

Dealing with an Organization's Shadow Aspects

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Introduction

As a consultant I was asked to provide a psychological portrait of a smaller nonprofit organization (thirty-six employees). The request was formulated in a discussion with the organization's new director.¹ The organization is active in the field of prevention of drug and alcohol dependence in central Western Europe. Its main output is literature on prevention—leaflets, booklets, and research reports—as well as prevention campaigns through the media and in schools. The organization includes an information department, a research department, as well as a department providing consultancy on educational and employee assistance programs.

Financially the organization relies mainly on its own fund-raising organization (90%) but it also gets some government subsidies (10%). Fund-raising campaigns are thus an essential aspect of the organization's activities.

When I was asked to draw a psychological portrait of the organization, the task was delimited to the following concerns:

- Finding ways of clarifying and improving the corporate identity as well as the image that the organization presents the general public;
- Making suggestions on how to lower the high figures for personnel turnover;

¹Given the delicate nature of some of my conclusions, my deep appreciation goes to the director of the organization, who allowed me to share this material in public. We have agreed that I will take care in not identifying the organization. This paper is written with the intention of provoking comments on an approach to organizational analysis that, at this stage, probably raises more questions than it offers answers. However, my conviction is that it might prove heuristically quite fruitful.

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- Making suggestions on improvements to the everyday working environment.

Approach

In my analysis, I have attempted to apply categories from individual psychology to an organization. This has certainly been done on previous occasions, and Jung himself did not hesitate occasionally to apply some of his psychological categories to entire populations. For instance, he discusses differences between East and West in terms of his typology or refers to capitalism and communism as being each other's shadow (Jung 1957, par. 544). I don't have a more convincing argument for making this leap from individual to organizational psychology than Jung had in moving from individual to group level. The way the reflection is developed and delivered is somehow intended to convince the reader about the legitimacy of the psychological analysis that Jung suggests. So, this will be my approach also in this paper. After presenting the type of data that I have had access to and that I have collected for the analysis, I will present the analysis itself. It is intended to make the point that by relying on some Jungian concepts—namely his typology and the figure of the shadow—we might gain insight into the functioning and difficulties of business organizations. The analysis ventures to indicate an outcome for issues that were uneasily dealt with within the organization's current framework.

Data Collection

For several months I had an opportunity to be a participant-observer in the organization's life (as a former part-time employee and for a further three weeks after becoming involved in this study). Thus, I was able to converse freely with employees during working hours and during breaks. My data partly consist of notes from my observations and transcriptions of discussions.

I have also been able to use data gathered by means of a written, open-ended questionnaire distributed to all employees. The questionnaire was handed out through the internal mailing system with the assurance that responses would be treated anonymously.

mously. Questions dealt with the employees' perception of the organization. Some questions explored the "image" that employees have of their organization, the "working climate"; others were related to a more-technical evaluation about the actual working environment and conditions.

In addition, the minutes of meetings at all levels of the organization throughout its history were at my disposal.

Notes from Informal Discussions

As a former employee myself, I was well known by several of my former colleagues. It was thus fairly easy to reach a degree of trust and confidence where employees would feel free to express themselves. In fact, I would move around the offices rather casually and use breaks and calm periods for sitting down and discussing "what was going on in the organization." My status, methodologically speaking, was that of a participant-observer, with my personal feelings of sympathy for the organization having an influence on data collection. Yet, this empathic approach to the functioning of the organization, together with the possibility of sharing the evolution of my own views, were probably essential conditions for the analysis.

Questionnaire

Although I was consulted for the analysis of data, the questionnaire was developed independently of my study. In fact, the director decided to distribute a questionnaire elaborated by the organization's Employee Assistance Program (EAP) department for use with other organizations. The purpose of this distribution was to gather data about how employees evaluate the functioning of the organization. Questions were obviously adapted for this purpose, but the general format of the questionnaire was the same as that of the tool used by the EAP department: fifteen questions dealing with the general perception of the organization, its functioning, its image and its structure, as well as with relations with others and more practical details about everyday working conditions. Answers—on four lines—could be typed or handwritten. All answers were guaranteed anonymity, but this became rather unexpectedly a major issue as the questionnaires were read by employees. Several employees felt that answering questions was

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something threatening; in fact, out of thirty-six distributed questionnaires, only twenty-five were turned in, despite reiterated assurances that none except for one person (from the EAP department and not from management) would have access to the answers. The questionnaire was also distributed with the assurance that results would be presented globally (categories with percentages and grouped "typical" responses) at a meeting open to all employees. It was agreed that I could consult the questionnaire results before this first general meeting, but in the same format as was to be presented at the meeting and accessible to everyone.

Minutes from Meetings

Among the documents to which I had access were the minutes of the weekly meetings of the directorate through the last decade. I also had the possibility of consulting all documents elaborated by management during the whole history of the organization. This documentation relates decisions and options and shows, generally speaking, the evolution from a paternalistic to a business-type organization. It is also apparent that technical concerns take over gradually with respect to the previously dominant ideological themes.

Jungian Concepts for Organizational Analysis

Once the data were in my possession, I decided to lean on Jung's typology for interpreting part of them. I became convinced that, by using Jung's typology, an agenda might be established as to how to achieve a more-balanced functioning of the organization. What attracted me to this particular typology was the relationship that Jung establishes between types, specifically, the opposition between conscious and unconscious functions, their compensatory relationship, as well as the definition of an inferior function, connected with the shadow side of the personality, as opposed to the dominant function.

Jung elaborated his typology by speculating on the diversity of human beings that he met in his practice. As is well known, the two attitudes defined by Jung are introversion and extraversion.

The two attitudes are intended to define general types and refer to the direction (inward or outward) of the movement of psychic energy. Jung later went on to say that both attitudes are to be found in each individual, the point being that one attitude was dominant with respect to the individual's relation to the outer world, while the other attitude was dominant with respect to the "inner world."

Jung later elaborated on this first typology by distinguishing the four functions—thinking and feeling as well as intuition and sensation, respectively (Jung 1921). The functions are intended to refer to the way that the individual chiefly adapts and orients himself or herself in the world. The two attitudes—introversion and extraversion—are intended to define more general types and refer to the direction (inward or outward) of the movement of psychic energy. Jung again argued that all four functions are present in everyone, but that, from childhood on, individuals are encouraged, by the environment at large, to develop one function at the expense of the others; thus this function becomes the dominant one. The functions are also ordered as opposite pairs: if the dominant function is thinking, then the inferior (most unconscious) function is feeling (Jung 1921, par. 588).

Another concept that I deemed interesting for my analysis is what Jung defines as the "shadow" aspect of personality. The shadow of the personality will be associated with "hidden" or "unacceptable" or "most primitive" (i.e., most undifferentiated) behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. In other words, the shadow is connected with the most unconscious components of our personality and thus also with the inferior function. The inferior function manifests itself through the shadow precisely in order to allow a process of integration to begin, on the condition that the individual is prepared to accept it as such.

The reader might object that I have now gone far too far into individual psychology and that it would be quite questionable to apply these concepts without further ado to organizational psychology. As I already said, it is only *post festum* that I hope to convince the reader of the feasibility of my leap from individual to group level.

In individual psychology the concern in dealing with typology is to identify the dominant function: to understand how the person is spontaneously apprehending the world. At the same time, this allows one to define the (opposite) function with which this apprehension is most undifferentiated or primitive. This identifying takes place by examining thoroughly the everyday func-

tioning of that particular person, the way he talks and acts, his or her way of becoming interested in something, etc. Another way of identifying the dominant function is to use specially devised type indicators for this purpose and then to confront individuals with their results.² Yet, in talking with Jungian psychotherapists or with persons having training in typology, it often seems easier to build a typological portrait by first identifying the inferior function. It appears easier to define empirically in which respects the individual is functioning in the "most primitive" manner, where he or she is less differentiated in dealing with situations.³ This procedure seemed also the most adequate for my purpose. It seemed at least possible to define the aspects in the organization's functioning that employees, as well as management, would be most "touchy" about, that they would discuss emotionally instead of being able to approach with a calm analysis. Methodologically speaking, it is obviously a weak approach, its justification coming only from the richness of the ensuing characterization. Once the dominant function is identified, the psychological task becomes an "integration" or, more modestly, the development of an awareness of the inferior function's manifestations and influence on the conscious functioning. In other words, the task is to confront the shadow. This, then, also became the sense of my proposal.

Analysis of Data

All through my analysis I infer certain conclusions from the data at my disposal. The argument resembles a psychological case study in the sense that I have, freely and without systematic rigor, used data from all my sources. Thus data are presented together with the analysis itself. Validity has been sought through discussions with employees during the duration of the work.

²I refer notably to the Myers-Briggs Typological Indicator or the Singer-Loomis Inventory of Personality.

³"Establishing one's inferior function may be a bit easier, for it is the area with which one has regular trouble" (Sabini 1988, p. 374). However, in this paper on "the therapist's inferior function," the author makes it clear that locating functions is a very complicated and lengthy matter. Our purpose in using typology is above all to have a heuristic tool at our disposal.

Expectations and Concrete Experience

From my discussions with employees, it became evident that, almost without exception, they had entered the organization with idealistic motivations and expectations ("to be able to help others"). Indeed, the recruitment process—advertisements and interviews—stresses that the organization is active in dealing with two major societal problems: "alcohol and drugs." Employees thus expect to have to work within this broad context. It is also in this respect that they will have to, or want to, define their own professional identity. Employees share an acknowledgment that the problems in the field are important and major societal issues. Yet, the daily work of the organization is not in taking care of alcohol- or drug-dependent people. The organization is working in the field of primary prevention, alerting people to the dangers of alcohol and drugs. Thus, employees must adapt their "helping" motivation to something more indirect, i.e., information with the aim of preventing people from becoming alcohol or drug abusers. However, this issue is not explicitly dealt with by the organization, as it could be, for instance, by showing in a tangible manner an articulation between preventive and curative work. Neither is there explicit evidence on the results of the preventive work done by the organization, nor a forum among employees for discussing efficiency issues related to prevention. It is a fact that it is genuinely difficult to measure the impact of preventive work. Quantitatively and statistically, alcohol and drug dependence diseases in all countries are closely related to the amounts consumed. Thus, if it is a "self-evident" choice for the organization to back political and other initiatives aimed at reducing alcohol and drug availability, it is more difficult to measure how preventive campaigns (for instance, the message being currently emphasized: "drink moderately") might have an impact on consumers. This is an important issue related to the organization's corporate identity. To an organization dealing with prevention, a more explicit stance on the impact of prevention would be important.

That this is a major issue in terms of corporate identity was also shown by the questionnaire results. Specifically, employees would note that they had a clear and satisfying idea about their daily tasks but that they did not know what the organization's more general positions were with respect to issues of importance and priorities in prevention.

On the other hand, if such issues have not yet been dealt with in a more direct fashion, it is also because the organization is not

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Interested in stressing too much this preventive nature of its work. As the organization is mainly self-funded, it depends on large-scale fund-raising. The material used—letters, ads, etc.—voluntarily leaves scope for ambiguity about what the organization does: the fund-raising techniques are intended to move and to touch prospective donors emotionally by reminding them of the tragedy of alcoholism and drug dependence. The fund-raising activities implicitly suggest that the organization alleviates such tragedies. In other words, although it is not explicitly mentioned that the organization helps alcoholics and drug-dependent people, the persons exposed to the fund-raising campaigns are led to believe that it does. Fund-raising techniques currently in use within the organization are disapproved of by many of its employees. They have an uneasy feeling about how their employer raises the money used essentially to pay their salaries. But, even the management of the organization seems uncomfortable about this issue. It is deemed extremely important ("the persons in charge of fund-raising are the most important ones in the organization"), yet management is not ready to question current procedures. The main reason for this attitude is that "fund-raisers know that a message with emotional impact is the only one that can bring in money from donors." Both management and the persons in charge of fund-raising believe that there are no immediate emotions that can be related to prevention, whereas the alleviation of human suffering is touching a sensible chord in the general public. It is at this point that the connection between the message passed to the public and the effective work of the organization becomes loose—and it is so on purpose.

This is precisely what creates uneasiness among employees. This uneasiness is felt especially by newcomers, given their idealistic motivation for entering the organization. The problem is one of the organization as such, yet it is left to employees to come to terms with it individually. Thus, our data suggest that the longer the employees have remained in the organization, the more they will develop strategies explicitly intended to overcome this uneasiness or to put it aside. For instance, they may have contacts with therapeutic work outside the organization—especially when they are employed on a part-time basis—and in this manner "justify" in their own eyes the funding of their salary for the time they work on preventive tasks. They may also convince themselves that preventive work is more important than curative work or that both are equally important, and that it is merely because fund-raising for explicitly preventive work would be too difficult that things are

the way they are. Or, they may adopt a more cynical view about the contents of the fund-raising campaigns: "that's how life is and if I were a public servant, it would be no clearer."

Yet, the struggle in finding an appropriate attitude affects the ability of some employees to remain loyal to the organization. The idealistic concerns dating from the time when employees originally applied for a job in the organization ("be able to help others") are put in jeopardy by the feeling of a contradiction between the work as it is and the funding of the organization. In fact, the work on prevention is not in line with what had been expected by the employee, although these expectations are "evoked" by the fund-raising appeals.

This is thus a problem of corporate identity that might also offer one explanation for the rather high rate of personnel turnover within the organization. Psychologically, this problem might also be called a major shadow aspect of the organization. We previously defined the shadow side as what is not explicitly acknowledged, as what is hidden or is primitive. The way the relation between fund-raising and preventive activity is dealt with within the organization fills these criteria. The issue is not dealt with in detail, and it is not really open to discussion. Fund-raising is deemed a top priority but is approached in a rather primitive way: the persons in charge "know best" and employees must comply. Yet, this is not at all how other important issues are dealt with within the organization.

Thus, I suggested that one should pave the way for a differentiation and an integration of this shadow aspect into the organization's official functioning by finding ways of stressing, at the group level, the importance of prevention. Without an explicit discussion on the subject, employees must tackle the question individually by finding some way of "coming to terms" with this shadow part of their professional identity: if they do not manage to do this, then they will leave the organization at short notice.

In order to make this suggestion on the integration of the shadow aspect more explicit, I relied on Jung's typology. In fund-raising, feeling, in terms of the messages used for reaching donors, is at the forefront. Yet, feeling within the organization's work is somehow confined to this arena. For instance, impact and efficiency issues that are crucial for influencing prevention are discussed and evaluated by the organization in an almost purely rational manner. Frequency, visibility, as well as acceptability for public and political opinion are discussed—without having much influence on ensuing fund-raising campaigns. "Realistic posi-

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tions" are sought above all. Opinions that are felt to be guided by feelings about alcohol and drug policy, as well as by the emotionally loaded debate on this topic, are dismissed as inappropriate for a professional organization. This dismissal has become adamant in recent years, as is clearly visible from the minutes of the organization's management meetings. This uneasiness with feeling issues suggests again that we are dealing here with an undifferentiated and thus inferior function.

A confirmation of this hypothesis came also from the surprisingly strong concern of the employees that their answers to the questionnaire should be kept anonymous. The concern was expressed at the first meeting after employees had answered the questionnaire. They clearly had the feeling that their answers might be resented by the director and managers and that the ensuing emotional reactions might be quite forceful. This fear seemed quite out of proportion with respect to the questionnaire or to the context of its distribution and the guarantees given before employees answered it. So, this reaction also seems to confirm that feeling reactions are perceived as unforeseeable factors within the organization and are thus, psychologically speaking, quite primitive.

At this point, if we accept feeling as the inferior function within the organization, then in terms of Jung's view (Jung 1940, par. 292), through fund-raising, feeling operates autonomously toward consciousness. From this realization followed concrete suggestions about integrating aspects of the organization's shadow into its functioning.

Thus, I suggested that if a connection could be established between fund-raising and prevention on the feeling level, the organization would be moving in the direction of integrating its shadow side.

This introduction of a feeling dimension into prevention might be easier to achieve on an individual level first. I then suggested a seminar for employees where this question would be dealt with. Specifically, I proposed that the question "where does prevention enter my life and how do I deal with it?" be discussed. The point was to be nonspecific about prevention and to consider it as one aspect of the many facets of life. Following this "grasp for consciousness," it might also be possible either to approach fund-raising differently (more consciously) or to elaborate another attitude toward it at the organizational level.

Facing the Psychological Heritage of the Organization

Historically speaking, the organization is an offshoot of a temperance society. In those early days (at the beginning of this century), alcoholism was seen as an evil resulting from degenerating morality. Thus, to be employed by the organization implied not only an interest for improving awareness and involvement against the use of alcohol, but also living a life that would be morally exemplary. However, the societal changes during the last decades with respect to the perception of alcohol consumption have also affected the organization. The name as well as the orientation of the organization's work have changed. The purpose is no longer defined as a "fight against alcoholism" but as "prevention of alcohol abuse." In fact, the last decade has witnessed several further changes in the organization's internal structure. Abstinence is no longer a requirement for collaborators, and the work of the organization is now defined in terms of up-to-date marketing and educational techniques. It is also seen as an articulation between standard academic research and the implementation of preventive measures. Collaborators have become employees performing technical tasks under precisely defined conditions and during specified hours. They are no longer idealists fighting for a cause with a strong moral conviction against alcohol.

Today, there is no debate within the organization about how employees should live their private lives in order to do good prevention work, whereas this debate was important some decades back, as shown in the early minutes of the organization's meetings. Nowadays, the private and work spheres are completely separated. Employees may consume alcohol or drugs according to their own judgment.

The current phase might, to some extent, be labeled a reactive phase in the organization's history. If, at an earlier stage, the employees' private lives had to obey precise (exemplary) rules before they would even be allowed to work in the organization, today everything happening outside the organization is considered the employees' private business. During the informal discussions I had, it became clear that many employees would in fact be interested in a debate on the question of the relationship between private and professional identity, whereas this is not considered a current issue by management.

One result of the questionnaire study, backed up by informally collected discussion data, is that there exists within the

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organization a concern about how the organization officially, and fellow employees privately, relate to alcohol and drug use and policies. There is a shared knowledge about the importance and reality of alcohol-related problems in the country, as well as about the way they are dealt with politically, yet there is a desire for a more explicitly defined stance at the organization's official level. If this were to be known, then employees could clearly situate themselves in relation to the often-expressed wish that the organization be tolerant as to its employees' personal stances.

There is, however, also a concern about the consequences of a clear-cut official stance, as this might leave some employees with problems in reconciling a personal view on alcohol and drug consumption with the one advocated by the organization. This concern could be somehow related to the past history of the organization and a fear of the resurgence of a sectarian group. Yet, it might also be a general characteristic of any organization that deals with themes that are necessarily also issues in employees' private lives. Thus, the present hesitation from management's side in risking a clear-cut position on alcohol and drug issues might also be understood psychologically as a reaction to the organization's previous policy. It might also be politically opportune, in a context where alcohol and other drugs are part of daily life yet where moral issues are left to the individual or to small groups, not to take sides too forcefully as a general organization working in prevention. Access to many "client" groups as well as to sponsors might depend on a "low profile" on "hot" topics.

However, this choice has its drawbacks for employees. "We don't really know what our employer thinks about the general policy matters that we are dealing with in our work" as one employee aptly summed up this difficulty. With the above data and considerations in mind, my suggestion for management was formulated in terms of moving beyond a reactive position. I suggested that management become explicit, at least internally, on the organization's current political stances on alcohol and drug consumption—and that this position might then, depending on contingencies, be put forward to the general public. We further suggested that management make explicit for employees the possibility of being at variance with its own official positions; it should particularly state how public or private views need to be differentiated in social contexts. Consequently, as long as private views were not expressed in the name of the organization, it would be left to the individual whether he or she would consider his or her private views to be too conflictual with his or her employer's

stances. This suggestion was intended to relieve some of the uneasiness felt because of the organization's unclear official views.

During the last decade, the organizational rules have required that employees use a compulsory clock-key system. Psychologically, the introduction of such a "measuring" system might be understood as a "cold, objective" procedure as opposed to the "hot, affective measure" relating to the degree of idealistic engagement for the cause defended by the organization. Currently, everyone is expected to turn his or her clock on when entering the office and to turn it off when leaving. Everyone is also expected to fill out a monthly card with the total amount of work hours indicated next to the amount of hours required; reasons for absence (travel, leave of absence, etc.) have to be given. Officially this is intended to instate a democratic work control system. The same objective criterion is used for "measuring" work for all employees, the amount of required hours depending only on the type of work contract signed. This is also meant to improve group spirit through personal exchanges at the workplace (as every absence from the office must be justified).

When asked to comment upon this system, the employees reacted in two ways. For several employees, mainly secretaries but also researchers, the system has a definite advantage in that "with the hours there are clear criteria for the quantity of work that one is expected to perform." On the other hand, other employees note that "the clock is there only for the facade and to give one a clear conscience. In fact one is free to justify one's absences at one's own will." Such statements imply that the use of the clock-key system is a way of avoiding the issue of one's working engagement as a shared concern. Officially, the clock-key system is intended to encourage sharing among employees. Practically, the employees are pushed into an individualistic attitude about how they relate to their work schedule and how not to introduce their private sphere into the workplace. In fact, the clock-key system favors a private versus a professional identity split. One may even suggest that, symbolically, the employee turning off his clock at the end of the day in his office carries, as a corollary, the message that all personal themes are entirely left to his private concern. During informal discussions with employees, it appeared that the clock-key system has one major drawback. One is forced into thinking about work in terms of hours although, in many respects, this does not make very much sense. You might in fact find that you do not "do enough" during office hours, that you cheat

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because you have not done enough hours, and you add "absence hours" for making up the required amount—or that you don't care about the quality of your work as long as you work the required hours. Whatever the situation, it puts undue emphasis on the "cold and objective" definition of working within the organization, when practically everyone has an idealistic motivation for being in this particular working environment. Thus, employees are almost compelled to consider their involvement in terms of hours rather than tasks, although officially this was never intended to be so. Management will constantly stress the tasks to be accomplished or those that have been accomplished. Yet, psychologically, the clock-key stands in the background when employees are measuring their work in terms of the organization's requests from them. My suggestion was to consider the withdrawing of the clocks, or to leave it to employees whether to use them or not.

I also tried to deepen the analysis by referring to Jung's typology and specifically to the two attitudes that he distinguishes. What is "psychic energy" in the case of an organization? I define it as what employees concern themselves mostly with while working. If concerns are related to adapting activities to the information coming from the external world (following market trends), then this is an argument for the organization's attitude being extraverted. On the other hand, if employees are more concerned about creating from within the organization something new to be proposed to the outer world (generating market trends), then this is an argument for an introverted attitude. However, as Jung wrote, both attitudes go together.

In the case of the organization that I am discussing, it became clear from the interview data that the emphasis was on the "in-house" events: these were the source of creative work, and employees would also emphasize the importance of the internal debate on most matters. Commissions, ad hoc groups, delegations, departmental discussions, in-house written communication, etc., take a significant amount of time and energy, as also noted (and appreciated) by the employees in their answers to the questionnaire. Another argument in favor of introversion is that management is attached to the clock-key system because it is concerned about having at its disposal a criterion for calculating and demonstrating to the board of directors the amount of work its labor force performs. The clock-key hours are deemed useful in this respect, although the total amount of work hours could obviously also be calculated more theoretically by multiplying the working force by the contracted working hours. Yet, management

has the impression that this would not be "objectively" as "valid" a measure. Also, hours spent working inside the office are considered "valid" hours, whereas hours spent outside the office must be justified. This almost suspicious attitude with respect to the outer world seems a further characteristic of an introverted attitude. So also is the apparent neglectfulness about the image that the organization presents to the outer world, to the point of avoiding a clear image. To be introverted is to be frightened by but also careless about the outer world.

I thus concluded that the organization is introverted. In fact, there seems to be an awareness of a conscious introverted attitude, that is, that psychic energy circulates basically inside the organization itself or from inside toward the outside world. As a corollary, the unconscious functioning of the organization is extrverted. How can we understand and eventually confirm this? Within individual psychology, an extrverted unconscious amounts to "grabbing" all sorts of stimuli from the internal world and nourishing lively fantasies and speculations with them. Thus the unconscious will be filled with impressions that, in turn, nourish conscious functioning. Given this, I will consider the unconscious of an organization as what goes on inside its walls, what makes up for it being experienced by employees the way it is. In our case, employees are in fact grabbing all sorts of impressions from within the organization and nourishing their fantasies and speculations with them. Rumors about fund-raising issues are a case in point, and so are persistent rumors about continuous reorganizations of the departments. Their relevancy here is that they are in sharp contrast with the continuous efforts made by the organization to practice a "transparent" information policy.⁴

By suggesting that although the organization is devoted to contact with the outside world, it has an introverted attitude, I was able to show the following counterproductive tendencies:

- A tendency to be careless about the organization's public image, in fact about its corporate identity.
- A tendency to be "frightened" about the outside world, this particularly in terms of a fear of being exposed to critique or of having to take a position.

⁴The question might be raised of whether this is not the case in all or in most organizations. There are obviously always "rumors" within an organization, but their amount and importance may generally be thought to be in proportion with the degree of management's secrecy.

- Too strong an emphasis on in-house matters. This might give these too much weight and cause neglect with respect to public matters.

As to the counterproductive tendencies of the unconscious extrverted attitude, I mentioned the very rapidly developing "corridor rumors" about the situation of the organization; it is as if the contents of these rumors are increasingly valued by employees despite the great effort made to inform employees officially about all important matters.

To sum up, a psychological view of the evolution of the organization allows us to understand some of its characteristics today. These may be explained as being concomitant to a "reactive" phase in the organization's history. I was able to suggest some changes that were intended to achieve a more-balanced functioning in the organization's rules and procedures. By relying on Jung's distinction between introversion and extraversion, I was able to identify some of the organization's counterproductive tendencies. It is my hope that these suggestions will contribute in a positive manner to the organization's future work.

Conclusion

Applying to an organization a framework originally intended for individual analysis cannot be done without problems. I have tried to show the insights that nevertheless can result from this exercise. In particular, I believe that by relying on Jung's concept of shadow as well as on his typology it becomes possible to make explicit and to take further several considerations suggested by the data collected on the functioning of the organization.

My analysis has specifically focused on two themes. First, there is a generally felt uneasiness within the organization about its own fund-raising techniques. It is by viewing openly this uneasiness that a solution might come into sight. A psychological description of the functioning of the organization, by defining its "shadow side" and "inferior function," shows how fund-raising has remained an ill-defined part of the organization's work, in particular since it has no explicitly stated connection with the organization's main aims. Thus, "integrating" this shadow side here comes to mean formulating an openly acceptable relationship between prevention as the major aim of the organization and the

existing fund-raising techniques. Specifically, by viewing prevention differently, a new attitude may be reached by employees about the fund-raising techniques which as such remain indispensable to the organization's financial existence.

Second, it is necessary for the organization to face its psychological inheritance. Here the assumption is that it is only by seeing the present situation as mainly resulting from a reaction toward the organization's own history that current peculiarities in its functioning can be understood. A definition of the organization's "conscious introverted attitude" makes it possible to pinpoint some counterproductive tendencies that should be dealt with.

Böhler, a Swiss professor of economics who repeatedly discussed the relevance of Jung for the business world (Böhler 1960, 1962), made several attempts to recognize the role of the unconscious within the context of economics. In particular, he argued that the rational organization of any business has an irrational basis (Schmid 1963). Becoming conscious of this basis is to have at one's disposal an additional strength. A psychological analysis, such as the one attempted here, aims at being a step in this direction.

Outcome of the Consultancy

Having finished my report, I have handed it to the organization's director as well as to the commission that is intended to take further the questionnaire's analysis. This commission has used this situation as an argument for requesting a permanent personnel commission that would participate in all major decisions concerning employees and in the definition of major policy options. The director has requested a complementary report from a business consultant. A strategy will then be formulated, based on the joint reports.

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