Gulf of Mexico oil rig disaster. This chapter attempts to address the fact that there is a strong archetypal pull towards the shadow, which is characteristic in the business world, with its tendency to construct strong personas. Companies need to be aware of the pull in this direction if they are to avoid the unconscious development of shadow dynamics.

**Chapter 8** follows the progression of the persona's influence in the business domain. It is argued that due to the transition from a production to a consumption society and the subsequent endorsement

of goods with meaning, the business persona quickly moved from being a shiny accessory to a functional necessity to a major selling point and finally to establishing itself as the heart and soul of the business world.

**Chapter 9**, the interplay between persona and shadow in business, is a continuation of the previous two chapters, which brings together the manifestations of persona and shadow in the business world. My prime focus will be on the nature of the conflict between the identifications that these archetypal energies create as well as on the impact of this conflict on the emotional wellbeing of entrepreneurs. I will also argue that start-up culture has brought about some prominent changes in the nature of the interactions between persona and shadow.

**Chapter 10** will discuss the dynamics of puer and senex in the business domain. These dynamics can be seen in the current widespread influence of start-up culture, with its fly-and-burn pattern, as well as the nature of recent economic crises. I will argue that while the business domain is widely perceived, as well as perceiving itself, as rational and practical (i.e. senex-oriented), it contains many hidden romantic undertones (i.e. puer elements). This chapter hypothesises that when the puer emerges from the unconscious where he was hidden behind a rather senex-dominated paradigm, he hijacks the business domain, flying it high into the sky, only to crash it on the reality of earthly existence.

**Chapter 11** aims to demonstrate general manifestations of the trickster archetype in business, as well as to further emphasise its relevance to business creativity. I will argue that the trickster manifests in business through 'black swan' events (the latter famously presented by Nassim Taleb, essayist and commentator on financial markets and risk analysis), such as the invention of the Internet or the 2008 financial crisis. The main thrust is to show that the dynamics of economic/business life are a reflection of the collective unconscious, which the trickster brings to the surface through his disruptive art of chance occurrences.

**Chapter 12** argues that the father archetype manifests in business in the leadership of successful companies. Using the example of the retailer company Amazon, I will demonstrate that the concepts of authority and order account for the strength of identification with the father. I will also outline the significance of the father's relationship with his anima and how this affects the business domain in general and attitudes towards business creativity in particular.

**Chapter 13** brings together the answers to a series of more or less organising questions outlined throughout the thesis that can further help to delineate the scope and significance of archetypal energies in the business domain. It considers such questions as what the archetypal dimension tells us about the status of the current approach to business, what alternative or contribution it suggests, and whether the archetypal dimension can represent a coherent paradigm on its own. It then invites us to ponder further questions such as what the main analytical and practical implications of adopting the ideas suggested by the archetypal dimension can be and how the suggested views can be developed into more pragmatic approaches and theories.

## Chapter 2

### Critical literature review: the psychoanalytic organisational approach

#### *Introduction*

This part of the critical literature review draws attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the psychoanalytic organisational approach. In particular, it will be pointed out that while this approach comprehensively covers some organisational aspects, such as group dynamics, in relation to both business culture and creativity in business, there are gaps in the approach, leaving the analysis biased and consequently inadequate. The next chapter addresses the Jungian organisational approach (if such a term can be used given the extreme scarcity of material). Given that the business world with its growing interdependence exerts a formidable pressure on the lives of individuals – to the extent that many commentators (Martin, 2002; Langley, 2009) cite the ‘financialisation of everyday life’ – there is a pressure on organisational psychology to make sense of this world.

This chapter contains two sections: the first explores the literature on key psychoanalytic organisational concepts as well as outlining their relationship to creativity in organisations. It aims to support my view that the clinical/medical background is tacitly presupposed when analysis is applied to the understanding of business. The second section explores the consequences of these and other psychoanalytic organisational concepts that are applied to the business world and aims to show that the current psychoanalytic organisational framework does not do justice to business culture. This section also provides a foundation for my argument in other chapters that the archetypal dimension of Jungian psychology is instructive in articulating an alternative view with which to approach the business world. Although elaborating this view into a framework is outside the scope of this thesis, my hope is that this reorientation will generate new theories, based on a combination of psychoanalytic and Jungian perspectives, and allow for a more adequate analysis of business. The two sections together aim to demonstrate that the current state of affairs imposes significant limitations on any genuine dialogue between business and depth psychology.



*Overview of the key psychoanalytic organisational concepts and theories*

The primary task is one of the most important concepts in the psychoanalytic organisational approach, not least because of its strong connection with other concepts and theories (Gabriel, 2004, p. 91). It is defined as the fundamental task that an organisation must perform in order to survive (Rice, 1963). The concept has its origins in the pioneering work of Wilfred Bion, who introduced a distinction between his notions of 'work group' and 'basic assumptions group', two groups that are defined in terms of their relation to the primary task<sup>42</sup> (Bion, 1961). The central theme of Bion's research was to explore the unconscious coping mechanisms employed by individuals within these groups to avoid the anxiety associated with the primary task. Influenced by the ideas of Melanie Klein, Bion laid great importance on pre-Oedipal experiences<sup>43</sup> in his research. It is important to note the specific nature of the environments used in Bion's study (the army and later the Tavistock Clinic in London), as well as the particular focus of his observations (small and predominantly unstructured groups). It remains a moot point whether his approach and methodology are relevant for the analysis of large groups or other environments, such as the business domain.

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<sup>42</sup> Bion (1961) distinguished two general tendencies within group functioning: the work-group mentality is directed towards fulfilment and completion of the primary task, while the basic assumption mentality avoids work on the primary task due to resurfacing of inner conflicts and pain invoked by the primary task. He identified three basic assumptions characterised by a particular set of feelings and behaviour inclinations: dependency, fight-flight and pairing.

<sup>43</sup> Freud introduced the term 'Oedipus complex' in 1910 to explain powerful loving and aggressive desires, feelings and fantasies towards the parents, experienced by a child during the phallic stage of development (i.e. around the age of four/five years). In the Greek mythology, Oedipus unwittingly killed his father and married his mother. Freud viewed the complex and its resolution as foundational for future psychological development of an individual (1940, p. 386).

Melanie Klein (1946/1986, 1956/1986) assigned greater importance to the pre-Oedipal experiences (in particular, to the oral phase, which is characterised by the child's complex relationship to the mother and the breast resulting in splitting, projection and introjection) for the psychological development. Her work had profound implications for psychoanalysis and initiated a tradition known as object relations theory (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 23).

Other valuable ideas and contributions have also been made in respect of the concept of the primary task, all of which seem to share the underlying context of Bion's approach.<sup>44</sup> Arguably, one of the most important contributions has been W. Gordon Lawrence's proposition that different types of primary task can exist within an organisation – normative, existential and phenomenal – the last of which addresses unconscious psychic needs (1977/1985). For example, Anton Obholzer (1994, p. 171) states that the phenomenal primary task of health service practitioners might be to uphold the fantasy that death can be avoided rather than providing actual medical care to patients. The central themes of Obholzer's work concern the experiences of stress and anxiety that are ever-present in the work of human service professionals, which involves constant proximity to death and suffering, and the ability/inability to deal with those primitive emotional states to perform the task at hand (Obholzer and Roberts, 1994).

Bion's abovementioned theory on basic assumptions and work groups is another important building block in the psychoanalytic organisational approach (Stokes, 1994, pp. 19-22). Many subsequent contributors to the field of organisational theory have confirmed, extended, challenged or built their own theories on the basis of his work<sup>45</sup>. In particular, Laurence Gould (1997), in exploring the potential of the sophisticated use of basic assumptions, found a direct correspondence between Bion's basic assumptions and Klein's developmental positions. He challenged Bion's statement that 'basic assumption mentality does not lend itself into action' (Bion, 1961, p. 157). Jon Stokes demonstrated the case of the sophisticated use of basic assumptions and, in particular, the possibility of 'mobilising the emotions of one basic assumption in the constructive pursuit of the primary task' using the example of health services (1994, p. 25). Although many theorists and practitioners have pointed out various occasions of the successful use of this mentality, absent to date is a more or less consolidated approach

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<sup>44</sup> Isabel Menzies Lyth (1988) introduced the concept of 'anti-task' behaviour, applying it to humane institutions, while Jane Chapman (1999; 2003) explored 'hatred and corruption' of the primary task in industrial settings.

<sup>45</sup> Some developments in Bion's theory include identification of other types of basic assumption. Thus, in addition to Bion's modes (dependency, fight/flight and pairing), Pierre Turquet (1974) introduces 'one-ness', which has its origins in Freud's notion of the 'oceanic' feeling, while Gordon Lawrence et al. (1996) proposed 'me-ness', a denial of the existence of any group, as groups are seen as inherently bad and oppressive. It remains unclear whether clinical and consulting practices confirm the usefulness of those additions (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 125).

to the sophisticated use of basic assumptions. What unites most accounts on this issue is that traditionally psychoanalytic writers reside rather strongly with the ego-position (epitomised by work group functioning), which arguably presupposes difficulties of engagement with the basic assumptions mentality.

The concept of boundary is another defining theme in the psychoanalytic organisational approach, which appears to privilege the aspects of this concept in relation to the primary task and the maintenance of structure and order<sup>46</sup>, arguably at the expense of an in-depth analysis of boundaries as a defining feature of organisational life. The psychoanalytic organisational literature provides a diverse range of accounts regarding why stepping into one's role and acting within one's boundaries is essential, as well as why doing so is difficult (Hirschhorn, 1988; Schneider, 1991; Roberts, 1994). Larry Hirschhorn (1990, pp. 33-39) argues that boundaries are difficult to maintain, not just because of the genuine risks, but because of the inner fantasies of rejection or infliction of pain on others as a result of mobilising aggression. More research is needed to address the issue of boundaries, especially in the business context, where the fluidity of boundaries (inner and outer, real and imagined, morally good and bad, helpful and destructive) is having a strong and profound effect on both business and the rest of society.

The account of social defences is another important aspect of the psychoanalytic organisational approach. Drawing on Klein's ideas in relation to individual defences<sup>47</sup> against anxiety and Bion's study of defences within the group, many theorists, such as Elliot Jaques, Isabel Menzies Lyth and Eric Trist, have researched how organisations incorporate those defences into their structure, so that the structure itself starts functioning as a ready-made defensive device against work anxiety. The overall

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<sup>46</sup> This view of the concept is arguably characteristic of psychoanalysis. Freud viewed the ego's perception of boundaries as the essential characteristic of mental health: it is vital for the ego to be in charge to prevent neurosis. One way to read his account on this issue is to suggest that the weak (rigid) ego resists diversity of experience (e.g. it cannot suffer voluntarily), while the mature and more flexible ego does not activate defences, but adopts them. However, it is the defence of boundaries, rather than adaptability of the ego, that became the prime focus of attention (Freud, 1917, p. 141).

<sup>47</sup> A defence is a mental process aimed at reduction or elimination of forces, which are experienced as threatening the psychological integrity of an individual. Examples of defences include regression, reaction-formation, projection, introjection, isolation and identification with the aggressor. Kleinian theorists emphasised splitting and denial (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 293).

perspective of their studies is similar to Bion's, in that anxiety is seen as both the cause and result of defensive reactions, which overshadow the primary task and compromise execution. The concept of social defences is particularly important for the psychoanalytic organisational approach (as we will see in the next section), as it is foundational in linking the individual to the group and larger collective<sup>48</sup>.

Menzies Lyth's research of social defences has made a lasting contribution to psychologically-oriented organisational studies and continues to be widely cited within the psychoanalytic organisational approach (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 225). Menzies Lyth's (1988) study, which is based on observations of hospital nurses' behaviour, centres on the feelings of anxiety that nurses experience during their work and the unconscious techniques they use to defend themselves against these strong emotions. Common nursing practices (procedures, rotas, checks, paperwork, etc.) are then shown to support these individual defences and further depersonalise nurses' relationship with patients. Menzies Lyth's work has since been generalised and applied to other environments to show how various objective features of an organisation could be seen as symbolic representations of its members' emotional concerns.<sup>49</sup> However, the environmental origins of Menzies Lyth's insights need to be noted,

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<sup>48</sup> For example, Elliot Jaques explains how organisational defences function as an unconscious mechanism for transferring personal inner conflicts and anxieties into outside reality, where, it is believed, they can be fought and overcome. Taking Klein's ideas as the basis for his *Glacier Metals* study, Jaques (1955/1977) recorded how splitting and projection operate within a large industrial organisation. Interestingly, he later rejected these views in favour of viewing anxiety as the outcome of a lack of structure, rather than vice versa. He stated that focus on personal and interpersonal pathologies made 'the psychoanalytic approach to understanding organisations (...) dysfunctional' (1995, p. 343).

<sup>49</sup> The theme of social defences was developed further by various psychoanalytic writers, who applied Menzies Lyth's (1991) insights and prescriptions to various organisational settings (Diamond, 1985, 1993; Krantz, 1989; Lapierre, 1989; Gould, 1993). Hirschhorn (1988) argues for the growing ineffectiveness of such defences in a post-industrial society, which, in his view, is running out of meaningful scapegoating objects and, thus, losing an illusion of the effectiveness of institutional defences. Drawing on the importance of Klein's depressive position, he concludes that a mature organisation in the future will be one that supports reparative processes by facing and working through anxieties, complexities of interdependence and counter-productive defensive strategies of victimisation. In a similar fashion, Krantz (1989) and Lapierre (1991) view managerial control as a myth and defence against normal work anxiety. However, they also acknowledge its crucial role in maintaining the image of legitimacy: if those in authority positions appear as confused ordinary people, the legitimacy of their being in charge would be called into question.

particularly given that the emphasis of all ensuing studies has been exclusively on anxiety, arguably at the expense of other emotional factors that may dominate a given domain.

While organisations incur a high cost by 'employing' social defences, it appears difficult or even impossible to rid organisations of them. Yiannis Gabriel also points out that regressive emotional states serve an additional important function of binding people together (1999/2004, p. 77). Thus, getting rid of social defences might be both impossible and undesirable. The difficulties with social defences are reminiscent of another psychoanalytic issue pertaining to the sophisticated use of basic assumptions. Many commentators (Levinson, Zaleznik, Hirschorn, Diamond, Baum and Kets de Vries) tend to suggest some mixture between the developmental framework and a rational approach as a way of dealing with social and personal defences. Another approach would be to view fixation rather than regression as the main problem (*ibid*). This, however, appears to be a road less travelled in psychoanalytic organisational studies.

Ralph Stacey (1995) suggests that a way of dealing with social defences is through close proximity to a state of chaos, which creates feelings of realistic (as opposed to imagined) anxiety and does not allow certain illusions to cement, as well as, it is argued, resulting in creativity and learning. The current popularity of start-up culture makes Stacey's proposition less iconoclastic; however, such an extreme variant of the depressive position<sup>50</sup> already presupposes a high degree of psychological maturity and also raises questions regarding the long-term effects of such functioning.

The processes of projection, transference<sup>51</sup>, projective identification<sup>52</sup> and countertransference<sup>53</sup> are crucial concepts in psychoanalytic organisational studies. They explain the link between people's

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<sup>50</sup> The depressive position is a Kleinian concept, which refers to a pre-Oedipal position characterised by an infant's realisation that love and hate are both directed at one and the same object, the mother/prime carer. It is accompanied by feelings of ambivalence as well as a desire to make reparations for the damage inflicted by hate (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 293).

<sup>51</sup> Transference is a process whereby one person (e.g. a client) transfers onto another (e.g. an analyst) feelings and images which belong to that person's past interactions with a significant person (e.g. a parent) and consequently starts relating to the other person on the basis of these past interactions (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 310).

behaviour and organisational dynamics (Halton, 1994, p. 16) and also account for the chain of anxiety in organisational settings (Hirschhorn, 1988, pp. 42-48). These concepts are thus essential for understanding social defences as well as other unconscious organisational processes. It is interesting to note that these concepts appear to be used almost exclusively in the description of dysfunctional organisational dynamics (the concepts of 'corporate decay' and 'the state of paralysis of organisational mind' (Schwartz, 1990, 1991); the concept of 'toxicity' in customer-employee relations (Mark Stein, 2008); the notion of 'a contagious state of emotional pollution' and the theory of 'organisational miasma' (Gabriel, 2008); and finally, the concept of 'inconsolable organisation' (H. Stein, 2007)).

The psychoanalytic organisational literature has featured a great deal of research on leadership. In the 1980s and 1990s, the idea that the litmus test for leadership was the ability to spin heroic fantasies by tapping into the unconscious of followers became firmly acknowledged (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Hirsch, 1986; Hirschhorn, 1997).<sup>54</sup> Such a position puts the leader on the boundary between the rational and non-rational. Due to the many difficulties associated with this position<sup>55</sup>, however, many commentators later emphasised the importance of emotional intelligence as part of the leader's toolkit. Kets de Vries, who has written extensively on the topic of leadership (Kets de Vries, 1984, 1991, 2001, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2014), relies heavily on the concept of emotional intelligence. Thus, his notion of authentic leadership is based on the concept that a leader brings with her 'meta-values' (a sense of community, sense of enjoyment and sense of meaning), which allow for 'virtuous cycles' for both the leader and her followers (Kets de Vries, 2006). Kets de Vries (2010) envisages an 'authentizotic

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<sup>52</sup> Projective identification, a term first introduced by Klein in 1946, describes a process in which the recipient of a projection identifies with the projected feelings (Halton, 1994, p. 16).

<sup>53</sup> Countertransference is a process in which the feelings of others are experienced as one's own (Halton, 1994, p. 16).

<sup>54</sup> Some commentators (e.g. Gabriel, 1991; 1995) questioned the emphasis, direction and prescriptions of such analyses, while acknowledging that business culture, for better or worse, indeed provided vast opportunities for such fantasies, especially on the part of a leader.

<sup>55</sup> The prime difficulty of such a position, as many theorists (Zaleznik, 1989; Schwartz, 1990; Hirschhorn, 1997) have observed, is that leaders are prone to becoming trapped in unhealthy illusions of omnipotence, feeding on their narcissistic tendencies. Hirschhorn (1997) states that for a leader it is essential to have a rather high degree of narcissism (savouring the fame and glory which come with success); however, this makes them vulnerable to the whole range of narcissistic disorders.

organisation', wherein, given a healthy leadership, an organisation will experience a sense of invigoration, balance and completeness. What has not been explicitly explored in these and other accounts, however, is that emotional intelligence may sit uncomfortably with a leader's ability to tap into her followers' unconscious. A Jungian perspective might argue for a shift of emphasis from the leadership function (in particular, its expectations that the leader provide a 'holding' environment) to the transcendent function<sup>56</sup> (embodied by the organisational consultant), thus allowing leaders to do what they are best at, i.e. to lead.

Another feature of the psychoanalytic perspective on leadership is its recognition of the leader-followers relationship as a two-way process. Otto Kernberg provides many accounts of how leaders are produced or significantly influenced by their settings (Kernberg, 1979, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1998). Kets de Vries (2010) explains this relationship via the phenomenon of *folie à deux* (the sharing of an illusion by two or more people), which is characterised by extreme mutual dependency, separation anxiety, identification with the dominant figure and deflection of hostility.

What unites most, if not all, psychoanalytic accounts of leadership is that the key psychoanalytic insight prevails: all relationships, including that with authority, resemble past interactions, most notably early experiences with primary caregivers. Some accounts (Hirschhorn, 1993; Bennis, 1989; Schwartz, 1990), while adhering to this basic line of psychoanalytic reasoning, have also demonstrated the effect of the current culture of narcissism on the leader-followers relationship.

As a way of summarising this section, one could be reminded that psychoanalytic theory traditionally puts a great deal of emphasis on anxiety and defences, which are considered the defining features of core psychological processes (Hinshelwood and Skogstad, 2000, p. 4). The key psychoanalytic organisational concepts and theories reflect this tendency. Importantly, the psychoanalytic organisational approach does not differentiate between organisational environments. For example, Bion's and Menzies Lyth's studies were conducted in rather specific and highly anxiety-ridden environments, where the question of life and death was a scene of everyday life, while their findings were generalised and applied to other diverse areas of organisational life that might be

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<sup>56</sup> The transcendent function is the process whereby previously irreconcilable opposites are brought together in a spontaneously arising symbol (Jung, *CW6*, para. 828).

determined by other important driving forces (e.g. creativity in business). These other factors, however, remain unacknowledged under the assigned predominance of anxiety as the all-encompassing force behind life and work matters. Further, the emphasis on anxiety and defences in the study of organisations was not only pioneered in clinical/medical settings, but its validity has been largely confirmed and reinforced in these settings (Obholzer and Roberts, 1994; Hinshelwood and Skogstad, 2000).

The psychoanalytic organisational approach also has a tendency to reside with, if not advocate, the work-group mentality with its emphasis on staying with the primary task and boundary as a recipe for productive functioning. Creativity might be implied within the word 'productive' (the views of Jaques, Menzies Lyth, Miller, Armstrong et al. may suggest that if sources of anxiety are reduced, a more creative environment might emerge),<sup>57</sup> but it is important to note that no direct connection has been made between such concepts as the work group, primary task, boundary and social defences, and creativity in an organisation.

What is also evident from the above outline of key psychoanalytic organisational concepts and theories is that they all belong to the area of group psychodynamics. While this is an important aspect of organisational theory, to which the psychoanalytic approach has made a tremendous contribution, it can also be limiting when emphasised at the expense of other organisational aspects, such as in-depth analysis of environmental factors and social trends. Another limitation arises from the fact that psychodynamics is rooted rather deeply in the developmental framework and there is a tendency among psychoanalytic organisational writers to approach a diverse range of organisational issues with reference to this framework. The developmental framework might work well in application to small groups, but its usefulness comes into question when applied to large groups, collectives or domains.

Based on the above critical literature review, it emerges that while the psychoanalytic organisational approach has a number of strong points and can thus be instructive in its application to business, it can nonetheless be considered limited. It appears that the main difficulty in its analysis of business culture arises from the fact that there is currently no appropriate framework for so doing and

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<sup>57</sup> Generally speaking, it could be said that many psychoanalytic organisational writers follow Klein's view that creativity results from the anxiety of the depressive position. Early psychoanalysis followed Freud's view of creativity as a result of sublimation of anxiety (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 109).



that, in the absence of such a framework, the framework that is tacitly used (i.e. that based on clinical/medical settings), is not adequate in addressing the complexity of the environment in question.<sup>58</sup>

*Application of psychoanalytic theories and concepts to business*

This section continues the argument that the emphasis on anxiety and defences together with major theories stemming from the medical/clinical field result in the psychoanalytic organisational approach adopting a biased and consequently inadequate framework for analysing the business world. The lack of framework is tacitly mentioned in the psychoanalytic literature on the business world, but is not explicitly addressed. Thus, Burkard Sievers (2013, p. 101) posits that the current psychoanalytic approach to the financial world not only leaves many questions unanswered, but also too many questions have not been raised. He also points out (though arguing for a perspective I aim to criticise here) the extreme scarcity of psychoanalytic organisational literature that addresses the unconscious dynamics of capitalism (ibid, pp. 91-102).<sup>59</sup>

As we will see, due to their emphasis on the dysfunctional aspects of business life, many psychoanalytic organisational theorists make strong claims for diagnosing business culture as pathological/perverse. The key symptom for such a verdict is primarily the notion of unconscious greed, a concept that is well recorded in the psychoanalytic literature. Otto Kernberg's notion of 'relentless greed' (1980, p. 136) could effectively provide a solid platform for analysing greed in the business context.<sup>60</sup> The essence of this greed is that self-worth becomes equated with the value of

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<sup>58</sup> Here, it is important to note that the absence of a framework might be regarded as a good thing, as it allows for open-mindedness and flexibility of approach. It might appear futile to seek the provision of such a unitary conception given that no two businesses are the same. My point, however, is that while no theoretical framework can successfully capture the living phenomenon, it can be instructive in communicating its key features. A worst-case scenario is to employ a certain framework without being fully aware of it and, thus, being unable to question its adequacy.

<sup>59</sup> Sievers' quote of Gunnar Heinsohn's statement captures this point well: 'the politics of economics in the crisis resemble emergency surgery without any knowledge of anatomy. We still deceive ourselves about the basics of interest, money and market' (as cited in Sievers, 2013, p. 102).

<sup>60</sup> Kernberg connects greed with the absence of the 'harmonious world of internalised object-representations' (1976, p. 74), which allows for the development of the secure sense of self/well-

attained objects. This understanding of greed is echoed throughout the writings of many psychoanalytic organisational theorists, who have synthesised and applied it to the analysis of specific business agendas.

Susan Long's account, which is often cited as an important contribution to the understanding of business dynamics (Sievers, 2013; Nagel, 2013; Allcorn, 2013), is a case in point. Through her analysis, Long (2008) comes to see the current business culture as dominated by collective unconscious greed and that, as such, it is perverse. As well as the psychoanalytic understanding of the concept of greed, her analysis is also informed by the concepts outlined in the previous section, such as the primary task, social defences and boundary. Long states that greed arises from the tension between the primitive collective fear of losing resources and the powerful symbolic function of money with its embedded promise to defend against such loss (2013, p. 41). As an unconscious mechanism, greed blinds the organisational system as a whole, which allows it to spread freely from one system player to another. In an attempt to approach the issue from the systemic point of view using the 'as if' assumption (i.e. organisations are viewed as individuals), she addresses it through the notion of the 'state of mind of the system', which, it is claimed, is essentially a social concept presupposing the existence of the other.

First, it is Long's use/overuse of the 'as if' assumption that is called into question. While an individual could rightfully be seen as the central figure in understanding unconscious dynamics, even such an individual perceives herself largely within the context of a particular environment/domain, which is a complex self-regulating system, formed from the unconscious collective dynamics. This system has subsystems and is itself a part of the bigger whole, resulting in a complex web of interconnections, which influence each other in unpredictable ways. As Jungian analyst Andrew Samuels points out, the psychoanalytic approach with its key assumption that 'a good-enough environment is all that innate potential of an individual requires to flower, and that this is determined within the nuclear family and in the first months of life' might be able to describe or at least significantly contribute to understanding how an individual relates to a certain environment, but is 'hopelessly

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being. Failure at this development results not only in a deficit of good internal objects compared to destructive ones, but also in greater powers for the latter. This, in turn, leads to overdependence on external objects in an attempt to satisfy deep emotional needs. In particular, there is a pronounced use of others as containers for the negative projections of the destructive forces, which wreak havoc on the inner world (ibid).

passive in the face of problematic social and political structures' and thus is not reliable in its analysis of the environment/domain itself (1993, p. 271).

Although aware that what is true for an individual might not be true for individuals as a collective or domain, many psychoanalytic commentators still tend to overuse the 'as if' assumption, which is evident in respect to attempts at both diagnosis and solution. This often leads to relentless, all-knowing and somewhat predictable pessimism in the psychoanalytic organisational approach to business. The diagnosis tends to run along the following lines: greed arises as a result of an individual avoiding painful reality. It breeds on the fantasy life, where an individual is accustomed to unlimited supply and instant gratification. The solutions offered by Long, as well as the majority of other psychoanalytic writers (to be seen further) are all vaguely centred on the concept of the depressive position, thus urging that the fantasies be given up and reality restored.

Second, Long's emphasis/overemphasis on greed also warrants attention. Highly influenced by the developmental framework, Long and other psychoanalytic-oriented organisational writers have a tendency to seek a fundamental relationship in their analysis. Although it is not always explicitly clear who is taken as the mother or infant, it appears that the mother-child imaginary dominates the analysis in one way or another. Just as the mother contains the baby, an organisational environment 'should' contain the individuals within it. When this is not the case, it is taken as a sign of some perversity, which is then sought and successfully found. Long thus postulates that greed takes the place of the fundamental relationship in the business world. As a general critique of this approach, Samuels, in his reflections on the psychoanalytic approach to social processes, questions this need to search for a fundamental relationship *per se* (1993, p. 271). In particular, he questions the extent to which that relationship comprises containment: 'What about exchange, bargaining, negotiation . . . ?' (ibid, p. 274).

Although providing some valuable insights, Long's analysis also demonstrates an important aspect of the misunderstanding between depth psychology and business. The view of the current business dynamics as greedy and perverse arguably stems from the perspective that there is/could be/should be or allegedly was good business and bad business. However, it is the essence of business to be both: it is in its nature to take risks, to disobey, to change the rules (for better or worse), to invent as well as to exploit the weaknesses in society, of which that society is either unaware or does not want to be aware. Importantly, absent is a historical perspective: can unconscious greed explain the dynamics of the

current business 'state of mind' if it does not differentiate between the forms it takes over time? How would the label 'perverse', attached to the analysis of the current state of affairs, compare to the previous expressions of greed?<sup>61</sup>

This complexity, however, is not addressed in Long's account. Instead, the emphasis on greed leads straight to the diagnosis of perversion. (Is greed always perverse?) This, together with the reality vs. fantasy perspective (mentioned earlier), in which reality, as a proposed medicine, becomes associated with self-restraint and adequacy, results in a rather black-and-white narrative of normality vs. pathology. This narrative, however, is itself another immersion in magical thinking about a far distant ideal of normality. Among other things, it begs old questions of what normality is and for whom.

It is also important to point out that the 2008 financial crisis is widely cited in the psychoanalytic organisational literature as evidence of the greed and perversion of the business sector. However, if we follow Freud's ideas on the normality of pathology (1901/2010), crisis emerges as both a good and a bad phenomenon.<sup>62</sup> From this perspective, crisis provides an opportunity to further our understanding of the social processes (which on this particular occasion have undergone some major economic and political changes) as well as to own the social processes by making them conscious and working through them. What emerges as a major limitation of the accounts of Long and other psychoanalytically

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<sup>61</sup> Financial writer Nassim Taleb notes: 'Whenever an economic crisis occurs, greed is pointed to as the cause, which leaves us with the impression that if we could go to the root of greed and extract it from life, crises would be eliminated. Further, we tend to believe that greed is new, since these wild economic crises are new. This is an epiphenomenon: greed is much older than systemic fragility. It existed as far back as the eye can go into history (...) With astonishing regularity, greed is seen as something (a) new and (b) curable' (pp. 197-198). The same critique applies to the majority of psychoanalytic accounts of the 2008 financial crisis.

<sup>62</sup> In Long's exploration of the perversion that is allegedly inherent in the business domain, no mention is made of Freud's ideas on the normality of pathology (Freud, 1901/2010). Freud defines neurosis not just as a withdrawal from reality, but also from society. Thus, he equates reality with being social and living in constant relationship with others, which means staying in touch with whatever processes that society is going through (Freud, 1913; 1920; 1921). This is important since one of the key puzzles with which most psychoanalytic theorists are wrestling is how and to what extent the business world serves as a container for certain societal processes (Sievers, 2013, p. 102). In view of Freud's understanding of reality, the other question arguably takes precedence: how can we, individually and collectively, own those processes?

oriented writers is that they do not acknowledge (or perhaps do not emphasise) these processes as a part of normality, but tend to look at them as a disease to be eradicated (which is somewhat similar to saying that change should only occur under the conditions of predictability and positive impact). Such exclusion stands in the way of integrating experience: a bitter medicine is taken as a deadly poison. The outcome is that the reality itself is rejected, as only the good side of the business world and capitalism at large is included, while the bad side is excluded.

There have been little (if any) critical reviews of Long's thesis. Instead, this type of analysis, with its particular emphasis on greed and its use of the 'as if' assumption, is echoed in the writings of many psychoanalytic organisational theorists. Thus, David Tuckett and Richard Taffler (2008), exploring the emerging field of behavioural finance, point out the importance of greed in the stock market, which they relate to a belief in 'phantastic objects', the basis of the infantile phantasy of effortless wealth. Here, we see again the dichotomy between fantasy and reality, as well as the subsequent call for a variant of the depressive position.

Claudia Nagel (a Jungian-trained analyst, who combines the psychoanalytic and Jungian perspectives) advances Long's thesis in her elaboration of the concept of money as a fetish of the above-mentioned perversion (2008; 2013). She explores how fetish is used to distract the fetishist from the painful reality of deficiency. Looking at the issue through a Jungian lens, she argues that the archetype of 'invalid' is the symbolic expression of this pathology. Money, with its archetypal qualities represented by Eros and power, comes to function as the borrowed ego, which through the process of identification leads to the money complex.

Given that the essence of a capitalist business enterprise is profit-maximisation, from Nagel's account it would follow that the business world is an invalid world bound from head to toe in the chains of pathology.<sup>63</sup> This account is, again, a one-sided perspective and also contains an implicit yet strong presence of the mother-child imaginary. This invalid domain 'contains' individuals in such a way that they are all invalid children with no adequate care who are forever seeking something they do not have.

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<sup>63</sup> The theme of money as a fetish has long been recurrent in psychoanalytic literature. Thus, Adam Phillips (2005) states that the idea of money breeds the unconscious fantasy of an appetite with no reference to a particular object. He sees this as more detrimental than greed to the ability to form meaningful relationships. Money-fetish, as a part of this process, serves as a delusional barrier against the abyss of depression one step away from exhausting our desires.

David Levine (2008; 2011; 2013), in his discussion of the pathologies of the capitalist spirit, states that by removing the real self<sup>64</sup> and substituting it with a surrogate (money), there is a hope/illusion that the object that is lost will once more be found. Apart from greed, other components of this process are admiration and envy. Confusion of love with these attributes of the substitution process, according to Levine, is the essence of the pathology of capitalism that leads to various financial imbalances. The Winnicottian developmental framework, which underlies the logic of Levine's argument, makes it possible to posit that a very similar criticism as above also applies to this account.

Seth Allcorn and Howard Stein (2013) also share Long's perversity thesis, but the focus of their analysis is on the unconscious function of ideology as a sociocultural defence mechanism. In analysing the 2008 financial crisis as well as the three preceding decades of 'poor risk management', they explore how the ideology of deregulation turns greed into an alleged force of good, while proclaiming absence of rules as freedom. The most explicit criticism of this account is its anti-capitalist spirit, which often results in the authors' conclusions being present in their many assumptions.

The concept of risk is another timely topic of interest among psychoanalytic writers, particularly given the central role played by the securitisation of debt in the 2008 financial crisis. The avoidance of risk in the present and its subsequent extrapolation into the future, the other, and the financial world at large is echoed in the works of many authors (Hirschhorn, 1999; Pelzer, 2009; Pelzer and Case, 2007; Sievers, 2013; Woolen, 2013; Blomberg, Kjellberg and Winroth, 2013). Peter Pelzer (2013) addresses the topic from the angle of the relationship between risk and fear, arguing that God has been replaced by money and fate by risk. Byron Woolen (2013) argues that investment risk can be managed by a conscious cultural dedication across the whole organisation where the depressive position is continuously fostered until internalised, so that everyone remains alert to the potential vulnerability

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<sup>64</sup> Here, Levine uses Donald Winnicott's (1965) understanding of the concept of the self. Winnicott refers to the 'true self' as a sense of feeling alive and intimately connected with one's body and mind. It is the source of spontaneous and authentic feelings and a prerequisite to genuine relationship with others. Winnicott famously proclaimed that 'Only the true self can be creative and only the true self can feel real' (ibid, p. 148). This contrasts with the 'false self', a defensive façade, devoid of meaning and emotional fulfilment and accompanied by feelings of emptiness or even deadness. Winnicott believed that the split between the true and false selves begins in early infancy and is largely determined by certain characteristics of the parental/caregiving environment.

coming from unexpected sources. However, given that the depressive position is a process, which is difficult to attain even on the individual level, it remains unclear from Woolen's account how this process could be realised within an organisation.

Alison Gill and Mannie Sher (2013) try to capture the essence of the post-crisis financial industry's mentality by interviewing its senior figures and observing their reactions as a way of understanding the unconscious dynamics that came to define the industry on a day-to-day basis. In this task, they primarily employ such concepts as holism, transference and countertransference. Exploring the modes of thinking, non-thinking and hatred of thinking, the researchers also noted their own feelings of being overwhelmed by feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and narcissism, as well as the loss of their ability to see, question and understand. They also found a conflict between roles, manic defences of infantile omnipotence and greed. Given the strong degree of identification with these regressive states within the financial industry, they argue that there appeared very little to keep the unconscious processes in check. The highly subjective nature of this project (the sample of interviewees, the chosen methodology, the particular (post-crisis) time period under observation) as well as a too direct application of psychoanalytic theories to the business domain leaves many of its findings questionable. In particular, and in view of the already mentioned psychoanalytic organisational tendencies, transference and countertransference are weak tools, if appropriate at all, for analysis of the business domain.

Some psychoanalytic organisational accounts are particularly sharp in their depiction of the business world as pathological. Richard Morgan-Jones (2013) examines a number of ways in which the current financial system, under the spell of speculative motives, has launched a profound attack on the relationship between money and time, which undermines any attempt to create meaning in the capitalist system. He suggests that this attack is a symbolic expression of an emotionally dead and deadening maternal object in society, which creates a dynamic of insatiable greed for a phantasy with no place to exist and, thus, no possibility of being mourned. Here, we see the same overall logic as in the accounts above: if the business domain is not containing and nourishing, then it must be likened to the bad devouring mother or even the dead mother.

Burkard Sievers (2003) argues that the whole pension fund system is responsible for spreading psychotic dynamics, with money in pension schemes, which are a reflection of customers' expectations and fears about retirement, as conductors of psychotic anxieties. His later paper (2013) goes further in

suggesting that the current state of the economy (and the world at large) is in a 'globalised collusion of psychotic thinking' and 'psychosis unlimited'.

As a way of critically summarising all of the above accounts, one might note the profound similarity of their conclusions, as well as their methodological correspondence (i.e. developmental framework, emphasis on anxiety, search for a pathology, contrasting the depressive position). Although there are undoubtedly some/many pathological elements and influences within the business domain (as, in fact, in any system or process), I take the view that emphasising/overemphasising them and then calling the domain pathological is misleading. Another possible way to address the issue of the perceived inadequacies of the business world would be to reframe it in terms of levels of consciousness. Each level involves understanding the characteristic tensions within the system and requires new ways of thinking about the challenges presented, based on previous accumulated levels of consciousness. Arguably, such an approach towards the 2008 financial crisis and the current business dynamics may allow for a different emphasis (e.g. an emphasis on creativity in the start-up culture, which is now claiming its dominance in the larger business world), which in turn may suggest deeper social and economic trends that cannot be understood using the concepts of greed and pathology.

In this respect, Larry Hirschhorn's (2013) account is of particular interest as it uses the psychoanalytic lens in a different way than do the above commentators and consequently arrives at radically different conclusions. Importantly, I see it as supporting my claim that theories developed from within the phenomenon they aim at understanding can give a fuller picture by capturing its unique characteristics, while direct application of psychoanalytic theories (to rather specific/selective aspects of that picture) should be treated with caution.

Hirschhorn's starting point is that creativity has become the central productive force in a post-industrial world<sup>65</sup> and that imagination underpins this creativity. Imagination, as a psychic function, incorporates what Freud termed the pleasure and reality principles. The former brings the vision of our

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<sup>65</sup> Prior to the current stage of our cultural development, nature served as a repository for human creative impulses; however, since post-industrial society claimed victory over nature, markets have come to be seen as a projective screen for our imagination. Contrary to many psychoanalytic theorists, Hirschhorn (2013) suggests that it is this function of markets, rather than their rationality, that largely accounts for their current attractiveness.



desires and as such is projected onto the markets, while the latter accounts for practical difficulties in achieving those desires and is projected onto the state and authority. This inherent tension between the two principles, according to Hirschhorn, defines the current mode of operation of the business world. The break-down of this tension leads to systemic risks, which, he proposes, were at the core of the 2008 financial crisis (rather than excessive greed or some other pathology). In this case, the pleasure principle results in overriding desires, narcissism and self-centred work that is incapable of communicating meaning, while the reality principle leads to conformity (including moral conformity), paranoia and dull uninspiring work. Instead of working together in a compensatory way, each principle becomes a social defence to the other. Hirschhorn notes the current cultural tendency, which is also reflected in business dynamics, to succumb to the pleasure principle with its consequent problem of authority.<sup>66</sup>

At the centre of Hirschhorn's thesis is the tension between the two opposing forces (rather than anxiety), each equally important for the process of creation. While his account employs psychoanalytic concepts and formulations, it echoes some of the main tenets of Jungian psychology, a teleological/finalistic approach in which importance is given to such concepts as tension of opposites<sup>67</sup>, wholeness, individuation, complexes and archetypes. This point goes back to my earlier claim that Jungian psychology can be seen as a much-needed catalyst for bringing insight into creativity and innovation (a claim that will be substantiated in chapters 4 and 5).

From Hirschhorn's account it also emerges that the links between anxiety, tension of opposites and creativity deserve further exploration, as they lie at the centre of the question as to whether the psychoanalytic organisational approach is capable of producing an adequate analysis of current

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<sup>66</sup> Hirschhorn's account may also reflect the current state of affairs between the psychoanalytic organisational approach and the business world, where the former has become a stringent defender of the reality principle (as evident from the overviews of the above accounts) and the latter a follower of the pleasure principle. The key challenge for depth psychology is to withstand this tension, rather than succumbing to any one side, until integration occurs and the new formation is born.

<sup>67</sup> The opposites are 'the ineradicable and indispensable preconditions of all psychic life' (Jung, *CW14*, para. 206). Many concepts in Jungian psychology are conceived in terms of opposites and their tension.

business trends. This exploration might suggest rethinking the concept of anxiety as being at the root of psychoanalytic explorations of different environments/domains.<sup>68</sup>

There has not yet been an account linking the psychoanalytic understanding of anxiety and creativity within the context of business life. Psychoanalytic views on creativity have largely been explored within the artistic domain, where anxiety and its sublimation<sup>69</sup> are the keynotes of explanation (e.g. Kavalier-Adler, 2000). Some accounts, however, attempt to establish points of contact between psychoanalytic ideas on creativity and organisational life. William Halton's analysis (2004/2007) is of interest as one of the first attempts to do so. Importantly, his account also makes reference to anxiety. Drawing on a variety of psychoanalytic sources, he identified three strands of creativity (initiatory<sup>70</sup>,

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<sup>68</sup> Although the notion of anxiety is at the root of psychoanalytic explorations of the human condition, there is no integrated theory of anxiety in psychoanalysis, but an agreement that it is the core feature of many (if not all) psychological processes. It is broadly defined as an emotional warning signal of the presence of danger, derived from the infant's mental helplessness, which, according to Freud (1926), mirrors its biological helplessness. Thus, the characteristic features of anxiety are feelings of being overwhelmed, fear of annihilation and helplessness. Freud distinguished between automatic/primary anxiety and signal anxiety, where the function of the latter is to ensure that the former is never experienced, by employing the ego's defensive mechanisms. A number of different types of anxiety have been further identified: castration anxiety, separation anxiety, moral anxiety, realistic anxiety, depressive anxiety, paranoid anxiety and neurotic anxiety (Rycroft, 1968). However, this conception of anxiety might be limited, as its classification rests solely on the notions of degree and causation. What is possibly not taken into account is that anxiety can also take different forms and meanings depending on the context. In my view, it is this aspect of the notion of anxiety that needs further exploration in the context of creativity in business. Reframing anxiety in terms of the tension of opposites might take this exploration in an entirely different direction.

<sup>69</sup> Sublimation, an 'idea which Freud inherited from Nietzsche, involves the desexualisation of libido and its transformation into a creative, bonding or spiritual energy, re-oriented towards non-sexual aims, such as artistic, scientific or spiritual pursuits' (Gabriel, 1999/2004, p. 18). Anna Freud cited sublimation as one of the major psychic defence mechanisms (2011, p. 44).

<sup>70</sup> Initiatory creativity is linked to the paranoid-schizoid position, where the internal image of the mother is split into unrelated good and bad mothers. This form of creativity is present in organisational life in the form of idealisation and identification with new ideas and a dismissal of the constraints of existing realities. There are strong feelings of anxiety associated with the position of simultaneously seeing and not seeing, a feature that Halton attributes to charismatic leadership (Halton, 2004/2007, p. 107-109).

reparative<sup>71</sup> and evolutionary<sup>72</sup>), applicable to the organisational agenda, with each strand being linked to the three corresponding phases of early development (paranoid-schizoid, early stage of depressive position, later stage of depressive position).

The most explicit limitation of this account is that the three aspects of creativity in organisations are exclusively linked to different styles of leadership, rather than being explored within a wider organisational domain. A more tacit criticism is the lack of clarity regarding the position of anxiety in relation to creativity in organisations. Given the structure of the account (i.e. the correspondence between the developmental stages and stages of creativity), the account outlines the evolution of creativity. What appears to be missing is the evolution of anxiety: the account leaves a gap regarding the transition from anxiety during the first two developmental stages to – what could be called, but is not called so in Halton's account – the tension of opposites, characteristic of the third developmental stage and so crucial for evolutionary creativity.

The hypothesis is that in the concept of organisational/business creativity we encountered a form of creativity that does not lend itself easily to the psychoanalytic approach, which is based primarily on anxiety and defences. This may provide an important point of contact between the psychoanalytic and

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<sup>71</sup> Reparative creativity corresponds to attempts towards the depressive position, characterised by integration of opposing perspectives and emotions and accompanied by a different internal picture of the mother, one that is either in a damaged or repaired state. (This is in accordance with the views of Klein (1940) and other psychoanalytic writers (e.g. Segal, 1991).) Reparative creativity aims to transform the former into the latter by repairing the damage inflicted by aggression and is also associated with a great deal of anxiety due to guilt over one's own aggression. In the organisational context, this creativity aims at reparation of emotional damage inflicted in the process of work (Halton, 2004/2007, p. 109-111).

<sup>72</sup> Evolutionary creativity is driven by the need for further personal growth within the depressive position. (This is in accordance with the views of Klein (1963), Bion (1970) and Meltzer (1983).) This inner development finds its expression in openness to new experiences, the search for knowledge, active engagement with underdeveloped parts of the personality and a willingness to share in and stimulate potency and creativity in others. Halton cites Klein's (1963) assertion that the driving force behind this development is gratitude for the received and the wish to return it. Halton states that evolutionary creativity is essential for a constantly changing organisational environment. However, his organisational implications are cited around the leader, who, in assuming the role of the internal parental couple, is characteristic of the change process (Halton, 2004/2007, p. 111-118).

Jungian organisational approaches. It could be said that Jungian psychology incorporates the concept of creativity as its very essence: creativity is viewed as self-realisation (e.g. the theory of individuation). Analytical psychology does not refute the psychoanalytic understanding of anxiety, but, arguably, incorporates and goes beyond it in its conception of the tension of opposites.

It is also worth noting an element of what could be called mild pathologising in Halton's account. His account maps out three sources of creativity and anchors them in stages of early development. Unless creativity as self-realisation occurs in the most altruistic and enlightened manner, it should, in his account, be referred to as either paranoid-schizoid creativity or a creativity that stems from neurotic sources. Since the business world cannot claim to be altruistic, it is indeed rendered as pathological or at least dysfunctional by the standards of his account.

### *Conclusion*

To sum up, as the views of different psychoanalytic organisational theorists (Long, Sievers, Levine, Pelzer, Woollen and others) are presented, the second section of this critical literature review demonstrates the tendency of these commentators to cite the current business culture as pathological. It has been argued that this outcome is a result of non-familiarity with the business world and a biased approach to it as well as a substantial yet unjustified reliance on the 'as if' assumption, which leads to a too direct application of psychoanalytic theories to the business domain. Throughout both sections of the review, it has also been suggested that it is the absence of an adequate framework with which to analyse the business world that significantly contributes to the above-mentioned shortcomings of the psychoanalytic organisational approach. My thesis argues that the restoration of the archetypal background as a part of the depth psychological approach to business is an important step forward towards finding such a framework.

## Chapter 3

### Critical literature review: the Jungian organisational approach

#### *Introduction*

Compared to the large volume of psychoanalytic organisational literature, research that applies Jungian psychology to organisations is extremely scarce. This scarcity of material may suggest that the Jungian organisational approach exists thus far only *in potentia*. However, it could be argued that some of the current trends in organisational development (in particular, business dynamics with its urge to innovation) pose questions that fall well within the area of expertise of Jungian psychology. These questions include: What are the sources of creativity? How can we engage with these sources? How can we understand social processes, other than through the developmental framework? What is the place of the unconscious in the organisational setting? This literature review explores the current Jungian contributions to the organisational world as well as how Jungian psychology can be insightful and instructive in addressing many central organisational matters (in particular, the issue of creativity). I will start by examining the existing Jungian literature on organisations.<sup>73</sup> This will be accompanied by some commentary, which aims to account for the scarce engagement of Jungian psychology with the organisational world. I will conclude by pointing out some alternative perspectives, contained within analytical psychology, that can be used in its application to the organisational/business world.

#### *Current contributions*

Although the Jungian organisational approach is in its infancy, some aspects of Jungian theory have successfully found their way into the organisational world. Thus, Jung's typology<sup>74</sup> has been used to develop a number of organisational models, most notably the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), the

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<sup>73</sup> There are also some papers, which point out the relevance of analytical psychology to the field of organisational studies; however, because they are solely based on the direct application of key Jungian concepts to certain organisational cases (rather than proposing new ideas or ways of application), I will not be reviewing them here.

<sup>74</sup> Typology is a part of Jung's theory in which he distinguished two basic attitudes (extraversion and introversion) and four functions (thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition). Typology is a useful tool to explain why people experience themselves and the world around them in profoundly different ways (Jung, *CW6*).

world's most popular psychometric test. This test helps to bring to the conscious level individual strengths and weaknesses, which in turn allows for an opportunity to make better choices for growth and development. It is also instructive in interpreting group dynamics and in conflict resolution. Bente Thygesen (2000), for example, uses Jung's typology, and the MBTI in particular, to explore individuation from the group perspective. Much literature has been written for and against the use of the MBTI in organisational settings. For example, Benjamin Schneider (1987) argues that personality measures that require a fine-grade distinction should not be used in organisational settings. The test has also been criticised on structural grounds. For example, June Singer and Mary Loomis (1984a), Daniel Druckman and Robert Bjork (1991) and others have pointed out that the instability of its scores affects classification, thus rendering the test less useful than it is assumed to be. The SLIP (Singer-Loomis Inventory of Personality (Singer and Loomis, 1980/1983, 1984b)) was designed to improve this and other deficiencies, but as Richard Stuart (1989) points out, it has its own issues with unstable scores, as well as multiple concerns regarding its construct validity. Randall Ruppert and Aryeh Maidenbaum (1992) show that for MBTI results to be accurate, they need to be embedded in wider psychological analysis. Through case studies, they demonstrate that psychological types are dynamic and reflect not only preference, but also many other factors, such as circumstances, defences and the will to adapt and survive. On this basis, the authors point out the importance of the consultants' expertise in producing meaningful indicators. This account is important as it demonstrates not only the relevance and potential drawbacks of the MBTI for organisations, but also argues for the need to provide a wider psychological context (e.g. new organisational concepts and theories) and a deeper connection with existing organisational concepts for its effective functioning.

With the exception of the MBTI, Jungian psychology has contributed very little to organisational development. Arguably, one of the reasons for this is the spiritual dimension of analytical psychology. Spirituality makes up an important, if not the essential, part of original Jungian theory, in which the conception of the psyche included soul. More so, spirituality within the Jungian context not only stresses questions of meaning and teleological/finalistic orientation, but also conceives the answers to these questions from both the individual and collective perspectives. The theory of the collective unconscious inhabited by archetypes is an essential and unique part of Jungian psychology, which extends its search for meaning beyond individual ego consciousness and the personal unconscious. This spiritual dimension might at first glance suggest that Jungian psychology and organisations do not go well together. That is, it could be argued that while the psychoanalytic organisational approach is precise

and decisive (the ego, boundaries, primary task), Jungian theory does not speak the business language of practicality and efficiency.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that it is precisely this spiritual dimension with its intimate connection to meaning and creativity that makes Jungian psychology so valuable for the current organisational/business agenda. Analytical psychology sees human suffering as the result of meaning-making difficulties/disorders and the spiritual dimension is there to address these fundamental questions of meaning. Identifying and re-experiencing unmet infantile needs are not sufficient for the meaning-making process. As James Hillman points out, it may strengthen the psychic identity of those needs and breed a dependency culture where what was unmet becomes forever unmeetable<sup>75</sup> (Hillman and Ventura, 1992). As Dale Mathers puts it, a truly transformative experience additionally requires 'the free act of creative imagination, the capacity of the Self to form and use symbols instead of making symbolic equations' (2001, p. 247). Creativity is seen here as transformative because, through the self, it holds high potential to change internal structures as well as increasing awareness of the shadow and other unconscious energies and processes. Thus, Jungian psychology offers its own unique way of looking at creativity and meaning. This aspect of the theory could be utilised within the Jungian approach to organisations.

Currently, however, the spiritual dimension navigates Jungian thinking about the organisational life in a rather particular way. On the one hand, there is a tendency among those Jungians who venture into the organisational domain (e.g. Murray Stein, John Hollwitz, Arthur Colman) to view organisational development as synonymous/potentially synonymous with individuation and spiritual growth. The issue with this approach is that it might invite a too direct application of Jungian theories to organisations. On the other hand, as Richard Auger and Pauline Arneberg point out, there are many Jungians who disregard organisational life for being superficial: individuation is an introverted endeavour, during which a person faces their soul (usually in the process of analysis) (1992, p. 50). While my thesis is not concerned with reconciling this particular split within Jungian thought, it is worth pointing out that both positions require a thorough critical revisiting.

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<sup>75</sup> This point was addressed in the previous chapter within the context of psychoanalytic organisational approach to business.

Most of the accounts that I will now outline were written in the 1990s and are among the first attempts to approach organisational development from a Jungian perspective. While they deliver valuable outlines and sketches about the usefulness of Jungian psychology for organisations, they also indicate a great deal of uncertainty about the methodology of this application of Jungian theory and about what areas of organisational life the theory could address. It is also important to point out that little progress has been made since then.

Murray Stein's (1992) account argues for viewing organisational life as a spiritual practice. Characteristic of the Jungian tradition, his account draws on a myth that illustrates a situation from the psychological point of view: the organisational unconscious is compared to the spirit Mercurius, who has sprung from the bottle and appears threatening. The second encounter, however, allows for a more conscious dialogue with the unconscious. Stein points out the importance of working with the unconscious in every form in which it appears, as each form has meaning for a particular stage of development. In alchemy, he states, Jung found a useful way to discuss how to relate and contain the diverse manifestations of the unconscious in such a way as to promote individuation. Thus, through alchemical processes, such as the nigredo state (where the unconscious makes its first appearance as the shadow and draws psyche into the work) and unio mentalis (the separation of soul from body to create a union with spirit), Stein explains the phenomenon of participation mystique (unconscious identification/fusion), particularly characteristic of early stages of organisational involvement, during which there is a tendency to merge with the organisation, and symbolic death, which allows for a second birth (i.e. the birth of the symbolic attitude) and a more conscious engagement with organisational life. Stein's main argument is that the archetype is essential for an activity to have meaning, but it is consciousness that is required to contain the strong affects of archetypal presence, if that activity is to become symbolic.

Apart from demonstrating the relevance of the archetypal perspective for the organisational world, the particular value of this account is that it explains the dynamics of identification with archetypes or archetypal processes and how these dynamics apply to the organisational agenda. This application may suggest a unique way to look at the organisational world, namely through the concept of identification. Identifications, as pointed out in chapter 1, are inevitable occurrences due to the psyche's tendencies of splitting, picking and choosing. When we identify with certain archetypal energies/processes, we become the 'puppet[s] of the archetype' (Stein, 2016, p. 14). Stein's account, by combining archetypal,



group and individual psychologies, shows how these identifications, occurring within the powerful organisational unconscious, can simultaneously provide opportunities for individuation and be murderous.

Stein's account lies behind the inspiration for my thesis, in which identification with different archetypal energies plays an important role. It is particularly valuable for the current business environment, in which start-up culture is gaining in prominence and has already altered the ways in which traditional business models function (chapter 6). This culture is characterised by intense processes of transformation, innovation and creativity, which draw the psyche powerfully into the vortex of identifications. In his account, Stein gives an example of just how powerful the spirit of transformation can be.

Richard Auger and Pauline Arneberg (1992) explore the relationship between analytical psychology and organisational development. Thus, the authors consider whether, and if so in which respects, they are complementary (work as individuation and individuation as work), similar (change and transformation) and opposed (spirituality vs. philosophy of organisation). Their account delivers an inspiring verdict in which organisational life features as psyche's invitation to transformation. Yet, it does not bring about a convincing reconciliation between organisational life and Jungian psychology: their account appears too optimistic and biased, as it is not used as an opportunity to carefully examine the conflicts and contradictions between analytical psychology and organisational life. Bringing these conflicts into consciousness would, however, be as valuable as inspiration about the value of Jungian psychology to the study of organisations.

John Hollwitz (1992), in his exploration of the ways in which the psychological climate at work can be conceptualised, stresses the value of the archetypal perspective for organisational development. He suggests that the best Jungian contribution in this respect would be the development of an instructive measure to identify the 'archetypal climate' of an organisation and to predict the degree of fit between that organisation and an employee, as well as helping to articulate the process of individuation (ibid, p. 30). While Hollwitz cites some practical limitations of this project, such as the possibility of a clash with legal regulations due to discrimination, the psychological limitations of the approach are hardly mentioned. The most obvious limitation would be that archetypes, as concepts, represent highly unpredictable and uncontrollable phenomena, which makes it difficult to keep track of their changes, let

alone assemble an objective measure to assess them. Simplifications, however, are prone to distortions and misrepresentations. Arguably, a relatively successful conversion of typology into the MBTI serves as the inspiration behind such a project. However, more research is needed to revisit the possibilities of this particular use of the archetypal dimension of Jungian psychology in the organisational context.

Hollwitz's line of reasoning has resonated with a number of Jungians. Thus, Carol Pearson et al. have used Jung's theory of archetypes to build such organisational models as the Pearson-Marr Archetype Indicator and the Organisational and Team Culture Indicator (Pearson and Marr, 2002; Pearson and Hammer, 2004). John Corbett and Carol Pearson (2003) also make wider claims about building Jungian organisational theory based on this archetypal approach. Their theory begins with the authors equating the psyche of an organisation to the individual psyche, which allows them direct (yet simplistic and unjustified) access to almost all Jungian concepts. Thus, the organisational psyche has three main aspects: the collective unconscious, organisational unconscious (equivalent to the personal unconscious) and the archetype of organisation (equivalent to the self). It is suggested that the latter has a mandala-like structure at the core of which 'four great forces' come together in two sets of opposites: people and results, creative learning and stabilising. Each of these four life forces has three human forms. People energy, for example, is carried by the archetypal images of Everyperson, the Lover, and the Jester. It is largely in the application of these images that this version of Jungian organisational theory develops.

Corbett and Pearson's account makes an extensive and unapologetic use of the 'as if' assumption (which has been criticised in chapter 2). It ignores the complexity of the collective unconscious and instead archetypal constellations are treated as if they were hats of different colours in Edward De Bono's popular organisational technique<sup>76</sup>. There is also no justification given as to why certain organisational inner structures are presented in the way they are (e.g. the so called 'archetype of organisation' mentioned above). Their account claims to provide a 'systemic guide to understanding

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<sup>76</sup> Six Thinking Hats is a technique formulated by Edward de Bono (1985/2009), which is used to promote an effective thinking process. Thinking is separated into six functions/roles and identified with a corresponding symbolic 'hat' of a particular colour. Thus, wearing the white hat implies orientation towards strictly factual information; wearing the yellow hat refers to an optimistic approach and search for positives; wearing the red hat is about expressing one's emotions and sharing one's fears and hopes with others.

and working with organisations from a Jungian perspective'; however, given its many drastic simplifications and despite all its inspirations, it falls short of its stated goal.

Georgia Lepper (1992) ventures into another unique yet less explored area of Jungian thought. She argues that a complex is a dynamic process (as opposed to the more accepted view that it is an entity) and organising principle, which allows for a better understanding of the modern multidimensional system within the organisational context. She makes claims for a strong connection between Jung's view of the psyche as a dynamic system of relations and present-day systems theory: 'What was remarkable for Jung', Lepper writes, 'was not merely the existence of an entity called "the unconscious"; but rather the existence of a system which he called the collective and personal unconscious, out of which consciousness, with its particularly human characteristic, the quest for meaning, emerged' (ibid, p. 74). The complex, when traced in a particular way, offers the key insight into the meaning making process and evolution of consciousness. She argues that the emphases in such an application of Jung's theory to organisations would be on the psychoid<sup>77</sup> boundary and its role in the formation of a complex. The key to understanding these concepts is Jung's view on psychic splitting as a normal phenomenon that can be recognised in projections. Jung's presentation of the processes of splitting as essential psychic processes, where consciousness slides through the spectrum of levels between dissociation and differentiation (*CW8*, para. 252), allows this splitting to be viewed not simply as a negative force, to be avoided and escaped from at worst and contained at best, but as a complex source of psychological growth, meaning and creativity. This view of splitting suggests a revision of psychoid processes as well as the notion of boundaries.<sup>78</sup> Lepper suggests that the exploration of 'complex-constellations' and the consequent 'struggle with difference' (with its 'slide between potential forms of dissociation and differentiation') allow the notion of boundary and its central role in systems theory to be connected with the evolution of meaning and consciousness within the human system (1992, p. 86).

Although the aim of Lepper's account is to suggest the use of Jungian psychology – in particular, the theory of complexes – in the organisational domain, it is nonetheless possible to state that parallels with

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<sup>77</sup> Psychoid is an 'adjective referring to the boundaries of the psyche, one of which interfaces with the body and the physical world and the other with the realm of "spirit"' (Stein, 1998/2009, p. 234).

<sup>78</sup> This view on spitting and projecting contrasts sharply with that of many psychoanalytic organisational theorists (e.g. Long (2008, 2013)), whose accounts were discussed in chapter 2.

psychoanalytic organisational theory could have strengthened its validity and grounded it more firmly within the field's context. In particular, drawing parallels and finding common ground with the psychoanalytic theory of institutionalised splitting and defences (Menzies Lyth, 1988) and its vision of boundaries might have invited a stimulating dialogue with the psychoanalytic organisational approach or at least clarified the directions that the Jungian approach could take in its further explorations of complex constellation within the organisational domain.

Lepper's line of reasoning has not been picked up in the organisational context so far; however, the notion of complex remains a promising proposition for its application within different domains. It is often stated that Jungians have not taken full advantage of Jung's original views on complexes (Singer and Kaplinsky, 2010, pp. 24-25). While the use of complexes remains unclear, we can distinguish two current ways of thinking about them: the complex as a dynamic system and organising principle capable of producing meaning and stimulating the evolution of consciousness within the organisational context; and the complex as a psychological entity characteristic of the individual as well as the group/collective domain. Lepper's account could be seen as developing the first strand of this thinking. Joseph Henderson's (1990, pp. 102-113) elaboration of the cultural complex, on the other hand, marked the start of the exploration of complexes within the group psyche as well as within the individual at the group level of their psyche. Although his work and the work of those who followed him on this path (Singer, Kaplinsky and Kimbles) need further development, they – together with Lepper's propositions – could serve as a good starting point for exploring the group unconscious, the emergence of group consciousness and the role of group complexes in these processes. The fact that these strands of thinking are not mutually exclusive but can, rather, be seen as complementary provides yet another mode of exploration of this topic within organisational dynamics.

Arthur Colman (1992) explores the concept of collective development and in particular the concept of individuation in the collective. In addressing the issue of the shadow and scapegoating as the main feature of individuation, he shows that the common reason for such a dynamic is the fear of confronting real and imagined differences. Kaj Noschis (1992) further deepens the organisational understanding of the importance of shadow work. In his case study, he explores two Jungian concepts in the workplace – typology and shadow – to support the view that Jungian ideas are highly relevant for organisational functioning. Arguably, the main limitation of both accounts is that they do not take their exploration beyond the concept of shadow work, which is considered to be only the first, albeit an important, step in

development. Shadow work (at the stage presented in these accounts) fails to provide a unique Jungian contribution to the study of organisations as this aspect of organisational life – in its many disguises – has already been accepted and well explored within the field. Authors, however, make no reference to the vast psychoanalytic literature on this topic and as such it remains unclear how the Jungian methodology in relation to shadow work practically (rather than theoretically) differs from the psychoanalytic one. Arguably, specifying and exploring other stages of the individuation process (e.g. transformation), as well as contrasting and emphasising the difference from psychoanalytic shadow work, would have made the accounts more relevant.

Mia Nijsmans (1992) challenges two main paradigms of organisational ‘reality’ that decision-making and information processing are rationally connected and that effectiveness is goal achievement. Her own data suggest the hypothesis that information is seen as a symbol. In that sense, her work resembles Menzies Lyth’s work on social defences, as well as echoing the psychoanalytic discourse on the primary task. Her further proposition is that new-wave approaches, such as that of Weick (1977), although being incoherent and disjointed, may more accurately resemble the actual nature of the organisation. An interesting feature of Nijsmans’ thesis (which is reminiscent of Weick’s approach) is that she tries to account for the phenomenon as it is happening within the organisational context, without applying in any way the ‘this is how it ought to be’ criterion. The main criticism of her work, as with the accounts above, is that it does not take notice of developments on the psychoanalytic side with the consequence that her account is not adequately situated within the context of the current state of organisational development. While connecting her account with the work of Menzies Lyth and other psychoanalysts on social defences is one missed opportunity, another is locating the insights within the psychoanalytic discourse on the sophisticated use of basic assumptions.

Edwin Olson (1992) states that when a sudden shift in the group occurs, which allows for conflict resolution, it is the result of the operation of the transcendent function in the psyches of its members and points to the significance of emergence of a new way of understanding which integrates the major split in the group. The importance of this account is that it raises the issue of organisational consultants performing the function of the transcendent function in helping to sustain the tension necessary for the dialogue to continue; however, this line of reasoning is not followed through to suggest some possible shifts in the role and function of consultants from the Jungian perspective.

It is worth pointing out here that the transcendent function embodies rather high hopes on the part of Jungians interested in the development of Jungian organisational theory. Jung himself considered the function as the most important factor in psychological processes. He describes it as 'a manifestation of the energy that springs from the tension of opposites' and 'consists in a series of fantasy-occurrences which appear spontaneously in dreams and visions' (CW7, para. 121). Thus, in this symbolic form, as Samuels et al. (1986) write of it, the function 'enables thesis and antithesis to encounter one another on equal terms'. However, it is important to outline the limitations of the concept in its application to social phenomena, such as organisational dynamics. Thus, in his paper on the transcendent function in politics, Samuels (2010), particularly stressing the difficulty of the above 'on equal terms' condition, argues that the transcendent function is a poor explanatory tool for the analysis of social occurrences.

Medora Perlman (1992), in taking into account the developments on the psychoanalytic organisational side, makes suggestions regarding how Jungian psychology can contribute to the understanding of group psychic life. She challenges some psychoanalytic organisational concepts and theories with Jungian insights by questioning the assumptions behind Bion and his followers' powerful portrayal of the pathology of unconscious group dynamics. She suggests that the patriarchal perspective dictates that selfhood requires separation and that this is how heroism and matricide become closely linked in our cultural imagination. Selfhood thus values 'consciousness over the unconscious, order over chaos, individuality rather than the collective, one god rather than many, one way of seeing things rather than a plurality' (ibid, p.181). Perlman points out that this is in spite of the existence of other theories that argue for the 'self-in-relationship' model of development. The outcomes are that feminine aspects are repressed and the view (even if unconscious) that only the individual holds creative potential, not the group, predominates. Given that repressed unconscious material has a tendency to reappear in a threatening destructive form, it is less of a surprise that it is the image of the negative mother that psychoanalytic theory finds in group regressive states. In that sense, Bion and his followers' techniques only perpetuate what they are trying to explain and cure (and arguably uphold the status quo when the situation might be inviting another more evolved perspective).

Perlman suggests how some Jungian perspectives could be useful in producing an alternative perspective. Thus, Nathan Schwartz-Salant's (1989) account of the borderline personality, which combines Jungian and Kleinian insights (in particular, Klein's insights into the processes of projective identification and Jung's insights on the transference), might be relevant in a revisioning of Bion's

theory. His account is relevant for group dynamics because the borderline person is defined as someone who has failed to negotiate the paranoid-schizoid state of infant development (according to Klein), which is also the state to which the group regresses.

Schwartz-Salant argues that the imaginal field that becomes available to the patient and therapist through the mechanism of projective identification transcends ego boundaries and allows for connection with the world of archetypes, which is seen as the source of psychic renewal and healing (1989, pp. 131-142). He describes this field as a transitional area between the space-time world (where processes are characterised as an interaction of objects) and the collective unconscious with its key feature of relatedness. His argument is that it is in this field, which is alive and dynamic, that deep changes take place. Being in this field, however, requires a strong transcendent function. Arguably, the question of how this realm is to be upheld in the organisational context is not adequately followed in Perlman's account.

Perlman's account emphasises the importance of the presence of the good mother imaginary in group interaction, which while not being able to remove the regressive states, can mediate and contain them for the benefit of group members. She suggests that the containing aspect of the good mother can be carried either by the leader or the group members themselves. Her line of reasoning could, however, be applied to the role of organisational consultants, who can stand for 'conditions of safety' (as opposed to the 'conditions of scarcity' characteristic of the bad mother) by not intruding into the group's processes yet not abandoning its members.

#### *Other possible contributions*

Other significant Jungian/post-Jungian contributions can also be successfully employed in the Jungian organisational approach, even if they claim to address other areas of social life. Thus, the work of Andrew Samuels in the field of politics (or more precisely, in the field between psychic and socio-political realities) is of particular relevance. First, his notion of 'craft spirituality'<sup>79</sup> (2002, pp. 126-127) may provide an interesting point of contact between analytical psychology and the business world

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<sup>79</sup> Craft spirituality 'locates holiness in the artificiality of the made world, the manufactured world – the atelier or even factory' (Samuels, 2002, p. 126). It suggests that holiness can be found in the diversity of creative soul-engaging acts.

(particularly, start-up culture). It could be suggested that through creativity, spirituality is finding its way into such apparently non-spiritual places as glass and metal skyscrapers. It could also be argued that modern-day Silicon Valley entrepreneurs embody Bezaleel consciousness<sup>80</sup>, which contrasts sharply with meaningless and alienating modes of work. For example, Steve Jobs and his iPhones could be viewed as a modern day Bezaleel and his portable tabernacle. As Samuels points out, 'idolatry lurks as the shadow of craft spirituality, but only things of substance cast a shadow' (ibid, p. 127).

Secondly, in his other work, he elaborates a criticism of what he terms the 'object relations consensus' (a synthesis of ideas built around the theorising of Winnicott on the one hand and Klein on the other) as a base for social analysis as opposed to analysis based on individuals and small groups (1993, pp. 267-287). Thus, he identifies such issues as problematic dichotomy (society's innate aspects vs. environmental factors), difficulties with the developmental framework (e.g. the search for a psychologically fundamental relationship) as well as biases towards diachrony, causality, complementarity and wholeness. This is important because it challenges what appears to be the current depth psychological perspective on social matters, invites considerations on collective aspects of psychological functioning, as well as gives way to some potential Jungian contributions in this area.

Thirdly, Samuels' thoughts on Jung's conceptualisation of the trickster (ibid, pp. 78-103) can be helpful in integrating the archetype into the depth psychological discourse on business and shifting the emphasis from the current dominating view of pathology to a more open enquiry. Samuels argues that what is needed to raise levels of consciousness regarding the market economy is to overcome the still characteristic 'schizoid tendencies to make an either/or split between positive and negative assessments', as well as our temptation toward harmonious synthesis (ibid, p. 89). In his reworking of the myth of Hermes, Hermes, standing on the boundary between our psychic reality and social reality as represented by the market economy, is both deceitful and even criminal, as well as constructive and transformative.

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<sup>80</sup> Bezaleel consciousness could be defined as the essence of craft spirituality. The term is inspired by Bezaleel, who, following God's detailed instructions, built the Ark of the Covenant, the 'portable sanctuary, symbol of holy manufacture' (Samuels, 2002, p. 126).



### *Conclusion*

In reviewing the Jungian organisational literature, a number of observations accumulate. Arguably, the most important are centred on *ways* in which Jungian theories are to be applied to organisations and on the potential areas of expertise. As for the first concern, there is a tendency to use the 'as if' assumption, which leads to a too direct application of the theories and often results in a self-serving and biased approach. Furthermore, the archetypal dimension of Jungian theory, as well as the theory of complexes, remains a largely unexplored area within the Jungian-oriented organisational approach. As has been pointed out in this chapter, the archetypal dimension may suggest unique ways in which Jungian theory could be applied to social phenomena. For example, the business domain could be explored from the perspective of archetypal identifications. This would provide an interesting novel alternative/complementary approach to the currently employed developmental framework. Stein's account, as outlined above, demonstrates the possibility of this approach. Samuels' elaboration of the Jungian concept of the trickster may point out the dominant identifications of the business domain, thus shifting the emphasis from greed and pathology to a more balanced discussion, which also includes creativity and the Hermesian love of trickery. As for the second concern, it often remains unclear which areas of organisational life an account wishes to or could address. For example, with the growing importance of start-up culture, the concept of creativity in business may provide an important point of contact between Jungian psychology and the business world. Given that analytical psychology embodies creativity as its very essence, its contribution to depth organisational theory holds remarkable potential.

Another observation is that many Jungians venturing into the organisational field tend to take little notice of developments on the psychoanalytic side in their attempts to demonstrate the relevance of Jungian thought in this field. Most of the accounts listed in this review were written in the 1990s, but even at that time they were sufficiently lagging behind their psychoanalytic counterparts. It is also remarkable how little progress has been made since then in this area of Jungian thought. Arguably, given the substantial common ground, it could have been difficult for the latter to develop independently of the well-established psychoanalytic organisational theory. Over the last decade, however, there has been a notable tendency among Jungians to make increasing use of psychoanalytic insights, which suggests less anxiety over identity and invites opportunities for healthy cooperation

(Stein, 2010, p. xi). Such cooperation could be particularly beneficial for the current high-paced, increasingly dominating and largely uncontrollable business environment.

## Chapter 4

### Exploring the concept of business creativity

#### *Introduction*

The aim of this chapter is to explore the concept of 'business creativity' as well as to outline reasons for the confusion surrounding it, particularly within the depth psychological approach to organisations and business. I will start by outlining major developments in the concept of creativity, pointing out the unresponsive stance that depth psychological thinking has taken to these changes. Developing my exploration, I will emphasise business as a separate and unique domain, in which creativity has its own meaning. I will particularly devote space to the question of whether aesthetics is paramount to creativity. As is evident from the literature, this issue remains tangled in our cultural understanding and is responsible for the notion that business creativity remains undeveloped. I will then suggest an alternative to the aesthetics-based perspective of creativity. As the overall aim of my thesis is to show the relevance/significance of the archetypal background in analysing the business world and how the business world is creative, I will argue for the relevance of the mythical figure of Hermes as a symbol of business creativity. The next chapter then supports my argument with a detailed analysis of the myth of Hermes. Although the concept of anima will be explored only later in chapter 6, it will be suggested at the end of this chapter that Hermes the trickster performs the role of the anima in the business world.

#### *Evolution in the cultural perception of creativity*

Creativity could be defined as the emergence and formulation of new and original ideas. Such a generous overview of the concept seems impractical in its obscuring of real life complexities; however, more specific definitions distract from alternative, and equally important, ways of looking at the concept. Thus, any single definition of creativity is either too general or too specific, a situation that renders the term indefinable. From the Jungian perspective, this suggests that creativity is not a sign, but a symbol<sup>81</sup>. Arguably, many researchers in creativity have recognised the indefinability of the term

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<sup>81</sup> While signs can be explained causally, symbols are projections of unconscious contents of the psyche and as such can have many meanings, which differ in view of individual perceptions. The difference between a sign and a symbol is of particular importance for Jungian psychology. According to Jung, a symbol 'always presupposes that the chosen expression is the best possible

and changed the focus of their investigations into the concept from questions of what creativity is to where it can be found (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996/2013).<sup>82</sup>

From the diverse approaches to creativity attempted over time, it is possible to observe a pattern in the evolution of thinking about the term. Early definitions of creativity, as Irving Taylor, researcher in creativity, points out, were 'unitary in nature': their emphasis was on the creative process, restricted to the artistic domain, and on the 'origins of creativity such as vitalism, nativism, empiricism, emergentism, serendipity, romanticism' or personal and interpersonal relations (1975/2009, p. 2). This way of thinking about creativity, with its diversity, is intuitively appealing, and this explains why it remains a common perspective. The essence of this view is that creativity comes from somewhere 'deep inside' an individual. The depth psychological perspective on creativity largely adheres to this view (to be discussed shortly).

Joy Paul Guilford's 1950-presidential address to the American Psychological Association is often cited as an important reference point for the occurrence of a change in cultural perceptions of creativity. The address began as follows: 'I discuss the subject of creativity with considerable hesitation, for it represents an area in which psychologists generally, whether they be angels or not, have feared to tread' (1950, p. 444). In his speech, he claimed that creativity was no longer the domain of artists but had spread into other areas and had wider implications, which made it a quintessential skill necessary for modern living. Guilford argued for the urgent need to tap into this highly promising area of human activity. Indeed, since the 1950s, this field of research has blossomed.

At the same time, various commentators began to emphasise, to varying degrees, three important elements in their definitions of creativity. First, the final product of the creative process, as well as its relevance for a particular area of human activity and for the culture in general, was featured as essential in defining creativity. Henry Murray, personality psychologist, defined creativity as a process, which results in a new and valuable product (1959, p. 99). Morris I. Stein, another expert, defined it as 'that

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description or formulation of a relatively unknown fact, which is none the less known to exist or is postulated as existing' (*CW6*, para. 814).

<sup>82</sup> This view is also congruent with the post-modern paradigm with its denial of a single metaphysical centre, insistence on fragmentation of meaning and emphasis on perspectives within a certain context.

process which results in a novel work that is accepted as tenable or useful or satisfying by a group at some point in time' (1956, p. 172). The issue of acceptance thus became a key feature in the search for the creativity equation. However, it soon became clear that rather than clarifying the issue, the approach added its own unknowns. It introduced aspects of randomness: inclusion in the domain may or may not happen by chance, perseverance, the stupidity of the field experts or for any other reason. It also added relativity to the mix (one can only be creative in relation to another or to the existing norms), as well as cross-cultural and diachronic differences (Cropley and Cropley, 2015, p. 86). With this development, it became clear once more that there could be no absolute definition of creativity.

Second, emphasis was placed on the interaction between person and environment as the source of creativity. Carl Rogers, humanistic psychologist, wrote of this as the 'emergence in action of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and the materials, events, people, or circumstances of his life on the other' (1959, p. 71). Psychologist Ellis Torrance saw creativity 'as the process of sensing gaps or disturbing, missing elements; forming ideas or hypotheses concerning them; testing these hypotheses; and communicating the results, perhaps modifying and retesting the hypotheses' (1962, p. 16). Synectics (Gordon, 1961), a method for developing creativity, defines it as the mental activity involved in problem-stating and problem-solving situations within particular environments and emphasises the emotional and irrational components of creative behaviour.

The third development, which also began in the mid-1950s and has continued into our time, is different ways of distinguishing between popular creativity (epitomised by the slogan 'everyone is creative' and its attendant implication that 'creativity can be taught') and creativity with a capital 'C' (applicable to those whose contributions are deemed progressive and culturally significant). Some researchers (e.g. Guilford, 1967) have approached creativity as a quantitative enquiry, viewing it as innate and qualitatively undifferentiated. Others (e.g. Ghiselin, 1963) have postulated a qualitative enquiry, distinguishing between those who practice creativity and the general population. The distinction between popular creativity and creativity with a capital 'C' has conventionally been

maintained by equating the former with personal creativity, while necessarily attaching the latter to the notion of the field or wider cultural acceptance.<sup>83</sup>

All three developments ran in parallel: in times when creativity has spread over many spheres of human activity and anyone can claim to be creative in one way or another (more so given the advances and affordability of education post-1950/60s), the ability to prove one's claims to creativity has become the defining requirement. These important developments were to varying degrees further elaborated as well as popularised in subsequent years, but it is possible to say that the roots of our current conceptualisation of creativity have stemmed from a mixture of those developments.

A systemic approach to creativity, which incorporates the above developments, is Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's Systems Model of Creativity (1996/2013).<sup>84</sup> (I use this example because, as we shall see further, it is particularly useful for the notion of business creativity.) He proposes that creativity can be observed in the interactions of a system made up of three main parts. The first part is the domain, which is a set of symbolic rules and procedures.<sup>85</sup> The second part is the field, which stands for all the individuals who act as gatekeepers to a domain. Their task is to decide whether a new idea or product is a valuable contribution to their domain. The third part is the individual and his abilities. In Csikszentmihalyi's own words: 'Creativity occurs when a person, using the symbols of a given domain, such as music, engineering or business, has a new idea or sees a new pattern, and when this novelty is selected by the appropriate field for inclusion into the relevant domain' (1996/2013, p. 28). If a certain division within a domain becomes complex enough to exhibit its own set of symbolic rules, a new domain may come into existence (Freud and psychoanalysis; Jung and analytical psychology).

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<sup>83</sup> In the words of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi: 'We call a physicist creative if he or she changes the way physics is practiced; a person who can change his or her own life we call personally creative' (1996/2013, p. 370).

<sup>84</sup> Csikszentmihalyi's elaborate account culminates 30 years of his research into the subject of creativity. It is important to note that his research does not go into the issue of business creativity: business people comprise only a tiny fraction of his sample (6 out of 91, to be precise).

<sup>85</sup> Culture, being an accumulation of symbolic knowledge shared by a particular society, consists of these domains. Mathematics, business and literature are examples of such domains.

There are several implications that are particularly important for my enquiry into business creativity, which follow from this way of looking at the issue. First, Csikszentmihalyi's account stresses that each domain, having its own symbolic set of rules and procedures, influences not only the creative process and its final product, but also what being creative means in this context. Thus, we cannot understand what creativity means unless we understand how it is applied in a given domain. This account points out the uniqueness of a domain's creativity. To press this point firmly into the context of my enquiry, it is how creativity manifests itself and/or is used in business that allows us to talk about business creativity.

Second, one condition appears to be quintessential for creativity to appear: the complexity of a domain. It is the complexity of business life (as opposed to the broader organisational life, of which the former is a part), which allows us to talk about business creativity. Given the ever-increasing complexity of the 21<sup>st</sup> century business world (fuelled by the can-do attitude not of the few but of the many), it is no wonder that creativity has become a buzzword in this domain.

To conclude this section, the above developments in the perception of creativity emphasise that it has spread across various domains and that the environmental factors in each domain have a significant influence on what it means to be creative. This reemphasis removes earlier homogeneous notions of creativity and instead allows us to talk about different types of creativity: artistic creativity, business creativity and scientific creativity. Nonetheless, studies of creativity in the arts still significantly outweigh and influence those in other areas. The preconception that creativity is mainly found in the arts still dominates our perception. While the business literature is booming with accounts of the relevance of creativity and innovation, psychological research on business creativity remains extremely rare. This is surprising, as many diverse research studies have pointed out the immense influence of business on our lives.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ken Robinson (2001/2011), for example, outlines the links between economy/business and the content of the educational curriculum (the choice of subjects is determined by the needs of the economy). His main argument is that the skill most needed by the economy is creative thinking, yet art subjects that help to develop and promote creativity, which in turn can later be used in other domains, are pushed down the curriculum as less relevant. The immediate weakness of his argument is that creative thinking does not necessarily stem from art subjects themselves, but it is possible to teach 'non-artistic' subjects, such as chemistry, physics or mathematics, in a creative way. Arguably, the issue of how to teach is equally important, if not more important, than what to

*Business creativity within the organisational framework*

The conceptual framework for creativity in the organisational world has become centred on the proposition of the Four Ps of creativity: 1) product (the result of the creative process); 2) process (ways of thinking that resulted in the product); 3) person (the inner resources of an individual); 4) press (environmental influences) (Barron, 1955; Rhodes, 1961). Various commentators have presented their versions of this model (e.g. the Six Ps variant deconstructs the person-component into three elements: personal characteristics, personal motivation and personal feelings (Cropley and Cropley, 2015)). The organisational context particularly emphasises that creativity is not sufficient on its own and that it is the usefulness of the final product that is paramount (Horenstein, 2002; Silvia, 2008; Runco and Jaeger, 2012). Some commentators distinguish between the 'aesthetic salience' (characteristic of the artistic, philosophical and literary domains) and 'meritocratic salience' (found in the scientific, technological and business domains) (Yue, Bender and Cheung, 2011, p. 26). The validity of this is questionable, but for our purposes it is worth noting that, since in commercial organisations usefulness implies profitability, the products of the business domain are creative when they display not only 'meritorious salience' but also 'commercially meritorious salience' (Cropley and Cropley, 2015, p. 24). The product has to pass not only performance measures, but also measures of customer satisfaction (Kim and Han, 2008). Recently, attempts have been made to create a scale for such measurements. For example, the Creative Solution Diagnosis Scale (CSDS) claimed to offer a conceptual systemic analysis of the creative commercial potential of products (Cropley, Kaufman and Cropley, 2011). Although it would seem impossible to measure creativity in business, these attempts provide a useful terminology for communicating the strengths and weaknesses of a product, as well as adding value to a conceptual framework on the basis of which the concept of business creativity, as differentiated from creativity in other domains, can be analysed.

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teach (as the examples of TED speakers, such as Mae Jemison (2009), Tyler DeWitt (2013) and Simon Peyton Jones (2014), indicate).



*Depth psychology's view on creativity*

The depth psychological perspective on creativity is largely (and stubbornly) consistent with the early definitions of the term, rather than subsequent developments. As noted earlier, the essence of this view is that it perceives creativity as coming from somewhere 'deep inside' an individual. The question that this chapter asks is whether such an outlook is appropriate for a business-oriented depth psychological perspective.

Depth psychology understands creativity in terms of meaning, rather than inventiveness, originality or novelty. Jungian analyst Rosemary Gordon points out that since artistic expressions have been considered the main residence of creativity, 'the little we know about the nature of the creative process we owe to the self-examination, introspective work and studies of artists' (2000, p. 73). Thus, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, more research on creativity in various domains and contexts is needed in order to better understand its nature.

Psychoanalytic-oriented perspectives approach this search for meaning in relation to creativity within a developmental framework. For example, in her study of creative women authors, Susan Kavalier-Adler (2000) looks at the creative process through the prism of developmental limitations, as defined by the object relations within an artist's psyche. She distinguishes between the pre-Oedipally arrested level of psychic development (Emily Dickinson, Emily Bronte, Edith Sitwell) and Oedipal (Charlotte Bronte), arguing that unless an artist has reached the latter and is thus equipped with the inner structure characteristic of Melanie Klein's depressive position (i.e. differentiation of self and object), the absence of an affective encounter with others, mourning and consequently self-reparative integration results in creative processes being used as transitional objects in the psyche (i.e. creativity as a form of obsession and compulsive madness, rather than self-reparation). Generally speaking, psychoanalytic approaches adopt a rather cautious stance towards creativity, viewing it as coming from largely disturbed psychic sources. This, as chapter 2 has outlined, may explain the scarcity of psychoanalytic literature on organisational creativity and business creativity in particular, and, given its theoretical tools, the psychoanalytic organisational approach may lack resources for further contributions. More so, as we saw in chapter 2, there is a formidable tendency to approach the business domain with its characteristic disruptive dynamics as pathological rather than creative.

Jungian psychology is known for its positive view of creativity (chapters 1 and 3). While not denying the value of the developmental theories, creativity is seen as a key component of self-realisation and individuation. However, given its introverted nature and its tendency to view organisational/business development as the projection of the self, Jungian psychology tends to view the business domain as pseudo-creative. Nevertheless, there is another angle characteristic of Jungian psychology, which appears to have been overlooked and which may lead to a different conclusion. For analytical psychology, creativity does not simply happen as a result of an artist unconsciously playing out his personal drama; rather, the creative impulse is a manifestation of the collective unconscious (however the latter chooses to present it) and an intrinsic part of the self. In sharp contrast to the psychoanalytic reductionist approach, Jung asserts: 'It is not Goethe that created Faust, but Faust that created Goethe. And what is Faust? Faust is essentially a symbol. By this I do not mean that it is an allegory pointing to something all too familiar, but the expression of something profoundly alive in the soul of every German, which Goethe helped to bring to birth' (*CW15*, para. 159). Tjeu van den Berk expresses this view as follows: 'If there is one central idea in Jung's perspective on art, it is the more or less complete autonomy of a work of art' (2012, p. xvii), emphasising that art, or creativity in general, is not a sublimated sexual drive nor a personal or social neurosis, but a thing in itself. Elsewhere, Jung stated: 'Perhaps, art has no "meaning" ... Perhaps, it is like nature, which simply *is* and "means" nothing beyond that' (*CW15*, para. 121)<sup>87</sup>. Although Jung's original theory planted seeds for a less personal and more 'collective' understanding of creativity, in most Jungian literature, creativity is seen as an individual endeavour closely linked to the individuation process (Schaverien, 1991; Gordon, 1993; Dougherty, 2010). Thus, Jung's view that creativity comes from the collective unconscious has been given relatively little attention and has only been marginally utilised within applications of Jungian theory. It has not been applied to the exploration of the organisational world let alone the business one.

What are the implications of the view that creativity comes from a source deep in our collective unconscious? One answer is that creativity would be more closely linked to a wider context (a domain as the creation of the collective unconscious) rather than to personal or group attributes. More attention would be paid to the nature of a domain and to what it means to be creative within a domain. Contrary to the psychoanalytically oriented view of business, rather than viewing the latter (at best) as

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<sup>87</sup> Jung outlines that what we call 'meaning' is the result of our cognitive understanding of this phenomenon, which becomes possible if we detach ourselves from the creative process in such a way that the latter becomes an image, which is accessible to our comprehension (*CW15*, para. 121).

a 'container' of a sort, in which our personal – and predominantly negative – idiosyncrasies (such as greed, competitiveness or unrelatedness) are given 'free rein', a neutral and far more inclusive stand would be required (business as 'nature, which simply *is* and "means" nothing beyond that'). This view allows for the possibility of seeing the business domain as creative, while the domain's disruptive tricksterish nature serves as evidence for this argument (rather than being a sign of neuroticism, a borderline condition or any other 'pathological illness').

#### *Characteristics of the business domain*

To understand what it means to be creative in business, we first need to look at the business domain and how it functions. There are many definitions of business, each highlighting various aspects. James Stephenson defines it simply as 'economic activities performed for earning profits' (as cited in Fernando, 2011, p. 33). Business thinker Lyndall Urwick's definition states: 'Business is any enterprise which makes, distributes or provides any article or service which the other members of the community need and are able and willing to pay for' (as cited in Hiriyaappa, 2008, p. 4), while B. O. Wheeler views business as an 'institution organised and operated to provide goods and services to society under the incentive of private gain' (ibid).

Profit is central to the business agenda. First, it provides the necessary incentive to start an enterprise and rewards risk-taking. Changes in customer tastes and fashions, competition, government policies, environmental conditions and trade cycles create an uncertain and uncontrollable business environment. Profit is also essential for growth and expansion. To survive and thrive, a business needs to explore new opportunities in the existing markets as well as to create/find new markets. This makes business an important catalyst for creativity, innovation, dynamism and change. It is in constant search of new ideas, more efficient resources and refined techniques (Handy, 2002). Profits also serve as a measure of business performance: higher profits strengthen the bargaining capabilities and credit worthiness of business.

However, as Urwick notes, 'earning of profits cannot be the objective of a business any more than eating is the objective of living' (as cited in Singh and Gupta, 2016, p. 136). There are other objectives a business should follow, such as social or national objectives (e.g. profits cannot be made at the expense of employees, community or nation). The main justification for business is an economic one: it enables

society's material needs and wants to be satisfied more effectively. It provides efficiency by carrying products from a place of surplus to one of scarcity. It also provides stability by establishing a continuity of transactions. In management and business expert Peter Drucker's view: 'There is only one valid definition of business purpose: to create a customer. The customer is the foundation of business and keeps it in existence (...) It is to supply the customer that society entrusts wealth-producing resources to a business enterprise' (as cited in Stern, 2011). Thus, the creation and satisfaction of customers is the key business objective, which *in turn* allows businesses to earn a profit. It is the tension between the profit motive and social responsibilities that attracts most controversy. Another way to summarise this tension is to view it as the conflict between competition and cooperation.<sup>88</sup> Arguably, it is in this area of intense and immediate tension that the meaning of what it is to be creative in the business domain manifests.

Here, we might point out the relevance of Csikszentmihalyi's model. The way in which the three different components of the system (domain, field and personal creative attributes) interact is unique for business. The complexity of the domain comes from the three main factors: limited resources, intense competition and high levels of interdependency. The business domain has its own way of defining recognition, rewards and success. It is characterised by the notion of field experts, which is specific to this domain; namely, the actual results, weighted against concrete goals and measured in definitive terms being firmly tied to profit numbers (whether in the present or future).

These combinations of the system's components determine the rules of competition and cooperation in the business domain and consequently creativity. Various game theory<sup>89</sup> strategies (such as the prisoner's dilemma, Cournot competition, centipede game, deadlock and zero-sum game), the incumbents' dilemmas and other forms of strategic interaction – all define and challenge what it means to be creative. In its application to the business world, Csikszentmihalyi's model captures the ability to be attuned to the reality/realities of the present situation (complexity of the domain) and on making the

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<sup>88</sup> It is important to note that businesses are not only involved in some sort of competition with their rivals, but also with their customers (e.g. will the money go into savings or consumption?) as well as governments/central banks (e.g. interest rates contribute to the decision to consume or to save). Similar logic applies to cooperation.

<sup>89</sup> Game theory is 'the study of human conflict and cooperation within a competitive situation. In some respects, game theory is the science of strategy, or at least the optimal decision-making of independent and competing actors in a strategic setting' (Investopedia, n.d.).

idea work (acceptance into the domain by field experts) in the definition of creativity. For this reason, business creativity often involves finding practically better ways of achieving certain goals as well as inventing something new. Thus, business creativity could be defined as the ability to read current patterns correctly and produce that which others will consciously or unconsciously need or want (including the manufacturing of needs/wants for certain products by playing on people's psychological follies and insecurities), for the purpose of monetary exchange. Thus, business creativity is not about personal self-realisation and expression. In business, for an idea to be creative, it has to be produced and bring profit; it has to be able to both compete and cooperate.<sup>90</sup>

The example of start-ups illuminates the above point. There have been many alternative ideas to Facebook, which have inspired many start-ups. Some of these alternatives might even be considered

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<sup>90</sup> In its application to other domains, for example, to the artistic domain, Csikszentmihalyi's model may feel intuitively unappealing. Csikszentmihalyi points out that it leads us to make some dubious statements such as that Raphael was creative in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries but not in between (1996/2013, p. 29). At the core of this intuitive discomfort is not only the clear-cut distinction between personal creativity and public acceptance, but also the preference that the model assigns to the latter. The boundaries at which the two notions of personal creativity and public acceptance meet indeed appear to be a grey area of unsettling ambiguity.

Another way to read Csikszentmihalyi's account is to say that Raphael was too creative for certain historical times, which resulted in him not being recognised during those periods, yet being successfully rediscovered later. This way of settling the issue feels more intuitively and logically appealing. It is this difference between the two alternative readings that I am trying to emphasise, as it also singles out the important difference between the requirements of creativity within the business domain and those of other domains, such as art or science. Thus, for example, it may seem a perfectly legitimate statement (at least, for a Jungian) to say that Jung was creatively ahead of his time: he ventured deeper into the territory of the psyche than Freud and other psychoanalysts were prepared to go. As a result, he was rejected as a mystic and remained/remains misunderstood by the vast majority of the psychoanalytic community. In comparison, within the domain of business, if someone comes up with a financial mechanism that could make profit and potentially benefit the rest of society, yet for one reason or another the project fails to materialise as financial institutions are not (yet) ready for this idea, we cannot call such a person creative. Outside of the business domain, the person is creative and innovative, but being a creative person is not the same as being a creative businessperson. As stated, the essence of business creativity is to be attuned to reality in such a way as to deliver that which will be accepted by the field and included within the domain (i.e. the idea must be produced, consumed and bring profits). In essence, the existing patterns, which relate to a product, have to be read correctly.

more advanced or even radically improved versions of Facebook: they may promise certain advantages over the current application with lower running costs, better design, educational benefits, operational simplicity, privacy and a wider choice of communication options. Such projects are multiplying and include Bebo, ConnectU, Path, App.net, Myspace Diaspora, Ello and Google Plus, to name the most successful. In fact, Facebook's success inspired a Silicon Valley version of the Cinderella story, based on the singular premise that having a 'great' and 'creative' idea is enough to ensure one becomes a billionaire at the age of twenty. However, as of 2017, Facebook remains the most popular social platform, while other inspiring start-up projects, vaguely based on similar visions, have failed. An emerging literature emphasises the practical near uselessness of ideas per se and the necessity of subjecting them to a vigorous and immediate reality-testing within the business domain (Dorner, 1996; Ries, 2011; McChesney, Covey and Huling, 2012). Following this logic, Facebook became a success not because its founder, Mark Zuckerberg, came up with a brilliant idea and found a way to materialise it, but because by a large number of small progressive steps, mistakes and trials (from the Harvard platform, through other Ivy League colleges, to other universities and high schools across the country and finally the world), he came to a certain realisation/vision of patterns about the current social preferences of communication, which allowed him to deliver what the public would buy into at that particular time and then successfully navigate his project through an increasingly competitive environment .

The following comments from business leaders offer insight into what it is to be creative in the current business environment. John Reed, former chairman of the New York Stock Exchange and CEO of Citigroup, states:

I don't think there is such a thing as reality. There are widely varying descriptions of reality, and you've got to be alert to when they change and what's really going on. No one is going to truly grasp it, but you have to stay truly active on that end. That implies you have to have a multifaceted perspective (...) There is a set of realities that exist at any moment in time. I always have some kind of a model in my mind as to what I think is going on in the world. I'm always turning that [model] and trying to get different insights as I look at things, and I try to relate it back to what it means for our business, to how one behaves, if you will.

(Reed, as cited in Csikszentmihalyi, 1997/2013, p. 64)

Reed's statement expands on the earlier suggested definition of business creativity as attuned to the current 'realities' (as Reed emphasises) and being able to interpret existing patterns correctly, and consequently being able to produce that which is consciously or unconsciously required.

We are in a creative-inventive market, not a safety-critical market like medicine or nuclear power. You may have heard preventing error is cheaper than fixing it. Yes, in manufacturing or medicine but not so much in creative environments. Mostly, Rapid Recovery is the right model.

(Netflix Guide on our Freedom and Responsibility Culture, 2009)

This quote emphasises the particular characteristics of the current business environment such as its extreme dynamism, unpredictability, firm grasp of the changing needs of the environment, risk-taking, resilience and, most important of all, vigorous reality-testing, during which making an error as quickly as possible and subsequently correcting it is a necessary and desirable part of the process.<sup>91</sup>

In his comment, Sandy Weill refers to 'healthy instincts' appealing to both the cooperative and competitive sides of business creativity:

Effective leaders understand their businesses and their competitors inside out, and they have the capacity to seize opportunities faster than others (...) I consistently sought to develop relationships with others in the industry, ties which frequently led to lucrative deals – I met Gerry Tsai fifteen years before I bought Primerica; I knew Harvey Golub and Ed Budd for a decade before buying Shearson and Travelers respectively; and I made John Reed's acquaintance twenty-five years before proposing the deal to create Citigroup.

(Weill, 2006, p. 476)

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<sup>91</sup> Chapter 8 will expand on the current start-up mantra 'Fail quickly! Fail better!' in more detail.

The above quotations are rich in explicit and implicit psychological material: awareness of major patterns, synthesis of different 'realities' and resilience resting on many qualities and skills, including the ability not to become caught up in the vast pool of identifications and projections.

Above, I have outlined business as a separate and unique domain and argued that it is the complexity of a domain that determines creativity. This helps me to outline certain features of business creativity as a concept. I will now address one major reservation with regard to the claim that the business domain is creative<sup>92</sup>.

#### *Creative mind vs. mechanical mind*

An important reservation against the notion of business creativity concerns the emphasis on immediate goals expressed as profit margins, speaking the truth of the domain. This emphasis makes business creativity an ambiguous term. For some, it is obvious that business is creative; for others, business creativity is an oxymoron: how can business promote creativity if it holds the latter hostage to its profit margins? David Bohm (one of the most prominent theoretical physicists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>92</sup> The fact that nowadays many areas of life are intensely commercialised and the boundaries between art and business or science and business have become blurred to the extent that art has become a synonym for business or that hospitals are run as business units and scientific research is often more concerned with funding than actual exploration, may imply the irrelevance of the business domain as such. While it is true that significant overlapping of domains occurs, essentially there is a different combination of factors, which allows one to succeed and get ahead of the competition in each of them. Hence, none of the above-mentioned domains (business, art, science/medicine) could be reduced to each other.

For instance, the primary aim of an artist is self-expression. Creativity might be challenged or even thwarted by an artist's personal ambitions, but, generally speaking, an artist does not start a painting with the question: what does the public want me to express? Instead, she starts her work as a process of personal discovery of an aesthetic problem, allowing creativity to express itself through her as a vehicle. In contrast, creativity in business, as emphasised above, is practical and result-oriented. Moreover, while nowadays it is indeed hard to think of a domain with no goals and deadlines, in business this connection is more immediate and precise, particularly given the practicalities of competition. Additionally, addressing the point of the current commercialisation of our lives, it could be pointed out that rather than suggesting its irrelevance, this situation points to the extreme significance of the business domain in our lives and, consequently, the need to understand it better.



who contributed significantly to quantum theory, neuropsychology and the philosophy of mind)<sup>93</sup> contrasts what he calls the 'creative state of mind' and the 'mechanical'. This provides a useful way of summarising this controversy. Creative action, according to Bohm, 'is impossible if one is limited by narrow and petty aims, such as security, furthering of personal ambition, glorification of the individual or the state, getting "kicks" and other satisfying experiences out of one's work, and so forth' (2004, p. 21). He states that '[a]lthough such motives may permit occasional flashes of penetrating insight, they evidently tend to hold the mind a prisoner of its old and familiar structure of thought and perception' (ibid).

Bohm's view implies that business creativity is not compatible with the 'harmony, beauty, and totality that is characteristic of real creation' (ibid, p. 21). This view, with its variations, is echoed in writings by other influential commentators of diverse schools of thought and creed: Fromm's (1976/2014) distinction between the 'having' and 'being' modes; Marx's (1867/1990) notion of 'creative labour' as one of the key reasons for the inevitable breakdown of capitalism. Bohm's take on the difference between the mechanical way of thinking and creativity can also be viewed as similar to the psychoanalytic distinction between the false and true selves or the Jungian distinction between the self and persona. One important difference is that Bohm's articulation is presented rather literally: equating the mechanical approach/false self/persona to evil and creativity/true self/Self to goodness. Such views tend to share a key belief that aesthetics is paramount to creativity. Bohm is one of the most articulate advocates of this view.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> It might also be worth mentioning that Bohm's ideas have inspired many psychoanalytic (e.g. Stacey and Shaw) and Jungian theorists (e.g. Michael Conforti and David Pleat).

<sup>94</sup> Bohm's credibility as a great scientist adds weight to his perspective. Here, it might be useful to point out that scientific creativity did not materialise as a concept until some prominent scientists (Einstein, Bohm, Poincare) noted that the values, which act as the driving forces in their domain, are akin to those that motivate creativity in the arts and that scientific truth has a lot in common with aesthetic truth. As philosopher Irving Singer notes, they pointed out that the elegance and exquisiteness of mathematical proofs and other scientific discoveries make them statements of the same aesthetic worth as works of art (2011, pp. 213-241). Order, symmetry and structure have been singled out as the necessary conditions for aesthetics. As Einstein famously stated, since his theories were so beautiful, he knew they had to be true (as cited in Singer, 2011, p. 215). Poincare reaffirms this view by saying that 'the scientist does not study nature because it is useful; he studies it because he delights in it, and he delights in it because it is beautiful' (1946, p. 387). He makes a distinction between sensory and intellectual beauty, the latter being dedicated to 'the sense of the harmony of

This view of creativity implies that unless a domain can claim aesthetics, it cannot be considered creative. It also suggests that essentially the 'same' aesthetic-based creativity can function in different domains and manifest in a variety of ways in accordance with the symbolic rules and procedures of each domain. To reiterate, in this view, the essence of creativity is aesthetics, while its manifestations or use in a certain domain, although of importance, are secondary.

My argument is that this emphasis (conscious or unconscious) on aesthetics in our cultural imagination does not allow for business creativity to be adequately established as a concept. While we acknowledge that businesses give us jobs (and with them order, stability and prosperity), we cling to the 'money smells' attitude, which is incompatible with aesthetics. The business world has strong associations with greed, manipulation, aggression and even pathology. As pointed out in chapter 2, the psychoanalytic literature often appears to be adopting a rather moralistic tone on the subject of the business world (e.g. Long, 2008).

Business creativity, for its part, also challenges the notion of creativity customarily based on aesthetics. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how the mythical figure of Hermes challenges the Apollonian aesthetics-based order. For now, I suggest a further exploration into the relationship between aesthetics and business, which will allow us to answer whether aesthetics is paradigmatic to creativity, which in turn could bring the discussion of business creativity to a deeper level.

#### *Aesthetics and business creativity*

Aesthetics can be defined narrowly as the theory of beauty, or more broadly as the search for harmony, order and ultimate truth. It is traditionally associated with the philosophy of art; however, given the scope of what might be called 'aesthetics', the concept spreads into virtually all areas of

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the cosmos, which makes us choose the facts most fitting to contribute to this harmony, just as the artist chooses from among the features of his model those which perfect the picture and give it character and life' (ibid). He notes that such an attitude does not in any way contradict the truth of empirical observation as the real world with its 'simple facts, sublime facts' is more beautiful than any harmonious theoretical hypothesis that might be considered as an alternative perception. With such claims, the concept of scientific creativity was on a solid footing.

human activity (as a four-volume encyclopaedia devoted to the study of aesthetics indicates), becoming one of the most elusive concepts of all time. Traditionally, the concept functioned to provide a unifying perspective as well as being the ultimate justification mechanism: any fundamental question could be answered in one way or another (depending on the current aesthetic criteria) by appeal to the aesthetic perspective.<sup>95</sup> The key to understanding this perspective is the relationship between beauty and truth.<sup>96</sup>

The postmodern paradigm, with its refutation of a strong unifying principle, strongly contests the above assertions, yet they have left a deep imprint on the cultural imagination as is evident in their omnipresent influence on definitions of creativity. In the case of the business domain, their influence is so strong that it is difficult, if not impossible, for business to lay claim to creativity. On the other hand,

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<sup>95</sup> The high value of aesthetics as ultimate truth, central unifying and harmonising point of human activity and entrance to the 'good life' has been well established in philosophy throughout generations of scholars of diverse schools and creeds. Thus, addressing this view in Plato's metaphysics, Iris Murdoch writes: 'Goodness and beauty are not to be contrasted, but are largely part of the same structure. Plato, who tells us that beauty is the only spiritual thing that we love immediately by nature, treats the beautiful as an introductory section of the good' (1970/2003, p. 40). In her further comments on Plato, Murdoch states that the 'appreciation of beauty (...) is also a completely adequate entry (...) into the good life' (1970/2003, p. 63). Friedrich Schiller states that '... logic rest[s] on ethics, and ethics on aesthetics' (1795/1967, p. 182). Friedrich Nietzsche famously declared that 'the existence of the world is justified only as an aesthetic phenomenon' (1888/1967, p. 449). Louis Arnauld Reid writes: 'The aesthetics in its own way may be called revelatory (...) The wonder and the mystery of art (...) is the revelation of something "wholly other"' (1969, p. 245). Michel Foucault asks: 'Couldn't everyone's life become a work of art? Why should the lamp or the house be an art object, but not our life?' (1984, p. 350).

Similar views on aesthetics are expressed in literature. For example, romantic poet John Keats famously proclaimed: 'Beauty is truth – truth beauty / that is all ye know on earth and all ye need to know' (1820/2009, p. 240).

<sup>96</sup> It might be easy to see this point as it has been expressed by one of its most outspoken proponents, Immanuel Kant (1790/1987). Kant's theory of pure beauty has four key elements: freedom from concepts, objectivity, disinterest of the spectator and obligatoriness. Without going into the complexity of his theory, Kantian aesthetics rests on two notions which balance each other: pleasure and distance. Pleasure holds our mind's attention, while distance does not allow for pleasure to turn into a possessive desire. Thus, the nature of aesthetic pleasure is altruistic: it cannot involve self-interest. Contemplating the object as an end in itself is an act of selfless attention that initiates us into the moral point of view (ibid, para. 42; paras. 298-299). Hence, Kant's famous quotes: 'Beauty is a symbol of morality' and 'The enjoyment of nature is the mark of a good soul'.

certain aspects of business (to be discussed) can make legitimate assertions to aesthetics. Possibly, at the core of this discrepancy lie two different views on the issue, namely, the view of aesthetics as a purely philosophical endeavour, and the view of aesthetics as what can be broadly termed an integrative field of enquiry. The latter view involves a combination of different disciplines (including philosophy), which, after accumulating sufficient complexity, forms a separate discipline. While on the balance of arguments stemming from the philosophical standpoint, business does not seem to pass the litmus test of aesthetics, from the integrative perspective, it can nevertheless raise strong claims to it. The meaning of the concept of aesthetics differs from one perspective to another. This in turn suggests that it is not only the content of the concept of aesthetics that allows for diverse interpretations, but the concept itself is susceptible to a similar diversity.<sup>97</sup> The shifts between the two perspectives are ambiguous, a point to which I will return after giving some examples.

Within the integrative perspective, business, with its claim to aesthetics, can appeal to the highest order argument of aesthetics – the truth. Leo Melamed, the former CEO of MERC, one of the most powerful futures exchanges in the world, in his description of the stock markets as beautiful and as a work of art because they are powerful products of our imagination, notes the link between them and ultimate truth:

(...) the important effect of trading is that it keeps me linked to reality and truth. The beauty of markets, and for me their quintessential characteristic, is that they are the final determinant of veracity. Washington policy makers, Tokyo or Berlin ministers, officials of governments the world over can try to tell the world whatever they want, but the markets tell the world the truth (...) their opinion doesn't count a tinker's damn unless or until it is endorsed by the market.

(Melamed, 1996, p. 436)<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The integrative perspective is more in accord with the postmodern paradigm, in which the meaning of a concept is context-determined (i.e. it comes from within a certain domain), while the philosophical perspective takes an overall, more traditional, view of the matter.

<sup>98</sup> To remove the above quote from the subjective realm of one person's opinion and take it to more objective ground, we might ask how Melamed's view is different in principle from those

There are other grounds on which the business domain can lay claim to aesthetics from the integrative perspective. Virginia Postrel argues that business culture has entered an 'era in which the look and feel of products will determine their success' (2003, p. 2). She argues that 'sensory, even subliminal, effects will be essential competitive tools' (ibid). Her list of examples includes the working paradigms of Apple, Starbucks, Target and Visa, amongst others<sup>99</sup>. The business literature suggests many such links between aesthetics and business (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Dobson, 1999; Dickinson and Svensen, 2000; Austin and Devin, 2003). Thus, for businesses, aesthetics is no longer an esoteric notion, but a well-established selling point which allows for a product's uniqueness to emerge.

Yet another ground for claiming aesthetics in business comes from the field of 'emergence' and 'complexity'. Here, aesthetics presents itself as the 'order-out-of-chaos' paradigm. John Miller and Scott Page write: 'Many of our most profound experiences of emergence come from those systems in which the local behavior seems so entirely disconnected from the resulting aggregates as to have arisen by magic (...) Examples of such dramatic disconnects include (...) the stability of a market price generated by the often chaotic and heterogeneous efforts of traders' (2007, p. 45).

To return to the earlier point, within the integrative perspective, the presence of aesthetics in business is prevalent and undeniable, but it is claimed in a different way from the purely, and more traditional, philosophical/cultural perspective. The confusion of these perspectives, in my view, stands in the way of business creativity being adequately established. As long as creativity, whether we are aware of it or not, is strongly associated in our cultural imagination with aesthetics, we cannot escape this confusion.<sup>100</sup>

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referring to the artistic masterpiece (aesthetics in arts) or the elegance of a certain mathematical proof (aesthetics in science)?

<sup>99</sup> For example, Howard Schultz, the CEO of Starbucks, states: 'Every Starbucks store is carefully designed to enhance the quality of everything the customers see, touch, hear, smell, or taste. All the sensory signals have to appeal to the same high standards. The artwork, the music, the aromas, the surfaces all have to send the same subliminal message as the flavor of the coffee' (as cited in Postrel, 2003, p. 20).

<sup>100</sup> Following the earlier statement that aesthetics as a concept is susceptible to different interpretations, we may find it useful to appeal to Ivan Gaskell's (2005) analysis of the ambiguous

*Complexity, creativity and aesthetics*

Above, we saw that business can claim aesthetics in accordance with the rules of this domain. A deeper question is whether aesthetics is paradigmatic to creativity. We may consider both the concepts of aesthetics and creativity, in relation to the concept of complexity. Complexity<sup>101</sup> is a far wider term than either creativity or aesthetics. Aesthetics is strongly associated with order, beauty and harmony, while complexity includes those, as well as deficiency and chaos. Creativity always implies complexity (if things are not complex, they cannot be creative). Creativity in terms of aesthetics stands for making order/harmony out of chaos. Chaos is necessary for order, and in that sense, is a part of the order-creating process. Thus, deficiency and chaos, in this view, are considered to be by-pass products. Many

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nature of aesthetics. Gaskell, a cultural historian and philosopher, invites us to consider Wittgenstein's famous duck-rabbit example. Following the logic of this suggestion, aesthetics as a purely philosophical endeavour could be represented as the duck aspect of the image, while aesthetics as an integrative enquiry stands for the rabbit aspect. It appears difficult to follow both perspectives on aesthetics simultaneously, much in the same way that when we look at the image, we can see either a duck or a rabbit, but not both at once. Ernst Gombrich comments as follows on Wittgenstein's image: 'the more closely we watch ourselves, the more certainly will we discover that we cannot experience alternative readings at the same time' (1961, p. 5). Wittgenstein's point, however, is that our perception of the two aspects of the image is affected by the act of alternating between them: 'The expression of a change of aspect is the expression of a new perception and at the same time of the perception's being unchanged' (1953, p. 196). In other words, Gaskell clarifies, whatever perspective on aesthetics we choose, we cannot ignore the claims of another perspective, just as one cannot choose to remain unaware of the rabbit aspect of the image when concentrating on its duck aspect after being introduced to the possibility of the alternative interpretation. To see only one perspective under these circumstances would be equivalent to an act of suppression and splitting. Gaskell states that this is, however, not to claim that one cannot engage in a pursuit of predominantly/purely philosophical enquiry on aesthetics or alternatively into some other approaches to it, but to be aware that one's perspective will, to a certain degree, be affected by one's knowledge of the existence of the other perspective and that certain concerns of this other perspective cannot be ignored and must be dealt with – in order to lessen, if not to avoid, confusion. The pervasiveness of this confusion is evident in the current ways of approaching the concept of business creativity. In particular, it is characteristic of depth psychological approaches to the business domain.

<sup>101</sup> For our purposes, I will stress that by complexity I mean the complexity of a particular domain.

diverse commentators (e.g. Singer (2011)) imply this when stating that aesthetics is indeed paramount to creativity. However, an alternative suggestion could be that it is the complexity of a domain that is crucial for defining creativity.<sup>102</sup>

In support of his view of creativity in terms of aesthetics, Bohm states that the perception of harmony, totality and beauty found in the structural processes of nature is not a subjective judgement, but the fact that the 'really great scientists have, without exception, all seen' (2004, p. 23). He writes: 'what is commonly called "disorder" is merely an inappropriate name for what is actually a certain rather complex kind of order that is difficult to describe in full detail' (ibid, p. 10).<sup>103</sup> Bohm claims the harmony of creation as an objective fact, verified by science. It could be argued that, in reality, at the core of his view lies the notion of interdependence and that he conflates the terms 'order', 'harmony' and 'interdependence'. To reiterate, what Bohm presents as some beautiful order being created and recreated, may only mean that things are interconnected. Though the two notions may be linked, they certainly do not imply each other.

We see evidence of this conflation in many of Bohm's ideas. For example, he relates the realisation of order and harmony between things to the emergence of a responsible attitude and consequently, as we saw earlier, to a different mode of being, the 'creative mind'. Bohm's view could be linked to the idea of the group unconscious (the subject of study in Group Relations) or the collective unconscious (one of the key ideas of Jungian psychology), both of which also exhibit a certain complex logic/order (and, in that sense, internal harmony). Yet, it is equally possible to substitute the notion of order/harmony with that of interconnectedness/interdependence, without losing the essence of the experience. In fact, 'order' might be a strong word to describe these experiences, as they appear too dependent, versatile and volatile. Bohm's view denies the spontaneity of the unconscious. Further, as he himself is evidently

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<sup>102</sup> Another point that stems from my argument is that it is creativity that is paramount to aesthetics, not vice versa. This view, not being the subject of my thesis, will not be pursued here.

<sup>103</sup> Bohm further states: 'Our real task can, therefore, never be to judge whether something is ordered or disordered, because everything is ordered, and because disorder in the sense of the absence of every conceivable kind of order is an impossibility' (2004, p. 10). He further states that the term 'disorder' is of no purpose and only causes confusion. Nature, according to Bohm, is a 'creative process, in which not merely new structures, but also new orders of structure are always emerging (though the process takes a very long time by our standards)' (2004, p. 12).

aware, it is easy to see how this view of greater order/harmony can be hijacked by perspectives of the status quo (e.g. the Tories' worldview with its emphasis on organic society and tradition as a source of wisdom). Accepting the idea of greater order/harmony means doing so despite, or at the expense of, human suffering. Here, Bohm's view may appear disconcerting: it is repulsive to think of events such as the Holocaust as a part of some beautiful greater order. To say that things are interconnected in complex ways is not the same as calling them ordered/harmonic. We can be mesmerised by the labyrinth of interconnectedness and see it as a great mystery, but it should not blind us to its dark side. On the contrary, it should make us more aware of it.

Realisation and the maintenance of the links of interdependency and appreciation of the complexity of human existence require a high level of consciousness. Bohm's view appears to imply that realisation of order is enough to ensure higher states of consciousness. As the experience of group relations shows (the works of Bion and his followers), while maintaining those links of interdependence could be a possibility in small groups, albeit difficult to achieve, in large groups (more than 20 participants), it becomes impossible for members to maintain those links or to follow the process of group interaction. Differences become apparent in large groups and multiply exponentially, with the result that the links of interconnectedness/interdependence break down (Rice, 1965, p. 70). There are also definitive links between interconnectedness and intimacy (a notion that I will address in a moment): accepting our interconnectedness means accepting our intimacy with each other. Thus, Bohm's views, although beautiful, inspiring and even (to a degree) scientifically supported, do not settle the issue of creativity.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Another piece of evidence is Bohm's references to religion. The notion of order and harmony also has strong religious connotations. Bohm makes this link explicit in stating: 'Religion has been concerned centrally with the question of experiencing *all* life, *all* relationships, as one unbroken totality, not fragmented, but whole and undivided'. To achieve this end, Bohm continues, it is necessary to 'cease to be concerned excessively with narrow interests, of self, family, tribe, nation, which latter tend to break the psyche of man into conflicting fragments, making a wholehearted *total* approach to life impossible' (2004, p. 35). Here, we witness Bohm's envisioning of an ideal situation where science and religion reinforce each other. Again, it is possible to say that at the root of such statements lies the idea of interconnectedness. There is also a connection between the latter and the idea of sin, so well pronounced in most religions: if one betrays those links of interdependence, one will be punished in one way or another. One might argue that insisting on the notion of order and harmony, Bohm and some other scientists are wrapping themselves in a religious mantle of their own. The authority of science based on observation and experience is used to add legitimacy to this otherwise plainly religious attitude.



To summarise, I will bring together the views of Bohm and Melamed. In his paeon to the stock market (quoted earlier), Melamed advances the notions of beauty, harmony and truth, subduing the fact that a gain for the few means a loss for the many and that, generally speaking, the stock market with its tendency to break boundaries and be ruthless is hardly a fitting synonym for order/harmony. Business, while on constant watch for order and patterns, does not necessarily inspire the creation of harmony, but may be about exploiting (or one might say exposing) certain disbalances and deficiencies, which may lead to further disbalances of far greater magnitude. Melamed, who argued for an understanding of business creativity in terms of aesthetics, presents his own version of harmony, by equating the truth of the stock market with that of Judgement Day. Just as people identify with religion, he identifies with the stock market, and in the same way, we might say that Bohm and some other scientists identify with their fields; hence, Bohm's merging of the two different notions: aesthetics and interconnectedness. Without necessarily denying the value such perspectives add to their respective discourses, it is important to point out that these identifications inevitably result in a great deal of splitting and projecting. We could say that they set a rather high standard for creativity by idealising and monopolising it.

Thus, creativity in terms of aesthetics (i.e. the order-out-of-chaos paradigm) appears to be a subjective and one-sided perspective, which does not refute the broader claim of creativity being interpreted in relation to the complexity of a particular domain. Aesthetics itself can only be understood in the context of creativity (rather than vice-versa) and thus is a narrower term than creativity.

#### *Aesthetics as a defence mechanism*

Given the pervasiveness of aesthetic criteria, it is worth addressing these criteria as a psychological need. Perhaps, behind these claims for aesthetics lies a deep need for harmony and order, the projection of which onto the external environment allows us to feel more at home in an unknown and unknowable universe. This narrative points to our striving for aesthetics as a defence. Another way of addressing this need could be to substitute claims for harmony and order, inherent in definitions of aesthetics and – rather unjustifiably – present in definitions of creativity, for claims for intimacy, be they harmonic or

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non-harmonic.<sup>105</sup> This begs the question of how intimate we could be in applying ourselves to the external world as well as to different (and contradictory) parts of our personality. The concept of intimacy in the definition of creativity, bringing with it a more immediate interaction with both the external and internal environments, allows business creativity to be addressed more effectively than more traditional definitions, which emphasise aesthetics. It gives room for other important aspects of creativity to be considered (such as competition and aggression) without cutting them off from the outset.<sup>106</sup>

As the term intimacy is usually used in the realm of personal relationship, in the context of the business domain its meaning might be unclear. To appreciate the relevance of the concept, we may consider such questions as: 'How intimate must one be with potential customers in order to understand and fulfil their conscious or unconscious needs and desires?' or 'How intimate must one be with a rival in order to understand how the latter thinks?' Another question is: 'Can competition and cooperation be

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<sup>105</sup> As pointed out earlier, accepting our interdependence means accepting our intimacy with each other.

<sup>106</sup> With the view of bringing both the role of aesthetics and the role of intimacy in definitions of creativity under the roof of one discussion, it might be interesting to introduce Jung's views on this topic. It appears that Jung disagreed considerably with interpreting creativity in terms of aesthetics. In his view, the aesthetic attitude is based on intuition and sensation (i.e. non-judging functions) and as such it cannot constitute an ethical viewpoint. While he believed that sensation and intuition are valuable functions, and especially so for a creative person ('The aesthetic attitude is necessary for an artist, for he must shield himself against the object or the vision or the experience (...) in order to reproduce it; if you are absolutely in it you are caught, destroyed, you are not an artist' (1997, p. 920)), they mark only the beginning of the individuation process. As van den Berk asserts, Jung made a sharp distinction between a 'human' and 'aesthetic' experience: the artist interprets and understands his fantasies, but he does not experience them. It is the transition from the aesthetic/perceptive attitude to one of judgement that constitutes the main part of the individuation process (2012, pp. 65-70).

Thus, aesthetics is a one-sided attitude to reality, as it does not allow for the abundance of other experiences (i.e. it is a psychic defence). Jung believed that it is this aesthetic attitude that was, at least to a substantial degree, responsible for Nietzsche's mental disturbance (1997, p. 929). Nietzsche famously proclaimed the aesthetic attitude to be the only one that can truly liberate us (e.g. 1888/1967, p. 449). Jung's main criticism of Nietzsche was that the aesthetic attitude denies and represses the ugly and painful. It is not based on empathy and intimacy, but on distance and pleasure. Thus, 'aestheticism (...) is only a refined hedonism' (*CW6*, para. 194). Intimacy, on the other hand, represents a far more complex attitude.

intimately connected?' As pointed out earlier, the issue of competition and cooperation is of prime importance in business: indeed, getting this balance right often accounts for success or failure. The importance of this issue for the business agenda makes the energies of competition and cooperation intimately related, while the natural opposition between them makes the tension particularly acute. A helpful way to understand intimacy in the business world is to view it in terms of the dynamics of the tension of opposites.

The above proposition can be illustrated with the help of the mythological figure of Hermes, the trickster. The trickster concept occupies an important role in Jungian psychology (Chapter 10). Jung saw the trickster as providing archetypal guidance through the psychotherapeutic process, transgressing the boundaries and bridging between hitherto isolated parts of the psyche. It engenders the possibility of transforming the meaningless into the meaningful.<sup>107</sup> Hermes occupied a particularly important part in Jung's thinking as an observer, mediator and guide of transitional states. These roles and functions are possible due to Hermes' tackling of the tension of opposites. Embodying and containing contradictions is Hermes' archetypal role. Murray Stein writes that 'in Hermes we have a figure who signifies a union between an innate tendency on the part of the psyche to create boundaries and define spaces, to etch lines in the panes of perception (an archetypal process), and the instinct of creativity' (2016, p. 47). As Andrew Samuels points out: '[T]he various features of an archetypal figure such as Mercurius (or Hermes) suggest both the negative and positive aspects of narcissism and its connection to creativity. Mercurius, according to Jung, encompasses a whole series of psychic roles, ranging from trickster, thief, cheat and rapist to messenger of the Gods and hence guide of souls. Hermes suggests both an archetypal base for narcissistic disorder and a positive connotation for it' (1985, p. 203). Hermes is intensely creative and it is through his wit and cunning that he takes up his roles as messenger of the gods and guide to the underworld, as well as being the god of trade, thieves and the arts. I will detail the myth of Hermes in chapter 5; for now, however, I want to outline intimacy as one of Hermes' core qualities and its relevance for the business domain.

Marie-Louise von Franz writes: 'There is a threshold difficulty, a certain borderline, where it requires real effort to bring the two contents together' (1972, p. 60). She gives an example from physics: 'two particles of the same electric charge repel each other unless they are forced to approach each other

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<sup>107</sup> The differences between the 'classic' trickster (such as Coyote) and the 'progressive' one (such as Hermes) will be discussed in detail in chapter 10.

beyond a certain spatial limit; then the opposite happens, and they fall into each other with a terrific force of adhesion' (ibid.). Creativity is born in this intimate connection. Hermes, the god of thresholds, operates in this field where seemingly irreconcilable qualities meet. At first sight, he does not come across exactly as an intimate character (the cunning playfulness involved in turning a tortoise into a lyre to serve his purposes may imply some lack of empathy on Hermes' part, as do the stealing, lying and deceiving which follow). However, understanding how Apollo, Zeus and others feel and think and on this basis negotiating with them (rather than attacking) is an example of intimacy and empathy. 'Seducing' Zeus with his playful remarks in response to Apollo's angry accusations, thus making Zeus laugh is another example. Hermes also demonstrates creative fireworks (in stealing his brother's cattle, in the invention of fire, in manipulating, negotiating and striking deals). On a deeper inspection, the red thread, which connects all of Hermes' actions, is that he does not lose touch with either competition or cooperation while executing his ambition to share in Apollo's powers and become one of the greatest Olympian gods. Hermes' intimacy lies in his mastery of this tension of opposites (the tension, which, as pointed out, is particularly characteristic of the business domain), out of which his creativity arises.

In business, Hermes'/trickster's creativity is vividly evident in its disruptive tendencies. We can see this in action when a company takes a serious market share from the industry's dominant incumbents. Such companies typically have an ambition far greater than their current resources can justify and they go beyond or considerably twist the established rules of competition to achieve their goals. It is not even a question of whether such creative disruption is helpful for business. This disruptiveness is the very essence of business creativity. It is through the attentive reading/sensing of the changes in the current patterns, and the alertness to the gaps in the existing structures that a new company can deliver what is consciously or unconsciously in demand. Such companies are daring and innovative, and some go on to enjoy significant and sustained periods of growth. We can see these creative trickster-dynamics in such business stories as Virgin vs. British Airways, Apple vs. Microsoft, Pret a Manger vs. McDonalds, Amazon vs. Barnes and Noble and Netflix vs. Blockbuster. The myth of Hermes is a useful metaphor for the business domain and Hermes can be viewed as a symbol of business creativity. In that sense, Hermes represents the anima<sup>108</sup> of the business world. Finding an appropriate archetypal

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<sup>108</sup> The anima concept will be discussed in chapter 6. For now, it is important to say that the anima is a psychological factor that creates high emotions, ideas and illusions. It inspires us and is behind our Eureka moments.

interpretation could enrich the psychological perception of the business domain and vivify current predominantly pathological interpretations of it.

In his reworking of the myth of Hermes, Samuels demonstrates the relevance of the trickster figure to politics and economics (1993, pp. 88-95). The importance of Hermes is that, as Samuels notes, it 'articulates between the Trickster and the market economy – that particular political phenomenon causing confusion, idealisation and splitting across the late twentieth-century world' (ibid, p. 89). He argues that those uncompromising splits in our image of the market economy (as well as taking the average or merely passively holding the two sides in the imagination) are responsible for the failing prospects of *resacralisation*. We might point to the presence of these uncompromising splits and, in fact, their constituting the basis of the aesthetic-oriented view on creativity outlined earlier. Samuels reminds us of the necessity to overcome schizoid tendencies to make an either/or split between positive and negative judgements, as well as the temptation to reach 'an uncritical synthesis'. The myth of Hermes tells us of his mischief, lies and deceit in pursuit of his goals, which could be associated with the selfishness and ruthlessness of capitalism and its attendant economic inequalities, stock market machinations and other manipulative tactics. However, we also witness Hermes' ability to negotiate and bargain compassionately, pointing to trade as a way to overcome the scarcity of resources, an alternative to the wars of the past, a democratic principle underlying the basics of capitalism and an inspiration to create 'capitalism with a human face'.

Samuels invites us to consider each aspect of Hermes in turn before we can bring them together again. He emphasises that the two sides of the image of Hermes/market economy have 'equal existence' and 'equally significant psychologies' and we cannot dispense with one side merely because we want to enjoy the benefits of the other (ibid, p. 94). The same argument applies to business creativity. The negative and positive aspects will always cooperate and compete with each other due to a 'psychological co-existence', the acceptance of which requires a profound emotional recognition allowing for 'the possibilities of exploring the social and political realities of these sibling economic modes and of transforming their relationship' (ibid).

In the spirit of Samuels' project of resacralisation in the sphere of politics and economics, I suggest that depth psychology can bring to the surface and use powerful symbols in its interpretation of the business domain. A challenge to this project is to overcome the extent of certain identifications and

overspecialisation in depth psychology to date. A way to solve this issue is through a genuine engagement with other domains, rather than the direct application of depth psychological theories to other domains. The latter approach results in the creation of signs (which rather than communicating wholeness, reflect the viewers' own perspectives, including their prejudices and fears) but not a living dynamic symbolism, which reflects and contains the complexity of a domain. In this situation, it becomes difficult to distinguish between the pathological and non-pathological.

Identifications and overspecialisation also imply that one is looking at a certain phenomenon in isolation. If we look at the disruptiveness or greed of the business domain in isolation from its other characteristics, it might be easy to see how they appear pathological. For example, under such isolated scrutiny, disruptiveness might appear as evidence of a borderline disorder, while greed is taken as evidence of extreme narcissism. Yet, in the wider context of the business domain, both might be looked at as symbolic characteristics of an underlying archetypal energy pattern. Many of Hermes' tendencies, such as lies, disruptiveness, manipulation, cheating and trickery, provide enough evidence to view him negatively if those tendencies are taken in isolation from his other qualities. Hermes is not a sign, however, but a symbol, and it is only through a symbolic approach that his true nature can be comprehended.<sup>109</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter I have emphasised business as unique and separate domain within the larger organisational life and explained how this domain is creative. I have also argued that aesthetics is not paradigmatic to creativity. Business creativity often transcends boundaries, challenges and disrupts the previously established order and often profits at the expense of others. In the following chapter, I will present an interpretation of the myth of Hermes, which emphasises various aspects of the story in relation to business creativity.

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<sup>109</sup> In its defence, the current depth psychological stance on business could be interpreted as an attempt to demystify it: to make modern society's identifications with it more conscious. Some Jungian authors (Gordon, 1993, pp. 274-288; Stein, 2017, pp. 307-322) write about these processes of demystification in clinical cases of pathology. However, while stating the legitimacy and effectiveness of such a methodology in the therapy context, they take care to warn that such a move from symbol to sign, if taken too literally, results in an assault on the archetypal. They point out that a balanced approach is required.

## Chapter 5

### Hermes as a symbol of business creativity

#### *Introduction*

I will present the Greek myth of Hermes<sup>110</sup> as an archaic expression of the patterns of creative psychic energy that underlie and sustain, and indeed are responsible for, the realm of human activity that I refer to as 'the business domain'.<sup>111</sup> My contention, therefore, is that this mythologem can reveal unconscious patterns and assumptions that are active in the business domain today because they are fundamental. If we can grasp these patterns of energy, we can become conscious of how creativity operates in this domain. This has the potential to significantly contribute to the analysis of the business domain from the Jungian/depth psychological perspective. In this chapter, I will outline the dynamics of the myth, which resemble some general dynamics of the business world, thus suggesting that the myth's dynamics can serve as metaphors for processes in business. I intend the image of Hermes as a symbol of business creativity. This chapter also underpins the principal aim of my thesis, which is to show that archetypal energy patterns underlie and sustain the business domain, yesterday, today and tomorrow.

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<sup>110</sup> I use the standard version of the myth of Hermes (the Homeric Hymn to Hermes), which has been used by many Jungians (Stein, 1983/2014, pp. 1-6; Lopez-Pedraza, 1989/2010, pp. 51-109; Samuels, 1993, pp. 78-103).

<sup>111</sup> The front-page cover of this thesis shows the doors of the Bank of England with caduceus on them. Caduceus is the key symbol of Hermes. Jung wrote of caduceus: 'the caduceus in the form of the conjunction in the retort, means: In the hands of the physician lie the magic remedies granted by God' (*CW14*, para. 305). He references Servius in a footnote: 'For the two serpents have heads which look inward, in order to signify that ambassadors ought to discuss and agree among themselves (...) For which reason (...) ambassadors of peace are called Caduceatores (...) and to those Caducei are added two apples, one of the Sun and one of the Moon (...) Mercury causes these two fierce animals to agree, so surely we also ought to agree with one another'. Jung further adds: 'Others say that the Latins call Mercury by that name as if he were Medicurrius, the mid-runner, because he is always passing between heaven and the lower regions (...) and that the caduceus is assigned to him because he brings enemies together in friendship by mediating confidence' (*CW14*, para. 305, fn. 584).

As Edward Edinger points out, Hermes is 'the great trespasser, a crosser of boundaries, the god of travellers and the patron saint of merchants, the principal travellers in early days' (1994/2013, p. 32).

*Hermes in myth and Jungian psychology*

Hermes is the great Olympian god, who combines diverse and often contradictory qualities and functions such as messenger between gods and people, guide of souls to the underworld, inventor, guardian of trade and commerce, thief, bringer of luck, protector of herdsmen and travellers, patron of literature, poetry, dance, wit and oratory as well as athletics and sport, among others. W. H. Roscher (1886-90) captured this diversity of Hermes' nature using the metaphor of the wind, with which Hermes' trickery and playfulness can be associated. The wind can also be seen as the messenger of the gods. Norman Brown (1969) views Hermes primarily as a magician, while pointing out Hermes' creativity and craftsmanship in this role. Karl Kerényi (1976) refers to Hermes as a psychopomp, who transcends the boundaries between life and death.

Jung referred to Hermes as the 'originator of souls' (*CW8*, para. 538). Hermes/Mercurius played a profound role in Jung's thinking. As Rafael Lopez-Pedraza comments: 'It was more than likely Hermes who guided him into the alchemical vessel, where he found the container for his psyche and which made possible his experience of the soul' (1989/2010, p. 27). He adds: 'Alchemy is a psychology of the paradox, a borderline psychology, which implies that it can only be apprehended by way of Hermes' leading the way into the unconscious' (*ibid*). Murray Stein called Hermes the 'god of liminality' (1983/2014, p. 7) and the one who 'inhabits interstices, a denizen of betwixt-and-between' (2016, p. 44). Hermes/Mercurius stands on the edge of consciousness: beyond lies the 'unknown, the uncanny, the dangerous, the unconscious' (*ibid*). Stein states that Hermes' intervention 'creates new possibilities for consciousness, also new edges and boundaries beyond which lie the mysterious "others"' (*ibid*, p. 45).

*The birth of Hermes and the gaps in the Apollonian order*

The myth of Hermes (Homer, in Hyde, 1998/2008, pp. 317-331) begins with the birth of Hermes to his mother, Maia, a nymph who lives in a cave away from the other gods and who is known for her shyness. His father is Zeus. It is known that Zeus and Maia are aware of certain characteristics that their son will have; however, it is also known that many things remain uncertain and it is up to Hermes to find his place within the Olympian order. At the beginning of the myth, we are passive followers of the narrative, kept in the dark about Hermes' true intentions. We learn that on his first day, Hermes leaves



his cradle and sets out on an adventure, or more precisely, to commit a theft. On his way, he encounters a tortoise and at once makes a lyre out of it. He then steals Apollo's cattle and makes it walk zigzag and backwards. After hiding the cattle, he invents fire and sacrifices two animals to the gods, overriding the temptation to taste the meat. After these bizarre activities, he returns to his mother's cave, puts on his baby blankets and is innocence itself once again. Yet he cannot fool his mother, and it is through their dialogue that we learn about Hermes' goal to become one of the twelve most glorious Olympian gods and his plans to do so by sharing in Apollo's powers. The question as to why he has chosen Apollo to achieve his aim is central to the story and relates directly to the theme of this and the previous chapters.

Apollo, the glorious son of Zeus and Leto (and a half-brother of Hermes), is the great Olympian god of music, song and poetry, archery, prophecy and oracles, healing, plague and disease, as well as the protector of male youth. Most importantly, Apollo is the god of order, reason, beauty and harmony (Edinger, 1994/2013, p. 30-32). One of his most important daily tasks in these respects is to harness his four-horse chariot and move the sun across the sky to ensure the regularity of day and night. As Jungian analyst Mia Nijsmans puts it: 'He embodies man's longing for clarity, structure, decisiveness, action, and form. He symbolizes the masculine and more conscious side, a detached rationality, and a belief in the absolute manageability of life' (1992, p. 137). In short, Apollo represents the aesthetic attitude towards life, which was an important topic of the previous chapter.

It is this Apollonian aesthetics-oriented order that Hermes comes to challenge with his wits and endless trickery. In so doing, he exposes the limitations of this order (its one-sidedness and incompleteness) and shows its many alternatives. Hermes also demonstrates various ways of being creative, which come from combining different and often contradictory qualities (stealing, lying and deceiving, while also contributing productively to the Olympian order). As noted in the previous chapter, the two main threads that hold the story together are Hermes' competitiveness and compassionate collaboration. He proves himself a virtuoso player of these intense strings, who moves swiftly and comfortably along the range of their endless combinations, holding on to and releasing the constant tension that such combinations create. It is this very tension, which, upon its release, becomes available for creative action in the external environment (be it on Olympus or the world of mortal men).

This tension between competition and collaboration can be further illuminated through the notion of enantiodromia. Jung referred to this process as one of the fundamental principles of psychic life,

according to which when consciousness clings excessively to one perspective, the opposite perspective builds up in the unconscious, creating psychic tension and inhibiting conscious behaviour. Jung pointed out its importance for creativity: 'the confrontation of the two positions generates a tension charged with energy and creates a living third thing (...) a living birth that leads to a new level of being, a new situation' (CW8, para. 189). He also noted: 'The only person who escapes the grim law of enantiodromia is the man who knows how to separate himself from the unconscious' (CW7, para. 112). Children escape this law (as do trickster fools), but they do so unconsciously. Hermes, however, escapes this law on a more conscious level and it is his childlike playfulness, as one of his key characteristics, that enables him to do so. This playfulness also allows him to have genuine and productive dialogues with many different 'others' (among whom are such powerful figures as Zeus and Hades).

As Jungian analyst Dale Mathers points out, playfulness has an important role in Jungian psychology: 'Play, like analysis, is a *between* experience' that generates meaning (2001, p. 7). Mathers distinguishes between the closed and open systems: in the former, the meaning is fixed; in the latter, it is always negotiable. Thus, open systems adapt to the environment better than closed ones. He further describes the systems in terms of logical operators, i.e. 'statements which get a system to do something'. These operators 'can be simple: {if/then}; {and/or}; {both/and}; {when/if} - or complex: - {both/and/neither/nor}; or {if/and/then/then/then}' (ibid, p. 19). Playfulness requires complex logical operators and it is also through play that one learns how to handle them. This is the 'task' of analysis. Mathers states: 'As we learn to handle more complex logical operators we increase creativity, gain a sense of humour, integrate with our social matrix, tolerate difference, learn to live with uncertainty – we individuate (...), being both more ourselves and more linked with the collective, our eco-system' (ibid, p. 20).

As we will see in the myth, Hermes represents an open system with many complex logical operators, allowing him to escape the law of enantiodromia, while the Apollonian order, with aesthetics as its 'law', is a closed system, which Hermes is able to quickly grasp, manipulate and successfully challenge. At the end of the myth we will see that, because gods do not change their nature, Apollo remains who he is, the oracular god, but Hermes, having once shared in Apollo's powers, becomes the liminal god, the trickster, who transcends the boundaries between order and chaos.

Another thing that we learn from the dialogue between Hermes and his mother is that the former is not only well aware of his trickster nature (which he then goes on to prove to himself and others), but also of his shadow. He warns that if he is not allowed to get what he wants, he will become that shadow – that is, he will become the Prince of Thieves. This link is important – if the trickster is not given a place in the system, he may indeed easily slip into the darker corners of the psyche, where he turns into a turbulent and uncontrollable shadow (Jung, *CW9i*, paras. 477-487).

It is in light of these revelations between mother and son that we can now approach the peculiar narrative of the myth. Setting himself the goal of sharing in Apollo's powers, Hermes immediately ventures out to test his abilities. He might not yet be strong enough to confront Apollo on equal terms, but knowing what he wants and having some intuition about how he might achieve it is a good enough start for him.

One of the key characteristics of the trickster – and why he is often considered a naïve fool – is that he acts first, without considering the possible consequences for himself or others. Jung emphasised that he is unconscious of his actions and thus cannot be held responsible (*CW9i*, para. 465). The trickster appears incapable of learning, yet we see him actively experimenting.<sup>112</sup> In this sense, he represents 'learning in potential'. In comparison to this 'classic' trickster (Coyote, Wakdjunkaga, Stupid Hans), what we may term the 'progressive' trickster (such as Hermes) is more conscious and thus capable of learning (a more detailed distinction between 'classic' and 'traditional' tricksters is given in chapter 11)<sup>113</sup>. A key characteristic of this type of trickster becomes learning from experience, the process by which knowledge itself is immediately converted into the instrument of learning by virtue of its application. This trickster makes knowledge a living and breathing thing. We see this dynamic in Hermes' eagerness to put his ideas/intentions/ambitions into action.

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<sup>112</sup> We also see that through his actions, the trickster often changes the course of events in the most profound and meaningful way, managing to accomplish what others consciously strive for yet often fail to do (Jung, *CW9i*, para. 456).

<sup>113</sup> While 'classic' and 'progressive' tricksters represent different levels of consciousness, they share the same nature and archetypal functioning (i.e. they are psychopomps and pattern-breakers) (chapter 11).

The connection of the above with the dynamics of the business world is that an important aspect of the business mentality is action: it must always be 'in the situation', which is the only way of knowing what needs to be done. Given the inherent immediacy of its environment (if there is a potential to make a profit, the resources must move quickly into that area, until normal profits are made), the theory always lags behind the actual situation (if valid at all), which develops fast (Taleb, 2013, p. 211). In this sense, the business mentality heralds and supports this type of 'experiential learning'.

From the rational perspective, the so-called 'classic' trickster appears not only foolish, but also selfish and even amoral, because he enters the action without thinking things through. Often, a conscious and/or unconscious fear of making mistakes stops one from doing things. Many are also burdened by cultural conditioning 'to get things right' and the need to procure social approval. The trickster, on the other hand, is completely liberated from these concerns. This frees up a great deal of energy, which could then be used to get things done. The link with business dynamics is that, for the same reasons, such dynamics often appear as (or indeed are) amoral.

Hermes' behaviour, however, does not imply that he enters the 'fray' unprepared. He does his preparation meticulously in being fully focused on his task and scanning the environment for things of relevance and usefulness to that task (e.g. the turtle). Another key feature of his behaviour is that he consistently reality-tests both what he intuitively believes and what he has learned from his experiences. In the world of business, where competition is rough, the stakes high and the situation may change in an instant, these qualities of Hermes are extremely relevant.

*A bit of luck one cannot ignore*

Hermes' encounter with the turtle marks the start of his ingenious plan. Here, we see another important pattern of Hermes' functioning: when Hermes 'touches' something, he instantly knows what to do with it. Hermes' approach appears to be that one truly learns when one is in a relationship with an object/process. This encounter could be interpreted as prophetic in many ways. Here, Hermes reasons like a business person: 'A living turtle (...) keeps troublesome witchcraft away. And yet, if you were to die you'd sing most beautifully' (Homer, in Hyde, 1998, p. 318). Knowing that Apollo is the god of music, it is not surprising that Hermes knows instantly how to profit from the encounter. Hermes proceeds to scrape the marrow from the turtle and to make a beautiful lyre from its shell. This process involves

suffering and a painful death for the turtle, but for Hermes it means a furthering of his ambitions. We see Hermes profitably using what he has encountered to creatively produce what the other might need or want in order to negotiate what he wants for himself.<sup>114</sup>

*The stolen order*

Hermes then hurries to steal Apollo's cattle. We may ask: why not simply charm Apollo with the lyre and ask for his cattle in exchange (after all, this is what happens at the end of the myth)? The answer is that there is much more at stake than the mere exchange of objects. Hermes needs to convince himself, Apollo, Zeus and the other gods that he really has something important to offer. Thus, he makes himself useful: he creates a demand for himself within the system by pointing out what is currently lacking and providing a solution to fill this gap. Importantly, it is not in Hermes' character to ask others for what he wants or to attack them, but always to create deals and negotiate (i.e. Hermes' dual ability to compete and cooperate simultaneously). This also mirrors business dynamics.

We may also point out that Hermes, the creature of edges and transitional spaces, has a tendency to move straight towards the centre of events when something important is at stake. Putting oneself in the centre is different from theoretical learning: one can see how things are done in the real world, which usually differs from how things are imagined to be done. When one intentionally steps into this position, the situation itself can activate the necessary resources and allow the type of skills/resources, which others (at the centre) have, to be seen. In that sense, these resources are there for the 'stealing': one does not have to own or generate them, as resources are not about ownership, but about use. This metaphorical act of 'stealing' is essential for psychological growth and development. It is also often seen in business competition, especially when a new firm challenges the well-established incumbents, whose resources significantly outweigh those of the upstart contender.

After Hermes has stolen Apollo's cattle, he makes them walk backwards and in zigzags to conceal their footprints. Here, the cattle may represent order and obedience – a certain logic, which is well-enough established to be passively followed. Hermes uses the cattle's obedience to disrupt that order. He then presents Apollo with a puzzle: 'Figure out how I did it!' The moment Apollo learns what has

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<sup>114</sup> The killing of the tortoise might also be interpreted metaphorically: unlike the turtle, Hermes is quick and travels light.

happened, the idea of possibly reversing the order is already implanted in his head. More so, he now has no choice but to follow that strange and bizarre new order to find out who has committed the crime and how he can retrieve what has been stolen from him.

Hermes makes it clear that his intentions are not to challenge the great Olympian order, but rather to become a part of it. This is what he signals to the other gods (and particularly to Zeus) by sacrificing two heads of the cattle and, although tempted, not eating any of the meat. He splits his sacrifice into twelve equal portions, which correspond to the twelve great Olympian gods (Hermes adds himself to this order in accordance with his intention of becoming one of those gods).<sup>115</sup> His act of overcoming the temptation to eat the meat is of importance: here, Hermes establishes his own boundaries and limitations by sacrificing his immediate yearnings in order to further his mission and get what he ultimately desires. This part of the myth underlies a key necessity of the business world, namely an ability to restrain oneself and to know when and how to choose the 'right' battle. Hermes' message to the gods is that while he is disrupting the current order in some way by stealing from one of the gods, he respects and is willing to uphold and obey the greater overall order. This is why, later, when the angry Apollo brings Hermes before Zeus' court, demanding punishment for his theft, Zeus laughs and tells the two brothers that it is up to them to sort the situation out. And indeed it is.

### *Zigzags*

Hermes makes it possible for Apollo to find his way to Hermes' home. Furious, Apollo demands back what belongs to him. Hermes, as innocent as a baby, playfully defends himself against Apollo's accusations of theft by stating the most obvious facts, thus forcing Apollo to deny his logical and customary propositions. 'Do I look like a cattle driver? A big strong guy?' – asks Hermes (Homer, in Hyde, 1998, p. 324). He also provides reasons as to why he cannot possibly have done what Apollo is accusing him of: his feet are tender and the ground is rough and all he cares about is the milk from his

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<sup>115</sup> Edward Edinger points out the symbolism of the sacred number twelve: "One need only think of the twelve hours of the day, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve apostles of Christ, the twelve signs of the zodiac, the twelve labors of Heracles. Twelve is related to the symbolism of wholeness, to the mandala and the quaternity (...) As the ego looks in the direction of the Self, the transpersonal center of the psyche, it tends to experience the Self not as a unity (at least not at first) but as a multiplicity of archetypal factors that one can think of as the Greek gods (1994/2013, p. 23).

mother's breasts, and sleep, and blankets, and warm baths. He adds charmingly: 'I'd advise you not to talk like this in public; the deathless gods would think it odd indeed, a day-old child bringing field animals into the courtyard. You're talking wildly' (ibid). Yet Apollo has gathered enough evidence to know for sure who stole his cattle: 'The way you talk, I'm quite convinced you broke into many fine homes last night, quietly swiping all the goods, leaving many a poor soul without a chair to sit on' (ibid). Hermes, with his complex logical operators in place, is playing a double game: his trickery is successful on more than one level. When Apollo threatens to throw Hermes into the 'awful, hopeless dark of gloomy Tartarus' (ibid), from where even his father will not be able to bring him back to earth, Hermes raises the stakes to an equally high level by responding that he will swear a great oath by his father's head that he has absolutely nothing to do with the stolen cattle, leading to the appearance of the two brothers at Zeus' court.

Why such a masquerade? The ingenuity of Hermes' plan is not to trick Apollo, but to allow Apollo to be exactly who he is. It is this that allows Hermes to expose the limitations of the Apollonian order and subsequently suggest another equally possible *modus operandi*. In this sense, Hermes does not create a story; instead, he finds one. Businesses also rely on this strategy of 'finding' their story (offering what already exists in potential) by searching for current patterns and making use of/exploiting them – for good or for bad. Hermes generates a massive wave by challenging the Apollonian order at its very core and his task then becomes to surf that wave to its end. Setting his mind on a particular goal, Hermes only attempts to control the situation to a certain extent, while leaving plenty of room to take risks and improvise. He shows himself as someone who learns in a leap and invents on the spot (again, in contrast to the disciplinarian Apollo). He continuously demonstrates a very sharp perception of reality, in which his core vision is sensitive to changes in the environment and open to alterations.

Hermes' ingenuity is also seen in his big creations (his invention of fire-techniques) as well as in the obvious (his common-sense responses to Apollo). This non-discriminatory attitude allows him to link different things (even things belonging to different realities, in particular the conscious and unconscious), which results in his tricks being not only clever, but also meaningful.

*Zeus' court and its consequences*

At Olympus, Apollo, being who he is, speaks of Hermes' trickery, pointing out how long it took him (Apollo) to figure out those mischiefs. Hermes, while cheerfully denying Apollo's accusations, gets to the crux of the issue right from the start: 'Zeus, my father, of course I will tell you the truth, for I am an honest boy. I cannot tell a lie' (Homer, in Hyde, 1998, p. 326). Zeus, witnessing with amusement that his youngest son is much in touch with his intended nature, orders the two brothers to come to an agreement between themselves and to find the cattle, asking Hermes to guide the way.

It is now up to Hermes to demonstrate his abilities to Apollo and to make an offer to him, so that Apollo can enter the agreement that Hermes wants to seal. Hermes walks Apollo to the hidden stable. There, Apollo notices the cowhides spread on rocks and understandably wants to punish Hermes for killing two heads of his cattle. He ties Hermes up with strong willow bands, but to his great surprise, the bands will not hold him. They fall to the ground and begin sprouting, covering the roving cattle. This is a curious turn of events in the myth, as, up to this point, Hermes' powers have been based on his wit and creativity, as well as on his taking comfort in his natural abilities for deceit, stealing and lying. The unloosing of the strong willow bands and their capturing of the cattle introduce a new skillset to the scene. This incident is important as it effectively demonstrates that Apollo's powers have no hold over Hermes. Something important must have happened in the order of things, and Apollo, as a skilled reader of conscious patterns, cannot help but notice. As a way of speculating about who has caused the bands to fall and instead catch the cattle, we might be reminded of the finale at Zeus' court. After complaining that he was not a big strong guy like Apollo, Hermes finished his speech by saying that one day when he is as strong as Apollo, he will get back at this bully who has threatened him with awful punishments. 'But for now', – Hermes directly addresses his father Zeus and asks him – 'please help your youngest son' (ibid).

*Negotiations: friend and foe*

Apollo is astounded at what has happened, but before he comes to his senses, Hermes takes up the lyre that he has made out of turtle at the beginning of the story, and begins to play. This is the part of the story where Hermes seduces Apollo. Apollo, as the god of music, is transfixed by the beauty of the sounds, which neither men nor Olympian gods have ever heard before: 'the marvelous instrument stole



into his heart, and a gentle longing seized his listening soul' (ibid, p. 327). Hermes starts singing a melodic song in honour of the Olympian gods. The deal between the two brothers is beginning to emerge. 'Butcher of cattle, trickster, busy boy, friend of merry-makers, the things you're interested in are worth fifty cows' – says Apollo and admits that Hermes' music is a wonder to his ears (ibid, p. 328).

Apollo's attitude towards Hermes changes instantly. He will make Hermes famous for his talent for music. He promises him his protection and patronage, as well as wonderful gifts. Above all, he offers Hermes the role of messenger between the gods and humans, as well as of the guide of souls to the underworld.<sup>116</sup> With these powers, bestowed on Hermes by Apollo, the former remains in a lower position to Apollo, both in the pecking order and in relation to his powers, which are limited to rather specific areas of Apollo's jurisdiction. Hermes immediately picks up this point in his response, which gently yet significantly alters the nature of the emerging agreement.

As always, Hermes does a number of things at once. While accepting the offer, he starts his negotiations by addressing Apollo's propositions at their very core. He hints at his goals by praising at length Apollo's power as the oracular god, and outlining his awareness of the large spectrum of his powers: 'They say you know from his [Zeus'] own mouth the honors that will come to the gods; you know his oracles, O Archer, and you know his laws. From all this I'm already aware of your great fortune' (ibid). Next, while praising Apollo's learning skills, he states that since Apollo has set his heart on learning to play the lyre, it would be his honour to give the instrument to Apollo as a gift. This gifting of the lyre sends a strong message that Hermes does not want patronage of any sort from Apollo; instead, he wants to establish himself as a god in his own right and on equal terms with Apollo. It is also worth pointing out that the lyre will become one of the key symbols of Apollo. At the end of his speech, Hermes characteristically utters: 'As for me, I will see that the free-roving cattle feed in the high meadows and the grassy plains' (ibid, p. 329).

Next, the two gods willingly exchange the 'gifts': Hermes passes the lyre to Apollo, who in turn places his cattle whip in Hermes' hand, thus making the latter the keeper of the herds. As for Hermes' hinted claims regarding the oracular powers of Apollo, the latter replies: 'But, noble child of Zeus, as for

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<sup>116</sup> Both roles involve the transcendence of boundaries: whether between gods and men, or between life and death. Indeed, Hermes has proved himself a breaker of boundaries, the key characteristic of any self-respecting trickster.

the other thing you have asked about, the art of prophecy, neither you nor any of the deathless gods may learn it. Only the mind of Zeus knows the future. I've made a pledge' (ibid, p. 330). However, he offers Hermes the 'certain sacred sisters, three virgins lifted on swift wings', who teach their own kind of fortune telling that could be of use to Hermes (ibid). At the end of these negotiations, Hermes becomes the liminal god in his own right, while Apollo remains the oracular one. It is important to point out that while Hermes' powers originated from those of Apollo, it is the way Hermes uses these powers that makes him the liminal god. Similarly, as chapter 4 argued, business creativity challenges the common perception of creativity and presents itself as liminal creativity in its own right.<sup>117</sup>

Hermes emerges from the deal not only as the god of thieves (a shadow potential, which he declared earlier), but also governing many other jurisdictions. His chief responsibilities now include being messenger of the gods, the guide of souls into the underworld and the god of trade and commerce, as well as other important roles (god of invention, art, literature, travel as well as lord of herds and other animals). In most myths, Hermes appears as a crafty trickster who uses his wits to outsmart the other gods. His story has a happy ending (concluding with the remark that although Hermes the trickster 'serves a few, most of the time, when night has fallen, he deceives the race whose time runs out'<sup>118</sup> (ibid, p. 331)).

The myth also tells us that the deal seals Apollo and Hermes' friendship and deep love for one another. However, their relationship is slightly peculiar. Now that Apollo has a clearer idea of Hermes' nature and the way in which the latter belongs to the high Olympian order ('Zeus has given you the honor of initiating deeds of exchange trade among men all over the fruitful world' (ibid, p. 329), he asks him to swear an oath not to steal anything from him and never to 'approach his well-built home'. In return, Apollo vows to be his friend and companion and to love no other immortal more than Hermes.

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<sup>117</sup> As Edinger puts it: 'The Hermetic principle can deceive the Apollonian principle: Hermes does not always need to be truthful. He can be ambiguous and false and cunning, and that gets him into places that absolute light and truth and clarity could never enter' (1994/2013, p. 32).

<sup>118</sup> This quote may appear to contradict the statement that Hermes is 'the friendliest of the gods to men and the most generous giver' (Aristophanes, as cited in Otto, 1979, p. 107). This may not be so as Homer's concluding remark could be read as a metaphorical way of saying that Hermes the trickster fractures our identifications with certain psychologically outdated ideas and fantasies, thus, promoting, in his own way, a person's inner growth. This idea will be discussed further in chapter 11.

This newly founded relationship between the two gods is intimate and based on a deep understanding of and respect for each other's differences.

*The I-Thou of Hermesian psychology*

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the energies of competition and cooperation feature prominently in the myth. They hold the story together by underlying all Hermes' actions. At no time does Hermes lose sight of the delicate tensions between these energies, falling victim of enantiodromia. He does not attack other gods, nor does he ask others to give him what he wants. Instead, we see him finding his unique way into the greater Olympian order on the basis of his innate combination of resources. He cheats and manipulates, yet he also negotiates compassionately. Samuels, in his interpretation of the myth, points out two sets of human traits which are patterned in the myth and which also stand out in the market economy: while we are engaged in a complex love affair with unjust and inequitable aspects of the market economy, we remain quite committed to a better and more just world order and are deeply concerned with alterity and the wellbeing of others (1993, p. 93). Samuels insists that there is no contradiction: both sets of concerns naturally exist side-by-side and are in permanent competition with each other: 'The I-Thou aspects of market relations between people or peoples are revealed alongside the ruthless aspects, compassion functioning alongside competition' (ibid).

*Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have used Hermes the trickster as a symbol of business creativity, which I defined in the previous chapter as the ability to read existing patterns correctly and produce that which others will need or want (including the manufacturing of needs/wants for some products by playing on people's psychological follies and insecurities), for the purpose of monetary exchange. The myth of Hermes illustrates that creativity does not have to be about aesthetics, harmony or higher (i.e. non-personal) goals. Such goals are what Apollo, as the god of the sun, light, knowledge, order, arts and so on, stands for. Hermes appears on the scene to challenge the one-sidedness of this Apollonian order. Through his wit and cunning, he shows that creativity can come from a variety of places. It can be liminal and mischievous, disruptive and self-regarded. The direct link between the mythology of Hermes and the business domain is that Hermes, the cunning and creative trickster, becomes the god of

trade and commerce. The indirect link is that the myth captures these dynamics, which are characteristic of the market economy, exceptionally well.

Addressing the challenger spirit in the contemporary business organisations, Khurshed Dehnugara and Claire Breeze write: 'It is the intention of a successful Challenger to create waves organizationally by causing ongoing moderate levels of disturbance. They are metaphorically throwing boulders into still waters and then having to learn how to surf the waves they themselves have generated' (2012, p. 73). This requires 'high levels of self and organizational awareness in order to be able to connect with others and use anxiety in a creative way' (ibid). The creation of this purposeful instability is about 'relishing the energy that is generated from upsetting the equilibrium and understanding how this can liberate others' (ibid). Integrating Hermes into cultural consciousness can be liberating: it allows not only learning how to manage change but also provides opportunities for understanding ourselves on a deeper level.

## Chapter 6

### Anima and animus in business

#### *Introduction*

In this chapter, I explore manifestations of the anima and animus in the business world, as well as contributions these archetypal energies make to our understanding of business creativity. These archetypes emerge in groups, collectives and domains such as business, and many individuals participate in them in one way or another – now from anima energy with projections, fantasies and ideas, now from animus patterns with know-how and more rational approaches. Thus, it is useful to understand the mutual relationship between anima and animus in terms of syzygy. In Jungian psychology, the term *syzygy* denotes a pair of psychological opposites whether in conjunction or opposition (Jung, *CW9ii*, paras. 20-42).

Syzygy contains many possible relational combinations. My argument is that a relatively stable functional syzygy between anima and animus is required to generate creativity in business and bring about an adequate execution of the project. This is the ultimate source of analytical imagination so crucial in the business world. This syzygy comprises a state of creative tension (neither outright conflict nor merger) where the differences are in dialogue with each other and working dynamically together, while preserving the necessary distinctions of their specific natures. The ideal functional syzygy is one that uses analytical imagination to offer novel answers to concrete problems in demand.

I will start with a brief overview of the Jungian understanding of the anima and animus and then move to the main part of this chapter, which is the business application of these concepts. I will use start-up culture to illustrate my points and will end by shifting into a ‘case-study’ of Pinterest, a successful start-up company, to underpin the practical importance of syzygy for the business domain.

#### *Anima and animus in Jungian psychology*

Jung used the term ‘anima’ to denote the unconscious ‘feminine’ component of the man’s psyche and ‘animus’ for the ‘masculine’ aspects of the woman’s psyche. This classification, however, raised some concern even in his times; in today’s world, where gender is conceived of in somewhat different and

more flexible ways, we would say that everyone has both an anima and animus. In this light, as some commentators (Samuels, 1985/2006, p. 212; Lopez-Pedraza, 1989/2010, p. 151; Young-Eisendrath, 1997/1999, p. 225) point out, these concepts can be viewed as metaphors for unconscious energies, arguably without losing their essence.

Importantly, Jung himself used the terms anima and animus to designate certain patterns of related psychic phenomena. According to him, the anima and animus contain attributes that are lacking from our conscious attitude, and thus indicate a more unconscious level than we realise consciously. Jung sees these archetypal factors as a doorway to the deeper levels of the inner world and as offering access to the collective layers of the unconscious (*CW9ii*, paras. 20-42). This applies both to individuals and to communities and collectives, such as the business domain.

Jung describes the anima as the projection-making factor in the psyche, which, like the ancient Indian Goddess Maya, creates illusions (*CW9ii*, para. 20). The ego consequently gets caught up in a web of projections that stem from this unconscious source, which represents the power of Eros<sup>119</sup>. Jung writes that the anima is ‘the glamorous, possessive, moody, and sentimental seductress in a man’ (*CW9ii*, para. 422) and that ‘[s]he intensifies, exaggerates, falsifies, and mythologises all emotional relations’ (*CW9i*, para. 144). The anima brings in feelings of excitement, fascination and the desire for union, if not total merger. She creates a version of reality in which we want to believe and participate and in this respect is every successful con-man’s greatest accomplice (Konnikova, 2016). It is due to the impact of the anima that we feel an immediate and deep connection to certain people, ideas or projects. Thus, we may become intoxicated by the speech of the charismatic orator, fall in love with a film star or envision a certain version of ourselves or the future – none of which may be grounded in our reality. The impact of the anima bypasses our ability for independent thinking and critical judgement due to a strong and immediate emotional affect. The animus, on the other hand, is associated with Logos<sup>120</sup>, i.e. structure, discipline and independent thinking (Jung, *CW9ii*, paras. 20-42). We could say that the animus pulls the psyche in the direction of abstraction, reality-testing and the creation of order. However, the

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<sup>119</sup> Eros is the principle of love and life, which underpins connectedness and relationship between people (Young-Eisendrath and Dawson, 1999, p. 316).

<sup>120</sup> Logos is the principle of rational discrimination. Jung defined Logos as ‘the dynamic power of thoughts and words’ (*CW9ii*, para. 293).

animus also has a tendency to become dull, judgemental and one-sided. Its constructions can be as illusory as the fantasies of the anima. Both are driven by unconscious energies that dissimulate as reality. However, as I will argue, both are necessary for creativity and execution in the business domain.

It could be argued that the anima and animus *as principles* broadly capture and contain the multiplicity of archetypal characteristics inherent and active within the collective unconscious.<sup>121</sup> Specifically, the anima (with its lunar energy) empowers Eros and the forces of relationship, while the animus (with its solar energy) drives structural factors and empowers Logos. Thus, for example, the shadow, puer aeternus and mother, with their relatively undifferentiated and marked lunar qualities featuring raw emotion and imagination, draw energy from the anima principle, while the solar orientation of the more differentiated archetypes such as the persona, senex and father draw their resources from the animus principle with its orientation toward structure. These archetypes then use the energy in their own characteristic ways. The syzygy, which combines the anima and animus in a larger composite totality, provides space for a variety of positions in the relations among the anima and animus oriented energies and opportunities for switching between different paradigmatic positions. Behind the syzygy lies the overarching 'archetype of archetypes', the self, which guides and controls all distributions of energy among the various archetypal patterns.

#### *Manifestations of the anima and animus in the business world*

The concepts of anima and animus can be instructive in addressing the current 'execution gap', which, according to many commentators, is endemic in our culture (Mankins and Steele, 2005). The

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<sup>121</sup> This hypothesis finds support in the works of Jungian theorist Erich Neumann. Neumann (1960/1989, pp. 320-382) wrote about the Vital Principle, which is the original manifestation of all diverse forms of creativity. The Vital Principle is pregnant with unlimited potential. It is always accompanied to varying degrees by the Ordering Agency, as both are at the centre of creation and existence. The Ordering Agency shapes, structures and maintains the boundaries of all the things that the Vital Principle is capable of producing. Its principle function is thus chaos prevention and excess elimination. Neumann also adds the third factor to his model of creation, the Directing Agency, whose function is teleological orientation. These three dynamically different factors form the Trinity, which is at the core of all activities taking place at all levels of existence. Neumann's theory of creativity is complex, but what is relevant for my hypothesis is that, as Murray Stein suggests, the two aspects of the self, the Vital Principle and Ordering Agency, could be identified as the anima and animus respectively (2017, p. 125).

term 'execution gap' refers to the gap between the setting of a strategy or goal based on a certain idea/vision and actually achieving it. This is often expressed in terms of '*from X to Y by when*' (McChesney, Covey and Huling, 2012, p. 299).

I will use the notion of the anima archetype to refer to the workings of imagination and the spontaneous emergence of ideas and images related to a product, while its counterpart, the animus archetype, leads toward execution by introducing know-how, experimentation, ordering, estimation of markets and the possible structure of implementation. Thus, the anima picks up and introduces the unconscious knowledge of a business idea, while the animus, as the ordering agency, has unconscious knowledge of the market as well as how to make this idea work. It is my hypothesis that it is the 'functional syzygy' (i.e. a state of creative tension between these energy polarities where the differences are in dialogue with each other and working dynamically together, while preserving the necessary distinctions of their specific natures) that brings strategy and execution together and potentially integrates them into a whole. Through its dynamic presence in each, the syzygy effectively bridges the dichotomy that is responsible for creating both the theoretical and practical chasms between these two business concepts.

Strategy is about forward-looking vision and ideas (i.e. the anima), while execution, being about structural implementation, is shared by the animus and ego.<sup>122</sup> In the absence of the functional syzygy, when the animus and anima are not adequately relating to each other, there is a divide between strategy and execution: strategy is unrealistic and inflexible, while execution lacks motivation and is sterile and over practical. This strategy orientation is often cited as one of the major reasons for the execution gap (e.g. Leinwand and Carmichael, 2016), while lack of motivation on the execution side is another (e.g. McChesney, Covey and Huling, 2012, pp. 6-8).

In this theoretical account, the ego shares the function of execution with the animus by following up on animus' constructions. It is important to point out that the ego does not organise or structure execution; it rather implements the organising factors that the animus comes up with. Organising and structuring are creative acts. Jungian psychology holds that creativity fundamentally derives from the

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<sup>122</sup> This classification finds support in Stein's interpretation of Neumann's work (footnote 121). Stein writes: 'Anima is the Vital Principle, the source of energy and imagination and fantasy; animus is the Ordering Principle, executing its will through the ego function' (2017, p. 125).



collective unconscious (Jung, *CW15*, para. 130) and that the ego is crucial for the realisation of creativity within time and space. Jung also stated that ‘the ego stands to the self as the moved to the mover, or as object to subject’ (*CW11*, para. 391), while emphasising that the self needs the ego in order to have presence in the time and space realm.<sup>123</sup> The latter view has been further elaborated by many Jungians. For example, Edward Edinger (1972) introduced the term/concept ‘ego-self axis’. In this context, it is worth emphasising the difference between true reality-testing and what could be called ‘pseudo reality-testing’. It is often assumed that the ego, as the centre of consciousness, does the reality-testing. However, the principal function of the ego is to determine what enters the centre of consciousness, and thus, as pointed out above, the ego only implements what the archetype, with which it currently identifies more, comes up with. For example, when the ego is under the influence of the anima or puer, it may ‘think’ that it is engaged in reality-testing, while in fact it is only protecting a certain idea/fantasy from reality (i.e. pseudo reality-testing). For the ego’s reality-testing to be genuine and effective, a connection with animus’ energies is necessary. Thus, it is the ego and animus together that constitute the reality principle, which is essential for execution of a project.

When the anima and animus are working together as functional syzygy, this syzygy becomes available to both strategy and execution. It brings imaginal strategy and concern for the real world together and integrates them into a whole, thus making strategy more realistic and flexible and thus more in touch with execution. The functional syzygy contains both the anima voice, which whispers, ‘Yes, let’s do it! I am excited’, as well as the animus voice with its reassuring message, ‘I know where we are going’. This syzygy activates and motivates the ego, which then implements what the syzygy comes up with. The anima side of the syzygy creates a pervasive strategic attitude capable of supplying the necessary *motivation* to sustain the project through the everyday whirl of business routines while the animus side directs the project to move ahead, to change and possibly become something entirely different as that execution proceeds. Without this functional syzygy, all motivational tactics would be merely short-lived. Thus, through this syzygy, strategy contains within it the execution aspect (through the animus and its connection with the reality-principle), and execution contains the motivating strategic aspect (through the anima and its deep connection with unconscious creativity), meaning that the presence of the syzygy narrows the execution gap.

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<sup>123</sup> This perspective contrasts sharply with Freud’s famous statement: ‘Where id was, there ego shall be’ (1933/1973, p. 112) and emphasises that Jungian/post-Jungian psychology has a far more positive view of the unconscious than psychoanalysis and its modern variations.

*Start-ups as an example of the syzygy in action*

The impact of these archetypes can be illustrated using the example of start-up companies, which I use because the dynamics of start-up culture demonstrate the patterns in the execution gap particularly vividly. That is to say, they exhibit the divergence between inspiration and vision (largely in the form of a new idea) and execution in a characteristically acute way. As the driving force behind the current trends of western economic development, start-ups are promising yet demanding and risky enterprises: research shows that at least 75 per cent of start-ups fail, with investors losing all their money in 30-40 per cent of cases (Cage, 2012).

There are no hard and fast rules to defining a start-up, and hence the definitions are many and often conflicting. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'start-up' as: 'the action or process of setting something in motion' or 'a newly established business'. Neil Blumenthal, co-founder and co-CEO of Warby Parker, defines a start-up as 'a company working to solve a problem where the solution is not obvious and success is not guaranteed' (as cited in Robehmed, 2013).

Contrary to these definitions, co-founder of an influential start-up accelerator Y Combinator, Paul Graham, states that start-ups are defined in terms of exponential growth (Graham, 2012) and it is this that distinguishes a newly founded business from a start-up. For example, what distinguishes Google from a barbershop is not that its founders were extraordinarily hard-working or lucky or both; the difference is that the barbershop cannot scale up, while Google has the ability to attract a large market and thus experience high growth rates. Thus, Graham identifies two conditions necessary for a start-up: 1) a product with a large potential market; 2) the ability to reach and accommodate this market.

An equally useful definition is offered by Eric Ries (the acclaimed pioneer of the lean start-up movement, a modern business strategy helping start-ups to allocate their limited resources efficiently): a start-up is 'a human institution designed to create new products and services under conditions of extreme uncertainty' (2001, p. 8). Apart from emphasising the human element in start-up culture, the definition also specifies that the key factor required for their development and operation is extreme uncertainty, which includes not only market conditions but also lack of awareness of who their customer is, what their product will be or which obstacles they will have to overcome. It is these

features that distinguish start-ups from what could be called more traditional business models and which are responsible for significantly redefining business operations. By presenting a formidable challenge to well-established companies (e.g. smartphones vs. Nokia), the start-up mentality with its emphasis on continuous innovation has integrated itself into the very matrix of the business domain. The amount of time for which a company can hold on to its earlier innovation has shrunk considerably, making even the most well-established businesses heavily dependent on innovation to ensure their future survival. For example, John Hagel of Deloitte's Centre for the Edge (2002) states: 'It's not only getting harder and harder to generate profits, but it's getting harder and harder to maintain market position – even when you are the very largest companies in the U.S.'.

My argument is that the concepts of anima and animus are useful tools for understanding the unconscious psychological structures behind start-up activity that contribute significantly to success or failure. Thus, it is important to see how they pull the psyche in certain directions (i.e. how we identify with these archetypes). As mentioned earlier, Jungian psychology states that creativity comes from sources deep in our collective unconscious. The anima acts as a gateway to this deeper level and is present each time we have an inspired idea, a so-called Eureka moment, such as 'it would be great to do this' or 'I can see how I can make what exists better'. It inspires us, opens up a range of possibilities and energises and excites us so that everything seems possible and within reach. We could say that the anima makes us fall in love with an idea and thus pulls our psyche in the direction of heightened, even wild, imagination and creative energies. This process of idea-formation is important, since, although it may appear (albeit not necessarily to us) that we lose touch with reality in such moments of inspiration, this is when our ideas become conscious, begin to take shape and come alive. What, however, might equally happen at this initial stage of idea creation is that we get caught up in an idea and even become sick with it.<sup>124</sup> We can see this happening particularly often with start-ups. The idea can seduce and enslave us, as in the case of identification with our idea.

This unconscious identification can manifest as all types of defensiveness in relation to the idea, including the refusal to put it to vigorous reality testing. This may lead to inadequate research, lack of

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<sup>124</sup> Jung stated: 'The creative process has a feminine quality, and the creative work arises from unconscious depths – we might truly say from the realm of the Mothers. Whenever the creative force predominates, life is ruled and shaped by the unconscious rather than by the conscious will, and the ego is swept along on an underground current, becoming nothing more than a helpless observer of events' (*CW15*, para. 159).

customer development interviews or badly designed questionnaires whose purpose is to support one's own point of view rather than to get to the bottom of the situation. There is no interest in whether the product meets market needs, and instead a rather common temptation is to begin thinking that 'first we will make something and then we will see how it can bring profit'. There may be a certain determination and rigidity of attitude: the idea is great and it must work. Here, the inspiring person may use the example of Twitter, which was also unprofitable for a long time (Smorodnikova, 2014).

At later stages, when it becomes apparent that the market is not responding, this rigidity contributes to the temptation to start adding further features to the product in order to perfect it. In contrast, an alternative to this behaviour is to pivot, which is a common practice in start-ups. Pivoting usually occurs when the current business model is not working and the founders thus resort to plan B. It is often the result of desperation, arising out of the urgency to change things before the resources run out. However, it is also about attuning to the voice of customers, and, by aiming to deliver the product that they want, forgoing initial preferences about expanding or changing the target markets (Ries, 2011, p. 149). Being in the grip of the anima means that new possibilities are overlooked and no pivots are undertaken; thus, the project loses momentum. As a result of this unconscious identification with the anima, we move further and further away from reality and begin to like our idea and vision more than the market, its users and their problems.

What is important at the stage of idea-formation is that one does not become seduced by the anima and cling to the inspired idea at all costs. Separation (i.e. individuation) is called for at this point. A degree of strong anima identification would be inevitable and even desirable in some cases, but it is the dynamic of identification that becomes a problem. Compared to normal jobs, start-ups take up days and nights of their founders' lives and involve foregoing a stable income amongst other sacrifices that significantly affect the quality of life. A degree of strong identification ensures the required 100 per cent commitment, perseverance and even stubbornness. The other side of this identification, however, is that it can, especially under certain unfavourable circumstances, quickly spin out of control and drag a person with it. The idea in the head may become bigger and stronger, drawing more and more resources towards itself. It takes on all the time, effort, emotions, mental ability and finance and thereby becomes the centre of one's life. In its demand for complete dedication, as in the case of a possessive lover who stops at nothing short of complete ownership of the object of desire, it might eventually suck all the blood and exhaust the life-force, throwing a person into an abyss of despair and self-deprecation.

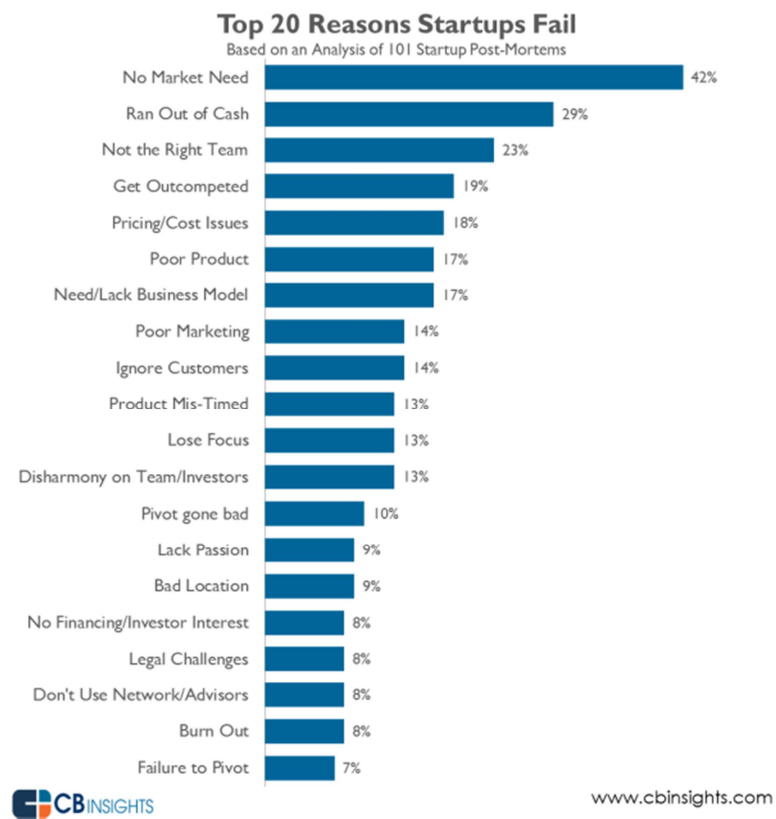
The short history of start-ups has already witnessed many painful examples of this happening, including cases of suicide (Carson, 2015).

What are the roots of this identification? The anima presents us with a brilliant idea, which has vast potential. Most importantly, however, it represents *us* in potential, where we stand for something that we are not at the moment. In that respect, it gives us a new identity. When we are presented with an idea by the anima-muse, we are suddenly removed from our mundane lives and transformed into the owner of some precious jewel or a hero galloping off on some glorious mission (slaying dragons, saving princesses and acquiring kingdoms). The anima ensures that all this will feel real, as it is not only the source of creativity in giving us ideas, but is also the master of grandiose illusions and deceptions.

One of the most damaging aspects of the anima is her tendency to whisper sweetly in our ear that we are special and that our ideas matter. Once the ego takes up this anima suggestion and locks it, as a sacred treasure, in a safe, that precious idea begins to dictate directions. Much of what the anima says or does in the background is barely detectable by the ego, which then suffers intolerably: on the one hand, there is a belief that guides all its actions, while on the other there is reality which often does not match this belief and instead requires a very different set of skills and resources.

The negative aspect of the anima with its powerfully charged conviction that the idea is everything features prominently in the start-up environment. If we look at the chart below, we can see how this anima-inspired Silicon Valley version of the Cinderella story can go bust: by far the top reason for start-up failure is a lack of market need for the product.

Top reasons for the failure of start-ups



(Source: CBinsights, 2014, *The Top Twenty Reasons Startups Fail*)

This single factor accounts for at least 42% of failures, followed by running out of cash (29%), issues within the team (23%) and being outcompeted (19%). However, looking at the chart, it is possible to say that fascination with the idea not only features prominently in the first item on the graph, but is also implicit in most of the other factors responsible for failure, such as running out of resources or burning out.

The observation that clinging to pet ideas could, in fact, kill start-ups and often effectively destroys the lives of their founders, points to the insight that the idea itself is not the most significant aspect of a successful start-up; what matters is how it is executed and how the eventual product is received by the market (Cooper and Vlaskovits, 2013, p. 4). The reason many start-ups die is because business creativity does not comprise an aspect of the self-exploration or self-realisation process (as it does in art, for example), but is primarily concerned with satisfying the rather specific needs of the market.

Thus, whereas the first encounter with the anima can be overwhelming, it is important to have a second and more conscious encounter. The anima does not operate in a linear fashion, but in terms of emotionally charged images. It is volatile and in need of containment. The animus, on the other hand, brings a drive toward order, rationality, reality-testing and know-how. It is responsible for the drive toward the structured development of an idea and therefore pushes for market research and will generally act to check the idea against market reality: is the market big enough? Is there a need for this product? How may the incumbents respond to our intervention? In the modern world, where almost everything imagined can be built, the animus interrupts the anima's self-inspiring chatter: 'Until we figure out whether we can build a sustainable business around the idea, it is not worth spending any resources on it'.

Thus, the animus interferes with the state of unconscious identification with the idea and with all the fantasies built around it. While the anima comes from the realm of the Mothers and can draw us back into the world of images and potentials (Jung, *CW15*, para. 159), the animus is connected to the Father principle and in that sense it, like the father, breaks the connection between the realm of the Mothers and the new-born idea. The animus introduces the necessary 'third' into the dyad. Ideally, its energy removes the idea from the realm of the Mothers while not entirely destroying the ego identification with the anima/idea. In this way, it adds energy in the form of structure and order and brings logical direction to the idea, thus helping it to form, develop, mature and scatter the seeds further.

Quite often what is needed is both big vision and small-scale steps. Here, the animus may break the anima's vision into its component parts and conduct a vigorous testing that separates facts from assumptions. The animus' emphasis on the scientific approach and experimentation works together with the anima's vision, hopes, fears, intuition and judgements. Thus, the functional syzygy can channel the anima's creativity into its most productive form. The animus' productivity is not about efficiency, but about aligning the business idea with the needs of the market. The functional syzygy is an example of what could be called 'analytical imagination'.

When the anima and animus are working together as the functional syzygy, work has meaning and thus the ego can sustain the necessary motivation throughout the project. It is this syzygy that activates and motivates the ego. The ego, being responsible for the actual execution of the task, mobilises the

necessary resources to contain and persevere through the difficulties, and essentially allows for work to be conducted efficiently. It is not a perfect equilibrium, even once established, since the ego will still inevitably identify slightly more with the anima on some occasions and with the animus on others, thus causing the syzygy to change its character configuration or even collapse.

What is most important is that the ego does not claim creativity for itself. Instead, it invites further creativity and development. When a certain vision of a product is conceived, there is no insistence on how to use it. The developers look carefully to observe its actual usage patterns in the business environment, and they are flexible enough to pivot when a major pattern becomes evident.

#### *An example*

To conclude my argument, I would like to use the story of Pinterest to illustrate the workings of the anima and animus and their syzygy. The story of the company, like every story, is multidimensional and thus cannot be captured fully by any single narrative. What follows only claims to show the relevance of the anima and animus archetypes as important determinants in the formation of the company.

In the spring of 2012, Pinterest became an overnight success. Now, with nearly 73 million users worldwide, over 500 employees and an office in San Francisco, Pinterest, after displaying extremely high growth rates over the previous three years, was valued at \$11 billion in June 2015 (Wikipedia, n.d.). The company was founded by Ben Silbermann, Evan Sharp and Paul Sciarra in 2009 and the initial idea for their start-up came from Ben Silbermann's interest in collecting things. His own childhood hobby, which he still holds dear to his heart, was collecting butterflies. Thus, he wanted to create a website that allowed people to explore and share their hobbies. At the core of his idea was the creation of virtual photo boards organised around one's interests (Shontell, 2012). Following the basic logic of a butterfly collector, every time one sees a stimulating image online, all one has to do is to press the Pin-button for the image to appear on one's board.

Silbermann's idea for the company was derived from something he felt passionate about and this passionately held image was the source of his inspiration. At an early stage of business creativity, the animus served as the structuring agency in conducting the research and organising the founders' ideas. As Silbermann said, 'collecting tells a lot about who you are', but there was nowhere on the web to share



that side of one's personality (as cited in Panzarino, 2013). The founders spotted a gap in the market that other social networks, including big incumbents such as Facebook, Twitter, Google+, LinkedIn and others, had overlooked.

The story of Pinterest can be looked at as the process of how Silbermann's 'problem' (i.e. a lack in the current social media market which addressed his personal interests) became the problem of many other people (including those who may not previously have been aware that they had this 'problem'). As Silbermann states: 'There is a lot of value in helping people to discover things that they did not know they wanted' (as cited in Simonite, 2013). To his comment it could also be added that the other side of the Pinterest story is that its founders did not know or could not foresee what kind of social network they would eventually create and are still creating. Anima dynamics lie in the emergence and persistence of a large and somewhat vague image or idea, which in typical fashion appears in the fog and requires a great deal of time and effort to take form in the real world. 'It would be great to have a website for people to collect things' is the idea indicating the anima's motivating presence on the scene. This arises out of an earlier passion – collecting and pinning butterflies – and now becomes generalised and enters the business environment. However, there is more to the anima's story. The anima brings with it the unconscious knowledge of all the other ideas that will eventually, given time and space, sprout from the first. The anima is generative and it is therefore crucial for creativity to respond positively and say 'Yes' to the anima, allowing it to bring its potential children into the world. Saying 'No' not only prematurely kills the idea itself but also aborts its potential children. However, it is also important to treat this image/idea not as a call to immediate action but as a call from the depths that opens the door to new possibilities. The anima brings with it a great deal of uncertainty, which it is important to tolerate without either succumbing completely to the pull of the collective unconscious that it elicits, or defending against it.

With its unconscious knowledge of the market as well as its possession of unconscious know-how, the animus is the appropriate mental structure to pick up and deal with the question marks posed by the anima. These question marks are just what are needed for market research, experimentation, the ordering of ideas and other activities involved in separating the proverbial wheat from the chaff. It is this syzygy that allowed for the remaining unconscious ideas (the children that the anima could deliver into the real world if it were adequately supported by the animus structure) to find their rightful place in the Pinterest story. At the core of this functional syzygy is the principle of co-creation: the founders'

creativity was matched by and combined with the users' creativity. This combination allowed for often unexpected discoveries of other business venues, such as search engines, commerce and market and social research. Thus, for example, Pinterest demonstrated a strong correlation between pinning and buying relative to other social media websites, including commercially-oriented ones (Samuel, 2012). It is unlikely that the founders expected to see such a correlation, but by building features around it (e.g. tracking and other website links that brands can use for sale analytics), they clearly found a way to take advantage of it.

One of the most important aspects of Pinterest's commercial success was that it offered a non-aggressive trading model. The team at Pinterest tapped into the emerging patterns of what some commentators refer to as the 'gift economy' (Bonchek, 2012), a phenomenon that came together with social media where the emphasis is not on product promotion as such but rather on building a relationship with clients, as well as facilitating people's need to create relationships with each other. When the anima is well contained within the syzygy, through its connection to Eros, it becomes about relating and relationship. It gives rise to what could be called 'imaginative empathy', which gives emotional depth to a relationship and can also find an appropriate metaphor for it. The animus then, through its connection to Logos, gives direction to this metaphor and 'translates' it into a mode of relating, which is appropriate for a business project. Sohrad Vossoughi of HBR (2013) attributes this ability of Pinterest to drive engagement and commerce – and, importantly, to link the two together – not just to their functional features, which are next to flawless and are made to meet high aesthetic tastes, but to finding and utilising the right metaphor. One of the key aspects of Pinterest's success in this area is that it rather brilliantly and effectively reintroduced the concept of the bazaar to the modern world. Pinterest converted this metaphor into a wide array of tools that link browsers and retailers and by so doing offer customers a sense of control, the possibility to explore the things they like at their own pace, multiple paths for discovery and the ability to co-curate with friends and other like-minded strangers (ibid).

The presence of the functional syzygy is also seen in its provision of motivation and perseverance during the long and difficult periods when the project was not picking up. It took approximately two exhausting years after presenting the product to the market for it to gain momentum. There were significant problems with funding all along the way, with 200 users when it was launched and only

10,000 users nine months later (Shontell, 2012). From most angles, it did not follow what could be called a typical start-up success path. What follows below shows this dynamic of syzygy in operation.

Silbermann's initial idea for the company was to create a social platform where people could share their personal interests in an emotionally engaging and visually pleasing way. Thus, he had a certain vision of what kind of product he wanted to create. Right from the start, his team was passionate about the project and paid a great deal of attention to every single detail of the design. In Silbermann's own words: 'We were obsessive about the product. We were obsessive about all the writing and how it was described. We were obsessive about the community' (as cited in Anderson, 2012). This obsession with detail was evident in many of the founders' decisions. Thus, contrary to logic, and with virtually no users, he had his web-designer create 50 functional versions of the website's basic layout, which differed in image size by fractions of an inch (Simonite, 2013). They spent months working on the design. Here, we see a strong identification with the anima at a point where to do so could potentially have been destructive. However, because the anima was paired with the animus at almost every step of development, that did not happen. Once the product had been launched and had a small number of users, Silbermann personally wrote to the first 5000-7000 users asking for their opinions and advice (Anderson, 2012). This syzygy between the idea and a proactive reality-check approach is something that the eventual Pinterest investors picked up on and responded to. Thus, one of the early investors, Brian Cohen, commented that he could not but marvel at how open and engaging the team was to advice and input from investors, clients, partners and designers: 'I used to see him [Silbermann] in New York just taking out small rooms to meet with customers. I'd never seen anything like it' (as cited in Ulanoff, 2012). Cohen pointed out that such 'non-myopic behavior' was at the core of the company's success.

Months passed and the product failed to scale; however, they remained faithful to their idea. The anima did not allow them to abandon the project. It is here that we see how a certain strong degree of anima-identification (strong attachment to the idea, but without a blind fanaticism) can be helpful and constructive. As Silbermann himself admitted, he could not bear to tell others that 'he and his project' had failed (as cited in Lagorio-Chafkin, 2012), and this made him persevere when he would otherwise have given up in light of how much energy and other resources the start-up was using.

However, passion for their project did not stop them from trying to sell it at one very low point, the problem being that no one wanted to buy. It might have seemed only rational from the ego's point of

view to shelve the idea and treat it as an ugly duckling at some moments of disappointment that, despite all the effort, it had not turned out well. Here, the animus-mentality with its straightforward thinking that does not leave things in limbo actually came to the rescue. The animus does the research, weighs the odds and delivers the verdict: yes or no. After rethinking their situation in light of some new information, the founders decided that the project still had some potential. The breakthrough arrived in March 2011 with the launch of an iPhone app, and by the end of that year the company had topped over 10 million users and become one of the 10 most popular social networks (Pinalytics, 2014).

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have shown how the Jungian concepts of anima, animus and their syzygy can be applied to the business domain and justified my hypothesis that the functional syzygy is required to bring about business creativity by demonstrating the relevance of this syzygy for the execution gap, characteristic of the start-up culture and a key issue on the current business agenda. I used a practical example of Pinterest, a successful innovative start-up, to underpin my hypothesis. On the example of the anima and animus, I also showed that the archetypal model, when used appropriately, can be helpful in containing the unconscious projected contents in the business world while these contents are consciously explored. Having seen how the functional syzygy operates, in the next three chapters, we will look at the manifestations of the shadow, the persona and their mutual dynamics in the business world, respectively.

## Chapter 7

### Shadow in business

#### *Introduction*

In this chapter, I demonstrate a case of shadow manifestation in business using the example of British Petroleum (BP) and its role in the Gulf of Mexico oil rig disaster. I argue that although there are many ways of interpreting this tragedy, it represents a classic case study of shadow operations. I will begin by outlining the shadow archetype as used in Jungian psychology and then shift to an analysis of the BP oil rig fiasco, demonstrating the dynamics of the shadow at three different time points: before, during, and after the disaster. Although some of BP's actions can be logically explained from the behavioural/managerial perspective and appear to represent cognitive bias, it is the consistency of BP's operations over that period that points to specifically shadow characteristics. These two viewpoints (i.e. the crisis as a result of cognitive bias and shadow dynamics, respectively) will be presented side by side. By contrasting BP's actions with those of Pixar, I will also argue that although it is difficult for large successful companies to avoid strong shadow dynamics, the shadow's intelligence can, at least to some extent, be diverted from the construction of destructive scenarios toward the pursuit of business creativity. I will conclude that given its tendency to construct strong personas, there is a powerful archetypal pull in the business world towards the shadow. Companies need to be aware of these dynamics to be able to transform and navigate the shadow's energy away from destruction and toward the discovery of creative potentials.

#### *Shadow in Jungian psychology*

The shadow is 'the thing a person has no wish to be' (Jung, *CW16*, para. 470). According to Jung, '[e]veryone carries a shadow, and the less it is embodied in the individual's conscious life, the blacker and denser it is' (*CW11*, para. 131). Given that the shadow contains both personal and collective contents (*CW9ii*, para. 19), it is impossible to eradicate.<sup>125</sup> However, as Jung states, if an 'inferiority is

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<sup>125</sup> As James Hillman notes: 'The unconscious cannot be conscious; the moon has its dark side, the sun goes down and cannot shine everywhere at once, and even God has two hands. Attention and focus require some things to be out of the field of vision, to remain in the dark. One cannot look both ways' (1991, as cited in Zweig and Abrams, p. xvii).

conscious, one always has a chance to correct it' (*CW11*, para. 131). He points out that the shadow 'represents first and foremost the personal unconscious' (*CW9ii*, para. 19); hence, the content of this archetype is one of the most 'accessible'. The personal shadow is formed in the process of ego-development. 'What ego-consciousness rejects becomes shadow; what it positively accepts and identifies with and absorbs into itself becomes a part of itself and of the persona' (Stein, 1998/2009; p. 109). Thus, the shadow contains the material that is incompatible with the ego and persona<sup>126</sup>. This makes the shadow and persona complementary, as well as oppositional, structures, examples of which include Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Cain and Abel, and Gilgamesh and Enkidu.

Jung, however, was careful to point out that the shadow is not intrinsically evil (*CW9ii*, para. 423). As Jungian analyst John Sanford notes, quoting Jung: '[T]he shadow is ninety percent pure gold' (1991, as cited in Miller, p. 21). The content of the repressed material 'holds a tremendous amount of energy, with a great positive potential'. Sanford adds: 'The ego, in its refusal of insight and its refusal to accept the entire personality, contributes much more to evil than the shadow' (*ibid*).

The collective aspect of the shadow stands for the 'universally human dark side within us, for the tendency toward the dark and inferior that is inherent in every man' (Jacobi, 1973, p. 112). In his *Answer to Job*, Jung presents Satan as an example of the shadow, which ruthlessly destroys every single part of Job's world (*CW11*, paras. 355-470).

Based on the above, the definition of the shadow that I will use throughout this thesis is as follows: the shadow is the name for a potential in the unconscious, which contains both that which we do not know and that which we do not wish to know, particularly about ourselves, others and society. It is often seen as intensely negative and destructive; however, among the potentials it contains are the potentials for change (usually change out of all recognition), which is often intensely positive. One of the distinguishing features of the shadow is that its approach is usually frightening. The shadow's

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<sup>126</sup> While the persona is the subject of the next chapter, for now it is sufficient to define it as a social mask that we wear to meet the expectations or demands of external reality. Due to its universality and inevitability, the persona is the archetype responsible for our social adjustment (Jung, *CW7*, para. 246).

archetypal function is to attack the ego (and the persona) from behind.<sup>127</sup> Whether such an attack brings destruction or positive potential depends largely on the way in which the ego engages with the shadow.<sup>128</sup>

*The case of British Petroleum*

British Petroleum, one of the world's six supermajor oil and gas companies (Dutta, 2013), had a reputation, constructed and carefully maintained over many decades, for integrity and a strong work ethic (Edersheim, 2010). Its executives were cited as experienced forward-looking business leaders (Hanson, 2010) and its organisational culture appeared to display all the characteristics of a professional, dynamic and responsible work environment (BP Global, n.d.). However, this reputation began to change dramatically at the beginning of the present century, when BP was directly involved in several environmental and safety incidents, culminating in the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil rig disaster, the largest accidental oil spill into marine waters in history.<sup>129</sup> As mentioned, my analysis of the BP oil rig fiasco will cover the periods before, during and after its occurrence. I will first address the view that the incident largely stemmed from the banality of organisational life rather than any evil intentions (conscious or unconscious), and then argue that the incident resulted from shadow operations.

During the court proceedings, it became evident that multiple serious operational errors had occurred, resulting from a considerable cut in resource expenses (Barstow, Rohde and Saul, 2010).

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<sup>127</sup> Given that we engage with the world largely from the position of the ego (even when we are aware of other 'personalities' inside us (e.g. Redfearn, 1994)), when the shadow attacks the ego (and the persona), it is possible to say that the shadow attacks us.

<sup>128</sup> In the case of a criminal, the shadow stands for good and kind aspects of this person's psyche. This shadow attacks the ego (and the persona) of the criminal, thus, introducing conflicts and tensions into his inner world.

<sup>129</sup> The incident occurred due to a gas leakage during the cementing of the Deepwater Horizon well (Barstow, Rohde and Saul, 2010) and led to the deaths of eleven people, severe long-term environmental, health and economic consequences, as well as expensive legal and public relations repercussions for the company (Adams and Crooks, 2015). BP pleaded guilty to eleven counts of felony manslaughter, two misdemeanours and one felony count of lying to Congress. In July 2015, the final court ruling settled for nearly \$19 billion in additional penalties above the \$28 billion already expended, thus representing the largest criminal resolution in US history (ibid).

Among the factors contributing to the disaster were the reduction in the number of centralisers used to position the pipe prior to the drilling process; the premature removal of the lubricating drilling mud; and the use of cheaper drilling essentials (The Guardian, 2014). The number and scale of human errors were also outstanding, and included: managers' misinterpretation of important test results regarding hydrocarbons that were already seeping from the well; BP's preference for an older version of a complex safety device, the blowout preventer, which already had a long history of unreliability (Tinsley, Dillon and Madsen, 2011); and, arguably most crucial of all, its intentional decision to cut corners on procedural and safety requirements (The Guardian, 2012). Prior to the incident, BP also ordered its partners to neglect their procedural and safety standards due to a delay in its ambitious drilling schedule (Pelley, 2010). Hours before the explosion, multiple warnings were issued, only to be ignored (Goldenberg, 2010). Importantly, all these moves were made at a time when BP was making record-breaking profits (Taxpayers for Common Sense, 2010).

Following these multiple reports of short-sightedness and outright failures in BP's conduct, many (e.g. Edersheim, 2010) considered how to explain these incidents. Did BP management become so complacent that it forgot or dismissed all the explicit dangers of drilling under 35,000 feet of water? Was it the voracious pursuit of profit that blinded it to the fact that while it was publicly preaching corporate responsibility, it was dangerously pushing the limits of technology? Why did different agents within BP organisational culture or those close to it (e.g. Transocean, the rig's owner) ignore all the warnings despite the known fact that the well had been malfunctioning for a long time (indeed, it was nicknamed 'the well from hell' (Rushe, 2013))?

Behavioural psychology's rational approach (e.g. Tinsley, Dillon and Madsen, 2011) claims to have found the explanation in the concept of cognitive bias. In this view, faults of this kind are not considered unique to BP, but are, rather, common practice in many companies, large and small, as well as being routinely encountered in our everyday individual lives. Indeed, they are so common that they can be justified as a feature of human nature, resulting from the necessary compromise we must strike with reality where nothing can be done perfectly or attended to 100 per cent. In the field of cognitive psychology and the related managerial literature, such faults are referred to as 'near-misses' (Dillon and Tinsley, 2008) and research shows that, as a rule, most major disasters are preceded by a catalogue of such near-misses (Tinsley, Dillon and Cronin, 2012).



A near-miss is a narrow escape from a failure, which usually serves as a call for reconsideration (Dillon and Tinsley, 2008). Catherin Tinsley, Robin Dillon and Peter Madsen (2011), prolific authors in this particular area, have singled out a particular type of near-miss, which comprises small and seemingly unimportant daily failures in operations with successful outcomes. Their research concludes that people are prone to ignore such issues, or even interpret them as signs of the system's resilience. When conditions change, however, these near-misses play a crucial role as major contributors to, if not the direct cause of, the crisis (Dillon, Tinsley and Burns, 2014).

According to these and other studies on behavioural decision-making, there are a number of cognitive biases at play that explain the near-miss phenomenon. In random order, the first is the 'normalisation of deviance', which is the tendency to accept certain risky occurrences as normal. Diane Vaughan (1996) coined the term 'Challenger launch decision' to refer to these situations not as evil manifestations, but as the ordinary realities of organisational life. Using the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger in 1986 as an example, she showed how the normalisation of deviance, combined with a culture of high-risk technology, resulted in the perceptual transition of the anomaly from dangerous to a normal flight risk. Her analysis of the Challenger situation could equally be applied to the BP oil crisis.

The second cognitive impediment is the 'outcome bias', which occurs when the focus lies solely on the successful end product and not on the process that led to that product. This means that the performance is not investigated systematically and can result from random factors. Nassim Taleb (2004/2007), statistician, financial commentator and writer, famously coined the term 'fooled by randomness'. He explains our failures of judgement as a product of such factors as 'survivorship bias' and 'skewed distributions'.

The third cognitive error is the 'fundamental attribution error': when we succeed, we are prone to conclude that our talents and current strategies are the reason for success, while neglecting the contributions of other people or factors; when we fail, on the other hand, we tend to do the opposite (Gino and Pisano, 2011). The fourth error is the 'overconfidence bias', when we believe we are next to invincible and do not need to change anything (ibid). It is important to emphasise that, according to research, these cognitive biases constitute normal human behaviour (ibid). The research does not explain, however, why and how these biases become activated.

To summarise, from the viewpoint of behavioural psychology, the root of the problem in the BP case was the accumulation of ordinary cognitive biases rather than some malicious shadow script. However, a simple example illustrates that this explanation falls short in interpreting BP's operations. If we use a broken ladder and manage to get away unscathed, the cognitive bias hypothesis would suggest that we will grow confident in using the ladder and 'normalise' what otherwise appears to be reckless behaviour. If, however, we have repeated near-miss situations, when we nearly fall down and are saved by chance, yet persist in using the ladder, it appears sensible to suggest that we are engaging in some kind of self-destructive behaviour. If, the example continues, we decide to open a business to sell what we know to be broken ladders, we are directly involved in destructive behaviour, which is likely to be detrimental to the well-being of other people, as well as ourselves. The BP case reflects both the second and third scenarios, which, compared to the first, cannot be explained with reference to cognitive biases.

I will now propose that what are normally categorised as near-misses in behavioural psychology could be seen from the analytical psychology standpoint as particular consequences of shadow operations, with a specific aim and ways of achieving that aim. My key presumption is that near-misses are not recognised and are, instead, misinterpreted, precisely because the shadow's success comprises one's own failure (i.e. the shadow does not allow for such a recognition to occur). In the argument that follows, I will propose that the above-cited actions of BP indicate that the shadow was in operation and used cognitive biases, which are common to human nature, in service of its goal. From this perspective, behavioural psychological explanations of BP's actions might appear to be an unsuccessful attempt at rationalisation.

The shadow breeds on the rigidity of the persona's characteristic stance that 'one cannot argue with success', and pulls the psyche in the opposite direction, thus blinding one to the process and its inadequacies (O'Neill, 1991, pp. 107-109; Guggenbuhl-Graig, 1991, pp. 110-116). In a high-paced business environment, there is a tightrope walk between risks that are inevitable and natural and those that are not. It is this grey area that the shadow turns into its playground and ultimately a graveyard, using as its toys such serious business tools as busy schedules, costs, production deadlines and the pressures of competition. Thus, for example, BP's management team were under pressure to resolve the delay in its drilling schedule, which was costing the company \$1 million a day in rig lease and contractor

payments (Armitstead, Butterworth and Jamieson, 2010). This pressure impacted their ability to deal more adequately with the growing number of warning signs (Barstow, Rohde and Saul, 2010).

While the persona is attracted to (and also blinded by) the bright lights of success, the shadow operates in darkness, behind the radar of conscious functioning (Guggenbuhl-Graig, 1991, pp. 110-116) and does not leave a single trace. Thus, an eventual disaster may come as a surprise even to those who allegedly directly caused it. A disaster does not usually stem from a single cause, but is instead initiated by a number of small, seemingly insignificant human errors that accumulate over time, which is how the shadow gains its powerful form, and these casual errors and cognitive biases are then combined with enabling conditions to produce a large-scale failure. In this way, the shadow meticulously writes its script and orchestrates the conditions that result in tragedy.

For example, a latent error on an oil rig might stem from some minor mistake in the drilling procedure, which in turn results in a small gas leakage (not an uncommon occurrence during drilling); another error might comprise the premature removal of the lubricating drilling material, which further contributes to the leakage; and a more serious error again might be negligence in the monitoring procedures due to a general deterioration of safety conditions. Added together, these errors result in the gas escaping unnoticed. The enabling conditions could then comprise particularly dry, windless weather or construction processes near the leak. Combined, these otherwise small errors, coupled with the enabling conditions, produce an eruption of deadly magnitude. Small errors can persist over long periods, as they do not, of themselves, normally lead to devastating consequences. This explains why they are often ignored in favour of more urgent issues (such as deadlines). However, they are the key players in most disasters, since, while these errors do lie within the participants' control zone, the enabling conditions cannot be predicted or controlled.

Based on the above, it could be argued that the shadow creates what are called 'perfect storm' events<sup>130</sup>, a term originally coined by writer Sebastian Junger (1997) to refer to the 1991 battle

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<sup>130</sup> In chapter 11, I will compare perfect storm events (i.e. the consequences of *destructive* shadow dynamics) with negative 'black swan' events, which I attribute to *disruptive* trickster dynamics. To sum up the importance of the distinction, negative black swan events involve a collective fantasy, and it is the bursting of the inflated ego that causes the crisis, while perfect storm catastrophes are built around a much heavier and darker dynamic, implying an actual wrongdoing and its concealment (usually on the part of some partisan group).

between a fishing boat crew and a nor'easter. The storm in question resulted from a combination of multiple unpredictable factors: warm air from the Great Lakes, storm winds from an Atlantic island and tropical moisture due to Hurricane Grace. As financial scholars Anthony Catanach and Julie Ragatz comment in relation to such events in business: 'The perfect storm premise is that none of these factors was individually powerful enough to create the resulting storm; when they came together, however, their confluence created an effect that was exponentially more devastating than anyone could have imagined' (2010, p. 21).

The shadow is intelligent. It knows that while it is difficult to learn from failure, it is even more difficult to learn from success. The persona believes that success can only breed further success. However, success also breeds the shadow, and the shadow brings failure. The shadow uses the persona's dependence on success and carefully plants the seeds of disaster. Learning from mistakes and near-misses becomes impossible: as much as the persona wants success, the shadow desires catastrophe.

Shadow dynamics often take time to build up and this makes it difficult to dismantle them, even when disaster strikes. It is overoptimistic to think that it is possible to beat the shadow through attempts at rationalisation. The problem is, first and foremost, psychological in nature, and thus runs deeper than such solutions can go. Rationalisation alone cannot overcome the shadow, as it cannot even locate and capture it. On the other hand, when someone is caught up in the shadow, the default position is to correct the symptom, not the cause, and managerial techniques can thus further encourage the strong pull in that direction. Some such techniques can be useful (tools such as Six Sigma, a set of techniques and tools for process improvement, and total quality management), even if their eventual impact is temporary or limited in other ways. However, there are other techniques that can only be compared to the use of antibiotics to eradicate a very intelligent bacterium. The net result is that the bacterium only develops resistance and grows stronger. Blocking one tunnel creates a network of many others. The mistake is to think that the shadow can be eradicated. Techniques that engage with the shadow are more useful (Sinetar, 1991) and suggest that a company could well use success to breed more success by acknowledging, understanding and including the shadow. After all, there is nothing that can protect one from the shadow better than the shadow.

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In contrast to the BP pre-incident operations, we could cite Pixar as a business model that represents a different type of organisational behaviour, in which success and failure have equal footing, and both encourage further investigation into the company's projects. Pixar, with its 15 hit animated films in a row (Wikipedia, n.d.), is an example of a successful organisation, and as such it is vulnerable to shadow dynamics comparable to those experienced by BP. However, in its practices, Pixar appears careful not to indulge the persona and, thus, not to provoke the shadow. By this means, it prevents the shadow from hijacking organisational decisions. Ed Catmull (2014), president of Pixar, describes the vigorous reviews that take place at different stages of the production process, which help to bring attention to many otherwise unnoticed details that have contributed significantly to the success of its films. He concedes that there is a great deal of resistance to conducting these reviews, as people naturally want to attribute successful results to themselves and their chosen strategies, while reviews might reveal a very different picture that hinders the long-awaited celebrations. Thus, Pixar has to be clever in ensuring that its members remain engaged with the process. It has to be creative in order to allay the tedium of such post-mortems by regularly changing their format, using diverse types of data, from facts to personal impressions, to keep a reality check and generate stimulating discussions that challenge the assumptions that naturally, and often mistakenly, arise from the process of work. It also welcomes and actively seeks outsider perspectives on their conduct, and often invites new people to chair reviews and post-mortems (ibid). Interpreted in terms of Jungian psychology, the shadow's intelligence is used to find or dig the very tunnels through which failure could gain access to the company. This inclusion of the shadow means that the issues it raises are (at least to some extent) known and worked through, which in turn allows for the continuous regeneration of the persona.

Furthermore, as Liliane Frey-Rohn states, the shadow 'retains contact with the lost depth of the soul, with life and vitality – the superior, the universally human (...) even the creative can be sensed there' (1991, as cited in Zweig and Abrams, p. xvii). Through their counterintuitive operations, Pixar's senior management engages the shadow in such a way as to find the company's undeveloped and unexpressed potentials, which are then used to boost creativity, thus sustaining a dynamic alive environment and benefiting the company. As Jungian psychology postulates, it is one's attitude to the shadow (or the unconscious in general) that, to a significant extent, determines the shadow's reciprocal attitude (e.g. Edinger, 1994/2013, p. 15; Bly, 1991, p. 8). However, there are limits to which the shadow can be a protector. As pointed out earlier, the archetypal role of the shadow is to always attack the ego (and persona) from behind. It is then the response of the ego (to disregard the shadow or to engage with it

productively), which largely determines whether the shadow's attack results in destruction or opening up a potential.

As Frey-Rohn asserts, '[c]oming to terms with the unconscious always entails the risk that one may give the Devil too much credit. One is indeed trusting him too far, if one overlooks the fact that confrontation with an archetype can result in error and corruption as well as in guidance and truth' (1991, p. 266). She points out that an 'attitude of critical resistance can be a measure of self-protection' and 'caution is important in the "dosage" of poison' (ibid).

Thus, we may conclude that certain patterns are evident in the BP pre-crisis operations that are coherent with the analytical psychology view of shadow dynamics. BP's handling of the situation during and after the crisis further points to shadow dynamics. When the crisis erupted, there were numerous attempts not only to misrepresent its impact, but also outright and dangerous attempts to cover things up at all costs – a typical sign of the shadow in operation.

#### *During the crisis*

One of the particularly controversial episodes was the use of Corexit, a dangerous dispersant. Its use was justified on the grounds that it would break up the oil into tiny parcels, which could then be dispersed by ocean currents, thus reducing the negative effect of the oil on sea life. However, the dispersant is itself highly toxic, and has been banned in Europe for a decade, precisely because of its deadly impact on marine habitats. Notwithstanding concerns from the Environmental Protection Agency as well as its calls to use other less toxic dispersants, the US government allowed the use of Corexit; however, the scale and scope of its use by BP was not anticipated (Rosenthal, 2010). There were also multiple warnings, supported by scientific evidence, that when Corexit is mixed with crude oil, it produces a far more dangerous substance than each of them independently. BP, however, ignored these calls and continued to use the chemical in vast quantities, even after repeated calls from the US government and environmental agencies to desist. BP continued to insist that Corexit is harmless, while Bob Dudley, the appointed president and chief executive officer of BP's Gulf Coast Restoration Organisation that was working with the oil leakage in the Gulf of Mexico (and who later replaced Tony Heyward as chief executive of BP), went as far as to say that 'the toxicity of Corexit is about the same as dish soap, which is effectively what it is and how it works' (Kirby, 2013). The real value that BP derived

from using Corexit was that, compared to other chemicals, it forced the oil deep down into the ocean where it could not be seen, thus significantly reducing the visual impact of the oil spill. However, beneath the surface of the ocean, it was having a devastating long-term effect on sea life, and current studies paint a rather bleak picture of the consequences of BP's use of Corexit (Fountain, 2013).

The above comprises a very vivid symbolic representation of shadow activity. The shadow attempts to suppress the emergence of certain material to the surface. It hides, lies, and covers up its wrong-doings,<sup>131</sup> pushing the material back to the bottom of the unconscious (BP's pushing the oil to the bottom of the sea is a revealing analogy). In the hypothesis discussed above on the role of cognitive bias in the crisis, it was at least possible to make the case that BP corporately *repressed* (an unconscious process) its wrong-doings while caught up in pursuit of profit; however, BP's actions during and immediately after the crisis show its deliberate *suppression* of its shadow activities (i.e. conscious attempts to cover up, lie and deceive, while aware that doing so was causing even more damage to others).

BP's overall handling of the crisis centred around public relations (i.e. the persona) at the expense of doing the 'right thing'. Thus, instead of giving realistic figures about the scale of the oil spill, the company kept insisting on low estimates and negligible consequences (they did the same in relation to the disposal of chemicals into the waters) (CNN, 2010). BP's website was conspiratorially selective in its crisis-related context. For example, any mention of the impact on wildlife was carefully avoided, and a video loop was presented as a live update (until Rep. Ed Markey of Massachusetts interfered) (U.S. Senate, n.d.).

In contrast, we may consider how the Tylenol tampering scandal of 1982 was handled. Tylenol, the leading pain-killer medicine in the USA produced by Johnson & Johnson, was tampered with while on shop shelves, resulting in the deaths of seven people (Rehak, 2002). Johnson & Johnson assumed full responsibility and acted promptly, recalling all capsules from shops and halting all its advertising

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<sup>131</sup> Although it is in accordance with Jungian theory to say that the shadow 'lies and hides', as Sanford reminds us, it is also in accordance with Jungian theory that 'the shadow always has a reason for anything it does, a reason related to those qualities excluded from the ego' (as cited in Miller, 1991, p. 25). Thus, technically speaking, 'the shadow never lies; it's the ego that lies about its real motives' (ibid, p. 21). Since the shadow cannot be eradicated, it is ego's life-long journey or even responsibility to 'explore' the shadow and find a way to relate to it.

campaigns. As a result, it suffered a loss of over \$100 million and a drop in market share from 37 per cent to 7 per cent (ibid). However, the company consciously chose to stick to its mission statement, which put the safety of its customers first. This was the key to the brand's quick revival and renewal. BP, however, consistently displayed very different dynamics.

Using all of the PR techniques at its disposal, BP attempted to ignore its shadow. It is also important to point out that BP was forced (particularly as a result of the court proceedings) to admit its misconduct and the consequences thereof, rather than doing so willingly. Facing the shadow in the way that Johnson & Johnson did is a painful and expensive, yet transformative, process, which results in learning and development, and a new persona can be built as a result. BP's refusal to face its shadow suggests that it did not work through the issues brought in by the shadow, and this in turn means that these issues are likely to reappear again in some form or other.

#### *Aftermath of the crisis*

BP's conduct in the aftermath of the crisis was also vastly criticised. It is worth mentioning the behaviour of its chief executive, Tony Hayward, who received a great deal of negative attention in the media. Hayward's persistent comments regarding the negligible effects of the oil spill, despite the emerging evidence to the contrary, his insensitive behaviour (e.g. appearing at the J.P. Morgan Asset Management race on his private boat shortly after the crisis (Sterwell, 2010)), as well as his arrogant and self-centred public statements ('There's no one who wants this over more than I do. I would like my life back' (as cited in Lubin, 2010)) enraged many. For example, Greenpeace campaigner Charlie Kronick described the boating trip as 'insulting (...) rubbing salt into the wounds' of those whose lives had been affected by the spill (BBC, 2010).

Hayward lost his position at BP, largely as a result of BP's attempts to save its reputation (WN.com, 2010). However, it is worth mentioning that his career in leadership was far from over. Apart from being offered executive roles at other high-profile organisations (CompactGTL, Corus Group, Tata Steel, as well as being appointed the adviser on environment and safety issues by Glencore International and later becoming its non-executive chairman) (Glencore, 2015), he also received other notable awards and recognitions, including the honour of a 'distinguished leader' by the University of Birmingham and an honorary degree from Robert Gordon University (STV, 2013). His acceptance of these recognitions as



rightful and deserved suggests a continuing denial of any wrong-doing, as well as a conscience free from guilt.

### *Conclusion*

Drawing upon the foregoing example of BP and its role in the Gulf of Mexico oil spill crisis, I have attempted to address the fact that there is a powerful archetypal pull towards the shadow, which is characteristic of the business world with its tendency to 'construct' strong personas. Companies need to be aware of the pull in this direction in order to avoid developing powerful unconscious shadow dynamics. This is particularly the case for companies with a long success record (which possibly contributes to their eventual, and sometimes tragic, demise). Instead, shadow intelligence can be used in pursuit of business creativity (as in Pixar's case) and in service of innovation, rather than in the construction of destructive masterpieces.

## Chapter 8

### Persona in business

#### *Introduction*

This chapter explains the role played by the persona in the business world and what it can contribute to our understanding of business creativity. I will begin by briefly explaining the persona archetype in Jungian psychology and then hypothesise that, in business, the persona is co-created by the production and consumption sides of capitalist society. I will then switch to the impact of the persona on each of these spheres of activity. I will also argue that, due to its powerful position, the persona is at the forefront of business creativity, innovation and even social progress and conclude that, while the persona is a useful and indispensable managerial tool in the business world, it has all the resources to become an uncontrollable and merciless master.

#### *Persona in Jungian psychology*

Jung defined the persona as a 'functional complex that comes into existence for reasons of adaptation or personal convenience' (CW6, para. 801). Jung's writings on the persona are ambivalent: he often disregards it as a superficial construct while pointing out its necessity for development and the individuation process in particular. Due to its external orientation, however, the persona is not of prime interest to him (CW7, para. 269). Hence, Jung writes that the persona is 'only a mask of the collective psyche, a mask that *feigns individuality*, making others and oneself believe that one is individual, whereas one is simply acting a role through which the collective psyche speaks' (CW7, para. 246). He refers to it as a 'semblance', 'two-dimensional reality' and 'secondary reality' (ibid). He acknowledges, however, that the persona is not inherently fake, because it is ultimately the self that determines the persona's particular content (CW7, para. 247). Nevertheless, the persona can become superficial or even pathological when the ego identifies too strongly with it and thus develops a powerful shadow.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> As stated in the previous chapter, the persona and shadow are always present within the psyche as a mutual compensatory mechanism (Stein, 1998/2009, pp. 105-125). The persona is also contrasted with the anima/animus archetype, as while the former represents the ego-attitude towards external reality, the latter is concerned with the inner world (Jung, CW6, para. 803). Work on the persona and shadow is considered the first stage of the individuation process (Jung, CW9i,

*Manifestations of the persona in business*

Given that the prime task of a capitalist business enterprise is to make profit, the key question on its agenda is how to *attract* customers. All other business concerns, such as what to produce, how to produce, whom to hire or what price to charge, revolve around this question.<sup>133</sup> The persona, with its ability to create appearances, is an indispensable tool when it comes to *attraction*. Thus, as with persona manifestations in our individual lives within society, the business persona is first and foremost a functional necessity. Its intricate connection with the ability to sell means that the persona is the interface between the worlds of production and consumption of goods and services. The modern business persona can be found in brands, advertising and public relations. The prominence and popularity of these industries, which have become the driving forces of capitalism (Kornberger, 2010, p. xi), point to the powerful role of the persona in western societies. To understand the importance of the persona's current role in business and society at large, we need to understand how it came to hold this position and what are the sources of its power.

*View N° 1: the persona as an outcome of production*

Persona-driven industries such as advertising, branding and public relations came to prominence during the 1920s-1930s, when the transition from a production to consumption society began to take hold (Kornberger, 2010, p. xiii). The current socio-cultural literature has a great deal to say about this transition as well as the phenomenon of a consumer society. The predominant narrative assumes that the production society entailed a relatively straightforward relationship between production and consumption, as characterised by Adam Smith's rational economic worldview of the 'invisible hand' regulating the market forces of supply and demand. Due to the limitations of production, demand always exceeded a rather inflexible supply (i.e. the economy was supply-driven). Following the

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para. 61). The way to the deeper psychic interior lies through the archetypes of the anima and animus (chapter 6).

<sup>133</sup> As Peter Drucker famously proclaimed, '[b]ecause the purpose of business is to create a customer, the business enterprise has two – and only two – basic functions: marketing and innovation. Marketing and innovation produce results; all the rest are costs. Marketing is the distinguishing, unique function of the business' (Drucker, as cited in Trout, 2006).

advances of capitalism, the competition increased, allowing for expansion of production and making the supply curve progressively flatter. Simultaneously, the income levels of the general population were rising, reflecting their desire to replicate the lifestyles of the rich, which in turn was accommodated and further fuelled by the newly enabled capitalist system. It was during this time that advertising and branding came to prominence. At first, these industries, standing between the worlds of production and consumption, mediated between the growing consumer market and increasingly differentiated production supplies, mainly by providing information to help consumers and producers to locate each other. Later, however, they started to display their own dynamics and claim greater space, significantly altering consumer behaviour, as well as profoundly impacting the ethics and conduct of the business world. These developments marked the era of the consumer society, in which the buying and selling of goods and services is the most important social and economic activity (Dunn, 2008, pp. 8-9). This narrative, which presupposes a linear progression (or digression, depending on one's values) from producer society to consumer society, claims that the latter (and consequently, the persona) was the outcome of the production side of the economy manipulating demand.

Under this common narrative, it could be argued that the persona underwent some prominent transformations, which in turn provided favourable conditions for further flourishing of the consumer society. Some commentators' arguments (Fullerton, 1988, p. 108; Martin, 1999, p. 438; Smart, 2010, p. 7) imply that changes in persona functioning were quantitative rather than qualitative in nature: while in the past, the impact of the persona on business and society was less noticeable because the markets were small, with the expansion of markets this impact became more prominent, yet the persona's fundamental nature remained largely the same. In their study of consumer culture in late imperial China, historians Gary Hamilton and Chi-kong Lai (1989) found a complex system of commodity branding firmly established at the beginning of the Sung dynasty in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. They state that 'the symbolic values embedded in market economies need not be construed as being simply a function of capitalist production or a result of a consumer psychology created by factory owners manipulating symbols for their own profit' (ibid, p. 268). Anthropologist David Wengrow also argues against the view that branding is a 'distinguishing cultural move of late capitalism' or a 'historically distinctive feature of the modern global economy' (2008, p. 7), thus implying that effectively the same persona-based methodology has been applied throughout history.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Neil McKendrick et al. (1982) also support the view that more or less the same branding methodology has been used throughout the whole history of society. For example, the 18<sup>th</sup> century

In contrast to this view, it is possible to argue that there have been some profound qualitative changes within this production-determined persona-functioning. While in the past, the persona's functioning was more of a functioning necessity to provide product information and mediate between consumers and producers, or at best a shiny accessory, with the emergence of the consumer society, it became firmly based on image-creation around the product. It was this reemphasis that signified the transformation of the persona from necessity to major selling point and thus brought about powerful identification processes. Arguably, the most prominent early theoretical framework for this image-creation can be found in Marx's works. For example, he stated of the commodity that it is 'a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' (1867/1976, p. 163) and warned about fetishism of the commodity.<sup>135</sup> (Marx's view in this particular respect is akin to Jung's, who, as stated earlier, warned about the dangers of identification with the persona, which, to extend Jung's argument, may lead to some form of fetishism.) Importantly, Marx attributed fetishism to the social organisation of labour (i.e. the production side) rather than to consumption. Capitalism was, for him, not about democracy and freedom of choice, but manipulation and tacit exploitation ('false consciousness'). Arguably, the most vivid early practical demonstrations of the view of image-creation/the persona as a tool of consumer control is seen in Edward Bernays' methods of market creation.

Bernays, a nephew of Freud, applied the principles of psychoanalysis to mass consumption, which earned him the name 'the father of public relations' (Cutlip, 1994, p. 159). In a nutshell, Bernays' formula was based on the idea that emotions sell products; thus, businesses should sell images rather

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pottery manufacturer Josiah Wedgwood effectively created a desirable brand for his business by using every opportunity to enlist the aristocracy to endorse his products and thus generated demand from the upper and aspiring middle classes. In his strategy, he clearly distinguished between the quality and beauty of his products and the marketing necessary to create his own niche in pottery production (ibid, p. 113).

<sup>135</sup> Other related quotes from Marx include:

'[A] garment becomes a real garment only in the act of being worn (...) the product (...) *becomes* a product only through consumption' (1973, p. 91).

'Thus, the new needs are discovered and then reproduced in new products. Production stimulates the emergence of these needs by finding ways to provoke consumers' desires and fantasies' (ibid, pp. 92-93).

than only goods/services.<sup>136</sup> A grand demonstration of his approach took place in 1929 when American women were convinced to smoke cigarettes ('torches of freedom'), at a time when smoking was viewed as taboo for women (ibid, pp. 209-212).<sup>137</sup>

Such methodologies demonstrate that the persona is key to the 'engineering of consent' (to use Bernays' term).<sup>138</sup> When products are no longer defined primarily by their functionality, but by their symbolic powers (i.e. by the emotions evoked by their images), the persona not only becomes the primary link between the rational world of production and the emotional world of consumption (i.e. a seductive salesperson who builds shiny images around the products), but also conceptualises a unique way of uniting the two, based on novel techniques of mass persuasion. In its endorsement of goods with largely pre-determined meaning, the persona legitimises the creation of its own space between these two spheres of production and consumption. This third sphere, in typical persona fashion, is right in front of everyone's eyes, yet conceals much more than it claims to reveal. This position gives the

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<sup>136</sup> As Marshall McLuhan, philosopher and media expert, described this situation, the ad became 'hooked to the *id*' (1964/2006, p. 240).

<sup>137</sup> Other accomplishments of Bernays include getting Americans to eat bananas, children bathing in Ivory Soap, and the transformation of the image of President Calvin Coolidge, to name but a few (Cutlip, 1994, p. 159). It is important to mention here that Bernays' reasoning was more complex than that of a public relations-inspired salesman and reflected his deeper philosophical stance.

It is possible to read Bernays (1928) as saying that those people indulging in consumption would have been, in the absence of such, equally passionately involved in other potentially more destructive activities. Interpreted in this way, consumption appears as a relatively harmless preoccupation that diverges our dark unconscious impulses lurking in the shadows and threatening to spring out and wreak havoc at any moment. Consumption, based on the principle of the endless rotation of desires, sedates our uncontrollable inner demons. Thus, public relations and advertising are a necessary mechanism of social control that keep the dark personal and, most importantly, collective forces at bay, while at the same time ensuring a smooth economic prosperity. The latter may in turn lead to social and political stability, allowing society to progress and hopefully, through its social and educational institutions, to develop higher levels of consciousness, which would make it possible to approach our unconscious forces on a more solid basis (if this is not overly optimistic). These speculations do not, however, refute the manipulative and even destructive side of advertising and other forms of persona-functioning in the business world.

<sup>138</sup> Much supportive evidence for this thesis began to emerge from diverse research. For example, in a blind test, over 98 per cent of 300 brand-loyal smokers could not identify their favourite brand (as cited in Kornberger, 2010, p. 190).

persona a profound influence over both consumption and production, which will be discussed later. Its further growing intricate connection with the ability to sell is what, it is argued, constitutes a strong pull towards the persona in business. It is also important to point out that the persona's skilfulness in creating images that capture our conscious and unconscious desires makes it highly creative (in accordance with the definition of business creativity given in chapter 4). I will give some examples of this persona-inspired creativity later in this chapter.

This profound qualitative change of the persona following the emergence of the consumer society could be attributed to the dynamics of capitalism (and as such, as we will see in the following sections, the transformations of the persona are far from over). Arguably, the persona and capitalism reinforce each other and thus both undergo profound transformations in their nature. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith, in some ways following Marx's propositions, states that capitalist production always produces consumption by determining 'the object of consumption, the manner of consumption, and the motive of consumption' (1973, p. 92). He pointed out the 'dependence effect', whereby capitalist production operates on the premise of filling a void that it itself creates (1958/1998, pp. 124-132). Similarly, when a strong identification with the persona occurs, the ego experiences a deep sense of inner void, which it desperately yet unsuccessfully attempts to fill. This is so because the persona is, at its core, a fragile construction, which on its own lacks many vital resources for healthy psychological functioning. Pointing out the persona's limitations and superficiality, Ken Wilber, for example, refers to it as 'distorted and impoverished persona' (1991, p. 275).

According to Galbraith, the capitalist mode of production does not include society's wellbeing or happiness, as the gap between supply and demand needs to remain stable for capitalism to function. This makes the satisfaction of consumer desires irrelevant from the social point of view: 'If production creates the wants it seeks to satisfy, or if the wants emerge *pari passu* [at an equal pace or rate] with the production, then the urgency of the wants can no longer be used to defend the urgency of the production' (1958, p. 153). As social theorist Zygmunt Bauman put it, a 'satisfied consumer is neither motive nor purpose – but the most terrifying menace (...) Satisfaction must be only a momentary experience' (2007, p. 98). Similar dynamics apply to the persona, which is more about satisfaction of desires, status and appearance than individual or collective wellbeing.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> To put these views into perspective, after western society experienced the downfall of its previous value systems, capitalism (and the business persona with it) might seem a disappointing

Above, I presented arguments that imply that the persona in business is 'created' by the production side. While some commentators state that essentially the same PR techniques have been used by the production side throughout history (i.e. the change in these techniques is quantitative), others argue that it is specifically the production side of the capitalist economy that brought about definitive qualitative changes in those techniques (and hence in the persona's functioning), with the subsequent result of the consumer society (also an outcome of the production side under capitalism and a stage in capitalist development) and these new techniques reinforcing each other.

*View № 2: the persona as an outcome of consumption*

In the above accounts, consumers are taken as an emotional and infantile group, which can be manipulated into being passive and predictable receivers of what and how to consume. Although there is strong support for these views, it can nonetheless be argued that they simplify a rather complex reality. For instance, they minimise the importance of the fact that consumption is not only personal and emotional, but also volatile, irrational and unpredictable.<sup>140</sup> Production, being more rational, focused and goal/profit oriented had to adjust to that fact. It had to give up its fantasies of omnipotence and control and often found itself on the receiving end. Tendencies appeared that were difficult to explain, let alone to create, manage or even predict. Even some examples, which may at first appear as the most obvious cases of manipulation, may, in light of the accumulated sociological research, suggest a different mode of interpretation.

For example, economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen's (1899) concept of conspicuous

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socio-economic development; however, the problem might be more with societal expectations than with capitalism per se. Capitalism, as an economic and relatively open system, makes just one specific promise: to make people wealthier (not happier). It presupposes an affluent consumer with sufficient disposable income to afford things that s/he believes to be instrumental to achieving fulfilment. In that sense, project 'capitalism' has been a successful one. Arguably, the stages of capitalism encountered so far have merely reflected the widespread belief that peace of mind can be bought together with a house, curtains of a favourite colour or pretty clothes in the wardrobe. If capitalism is indeed a progressive stage, it requires higher levels of collective consciousness, which means the acceptance of greater responsibilities.

<sup>140</sup> Some of the above commentators would say that consumption became neurotic because production made it so. However, it could equally be argued that such patterns of consumption behaviour arise out of human behaviour; thus, the production side can only be held responsible to a degree.



consumption focused on elite groups, proposing that consumers spend large amounts on goods to display status and wealth. Later, economist James Duesenberry (1949), analysing the consumption patterns of ordinary Americans, singled out the 'demonstration effect', which stated that consumption could not be understood without considering people's need to 'keep up with the Joneses'. Both Veblen and Duesenberry's findings are in line with the persona's craving for status, social approval and admiration. While both of these tendencies have certainly been used and abused by businesses, it is far from straightforward that businesses plan or create these effects. Further, the research of psychologist and marketing expert Ernest Dichter (1965) heralded the emergence of a new trend in consumer consumption, the inner Jones, which represented a switch from status competition with the external Joneses to the striving for deeper inner satisfaction and individual self-realisation. Thus, the mechanisms of manipulation based on the previous Joneses' mentality were losing effectiveness and could not be relied on to maintain profit numbers. Businesses had to find yet another way to accommodate this trend.

What these findings showed was that consumption is not a strictly economic and rational activity, but a social as well as deeply psychological phenomenon with its own logic. As such, it cannot adhere to rationality of production. Instead of being in charge, businesses searched for clues to account for the unpredictability of the evolving consumer society. At this time, books such as Maslow's *Motivation and Personality* (1954) became popular as, among other things, they provided some useful insights into consumer behaviour.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Maslow (1954) postulated that people are continuously motivated (consciously as well as unconsciously) by certain intrinsic needs, which change with external circumstances and can be arranged hierarchically. Maslow's model helped producers to better understand what kind of needs to appeal to. Thus, given the new higher stage of economic development, particular attention was paid to addressing the needs of belonging and being loved (the desire for friendship, family and an accepting community), as well as esteem needs (self-confidence, satisfaction in love and a positive reputation) as those needs, being in the emerging state, were underdeveloped and shaky. Importantly, Maslow pointed out the gap between esteem needs and self-actualisation needs, the latter corresponding to the highest stage of human psychological development: while the satisfaction of one group of needs in the hierarchy automatically leads to a higher group, self-actualisation is a conscious choice, which involves embracing such B-values as truth, oneness and justice. Maslow states that only a few people achieve that level. It is this difficulty of achieving self-actualisation and the subsequent psychological vacuum created, that have been widely exploited by businesses and advertising. The persona, as I will argue, plays the key role in this process.

Thus, with income levels increasing, people indeed expressed a desire to be taught how to consume, and brands and advertising (i.e. the persona) readily obliged with detailed signposts for all occasions. However, consumers equally used the persona to communicate to businesses what they wanted. And what they wanted was becoming increasingly removed from what businesses expected or told them to want.

*View № 3: the persona as an outcome of co-creation by producers and consumers*

Putting the above arguments together, the persona does not come from either the production or consumption sides, but is, instead, co-created by both as an outcome of their tensions and attempts at communication and mutual relating. This is an important hypothesis as it states that the persona is not only the result of businesses manipulating consumers into buying things, but also of consumers' want/need for those persona-produced images for their own reasons. It thus implies that the persona is responsive to both consumption and production dynamics.<sup>142</sup>

*Persona's creativity*

The hypothesis that the persona is co-created places it at the forefront of business creativity and innovation. As stated earlier, the persona is crucial to our adjustment in society. It makes us more

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<sup>142</sup> The above argument contradicts a commonplace criticism of capitalism and its closest ally, advertising (i.e. the persona). Even those commentators who favour capitalism with its entrepreneurial spirit are often keen to argue that it is advertising that hijacked and perverted the glorious capitalist project. For example, former Vice President of the United States Al Gore writes: 'What should have been most disturbing about the introduction of these new techniques is the threat they posed to the internal logic of capitalism. The invisible hand of Adam Smith was giving way to invisible puppet strings manipulated by marketers who were now able to manufacture demand' (2007, p. 95). Cultural and political commentator David Brooks (2007) responded by accusing Gore not only of 'imperviousness to reality', but also of 'the chilliness and sterility of his worldview': 'He envisions a sort of Vulcan Utopia, in which dispassionate individuals exchange facts and arrive at logical conclusions. This, in turn, grows out of a bizarre view of human nature. Gore seems to have come up with a theory that the upper, logical mind sits on top of, and should master, the primitive and more emotional mind below'. Brooks' point underpins the view that it is one-sided to attribute the persona's dynamics in business to the production side, as these dynamics are inherent to both production and consumption. As Bernays put it: 'Propaganda is of no use to the politician unless he has something to say which the public, consciously or unconsciously, wants to hear' (1928, p. 123). As Jung put it more generally: '[W]e are susceptible only to those suggestions with which we are already secretly in accord (1933/2001, p. 66).

acceptable to each other and to society at large, while hiding our differences, thus enabling many diverse dialogues. Similarly, the persona in business provides a platform for dialogue between producers and consumers. Support for this argument can be found in the works of Von Hippel (2005), a pioneer of Open Innovation Theories, as well as Clayton Christenson (1997), one of the top innovation experts. The thrust of their theses is that while businesses cater for large markets and thus for homogeneous products, it is the heterogeneous products that drive innovation. Thus, upholding dialogues between mass production and mass customisation (led by consumers) and withstanding the tension these dialogues create, is one of the key areas of concern for businesses, and the persona addresses this need. Here, the persona contributes positively to creativity and innovation as a facilitator.

Furthermore, marketing expert Martin Kornberger (2010, p. 167), arguing for open systems in which the 'serendipitous exchange of ideas' occurs, as precursors of innovation, uses the term 'cultural swirl', introduced by anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1992), to describe a milieu in which many diverse individuals interact and innovate. Based on the above argument, the persona provides a platform for such 'swirls', a topic currently of prime interest to many commentators.<sup>143</sup> Cesar Hidalgo (2015), a pioneer in the field of economic complexity, points out the importance of networking communities with easy access to sources of collectively accumulated information. This, he argues, explains why some countries are more developed than others. Hidalgo states that 'energy is needed for information to emerge, and solids are needed for information to endure' (2015, p. 177). While, as chapter 6 explains, it is the anima that brings in such creative energy, while its counterpart the animus acts as the ordering principle, it could be argued that it is the persona, by providing a solid platform for diverse dialogues, that helps new information 'to endure'. The ego then implements these new ideas in the time-space realm.

Thus, the persona allows businesses to mobilise the collective intelligence and creativity of many people, resulting in a final product that is better attuned to customer requirements and generally represents a certain state of the collective consciousness. The persona's role in innovation is particularly relevant for start-ups, which often introduce and explore new business models, thus

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<sup>143</sup> Innovation expert Frans Johansson (2004) introduced the term 'the Medici effect', arguing for innovation through diversity. His research shows that a group of people of different backgrounds, views, disciplines and areas of expertise are more likely to solve complex problems than more homogeneous groups, given the presence of an effective communication platform.

redefining the way businesses function. For example, Uber operates under the model of car sharing, which turned around the traditional model of taxi services, based on a strict differentiation between producers/taxi drivers and consumers. eBay also offers a unique model of establishing commercial ties between sellers and buyers. Wikipedia is based on the collective intelligence and efforts of its users and has created a worldwide community around itself. Thus, the persona creates a platform for diverse dialogues to take place, nurtures innovative communities by sustaining new ideas, and later promotes the product. These positive contributions of the persona are set against the falseness of branding and advertising, as addressed below.

*Critique of the persona's creativity*

As pointed out earlier, one of the key characteristics of the persona is that it hides more than it reveals. For example, what is hidden in the above account of persona-inspired innovation are certain values and fundamental logic of the business world, which the persona successfully embodies. As observed, many diverse critics of the business world would argue that business represents a self-serving culture, which does not care about the greater good or relationships, but only about profit-making. Similarly, in facilitating the dialogue between producers and consumers, the persona does not include the question of the meaningfulness of the final product. The persona's ability to create shiny surfaces also fools us with illusions of openness, choice, change and progress, which are carefully framed by the business agenda with its narrow boundaries of the predetermined system of values. For instance, instead of openness and co-creativity, based on relating and relationships, the persona offers 'interactivity' (to use social computing expert Lev Manovich's terminology (2001, pp. 70-79)) around largely the same ideas, based on persona-to-persona communication. Rather than presenting us with genuine choice options, the persona may merely create the illusion of choice. Political scientists Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz referred to this as the 'dynamic of non-decision making' (1962, p. 952), where pseudo-decisions we make under the illusion of choice do not affect the values and logic of the current zeitgeist (i.e. profit-making). We may conclude that the persona's innovation agenda is at best arrogant and at worst dangerous.

After establishing that the persona is co-created by producers and consumers and that it acts as a platform for dialogues between them, encouraging innovation (with its bright and dark sides), I will now explore how the persona in turn impacts consumption and production respectively.

*The impact of the persona on consumption*

As stated earlier, the persona's craft of image-making made it the major selling point during the transition to the consumer society, thus allowing it to invent its own processes of influencing both production and consumption. However, the persona's evolution in the business world was far from over. Absorbing increasingly sophisticated content and gaining more insights into the psychological behaviour of consumers, the persona stepped on a pot of gold when it connected current consumer tendencies with the concept of lifestyle. This concept marked a significant transformation of the persona, as well as a brand new way for the latter to engage with and impact consumption.

Many commentators have provided different frameworks to account for the growing pervasiveness of the lifestyle concept. Marketing expert Sidney Levy was one of the first theorists to attribute this pervasiveness to the lifestyle concept being perceived as a living symbol: '*to explore this large, complex symbol in motion that is man's grand life style is to seek to define his self-concept, to describe the central set of beliefs about himself and what he aspires to, that provide consistency (or unpredictability) to what he does*' (1964, p. 144). Thus, lifestyle came to be seen as an expression of the self-concept that constitutes the core of one's identity. Levy also describes products as what he calls 'sub-symbols' (ibid, p. 145), which are imbued with specific meanings as determined by lifestyle self-identification. Thus, it is possible to say that with the insight that lifestyles give people meaning, the persona changed its mask yet again: now, it not only creates shiny images around products, but generates different lifestyle options and then offers goods (images of goods) to fill predetermined gaps along these trajectories.

Levy's account of the lifestyle concept, as used in marketing, allows some remarkable parallels to be drawn with Jungian psychology, which in turn allows the current psychological context of persona-functioning to be located in the business world. As noted earlier, the world of production is perceived as rational and goal-oriented (compared to consumption), while the world of consumption appears emotional and chaotic. Thus, production has more in common with the rational ego-driven part of the psyche, while consumption could be represented as the vast sea of the unconscious, in which consumers are lost and require guidance. The persona is the interface and facilitator between these two worlds and the major selling point. With the discovery of the concept of lifestyle, as argued above, it became the key player, driving the business agenda. In the context of Jungian psychology, it could be argued that the current business persona takes on the functions of the self and essentially behaves *as if* it was the self in the business world. The concept of lifestyle takes a symbolic form and becomes identical to that of the individuation process. Just as the self drives the individuation process, the persona guides us through

our lifestyle choices. Under this narrative, goods, as powerful sub-symbols, act as complexes. Just as individuation requires integration of complexes, lifestyle is about the acquisition of goods.<sup>144</sup> It is important to emphasise that the persona only mimics the self, just as the lifestyle concept mimics the individuation process, even if such a mimicking recreates powerful identifications.<sup>145</sup>

The core of the above analogy is that the persona has become the core and soul of the business world. It is this identification with the persona, which sets in motion strong unconscious processes that help to elevate the persona to a position where it can copy some of the dynamics of the self. The persona then, in its mimicking of the self, can generate a similar dynamic of identification as that used by the self to guide the individuation process. The persona thus draws energy from mimicry of the self.<sup>146</sup> It is in

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<sup>144</sup> The psychoanalytic version of these dynamics might be depicted as follows: the business persona represents the false self and the concept of lifestyle amounts to a mere narcissistic excursion, while commodities stand for intermediate objects or fetishes, which consumers, being locked up in the infantile agenda, refuse to give up. This type of narrative features in the works of Long (2013), Sievers (2013), Levine (2013) and many others (chapter 2) and leads to a rather black and white perspective, in which current business tendencies are seen as shadowy and even pathological.

<sup>145</sup> It is important, following Jung, to make a distinction between identification and mimicking. Jung writes of identification as a psychological process of 'alienation of the subject from himself for the sake of the object, in which he is, so to speak, disguised' (*CW6*, para. 738). He clarifies the difference between identification and imitation by stating that the former is an 'unconscious imitation' (and as such is more powerful), while the latter is a 'conscious copying' (*ibid*).

<sup>146</sup> The topic of the persona behaving like the self is not accounted for in the Jungian literature; however, Jungian analyst Hester Solomon (2004, pp. 635–656) addresses the issue of what she termed the 'as-if personality', a psychological phenomenon she often encounters in her therapeutic work. Solomon states that the as-if personality is a state of the self resulting from defensive dissociation, which results from 'very early experiences of internalising the presence of an absent object, creating the sense of an internal void at the core of the self' (*ibid*, p. 635). By identifying and internalising nourishing elements in the environment and using them as if they are its own resources, this self is still capable of functioning, developing and creating. Solomon points out that people with such an internal structure are often highly intelligent, creative and successful in achieving their set goals. In later life, however, comes a point when the self has used up those resources and is forced to face the void.

Solomon claims to differentiate between the as-if personality, the false self and the persona. Thus, the main difference between the false self and the as-if phenomenon is that while, in Winnicott's account, the false self acts as a shield to the true self, with the result that the latter

view of these two factors (identification with the persona and the persona's mimicking of the self) that the current consumption tendencies (i.e. our cultural obsession with the concept of lifestyle) can be comprehended.

What are these dynamics of the self that the persona in business is copying? First, as Samuels points out, the key features that distinguish the self from all other archetypes and put the former above the rest are the following: 1) 'the self functioning as a synthesiser and mediator of opposites within the psyche'; 2) 'the self as the prime agent in the production of deep, awesome, "numinous" symbols of a self-regulatory and healing nature' (2006, p. 92). As demonstrated above, the persona has found a fit for these parameters in the business domain. It provides a platform for dialogues between diverse competing demands of the capitalist society as well as functioning as the mediator between the spheres of production and consumption. It also generates its own set of 'numinous' symbols, which represent certain deep aspirations, provide a rewarding and calming effect (even if temporarily), and importantly allow for, if not ensure, the effective functioning of the capitalist economy.

Second, the self in its striving for wholeness guides individuation, which in integrating conscious and unconscious elements of the psyche, involves an emotional conflict resulting in differentiation from general conscious attitudes and from the collective unconscious. The business persona uses these

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survives but cannot develop, the as-if personality is characterised by what could be called an invalid self, which despite the hole at its core, is nonetheless able to function and grow. However, there appears to be no clear-cut difference between the as-if personality and the persona. In fact, from the account it is not even clear that such a distinction is possible. This failure to differentiate may invite the conclusion that what defines the internal structure of the as-if personality is persona functioning as if it is the self. Some of Solomon's arguments seem to support this line of reasoning. For example, when she discusses the ability of the as-if personality to function and develop, she also notes the role of the persona's 'secondary reality' when stating that 'at the core of the self there is (...) a sense of this internal state of affairs as a "second best" solution in the face of the empty and absent void that is its alternative' (ibid, p. 642).

What is particularly important in Solomon's account is that she directly refutes accusations of pathology in relation to the as-if personality: she has not observed any emotional or moral deficiency (ibid, p. 639) and claims that the internal structure of such clients represents an adequate response to the given external circumstances. She points out that the as-if personality could become pathological given strong ego-identification with it. This implies that there is no pathology per se in the persona functioning as if it is the self. This line of reasoning counteracts the psychoanalytic tendency to view business dynamics as predominantly negative (chapter 2).

archetypal dynamics in its creation of the lifestyle concept, which in a similar fashion promises differentiation and uniqueness.

Third, the persona mimics the self in business by presenting itself and what it perceives about the world as the truth (the only truth). With the help of brands and advertising, it tells us how to live our lives. Nike teaches us what it means to have a proactive attitude towards life; Facebook explains how to be social; Cartier tells us how to love; Pepsi shows what it is to have fun; Emirate Airlines demonstrates what it is to be successful; while Patek Philippe 'upholds' family traditions. We are not just presented with certain appealing images, but with a mentality, a way of being in the world, based on those images.

We may apply Foucault's famous term the 'politics of the truth' (1976) to describe this way of persona-functioning.<sup>147</sup> It is indeed characteristic of the persona to believe that only it is real. Identification with the persona leads one to believe that it is all that there is, that it represents the totality and even wholeness. Here, we are witnessing the business persona behaving as if it is an all-inclusive concept. It is important to point out that the persona has an important role to play in the individuation process. As Jung (*CW6*, para. 760) emphasises, before individuation can be undertaken, adaptation to collective norms must take place. However, later stages of individuation concern the

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<sup>147</sup> Criticism of the 'politics of truth' of the consumer society needs to be weighed against the background of the past. It is often implied in the works of Foucault and other critics that the persona, operating on the basis of differences, leads to social and psychological fragmentation and takes away the security of previous signifiers. This criticism, however, does not necessarily imply the goodness or integrity of those signifiers, which were based on nation states, religion, class, family and profession. The static nature of these social structures ensured a sense of security and the pecking order it established (importantly, based around the production side), albeit generating its own vast sufferings, produced reliable yet rigid guidelines on how to live one's life. The transition to capitalism and the appearance of the consumer society resulted in more flexible social structures, which in turn brought in their own signifiers with their own fragilities (e.g. the term 'status anxiety' was coined by modern philosopher Alan de Botton (2004) to describe an inevitable chronic state of mind of a modern meritocratic society, in which success is supposedly available to all). The concept of lifestyle, based on consumption, made previous signifiers largely redundant. Now, one's identity is based on what one consumes. This in turn, or rather in its own time, invites a deep philosophical and psychological question: what does one take in? Given the vast scope of this question, the answer has a long road ahead. However, there is sufficient current evidence to suggest that this issue is gaining prominence. Trend researcher James Wallman (2013) explores a new defining cultural trend of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: a shift from materialism to 'experientialism', the latter representing a belief that meaning, fulfilment and happiness cannot be found in material things, but in experiences and deep feelings of inner and outer discoveries.



unification of the whole personality, particularly the unification of the ego and persona with the unconscious. A strong identification with the persona may hijack and divert this process.<sup>148</sup> This is how pathology may develop. In the latter case, consumers become perpetual Narcissuses, who keep falling in love with their own images as reflected in the given lifestyle options, with the consequence that they cannot develop psychologically. To avoid confusion, it needs to be stressed that in business the persona promotes a persona-to-persona way of relating, which is neither good nor bad, but merely characteristic of the business relationship (i.e. a necessity). However, critics like Foucault are right to point out that such tendencies become dangerous/pathological when this form of relationship is taken as if 'it is all there is there' and becomes a social paradigm.

Fourth, the business persona created an undefeatable system around itself, which turns any stone thrown at it into the brick underpinning it. As with the Che Guevara teacups, it absorbs, mass-produces and then turns into profit margins even those elements that are most foreign to the system. As branding expert Douglas Holt argues, 'since the market feeds off the constant production of difference, the most creative, unorthodox, singularizing consumer sovereignty practices are the most productive for the system' (2002, p. 88). With its ability to change masks in an instant or wear multiple masks at once, the persona not only utilises but flourishes on discontent and difference. Consumer resistance, according to Holt, is a 'form of market-sanctioned cultural experimentation through which the market rejuvenates itself' (ibid, p. 89). Just like the self, the persona in business can absorb everything into itself while remaining true to its own nature.

Thus, the persona, being a necessity, found itself embedded in the business world; the persona, as the major selling point, introduced its own processes which codified the consumption and business domain at large in persona-cryptic ways; and the persona, mimicking the self, ensured its leading role in shaping the matrix of consumption and the business world as well as the culture at large.<sup>149</sup> It is

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<sup>148</sup> Jung stated: 'The aim of individuation is nothing less than to divest the self of the false wrappings of the persona on the one hand, and the suggestive power of primordial images on the other' (*CW7*, para. 269).

<sup>149</sup> To counteract this large-scale 'depth marketing/advertising', there might be a need for what could be termed 'brand psychotherapy'. For example, Max Jacob Lusensky outlines the value of 'de:branding': when understood psychologically, 'brands that once represented powerful addictions can be transmuted into Trojan horses that help us break into our individual and cultural needs and desires'. By understanding the stories that brands tell us, we can thus 'open ourselves up to a new story of our own lives' (2016, p. 10). Arguably, this approach rests on the difference between

important to emphasise here the creativity of this 'persona-self' as a seductive and as-if-hypnotic salesperson. Given the definition of creativity in business (chapter 4) based on the ability to produce and sell that which is consciously or unconsciously wanted or needed, the persona's ability to tap into consumers' unconscious and reproduce what it finds there is an example of what it means to be creative in business. It is this creativity that allows the 'persona-self' to invent attractive lifestyle options, which in turn generate powerful identification processes. This 'persona-self'-like creativity can be demonstrated using the example of Cartier, a luxury jewel brand. In establishing the identity and image of the company (i.e. the best products for the best people), as well as endorsing products with particular predetermined meanings (e.g. Cartier rings as a symbol of love, marriage and coniunctio<sup>150</sup>), and in creating a channel (i.e. a possibility of identification with a certain lifestyle), through which consumers can relate to the brand and its products, the Cartier persona is astutely creative.



Banksy, 2011

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enactment and acting out. In contrast to acting out, enactment suggests 'recognition and acceptance of an archetypal stimulus, interacting with it while retaining ego control and thereby allowing its metaphorical meaning to unfold in a personal and individual way (Samuels et al., 1986/2007, pp. 52-53).

<sup>150</sup> Coniunctio is an 'alchemical symbol of a union of unlike substances; a marrying of the opposites in an intercourse which has as its fruition the birth of a new element' (Samuels et al., 1986/2007, p. 35).

*Impacts of the persona on production*

As stated earlier, the persona communicates between the ego and external reality. Similarly, the persona in business provides a platform where conversations between what could be considered the essence of a company (arguably, different at different stages of development) and different aspects of external reality take place. As explained above, this external 'other' could be a customer whose needs and desires are to be understood and reflected in the production of goods. Another 'other' could be competitors, with the dialogue revolving around differences and similarities between the companies. From these and other dialogues, the persona forms the public face of the company, as well as contributing to the selection of essentials of what the company is about and how it conducts its activities in the changing environment. Thus, the persona not only builds images, but also contributes to the emergence of the company's meaning and purpose (i.e. its identity) and helps to ensure that they are both stable and changing over time. A well-adjusted business persona could, for example, be seen in a successfully functioning company mission statement, which is a blend of image and identity.

In comparison to image, identity claims to have a real basis: while image is about facade, identity more accurately reflects what the company is. In practice, however, it is difficult to distinguish between a company's identity and image. Given the multiplicity of factors that go into the construction of identity over time, it is difficult to pin down what it is exactly that constitutes the core of the company. (Similarly, there is no clear-cut definition of what constitutes the ego in depth psychology.) The persona may further confuse this distinction, as it makes it difficult to understand what is real and what is not. As an interface between the internal/private and external, it not only draws the boundary between the two, but may also blur the distinction between them.

This difficulty of distinguishing between identity as a real tool and image as a fake appearance-based tool has both positive and negative consequences for a company. On the positive side, as in the case of company manifestos, it helps a company to be a good storyteller. Storytelling is essential not only to attract customers, but also to determine the company's strategy as well as underpinning its organisational culture (Kornberger, 2010, p. 110). A good storytelling often requires an undifferentiated mix of image and identity, which can make some things more visible while concealing others and put together diverse narratives as well as contradictory pieces. Thus, to use one of the Cluetrain Manifesto's (Levine et al., 2000) theses regarding the role of branding and advertising, we could say that when markets became conversations, the persona, by mixing reality with fiction, reinforces and exploits our

need for creative and coherent ways of storytelling. This need for effective storytelling is what, among other things, constitutes a strong pull towards the persona on the production side of the business world. In the climate of fast-paced change, when self-definitions are in constant flux, this undifferentiated mix of image and identity provides a unifying symbol for the company, which gives hope that the fragmented pieces can be put together again.

On the negative side, as seen in the previous section, the persona often not only blurs the difference between image and identity, but also creates the world where images have a more profound impact than identities and thus are more 'real'. Many commentators (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991, p. 547; Giola, 2000, pp. 67-71; Kornberger, 2010, pp. 99-110) point out that it is images that currently lead the drive for real change and innovation. Given that a company's brand needs to shine at all times, images require constant polishing; however, the important question is how much effort goes into that activity and at the expense of what. Although, as seen in the previous section, the persona has the potential to facilitate the development of a creative and supportive environment, all too often it hinders it, because (as Jung warned regarding individual dynamics (*CW9i*, para. 221)), the company overly identifies with its persona, which, particularly in the long run, destabilises the company and leads to certain malfunctioning, if not pathology.<sup>151</sup> When the image significantly diverges from and overwhelms the identity, it creates unrealistic expectations and chasing these can be a trap. When the company, following the persona's urge, overinvests in unreal images to boost sales, rather than bridging the gap between identity and image, the persona unintentionally yet automatically invites the shadow. This dynamic removes the company from what is called 'adaptive instability' (Giola, 2000, pp. 74-75) and into destruction (chapter 7). There could be many scenarios of this happening.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Jung noted that 'the temptation to be what one seems to be is great, because the persona is usually rewarded in cash' (*CW9i*, para. 221).

<sup>152</sup> It is worth noting that when the identity of a company is troubling by itself, such emphasis on image could provide some useful checks and balances on these companies and allow for a more active role for the consumer, effectively turning the latter into a part of the production process. In an attempt not to lose its image and hence its profits, these companies might be forced to reconsider and change their identity (even if temporarily). This in turn has a positive spill-over effect on the identity and image of other companies. We can see this in the examples of Shell Oil and its unrealised plans to dispose of the Brent Spar platform into the Atlantic Ocean or Nike's 'sweatshop' scandal. Current social media further upholds this trend in providing opportunities for individuals to express their views and values collectively in a coherent organised way.

For example, when a company overemphasises the importance of images/fails to disidentify with its persona, it may get caught up in narcissism, a closed system protected by an army of defences, such as splitting, projecting and denying. When these defence mechanisms are turned on, adequate change, learning and creativity become difficult as the persona becomes interested solely in the continuity and preservation of its own image (e.g. Lehman Brothers and its practice of accounting make-up trickery to give an impression that its finances were in order (Cassidy, 2010)).

Alternatively, when the image becomes too externally determined and detached from identity, it may lead to hyper-adaptation (Hatch and Schultz, 2008, p. 58): the company starts following almost every fashion and trend and as a result loses its identity. For example, in the 1990s, Lego entered diverse markets, such as retailers, software, theme parks, dolls and lifestyle. This strategy nearly brought the company to its knees and forced it to reconsider its identity and become more selective in its choice of markets (ibid, p. 183).

When a company disidentifies with its persona, it is capable of managing the gaps or clashes between the identity and image and to use them to create change and progress. This is a case of healthy persona functioning. In an ideal situation, when an identity constitutes the core of the image, the two neither merge nor diverge too much from each other, thus allowing space between them to negotiate the changes. Virgin's empire could be seen as a current example of such a case. It encompasses diverse companies, often operating in unrelated industries, which are nonetheless unified by their aim of challenging the 'fat cats'. The focus is thus not on what Virgin does, but on how it does it (Olins, 2002, p. 61). This attitude constitutes both the image and identity of the corporation. Its image is carefully constructed on such values as creativity, ambition, quality, reliability, efficiency, fun and value for money. Its identity is vividly expressed through the chosen growth strategy, which is constant moving into areas where the status quo can be challenged (Kornberger, 2010, p. 38). At the heart of Virgin's image is the personality of Richard Branson, who projects the image of the ultimate challenger.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have accounted for some important factors and dynamics, which create a strong pull towards the persona in business. It was shown that the persona is co-created by production and

consumption and thus is susceptible to changes in each. In this position, the persona performs a host of important roles and functions that are critical for the functioning of the capitalist economy. The persona's ability to facilitate and nurture an innovative environment was pointed out and contrasted with the falseness and selfishness of advertising. In contrast to the persona of the past, the modern business persona does not merely hold the space between production and consumption, but also proactively mediates between the two and, most importantly, invents its own processes, which effectively codify the market economy in the persona's own cryptic ways. On the consumption side, it relates deeply with the concept of lifestyle and self-realisation, which allows it to behave as if it is the self and generate powerful identification dynamics. On the production side, the persona has the potential to contribute creatively to the identity of a company and the necessity of change; however, the danger is that the company may overidentify with its persona, leading to malfunctioning. These and other factors make the persona a highly desirable and effective tool in the business domain; however, given its complex and largely uncontrollable characteristics, this tool can easily become a powerful and merciless master.

## Chapter 9

### The interplay between persona and shadow in business

#### *Introduction*

Chapters 7 and 8 explored manifestations of the persona and shadow archetypes respectively in the business domain. This chapter concerns the interplay between persona and shadow in business. I will begin by pointing out the conflict between persona and shadow, created by identifications with the persona, and then outline the impact of this conflict on entrepreneurs' emotional lives. I will then argue that the nature of this conflict is changing due to the emergence of start-up culture with its new mode of entrepreneurial engagement with persona and shadow energies. I will conclude by pointing out that despite the changing nature of the conflict between persona and shadow, the business domain still requires strong identifications with the persona, while working with shadow's energies within the domain remains highly counterintuitive and thus difficult.

#### *Persona-inspired identifications*

As pointed out in chapter 8, the persona archetype has a powerful presence in the business domain. It creates images and lifestyles and through them can mimic the dynamics of identification of the self. The persona is particularly good at presenting the image of a successful businessperson. Success is still primarily measured in monetary terms, while emotional strength and wellbeing are associated with financial wealth. Successful entrepreneurs, such as Mark Zuckerberg and Richard Branson, are models for collective inspirations and hold the status of modern-day cultural heroes. They are depicted as film stars by social media and paeans are recited in praise of the rapid growth of their companies.

These collective inspirations and expectations make entrepreneurs vessels for public idealisation, and an entrepreneur may internalise these projections/expectations, which force him/her to feel and behave in certain ways. As Murray Stein notes, the more prestigious the social role that one plays, the stronger the unconscious identification with it (1998/2009, p. 115). This is the process through which strong identification with the persona occurs. Importantly, these collective expectations result in a strong adherence to the hero image. Persona-identification with the hero image must be distinguished from the hero archetype. As Erel Shalit puts it: 'The hero-ideal is a persona-representation, an outer

shell, the knight's armour parading on the stage of collective consciousness' (2008, p. 23). While the hero seeks the inner treasure, the 'persona-hero' simply wants to look good in armour. The goal of the former is inner development; the goal of the latter is narcissistic self-preservation (from and at the expense of other parts of the personality) and glorification.

#### *Shadow manifestations*

The constant need to impress others (be they cofounders, clients or investors), even under highly stressful conditions, allows space for only a limited range of emotions - primarily those that do not contradict the heroic narrative. Other emotions, such as fear of failure or shame, must be repressed and what is rejected enters the shadow. Fears, together with other denied material, are thus pushed to the bottom of the unconscious where they are transformed into persecutory emotions, such as anger, hatred, jealousy or greed.<sup>153</sup> Thus, while collective projections enter the persona of an entrepreneur, at the core of which is the hero myth, the entrepreneur's inner life serves as a container for the shadow and is run by an inner persecutor who might direct the shadow material at the entrepreneur or project it onto others or both. The first case may manifest in self-harm and suicide, while the second is evident in paranoia and other forms of aggression. Either way, as pointed out in chapter 7, the shadow's success is the heroic persona's failure.

#### *Conflict between persona and shadow*

This conflict between persona and shadow is neatly summed up by Toby Thomas, CEO of EnSite Solutions, in the image of a man riding a lion: 'People look at him and think, "This guy's really got it together! He's brave!" And the man riding a lion is thinking, "How the hell did I get on a lion, and how do I keep from getting eaten?"' (as cited in Bruder, 2013). This image not only captures the sharp difference between outer perception and inner reality, but also the stressors (the lion) that push an entrepreneur into this acute conflict between persona and shadow. It could be argued that the business environment, by providing these stressors and requiring a particular type of persona, initiates this conflict.

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<sup>153</sup> Donald Kalsched (1996), for example, presents his model of how strongly repressed emotions can become malevolent and destructive, eventually turning into a persecutory figure.



In accordance with the characteristics of the business domain (chapter 4), some of these stressors are particularly relevant for initiating the conflict. First, there is high competition and risk of failure. Second, there is an almost inevitable identification with one's business (chapter 6), not only for first-time founders, but also for experienced entrepreneurs, and this situation is particularly damaging when a business is failing. There is also a continuous stream of unprecedented events of a diverse nature, which often do not repeat themselves and are impossible to foresee. The magnitude of these events may range from missing a deal to bankruptcy. There is thus a need to be constantly informed on all levels, as even minor events can become crucial. This forces entrepreneurs to adopt a constant warrior pose, ready to defend themselves and their companies from the invisible forces that lurk all around them. Although this forges resilience, it may also lead to chronic stress.

Additionally, entrepreneurs face many unconscious demands. Apart from the projections of wider society, there are also the more immediate but no less powerful mundane demands of team members and other intimates, to which they must attend. The fact that working life functions as the emotional playground where complex projections occur, has been well researched within the depth psychology organisational literature (chapters 2 and 3). Thus, apart from the declared official work project, the entrepreneur is also involved in the unconscious unofficial project, in which his/her role and its boundaries are even less clear. For example, most texts would endow business leaders with creativity, and they must not only be creative themselves, but also promote and uphold creativity in others (Amabile and Khaire, 2008). This is a titanic endowment, which sets entrepreneurs on often-impossible missions. Paul M. Smith's art-work, *Heroes* (n.d.), depicts one such modern day hero, dressed in a stereotypical business suit, leaping between two buildings. The composition tacitly conspires in making it physically impossible for him to land safely. In the same way, the business environment conspires against an entrepreneur by creating both powerful persona-identifications and stressors that have a strongly negative impact on his/her emotional life. The shadow always rains on the persona's parade by announcing that there is no such thing as success.



Paul M. Smith, *Heroes* (n.d.)

*Impact of the conflict when the hero narrative cannot be met*

The conflict between persona and shadow becomes particularly acute when the hero narrative cannot be sustained by the reality of the current situation. In this case, entrepreneurs must perform an extreme version of 'impression management'. While complying with the hero narrative, where admitting vulnerability is taboo, they privately struggle through periods of anxiety and despair. This may lead to a misreading of certain situations and eventually cast the person into an emotional abyss. While the persona powerfully insists on how things should be and denies how things really are, it is a fragile construction that lacks the resources to cope when uncensored reality inevitably leaks in (Wilber, 1991, p. 275).

Even experience often cannot protect entrepreneurs from the pain of such conflict. As Mark Woepfel, founder of Pinnacle Strategies, which suffered near bankruptcy during the 2008 financial crisis, notes: 'As CEO, you have this self-image – you're the master of the universe. Then all of a sudden, you are not' (as cited in Bruder, 2013). The battle wounds also leave life-long scars. John Pope, CEO of the successful energy-technology business Welldog, comments: 'There's always that feeling of being overextended, of never being able to relax. You end up with a serious confidence problem. You feel like every time you build up security, something happens to take it away' (ibid). Pope's statement suggests

the near inevitability of living in a neurotic or even paranoid state of mind, and such battles may even cost lives (Bowles, 2014; Schoenmann, 2014).<sup>154</sup>

Given the rudimentary research in this area, it remains unclear whether it is the particular pressures of the business environment – in which the persona-shadow conflict, as I argue, plays a prominent role – that results in or significantly contributes to emotional dysfunction, or whether entrepreneurs' psychological make-up makes them inherently vulnerable to certain emotional states as well as choosing to enter the business environment. The most plausible answer is that both pertain. However, in support of the latter view, Michael A. Freeman, psychiatrist and former entrepreneur, states: 'People who are on the energetic, motivated, and creative side are both more likely to be entrepreneurial and more likely to have strong emotional states' (as cited in Bruder, 2013). Another study (Fisher, Maritz and Lobo, 2013) proposes that 'entrepreneurs may experience venture-related obsessions as described in the clinical literature' and develops a theory of 'entrepreneurial obsession'. While acknowledging that such obsession often contributes productively towards desirable goals, the researchers note that it also stimulates episodes of impaired functioning. Psychiatrist John Gartner situates hypomania at the core of entrepreneurial behaviour: 'It's about degrees (...) If you're manic, you think you're Jesus. If you're hypomanic, you think you're God's gift to technology investing' (as cited in Segal, 2010). Failure is particularly difficult for hypomanics to comprehend, as it slows down their momentum. In Gartner's words: 'They're like border collies – they have to run (...) If you keep them

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<sup>154</sup> It is worth noting that recently some prominent entrepreneurs have taken a public stance in defiance of the myth of the business hero with its stigmatisation of showing signs of vulnerability. As I will argue later, this tendency might stem from the growing prominence of start-up culture. Sean Percival (2013), a former MySpace vice president and co-founder of many successful businesses, wrote a personal post on his website: 'I was to the edge and back a few times this past year with my business and own depression (...) If you're about to lose it, please contact me'. Brad Feld, the prominent venture capitalist, who also publicly opened up about his difficult experiences, shared his surprise at the amount of correspondence he received from other entrepreneurs: 'If you saw the list of names, it would surprise you a great deal. They are very successful people, very visible, very charismatic – yet they've struggled with this silently. There's a sense that they can't talk about it, that it's a weakness or a shame or something. They feel like they're hiding, which makes the whole thing worse' (as cited in Bruder, 2013). Following their lead, there appeared a number of articles on the issue of entrepreneurship and mental health (e.g. Shu, 2014; Stillman, 2014), indicating both a growing interest in this topic and a strong stigma around it (most of the entrepreneurs share their stories anonymously).

inside, they chew up the furniture. They go crazy; they just pace around. That's what hypomanics do. They need to be busy, active, overworking' (as cited in Bruder, 2013).

*Impact of the conflict when the hero narrative is met*

When strong identification with the heroic persona occurs, success can be as dangerous as failure, as in this case success breeds inflation and results in hubris, which is difficult to eradicate. The persona becomes detached from reality; thus, learning stagnates. Meanwhile, the persona is deeply attached to success and avoids failure at all costs. Hubris lays the groundwork for the shadow overtaking the persona and the persona-identified hero becoming the antihero. The 2010 BP oil rig explosion (chapter 7) is just one example of this narrative. Others include the 2008 collapse of Lehman Brothers and the 2015 Volkswagen scandal.

The link between the successful heroic persona, hubris and shadow deserves special attention. Given the presence of strong identifications, this link can often only be managed, but never broken. Organisational consultant John O'Neill advises avoiding hubris by changing the learning curves at the moment the desired goals are achieved (1991, p. 109).<sup>155</sup> Thus, while the heroic persona's urgent need to succeed might be helpful at first, the price is its gradual inability to learn beyond what it knows, its consequent complacency and the eventual shift towards the shadow. Additionally, success, which is culturally measured in terms of money and power, means that one needs to do less to gain social approval. Thus, the persona's success provides multiple possibilities for indulging one's shadow.

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<sup>155</sup> John O'Neill offers a checklist for spotting the signs of onrushing hubris. First, there is a tendency to endow oneself with over-expensive gifts (when one begins believing that one can make unfailing assessments of others and of situations and one is thus destined for success, one is in the grip of the persona). The second signal is 'killing the messengers' (if someone contradicts one's current picture of reality, this person is dismissed as unimportant, jealous or narrow-minded). This is coupled with a tendency to surround oneself with 'trusted advisers' (who willingly participate in persona-to-persona communication). Third, there are power demonstrations (the hero-persona needs to constantly assert its importance in relation to others). Lastly, there is a self-righteous attitude (given that the persona only believes in its own reality, it lives on 'higher' moral ground) (1991, p. 109).

*Start-up culture and its impact on the persona-shadow interplay in business*

The above demonstrates how strong identifications with the persona that appear to be inherent in the business domain result in acute conflict between persona and shadow, which causes/significantly contributes to a profound emotional split within the entrepreneurial psyche. In what follows, I will argue that during the last 15-20 years, a slow yet significant change in persona-shadow interactions has been occurring in the business world due to the prominence of start-up culture, which is based on a fundamentally different set of assumptions about how business operates. Although the persona still executes a dominant influence and thus dictates certain expectations and behavioural patterns, the particular environment in which start-ups exist does not allow the hero mask to adhere firmly to the face of the entrepreneur. Importantly, start-ups require an active and more conscious engagement with shadow resources.

Compared to more traditional businesses, which operated/operate in a relatively static environment where strategic planning, forecasting and market research were/are prime tools for success, start-ups face a very different reality. First, they do not yet know who their customer is, what their product will be or which obstacles they will have to overcome (chapter 6). Thus, the established methodology of traditional business models is not only inapplicable, but also fatal to their existence. In contrast, what is deemed a fatal mistake in traditional models is exactly what is required in modern start-up culture. As Eric Ries explains, it is difficult to imagine the manager of a well-established company, who has been working for a year on a new product, reporting to her CFO that although her team failed to deliver the minimum predicted growth rates and spent all the money, they have learned a great deal and want more money and another year (2011, p. 24). The reason why this would be unacceptable is that in general management, failure is defined as inability to deliver results due to inadequate strategy/planning or poor execution. Start-ups, on the other hand, although they take seriously both strategy and execution, consistently require exactly the kind of failure demonstrated by the abovementioned manager, since the value in a start-up is not the creation of a product, profit-making or serving customers (i.e. key aims of traditional business models), but rather validated learning about how to build a sustainable business. As Ries notes, the key questions that a start-up must consider concern a novel product that customers really want (not what they think or say they want or what the entrepreneurs think they should want), identifying the customer base and how to build its own growth

model (ibid, p. 182). Importantly, these questions must be answered as quickly as possible in order to maximise the chances of success.

Before I proceed, it is important to stress the profound influence of start-ups on the business domain at large. By presenting a formidable challenge to well-established companies (e.g. smartphones vs. Nokia), start-up mentality with its emphasis on continuous innovation has been integrated into the very matrix of the business domain. The amount of time for which a company can hold on to an earlier innovation has shrunk considerably, making even the most well-established businesses heavily dependent on innovation to ensure their future survival (Hagel, 2002). Speaking of the inadequacy of the fearful banking culture that emerged after the 2008 crisis, and addressing the urgent need for innovation, Sergio Ermotti, the UBS chief executive, urged his bankers, in the spirit of daring start-up culture, to make more 'honest' mistakes (as cited in Noonan, 2015). (This also undermines the possible argument that start-ups exist at the pre-persona and pre-shadow level. What follows below further emphasises this point.)

#### *Persona and vulnerability*

Given the high failure rate, start-up culture allows more space for vulnerability than was previously allowed in the business domain. This suggests a different way of relating to and dealing with both internally- and externally-imposed hero projections. A growing number of start-up entrepreneurs speak out about their business failures and emotional turmoil (Rand Fishkin (2014), Tim Ferriss (2015), Mark Suster (2016) and Andy Sparks (2016)). To further address the issue of entrepreneurship and mental health, there are organisations, events and conferences designed to assist start-ups in their struggles. Jerry Colonna (n.d.), a former venture capitalist turned professional coach, and his team at Reboot, are one such example. Another is 7 Cups of tea, a start-up that provides a free anonymous listening network. The FailCon conference is specifically designed to celebrate start-up failures. Since its 2011 launch in Silicon Valley, it has attracted many entrepreneurs, eager to share their failures in discussions with titles such as 'How to Conduct Yourself When It All Goes Off the Rails' (Martin, 2014). In 2014, the conference was cancelled, however, as its founders believed that its format was outdated: the word 'failure' had become part of the common lexicon in Silicon Valley, with many entrepreneurs treating failure as a badge of honour (ibid). However, workshops and other smaller events licensed by FailCon are in high demand across the globe. As Freeman points out, entrepreneurs still need to learn a lot

about failure, which, although it has been 'significantly destigmatised' in Silicon Valley on a cultural level, is still painful to endure on an individual level (as cited in Martin, 2014).

Some business leaders have also contributed to the wider acceptance of failure. Among them is Alan Lafley, ex-boss of Procter & Gamble, who stated: 'We learn much more from failure than we do from success' and 'I think of my failures as a gift' (as cited in Dillon, 2011). The key messages of this trend are that business failure is not personal failure and that such failures make experienced entrepreneurs. Vulnerability is thus claiming its place in persona manifestations in business and this has changed the image of the modern entrepreneur.

It is indeed important to point out the new breed of entrepreneurs, who appear far less preoccupied with projecting the hero image, avoid PR routines and take the limelight only when necessary. While it could be stated that Richard Branson, the billionaire founder of the Virgin Group (with his early and consistent business successes, trademark lion's hairstyle and kiteboarding with naked supermodels), still epitomises what could be called the 'natural entrepreneur', Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg, Sergey Brin, Ben Silbermann and many others exhibit a very different style of business leadership, which has little to do with the stereotypical heroic business persona.

The issue of entrepreneurs' vulnerability and the current shift towards acceptance of failure have caused confusion and even outrage from some commentators (Kellaway, 2015; Hall, 2013; Snow, 2014). Their message implies that heroes deserve success for their efforts, while failures deserve shame for their waste of resources. Other commentators argue that the failure rhetoric is no more than lip service, which alters neither the fundamentals of the business world nor the cultural perceptions of failure at large (Asghar, 2014; Nisen, 2013; Sodha, 2016). The goal of each start-up is to overcome failure and do what it needs to succeed. Only those who align themselves with this formidable task (e.g. Steve Jobs) can afford to talk of failure. This could be viewed as a further representation of the deeply entrenched hero myth.

Ries, for instance, argues that given the large mythmaking industry around the stories of successful entrepreneurs, we are conditioned to believe that through determination, self-reliance, brilliance, great timing and – above all – a great idea and consequently a great product, success is inevitable. Through his work with many entrepreneurs, Ries came to the conclusion that this story is a 'product of selection bias

and after-the-fact rationalisation' (2011, p. 2). In particular, by telling us what the 'right stuff' is, the myth also tells us what is not important: mundane details, the boring stuff, the small individual choices or even guidance and the right methodology. However, it is often these incremental details that bring about entrepreneurial success, meaning that such success often has little to do with the hero's big feats and grand visions. Ries further notes that the problem with providing counterexamples to these hero narratives is that most people are familiar only with the successful end-strategies of famous companies (Walmart, Microsoft, Apple and Starbucks), as they become PR stories built around a heroic founder with a unique idea (ibid, p. 177). What the persona leaves behind the scenes are the intermediate steps that were taken to discover those strategies.

#### *Persona, shadow and secrets*

Rejecting the typical hero narrative, Ries proposes the alternative that success in start-ups 'can be engineered by following the right process, which means it can be learned, which means it can be taught' (2011, p. 3). For him, entrepreneurship is a kind of creative management, specifically geared to the context of extreme uncertainty (ibid, p. 8). As I will now argue, this type of management involves close engagement with shadow resources.

Peter Thiel, a PayPal co-founder, begins job interviews by asking: 'What important truth do very few people agree with you on?' (2014, p. 5). What makes this question contrarian is that it lies at the threshold between persona and shadow. The persona is about convention and the social consensus. As highlighted in chapter 7, the shadow is potent, highly intelligent and creative. It contains secrets, unknown and unsearched by most. The shadow knows what the persona does not want to know and has access to deeper resources, which are beyond the persona's reach. Thiel gives the example, which is in line with the Jungian interpretation of persona-shadow dynamics, that, for a long time, slavery was a convention, which made it just. The knowledge that slavery is evil was buried in the shadow, with only a few abolitionists aware of this secret (ibid, p. 99). In the modern world, largely in the same way, conventions (i.e. the persona) define what is just and what not. This makes the shadow indispensable in discovering our secrets. As Thiel notes, a more direct business version of his interview question is 'what valuable company is nobody building?' (ibid, p. 94). He states that every correct answer to this question reveals a secret: a problem that many have, yet no one has considered; a solution that is realistic yet



hard to attain. 'If there are many secrets left in the world, there are probably many world-changing companies yet to be started' (ibid).

The persona makes many people fear secrets: going beyond convention implies going against convention. Here, one might be wrong or be seen as a failure, but either way, it entails the prospect of loneliness. The persona is also complacent: why take risks, when one can comfortably collect rents from the tried and tested? For the persona, it is tempting to believe that all great secrets have already been discovered. Additionally, the persona perceives the world in a one-dimensional flat way and its influence can be so strong as to stop even experienced heroes from attempting serial entrepreneurship. This was the case for Hewlett-Packard, a company once renowned for its innovation.

Hewlett-Packard's relentless innovation (DeskJet 500C, the world's first affordable colour printer in 1991; OmniBook, one of the first portable laptops in 1993; OfficeJet, the world's first all-in-one printer/fax/copier in 1994) made it one of the most successful companies, worth \$135 billion by mid-2000 (ibid, p. 100). However, when in 1999, it introduced a new branding campaign around the imperative 'to invent', it suddenly stopped inventing. This heavily persona-driven campaign apparently stagnated the very creativity for which the company was known. Later, in 2005, Hewlett-Packard's leadership rationalised that devising plans for future technology was beyond the board's competence. It instead prioritised protecting its reputation and making better use of its previous innovations. The era of secrets came to its final resting place and the company restricted itself to a night watchman's role with a consequent dramatic fall in its fortunes (ibid, p. 101).

In contrast, most successful start-ups in Silicon Valley are built on uncovered secrets about how people function. These are the things that people do not know about themselves or things they hide because they do not want others to know. Companies such as Airbnb, Lyft, Pinterest and Uber challenged convention and in so doing revealed the 'secret' spare capacities that lay dormant in plain sight. For instance, Airbnb tapped the supply of property owners' unoccupied space and the unaddressed demand for cheaper travel accommodation, to solve a problem that none of the parties involved knew they had. While convention is blind, the shadow has astute vision. As Hillman notes, the shadow can see by means of darkness (2010, p. 49). The best place to look for secrets is where no one is looking and the shadow knows the hidden paths.

However, the shadow might also unveil secrets, for which people are not yet ready or 'secret patterns' that do not exist. Many start-ups fail precisely because they come up with a great idea, turn it into a great product, only to ultimately discover that no one wants it (CBinsights, 2014). In chapter 6, I explained how the anima manifests in business by creating strong identifications with an idea/vision. When the anima is tethered to the shadow, such identification is fatal. In Jungian psychology, the necessity of freeing the anima from the shadow in order to attain meaning and relatedness is often discussed. Shalit writes that at the core of the Jungian myth is the true hero (not to be confused with the heroic persona) who 'goes forth into the netherworld of the shadow, in spite of being threatened by the monsters that lurk in the darkness of the unconscious, to save an endangered soul, an anima in captivity, or to redeem a dormant myth (...) which he has to bring into consciousness' (2008, p. 19). However, in other cases, it is equally important to free the shadow from the anima. This is the topic of the next section.

*Shadow and 'Fail Fast, Fail Often!'*

As pointed out earlier, the methodology of traditional business models is largely detrimental to start-ups. In start-up culture, strategic analysis of the market, including focus group and market research, often proves entirely wrong. Given the extreme uncertainty faced by start-ups, they have no way of guessing which idea will fare well: the key risk is of producing a product only to discover that nobody wants it. To prevent this, start-ups need to engage in vigorous experimentation, which means repeated trial and error. Crucially, they need to do this as soon, as quickly and as efficiently as possible, before their limited resources run out. Thus, right from the start, while coming up with their hypothesis, a company needs to deliberately seek out factors that may undermine its vision. Given that products are usually complex and involve many unforeseeable features, routine failure becomes the prime source of learning.

Although there are many similarities between start-up methodology and scientific experimentation (e.g. both require vigorous testing and validation of their hypotheses), the differences also stand out. Start-up mentality is somewhat counterintuitive: a start-up should, so to speak, aim for failure and it is only when it has failed to fail (during which process, the project will change dramatically or even entirely), that the project can be taken seriously. Hence, start-ups' (often misunderstood) motto: 'Fail

Fast, Fail Often!' (with its diversions such as 'Fail Better or 'Fail Forward').<sup>156</sup> We can see this peculiarity at play in the recent Google X project, Loon, which aims to deliver Internet connection worldwide through high-altitude balloons.<sup>157</sup> Astro Teller, the leader of Google X, states that at the first stages of the project, 'the mantra was not "This is going to work" but "This is not going to work". How can we discover why this won't work as fast as possible so that we can discard this and move on to something else? And it was only having tried rigorously for a year and having failed to fail many times in a row that we got to the point where we were starting to take this project really seriously' (as cited in Helft, 2014). Teller adds that most people do not understand this twisted logic of start-up success and fight it. The kind of experimentation that start-ups need to engage in is unlikely to succeed without engaging shadow energy.

As Ken Wilber points out, we do not want to confront the shadow for fear of being overpowered by it. However, the key realisation about the shadow is that it always has its way: one either 'owns' it or is owned by it (1991, p. 276). While it is impossible to own the shadow, as nothing can be devoid of the unconscious and the shadow's continuing domination, one can become aware of some of its features and integrate them into consciousness. Thus, to acknowledge these continuously emerging shadow elements is not necessarily to act on them. It means that while a start-up aims for eventual success, it can productively engage with the shadow's creative energy. By looking for failures during the extremely uncertain execution period, start-ups align themselves with highly potent shadow energy by consciously including it in the process and making active use of it. On the other hand, if the shadow remains unconscious, this is exactly when one falls under its dictates. For start-ups, this means following the shadow towards the ultimate grand failure: successful execution of the product that nobody wants.

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<sup>156</sup> The phrase that inspired the motto is taken from Samuel Beckett's novel 'Worstward Ho', which, ironically, is far from inspirational. The original version is: 'Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try Again. Fail again. Fail better'. The following paragraph reads: 'Try again. Fail again. Better again. Or better worse. Fail worse again. Still worse again. Till sick for good. Throw up for good. Go for good. Where neither for good. Good and all' (Beckett, 1983, p. 7).

<sup>157</sup> Google X is Google's creative laboratory, a place where Google develops its self-driving cars, Glass (the glasses-like wearable computer), Loon (a project to deliver Internet access worldwide through high-altitude balloons), Makani (an effort to generate energy through high-flying wind turbines) and ingestible nanoparticles that detect cancer and other diseases (as cited in Helft, 2014).

As stated, the deliberate search for failure is, however, counterintuitive and many start-ups find it difficult to apply this approach. More so, even when this approach is accepted, the challenge is to simultaneously hold two conflicting ideas (success and failure) in consciousness, which brings enormous tension. As Jungian analyst Stanton Marlan notes: 'When confronted with such a situation, most people try to alleviate the tension by merging the paradox into a unity of the same, but in fact each truth must be preserved and is in need of careful differentiation until the transcendent function truly produces a symbolic solution' (2005, p. 151). This is a core Jungian idea, that when light and darkness come together, the *filius philosophorum* is born (Jung, *CW12*, para. 161). In the context of start-ups, this means that bringing success-oriented (light) and failure-oriented (darkness) inspirations together, yet allowing them to maintain their distinctive nature despite the considerable tension, reveals a constructive version of reality. A practical difficulty that start-ups commonly face is the emotional rather than the intellectual acceptance of this approach. Marlan states that given the discomfort that this tension engenders, symbols can easily become 'intellectual idealisations' (2005, p. 151). Jungian analyst Niel Micklem refers to the image of the hermaphrodite in Jung's texts, which most view as a symbol of integrated wholeness because it frees one from the experience of its monstrosity (1990, p. 10). The tensions required for the reconciliation of opposites, the *conjunctio*, are often almost unbearable for the ego and yet in destroying us, they also make us (*ibid*, p. 11). Thus, the start-up methodology involves at its heart this highly emotionally-charged paradox.

Those start-ups that better emotionally adapt to this paradox face considerably higher chances of success. Teller notes that one can only 'make a ton of progress by making a ton of mistakes'. 'The longer you work on something, the more you don't really want to know what the world is going to tell you. The longer you put off that learning you will unconsciously put off that news because it is disheartening to hear that what you have been working on is not working' (as cited in Buhr, 2015). Most of these processes happen at the deep unconscious level and thus are difficult to detect or correct. Yet, as pointed out in chapter 4, business creativity is not creativity as part of the self-exploration or self-realisation process (as it is in art), but is primarily about satisfying specific market needs. Thus, the shadow's energy with its killer instincts needs to be freed from the anima. Failures create a nourishing environment for start-ups. The shadow 'burns away "all superfluities", leaving behind nothing but "faecem et scoriam et terram damnatam" (dross and scoriae and the rejected earth)' (Jung, *CW12*, para. 197).

*Validated learning and the shadow as a teacher*

The motto 'Fail Faster, Fail Often!' not only applies to the initial stages of a start-up, but must become a permanent experience, a way of being. The *whole* start-up is a grand experiment. Continuous testing defines what the business is about: what is value-creating and what is wasteful, no matter how important it may seem to the founders. The wasteful needs to be eradicated immediately, before it uses up further resources. While Lean Thinking defines value-creation in terms of benefit to the customer, in start-ups, given the persistent uncertainty about customer preferences, value-creation is anything that contributes to learning. The start-up testing methodology is thus firmly based on the scientific approach and at its very basis lies the proposition that if one cannot fail, one cannot learn. This kind of learning, as seen earlier, is unpopular in traditional entrepreneurial and management methodology, which judges the outcome based on the successful execution of the strategy. As Ries states, the Lean Start-up model is built around rehabilitating this sort of learning with the concept of 'validated learning' (2011, p. 38). In his own words, 'Validated learning is not after-the-fact rationalization or a good story designed to hide failure (...) [it] is the process of demonstrating empirically that a team has discovered valuable truths about a start-up's present and future business prospects, which are essential for future progress. It's more concrete, more accurate, and faster than market forecasting or classical business planning' (ibid). Thus, this concept makes failure the very first product of a start-up's activity and routine failures the long-term antidote to the start-ups' common problem of a successful achievement of the dead-end.

The concept of validated learning implies that start-ups exist in *constant* proximity to failure. The founders, despite the wounds that result from such proximity, need to negotiate some comfort from the idea of routine failure. As Marlan points out, there is psychological nourishment in wounding: 'When psychological blood flows, it can dissolve hardened defenses. This then can be the beginning of true productivity' (2005, p. 22). Rather than suffering involuntarily, start-ups, by embracing the need for persistent failure, may choose to suffer voluntarily, thus creating a fundamentally different experience. Here, the shadow becomes not only a cruel master, but also a generous teacher, who opens up the student's potential.

The success or failure of the process of validated learning is thus heavily dependent on the nature of one's relationship with the shadow. This is often the key reason why start-ups, despite having good theoretical knowledge of the process, find it hard to implement this knowledge in practice. Writing

about shadow projections, Wilber notes: 'Projection on the Ego Level is very easily identified: if a person or thing in the environment *informs* us, we probably aren't projecting; on the other hand, if it *affects* us, chances are that we are a victim of our own projections' (1991, p. 274). For a start-up to develop, it is essential that it be informed by, rather than affected by, criticism and failure. In the latter case, the start-up, rather than being an experiment with the world, is turned into an affair with oneself. As Jung famously said: 'The effect of projection is to isolate the subject from his environment, since instead of a real relationship to it there is now only an illusory one. Projections change the world into the replica of one's own unknown face' (*CW9ii*, para. 16).

Thus, before a start-up can fly high, it needs, through repeated failures, to learn how to fall. Fear of failure slows the progress of even the most successful start-ups, as well as established companies. For example, legendary entrepreneur Scott Cook turned to the Lean Start-up out of concern that his company, Intuit, while appearing successful by traditional standards, was unfit to address the current need for continuous innovation. Through the feedback loop generated by this method, one of its key projects, TurboTax, was able to run 500 experiments per tax season, resulting in unprecedented levels of efficiency and profit. Brad Smith, CEO of Intuit, explains: 'that's the kind of stuff that's creating some energy for us, that we think we can truly short-circuit the ramp by killing things that don't make sense fast and doubling down on the ones that do' (as cited in Ries, 2011, p. 35). When 500 tests are run, everyone's idea can be tested, which underpins the culture of validated learning. Ries warns, however, that implementing this change is difficult, as the company must cater to its existing customers as well as investors who expect steady and growing returns. As Cook comments: 'It goes against the grain of what people have been taught in business and what leaders have been taught (...) There are many business leaders who have been successful because of analysis. They think they're analysts, and their job is to do great planning and analysing' (*ibid*, p. 34).

#### *Minimum viable product*

Apart from the aforementioned differences between the Lean Start-up approach and scientific experimentation, there is another important difference. In science, a theory needs to be carefully validated before it is presented for approval and acceptance. Scientists cannot afford to make a mistake lest their reputation be forever tarnished, and reputation, along with other persona attributes, is one of the key currencies in science. In start-ups, however, mistakes not only have to be made as soon and as

often as possible, but they must be public. This public testing, with all its failures, fears, feelings of shame and other persona-crushing ingredients, is vital to start-ups, yet also runs contrary to both basic intuition with its aversion to failure and traditional business models. As we will see, it forces start-ups to engage with the shadow in a different way than in scientific projects.

The minimum viable product (MVP) in most fundamental ways embodies the notion of public failure. It is the cheapest and most low-quality version of the desired product and is based on the proposition that any additional work beyond that required by early adopters is wasteful (Ries, 2011, p. 93). The principal point of the MVP is to identify which elements in a given plan are assumptions and which are facts, and this speeds up the process of validated learning.

While the MVP is often the actual product, it could also be, for example, a 'fake' website selling shoes. In the late nineties, Nick Swinmurn, founder of Zappos, hypothesised that people were ready to buy shoes online. He could have waited to properly test his hypothesis, built warehouses, hired employees and signed contracts with distribution partners, as was the common and rather unfortunate practice of many early e-commerce pioneers (Webvan, Pets.com). Instead, he took pictures of shoes in local shops and put them online to see how many customers would actually order them (ibid, p. 57). Similarly, Drew Houston, CEO of Dropbox, after repeated failures to explain to potential customers and investors how his easy-to-use file-sharing tool could work, made a three-minute video of himself, demonstrating the technology as if it already existed. Hundreds of thousands of people registered for the product, which proved the founders' key hypothesis (ibid, pp. 97-99). The actions of these founders demonstrate their wiliness in testing their hypothesis publicly despite its threat of potential public defeat. It is also worth noting that the above 'near-illegal' activities also belong to the shadow jurisdiction.

The MVP presents a significant challenge to the modern-day dictum that high quality and efficiency go hand in hand, as is evident in Six Sigma, lean manufacturing, design thinking and the software craftsmanship movement. However, as Ries notes, such quality orientation is only valid when the company already knows enough about customer preferences, which does not apply to start-ups (ibid, pp. 106-107). Furthermore, such convention-based/persona-driven orientation involves resistance to the actual building of the MVP. Ries recalls his experience of such public testing: 'Personally, I was worried that the low quality of the product would tarnish my reputation as an engineer. People would think I did not know how to build a quality product. All of us feared tarnishing the IMVU brand; after all,

we were charging people money for a product that didn't work very well. We all envisioned the damning newspaper headlines: "Inept Entrepreneurs Build Dreadful Product" (ibid, p. 41). The shadow's energy is thus instrumental in breaking the persona's spell and thus in successful learning: shipping a poor quality product and then seeing what happens guarantee success – at seeing what happens. Since customers only reveal their preferences by the actual use or refusal to use a product, once a start-up team has some customers, it is likely to have a number of options about what to do next (ibid, p. 154).

The MVP is thus a major step to further experimentation, which means further encounters with the shadow. For example, a company might conduct split testing<sup>158</sup>. Here, it is likely to learn that many of the features that improve the product in the eyes of engineers and designers have no impact on customer behaviour (ibid, p. 137). This also brings resistance. Although the benefits of the scientific methodology are embedded in the Lean Start-up approach, there is no way to remove the human element. The shadow energy is essential for honest and committed acceptance and desire for failure – it gives courage to subject a grand vision to constant testing and feedback.

### *Pivot*

Pivots<sup>159</sup> are a permanent fact of life for any growing business, as well as established companies (Moore, 2000, 2011; Christensen and Raynor, 2003); however, the decision to pivot is so emotionally charged that many companies fail to make it. Ries states that most entrepreneurs who have taken the decision to pivot admit wishing they had done so sooner. He gives three reasons for this often fatal delay (2011, pp. 161-162) and, not surprisingly, all involve shadow elements. The first reason is the

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<sup>158</sup> A split-test experiment is 'one in which different versions of a product are offered to customers at the same time. By observing the changes in behaviour between the two groups, one can make inferences about the impact of the different variations' (Ries, 2011, p. 136).

<sup>159</sup> The concept of pivot was discussed in chapter 6. It refers to a special kind of change arising out of failure, validated learning and the subsequent necessity to test a new fundamental hypothesis about the product, business model and growth model, which results in another MVP to test (Ries, 2011, p. 173). There can be many different types of pivot: zoom-in pivot (when a single feature of a product becomes the whole product), zoom-out pivot (when what was considered the whole product becomes a single feature of a much larger product) or customer segment pivot (change of customer base) (ibid, p. 175).



appeal of the seemingly convincing vanity metrics (e.g. Facebook 'likes' instead of use of the 'buy' button), which allures entrepreneurs into forming false conclusions and living in their own private reality, until it is too late. Second, when an entrepreneur has an unclear hypothesis, it is almost impossible to experience complete failure, without which there is no impetus for radical change. The formation of unclear hypotheses can be seen as an unconscious defence against failure. Third, there is a concern that acknowledging failure may lead to dangerously low team morale. Additionally, many entrepreneurs are terrified not only by the thought that their vision is wrong, but even more so that it might not be given a fair chance. If this fear remains unconscious, it will drive considerable resistance to the MVP, split testing and other techniques essential for validated learning. This way, the shadow might overwhelm the project and delay testing in the false hope of producing a product that is more in line with the vision. By that time, the funding is likely to have run out and the possibilities of pivot forgone. All three reasons are due to difficulties in facing the shadow, which can be further aggravated by the persona's need for success theatre. As Ries notes, high-profile entrepreneurs face this problem particularly acutely (ibid).

In Jungian terminology, a pivot would mean allowing a project to die and creative energy to be reborn in a new form. As Marlan writes about the deconstruction of the literal ego in favour of a symbolic order, 'only through the experience of dying and decomposition is new life possible' (2005, p. 66). The shadow, with its 'darkness that shines' (ibid, p. 83), helps start-ups to master this art of dying.

#### *Adaptive strategies*

Thus, given the strong presence of the shadow, the decision to pivot is difficult and emotional for any start-up, yet such decisions require a cold-headed objectivity. Rejecting the shadow makes objectivity impossible, as it puts one under the affect, thus turning a learning experience into perceived critique, which bounces back rather than being given a reflective space within. Given the fiery nature of the shadow, it is important to cultivate a relationship with it. For example, a start-up may have regular 'pivot or persevere' meetings (Ries, 2011, p. 164), which can help to mitigate emotional setbacks and be instructive in terms of gradual integration of the shadow.

While such structural interventions as that above help start-ups to move fast, it is important to emphasise that to work efficiently, the Lean Start-up methodology requires a *balanced* relationship with

the shadow, without which it may move too fast. Start-ups need not only to fail faster and better, but also to be able to constructively comprehend the reasons for their failures. Thus, to accelerate, a start-up needs a natural feedback loop, which ensures the conditions for the optimal pace of work. The need for such a speed regulation is epitomised in the paradoxical Toyota proverb ‘Stop production so that production never has to stop’ (ibid, p. 227). Ironically, the shadow’s energy is not only instrumental in start-ups’ acceleration, but also in their slowing down, when they are moving too fast. It is indeed always the shadow that slows one down (Bly, 1991, p. 7). The balanced relationship with the shadow allows one to remain with the failure for long enough to fully learn from it and integrate the experience. Devising strategies that allow for such dialogue with the shadow is thus an investment that can save a lot of time in the long run. One of these strategies is called the Five Whys.

At the core of this strategy is the acknowledgement that there is often a human problem at the root of every technical problem (Ries, 2011, p. 230). Hiding the human problem behind technical issues is usually how the disowned shadow sneaks in (as seen in the example of the oil rig disaster in chapter 7). Asking ‘why?’ five consecutive times after receiving an answer may help to uncover what the problem is.<sup>160</sup> Given that the Five Whys deal with human issues, they illuminate many uncomfortable facts about an organisation. Particularly, at the beginning of the practice, when the ability to engage with the shadow is low, the process often turns into the ‘Five Blames’ (ibid, p. 237), in which the shadow material is projected onto others. Escaping this trap requires a significant shift in perception. Similar to ‘pivot or persevere’ meetings (which help a start-up to speed up), scheduling Five Whys meetings (which act as in-built speed regulators) helps to integrate some shadow elements into the fabric of a company. Additionally, the Five Whys help start-ups to develop into larger and more established companies without becoming bureaucratic and complacent (i.e. it is an effective in-built tool for breaking persona-identifications).

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<sup>160</sup> An example of the Five Whys (Ries, p. 231):

A new release disables a feature for customers.

1) Why? Because a particular server failed.

2) Why did the server fail? Because an obscure subsystem was used in the wrong way.

3) Why was it used in the wrong way? The engineer who used it didn’t know how to use it properly.

4) Why didn’t he know? Because he was never trained.

5) Why wasn’t he trained? Because his manager doesn’t believe in training new engineers because he and his team are ‘too busy’.

As a result of repeated failures and techniques to integrate the shadow, it is more likely that the shadow will not be washed away by success but remain firmly imprinted in the body of the psyche and organisation. As Hillman notes, having such blackness within is purposeful: it warns of dangers, teaches resilience, breaks attachments and 'sophisticates the eye' (2010, pp. 49-52). Integrating darkness allows one to see through it by means of it, bringing the understanding that its characteristic deconstructive energy is essential for psychological change.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that the conflict between persona and shadow characteristics in the business domain may cause a profound split within an entrepreneur. However, while persona identifications still play an important role in the business world, with the emergence of start-up culture there has been a notable change in the interaction between persona and shadow. In particular, as highly creative and risky business endeavours, start-ups proactively learn to engage with the shadow's energy, which is evident in their 'Fail Fast, Fail Often!' motto as well in the overall Lean Start-up methodology.

## Chapter 10

### Puer and senex in business

#### *Introduction*

This chapter aims to show manifestations of puer and senex dynamics in business. I will start by briefly overviewing these concepts in Jungian psychology, before arguing that while the business world is perceived, and perceives itself, as functioning within the pragmatic and rational paradigm, it contains many hidden poetic elements. The senex could be portrayed as the persona element of the business world, while the puer, being marginalised within a predominantly senex-oriented structure, represents its shadow elements. Thus, the puer concept becomes valuable, as it contains the potential to illuminate some of the latent fundamentals of the business domain and thus sheds much-needed light on its current disruptive tendencies. I will explore some of these tendencies using the 2008 financial crisis as an example, which I will elaborate through the prism of the myth of Phaethon (who embodies the puer concept). My conclusion will be that financial markets currently act as a repository for the archetypal puer content.

#### *Puer and senex in Jungian psychology*

Jung referred to the puer ('eternal youth') as the representation of the child archetype. In its positive aspect, it appears as the Divine Child, symbolising new beginnings and possibilities and bringing hope for the future. Its negative aspect is seen in a refusal to mature, take responsibility and accept limitations (*CW9i*, para. 278). The senex, on the other hand, is the old man archetype, with its corresponding attributes of wisdom, experience, responsibility, logic, patience and order. In its negative aspect, the senex is a devouring castrating miser, while in its positive, it is the protective and wise father figure (Hillman, 1979, pp. 15-23). The puer and senex are thus a pair of opposites, always in tension and in need of each other. When they work in unity, 'wisdom is gained without the loss of potential' (*ibid*, p. 35). When they are at odds, they display negative characteristics and work at each other's expense. For Hillman, the puer and senex are an important pair of opposites as they provide 'the psychological foundation of the problem of history' (1967, p. 8).

Marie-Louise von Franz, writing about the role of the spirit in the puer nature, connects it with the mother figure, or, more precisely, with inadequate mothering. Both the actual mother and internalised mother imago hinder maturation and individuation. Thus, the puer needs to bite the bullet in his decision to mature and typically suffers from fluctuating self-esteem due to an inferiority complex on the one hand and false feelings of superiority on the other (1970/2000, p. 9).

Hillman argues against von Franz's view of the intimate causal connection between the mother and the puer's special relationship with the unearthly spirit: 'by taking for granted that puer phenomena belong to the great mother, analytical psychology has given the puer a mother complex' (1973, p. 98) and thus removed the possibility of cultural renewal. This perspective, he claims, makes the puer and senex enemies, limiting the rich spectrum of their relationship to the Freudian Oedipal drama: son against father because of the mother. Hillman instead proposes connecting the spirit with the puer-senex unity, which presents an interesting conundrum: Hillman/Father/Senex wrestles with von Franz/Mother/Great Mother, each trying to pull the puer over to his/her side.

*Manifestations of the puer and senex in business*

The tension between puer and senex has different dimensions, and consequently there are different ways of framing many of its manifestations. It typically occurs in a conflict between old and new, which can be linked to different attitudes to change, and in particular to split thinking in the form of both idealisation and fear of change.<sup>161</sup> This tension is also represented in, for example, the science-art divide, which fits into the puer-senex struggle in terms of its division between methodologies, visions and values. Science, in the senex tradition, aims to establish rational and objective analysis of evidence, while art, in puer fashion, creates visions from imagination and prefers intuition, feelings and inspiration to reason. This tension shows that creative insight comes not only from a synthesis between old and new ideas, but also between diverse disciplines.<sup>162</sup> This representation is particularly relevant

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<sup>161</sup> It is worth noting the importance given to the topic of change management in organisational studies.

<sup>162</sup> An interesting account of the science-art divide is presented by John Stuart Mill, who wrote two relevant essays with the aim of reconciling the two sides. The first essay is on Jeremy Bentham (the famous utilitarian philosopher and legal reformer) (1838/1950) and the second on Samuel Taylor Coleridge (the Romantic poet and essayist) (1840/1950). Mill calls them the 'two great

for this chapter, as business and economics are typically associated with science rather than art. It is assumed that senex-like rational calculations and objective analysis are key to the formation of expectations, strategies and options. Economics, for example, is still built around rather mechanistic neoclassical models. On the other hand, the puer is not typically associated with cutthroat activities, cold analytics or greed. It appears more natural, therefore, to think of the puer as a poet or artist rather than an economist, trader or banker.

Within the predominantly senex-oriented business domain, there can also be found many manifestations of the puer-senex polarity. For example, different industries might be oriented towards one or other side of the polarity – manufacturing towards the senex attitude, advertising or design toward the puer. Similarly, different departments of one company often adopt different roles, with finance and accounting, for example, playing the senex role and R&D the puer, with their tensions playing out within the company dynamics. If a CEO comes from the finance side, the company will tilt towards senex values with characteristic conservatism. Older companies also tend toward senex patterns, with many dying a slow death from lack of inspiration and adaptability, while new companies tend towards the puer mentality with its inflated ambitions, careless risk-taking and sense of entitlement. Start-ups represent this unicorn attitude particularly well (hence, their crash-and-burn

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seminal minds of England in their age', as well as the 'inhabitants of different worlds'. '[T]hey seem to have scarcely a principle or a premise in common. Each of them sees scarcely anything but what the other does not see' (1950, p. 101). This description also applies to the dynamics between puer and senex. Mill does not perceive Coleridge and Bentham as rivals but as 'completing counterparts': 'the strong points of each correspond to the weak points of the other. Whoever could master the premises and combine the methods of both, would possess the entire English philosophy of his age' (ibid, p. 102). As Richard Bronk, writer on philosophy of economics, notes, Mill articulated the 'great divide' as 'archetypes of complimentary half-truths' (2009, p. 35).

Mill looked forward to a time when 'the noisy conflict of half-truths, angrily denying one another, has subsided, and ideas which seemed mutually incompatible, have been found only to require mutual limitations' (1950, p. 104). These ideas provide checks and balances on each other, but how does this synthesis come about? Further, it is not only important to create a bridge, but also (to paraphrase Donald Winch's (1999, p. 319) critique of Mill's project) to ensure that this bridge can handle the constant traffic between the two complementing polarities. Jungian archetypal psychology is very instructive in tackling these questions. The puer and senex take part in a dynamic act of push and pull, a never-ending process that requires a constant tension and redefining of boundaries.

pattern) and thus often require the senex energy to stabilise them, while old companies need new blood and transformative vision. Puer-senex dynamics also figure prominently in matters of business succession: an old experienced CEO wanting to retire and a new one, young and ambitious, who is too keen to take over. However, given that the above polarity is by no means age-dependent, new companies/young CEOs can be more senex-like than their predecessors and in need of a poetic puer attitude. The puer-senex polarity can also play out within one person. The inspiring innovator Steve Jobs is well known for his unconventional style and extravagant individualist approach for which he was forced out of his own company. His 'second coming' showed better adaptation, based on managerial skills and an improved personal ability to keep the lid on and steer the ship, like a good captain steady at the helm (Isaacson, 2011, pp. 269-280).

These diverse forms of tension between puer and senex in business can be broadly represented as the conflict between imagination and regulation. The puer stands for imagination with its emphasis on newness, risk-taking, high-flying/inflation and unboundedness. In the puer's world, feelings and wishes link ideas and, consequently, thinking is shaped along the lines of a dream. The senex, meanwhile, represents rules and regulations with the emphasis on factual reality and the pragmatic tendency to weigh up risks, apply past experiences, create order and draw boundaries.<sup>163</sup> It shapes our thinking along the lines of causal reasoning, which we then see, for example, in economics models. When the puer and senex are too detached from each other, the puer falls prey to naïve selfish fantasies, while the senex, clings to economic models, which are overly restrictive. On the other hand, when the puer and senex work together dynamically, the result is creative economic models that can adequately address a current problem. Here, the puer, while imaginative, is less airy and impulsive and the senex becomes protective rather than distant, controlling and restrictive.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> The above distinction does not suggest that the senex has no relation to creativity. Both the senex and puer are archetypes and, through their links to the collective unconscious, provide many, albeit different, expressions of and contributions to creativity. While the puer invents real things out of daydreams and immediate wishes and desires, the senex can be creative in the way in which observations, planning and regulations are applied.

<sup>164</sup> It is important to distinguish between puer-senex dynamics and anima-animus dynamics (chapter 6), given that there is a strong archetypal link connecting the anima, the puer and the mothers' realm, on the one hand, and the animus, the senex and the fathers' realm, on the other. The anima represents creative/imaginative ideas that appear in a flash, while the puer stands for naive and inflated imagination encapsulated in a fantasy bubble. The anima makes us fall in love, while the puer never falls in love, but

*Growing tension between puer and senex in the 'creative economy'*

As stated earlier, the business domain is largely perceived as rational and practical and, as such, it fits into the senex's scientific orientation. However, recent years have brought to the fore the value of creativity in business, and thus the capacity to imagine has gained at least equal importance.<sup>165</sup> Although creativity requires both imagination and reality-oriented planning and execution (chapters 4 and 6), the emergence of certain market tendencies (most prominently, start-up culture) as well as many recent cataclysms (the 2000 dotcom crisis based on dramatic over-evaluation of internet-based companies or the 2008 crisis with its invention of complex derivatives) suggest that imaginal aspects prevail, at the expense of reality orientation with its checks and balances. This in turn suggests the emergence (or reappearance) of a puer-dominated market orientation over the past thirty years. It is, however, important to point out that this puer influence is not a new phenomenon per se: what is new is the form it currently takes. Importantly, this market orientation reflects a more general social trend that it is equally important to understand, and many attempts have been made to account for this trend. Some social scientists (e.g. Harvey, 2010) explain it in terms of so-called generation Y<sup>166</sup>; however, it is unclear whether generation Y is the cause or consequence of the trend.

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chases all ideas/pretty girls at once. Furthermore, while the animus is about experimentation and reality testing, the senex represents the wisdom that comes from experience. To summarise the distinction: the animus and anima could be metaphorically presented as two people of the same age with a brother-sister dynamic, while the senex and puer represent people of different ages with a father-son dynamic (which offers a richer perspective than that of the Freudian Oedipal drama).

<sup>165</sup> As pointed out in chapters 1 and 4, nowadays creativity counts more than knowledge. It is more about how we process and apply the knowledge that we have. Western economists increasingly speak about the creative economy, emphasising that creativity has become the driving force of progress.

<sup>166</sup> The so-called generation Y has been the subject of intense scholarly research due to its vivid characteristics and psychological patterns. It comprises those born between the late 1970s and mid-1990s who are generally characterised by high expectations (and, consequently, low levels of happiness), ambition, a strong sense of entitlement and a rigid yet fragile self-esteem. The origins of Gen Y's mentality are rather situational: their predecessors, the Baby Boomers, who enjoyed the 1970-1990 period of unprecedented economic growth and thus had a positive life experience, raised the next generation with a sense of unlimited possibility, instilling the puer identity deep within their psyches. In particular, as Cal Newport (2012), scholar and writer on career success, points out,



The puer-dominated market orientation implies that the tension between puer and senex has intensified.<sup>167</sup> The existing economic models can no longer account for the dynamics of the ‘creative economy’. Hence, the current shift away from strictly rational modelling, as a somewhat outdated mode of analysis, towards still nascent behavioural economics. While creativity has become (or is becoming) the key driving force of economic development (chapter 1) and thus more imagination is required, too much imagination creates extreme uncertainty and poses systemic risks to economic functioning. To understand the current imbalance between imagination and regulation<sup>168</sup>, it is helpful to investigate puer-senex dynamics in business more closely.

Some commentators (Heinzelman, 1980; McCloskey, 1998; Bronk, 2009) argue that economics and business have always been underpinned by romantic characteristics. Business people are surprisingly

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generation Y was given the rather pervasive life/career advice: ‘Follow your passion’. Thus, while the representatives of this generation can work rather intensely when interested, what they are not able to do (to quote von Franz) is ‘to work on a dreary, rainy morning when work is boring and one has to kick oneself into it’ (von Franz, 1970/2000, p. 10). Paul Harvey, who researches psychological entitlements in the workplace, states that this generation has ‘unrealistic expectations and a strong resistance toward accepting negative feedback’ (Harvey and Martinko, 2009). He states: ‘they tend to exhibit self-serving attributional styles – the tendency to take credit for good outcomes and blame others when things go wrong’. Given such attitudes, they have problems with authority, particularly with regulators. Now, generation Y comprises the overwhelming majority of the start-up community. It appears no coincidence that start-up culture is so popular with them as it could be considered its own invention.

The description of generation Y is controversial. Some commentators (Selingson, 2014; Kendzior, 2016) argue that it has been made ‘both a media scapegoat for, and a distraction from, widespread economic suffering’ (jobless economic recovery, high unemployment, mounting debt and an eroded social safety net), yet if anything holds this generation together it is the lack of options, rather than its alleged multiple opportunities (Kendzior, 2016).

<sup>167</sup> As stated above, the business domain largely belongs to the senex jurisdiction. However, current business trends exhibit disruptive unpredictable tendencies, based on the flights of imagination that are characteristic of the puer. This suggests that the tension between senex and puer has intensified.

<sup>168</sup> By regulation, I mean both private market and governmental regulations operating in the business domain.

dependent on creative ways of looking at the world and thus their activity is as much a function of imagination and feeling as it is of rational calculation and analysis. In appendix 1, I offer a detailed outline of some hidden puer elements within the perceived rationality of the business domain, such as metaphorical language, sentiment, imagination and romantic heroic inspirations. The hypothesis is that the puer emerges from the unconscious, where he was hidden behind the senex paradigm of rationality and pragmatism, and flies high before crashing against harsh reality.<sup>169</sup> Thus, the puer concept can teach us a great deal about the nature of business, helping to elucidate some of its deep latent fundamentals and to see its current tendencies in a more pluralistic light.

*The interplay between puer and senex in the 2008 financial crisis*

The acute tension between puer and senex can be seen in the 2008 financial crisis, which resulted from the collective fantasy of effortless wealth.<sup>170</sup> When turned on automatic, this fantasy brought about systemic risks and the ultimate downfall of the entire financial system – a typical flight of fancy characteristic of the puer archetype. While the blame was largely put on bankers and their invention of complex derivatives, it is important to stress that many people consciously or unconsciously participated in this fantasy. This can be seen in the collective preoccupation with debt and leverage, as well as the belief that governments can and should protect against economic crises. The latter was evident in expectations of a bailout and in the complacency of the ‘too-big-to-fail’ attitude.

Larry Hirschhorn, psychodynamically-oriented organisational consultant, notes that the current attractiveness of financial markets can be explained not in terms of their rationality, but in their acting as a ‘psychological repository for the experience of our capacity to imagine’ (2012, p. 295).<sup>171</sup> He argues that ‘the market as a technology is becoming the outering of our imagination’ and concludes that markets are both ‘the expression and the extension of our creativity’ (ibid). Hirschhorn also hypothesises that imagination is now projected onto the external world because, previously, when

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<sup>169</sup> This ‘return of the repressed’ narrative involves the trickster with his black swan events in service of the self, to link and balance the conscious and unconscious dynamics. This topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>170</sup> As Warren Buffett notes: ‘Nothing sedates rationality like large doses of effortless money’ (as cited in Plender, 2009).

<sup>171</sup> This issue is discussed in more detail in appendix 1.

nature was undomesticated, it served as a repository for what was both mysterious and creative. However, as western societies move further into the age of post-industrial revolution, where nature is considered almost fully domesticated, the market comes to represent untamed forces, thus offering the possibility of a heroic quest.

In proportion to the predominance of the puer fantasy prior to the crisis, regulation became unpopular. Senex authority was questioned and rules and regulations, rather than being re-evaluated, were viewed as breakers of creativity and hence of economic development. The puer rose from its marginalised position and emerged behind the senex's neoclassical models. In this situation, the senex could not prevent the process from being overtaken by the puer, as he was too invested in his models to notice not only that they no longer worked, but that they were no longer under his command. Once its rational mechanical neoclassical models – the essence of economics and business – were overtaken by the puer, the process worked chemically, not mechanically, as the senex would have expected.

The senex is attached to its models as they ensure order and sanity. As Hillman notes, 'Senex order rests on senex madness. Our order is itself a madness' (1975, p. 85). Sanity, states Hillman, is also a fantasy. Models and other systems of knowledge can be used as defences against disorder and madness. Hence, there is a complex, a fear of disorder and madness, and complexes make us blind. Hillman states: 'The old king is crazy old King Lear, and the old wise man, a man mad as the prophet and the geometer, with his obsession of motionless Parmenidean order, mad as the old board chairman with his tables of organization and charts of aggrandizement' (ibid). Similarly, behind neoclassical models lies the key assumption that economic agents are rational utility maximisers. Further, based on this (dubious) assumption, the models assume a state of equilibrium to which economic forces gravitate; hence, a strong belief in the self-regulated nature of free markets. Yet, there is no necessary connection between the assumption of rationality and general market equilibrium (i.e. a state of order). It would be equally valid to argue that, precisely because of the rationality of self-motivated economic agents, market equilibrium will never occur. Hillman writes, 'The only protection is the dissolution of this fantasy of sanity, and in Joseph Conrad's language the recipe is "immersion in the destructive element" (...) To penetrate the riddle of Senex destruction means to go to the heart of darkness' (ibid, p. 86). In this 'heart of darkness', it is the puer that we meet. After all, to the senex's surprise, equilibrium is also a romantic conceit.

The puer believes that there is a natural state of harmonic balance between imagination and regulation, rather than a dynamic state of tension that ensures this balance, and has a complicated relationship with this tension: on the one hand, he seeks an escape from it, an easy life; on the other hand, he is no stranger to tension: he lives in a state of constant inner struggle, which he does not recognise as his own and attributes to external restraints (von Franz, 1970). From the puer's perspective, the senex represents this external tension and thus is perceived as an irritating and unnecessary obstruction that needs to be removed. The puer believes that he can do everything himself, that he can self-regulate, but this is one of the key things that he cannot do and urgently needs to learn.

This downgrading of senex regulation was evident in many business developments prior to the crisis (e.g. the 1999 Financial Services Modernisation Act, the 2000 Commodity Futures Modernisation Act and many others)<sup>172</sup>. In this context, the puer belief in the natural wisdom of the markets rather than in the problematic ever-present tension between imagination and regulation gave rise to many unrealistic assumptions. Thus, while banks created complex derivatives and many of their operators did not understand how they worked, there was ever a belief that someone out there fully comprehended the direction of the process (i.e. a wise, experienced, responsible and capable senex overlooking deregulation). As Michael Lewis, author of the acclaimed book *The Big Short*, puts it, investors assumed that there was a 'grown-up in charge of the financial system', who was keeping the risks in check (2010, p. 244). In reality, however, the adult was absent because, Alan Greenspan, former head of the Federal Reserve Bank, believed, among other influential academics, business people and journalists, that markets are self-regulating, meaning that the issue of authority with its ability to set boundary conditions would not arise (Hirschhorn, 2012, p. 295). Thus, no one realised that the puer was in charge and its dynamics chemically spread across the process, changing its essence.

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<sup>172</sup> In 1999, the government issued the Financial Services Modernisation Act, which eliminated the barriers between insurance, investment banking and commercial banking. The 2000 Commodity Futures Modernisation Act exempted over-the-counter derivatives (e.g. credit default swaps) from regulation by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. In 2001, U.S. banking regulators incentivised banks to buy highly rated mortgage-backed securities, by reducing the capital requirement for these assets from 80 to 60 per cent' (Catanach and Ragatz, 2010, p. 22). Given that banks, finding themselves in a newly deregulated and highly competitive environment and forced to compete almost exclusively on the price of their homogeneous products, were searching for innovative products with which to differentiate themselves, option adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs), subprime loans and credit default swaps became popular (ibid). Additionally, 'credit rating agencies provided their highest credit ratings to collateralized debt products comprised of toxic subprime mortgages' (ibid).

The above might be refuted on the grounds that the puer's romantic nature does not go well with the brutality, aggressiveness and greed of the stock market environment. Yet, as von Franz elaborates, the verso of sentimentality is brutality (if not to others, then to oneself<sup>173</sup>). With respect to the puer's shadow, she writes: 'there is usually a very cold, brutal man somewhere in the background, which compensates the too unreal attitude of consciousness and which the *puer aeternus* cannot assimilate, or at least only involuntarily' (1970, p.13). Thus, the poetic puer is far from innocent, while the repressed puer, upon his return from dark confinement, is even less so. Being in the grip of the puer unleashes many destructive – including self-destructive – forces. When puer fantasies do not materialise, the failure is experienced as unfair and brutal, thus triggering feelings of entitlement and unleashing an army of defences. More so, when the puer errs, his natural response is to cover up (rather than take responsibility for) his mess. The same impulse that leads the puer to glorious endeavours can also make him, in some less fortunate circumstances, recklessly cross the line between lawful/moral and illegal/immoral behaviour.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Such brutality can be direct (e.g. a sense of more or less conscious hatred towards oneself) or indirect (e.g. an unconscious destructiveness towards one's own inner world).

<sup>174</sup> It is important to keep in mind the earlier assertion that the puer fantasies that came into play in the 2008 crisis reflected a more general social trend. The pervasiveness of these fantasies and the need to externalise them results in scapegoating activities as the container for the disowned anger over the unfulfilled fantasy. The anger felt by the wider population over the collapse of their own puer visions finds its place in bankers and the 'corrupt' banking culture. Bankers then hold the anger on behalf of the wider population, who will not acknowledge their own heavy emotional investment in the puer's financial Neverland. Given that puer fantasies of an easy life come in all shapes and colours, this holds true even for those who disown and try to get rid of their own puer inclinations and thus require a repository for their rejected unconscious content in the external world. This could be witnessed in some of the heightened accusatory rhetoric of government officials and many victims of the crisis in its aftermath. All these elements, however, are parts of the whole. Finding or creating scapegoats on whom to deposit the anger is an equally crucial part of the puer fantasy. One puer role is that of the victim (who deposits in the other the rightful anger of his position) and the other is that of the perpetrator (who commits a wrongdoing and receives the disowned shame and guilt, which he unconsciously requires), yet both roles must exist in order to keep this shared unconscious fantasy alive.

*Phaethon*

I will now turn to the myth of Phaethon to demonstrate the tension between imagination (the puer) and regulation (the senex) and its actualisation in the 2008 financial crisis in more detail.<sup>175</sup> I will argue that this myth parallels the puer-senex dynamics of the 2008 crisis. There are two versions of the myth: Ovid's version centres on the father-son relationship, Phaethon's ride and his subsequent crash, while Euripides' less well-known version, which is 440 years older, differs in its emphasis. Ovid's version raises many questions regarding the motives for Phaethon's actions. As Jungian writer Hans van den Hooff notes, Ovid's version is to Euripides' version as the initial presentation is to a more advanced stage of the analytic work. 'Exploring the unconscious is like digging 400 years in history' (2013, p. 243). Fascination with the father and the wild chariot-ride are more comprehensible to consciousness than the subtler reasons regarding why one is in a certain situation. Although it could be argued that the older story contains a deeper psychological content, both versions provide important information about the puer identity that also finds its place in the 2008 financial crisis.

*Ovid's version: the absent father*

In Ovid's version (in Kline, 2004, pp. 19-28), Phaethon is the son of Clymene, daughter of Oceanus, and the sun-God Phoebus<sup>176</sup>. Once, when Phaethon is boasting of his high birth, another boy calls him a bastard. Phaethon demands the truth from his mother, who assures him that Phoebus is his legitimate father. Unconvinced, Phaethon travels to his father's palace where Phoebus gladly confirms his parentage. Nevertheless, Phaethon wants proof and his father replies that he will fulfil any request. Phaethon thus asks to drive the sun-god's chariot, which Phoebus uses on his daily duty to ensure rotation of the earth. Phoebus explains that the ride is dangerous and that Phaethon lacks experience, but when Phaethon insists, he gives him advice on how to handle the horses. Phaethon then jumps into the chariot, whereupon the horses recognise his lack of experience and get out of control. Ovid

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<sup>175</sup> There are many myths and fairy tales that vividly depict the puer-senex tension. In some, we see an old king (the senex) with his struggling kingdom and the heroic puer who comes to regenerate the land by giving it new life (e.g. naïve Ivan the fool). In others, we see the puer, neglecting the father's (senex's) restrictions and flying too high only to fall to his death (e.g. Icarus).

<sup>176</sup> In Greek mythology, Helios/Apollo is the sun god. In Roman mythology, the same god is known as Phoebus.

describes the wildness of the ride and the world fire that follows, before Jupiter<sup>177</sup> interferes by sending a thunderbolt, thus hurling Phaethon from the chariot, freeing the horses and saving the earth from ultimate destruction.

*Senex tools as puer toys*

The main theme in Ovid's version is the search for the father, who represents the self-regulating agency that the young Phaethon lacks. Phaethon's pride is hurt by the taunting and he questions his identity. Thus, he seeks Phoebus, his father, to validate who he is. Ovid's version in many ways corresponds to Hillman's conceptualisation of the puer (whose privileged spiritual connection is due to the senex's absence). However, many details in the myth also point to further subtleties of the puer dynamics. Phaethon cannot comprehend his father's/senex's energy: he did not grow up with his father, nor did he drive the chariot with him. As a result, he does not know what it is that gives his father the ability to drive the chariot. Importantly, he is impatient and does not want to learn and thus takes his father's energy too literally, seeing it represented in the chariot. Thus, he takes his father's 'tool', believing that he too can manage it, and uses it as a toy. Once the puer has the senex's tool in his possession, his inability to use it causes him to hurt himself and others. This happens not because he has evil intentions and not only because he, like Icarus, is inflated, which prompts his irresponsible behaviour, but mainly because he does not have a reference point for senex energy and, thus, cannot comprehend how it is used.

Phaethon both seeks out and rejects his father's energy (i.e. he ignores Phoebus' fatherly concern for his life and his warnings of the dangers of the ride). Hillman notes that the cry for and resentment of the father idealise the archetype. Both 'fail to recognise that these shadow traits against which one so protests are precisely those that initiate fathering' (1987, p. 277). Idealisation of the father results in imitation rather than initiation. Phaethon eagerly wants himself and others to see him driving the chariot; he is not interested in becoming his father's equal by taking the path of learning and development. It is in the nature of the puer to resist learning; the training that the senex can offer is time-consuming and tedious. As Hillman states, the puer is 'primordially perfect. Therefore there is no development; development means devolution, a loss and fall and restriction of possibilities' (1967, p.

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<sup>177</sup> In Greek mythology, Zeus is the chief Olympian god. In Roman mythology, this god is known as Jupiter.

25). He further explains that the puer ‘understands little of what is gained by repetition and consistency, that is, by work, or of the moving back and forth, left and right, in and out, which makes for subtlety in proceeding step by step through the labyrinthine complexity of the horizontal world’ (ibid, p. 24). von Franz also emphasises ‘a kind of false individuation’ that is characteristic of the puer: ‘being something special, one has no need to adapt, for that would be impossible for such a hidden genius’ (1970/2000, p. 8).

A similar situation can be seen preceding the 2008 financial crisis. For a long time, banking was largely a conservative, straightforward and highly regulated industry (Acharya and Richardson, 2011, pp. 184-185). Following the Great Depression, in the US, the most crucial regulation was implemented by the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which ensured (with subsequent laws (e.g. The Bank Holding Act of 1956)) the separation of commerce and banking in the financial world. This bill prevented banks from dealing in securities and was intended to restrain excessive risk-taking (Jackson, 1987). Banks were thus reduced for the most part to classic financial intermediation, namely deposit taking and lending. The Glass-Steagall Act was an effective measure at minimising this type of bank failure (ibid).

However, when the next generation of bankers arrived, they believed they could surpass the overcautious previous generation. As pointed out earlier (footnote 166), this generation grew up with the motto ‘Believe in yourself and follow your dreams’ rather than the ‘Hard work pays off’ motto of their predecessors. They did not need experience/practice and believed that passion and desire would get them where they wanted to go.<sup>178</sup> Like Phaethon, they lacked a reference point for the senex energy, and thus found themselves in the chariot too soon.

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<sup>178</sup> As stated earlier, when there is identification with puer fantasies, the value of regulation is downgraded. This one-sided vision of the conflict between ‘creative and daring innovators’ and ‘castrating and corrupted regulators’ is depicted in Ayn Rand’s *Atlas Shrugged* (1957/2007). Coincidentally, in this novel, Richard Halley, the protagonist Dagny Taggart’s favourite composer, performs his opera Phaethon to great public acclaim. In this version, however, Phaethon succeeds in controlling Phoebus’ chariot. This serves as a metaphor for the power of creative individualism. Halley later disappears, along with other innovators, to join the strike against the regulators. It is worth noting that Alan Greenspan, a long-standing Chairman of the Federal Reserve (1987 – 2006), was an inspired student of Rand’s ‘objectivist’ thinking and a staunch advocate of deregulation. Many in the government, academic establishment and business circles as well as among the general public shared this perspective.



The newly deregulated industry immediately came up with all sorts of innovation, the most important of which was the creation of a wide range of derivatives<sup>179</sup> (Tijoe, 2007; Acharya and Richardson, 2011, p. 184). The airy nature of derivatives makes them a typical puer creation, which can easily get out of hand if left unregulated. (The puer himself can be considered a ‘derivative’ of the spirit, ‘which burns everything ordinary with blue and ideal fire’ (i.e. an unrelated and aesthetic perspective) (Hillman, 1979, p. 25)).

Like Phaethon, the new generation of financiers had a strong sense of pride and entitlement. They behaved as the natural winners of this evolutionary process, who are entitled to their leading position (but, in typical puer fashion, not to its attendant responsibilities). Entitlement is one of the key characteristics of the puer. In making a distinction between greed and entitlement, Hirschhorn writes that, while the former is linked to internal hunger and feelings of dependency, entitlement is about indignation, feelings of self-sufficiency and a protest against the demand for a relationship. ‘The entitled person has a right to satisfy an impulse or wish not because of the impulse’s urgency but simply because it is *the person’s own* impulse (...) The banks and the financial institutions were acting as if they should be honoured for who they were, titans of finance, not for what they had either created or, in this case, destroyed’ (2013, p. 301).

#### *The bankers’ wild ride*

Once Phaethon jumps into the chariot, the horses sense his inexperience. Here, one’s ability to manage the horses represents one’s competence at holding certain wild energies together and guiding them in the appropriate direction. When a rider knows how to handle the horses/energies, they will

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<sup>179</sup> ‘Derivatives are financial instruments that derive value on their claim to another asset, such as an option to purchase wheat or a futures contract on oil. Derivatives can be used to hedge against risk, protecting against a decline in value of the underlying asset. Alternatively, they can be used for simple speculation, to profit from an expected change in value’ (Sherman, 2009, p. 10). It is the latter that became the main preoccupation of the financial industry. The most important of these derivatives were credit default swaps, which were effectively a form of bond insurance, where the issuer would pay the loss if a bond defaulted. Following deregulation, financial institutions were entering contracts so easily and quickly that it resulted in extreme uncertainty about many aspects of the actual ownership. However, a strong belief in the self-regulation of the firms prevailed (ibid, pp. 10-11).

have confidence in the rider and submit to his guidance. If not, they become independent wild creatures. It is in the nature of the puer, who lacks self-regulation and is consequently unable to contain strong emotions (e.g. those generated by panic or inflation), to be easily influenced and go in multiple directions simultaneously, when unrestrained. In this case, sensing the rider's inexperience, the horses panic and the chariot is driven by fear and anxiety.<sup>180</sup>

Phaethon's wild ride can often be seen in stock market fluctuations, which are said to be driven by turbulent emotions such as greed and fear (e.g. CNNMoney, 2014). Generally, it is the presence of emotions behind the numbers that make the archetypal perspective relevant for market considerations, which are no longer a cognitive business. This is particularly evident in times of crisis: when confidence is lost and the energies/horses that are pulling the whole enterprise panic, an irrational dynamic arises, often culminating in a crash. As Ovid describes, '[w]hen the horses feel the reins lying across their backs (...) they veer off course and run unchecked through unknown regions of the air. Wherever their momentum takes them there they run, lawlessly, striking against the fixed stars in deep space and hurrying the chariot along remote tracks' (in Kline, 2004, p. 24). In 2007/8, the realisation dawned that whoever was in charge of that financial chariot did not know what he was doing.

#### *Senex's responsibility*

Phoebus, however, is equally responsible for the tragedy. Phaethon seeks his father's energy as a way to stabilise himself (to find and make sense of his identity). Identity is as much about one's abilities as one's limitations and it is the senex/father who helps to draw the boundaries. Yet Phoebus fails this test of senexhood. First, instead of using the opportunity to set boundaries, he promises to fulfil his son's wishes and his irresponsible question begets Phaethon's irresponsible answer. Phoebus then yields to Phaethon's request too easily: he tells his son of the difficulties of the ride, pointing out that he

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<sup>180</sup> To be noted, there is a positive side to this indecisiveness regarding which direction to take. The puer's imaginative approach with its fluidity and openness can suspend judgement, remain unattached to a particular theory and be content with the diverse ways of looking at the world. This is particularly valuable in the fast-changing business world. As the distinguished economist Paul Krugman notes: 'once you have a model, it is essentially impossible to avoid seeing the world in terms of that model – which means focusing on the forces and effects your model can represent and ignoring or giving short shrift to those it cannot. The result is that the very act of modeling has the effect of destroying knowledge as well as creating it' (1997, p. 71f). Yet, this positive side of puer functioning is seen not when he is detached from senex energy but when in contact with it.

is not yet experienced, and then, when Phaethon persists, he delivers directions and instructions. Unlike the wise senex, he does not explain the inevitable consequences of the ride, nor does he insist on the necessity for training. Phoebus unintentionally gives Phaethon free rein when the latter does not yet have the internal structure necessary to contain the strong energies he is about to encounter. Training allows for the internalisation of certain skills so that they function as a sixth sense. It is this internal skillset that instils confidence in the horses. Thus, it is not only that Phaethon is stubborn and, in typical puer fashion, resists learning, but that Phoebus neither offered Phaethon such training when he was growing up, nor explains what this skillset involves when Phaethon requests the ride.

In the financial sector, the need for innovation implied that the current regulations were outdated: Phoebus thus had to make room for Phaethon in his chariot. Deregulation was viewed as financial 'modernisation' and the next evolutionary stage (Sherman, 2009). However, in practice, it turned out to be misregulation because Phoebus, instead of inviting Phaethon to join the ride, stepped out of his chariot and handed the reins over to Phaethon. Similarly, the banks wanted to be free to do what they liked with the extra funds available and deregulation allowed that to happen (Jablecki and Machaj, 2011, pp. 200-202). The puer was left unsupervised and his innovation went unchecked. The multiple possibilities that ensued inflated the bankers as a fantasy inflates the puer, resulting in a complex financial situation, which, like the horses, easily got out of hand. The process of deregulation posed irreconcilable challenges to market regulators, who were unable to keep pace with the innovation in the financial markets. Since banking and securities and insurance operations were now housed under the same roof, the regulators lacked expertise and could not exercise any authority. In particular, the rapid growth of new types of derivative, such as credit default swaps, left many regulative practices redundant. Most importantly, regulators were unwilling to cause problems in the seemingly smooth operations by issuing 'negative' reports (Catanach and Ragatz, 2010).<sup>181</sup> The collective (but ultimately misguided) belief in the self-regulation of the firms was the only consolation in the overall confusion of the regulatory world.

Phoebus, by granting Phaethon any wish, not only enabled the tragedy but also amplified it. Similarly, the regulators and government not only failed to set boundaries on market behaviour, but made the situation worse (Taylor, 2011, pp. 151-171). As political scientist Jeffrey Friedman argues,

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<sup>181</sup> As one commentator notes, his firm 'did not want to be so conservative [in their accounting and auditing], so as to disrupt the capital markets' (as cited in Catanach and Ragatz, 2010, p. 23).

new market regulations (Basel I, the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs)) significantly extended the market failure by creating perfect conditions for so-called 'greedy bankers' to take advantage of them (Friedman, 2011, pp. 10-66). Other commentators similarly note that in such circumstances 'it is naïve to blame bankers' "greed" or "illusion" for what happened' (Jablecki and Machaj, 2011, p. 227). The American dream, easy votes, and populist appeal – these rather common attributes of the puer mentality – became high-octane when deregulation, coupled with new regulations, occurred (Wallison, 2011, pp. 172-182). The senex played its part by walking away (rather than merely being ousted) and the puer almost singlehandedly took charge of the situation, in the inflated belief that he was perfectly qualified for the role.

*Jupiter's interference*

Boiling smoke, the earth in flames, oceans dried out, great cities in ashes, whole nations destroyed – this is a vivid illustration of the puer's failed leadership. The collective actions of many bankers and regulators resulted not only in the crash of many titans of finance (such as Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers), but also threatened the near destruction of the entire banking industry. Just as in the myth, Jupiter interferes to prevent the catastrophe, the US government came to the rescue of the banks that were 'too big to fail' (Bank of America, Citigroup and AIG).

*Euripides' version: the mother's secret*

Euripides' version of the myth presents a different dynamic (in Vlanes, 2012). In the opening scene, Phaethon's mother, Clymene, explains that she is the daughter of Oceanus and wife of Merops, the king of Ethiopia. Helios lives nearby in his golden palace and when Clymene was young, Helios took advantage of her and they conceived a child. Oceanus, in haste, married her to the mortal mighty Merops, 'thus having honored him beyond his wildest dreams' (ibid, loc. 138). When Phaethon was born, Merops had no reason to doubt his fatherhood. Now that Phaethon is a young man, Helios and Merops resolve that he should marry one of the Heliads, daughters of Helios. Helios will now have his son beside him, as well as Clymene, whom he refuses to let go of. Phaethon, however, does not want to marry, as he is young and wants to enjoy his life. He also resists on the grounds that a husband cannot be lowlier than his wife (in this case, a demigoddess). Clymene contemplates how his proximity to Helios will endanger Phaethon, as the resemblance between them will become clearer. She cannot tell

the truth to Merops, as his rage is likely to be murderous. She resolves, however, to tell Phaethon that the proposed marriage is between equals, as he too is a demigod. Importantly, he must marry a Heliad and become king to ensure that Merops can no longer seek revenge should he learn the secret. Phaethon, however, suspects that she is plotting to force him into marriage and thus seeks confirmation from Helios. Clymene then tells him of the wish Helios promised to their child, which can prove beyond any doubt Phaethon's true origins.

In Euripides' version, the parents' secret foreshadows the tragedy. Phaethon is presented as the mother's golden boy (Phaethon means 'Shining One'), giving prominence to von Franz's narrative of the puer psychology, but also fitting into Hillman's understanding of the puer nature. We see a father who compensates for his absence by granting a reckless promise to his child, and a mother living in constant worry for her son, and who, at the critical moment, tells him of his father's gift. Both mother and father give Phaethon access to this dangerous self-destructive weapon: any wish he wants.

In somewhat similar fashion, the banking industry was set up for the ultimate crisis. First, a widespread belief in innovation and modernisation shared by both the government and general public allowed the puer characteristics to flourish. This was coupled with the constant worry that the markets would become less competitive: financial deregulation in foreign countries could have incentivised firms to take their capital abroad (Sherman, 2009, p. 9). The regulators (both public and private), on the other hand, stepped down and effectively told the banking industry: any wish you want!

*Puer's homeland: discontent*

Before Phaethon leaves for Helios' palace, he speaks with Merops, who announces that the marriage is to be held on that day, thus ending Phaethon's carefree life. Merops talks of the necessity of growing up and assuming responsibilities, to which Phaethon replies that he does not want to be restricted by family and throne: 'I have no interest in reigning here (...) I need another crown, all woven from the untarnished morning light and air, I need another kind of wine that streams along the fingers of the dawn and clusters pleasantly like fragrant drops of ruby' (Euripides, in Vlanes, 2012, locs 348-366). Merops interrupts: 'Your head is full of wind' (ibid, loc. 385), and warns Phaethon that his freedom and light-headedness will expire with Merops' life, as Phaethon's dear friends will plot against him in the bid for power and cut his throat. Merops threatens to abandon Phaethon so that his naïve fantasies can be

tested against the harsh reality away from home. Phaethon responds: 'our home is life-sustaining earth, it's everywhere!' (ibid, loc. 436). Nevertheless, to Merops' delight, he states his reluctant intention to go to Helios and choose a bride.

von Franz notes that the characteristic feature of the puer is that he cannot enter life fully, as that would mean committing to the here and now, as well as a constant negotiation of the realities that living life entails. This attitude leads to a 'form of neurosis (...) called the "provisional life"' (von Franz, 1970/2000, p. 8), an attitude that Phaethon, by his words and actions, illustrates well. Typical puer characteristics, such as delusion and entitlement, have already been pointed out in Ovid's version; however, the puer's poetic vision that 'home is everywhere' is worth closer inspection. In its positive form, this vision implies international trade, peace and mutual respect. It underlies reformist projects, such as globalisation and the EU. In its negative form, it is a fantasy that 'somewhere' things are easier.

In the 2008 financial crisis, geographical boundaries played a crucial negative role. Arguably, this had less to do with greed (conscious or unconscious), even though this undoubtedly unleashed many predatory elements, than with careless imagination. Deregulation phased out many restrictions, including limitations on the geographical scope of banking operations. Economist Philip Strahan (2002) notes that previously, 'no state had permitted banks headquartered in other states to either open branches or buy their banks, and many states prohibited or restricted intrastate branching'. Now, banks could lend anywhere and this had significant consequences. A person could take out a mortgage, the bank could then sell this illiquid asset to a government-backed private company (such as Fanny Mae), and this company rebought the same asset, thus making it more liquid and allowing the bank to fund more mortgages and/or borrow more money. The bank then has more opportunities, earns more and, to hedge the risks, can support mortgages from different regions or buy a diversified pool of securities. The more such operations in which a bank engages, the more money it earns. Given the general belief that US housing prices were only weakly correlated, this meant that rating agencies marked such diversified mortgage-backed securities as highly reliable. The financial industry thus stepped into the land of endless opportunities. The fantasy, which would not survive in a given geographical area, appeared as a sustainable opportunity when projected into greater territory: the nourishing earth seemed everywhere. This belief turned out to be an unfounded assumption and the confidence boost it provided had a high price.

Left on his own, Phaethon states that he feels no love towards Merops, yet acknowledges that he is a good father. Neither does he feel any warmth toward his land and palace, where he has spent a carefree childhood: 'At home I cannot grasp my body with the hands of my own soul who stands and catches mere air' (Euripides, in Vlanes, 2012, loc. 473). He adds: 'I believe I am worthy of much more, of airy castles, clouds and cascades of light, of soaring beneath the rustling vault of wings' (ibid). While in Ovid's version, I drew attention to the difference between greed and self-entitlement, I will now argue that self-entitlement is secondary to the prevailing feeling of discontent with his earthly existence (in contrast to Ovid's Phaethon, Euripides' version has little indication of Phaethon's inflation). The reason for his discontent is his lack of belonging, from which also stems his inability to understand his nature and its longings. He is airy: half-mortal and half-god; his home is neither in the sky nor on earth.<sup>182</sup> While this discontent could easily turn into entitlement or greed, it presents a different dynamic and thus should not be confused with either.

As Hillman states, 'the puer attitude displays an aesthetic point of view: the world as beautiful images or as vast scenario. Life becomes literature, an adventure of intellect or science, or of religion or action, but always unreflected and unrelated and therefore unpsychological' (1979, p. 26). He adds: 'What is unrelated tends to become compulsive, or greedy. The puer in any complex gives it its drive and drivenness, makes it move too fast, want too much, go too far, not only because of the oral hunger and omnipotence fantasies of the childish, but archetypally because the world can never satisfy the demand of the spirit or match its beauty. Hungering for eternal experiences makes one a consumer of profane events' (ibid). As van den Hooff notes, the unconscious dynamic of the financial industry, compared with some other industries such as the manufacturing with its factories and warehouses, is 'more airy and less grounded' (2012, p. 238). Thus, it has an inherent tendency towards the puer nature and can quickly embody it as well as its negative forms (e.g. excessive greed), if left unattended.

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<sup>182</sup> Later, after the tragedy, Helios remarks: 'He could not find his place upon this listless earth, he could not comprehend the longing of his spirit. His heart was wonderfully woven from the sunlight and suffocating in its cage of heavy flesh. My poor son! How could I possibly permit you to live upon this earth? Why did I fire your mind? Only a god or mortal can endure mortals, but blood that has been mixed will not be peaceful here' (Euripides, in Vlanes, 2012, loc. 1203).

*Puer's lack of purpose*

Hillman notes that the puer is not at home on earth, because 'its direction is vertical'. 'The horizontal world, the space-time continuum which we call "reality", is not its world. So the new dies easily because it is not born in the *Diessets*, and this death confirms it in eternity. Death does not matter because the puer gives the feeling that it can come again another time, make another start' (1979, p. 24). In such a puer tone, Phaethon proclaims: 'I'm like an arrow without a bow: so sharp, so fine and balanced – but completely useless' (Euripides, in Vlanes, loc. 473). This statement characterises the current state of the financial sector, whose main purpose has become funding itself rather than investing in the real economy. Financial innovations and deregulation resulted in the industry's vast resources being redirected to speculative investments in financial assets, which delivered substantially higher profits. As innovative economist Marianna Mazzucato (2016) notes, '[a] well-functioning financial system must in theory fund the capital development of the economy, promoting economic growth and rising living standards. One of the biggest banks in the US is called Chemical Bank because it had its origin in funding the chemical sector – unthinkable today that a bank would be so focused on the real economy!' One of the key characteristics of the puer is his inability to communicate meaning. His 'wandering is as the spirit wanders, without attachment and not as an odyssey of experience'. The senex is therefore required to make sense of the puer experience.<sup>183</sup>

*Puer's risk-taking*

Phaethon utters: 'It seems to me that I'd be able to defeat whatever fear, for the sake of taking flight to ether where I'm drawn with tremendous force, as if my real home is waiting for me there' (Euripides, in Vlanes, 2012, loc. 385). As Phaethon was ready to 'defeat whatever fear', the bankers were willing to take whatever risks in order to avoid reality. von Franz emphasises the puer's 'highly symbolic fascination for dangerous sports – particularly flying and mountaineering – so as to get as high as possible, the symbolism being to get away from reality, from earth, from ordinary life' (1970/2000, p. 8). Hillman writes: 'danger only heightens the unreality of "reality" and intensifies the vertical connection. Because of this vertical *direct* access to the spirit, this immediacy where vision of goal and goal itself are one, winged speed, haste – even the short cut – are imperative. The puer cannot do with

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<sup>183</sup> This situation is described by Hillman as the falcon returning to the falconer's arm (1979, p. 35).



indirection, with timing and patience' (1979, p. 24). This would require a capacity for reflection, and importantly self-reflection. Yet the puer lives in a state of constant discontentment and cannot comprehend his emotions. In this sense, like the puer/Phaethon, the bankers are half-mortals and half-gods: like all humans they have emotions, yet their profession requires them to be above their emotions.

*Puer's use of imagination*

As stated, the puer is associated with the ability to imagine, and imagination is closely connected with projection. We project what we imagine, especially when we cannot comprehend something important about ourselves. In the act of projection, internal states are externalised. If the appropriate outlet for a projection cannot be found, the psyche 'creates' that outlet (Mathers, 2001, p. 11). Thus, some people may be drawn to the stock market precisely because it offers an appropriate outlet for their particular projective content. The stock market, in turn, is created by the collective projections of bankers. As mentioned earlier in my interpretation of Ovid's myth, the patterns of Phaethon's wild ride can often be seen on bankers' screens. In the case of Euripides' Phaethon, meanwhile, what is externalised may be the inner turmoil.

In the next scene, Phaethon's chaperone brings the tragic news to Clymene that Phaethon arrived at the palace just before Helios' daily departure in his chariot and held Helios to his promise of a wish. When Phaethon asked to ride the chariot, Helios asked his son to reconsider, explaining that the ride was not about citadels and goddesses in freely flowing garments, but dreadful wind, boundless emptiness and voracious terror. He stressed the difficulties of the ride and the value of training and practice: '[D]ay after day, for thousands of years I have been learning to control these four fierce horses. Look at my palms: what deep and never-healing furrows have covered them, inflicted by the springy reins!' (Euripides, in Vlanes, 2012, loc. 725) Seeing that Phaethon is adamant, Helios sadly gives instructions and follows behind the chariot, assuring with his guidance. In the frantic ride that ensues, the horses make dreadful hooks between heaven and earth, destroying fields and lakes, until Zeus fires his thunderbolt, killing Phaethon and freeing the horses.

Considering the situation he was in (stripped of his carefree life and forced into a marriage and the responsibilities of the throne), Phaethon must have felt trapped and angry. von Franz, writing of the puer's horror of being caught in a situation from which there is no escape, states: 'Every just-so

situation is hell' (1970/2000, p. 8). Yet, surprisingly, we do not hear a word of Phaethon's anger in the myth (we hear his jokes, inner dialogue and attempts at self-explanation), which allows us to assume that his anger is entirely unconscious and as such drives all his actions. 'The psychological rule says that when an inner situation is not made conscious, it happens outside, as fate' (Jung, *CW9ii*, para. 126). The wild horses driving the chariot are a vivid visualisation of Jung's statement. It is this inner turmoil that prompts Phaethon to request this daring wish. Helios' remark 'Be it your way, for clearly such is your fate' (Euripides, in *Vlanes*, loc. 744) is a sad acknowledgement of Phaethon's turbulent unconscious making its requests on him. This highlights the puer's use of his imaginative capacity. An alternative use would have been a strategic application of imagination in the conscious search for possible solutions. Phaethon could at least have tried to use his wish (a potential game-changer) differently. Helios would certainly have preferred to cancel the marriage than allow him into the chariot. Yet, Phaethon did not come to Helios for a productive resolution. He came to externalise his inner state, even if he was not consciously aware of his 'decision'.

### *Conclusion*

Clymene grieves, exclaiming 'I hate with all my heart the blood of deities which brings to us destruction! He soared up to the very skies, filled with desire to be his father's equal!' (Euripides, in *Vlanes*, loc. 874). In this chapter, I have argued that the myth does not support the claim that Phaethon's key motivation was 'to be his father's equal'; instead, his motivations are complex and deeply unconscious. Phaethon seeks to externalise his inner turmoil and, in so doing, to escape the inner struggle, the nature of which he cannot understand. Helios 'fired' his mind beyond Merops' or Clymene's comprehension, but he was not there to provide him with guidance and internalise the energies of self-regulation. Similarly, markets have become not only the repository for our capacity to imagine, but also for our turbulent, discontented and unrestrained inner states. The 2008 financial crisis could be viewed as the puer's failed attempt to become a hero, yet this might only be possible if he learns the senex's craftsmanship of self-regulation.

This chapter has highlighted the relevance of puer-senex dynamics in business. The unchanging nature of their relationship is that they are in a continuous state of tension with each other, acting as push and pull. In some cases, an economy/company is killed by senex attitudes and revived by puer

figures; in other cases, the opposite holds true. Although this tension is difficult to maintain, it is this very tension that keeps the balance.

## Chapter 11

### Trickster in business

#### *Introduction*

In chapter 5, I presented Hermes the trickster as a symbol of business creativity. This chapter aims to demonstrate general manifestations of the trickster archetype in the business domain, as well as emphasise its relevance for business creativity. The main thrust is to show that the dynamics of business life are in many ways a reflection of collective unconscious factors, which the trickster brings to the surface with its disruptive art of chance occurrences. I will begin by briefly outlining the trickster concept in Jungian psychology, introducing the notion of the 'progressive trickster' and its relevance for the aims of this chapter. I will then argue that the trickster manifests in business in so-called 'black swan' events, such as the 2008 financial crisis. I will explain the implications of trickster dynamics for the consideration of meaning and economic policies, before outlining the relevance of the trickster to business creativity. The chapter concludes by claiming that the trickster is an essential energy that makes a complex system such as the business domain 'antifragile'.

#### *Trickster in Jungian psychology*

The trickster figure is common across diverse mythological traditions, epochs and cultures. There are African tricksters (Ananse and Eshu), Native American tricksters (Coyote and Wakdjunkaga), Asian tricksters (Susa-no-o and Sun Wuk'ung) and Western tricksters (Loki and Hermes). Trickster characters embody a wide range of characteristics, which makes it difficult (particularly for the modern Western mind) to imagine them as embodied in a single phenomenon (Hynes and Doty, 1993, p. 9). Amidst this diversity, we meet such characteristics as the thief, shepherd, magician, healer, educator, spiritual guide, fool/clown, wise old man, youthful hero, evil-doer/anti-hero, to name but a few.

In Jungian psychology, the trickster is a vital part of psychological reality and, in Jungian terminology, an archetypal figure or personification. The trickster's role is that of the pattern-breaker, disrupter and boundary-crosser. Its disruptive acts release psychic tension and thus link and balance the dynamics of conscious and unconscious. Illuminating these 'transformative and generative aspects' of the trickster, Andrew Samuels regards it as a 'yardstick and spur to consciousness' (1993, p. 84).

Joseph Campbell notes: 'the trickster hero represents all those possibilities of life that your mind hasn't decided it wants to deal with. The mind structures a lifestyle, and the fool or trickster represents another whole range of possibilities. He doesn't respect the values that you've set up for yourself, and smashes them' (1990, p. 39).

Jung notes that, in its pure form, the trickster is a 'reflection of an absolutely undifferentiated human consciousness, corresponding to a psyche that has hardly left the animal level' (*CW9i*, para. 465). However, he points out that the appearance of the trickster signifies the possibility of transforming the meaningless into the meaningful (*ibid*, para. 456). While stressing the trickster's low intellectual and moral level (*ibid*, para. 480), Jung also states that the trickster is capable of progressive development, gradually learning to control his bodily functions and sexual impulses (*ibid*, para. 477). In his later work, Jung was particularly intrigued by the trickster figure of Hermes/Mercurius, referring to him as a psychopomp and spiritual guide (*ibid*, para. 283). Samuels, drawing on Jung, states that Hermes could be taken to represent psyche itself (1985, p. 270).

As a prelude to the next section, it is useful to differentiate between what could be termed 'classic' and 'progressive' tricksters, which represent different levels of consciousness, yet share the same nature and archetypal functioning (i.e. they are psychopomps, pattern-breakers and disturbers). Hermes, whose high levels of intelligence and trickery are elevated to the level of an art, arguably functions at the top of this pyramid, while Loki is also close to the top. Moving down the pyramid, we find trickster fools, such as Tom Thumb and Coyote, and at the very bottom the so-called 'idiots', whose consciousness, as Jung states, is nearly undifferentiated. His high level of consciousness implies that Hermes is a 'literate' trickster: that is, his interference is based on his ability to read conscious and unconscious patterns. In contrast, the 'classic' trickster simply acts out the imbalance and subsequent tension between the conscious and unconscious. As seen in chapter 5, Hermes is very precise with his disruptive surprises; he is playful and spontaneous, yet strategic and manipulative. Trickster-fools do not function at this level of sophistication: their surprises are instinct-driven and idiotic. Both types, however, are effective communicators between the conscious and unconscious. These distinctions and convergences are important as this chapter will argue that high levels of intelligence lie behind certain disruptive occurrences.

*Manifestations of the trickster in business*

Writer Nasim Taleb (2007/2010) famously introduced the notion 'black swan' to account for the occurrence of unlikely events. Given his past career as a trader, a considerable part of Taleb's enquiry into such events concerns black swans in the field of finance, such as the 2008 financial crisis<sup>184</sup>. Black swan events are defined as events that lie outside the range of probability, but occur anyway. They can be positive (invention of the Internet) or negative (the 2008 financial crisis). They can also be trivial (learning that not all swans are white) or life altering (losing everything in a stock-market crash). Their key feature is that, while they are impossible/difficult to predict, they can be relatively easily explained in hindsight (ibid, pp. xxii-xxxii).

Taleb's thesis is that we are surprised by such events not because they are random or accidental, but because our outlook is too narrow. He points out our tendency to be overconfident in what we know or think we know and ignorant of what we do not know. This ignorance, he claims, is a result of our cognitive biases, currently a popular topic within the field of cognitive psychology (Gigerenzer, 2002, 2007, 2014; Kahneman, 1982, 2000, 2011; Pinker, 2002, 2011). These basic logical biases include narrative fallacy (our need for linear explanations), confirmation biases (selection of those facts that confirm our existing beliefs) and ludic fallacy (the equation of risk to a game, in which rules and probabilities can be determined).

However, while Taleb's aim is to explore the black swan phenomenon, he leaves two important questions unaddressed. First, while his book focuses on the logical pitfalls that cause us to overlook the bigger picture and thus fall victim to surprises, it touches only momentarily on the nature of what we

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<sup>184</sup> The popularity of this book (one of the most influential of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, according to *The Sunday Times* (Appleyard, 2009)) at least in part owes to the fact that its author was one of few people who predicted and actively warned about the crisis. One of Taleb's key observations is that it is impossible to calculate tail risks using the current methods of risk analysis, as they cannot keep up with the complexity of the modern financial world. All the metrics have the effect of underestimating the impact of the possibility of very large deviations. Meanwhile, an exponential increase in risks means that if the market drops by 10 per cent, one may lose 10 million, but if the market drops by 15 per cent, the loss might be 500 million, and an extra 5 per cent fall might result in 15 billion (Morrison, 2008). In Taleb's words, the current metrics might at best be able to estimate 'how uncomfortable the plane ride is going to be, but tells you nothing about the crash' (ibid).

perceive as these random events. To be specific, Taleb does not progress beyond stating that these events simply happen. Second, while he describes cognitive biases, he does not explain how and why they come into play on the collective level at a particular time. The answers to these questions lie at the threshold of collective conscious and unconscious dynamics. Thus, I argue that if we wish to understand the nature of these occurrences, the trickster may serve as our guide (despite the likelihood that the trickster will abandon or betray us at the very instant we attempt to turn it into a framework).

As stated earlier, the trickster's prime concern is to link and balance conscious and unconscious dynamics. The 'progressive' trickster, rather than acting out this archetypal function, is an astute reader of both conscious and unconscious patterns. After spotting imbalances and weak links, it pulls a surprise from its sleeve. Lewis Hyde calls it 'the god of chance events' (1998, p. 138). The trickster puts two or more events together to create an unexpected occurrence. Its surprises are impossible to predict precisely because they are random and may belong to different realities.<sup>185</sup> Black swan events, those unlikely occurrences at the tail of the normal distribution curve, comprise these trickster surprises that disrupt our accustomed patterns of thinking and often force us to reconsider our worldview, even if temporarily. Like the trickster, these black swan events are about uncertainty, shocks, chance occurrences, as well as creativity, which, as pointed out in chapter 4, are predominant in the business domain.<sup>186</sup>

The trickster thrives in the capitalist business environment, which provides great freedom and opportunities to pursue one's impulses and interests; thus, there is plenty of shadow material for the trickster to play with. It is particularly important to stress the trickster's function as a pattern-breaker who fractures our identifications with certain psychologically outdated ideas or fantasies. As seen from

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<sup>185</sup> For example, a person leaves for work later than usual as he returns to pick up a forgotten umbrella. Two cats start caterwauling and a neighbour throws a glass of water at them. One cat runs into the road at the very moment someone is driving past and an accident happens (Hyde, 1998, p. 119). It is the convergence of these two unrelated causal chains of events that creates a third chance event.

<sup>186</sup> It might be interesting to note that the prologue of one of Taleb's books on black swan events opens with a section called 'How to love the wind'. The first lines read: 'Wind extinguishes a candle and energizes fire. Likewise with randomness, uncertainty, chaos: you want to use them, not hide from them. You want to be the fire and wish for the wind' (2012, p. 3). As stated in chapter 5, Hermes the trickster is often associated with the wind (Roscher, 1886-90; Stein, 1999).

its disruptive and creative endeavours (e.g. the myths of Hermes or Loki), it is amoral: it does not care about the general good nor about the suffering that its surprises might impose on individuals, but only about balancing the diverse components of the personal and collective psyche. In this respect, it is particularly important to emphasise that the trickster works with what is already in existence: its actions reveal what is unwanted, left behind, repressed, denied or hidden. The hypothesis that the trickster, as a psychological phenomenon and concept, is behind black swan events has vast implications for our consideration of business.

*Implications of the connection between trickster and black swan events*

As is always the case with the trickster, there is more to black swan events than meets the eye. These events are unpredictable precisely because they happen largely as a result of unconscious factors. In the aftermath, however, these factors are given a rational causal narrative that anyone can understand, only to wonder how the obvious could have gone unnoticed. Black swan events are thus never purely accidental. While the trickster certainly plays on our cognitive biases, the definitive nature of its craft is that what emerges from it is far from random: the trickster overthrows the conscious dynamic to reveal the presence of unconscious factors.

The 2008 financial crisis is an example of a black swan event and, as my argument suggests, a negative manifestation of the trickster in the business world.<sup>187</sup> It originated in the collective fantasy of

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<sup>187</sup> Some commentators claim that the 2008 crisis does not qualify for black swan status, due to its predictability. In Taleb's words: 'It is a white swan, but very few people saw it coming (...)' Nobody saw the real cost. And let me tell you the problem. The system used to analyse risk is completely defective, and actually could not keep up with the complexity of the financial products that are involved' (as cited in Morrison, 2008). Long before the crisis, economist Peter Bernstein (1996) wrote of the high possibility of a future crisis involving complex derivatives, which relied on smooth operations, yet required a tiny error. He also pointed out that the governmental regulatory agency and top financial institutions were aware of these dangers. Similarly, business magnate Warren Buffett (2002) famously called derivatives 'financial weapons of mass destruction', which 'while now latent, are potentially lethal': 'The derivatives genie is now well out of the bottle, and these instruments will almost certainly multiply in variety and number until some event makes their toxicity clear'. However, apart from some lonely voices, most of the arguments were made post factum, using causal rational explanations. Thus, the 2008 financial crisis *was* a black swan because, for the vast majority, it came as a shock and because its size was unprecedented.



effortless wealth (chapter 10), which, when turned on automatic, resulted in systemic risks and the ultimate downfall of the entire financial system. In particular, this fantasy pattern can be seen in the collective preoccupation with debt and leverage, as well as a belief that governments can and should protect against economic crisis. This was evident in expectations of a bailout and in the complacency of the 'too-big-to-fail' attitude.<sup>188</sup>

In his interview with the Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission (2010), Warren Buffett explained how this patterned way of thinking is related to the booms and busts of the business cycle (Holodny, 2016). He stated that bubbles are always formed on a 'very sound premise' (ibid). When this premise is turned into a pattern, it overtakes our perception of reality (i.e. we identify with the pattern). The premise of the dot-com bubble was that the invention of the Internet was a life-changing phenomenon. When this premise became a pattern, its limitations were forgotten, resulting in the overvaluation of almost any company with related content. A similar dynamic lay behind the 2008 financial crisis and it is this psychological pattern-based dynamic that builds a corresponding physical reality around itself. In this narrative, the derivatives were the mere tools rather than the cause of the crisis.

The trickster's thrill in the modern business environment comes from the abundance of unconscious grandiose fantasy bubbles/patterns to burst. Not only 'greedy bankers', but also society at large participate in this fantasy in one way or another, as we will see below. The heightened state of ego-inflation results in 'collective blindness', which acts as a defence mechanism that protects the unconscious fantasy (by making use of the inherent cognitive biases mentioned above). Yet, the unconscious knows better what the difference between phantasy and reality is.

*Trickster dynamics in the 2008 financial crisis: 'the attack of accidents'*

The trickster reads conscious and unconscious patterns, identifies the core issues and imbalances, orchestrates two or more random events to come together and, in the twist of events, pulls the weakest link. This dynamic is apparent in the 2008 crisis, the official post-mortem of which reveals multiple causal factors, which can be classified into six general categories: economic policies, bank strategies,

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<sup>188</sup> It is interesting to note that in Chuck Palahniuk's novel *Fight Club* (1996), the soap-maker and salesman Tyler Durden, a modern-day trickster, sets the destruction of office buildings containing credit card companies' records as the ultimate aim of his 'Project Mayhem'.

derivative usage, deregulation, oversight and changes in accounting (Catanach and Ragatz, 2010). The first category, economic policies, includes, *inter alia*, the Federal Reserve's reduction of the interest rate to promote home-ownership, as well as the Clinton and Bush administrations' support for credit extension to marginal borrowers. Regarding the second category, following deregulation and increased competition in the financial services sector, banks found themselves having to compete almost exclusively on price, given the overall homogeneity of the products (ibid). As a result, they were receptive to any new product capable of generating profits and in particular to those that helped meet the market demand for mortgage loans (option adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs), subprime loans and the related securitisation) (ibid).

There was also ambiguous derivative usage: the appearance and subsequent popularity of credit default swaps enhanced the credibility of otherwise questionable mortgages. This was coupled with the growing demand for highly rated securities by institutional investors (as diverse as pension funds, insurance companies and hedge funds), foreign companies and governments. Lack of oversight further contributed to the growing inadequacy, and credit rating agencies not only underestimated the risks involved in collateralised debt obligations, but also gave high rankings to the riskiest loans. Auditors and regulators also foresaw the risks involved due to their 'inexperience with complex financial instruments, a "form-over-substance" perspective prevalent within the accounting industry, and an unwillingness to potentially disrupt the financial markets by issuing "negative" reports' (ibid).

All these factors collaborated to result in a mortgage frenzy, which grew into an uncontrollable bubble, fuelled by strong emotions and partisan interests. The unconscious fantasy spread like a virus, creating an internal psychological conflict. It is important to note that most, if not all, of the factors above, albeit happening at the critical time, were unrelated, yet all collaborated to create the bubble. This is a signature trickster characteristic and a common pattern of an unfolding black swan event. From the rational perspective, the confluence of these events comprises the unlikely occurrence, the tail event of the normal distribution curve. However, for the trickster, the god of chance events and trickery, such occurrences are far from random or accidental, as they reflect the unconscious factors that have been dismissed. In this way, the trickster links the conscious and unconscious, as well as the inner/psychological and outer/physical realities, emphasising the lack of wholeness in our perspective. Everyone (aspiring homeowners, the financial industry, government, regulators, accountants, pension

funds) appeared to add their own brick to the construction of this grandiose castle in the air, as is evident from the diversity of factors above, but the main investments were people's emotional realities.

The only thing remaining for the trickster to do was to burst the bubble. In 2006, there was a sudden increase in interest rates, resulting in subprime-borrowing to default on mortgages. Furthermore, in 2007, the Financial Accounting Standards Board issued a rather 'subjective and complex new requirement' (Catanach and Ragatz, 2010), the fair-value reporting rule, which resulted in many U.S. publicly traded companies disclosing their mortgage assets.

*Trickster vs. shadow: it's not Dracula, it's Trickster*

While attributing the factors that led to the bubble and its subsequent bursting to trickster dynamics, it is crucial to distinguish these dynamics from the shadow operations in business, as the two have different implications. When a crisis occurs, it is often mistakenly attributed to the shadow/evil dynamics (chapter 2). The trickster nature, however, is disruptive rather than destructive: its primary purpose is to link and balance conscious and unconscious patterns rather than cause outright damage. Nonetheless, the trickster can turn into the shadow, when it is denied existence and forced into the bottom of the unconscious, from where it returns in a powerful and destructive way (Jung, *CW9i*, paras. 477-487). The more the trickster is pushed to the dark corners of the unconscious, the more shadow characteristics it accumulates and the more dramatic will be the consequences of these dynamics in the physical world. Thus, when an unconscious fantasy has too strong a hold of the conscious mind and the internal conflict/tension is unacknowledged, the trickster's surprises become correspondently darker.

Apart from these extreme cases, the trickster dynamic is of a distinctively different nature from that of the shadow: while the trickster is behind black swan events, the shadow creates what are called 'perfect storm' events, of which, as argued in chapter 7, the BP oil rig disaster is an example. To sum up the importance of the distinction, negative black swan events involve a collective fantasy, and it is the bursting of the inflated ego that causes the crisis, while perfect storm catastrophes are built around a much heavier and darker dynamic, implying an actual wrongdoing and its concealment (usually on the part of some partisan group).

*Practical difficulties of distinguishing between trickster and shadow dynamics*

The premise of both negative black swan and perfect storm events is that none of the individual factors which contribute to the eventual catastrophe is sufficiently powerful on its own, yet their confluence ultimately leads to devastation. Both types of event, given their unconscious nature, involve cognitive biases resulting in collective blindness. Given these premises, it is difficult to distinguish between negative black swan and perfect storm events. For example, according to Ali Velshi, CNN's chief business correspondent, the 2008 crisis was a perfect storm event: 'it was a lack of regulation, it was greed and creativity in the financial industry, and it was an American dream that got off track' (as cited in Tanneeru, 2009).

However, the difference is that perfect storm events require that most, if not all, contributing factors are negative (as seen in the BP example in chapter 7). A negative black swan event, on the other hand, may be the result of negative, neutral or even positive factors. In the 2008 crisis, for example, it is difficult to make a case for the factors involved being negative. Was a reduction of interest-rates, which allowed the less wealthy to get their foot on the property ladder during a period of favourable economic conditions, a negative occurrence? Was the deregulation of the financial industry a bad idea? Even the securitisation of loan purchases cannot on its own be considered negative. Rather, it was the chance nature of these factors – the way they interacted in service of the collective fantasy – that caused the crisis.

Moreover, as seen in chapter 7, in shadow scenarios, negative factors accumulate and, under some 'favourable' circumstances, their confluence results in toxic content, which further fuels the outcome of these factors. This 'favourable'/enabling event, however, appears to be absent from the 2008 crisis. It was the interaction of the above-mentioned factors that created a financial calamity and, importantly, this interaction was a chance occurrence. It is important to distinguish between trickster and shadow dynamics as the two have different implications for meaning as well as for economic policies. I will first consider the implications in terms of meaning before switching to the issue of practical policies.

*Implications for meaning*

As stated earlier, in the case of the 2008 crisis, the trickster burst the bubble and brought down our collective fantasy. In this act of rebalancing, it was an agent of change and progress. However, it needs to be repeated that the trickster only works with what is already in existence and builds external scenarios in the physical world based on the relevant unconscious dynamics. The 2008 crisis could thus be seen as a symbolic representation of the collective unconscious content. The trickster, by revealing the underlying dynamics, brings about the potential for meaning. However, the issue of meaning is not transparent here, not least because it is unclear who creates this meaning. Modern societies escape the complexity of meaning-making with the help of causal explanations. Consequently, post-crisis analyses have not found anything extraordinary in the market crash: 'At root, the causes of the financial crisis were boringly old-fashioned and predictable. An excess of cheap money, pumped out for too long, inflated a bubble and encouraged wild behavior on the part of governments, financiers and many consumers' (Martin, 2009). Martin adds that the only 'novelty came with the complex instruments designed inside banks, which too few of those using them properly understood'. Most officials have referred to the crisis as a rather ordinary consequence of a 'housing-and-credit bubble' (Hilsenrath, 2009). The hypothesis that economic booms and busts include collective psychological factors and thus are, to some important degree, psychological in nature remains unexplored. The gift (of meaning) that the trickster brings thus remains unopened.

It is indeed difficult to substantiate the claim that the trickster brings chance events together in a meaningful way, as the unconscious dynamics are hidden. Collective unconscious dynamics are particularly difficult to detect. To see this connection more clearly, we might, as an exercise in mental gymnastics, consider a particular type of chance event that the trickster pulls from its sleeve, namely synchronistic events (on the connection between the trickster and synchronicity, see appendix 2). I suggest imagining the 2008 financial crisis as a synchronistic occurrence because it disrupts the accustomed pattern of causal thinking and thus brings us closer to the consideration of meaning.

Synchronicity, or the so-called 'acausal connecting principle', refers to events that coincide in time and space and have a meaningful psychological connection (Jung, *CW8*, para. 850). Roderick Main highlights the core concepts in Jung's definition of synchronicity as: time, acausality, meaning, probability and inexplicability (2004, pp. 51-62). In his words, synchronicity 'suggests that there are uncaused events, that matter has a psychic aspect, that the psyche can relativise time and space, and that there may be a dimension of objective meaning accessible to but not created by humans' (ibid, p. 2).

For Jung, synchronicity is important in underpinning individuation as it contributes to increasing levels of consciousness.

As Main comments, synchronicity is 'central to Jung's criticism of scientific rationalism, the one-sidedness of which it aims to compensate' (ibid, p. 177). It 'challenges existing models of science by suggesting that matter may have a psychic aspect that needs to be taken into consideration in the investigation of physical reality' (ibid). He also states that synchronicity applies to both the individual and social realms and thus provides an additional, complimentary way of reading the social and political worlds' (ibid). Stein further points that one of Jung's key preoccupations was with possibilities of incorporating elements of synchronistic thinking, 'which is of great significance in our experience of life', into our rational worldview (2015, p. 9).

The defining feature of synchronistic events is that they 'force' meaning upon us. While we may dismiss a dream, or escape some other more or less explicit content from the unconscious, synchronistic events catch us off guard and present an opportunity (a gift) for us to reconsider our worldview. It is important to point out that while trickster dynamics suggest that hidden unconscious factors cause certain corresponding outcomes in the physical world (e.g. some unconscious fantasies result in economic bubbles), synchronistic events imply 'acausal' connection. However, the key and most striking feature of synchronistic events is the 'as if' condition under which they occur: it is *as if* a certain mental event somehow causes a physical one. Thus, as noted above, imagining the crisis as a synchronistic phenomenon makes it possible to disrupt the cycle of causal thinking regarding the nature of black swan events. It is also important to note that cases of synchronicity on the collective level are bound to represent weaker connections between inner and outer events (it would be difficult, for example, to imagine a real-life occurrence of many people having and reporting a dramatic dream of a fall prior to some catastrophe).<sup>189</sup>

In this imaginary synchronistic scenario, the collective inner state is in the grip of the puer fantasy of effortless wealth, which (somehow) corresponds to the different factors coming together to create a bubble in the physical world. The presence of this unconscious fantasy suggests that there is an

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<sup>189</sup> As Stein points out, the meaning of synchronistic events is usually personal: 'One must ask: what does this mean to me?' (2016, p. 187).

unconscious conflict between fantasy and reality, which causes psychic tension. As Main writes of the dynamics of synchronistic events: 'Eventually, this build-up of energy in the unconscious became so great that it burst into consciousness' (2004, p. 26). Similarly, when the tension reaches some tipping point, the financial crisis erupts.<sup>190</sup> In this example, the issue of the meaning of the crisis is evident.

Because causal thinking, as the preferred method of engagement with events in the physical world, escapes consideration of meaning, our society collectively dismisses the trickster and even the importance of chance events in fuelling creativity and progress. Causal reasoning may successfully deduce that the crisis happened because of A, B and C, but the curse of such explanations is that the next crisis may not necessarily involve A, B or C. The rhetoric of 'this time is different', which is characteristic of many bubbles, shows that the lesson has not been learned.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> The latter, as the corresponding tipping point in the physical world, might be either the actual disaster in 2008 or the interest rate increase of 2006, which propelled the downfall. The choice between these two events depends on the chosen interpretation of the tipping point.

<sup>191</sup> In this respect, Taleb makes an interesting point by differentiating theoretical and practical knowledge (2013, pp. 200-248). His insight is relevant for the above discussion on the false antagonism between causal narratives and considerations of meaning that the trickster offers, because while theoretical knowledge relies on causal narratives, practical knowledge allows actual space for the unconscious dynamic to play out and thus is closer to the issue of meaning. In addressing this difference, Taleb refers to our belief that the industrial revolution was a product of scientific progress: developments in theoretical knowledge drove technological advances which in turn transformed manufacturing, business and society. However, as Taleb argues, the industrial revolution was instigated not only by professional theorising, but also by hobbyists and amateurs tinkering around in the dark, hoping to land on something that would work. The simplified causal narrative of the industrial revolution is an example of how modern society does not understand the importance of chance in a complex system of trial and error. For some reason, we seem to need to think that inventors of the past knew what they were doing. It could be argued that Taleb's point implies that chance events and serendipity are what separate theoretical from practical knowledge. This is particularly relevant for business where the actual messy experience does not allow for 'cherry-picking', which is often found in economic research (Taleb, 2013, p. 200). As seen in the myth of Hermes in chapter 5, tricksters know this well. It is in the act of doing that Hermes learns what needs to be done. Creativity, change and progress need the trickster and the meaningful randomness that he brings.

*Policy implications*

In terms of the trickster's black swan events, policy should be structured around preventing bubbles, and instead facilitate an environment where certain core fantasies can freely manifest on a much smaller scale and fail quicker. The trickster serves as a reminder that we cannot change just because we rationally decide to do so; we can only change to the extent that our unconscious allows. The real change, the one that has lasting consequences, occurs in the unconscious. Our primitive responses must be taken into account and included as a necessary part of any journey (Jung, *CW9i*, paras. 477-487). Facilitating a flexible environment is a way of mediating unconscious and conscious dynamics, and thus integrating trickster dynamics.

Taleb's (2013) concept of antifragility provides some further points of reference for the policy implications of black swan events. Unlike fragile items, which break under stress, antifragile items benefit from volatility and shock. In Taleb's narrative, black swan events serve the evolutionary process in making it antifragile. Arguably, in a similar way, the trickster is at the service of the self. The physical evolutionary process can be related to the psychological self. (This relationship is usually explored in Jungian literature from the perspective of individual psychology. For example, Anthony Stevens (1993) writes about 'the two million year old self'.) Thus, it is the trickster, as a natural life occurrence and an organising principle, who by its surprises/shocks in the physical world, contributes to the evolutionary process.

It is important to note that even in this scenario, the trickster, as an agent of change, can never serve the system. Whether the trickster brings negative or positive black swan events, it challenges the existing system with its establishment and rules of thumb. Equally, any system, being concerned with its own preservation, tries to tame the trickster. The nature of the relationship is thus always antagonistic. However, by not serving any system, the trickster serves the overall evolutionary process by ensuring its constant movement. Thus, there need not be a contradiction between the two statements: 'the trickster serves no one' and 'the trickster serves the self/evolution'. The meaning of 'serving' in the second statement can be inferred from the nature of the relationship between Zeus and Hermes (chapter 5). Zeus intended Hermes to be the pattern-breaker and disturber of gods (i.e. organising principles and systems) and people. This suggests that he serves no one. Simultaneously, however, by virtue of his very existence, he is at the service of Zeus. The fact that, given his nature, Hermes can



always twist and do his own thing while at Zeus' service is perfectly expected and accepted by Zeus. Through his disruptive surprises, Hermes fulfils his predestined mission, which makes the overall 'order' stronger (aka antifragile).<sup>192</sup>

Taleb argues that antifragility is the feature of all complex biological systems (2013, pp. 56-60). Given its complexity, the business environment also approximates natural systems and thus is antifragile. For the business domain to grow, it needs some of its individual parts to fail. For example, the failure of a technological start-up makes the industry stronger as others learn from its mistakes. When the economy/business is deprived of its volatility, it is argued, it also loses its antifragility. Making antifragile systems tranquil results in bigger eventual collapses (ibid, pp. 54-76). The key policy implication of the trickster is thus that when governments attempt to manage the economy, using regulations and subsidies to smooth out the business cycle, it removes the vital stressors that contain useful information. With the loss of this information, the resources are misallocated and the economy becomes susceptible to calamities of a much higher magnitude. This narrative also accords with that of the trickster, who makes existing problems apparent. If the trickster is tamed by the system, the problems will lie dormant, growing ever more severe until they reach massive proportions and turn into a powerful shadow.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> It is crucial to stress here that the trickster cannot be conflated with evolution, progress or even change. The trickster is not *the* agent of change, but rather *an* agent. Change, like creativity, can be carried by many archetypes. Although in chapter 6 I associated creativity primarily with the anima concept (and business creativity with the syzygy), it is nonetheless the case that under certain circumstances even the senex can be a carrier of creativity or change. For example, in its positive aspect, the senex can be creative in the way regulations are applied. The trickster, however, is one of the key guardians of change: it is the trickster who appears when change is resisted. Its task is to ensure that change takes place by introducing a disruptive element. Disruption, as explained earlier, is the defining feature of the trickster: it does not allow patterns to cement. Although some patterns are useful (e.g. health routines), many can become psychologically outdated and thus impede flexibility, result in change resistance and block creativity. When the trickster breaks a mental pattern, the energy that was locked inside is released and becomes available for creative action. This newly released energy is an essential life force and the trickster ensures that it is in motion.

<sup>193</sup> Taleb points out an issue with modern Western economic and cultural thinking: it tries to make the system run as smoothly as possible (2013, p. 64). He suggests thinking of the economy as 'being more like a cat than a washing machine' (ibid. pp. 54-63). However, modern policymakers

Taleb's antifragility thesis vividly resembles many trickster narratives. For example, one of the Nordic myths of the trickster Loki (as cited in Hyde, 1998, pp. 101-107) tells the story of the death of the god Baldr the Bright. Baldr, the god of the sun and a Nordic equivalent to Apollo, was troubled by nightmares of his death. His mother Frigg, seeking to protect him, made everyone and everything in heaven and on earth swear an oath not to harm her son. So great was the care she took to eliminate any threat to her son's life that his fellow gods entertained themselves by throwing arrows at him and watching them bounce back. However, Loki, the god of chance, was annoyed by these developments. Disguised as a woman, he learned from Frigg that she had omitted just one item from her quest, the mistletoe, which she considered too small to be harmful. Loki made a dart from the mistletoe and assisted one of the gods in throwing it at Baldr, thus causing his death. When the gods discovered Loki's mischief, they tortured him. What always follows stories of the trickster's capture is a prophesy of the doom of the gods (Ragnarok) and the destruction of the whole world (as Hyde points out, the causal connection is not made explicit (ibid, p. 102)).<sup>194</sup> Released and vengeful, Loki guided his ship towards heaven and many terrible events unfolded. The story ends with the rebirth of the world, following the survival of two humans, and the reappearance of the gods.

In one reading of this myth, Loki is a wrongdoer and deserves punishment, but a closer look reveals the reverse. As Hyde puts it: 'It is hardly enough to say that Loki is an evildoer and Frigg a dutiful

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aim for maximum stability or even to eradicate the business cycle (Taleb, 2012). 'No more boom and bust', famously proclaimed the then UK Labour leader Gordon Brown. Alan Greenspan pursued policies of smoothing the cycle. As Taleb notes: 'Mr. Greenspan kept trying to iron out economic fluctuations by injecting cheap money into the system, which eventually led to monstrous hidden leverage and real-estate bubbles (...) The state should be there for emergency-room surgery, not nanny-style maintenance and overmedication of the patient – and it should get better at the former' (ibid). It appears that human progress comes with the collective fantasy of what can or should be controlled. This makes the trickster a highly relevant concept not only for economics or business, but also for modern times in general.

<sup>194</sup> This and other similar narratives of Loki's capture and Ragnarok suggest that the two events are synchronistically related and serve as an evidence of the connection between trickster and synchronicity (appendix 2). Hyde describes the events accompanying Loki's capture as follows: 'First will come three terrible winters with no summers between them; brothers will kill one another for greed; one wolf will swallow the sun, another the moon. The stars will vanish. All fetters and bonds will be snapped, including the cords that hold Loki to his stone' (1998, p. 102).

mother; the problem of “delicate balance” demands an ethical language finer than that’ (1998, p. 106). Baldr represents the old world, which needs to go for the new world to emerge.<sup>195</sup> As Hyde points out, the real trouble starts with Frigg’s compulsive oath-taking, which disturbs the overall ‘order’ by eliminating chance events (ibid). It is Loki who is offended, as he is denied his rightful part in the ‘order’. Loki does not cause Baldr’s death; rather, he fulfils the pre-existing prophecy, of which all are aware but remain in denial. In typical trickster fashion, he finds the weakest link, which destroys the fantasy of omnipotence that the gods have created by eliminating chance. The story relates how, even in heaven, attempts to suppress change lead to far more damaging consequences.<sup>196</sup>

*Disruptive innovation and the trickster’s dilemma*

The drama of Loki and Baldr is also consistent with the dynamics of ‘creative destruction’. Joseph Schumpeter, influenced by Marxist economic theory, used this term to describe the ‘process of industrial mutation that incessantly revolutionises the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one’ (1942/2003, p. 82). Schumpeter (1934/2017) argued that ‘gales of creative destruction’ are an essential part of any economic system, as they sweep away obsolete companies or even whole industries. Although Schumpeter intended the concept to be

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<sup>195</sup> As Hyde notes, ‘the prose Edda calls him “the wisest of the gods”, but adds that “it is a characteristic of his that none of his judgments hold or come true”’ (1998, p. 107). Baldr’s death is prophesied in his own dreams and even the gods cannot change destiny. This corresponds to my earlier statement at the end of chapter 5 and in this chapter that the trickster by his disruptive acts breaks our identifications with ideas and beliefs ‘whose time runs out’ (i.e. which has become psychologically outdated).

<sup>196</sup> What appears disturbing in this and other trickster myths, as well as in evolutionary theory in general, is that the ‘antifragility’ of the whole system requires that some of its individual parts that no longer serve their purpose be allowed to perish. While ‘nothing fails in vain’ could be a trickster motto, it is problematic to navigate economic/business and social life on such a basis. Thus, while we may not be able to make the whole economic/business environment antifragile, we can at least make it more robust. To promote such robustness, Taleb, for example, suggests ten principles to promulgate a black-swan-robust society (2007/2008, pp. 374-376). These include such suggestions as having fragile elements that break early while still small; no socialisation of losses and privatisation of gains; compensation of complexity with simplicity (i.e. no complicated leverage mechanisms); conversion of debt into equity. ‘Then we will see an economic life closer to our biological environment: smaller firms, a richer ecology, no speculative leverage – a world in which entrepreneurs, not bankers, take the risks, and in which companies are born and die every day without making the news’ (ibid, p. 376).

used within the Marxist perspective (i.e. that these 'gales of creative destruction' will lead to the collapse of capitalism (1942/2003, p. 139)), it gained popularity amongst free-market advocates, who employed Schumpeter's analysis to explain the efficiency and dynamism of the capitalist economy.

Another theory that has more recently captured the minds of economists and business people is that of 'disruptive innovation'. This theory is highly relevant for considerations of business creativity: the disruptive trickster does not allow businesses to settle into rigid patterns and thus forces them to be innovative. This theory has been called 'one of the most influential modern business ideas' (*The Economist*, 2011). Clayton Christensen, currently one of the world's most sought-after experts on innovation and growth, introduced his theory of disruptive innovation in the late 1990s, a period when the pace of change began to threaten even the most efficient and well-established companies. Christensen's research began as an enquiry into this timely question of why good firms fail. The conclusion was that they fail not because of bad management but because of good: precisely because an incumbent company does what it needs to succeed, it runs the risk of being overtaken by disruptive innovators emerging from the bottom of the market. ('We did not do anything wrong, but somehow, we lost' were the final words of Nokia's CEO at the 2013 press conference announcing Nokia's acquisition by Microsoft (as cited in Drath, 2016).

Christensen et al.'s research (2003) explains how a new firm that lacks sufficient resources to challenge an incumbent in the open, finds weakness (an unaddressed market concern) in the former's operations and uses it as the point of entrance into the industry. It is this mistletoe position that eventually allows the new company to 'attack' and undermine the incumbent by changing the market paradigm: 'Once the disruptive product gains a foothold in new or low-end markets, the disruptors are on a path that will ultimately crush the incumbents' (Christensen and Raynor, 2003, p. 34). While the main action starts rapidly shifting to a new path, the incumbent keeps functioning on its well-established trajectory of sustaining innovation. Although occupying a dominant position, the incumbent cannot switch paths due to its expertise, commitment to its current customers, competition with existing rivals, exit costs, organisational culture, etc. Many other studies (Clark and Henderson, 1990; Leonard-Barton, 1992; Bower and Noda, 1996; Sull, 1999) have shown that the capacities that firms take a long time to build are deeply rooted in their internal structures. It is this interdependence between the elements of the system that renders any fundamental change difficult. This explains the

outward inertia towards disruptors, as well as the internal acceleration of the current tried-and-tested methodology, both of which may appear to a remote observer as denial of reality.

One of the grand examples of disruptive innovation is Nokia vs. the smartphone (2007). Nokia was at one time the market leader in mobile communication, prompting *Business Week* to state that 'Nokia's dominance in the global cell-phone market seems unassailable' (Scott, 2007). That same year, Nokia dramatically lost its position to Apple and other companies despite having the necessary resources to respond to a challenge (even designing its own version of a smartphone in 2002). Other examples displaying similar dynamics are Netflix vs. Blockbuster and Uber vs. the taxi industry. Christensen's theory explains these situations by outlining the incumbent's dilemma: either to keep investing in what has proved profitable (i.e. the trajectory/pattern of sustaining innovation) or venturing into new territory, taking a risk and potentially cannibalising its own business. Such dilemmas are at the heart of the trickster's identity: it turns things upside down, so that not only does what we do *not* know suddenly become more important than what we do, but our core competencies are turned into core rigidities. Christensen's analysis thus assists the integration of trickster dynamics into the business' consciousness.

#### *Trickster vs. huckster*

In recent years, Christensen's theory has been subject to increasing scrutiny (King and Baartartogtokh, 2015; Lepore, 2014). Christensen has been charged with cherry-picking case-studies, twisting the evidence and his theory's lack of predictive powers. However, many critics mistakenly view the theory as saluting the current innovation frenzy.<sup>197</sup> Without entering the complexity of the debate,

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<sup>197</sup> As many commentators have pointed out, we live in the age of innovative frenzy: 'disrupt or be disrupted' (e.g. Linkner, 2014). Entrepreneurs compete not so much on their ability to create as on their ability to disrupt. Many start-ups exist for a short period and quickly change ownership. Successful companies are advised to sell their businesses and take the cash: the 'quit while you are ahead' principle (e.g. Downes and Nunes, 2014; Linkner, 2014). It is no longer 'disruptive innovation', conclude Larry Downes and Paul Nunes, but 'devastating innovation' (Downes and Nunes, 2014). This accelerating trend – 'Big Bang Disruption' – appears difficult to stop, claim the authors. They distinguish between what they call 'traditional disruption' (i.e. Christensen's theory) and Big Bang Disruption, stating of the former model that 'traditional disruption (...) is a dangerous disease, but it happens slowly and operates step by step'. In contrast, Big Bang Disruption occurs when 'entire product lines or whole markets can be obliterated as customers defect en masse and

these critics (as well as adherents) often miss the point of the theory by conflating the notion of change with that of disruptive innovation.<sup>198</sup> As outlined earlier, the trickster does not equal change, let alone sporadic change arising from anxiety. What we are dealing with in this frenzy of innovation is not the trickster, but the ‘huckster’. The fact that modern entrepreneurship has much to do with disruptive change suggests a new pattern. The trickster, known for its dislike of patterns, plays against this trajectory of disruption by throwing at us that which we do not want to acknowledge in our all-rational, all-in-control and highly complex technological endeavours, namely our primordial anxieties (Jung, *CW9i*, paras. 477-483). The dilemma now presented by the trickster is whether we keep upgrading our I-phones or examine our anxious minds. In this sense, historian Jill Lepore (2014) is right to point out: ‘The eighteenth century embraced the idea of progress; the nineteenth century had evolution; the twentieth century had growth and then innovation. Our era has disruption, which, despite its futurism, is atavistic’.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has shown that the key to understanding trickster manifestations in the business domain is through its pattern-breaking activities (black swan events). The trickster thrives in the capitalist business environment because it is abundant in collective fantasy patterns/bubbles to burst. I have argued that the booms and busts of the business cycle have underlying unconscious dynamics that the trickster reveals through black swan events. In this narrative, the derivatives were the mere tools for, rather than the cause of, the 2008 financial crisis. I have emphasised the importance of

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flock to a product or service that is better, cheaper, quicker, smaller, more personalised and convenient all at once. Disrupters can come out of nowhere and go global very rapidly’ (Denning, 2014). They can vanish overnight as well. However, the relationship between disruptive innovation and Big Bang Disruption is not always easy to pin down.

<sup>198</sup> The notion of disruptive innovation has become a buzzword sporadically applied to everything. Christensen’s theory, however, was never meant to be *the* theory of change. While it can explain some cases of change, it cannot be expected to explain all of them. Christensen in some significant ways undermined his own cause by generalising the concept and applying it to many diverse and rather specific areas, such as medical care (*The Innovator’s Prescription* (2008)), higher education (*The Innovative University* (2011)) and public schools (*Disrupting Class* (2008)). Christensen’s ideas started to claim the status of the theory that can explain everything, rather than offering expertise in certain areas where it describes how a small firm can challenge an efficient incumbent with a high share of the market.

differentiating between trickster and shadow operations to counteract the tendency to view business cataclysms as evidence of pathology or wrongdoing by partisan groups. I have also used Christensen's theory of disruptive innovation to emphasise the relevance of the trickster's pattern-breaking activities to business creativity. Finally, throughout the chapter, it has been argued that change, progress and creativity need the trickster and the meaningful randomness it brings.

## Chapter 12

### Father archetype in business

#### *Introduction*

This chapter concerns manifestations of the father archetype in the business domain.<sup>199</sup> This archetype is often evident in the leadership of large successful companies (the 'kings'). I will begin by briefly overviewing the father archetype in Jungian psychology, followed by an introduction to Zeus, the chief Olympian god, as the father figure, and explain his relevance to the business domain. I will also outline the significance of the father's relationship with his anima and how this affects the business domain in general and attitudes towards business creativity in particular. The leading online retailer Amazon.com will be used to exemplify the Zeus-like father manifestation in business. I will then explore the concepts of authority and order within Amazon's operations and will conclude by outlining the father's role as the forcing function, a function that allows for an organisational culture that is 'strong enough' to both embrace the status quo and lead towards continuous innovation.

#### *Father archetype in Jungian psychology*

Barbara Greenfield, writer on psychology and culture, calls the father an 'afterthought to the material world' and a child's 'secondary love object', emphasising that he is also the first person a child loves on a 'purely mental/spiritual basis' (1985/1988, p. 202). In comparison to the unconditional love of the mother, the father represents results, efficiency and achievement in the wider world and how love, positive regard and other rewards need to be earned (Stein, 2016, p. 129). The father is the most powerful representation of the animus, the archetypal masculine, or the instinctual drive towards structure and order (Greenfield, 1985/1988, p. 192), which allows him to encompass 'the roles of creator, lawgiver, impregnator, and master' (ibid). Jungian analyst Hans Diechmann also suggests that

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<sup>199</sup> In Jungian psychology, the mother and father archetypes are considered among the most powerful. Thus, Stein notes that it is a convention used by many Jungian analysts to view the process of individuation in three stages: 1) the maternal stage (containment and nourishment); 2) the paternal stage (adaptation and adjustment); 3) the centring and integrating stage (2006, pp. 196-214). Although the mother archetype also has an important role to play in the business domain, due to space limitations, this chapter is devoted to the father archetype, as it has more relevance.



the nature of identification with the father archetype revolves around the themes of authority and Logos/order (1985/1988, pp. 214-218).<sup>200</sup>

*Zeus and manifestations of the father archetype in business*

Here, I examine manifestations of the father archetype in the business world through the figure of Zeus, the chief Olympian. Zeus' attributes, in particular his leadership skills, are customarily found in powerful father figures, such as kings, presidents, chief executives, army generals and other alpha males. Zeus is the god of lightning and in this capacity, he is also the cloud-gatherer and rain-giver (Hamilton, 1942, p. 27). In his positive aspect, he sparks consciousness, allowing for clarity, reason, direction and will. As rain-bringer, Zeus also nourishes growth and development (Bolen, 1989/2014, p. 46). In his negative aspect, however, he is the devouring father, whose priority is to remain at the top of the hierarchy (Stein, 1973, p. 73). As we shall see below, Zeus, as devouring father, differs from his progenitors, Cronus and Uranus, whose reaction to progress was to swallow their own children in the hope of eradicating any possibility of usurpation.

Zeus' key features as leader are his strategic talents, preciseness of execution (both represented by his symbol – the eagle) and, most importantly, his ability to impose his will on others, often aided by his thunderbolts (another symbol of his power). These qualities allowed Zeus not only to defeat Cronus, but also consolidated his authority over the Olympian order (Bolen, 1989/2014, pp. 46-47). In mythology,

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<sup>200</sup> The above perception of the father archetype is, however, not without controversy in the Jungian world. Greenfield suggests that the identification of the mother, and the feminine in general, with the earlier, unconscious stage of psychological development and the father, and the masculine, with later, more progressive developmental phases has been due to the cultural context in which women were assigned the primary caring roles during a child's early years while men's parental responsibilities came at a later stage. She states that 'we can only speculate what sorts of identifications might be produced by a society in which child care was shared equally between the sexes' (1985/1988, p. 189). Andrew Samuels notes that treating the father as the 'insertion metaphor' (the father, 'like a giant depriving and separating penis', inserting himself between the mother and child) is comforting yet simplistic (2001, p. 118). It implies that the mother and baby would otherwise willingly, or unwillingly yet helplessly, remain locked in a 'psychosis-inducing and phase-inappropriate symbiosis' (ibid). It also often ignores the details of the more direct contact that the father has with the baby. Samuels views the father as a cultural construction: 'The only "archetypal" aspect of the father is that there is no archetypal aspect' (ibid, p. 120).

the inner realities of gods or people largely coincide with and determine their fate in the outer world. Zeus was the carrier of a certain inner structure that allowed him to become the symbol of the then-emerging Olympian order. Furthermore, when, after defeating the titans, Zeus and his brothers drew lots for dominion, Zeus drew the sky (realm of consciousness, will and power), Poseidon – the sea (emotion and instinct), and Hades – the underworld (soul and the unconscious), results that were in accord with their respective personalities (ibid, p. 43). Moreover, while the earth was supposedly neutral territory, Zeus, in characteristically acquisitive manner, took full control of it (ibid) and came to be known as the Father of the Gods and Men (ibid, p. 46).

As Jungian analyst Jean Bolen notes, in patriarchies, where acquisition of power is the prerogative, Zeus' qualities become the key characteristic of the father archetype and thus the central feature in men's psyches (ibid, p. 43). In today's version of patriarchal rule, the business domain is a central field in which such acquisitive powers can be tried and tested (by both men and women). It is the domain that offers its winners high material rewards, prestigious social status and, often, political influence. This makes Zeus a highly potent father figure in this domain. In Jungian terms, it might be suggested that the father's anima, as well as the nature of his relationship with such, accounts for the balance between conquering and cooperation in business. This, in turn, significantly affects the character of the business domain, in particular the role of creativity therein.

#### *Zeus and business creativity*

After receiving the prophecy that his son by Metis, his first wife, would supplant him, Zeus swallowed Metis, because she was the prerequisite of the new order and thus a threat. Like his progenitors, Zeus swallows his anima, the potential for the new, to stop the revolutionary cycle while he is at its top (Stein, 1973, p. 74). However, this 'Zeus' solution' is more elegant than that of his father: he ingests Metis without harming his children, before the prophesised usurper has been conceived. Meanwhile, Athena, who has been conceived, later emerges from her father's head to become the goddess of wisdom, craft and war, as well as Zeus' beloved daughter, most trusted adviser and effectively Zeus' anima. Thus, Zeus compromises in his relations with the anima, swallowing its threatening side, while, through Athena, keeping in touch with its positive aspects and thus becoming a generative father to his many children (ibid). This compromise also fosters the 'remarkable degree of tolerance for opposites at Olympus: Apollo and Dionysus, Athena and Ares, Artemis and Helen' (ibid, p.

73), and, as we have seen, Apollo and Hermes. Stein remarks further: 'under Zeus, consciousness is flexible enough to integrate all but the truly revolutionary ideas and forces' (ibid).

Athena's strategic abilities and mindful reflections are important for the business domain. She is renowned for only fighting with just cause. In the business world, as in war, the ability to select the 'right' battle/deal, while letting go of the rest, is crucial. However, even in this respect, Athena could hardly manage as Zeus' top counsellor. In business, particularly in the current start-up climate, the 'Zeus solution' is not available to the Zeus-father, because progressive ideas are required not only for success but survival, meaning that the anima cannot be separated, swallowed and replaced. Instead, there is a messy 'Zeus paradox': how to simultaneously swallow and not swallow, restrict and indulge the anima? As discussed in chapter 10, such matters require the council of Hermes, the trickster. While Zeus is considered a trickster father in his own right (Beebe, 1985, pp. 101-105; Samuels, 1993, p. 127), this paradox moves him even closer to the trickster spectrum. As Samuels notes: 'Fathers may be Tricksters in order to sublimate their infanticidal impulses towards their children' (1993, p. 127). John Beebe questions the tendency to consider the anima as necessarily denoting the female image, noting Jung's reference to anima Mercurius with its emphasis on the anima's androgynous and trickster qualities (1985, p. 100). These arguments support the view that Hermes is Zeus' anima figure in the business world (similar arguments were proposed in chapters 4 and 5). Either way, the 'Zeus paradox' makes the business domain dynamic, contradictory and complex: it is simultaneously creative and devouring, conquering and cooperative, initiating/imposing and receptive. Which way the scale tilts depends on the personality of Zeus' anima and his relationship with it.

*Amazon.com as an example of Zeus-like father manifestations in business*

I will now demonstrate the key characteristics (authority and Logos/order) of the father archetype using the example of Amazon.com. Amazon embodies these characteristics in many ways and thus can spread father-specific identifications both internally and externally, which in turn creates the energy to propel their growth (i.e. the generative father). I will also outline some of the principles underlying Amazon's functioning that arise from and further underpin those characteristics, paying particular attention to the personality of Jeff Bezos, who, in his role as founder and CEO of Amazon, represents the Zeus-like 'personal' father.

Founded in 1994, Amazon provides over 268,000 jobs (Levy, 2016) and has an estimated market value of \$247.6 billion (Pettypiece, 2015). Bezos launched Amazon as an online bookseller, recognising the opportunities in this area. His ambition, however, was for Amazon to sell everything and it quickly moved in that direction (Stone, 2013, pp. 13-24). Amazon now provides a highly diversified range of products, sold at lower prices and far more efficiently than its competitors (Worstell, 2013). This unprecedented success is widely attributed to Bezos' unique style of leadership and the order/structure that he imposes in the company (Rossman, 2016).

### *Authority*

As Dieckmann states, the roots of authority, as the roots of the father concept, are based on the 'innate forces of a structuring principle, which, on a deeper level of evolution, is *identical with instinct*' (1985/1988, p. 215). He also notes that, while this principle is inherent in nature (i.e. archetypal), it has changed during the development of humanity due to many variables, such as social and economic conditions. Thus, it cannot be reduced to biological or personal factors, but must always be seen in its relationship to man's environment (ibid, p. 216). Authority can evidently be expressed in many forms, including sexual potency, physical dominance, financial status, psychological strength and intellectual ability.

Jung writes: 'The mind, as the active principle in the inheritance, consists of the sum of the ancestral minds, the "unseen fathers", whose authority is born anew with the child' (CW8, para. 54). Dieckmann notes that the personal father acts as the 'projection screen' of this impersonal principle (1985/1988, p. 217) and as 'the first mediator of the social authority and its contents' (ibid, p. 218). Thus, a person who activates father identifications is elevated to a high position, giving him the opportunity or even the right to make laws according to his value system or preferences. Samuels states that 'heroism-infected projections fall strongly on the father side' (2001, p. 81). As outlined in chapter 9, viewing a business leader (or any leader) as a hero involves an acute split: failure to deliver results may attract powerful projections of the negative, weak and unreliable father and even the almighty Zeus might struggle under the titanic weight of such projections.

As I will show, Bezos embodies a strong father-inspired authoritativeness. Many Amazon employees have noted his authoritative, if not authoritarian, style of leadership, with his own vision and principles

firmly instilled in the very bones of the company (Brandt, 2011, pp. 167-175). That authority is primarily results-based, and results are his primary means of communicating his authority to others. Everything in Amazon rotates around the production of a sufficiently consistent success record (e.g. dedication to real-time metrics and data-analytics, which serve as the father's tools for measuring results and efficiency) (Rossman, 2016, p. 57). In his role as 'law-maker', Bezos, like Zeus casting thunderbolts from heaven, has become renowned for his 'legendary pyrotechnic displays of emotion' when results fall short of expectations (ibid, p. 1). John Rossman writes: 'Jeff Bezos doesn't worry about your feelings; he does not give a damn whether you are having a good day. He only cares about the results (...) Everyone who joins Amazon.com understands this; it's part of the deal' (ibid). In this respect, Bezos' authority is somewhat predictable, clear-cut and underpinned by his own actions and principles (Stone, 2013, pp. 222-225), thus attracting certain types to work for the company, while forcing others to leave. His clearly communicated authority, translated into a clear vision for the whole company, in turn reaches consumers via Amazon's intuitive website, its clear and reliable service, and the meeting of expectations regarding product range and quality.

What follows is an example of the type of father authority that Bezos exercises (Rossman, 2016, pp. 11-12). By 1999, Amazon was already a successful online bookseller. However, Bezos, believing in the high potential of the Internet in general and online commerce in particular, decided to expand Amazon's business to other markets, including electronics. This was a bold move, which generated a great deal of resistance both internally and externally. Leading manufacturers, such as Sony, as well as Wall Street analysts doubted Amazon's ability to generate sufficient sales to cover its costs, let alone remain an 'everyday low price' leader. The main contra-argument to Bezos' decision was the widespread belief that customers want to look closely at technological devices, if not requiring professional assistance to learn their operations, and thus would not want to buy complex products online. Thus, very few retailers followed Bezos' endeavour (which contributed significantly to low sales for a time). However, by providing both adequate resources and incentives (sufficient information, lower prices, efficient delivery and frictionless return policies), Amazon succeeded in bolstering its customers' confidence that they were sufficiently intelligent to work electronics independently. By proactively fostering customer self-reliance, Amazon reversed the situation and became the leader in online electronics retailing (ibid).

This example raises some important aspects of Bezos' authority. First, he delivered his initial desired outcome – he established a successful online book retailer, and thereby, in Zeus-like fashion,

realised his ambition to become chief god of a realm. His further ambition was to protect and expand his territories. As Bolen notes, this need to establish, protect and expand the 'kingdom' is a driving force of the father archetype (1989/2014, p. 50). Second, Bezos did not wait for others to be convinced; instead, he showed a high degree of self-reliance and leadership. His belief in the virtues of self-reliance was so strong that he expected it not only from his employees, but also from Amazon customers, and it has been the fundamental feature of all Amazon innovations. Third, we see a future vision, a seizure of opportunity, intuitive yet well-measured and evidence-based decisions and a thorough follow-through, including negotiations and alliances. Fourth, Bezos was relentless in pursuit of his vision. Finally, to stay on top, he devised and realised revolutionary ideas before his rivals. Thus, he did not swallow the anima but brought her under Amazon's roof. Amazon's large investments in the testing of electronics and other online markets paved the way for further explorations of e-commerce markets by Amazon and its rivals. Like Zeus, Amazon is generative: by empowering people to do more things more easily and efficiently, it engaged a flywheel that generated a vast amount of energy.

This example also emphasises the father's role as the enabling figure. This role is particularly important in relation to Bezos/Amazon as the father figure and to the authority principle in general, as it demonstrates the strength of identification with the father archetype and further underpins the link between the father principle, anima and business creativity.

#### *Father as the enabling figure*

Bolen notes that the drive to have children is an important part of Zeus' identity (1989/2014, p. 54). He was the first of the Olympians to be supportive and trusting of his many children (ibid, p. 49). We have already learned of Athena, his beloved daughter and chief advisor (as well as the carrier of his anima). Following the death of Dionysus' mother, Zeus places Dionysus' foetus into his thigh and nurtures him until his birth, thus safeguarding his life. His daughter Artemis was given everything she asked for to become Goddess of the Hunt (ibid), while in chapter 5, we saw that Zeus' handling of the disagreement between Apollo and Hermes positively contributed to their unlikely friendship.

We have also learned that Zeus embodied the destructive aspects of the father, as, for example, in his swallowing of Metis to prevent their son from usurping his powers. These aspects are also evident in permitting Hades to abduct Zeus' daughter Persephone and his hateful rejection of his son Ares (Bolen,

1989/2014, p. 50). Thus, even in relation to his children, Zeus could be and often was ruthless with his competitors, cynical and strategic when making alliances and assertive of his psychological boundaries. More so, Zeus' motivation is complex: his generosity is usually overshadowed by his desire to control his children (to maintain the established order) and is tied to his expectations of them (as seen in chapter 5, Zeus allows Hermes a great deal of freedom, tricksterism and outright misbehaviour, yet he himself created him to be that way).

Rather than arguing that it is Zeus' positive generative aspect that supports the development of his children, it could be argued that it is by virtue of *containing all these multitude of potentials* (i.e. the father as positive and negative, goal-oriented and spontaneous or even reckless, present and absent) that the father acts as an enabling figure. For example, viewing the mythological material as a dream, a daughter might experience her father as Zeus treats Artemis or Athena, or find herself in Persephone's position<sup>201</sup>. A son might feel valued by his father as Apollo is favoured by Zeus or might feel psychologically rejected as when Ares experienced his father's wrath. These different metaphorical *potentials* of the archetypal father contribute to real-world experimentation, discoveries and styles. Arguably, strong identification with the father archetype also results from its various potentials (both

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<sup>201</sup> Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which tells the story of Persephone's abduction by Hades, is particularly relevant to the discussion of the father's potentials. As Edward Edinger points out, Zeus, Poseidon and Hades belong to a trinity, the paternal authority principle, and each represents different manifestations of this principle (although Zeus is the supreme deity) (1994/2013, p. 24). Hades is the god of the underworld, who later becomes a personification of death. His other name is Pluto, 'which associates him with riches' and further adds to his ambiguous personality (ibid, p. 29). Edinger refers to him as the 'ruler of the phenomenon of death and rebirth, precisely the function he served in the Demeter-Persephone story', in which he separates the mother and daughter with the father's permission. Demeter, the earth mother, archetypally represents both the nourishing mother and the devouring mother, as any woman with a need to nourish can easily turn into a devouring mother, who becomes an obstacle to further development of her children (ibid, p. 41). Being kidnapped from her mother, Persephone faces the darker side of her own unconscious, makes it her own (by first being forced to marry Hades and eventually, according to some versions of the myth, falling in love with him) and then, through the process of some negotiations between Zeus and Demeter and with the help of Hermes, comes back to the world of gods. However, because Hades tricked her into tasting food in the underworld, she has to spend a third part of each year (the winter months) in the underworld. Persephone eventually becomes the rightful queen of the underworld.

positive and negative).<sup>202</sup> While the mother mostly appears in her nurturing role in epitomising unconditional love, the father represents the multitude. If he is the multitude, his children can also be such. Perhaps even the Olympian gods identified with Zeus and his order: after all, they risked their lives fighting for his causes (Hermes, otherwise a servant to no one, went to Hades at Zeus' request).

The father, as enabling figure, features prominently in Samuels' psycho-political reading of the father imaginary. His account states that the father's functions and behaviours tend toward pluralistic outcomes (1993, p. 128). While the mother imaginary symbolically refers to 'her capacity to contain *alternation between psychological fluidity and stability*', the father imaginary stands for the '*warring simultaneity of stability and fluidity*' (ibid). His argument is not about the mother being stable, static, comforting and reactionary, while the father is fluid, dynamic, daring and revolutionary, but rather about the latter representing many different positions at once, while the former alternates between those same different positions. For example, politically, the father may simultaneously embody reaction and revolution (ibid), while in business, he may support both the status quo and extreme innovation. Samuels writes: 'Mother psychology expects schizoid splits to be overcome by bringing them together. Father psychology does not share that expectation' (ibid, p. 129).

In the case of the father-daughter relational imaginary, Samuels' view is that the father's reliable positive physical response to his daughter communicates to her that 'You are this ... and this ... and this ... and you're still you' (ibid, p. 153). Samuels emphasises that the father does not introduce anything fundamentally new to the daughter's psyche, but rather offers her choices that already exist within her and which are not restricted to the role of mother. In this sense, he acts as a powerful enabling figure, fostering his child's creativity and experimentation.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> It must be stressed that some of these potentials, especially the negative ones, should remain just that – potentials. As Stein notes, while the father introduces frustration and tension in the child's world, he should not overwhelm the growing ego. If that happens, the psyche protects itself against anxiety-induced annihilation by erecting primitive defences, which dominate the child's inner world and prevent psychological development (2016, p. 129).

<sup>203</sup> Samuels approaches this issue through the prism of the father-daughter relationship, as the latter commonly serves as the filter through which all other family physical/erotic communications are viewed (1993, p. 132).



These enabling messages are at the centre of Amazon's customer-related operations. Bezos' 2011 shareholders' letter reads:

*Invention comes in many forms and at many scales. The most radical and transformative of inventions are often those that empower others to unleash their creativity – to pursue their dreams. That's a big part of what's going on with Amazon web Services, Fulfilment by Amazon, and Kindle Direct Publishing (...)*  
*[W]e are creating powerful self-service platforms that allow thousands of people to boldly experiment and accomplish things that may otherwise be impossible or impractical. These innovative, large-scale platforms are not zero-sum – they create win-win situations and create significant value for developers, entrepreneurs, customers, authors, and readers.*  
 (Bezos, 2012)

Amazon strives to be, and to present itself as, the platform of opportunity. First, it enabled writers, their audiences and booksellers. Later, in its move from an online bookseller to the 'everything-store', it enabled big and small companies to sell through its various platforms. By empowering entrepreneurs, it enables personal and professional growth. Like the father figure opening up the field of possibilities that already exist within the child, Amazon's business platform builds virtuous cycles that circulate and expand energy (as pointed out earlier on the father-anima relationship). At the core of Amazon's generativity lies the idea that energy comes from within the customer, an idea that inspires all Amazon's capabilities. Technology serves as the father's major tool in this respect.

Underpinning the centrality of the customer as the major source of energy is Bezos' father-inspired insistence on Amazon's self-service capabilities: 'I am emphasising that self-service nature of these platforms because it's important for a reason I think is somewhat non-obvious: *even well-meaning gatekeepers slow innovation*. When a platform is self-served, even the improbable ideas can get tried, because there is no expert gatekeeper ready to say, 'that will never work!' And guess what – many of those improbable ideas do work, and society is the beneficiary of that diversity' (Bezos, 2012). In particular, it is important to emphasise that Bezos strives to create an enabling culture, which provides a realistic business platform for Amazon employees to be creative and experiment (Rossman, 2016, pp. 51-67). This, however, comes with major restrictions and largely applies to middle and senior

management. The father's shadow is ever-present in business and the fate of his non-achieving or psychologically-rejected children is either relegation to a life of low-paid routine work or prompt dismissal from Mt. Olympus (Brandt, 2012, pp. 3-4; Kantor and Streitfeld, 2015).<sup>204</sup>

Returning to the father's fostering of 'psychological pluralism', Samuels singles out a different kind of plurality in the relationship between father and son.<sup>205</sup> The aggressive father playing back to the aggressive son may foster an awareness of a plurality of aggressive styles as well as an awareness that movement between styles of aggression, or even transformation within aggression, is possible (1993, p. 157).

The ability to deal with aggression is an important part of the father's enabling function, which sanctions experimentation and change. Change creates winners and losers and often leads to a period of intensified uncertainty. Amazon, for instance, has often been blamed for singlehandedly destroying small independent bookstores (Brandt, 2011, pp. 149-159). On a wider scale, technological innovation crowds out jobs, leaving some skillsets redundant for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Envisioning change can be frightening.<sup>206</sup> Initiating it brings about resistance, both active and passive, conscious and unconscious. Thus, it takes vision, desire and courage, but also forcefulness and aggressiveness to implement invention and introduce a new order to the outside world. In short, it requires a strong and well-communicated authority, which includes aggression, to contain and direct this process.

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<sup>204</sup> The range of accounts of Amazon's treatment of its employees is vast. Together with Bezos' unconventional leadership style and the high status of the company, it makes it difficult to draw a line between opinion and fact (e.g. Kantor and Streitfeld, 2015 vs. Carney, 2015).

<sup>205</sup> The father-son relationship serves as a filter through which dyadic aggression can be viewed, but this emphasis does not aim to perpetuate the view that aggression is a male rather than a female characteristic (Samuels, 1993, p. 156).

<sup>206</sup> It is often argued that it is the role of government, in its motherly aspect, to smooth the current technological change process: to support progress while simultaneously accommodating the losing parties. Furthermore, governments must often bear the blame for not being 'good-enough' mothers to contain and manage this process adequately (e.g. *The Economist*, 2012). Whether or not this expectation is reasonable is an interesting question, which, however, lies outside of the scope of this chapter.

In his role as enabling figure, Bezos has the exceptional williness necessary to work with and challenge the status quo. As previously mentioned, his relentless pursuit of his vision serves as an example of this. At the company level, the 'invent and simplify' principle that Bezos firmly instilled in Amazon's operations (Rossman, 2016, pp. 32-51) can be seen as a litmus test for strong enabling authority, capable of transforming aggression. The ability to integrate and simplify complex parts of the change process plays an important role in establishing and maintaining the new order. It is only when inner resistance can be overcome, and aggression contained and transformed, that the task of integrating and simplifying can proceed.

On the other hand, the above may serve as an example of unrelatedness (a common feature of depth psychological criticism of the business domain (chapter 2)). After all, Zeus' powers were always exercised from above and from afar. Unrelatedness, which has little to do with transformation of aggression, is not, however, to be conflated with the ability to maintain an emotional distance, which could stem from the ability to deal with aggression productively and transform it into a committed progressive and socially valuable project. The two may appear similar and judgement is often related to one's ideological position, conscious or semi-conscious. It must also be acknowledged that Zeus' hiring powers (the eagle acquiring its booty, be it an employee, a product or a company), as well as firing ones ('awful thunderbolts', such as the loss of their jobs by those no longer deemed value-creating) are crucial for a successful business. Zeus is rarely concerned with the downsides of his actions: from his lofty position, he does not confuse the forest (the overall project) for the trees (individuals or groups sacrificed).

Stone notes that while some Amazon employees complain about Bezos' lack of empathy (his treatment of workers like expendable resources), many acknowledge that Bezos' concern is with improving performance and that he is 'not somebody who takes pleasure at tearing someone a new asshole' (2013, p. 223). More so, Bezos' behaviour has often seemed excusable because the criticisms he levels are valid, 'to the amazement and often irritation of his employees' (ibid, p. 224). Bezos' inquiries, critiques and suggestions reflect his unrivalled competence and deep understanding, which has allowed Amazon to avoid costly mistakes and propelled it to Olympian heights.

Samuels also points out that the aggressive playback between father and son is of high developmental importance: the father effectively sanctions dissent and protest. Thus, aggressive

communication levels the son up in forcing him to confront the powerful father (1993, p. 162). Amazon is often experienced and portrayed as an aggressive organisational culture; while its leaders are encouraged to take risks and experiment, their actions must be well-calculated and results are vigorously measured (Rossman, 2016, p. 102). Failure is acceptable, yet leaders are expected to be right most of the time. A leader who cannot produce consistent success is summarily shown the door (ibid, p. 89). Bezos states: 'If push comes to shove, we'll settle for intense' (Anders, 2013), while Rossman compares Amazon to a gladiator pitch: 'No one leaves the coliseum unblooded, but if you fight hard, you may obtain glory and at worst, live to fight another day. But if you refuse to do battle for the emperor altogether, you're guaranteed to be carried out on your shields' (2016, p. 108). Bezos expects his senior teams to challenge and fight with him in the most robust battles: 'If I drive us over the cliff, you're as much at fault as I am' (ibid). Many at Amazon feel overwhelmed by its intense atmosphere (which is often compared with that of a start-up) because Bezos 'demanded more than they could possibly deliver and was extremely stingy with praise. At the same time, many felt a tremendous loyalty to Bezos and would later marvel at how much they accomplished' (Stone, 2013, p. 167). This shows how the father's anger can serve an enabling function.

While not shying away from aggressive battles, Bezos is mindful of a fearful organisational culture, which kills creativity and leads to a company's ultimate death. A good Zeus-like leader, like a good Zeus-like father, aims to strike an appropriate balance between fear and trust, autonomy and accountability. In Bezos' view, a leader who provides clarity and has earned the trust of his team can strike such a balance and thus create a company capable of innovating and flourishing in a highly competitive environment (Rossman, 2016, p. 97). Bezos' own leadership, based on his unique combination of freethinking and disciplined analysis, has proved to be productive. This brings us to the second important characteristic of the father archetype.

### *Order*

The father's authority makes the word or law meaningful, which in turn brings order (Greenfield, 1985/1988, p. 204). Thus, 'the father (...) can do no wrong because, as lawgiver, he is the source of right and wrong, and this applies no less to the child's view of a parent than to the adult's view of God' (ibid). This function of the father principle further underlies the power of the father's position and explains the strength of identification that it inspires. Further, the father's paradigm of order/structure is important

for development because it is also essential for defining boundaries (ibid, pp. 204-205). Importantly, it is closely connected with drive control (Dieckmann, 1985/1998, p. 217). As we have seen, the mother principle of matter concerns drives, desires and limitless freedom of paradise. However, a lack of structure equates matter to chaos and is at the core of neurotic illness (ibid, pp. 222-223), while even in 'normal' cases, there is fear/anxiety of being overwhelmed by chaotic forces, particularly those from within. As Esther Harding points out, 'a frequent characteristic of such experiences is the horror engendered by a sense of complete lack of order' (1965/2003, p. 130). One may feel lost in a void. The terror is concerned 'more with a lack of orientation than with any actual threat of physical harm' (ibid, p. 133). 'Indeed', – Harding continues, – 'it is the very absence of any definite threat to life that makes the situation so terrifying. Death, in the sense of an ending, would be welcome, but this was a living death, without beginning and without end. It represents, in fact, the obliteration of ego-consciousness' (ibid, pp. 133-134). In these situations, the inner cry for a strong figure to restore law and order explains the need to project this strong figure externally. Its presence soothes anxiety by powerfully redirecting it and re-establishing order. Hence, the psychological need to be amongst people who can restore such order so that the person feels safe and in control of his/her inner turmoil. As mentioned, Zeus can impose order on others because he contains this order within himself. This makes his presence psychologically reassuring.

Thus, the father provides important tools for creating and maintaining inner order and structure. As we turn to the mother for comfort, it is the father figure to whom we turn for the tools to find a cause and fight a battle when we experience inner turmoil (or its lingering potential presence). The ability to provide for such needs makes identification with the father extremely powerful. It enables us to escape the inner abyss and maintain the underdeveloped, fragile or broken inner structures. While some can learn from the experience and integrate it, for others, particularly those with considerable ego-deficiency, it may result in the projection of the self, which means an inability to develop the personal inner father figure and a consequent reliance on identification with the father, which may then manifest as addictions (e.g. workaholism or cult membership). As stated in chapter 1, identification means that we are easily seduced and manipulated by the figures or ideas in which our identification is situated.

Thus, the order and structure provided by the father archetype are very important for a business project. Many great leaders, such as Bezos, develop a strong clear framework. Based on his own experience at Amazon, Rossman attempted to discern some keystones of Amazon's framework, such as

clarity of focus, high standards, efficiency in execution, results, and checks and balances (2016, pp. 4-5). Importantly, strong leaders can articulate these keystones accurately to the team and, crucially, they apply this framework clearly and consistently (ibid, p. 52). The framework is usually easy to understand yet difficult to emulate. As Bezos' framework makes clear: Amazon is on a mission to change the industry's status quo and every action that Amazon takes is based on improving its customer experience (LaGessee, 2008; Salter, 2009). For Bezos, as we have seen, the ultimate customer experience is flawless self-service: Amazon enables the customer to help himself. As Rossman puts it: 'Bezos' customer obsession is really something beyond a mere obsession – it's a psychosis that has generated many of his most vitriolic tirades or, more often, sarcastic comments directed at Amazon associates who have fallen short of his own standard for customer service' (2016, p. 7). Working for (or, possibly, even buying from) Amazon makes one believe one is part of something much bigger than oneself, of some greater order. This instils a sense of purpose and inner order and makes identification with the father archetype strong and desirable.

#### *Forcing function*

Warren Buffett, another powerful father figure in business, has stated that the key task of a successful company is to combat 'ABC' (arrogance, bureaucracy and complacency), into which established businesses tend to fall (as cited in Foley, 2015). To avoid ABC, it is not only necessary to insist on results, promote efficiency and reward significant contributions, but also to establish and, most importantly, embody a reliable forcing function within the business, which fosters an organisational culture/structure that is 'strong enough' not only to embrace but also to lead continuous change and innovation. This chapter has suggested that the father embodies this forcing function. Jungian psychology generally views the father archetype as an intrusive, active principle that pushes consciousness out of the primal undifferentiated merger with the mother. Business leaders, such as Bezos, can act as the forcing function, based on such father characteristics as authority (with its enabling capabilities) and order-giving. In this capacity, the father spreads through powerful identification.

*Conclusion*

In the above account, I have presented a three-fold argument at the levels of the father archetype, Zeus as representation of the strong/imposing father figure in business, and the personal father (Jeff Bezos). I have argued that the father principle manifests in business in the leadership of large successful organisations. Zeus-style leadership is particularly relevant for the business domain with its acquiring/imposing and tricksterish characteristics. Bezos' leadership style in many ways resembles Zeus' Olympian order.

Furthermore, in the business domain, the father, with his key attributes of authority and order, embodies the forcing function, ensuring that a company does not fall victim to complacency and remains innovative. I have emphasised the role of the enabling function in the father's repertoire and explained how Amazon fosters this function to promote business creativity. The importance of the father's anima in relation to the characteristics of the business domain and business creativity has also been discussed. Finally, in line with chapters 4 and 5, I have suggested that, in business, Hermes performs the function of Zeus' anima.

## Chapter 13

### Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to re-vision the business domain by emphasising that it comprises a creative dynamic process, in which many people participate in one way or another. Too often it is depicted as a thing to be manipulated, conquered, cured or altered in some way (chapters 1, 2 and 3). Throughout this thesis, I have borrowed conceptual frameworks, theories and ideas from Jungian psychology and used them to suggest amendments and alternatives to the standard depth psychological analysis of the business domain, which is currently dominated by psychoanalytic organisational narratives. As Andrew Samuels states, there is a tendency within the current depth psychological perspective to split business into good and bad aspects and only to deal with it by disposing of its bad elements (1993, p. 89). I have argued that the archetypal dimensions of Jungian psychology can perform a useful function in transforming this overly pessimistic depth psychological perception of the business domain, thus encouraging psychological engagement with business and assisting the business domain to become more 'psychological' (i.e. more self-aware), which, given its current prominence/predominance, is urgently required. The aim of this final chapter is to bring together the series of organising questions outlined throughout the thesis, in the hope that doing so will help to further delineate the scope and significance of archetypal energies in business. In addition to the questions that have been considered – such as 'What can the archetypal dimension tell us about the status of the current depth psychological approach to business?' and 'What kind of alternative or contribution does it suggest?' – this chapter also invites the interested reader to ponder further questions such as: 'Can the archetypal perspective represent a coherent paradigm on its own?' and 'Is it possible to construct a framework for analysing the business domain on this basis and what might it look like?'

#### *The result of applying the archetypal dimension of Jungian theory to the business domain*

The archetypal dimension suggests new ways of understanding and analysing the business domain. This analysis is based on the idea that we do not have unmediated access to reality in all of its multifaceted complexity and can never escape the influence of the collective unconscious dominants in structuring our emotions, thoughts and actions. One of the principal aims of this thesis has been to help



us face up to the extent of the influence of the collective unconscious dominants, in both the business domain and the standard depth psychological stance on business.

I showed how business dynamics could be understood archetypally and argued for the importance of analysing and engaging with them on this basis. The awareness of and respect for the archetypal content, the latter being inherent to the business domain, ensures that this content would not be locked up in the bottom of the unconscious, meaning that its damaging manifestations are limiting and thus more manageable. Hence, I argued for a certain attitude towards the unconscious as it manifests in the business domain. For example, in the case of the puer content, Hillman states: ‘Then one can turn to each puer aspect and ask it where it belongs, in accordance with the procedure in ancient Greece when consulting an oracle. “To what god or hero must I pray or sacrifice to achieve such and such a purpose?” To what archetypal pattern do I relate my problem? Within which fantasy can I insight my complex? Once the problem has been placed upon a relevant altar, one can connect with it according to its own needs and connect to the God through it’ (1973, p. 98). As we saw in chapter 10, when the puer dynamics are ‘kept in mind’, the puer would not become the ‘shadow puer’, who under some ‘favourable’ circumstances manifests itself in what psychoanalytic-oriented commentators refer to as ‘pathological’ events.

Archetypes, which lie behind the formation and structuring of such domains, be they the domains of depth psychology or business, bring about certain characteristic peculiarities or even paradigms in respect of a given domain. Archetypes can be viewed as fragments in search of a unified meaning and wholeness. As diverse aspects of the self on the individual level, they manifest as provisional encapsulations of certain aspects of reality. Archetypal identifications – both within and towards a domain – turn these provisional encapsulations into self-sufficient fragments, which, rather than revealing reality (inner and outer), dim the scope of conscious perception by filtering and distorting our vision. On the collective level, the current stance of the depth psychological approach towards business (in the absence of the Jungian organisational approach and under the domination of the psychoanalytic organisational approach) is an example of these fragmented encapsulations’ claim to completeness by creating an ordered vision and systematisation.<sup>207</sup> Its formulation of research problems, observation of

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<sup>207</sup> It could be hypothesised that depth psychologists tend to identify with the wounded healer and from this position perceive the business domain as dark, disturbing and manipulative trickster. It could be argued (and particularly within the realm of depth psychological organisational

data and conclusions are consciously and, more importantly, unconsciously structured by certain worldviews, models, experiences and language that are used in the training and work of depth psychologists. These characteristic paradigms form certain expectations about how things are, how they should be, and how they may develop. As outlined in chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, this significantly limits the possible genuine contribution of depth psychology to understanding the business domain. However, the aim of these chapters was not to argue that the current depth psychological approach to business is altogether wrong, but that by failing to differentiate between different layers of what could be called the unconscious dimension of the business domain, it becomes one-sided and partial, and this drives the business and depth psychological domains further apart rather than bringing them closer together. The archetypal layer comprises important background as it allows for a deeper understanding of the nature of the business domain, thus contributing to a fuller vision of it. It also underlies the claim that the theories and concepts used for analysis of the business domain should emerge from a genuine dialogue between the domains, not solely from the domain of psychoanalysis.

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approach) that the wounded healer and trickster act as pair of opposites. In an ideal situation, trickster energies and wounded healer energies work with each other in dynamic cooperation, thus fostering individuation. The wounded healer needs trickster qualities to be affective in psychological healing. The trickster needs wounded healer energies in order not to turn into the destructive shadow (its dark potential) and to be an effective messenger between the unconscious and consciousness. In the case of polarisation, there is a split and trickster energies are not available for the wounded healer, and vice versa. The acting out of this strong identification with the wounded healer is evident in the current split in depth psychological approach towards business.

The principal function of the wounded healer is to cure: to stop bleeding and pain, to sew up wounds, to restore one's wholeness. The principal function of the trickster is to disrupt, to take security away, to push one into the abyss, to shake things up (chapter 11). Trickster's disturbing and paradoxical interventions serve the purpose of bringing a possibility of a greater and more whole personality, by linking the consciousness and unconscious together. Thus, while the wounded healer looks for the wound to cure it and restore wholeness, the trickster looks for the wound to use it as the weakest link in ego's defences, which allows the entry into the deeper layers of one's psychology. Another way to summarise their tension is to view the wounded healer as the direct agent of *coniunctio* and the trickster, with its disruptive 'black swan' events, as the indirect agent of *coniunctio* (Jung, *CW14*, para. 22; Edinger, 1995, pp. 36-39; Maier, 1989, p. 205). On this basis, it could be hypothesised that the wounded healer and trickster lie on the same energy spectrum and identifying with only one pole of this spectrum leads to splitting and projecting. Hence, the current depth psychological emphasis on the pathological aspects of the business domain.

As stated earlier, given the abovementioned one-sidedness of its narratives, the psychoanalytic approach, on the basis of its theoretical tools, tends to view many current business dynamics as pathological. Throughout this thesis, however, I have emphasised that business is phantasmagorical: that is, it is as destructive as it is creative (e.g. 'creative destruction' epitomising the domain's innovative capacity, or start-up culture with its frenzied disruptiveness as well as its promise to deliver goods and experiences to the largest number of consumers in the most efficient way). I have also argued that current business tendencies reflect rather than create collective trends and that these trends are archetypally determined. While it is possible to build on archetypal identifications, it is not possible to fabricate them. Given that they arise from the collective unconscious, one can only participate in them in one way or another as they move towards an unknown end. Thus, it is necessary to develop awareness of archetypal identifications, to keep one alert to the dangers and limitations of the vision of any given paradigm, thereby allowing sense to be made of the diverse archetypal fragments operating within the business domain. I have here presented a number of archetypal manifestations in the business world (the anima, animus, persona, shadow, puer, senex, trickster and father) and explained the nature of identification with them within the realities of the domain.

This leaves us with the question as to whether it is possible to build a more complete approach from the archetypal fragments, which could then be systematised into a framework. The answer to this question is difficult. The self, as the chief architect and organising force behind archetypal energies, does not reveal itself directly (at least, certainly not on the collective level). Moreover, we cannot simply add the archetypes together and arrive at a conception of wholeness. While there is at times a neat division of labour between archetypal patterning tendencies, traceable in their manifestations (chapters 7, 8, 11 and 12) and sometimes even a stable and somewhat predictable dynamic of interplay between them (chapters 6, 9, 11), more often the aggregate impact of their interaction is paradoxical. Furthermore, similar circumstances may not bring about the same archetypal patterns, while similar patterns may not result in the same outcomes. Archetypes operate in a highly fluid and dynamic environment, where new options and tendencies are continually emerging. This invites a somewhat negative conclusion, which might imply a necessity of choice: either a preference for the multiplicity of diverse and often contradictory archetypal interpretations of a particular tendency or the systematic encapsulation and generalisation of a widespread tendency.<sup>208</sup> An alternative suggestion might be that what is needed for

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<sup>208</sup> This dilemma represents an important difference between the Jungian and psychoanalytic approaches. It could be argued (at least from a Jungian perspective) that the psychoanalytic

an effective analysis of the business domain is not an outright shift to some superior paradigm (e.g. towards archetypal models) or different theories working coherently together within a certain paradigm (e.g. Jungian and psychoanalytic organisational approaches within the depth psychology organisational approach towards business), but rather a diversification to different paradigms and theories working side by side – either in contradiction, tension or union, but without losing sight of each other. The archetypal perspective allows for this to happen: while ‘giving names’ to identifications, thus pointing out their energy dynamics, it allows the observer plenty of space to explore different angles in examining and dealing with a problem, as well as switching between different paradigms and models as the problem requires.

The argument for the multi-perspectival approach is a well-known one. For example, cultural historian Richard Tarnas states: ‘In virtually all contemporary disciplines, it is recognised that the prodigious complexity, subtlety, and multivalence of reality far transcends the grasp of any one intellectual approach, and that only a committed openness to the interplay of many perspectives can meet the extraordinary challenges of the postmodern era’ (1993, p. 404). However, as seen in chapter 8, the diversity of the discourse may only serve to mask its similarity. A multi-perspectival approach presents a considerable challenge for the modern/postmodern mind and this issue features prominently in the analysis of the business world. For example, seeing Hermes as thief, shepherd, magician, healer, spiritual guide, fool/clown, educator, wise old man, youthful hero, evil-doer/anti-hero was not an issue for the ancients, even if they did so in an unconscious way. The challenge of our time is to do the same, but in a more conscious manner. The logic of this example equally applies to the depth psychological view of the business world, whose nature, as I argued in chapters 4 and 5, is Hermesian. The archetypal perspective underpins this multi-perspectival approach, in allowing the same phenomenon to be viewed from multiple angles. First, archetypal theory views a fragment/archetype as a container for diverse and contradictory energies, yet ones that are unified by certain dynamics. Second, awareness of archetypal identifications, which shed light on certain aspects of reality while dimming others, invites us to be creative in using different aspects of reality to structure and restructure our vision. As art critic Arjen Mulder says: ‘The gods are with us. And they want to play’ (1999, p. 29). However, it is only when we are free from *strong* identifications that we can play and it is

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organisational approach may have gained a rigour and focus as it pursued systematisation at the cost of losing a more holistic, even if incomplete, vision of reality.

through this playfulness that a domain becomes an open flexible system (and a process) and can interact with other domains/systems/processes (chapter 5).

The multi-perspectival archetypal approach to reality, despite its complexity, can nonetheless deliver some relatively coherent analytic/diagnostic tools, which could be used to reveal different deep-seated aspects of reality within a certain domain and which can contribute to the analysis of this domain as an effective addition to the many cognitive spectacles offered by more traditional approaches. In relation to business, the trickster can be such a tool. Its dynamic and contradictory qualities encapsulate and reveal many aspects of the business domain and thus the trickster's tendencies can be seen as metaphors for the tendencies of the business domain. As stated in Chapter 5, the trickster can be seen as a symbol of business creativity (and of the business domain in general).

*The archetypal perspective and business creativity*

The collective unconscious is the numinous home of multiple perspectives embodied in archetypes and, as such, is dynamic and fluid. Jungian psychology stresses the power of imagination and creativity that comes from the collective unconscious in helping us to see the world in a new and different light. It also emphasises the value of imagination and creativity in enabling meaning to emerge. This thesis has argued that business creativity (as any creativity) comes as a result of the interplay/tension between different archetypal polarities. If this tension is handled properly, it results in innovation.

In relation to the multi-perspectival approach and its analytic tools, the anima and animus can function as diagnostic lenses, through which business creativity can be analysed. As argued in chapter 4, business creativity comprises the ability to read current patterns correctly and to produce that which others will need or want (including the manufacturing of needs/wants for certain products by playing on people's psychological follies and insecurities) for the purpose of monetary gain. In particular, I emphasised that business creativity is not so much about one's creativity as part of the self-exploration or self-realisation process (as it is in art), but is primarily about satisfying rather specific market needs. I presented the 'functional' syzygy of the anima and animus as the ultimate source of analytical imagination, which is crucial for successful business practice (chapter 6). When well contained within the syzygy, the anima's central feature is imagination and empathy ('imaginative empathy'), which the animus then transforms into an analytic tool for ordering, experimentation and reality-testing. This

ability to read and intuitively grasp individual and collective grids that are often different from our own (the anima), to make sense of them (the animus) and then to realise them in the real world (the ego under the 'functional' syzygy) well encapsulates the notion of business creativity.

Chapter 6 also emphasised that the syzygy contains multiple perspectives within itself. The anima and animus lead the way towards the deeper content of the unconscious and broadly encapsulate the multiplicity of archetypal characteristics. Thus, for example, the shadow, puer and mother, with their lunar qualities and raw undifferentiated nature, draw their energy from the anima principle, while the animus principle, with its tendency for ordering and more reality-based orientation, gives its solar energy to the persona, senex and father. The syzygy, it is argued, with its various interplays of energy, allows for switching between different paradigms. The ideal functional syzygy then is one that uses analytical imagination to offer novel answers to a concrete problem in demand. I have also argued (chapters 1, 4, 5 and 12) that the trickster can often be seen as playing the role of the anima in the business world. The trickster, like the business domain, is indeed everywhere: inside, outside and, most importantly, in between. Business creativity has also been presented as an important commercial asset and weapon and how it is used depends on the broader collective dynamic (chapters 8 and 11).

### *Conclusion*

While the issue of constantly emerging imaginative activity has largely been overlooked in depth psychological analyses of business activity, my thesis argues that, on the contrary, *the business domain is inherently creative*. At its core is the ability to imagine oneself in other people's shoes, and to read their concerns and dreams. Thus, the business domain is characterised by a strong presence of the anima, animus, and their syzygy, which activates and motivates the ego to bring about the actual execution of a business project. Importantly, it is the trickster-like domain, which in its own particular ways reflects and is extremely sensitive to both the collective conscious and unconscious processes. Looked at in this way, this domain is certainly more than simply 'private property for private profit'. This removes the continuing tendency, both common and unreflective, to idealise the business domain (e.g. as unconquerable titans of finance or heroes in search of adventure, as presented by media coverage) or to demonise it (e.g. the rather obsessive focus of the psychoanalytic stance on the aggressiveness, greed, cold rationality and unrelatedness of the business world). Both responses represent fragmented and

partial visions, whose alleged self-sufficiency (due to the presence of strong archetypal identifications) renders the search for a unified meaning redundant.

A multi-perspectival approach based on the archetypal dimension of Jungian psychology can revitalise analysis of the business domain by equipping it with a new set of symbols and guiding metaphors. It follows that one of the most important possible tasks of the Jungian organisational approach is to develop foundations for understanding how archetypally dependent and creative the business domain in fact is. This involves developing theories that emerge from genuine interaction with the business domain, theories that nurture our ability to read different discourses that structure thought and behaviour both within and outside of this domain.

## Appendix 1

### Hidden puer elements in the business domain

#### 1) *The role of metaphorical language*

A number of commentators have discussed the use of metaphorical language in business discourse. For example, Kurt Heinzelman, writer in modernism and cultural economics, writes of 'the poetics of economic discourse' (1980, p. 11), noting in particular that economics provides us with a 'resonant system of metaphor' (ibid, p. 50). He compares business activity with the act of writing a poem or painting a picture. Deirdre McCloskey, writer in economic history, agrees: "To say that markets can be represented by supply and demand "curves" is no less a metaphor than to say that the west wind is "the breath of autumn's being". A more obvious example is "game theory", the very name being a metaphor' (1998, p. 40). Richard Bronk, writing on the philosophy of economics, sums this up by saying that 'all economic theories and models are never a direct encapsulation of some unbiased and unmediated vision and analysis; rather, they (...) behave like (...) giant metaphors' (2009, p. 5).

It is also worth paying attention to how metaphors are used in business: they shape and structure not only the way business people operate, but also how they perceive themselves and how they are perceived by society at large. This question of perception invites consideration of the persona and shadow. Meyer Howard Abrams, literary critic, distinguishes between what he calls 'illustrative' metaphors and those that constitute the lens through which we view the world (1953, p. 31). Many economics/business textbooks contain multiple analogies that influence the way economic situations are assessed. William Tabb, economics and political science writer, points out, for example, the classical economics textbook example of Robinson Crusoe on his island, which is used to illustrate the problem of scarce resource allocation (1999, p. 27f). The use of metaphors as a lens has far more persuasive power, as it structures our understanding of reality. For example, the theory of market equilibrium, the production function and the assumption of economic agents as rational utility maximisers are perceived as common sense in the business domain (despite many contradictions). Thus, for example, it is hardly surprising that entrepreneurs perceive themselves as rational maximisers (and free-market advocates) or that they are seen as such by the general public.



McCloskey, somewhat along Abrams' lines, distinguishes between 'live' and 'half-dead' metaphors (1998, pp. 37-42). While we are aware of the way in which the former affect our thinking, we no longer consciously recognise the latter, and are thus unaware of the extent to which they structure and constrain our minds. It is the 'half-dead' metaphors that McCloskey considers dominant (corresponding as they do to Abrams' 'lenses', through which we perceive the world.). McCloskey's 'half-deads' would account for those aspects of economic thinking that pass as truisms and could be considered persona attributes. The persona of the business world believes that it is operating in the world of dispassionate reason and careful calculations. This is the persona we meet in much of the economic discourse with its neoclassical predictive equilibrium-based models. Modern economic theory allows for information problems, externalities and other types of market failure, even acknowledging the role of culture and history. Furthermore, in view of recent economic events it recognises that, at least in certain situations, economic agents are not rational utility maximisers, but instead fall prey to dreams and fears. This suggests a more systemic challenge to some of the standard assumptions of economic theory and thus its more pluralistic conceptualisation. However, as Bronk points out, this 'remains just "noise" around the edges of basically rational and predictable behavior', promoted by most of the current economic/business literature (2009, p. 3).

Jungian psychology might add that there are also 'dead' metaphors (to use McCloskey's terminology). While the persona corresponds to McCloskey's 'half-deads', 'dead' metaphors represent the shadow. They are those metaphors that are deeply unconscious and that, on certain occasions, exercise a dominant role. In the business domain, romanticism is suppressed by rational models, and thus the puer is hidden in the shadows. As John Stuart Mill notes, 'speculative philosophy, which (...) appears a thing so remote from the business of life and the outward interests of men, is in reality the thing on earth which most influences them' (1950, p. 39). Since the puer is forced into a shadowy existence, it emerges in negative form. Thus, John Maynard Keynes talks of the 'animal spirit', while Joseph Schumpeter uses the metaphor of 'creative destruction'. These metaphors are usually used in times of crisis, when it is difficult to comprehend the situation in a rational way. These are times when the 'dead' come to life. However, such metaphors remain rare and underdeveloped within economic/business thought. Interestingly, Alfred Marshall, the key founder of neoclassical economics, also makes a rare use of these poetic analogies and metaphors in his description of the economy as a forest, and also notes: 'economic problems are imperfectly presented when they are treated as problems of static equilibrium, and not of organic growth' (as cited in Tabb, 1999, p. 104f). Brian Arthur

(one of the most prominent proponents of the new complexity theory in economics) states: ‘To the extent that small events determining the overall path always remain beneath the resolution of the economists’ lens, accurate forecasting of any economy’s future may be theoretically, not just practically, impossible’ (1990, p. 85). He concludes that policy-makers can and should use their intuition to respond to these non-linear occasions. Arthur points out the need for economic theories to take account of dynamic pattern formations. Arguably, Jungian archetypal psychology, with its powerful imaginary that accounts for dynamic psychic movements, can be instructive in this respect.

Thus, while economists and business people make active use of metaphor, they are largely neither aware of so doing, nor of the power of those metaphors. In that sense, ‘Economists are poets/But don’t know it’ (McCloskey, 1998, p. xiv).

## 2) *The role of sentiment*

Sentiment also plays an important role in the business domain. This point is somewhat similar to the one above, yet, due to its prominence, it is worth singling out. Keynes refers to the ‘whim of sentiment’ (1973, p. 163) in describing investors’ behaviour in situations of uncertainty. Market valuations, rather than being based on rational probability-based calculations, are subject to ‘waves of optimistic and pessimistic sentiment’ (ibid, p. 154). Although sentiment is acknowledged as the driving force of economic behaviour, its role remains surprisingly underdeveloped and, for lack of an alternative, economic and business commentators still largely use Keynes’ terminology. Alan Greenspan (1996), referring to stock market bubbles, offers the term ‘irrational exuberance’. Interestingly, much earlier, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in his *Lay Sermon Addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes*, referred to such exuberance as ‘Icarian credit’, the ‘illegitimate offspring of confidence’ (1817/2016, p. 418f). Icarus’ unjustified overconfidence led him to fly so close to the sun that his artificial wings melted, and in Jungian psychology, Icarus is one of the most popular mythological personifications of the puer archetype. Summing up Coleridge’s description of boom and bust, Bronk states that ‘rational “circumspection” gives way to “emulous ambition” and “incaution”, and finally to a “vortex of hopes and hazards, of blinding passions and blind practices”, whenever the “commercial spirit” and “lust of lucre” are not sufficiently balanced by the correctives of religion’ (i.e. some sort of internalised regulation) (2009, p. 248). Thus, the puer belongs to the business domain but remains largely unaccounted for.

### 3) *The role of imagination*

Larry Hirschhorn, a psychodynamically-oriented organisational consultant<sup>209</sup>, points out that we are attracted to markets not because they are rational (as is commonly assumed) and thus, among other things, represent our ability to calculate and evaluate, but because they act as a 'psychological repository for the experience of our capacity to imagine' (2013, p. 295). He points out the importance of the word 'vision' in signifying how the markets are apprehended: 'it is not the count of houses or cars for sale, but is instead a potential of what might be ahead of us (...) A share price is the value of dividends and capital gains discounted from the future to the present. In this sense the stock market is experienced as a soothsayer or prophet, and of course prophets communicate through their visions' (ibid, p. 296).

Hirschhorn justifies his argument by referencing Marshall McLuhan's conception of technology. McLuhan viewed technological devices as extensions of our bodies ('outerings'), which amplify our bodies' abilities. Thus, the wheel is an 'outering' of the foot, a telescope is the 'outering' of the eye (as cited in Hirschhorn, 2012, p. 298). In *Civilisation and its Discontents* (1929), Freud notes: 'With every tool man is perfecting his own organs, whether motor or sensory, or is removing the limits to their functioning (...) Man has, as it were, become a kind of prosthetic God' (ibid). Hirschhorn states: 'In this sense, we can say that the market as a technology is becoming the outering of our imagination. We see in the market both the expression and the extension of our creativity' (ibid). He hypothesises that imagination has now been projected onto the external world in this particular way because, before nature was domesticated, it served as a repository for what was both mysterious and creative. In the post-industrial age, however, when nature is considered almost fully domesticated, the market has come to represent the untamed forces, thus offering the possibility of a heroic quest.

### 4) *The role of romantic heroic inspirations*

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<sup>209</sup> As noted in chapters 2 and 10, Hirschhorn's thesis argues against the prevalent psychoanalytic reading of the crisis as a consequence of the unconscious greed of bankers and the perverted banking culture in general by arguing that the crisis was the result of a conflict between imagination and regulation, which he considers within the psychoanalytic framework as the crisis between the pleasure principle and the reality principle.

In his quest to reveal the romantic spirit in economics, Bronk argues against Schumpeter's view that capitalism is an unromantic civilisation 'with no heroism left, except the waning tendency of the bourgeois entrepreneur to labour hard to establish the capital necessary to bequeath to his children an industrial dynasty or a bourgeois home of a certain size' (Bronk, 2009, p. 253). For Bronk, many entrepreneurs behave as the quintessential romantic hero, with some resembling Nietzsche's superman<sup>210</sup>: 'they loathe "the petty virtues, the petty prudences, the sand-grain discretion" of regulators, despise the "ant-swarm inanity" and "miserable ease" of the ordinary voter, and are contemptuous of the slave moralities of socialism and the safety net' (as cited in Bronk, 2009, p. 253). As noted in the introduction to chapter 10, this dismissal of the ordinary is a characteristic puer quality. Bronk further states that these entrepreneurs view the business world as the perfect stage on which to affirm their unbounded 'will to power' and 'create themselves' as worthy of exceptional recognition and as a law unto themselves (ibid). It must be noted that, unlike the puer, who remains in his dreamy unconscious state, they act in accordance with their vision. Every hero starts as the puer, and the puer is attracted to the business domain precisely because he sees it (rightly or wrongly) as an opportunity to become the hero. Regulation, and in particular self-regulation, here plays an important part. It grounds puer impulses and keeps track of ambitions, achievements as well as fears. By becoming the hero (or at least trying to do so), the puer can find an adequate outlet for his inner longings.

Bronk finds support for his argument in the writings of Francis Fukuyama (1996), who sees the business world as an essential outlet for what Nietzsche identified as the natural human 'desire to be recognized as superior to other people' (as cited in Bronk, 2009, p. 254). Those societies (most notably, communist regimes) that ignore this desire, put themselves at risk, as people 'will rebel at the idea of being undifferentiated members of a universal and homogeneous state' (ibid). A better way is to create/find safe outlets for such desires, thus directing and mobilising them in a 'regulated and sublimated' form for 'productive uses'. These outlets 'serve as grounding wires that bleed off excess energy that would otherwise tear the community apart' (ibid). Thus, as Bronk points out, 'homo

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<sup>210</sup> Nietzsche did not see his Superman fitting into the business world, which he despised. He praised such men as Goethe and Beethoven, whose virtues lied in their artistic creative abilities. Nietzsche viewed these 'higher men' as possessing the virtues of 'courage, insight and sympathy' (1886/2003, para. 284). He also advocated solitude as a virtue, because 'it is a sublime inclination and impulse to cleanliness which shows that contact between people ("society") inevitably makes things unclean. Somewhere, sometime, every community makes people – "base"' (ibid). He emphasised that these 'higher men' sought 'heavy responsibilities', which relied on and allowed for realization of their virtues (1901/2017, para. 944).

romanticus' (i.e. the puer) is a 'dangerous being – prey to delusions, contemptuous of the lessons of history, and desperate to prove his entitlement and express himself and gain superior recognition by his exploits' (ibid). As Fukuyama argues, a regulated free-market economy governed by the rule of law (i.e. the senex) can safely channel this excess energy to prevent its expression in ways that pose danger to oneself and others. Under this narrative, the puer needs an outlet to release such psychological traits as a sense of entitlement and the need to be recognised as superior, as well as his imaginative nature. Markets are appealing because they offer such an outlet.

To conclude, there is a rather strong yet hidden puer leitmotiv in the otherwise rational and emotionless business world.

## Appendix 2

Arguments that synchronicity, as a special variety of chance event, falls under the trickster's jurisdiction

1) In chapter 11, I demonstrated that the trickster is behind chance events: it puts two or more unrelated events together to result in an unexpected or even improbable incident, which often has meaning for those involved/affected. The meaning of such incidents stems from the fact that the trickster, by drawing these black swan events from its sleeve, links together conscious and unconscious dynamics and restores the balance of psychic energy such that the complexity of reality becomes more apparent (Jung, *CW9i*, para. 468). These random and seemingly unrelated events can and often do belong to different realities. Given its transcendent nature, the trickster, as psychopomp and god of thresholds, has access to both the conscious and unconscious as well as to inner and outer realities. It lives simultaneously inside and outside of time and the physical world (e.g. Samuels, 1985, p. 126).

Synchronicity relates to chance events that belong to different realities, namely, the inner and outer, coming together in a meaningful way (Jung, 1952, para. 850). Although they are acausal, what makes synchronistic events meaningful is their 'as if' quality: it is as if a certain mental event somehow causes the occurrence of a physical event. In this way, they provide an opportunity to link and balance conscious and unconscious dynamics (which does not necessarily imply, however, that synchronistic events are always compensatory<sup>211</sup>). Given these parallels between the trickster and synchronicity, some special case must be made as to why synchronistic events do not fall under the trickster's jurisdiction: it is unclear on what grounds such a case could be made.

2) Note that Jung does not connect synchronicity with the trickster, but does connect it with the self (Jung, *CW14*, para. 662; Main, 2004, p. 19). It is also important to note that I do not here suggest that the

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<sup>211</sup> According to Jung, synchronicity serves the compensatory function (e.g. Jung, *CW8*, para. 982). However, some synchronistic occurrences may not necessarily be compensatory. For example, I might already be aware of the meaning of a certain inner event, such as the importance of someone in my life. Chance events, which in my mind are associated with this person, such as the appearance of a bird/butterfly/beetle, might occur when I think about him/her. This outer event is meaningful for me, yet the meaning is already known; thus, there is no compensation. Thus, as Main points out, it remains unclear whether synchronicity always performs a compensatory function (2004, p. 179).

trickster is the organising principle behind synchronistic events. (If there is one, in accordance with Jungian theory, it would be the self.) Given its functions as psychopomp/guide, messenger, disturber of patterns, the trickster arranges for synchronistic events to happen. As argued earlier, with its pricks and disruptions, the trickster is at the service of the self (just as Hermes serves Zeus), but, as argued in chapter 11, this does not contradict the assertion that the trickster does not serve any system. The self needs its disruptive accidents to make the overall order 'antifragile'.

3) In Jungian psychology, it is stated that once the archetypal field is constellated, synchronicity occurs through different archetypes (the archetype of renewal, the mother-daughter archetype, etc.) (Jung, *CW8*, para. 912; Main, 2004, p. 19; Stein, 1998, pp. 199-223; Smith Klitsner, 2015, pp. 26-37). The question remains, however: what activates this field? It could be argued that nothing thus far written on this issue refutes the hypothesis that, while it is the self that causes synchronicity, it is the trickster who activates the field and, indeed, there are a number of arguments in support of this proposition. Andrew Samuels, for example, argues that Hermes represents the psyche itself (i.e. Hermes is not the psyche, but *represents* the psyche (1985, p. 270)) and that: 'In analysis, Hermes "flits" from analyst to patient' (*ibid*). Thus, he claims, Hermes can be seen as the 'third party in the alliance' (*ibid*), which can be read as Hermes activating the archetypal field between analyst and patient and bringing about the possibility of transformation. Samuels continues: 'Yet how to take these realities and render them deep, make them soul? That is where Hermes makes his contribution' (*ibid*). It must be pointed out that Samuels differentiates between the trickster concept in general and Hermes as a particular type of trickster (i.e. it is Hermes that 'represents' the psyche, not the trickster in general). This difference and its implications are addressed in the section *Trickster in Jungian psychology* at the beginning of chapter 11, where it is stated that the trickster nature can be viewed in terms of levels of consciousness. While Hermes is the 'progressive' trickster, who reads conscious and unconscious dynamics in his disruptive acts to restore the balance of psychic energy, the 'classic' trickster restores this balance by acting out the tension that builds up as a result of imbalance. The common denominator is that both types balance psychic energy through their disruptive acts. This suggests that it is the trickster (rather than strictly Hermes/Mercurius) who does the abovementioned 'psychic shuttle' and thus activates the archetypal field.

By constellating the archetypal energy field, the trickster creates conditions in which different archetypal figures can emerge from the unconscious and manifest in consciousness. In synchronistic

events, these figures manifest through physical occurrences. The trickster's diverse and contradictory nature allows it to serve as a channel for these various archetypal manifestations. Samuels, quoting Jung, writes: 'Jung sees him [Hermes] as a united entity "in spite of the fact that his innumerable inner contradictions can dramatically fly apart into an equal number of disparate and apparently independent figures"' (1985, p. 270). William Doty, in his extensive study of Hermes' qualities and attributes, points out his diversity, metamorphosis and formidable contradictions. For example, Hermes is simultaneously both a beautiful imaginative youth and wise old man; liar and lucky person; shepherd and thief (1980, pp. 126-127).

This allows us to hypothesise that it is the trickster who activates the archetypal field and then allows diverse archetypal figures to manifest through it, which is particularly evident in the therapeutic environment or in synchronistic occurrences. This does not make it the core organising principle, nor does it place it above other archetypes. By arranging such occurrences (as an agent of the self), the trickster remains within its own jurisdiction: chance events (including synchronistic ones), pattern-breaking and disruption.

4) As emphasised in chapter 11, at the core of the trickster concept is the disruption of patterns, an example of which is synchronicity. As Esther Harding notes, for Jung, time was a 'conditioning of our psyches, or of our consciousness'. It is ego-related conditioning (as cited in McGuire and Hull, 1978, p. 182). Thus, time perception (and its consequence, causal thinking) is a mental pattern into which we have settled. The trickster breaks this pattern with synchronistic accidents, which disturb our notion of time and patterns of causal thinking. Jung famously called synchronistic events the 'rupture of time' (ibid, p. 230), while, as Roderick Main remarks, they also rupture space and causality (2004, p. 189).

5) Both the trickster and synchronicity concepts involve chance occurrences, timing and meaning. It might be important to stress that it is the trickster who brings about synchronistic occurrences (as argued above), not vice versa.

6) Both occurrences (trickster manifestations and synchronistic events) tend to happen at transitional periods of life. Summarising Jung's theory on synchronicity, Main states: 'The content of synchronicity (...) arises when there is a psychological impasse brought on by the confrontation of irreconcilable opposites' (2004, p. 22). As pointed out earlier, the trickster also appears when there is a



tension between the conscious and unconscious or when the level of consciousness is low and we are on the threshold between the two. Stein (1983), meanwhile, writes that Hermes the trickster acts as a guide through the midlife crisis.

7) Some commentators have argued that there is no such thing as a synchronistic event. Instead, it is the human mind with its inherent tendency to search for patterns that makes events appear 'synchronistic'. According to neuropsychiatrist Peter Brugger (2001), synchronistic events could be better understood as apophenia, which is the mistaken detection of a pattern or meaning in random data. In this narrative, the very notion of synchronicity reflects no more than an individual's state of mind. Main lists many further alternative perspectives, such as cryptomnesia and subliminal or heightened perception (2004, pp. 27-34). As his work on synchronicity demonstrates, it is indeed difficult to account for synchronistic events in terms of a coherent conceptual framework. While some argue that there are undeniably odd accidents that are striking enough to comply with the notion of synchronicity, turning such occasions into pattern-based synchronistic thinking appears unreliable. Synchronistic occurrences might have to remain accidental one-off occasions surrounded by mystery. The nature of these occurrences, however, also supports the hypothesis that synchronicity falls under the trickster jurisdiction (the trickster, as the archetypal pattern-breaker, does not allow patterns to cement: when something works and we attempt to turn it into a pattern or framework, the trickster will often make a fool of us). As the old Greek proverb has it: 'Hermes leads the way or leads astray' (Hyde, 1998, p. 121).

8) As Murray Stein states: 'To my mind, Hermes is a dramatised, classic symbolic expression of the forever unknowable factor behind synchronistic events' (2016, p. 183). While, for Stein, Hermes is a representation/symbol of the self, it could equally be argued (as seen in chapter 11) that he is the representative of the self on occasions when conscious and unconscious dynamics need to be linked and balanced (i.e. when he is at the service of the self). (As stated earlier, viewing the trickster in terms of levels of consciousness, it is possible to stretch Stein's argument to suggest that it is the trickster (rather than strictly Hermes) who is behind synchronistic events.)

Stein's arguments on the connection between Hermes and synchronicity are as follows. First, he makes a direct link between Hermes and synchronicity when he calls Hermes the 'classic representation of synchronicity', who 'uses these magical moments to guide souls into and out of periods of transformation, when synchronicity is most often noticed and utilised' (ibid, p. 188).

Second, Stein explores Hermes' association with wind, magic, mystery and numinosity, as well as his uncanniness and connection to the soul, to the spirits of the dead and the underworld. All these, he concludes, point in the direction of a 'hidden symbolic factor implicated in synchronistic events' (ibid, pp. 182-184). 'We might think of synchronicity as a type of magic presided over by a Hermes-like spirit – a bit tricksterish, often uncanny, as free of human will as the wind, full of surprises. In our terms, it would be a spirit of the unconscious, a manifestation of the invisible and unknowable Self' (ibid, p. 184).

Third, Stein describes the connection between Hermes and synchronicity in terms of the 'dual object'. A dual object is an object or event in the physical world that emerges in the moment of synchronicity and thus embodies not only material but also spiritual elements. It is a 'liminal object *par excellence*' (ibid, p. 185). Stein points out that the dual object is doubly dual. While the first duality comprises what Stein calls the 'visible/invisible dyad', the second concerns an object's intimate connection with the observer on the one hand and the independence of the observer's psyche on the other. Stein calls the latter the 'mirroring/independent dyad' (ibid) and states that Hermes has the same unique double duality, in belonging to both the 'world of perceived reality' and the 'invisible world of spirit' (ibid). He is also depicted as the 'friendliest of gods' due to his close connection to humans, although, as a god, he is independent of them. In relation to this double duality, Stein further adds: 'As an archetypal figure, he represents the transcendent function in that he links consciousness and the unconscious. As a symbol of the self, he partakes of both ego-consciousness and the self at the same time' (ibid, p. 186).

9) Stein's representation of Hermes as the transcendent function also links the trickster with synchronicity. While Stein writes of Hermes as a 'figure who could cross boundaries and throw bridges over the abyss' (ibid), Main states that synchronicity can be viewed as a 'form of transcendent function': 'The content of synchronicities typically is symbolic and arises when there is a psychological impasse brought on by the confrontation of irreconcilable opposites' (2004, p. 22).

10) Both the trickster and synchronicity emphasise the need for wholeness in our perspective. Jung states that synchronicity allows us to see an 'entirely different world': 'instead of looking at the causes that brought about certain conditions, one can look just as well at the actual being together of things' (1930-4/1998, p. 340). As stated earlier, the trickster's function is to link conscious and unconscious dynamics and to restore the balance of psychic energy such that the complexity of reality is more

apparent (e.g. Jung, *CW6*, para. 175).

11) There are many instances of synchronicity in trickster myths. For example, the myth of Hermes both starts and ends with synchronistic events (chapter 5). At the outset, there is a synchronistic moment when Hermes devises a plan and then meets a turtle at the threshold. He is not joyful about the turtle *per se*, but is over the moon because the turtle not only fits into his plan, but becomes an integral part of it (it is fated to become the lyre that Hermes later gifts to Apollo and that will become one of Apollo's key symbols). The turtle is also symbolic as everything that Hermes is not or not going to be (it is slow while Hermes is quick; it is heavy and carries its own house, while Hermes travels light; it is 'shy' (as Hermes calls it), while Hermes is shameless; most importantly, the turtle is a victim of Hermes' trick, while Hermes never falls victim to anyone's trickery). For Hermes, this is a moment of serendipity as well as synchronicity: things click in his mind. For Hermes, most things happen simultaneously and because he can put them together in a way that accounts for both conscious and unconscious dynamics, they become meaningful.

The myth also ends with synchronicity, when Hermes connects Apollo's inner state with the outer occurrence of gifting him a lyre and thus ending their disagreement. Hermes meaningfully holds his gift till the very end of the story. After Apollo witnesses Hermes' skilful mischief, the show at Zeus' house and the chains falling from Hermes' feet and chaining Apollo's cattle instead, he, as a skilful reader of conscious patterns and to some extent of Zeus' mind, finally realises that Hermes is there for a reason; he must thus be acknowledged and given a place in the overall order. It is at that moment that Hermes presents him with the lyre as a sweet gift, thus symbolising Apollo's inner acceptance of Hermes.

Other examples of the link between trickster and synchronicity are found in the Norse myths of Loki. What always follows stories of Loki's capture is a prophesy of the doom of the gods (Ragnarok) and the destruction of the whole world (as Lewis Hyde notes, the causal connection is not made explicit (1998, p. 102)). Hyde describes the events accompanying Loki's capture following Baldr's death, which Loki orchestrated, as follows: 'First will come three terrible winters with no summers between them; brothers will kill one another for greed; one wolf will swallow the sun, another the moon. The stars will vanish. All fetters and bonds will be snapped, including the cords that hold Loki to his stone' (ibid). This and other similar narratives of Loki's capture and Ragnarok suggest that the two events are synchronistically related and serve as another evidence of the connection between trickster and synchronicity.

To conclude, the above arguments outline the parallels between trickster and synchronicity concepts, thus suggesting strong links between the two. Furthermore, the characteristics of both concepts allow us to hypothesise that it is the trickster who orchestrates synchronistic events in service of the self. As Edward Edinger states: 'There is always an uncanny quality about Hermes. The ancients used to say, when silence fell on a group, that Hermes had come in, as though another dimension had been tapped. We can consider him, in modern terms, as the maker of synchronicity, the bringer of unexpected coincidences, windfalls that cannot be rationally explained' (1994/2013, p. 33).

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