

**"ALEXITHYMIA IN ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE:
THE ORGANIZATION MAN REVISITED"**

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THE ORGANIZATION MAN REVISITED

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ABSTRACT

In this article the organization man is looked at from a different perspective within the context of a relatively recent clinical construct called alexithymia. Alexithymia - meaning literally no words for moods - is basically a communication disorder which tends to be relatively widespread. It refers to individuals with an extreme reality-based cognitive style, an impoverished fantasy life, a paucity of inner emotional experiences, a tendency to engage in stereotypical interpersonal behavior and a speech pattern characterized by endless, trivial, repetitive details. The proposition is made that there is an interesting parallel between the organization man and those people with an alexithymic disposition. It is suggested that certain types of organizations (e.g, compulsive and depressive) not only legitimize but also foster this type of behavior. In addition, we can find certain management styles (e.g., the detached CEO, the systems person, the social sensor) characterized by alexithymic patterns. In conclusion, a few suggestions are made for ways of dealing with the negative repercussions of the alexithymic executive.

More than thirty years have passed since William Whyte wrote his classic work The Organization Man (1956). His depiction of what he perceived to be the typical executive very much resembled Sinclair Lewis's satiric but convincing portrait of Babbitt, the bland, totally conformist real estate man from Zenith Corporation, an individual glib and opportunistic both in business and private life. Lewis turned Babbitt into a moral tale of how compromising about conformity can become the price required for our business culture. The novel is a prime example of the creation of a personal wasteland - how an individual can lead an empty, thoroughly meaningless existence. Babbitt is a man who

beheld, and half admitted that he beheld, his way of life as incredibly mechanical. Mechanical business - a brisk selling of badly built houses. Mechanical religion - a dry, hard church, shut off from the real life of the streets, inhumanly respectable as a top-hat. Mechanical golf and dinner parties and bridge and conversation ... mechanical friendships - back-slapping and jocular, never daring to essay the test of quietness (1922, p.323).

Whyte's quintessential organization man seems to be quite similar: colorless, dull and unimaginative. We are faced with a person afraid to make bold decisions, an individual far removed from his opposite, the conquistador of business or the entrepreneur. His description of the organization man also reminds us of Erich

Fromm's speculations about the proliferation of a marketing orientation, a form of acting and behaving which he believed to be typical of modern life. Fromm's marketing-oriented person is someone with a shaky feeling of identity, an individual exceedingly superficial and very changeable in his attitudes. For this person, identity seems to be made up of the sum total of the roles he can be expected to play. Thus "the premise of the marketing orientation is emptiness, the lack of any specific quality which would not be subject to change, since any persistent trait of character might conflict some day with the requirements of the market"(1947, p.85).

This sense of depersonalization, automation and emptiness of life comes across very well in Harrington's ironic presentation of Life in a Crystal Palace (1958). In the "crystal palace," a metaphor for a large organization, everything seems to be bland and mechanical. Life is deadening; conversation seems to be merely a "filler," a way of avoiding silence. Everybody automatically and completely accepts, and lives according to, the organization's policies and procedures. From the author's descriptions, the crystal palace turns into a corporate theatre where conformity rules, all the actors are interchangeable, and no one dares to call attention to himself.

In his book The Gamesman (1976), Michael Maccoby presents a more nuanced view of corporate man. He regards the company man as one

among a number of types. In his analysis this individual is less of a caricature; he portrays a person essential to the functioning of the large corporation. This person gives it its strength because of his strong identification with the organization's goals and values. At the same time however, Maccoby warned against the company man's excessive reactions of dependency, since he tends to feel lost when separated from his organization. To use Maccoby's words:

Although the company man's work tends to reinforce a responsible attitude to the organization and the project, it may also strengthen a negative syndrome of dependency: submissive surrender to the organization and to authority, sentimental idealization of those in power, a tendency to betray the self in order to gain security, comfort, and luxury (1976, p.94).

The work of the cultural historian Christopher Lasch, echoes this theme of conformity and dependency, which he believes is accentuated by the fact that "the corporation takes on the appearance of a total institution, in which every trace of individual identity disappears" (1984, p.70).

All these descriptions beg the question as to whether or not Whyte had identified a specific personality type or if he was merely trying to satirize organizational life. The appeal of his

book and the continuing popularity of its theme do indicate, however, that Whyte must have hit a sensitive chord among businessmen and other people familiar with organizations. It seems that his view of organizational life led to immediate recognition of a pattern that was present in contemporary business culture.

Although he and others dealing with the same theme may sometimes have resorted to stereotypes or oversimplifications, there was something true in what they were saying. Given the kind of impact these authors had, the key question becomes why do people in organizational life behave in such a way? Is there something in organizations that accentuates this behavior pattern? What do organizations do to people? Are certain otherwise dormant personality characteristics more likely to come out into the open in organizations? Or should the question be put differently: is there a group of people with specific personality characteristics who are attracted to certain types of organizations? Can one compare given organizations to "holding stations" which offer a comfortable but unobtrusive shelter to people with specific predilections?

In answering these questions, Whyte did not have the advantage of using some of the more contemporary conceptualizations of personality. Taking his sociological bent into consideration, he left in-depth psychological speculation to others. But perhaps

the time has come to take up where he left off. Given the importance of the behavior patterns described - particularly since such behavior does not usually foster organizational creativity and innovation - the objective of this paper is to take another look at the organization man and make inferences about his or her existence. In order to arrive at a deeper level of analysis, the organization man's behavior will be studied in the context of a relatively recent clinical construct called alexithymia. As the subsequent discussion will show, there are many interesting parallels between the organization man and the alexithymic disposition. This exploration will also give us the opportunity to raise the questions as to whether there are certain types of organizations which enhance this mode of behavior and whether there are specific jobs where the behavior is prominent. Such a study is, of course, by nature speculative. Pursuing this line of investigation may, however, shed light on the reasons for the obstinate survival of the organization man and may also further understanding of the nature of the interface and fit between personality and organization.

THE NATURE OF ALEXITHYMIA

In 1963 two French psychoanalysts, Marty and de M'Uzan, identified a style of thought and expression which they named pensée opératoire. In studying psychosomatic patients they found a cognitive and affective style where there was a conspicuous

absence of fantasy, little dream recollection, and an unusual, utilitarian way of thinking. They also noticed that in responding to questions, these people would behave in a rather robot-like manner and repeat in great detail past action without enlarging upon their activities. As de M'Uzan put it: "the patient's language is poor, flat and banal, glued to the present and only producing facts stated chronologically" (1974, p.462).

Sifneos (1972,1973) noticed similar patterns in his psychosomatic patients. He too stressed these individuals' inability to find words to describe emotions, as well as their use of action to express emotion and avoid conflict, their preoccupation with external events rather than fantasy or emotions, and their tendency to describe endlessly the circumstances surrounding an event rather than their feelings. To him goes the credit for having first coined the term alexithymia, a word constructed from the Greek meaning no words for emotions. He and a colleague pursued this line of research and viewed alexithymia as some kind of communication disorder (Nemiah & Sifneos, 1970; Nemiah, 1977,1978).

Independently, Krystal (1968,1974,1982/3) was coming to similar conclusions while studying severe post-traumatic states. He noted that alexithymic individuals seem to have defects in affective and cognitive functioning and in interpersonal relationships, due to an impoverished intrapsychic life.

Elaborating on these differentiating characteristics, Krystal stated that the people in question "are unable to distinguish between one emotion and another" (1979, p.17), but, "like the color-blind person, they have become aware of their deficiency and have learned to pick up clues by which they infer what they cannot discern" (1979, p.18). With respect to their cognitive problems, he mentioned that it almost seems as if these people are superadjusted to reality. He continued by saying, however, that if one gets "past the superficial impression of superb functioning, one discovers a sterility and monotony of ideas and severe impoverishment of their imagination" (1979, p.19). With respect to their relationships with others, Krystal noticed an impaired capacity for empathy: these people treat others with cool detachment and indifference. The pattern was supported by others, who observed that when dealing with such individuals one is left with a feeling of dullness, boredom, and frustration (Taylor, 1977). Encouraged by these findings, many other researchers and clinicians in the fields of psychiatry, medical psychology, and psychotherapy recalled and recognized similar behavior patterns (Brautigan & Von Rad, 1977).

In this context it is important to mention the work of one clinician, McDougall, who cognizant of the high degree of social conformity among alexithymics, used the words "pseudonormality" (1974), "robots" (1980a), and "normopaths" (1984) to describe these people. She argued that:

Instead of some form of psychic management of disturbing affects or unwelcome knowledge or fantasies, the ego may achieve complete destruction of the representations or feelings concerned, so that these are not registered. The result then may be a super adaptation to external reality, a robot-like adjustment to inner and outer pressure which short-circuits the world of the imaginary. This "pseudo-normality" is a widespread character trait and may well be a danger sign pointing to the eventuality of psychosomatic symptoms (1974, p.444, sic).

The origin of this behavior, she speculates, is due to a special kind of parenting whereby the mother tends to use the child as a "drug" (1974, 1980b, 1982a, 1982b). In arguing her case, she presents clinical material demonstrating that from the beginning the mother seems to be out of touch with the child's emotional needs. Many other studies (i.e., Krystal, 1979, 1982/3; Gardos et al, 1984) have supported her conjecture that the pathogenesis of alexithymia is created in the first and second years of life. What a number of clinicians suggest is that these mothers (and fathers) solve their own, often narcissistic conflicts through the child, who gets stuck in what may be described as an aborted symbiotic relationship. The child finds him- or herself in a sort of archaic double-bind situation; hence, a state of extreme dependency is artificially prolonged. Separation and autonomous feelings of identity are stifled and real individuation is

prevented. The child is treated like an extension of the mother and is under her constant surveillance; his or her body is handled like someone else's property. Furthermore, the father may even covertly encourage this type of situation in order to be spared a similar "fate," afraid as he may be of the perceived "engulfing" qualities of his wife.

Given such childrearing practice, the mother is not what has sometimes been described as a mère satisfaisante (a satisfying mother), but instead becomes a mère calmante (a tranquilizing mother). Due to her own problems, the mother does not allow normal identification processes to occur. Consequently, the child never really learns how to feel at ease without being in continual contact with her. He or she does not internalize the mère satisfaisante, a necessary process if he or she is going to be able to manage without needing continuous external stimuli (Fain & Kreisher, 1970). The overbearing treatment of the child can probably be looked at as the mother's way of arriving at some form of restitution for assumed defects of her own. Since separation is discouraged, any desire for exploration or any form of initiative are nipped in the bud. Predictably, such treatment has grave consequences for later personality development. Since the mother does not allow for satisfactory transitional space (Winnicott, 1975), she disrupts the process of play, exploration, and symbolization. Moreover, the child does not really experience whatever symbolizations are formed as his or her own

mental productions but as something alien coming from the outside. Such a situation can lead to an arrest in affect development (Krystal, 1979, 1982/3). Differentiation, verbalization, and desomatization of emotions never properly occur, impeding construction of a highly complex matrix of signals essential for daily functioning (as opposed to experiencing emotions as dangerous, potentially uncontrollable forces). These people consequently ignore their bodies' signs and their minds' signals of distress. Symbol formation will be impaired and a stilted fantasy life may become a reality. Vague somatic sensations will frequently replace dream and fantasy material. Moreover, given their earlier situation of dependency, they may become addictively captive to external stimuli - a life line which can structure their world, unable as they are to resort to their own symbolic representations, fantasies, or dreams to work through mental conflict. To use McDougall's words, what they "feel will appear in the people [they are] involved with. They are [their] mirror" (1982b, p.88). They attempt "to make substitute objects in the external world do duty for symbolic ones which are absent or damaged in the inner psychic world" (1974, p.449, sic). But it is her opinion that such attempts are "doomed to failure" and will lead "to endless repetition and addictive attachment to the outer world and external objects (p.449).

Hence, these people are preoccupied with the concrete and the

objective; the use of metaphors, allusions, and hidden meanings is strange to them. They tend to negate and deny the existence of emotions (Von Rad, 1983). They somehow seem to be psychological illiterates lacking the capacity for empathy, strangers as they are to reflective self-awareness and needing to resort to action as a way of dealing with conflicts (Neill & Sandifer, 1982; Lesser & Lesser, 1983; Taylor, 1984). Given their capacity to negate and deny emotions, they are probably not even aware of, or experience, intrapsychic conflict. Their behavior has a robot-like quality with stiffness of posture and often a lack of facial expressiveness. External details seem to be utilized as a way of filling their inner deadness. Due to the nature of their upbringing, their "true self" (Winnicott, 1975) has never been allowed to emerge.

Some clinicians have differentiated between primary and secondary forms of alexithymia. In the first instance, alexithymia is viewed as a specific character trait caused by possible genetic neurophysiological deficits (i.e., a disconnection between the left and right hemispheres due to a commissurotomy) or by early psychic trauma; while in the second instance sociocultural factors may play a role. There reference is made to alexithymic reactions which may develop after a specific stressful event or series of events. In this regard, some researchers have looked at rather extreme situations. Examples are the kind of emotional numbing that occurs in the case of concentration camp victims or

Vietnam War veterans (Freiberger, 1977; Shipko et al.,1983; Krystal et al.,1986).

What we can infer from these studies is that alexithymia as communication disorder tends to be relatively widespread and refers to individuals with an extreme reality-based cognitive style, an impoverished fantasy life, a paucity of inner emotional experiences, a tendency to engage in stereotypical interpersonal behavior, and a speech pattern characterized by endless, trivial, repetitive details. This last characteristic seems to be the outcome of the need to find some kind of foothold in the external world due the difficulty these people experience internally in describing what they feel. Whatever feelings they may have tend to be of a vague, diffuse nature. Here, however, is where agreement seems to end. Although psychodynamic inferences have gone a long way toward an explanation, there is still a considerable amount of confusion about the construct's etiology. Can it be considered a trait? Or is it a situation-specific form of coping behavior? Can it be both trait and state? (Von Rad, 1984; Ahrens & Deffner, 1986). The answers to these questions are not yet clear.

In spite of this confusion, however, what is clear is that the existence of alexithymia is based on a large body of consistent clinical and phenomenological observation. In addition, alexithymia is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon. On the

contrary, it appears to be potentially accessible to everyone, admittedly to a varying degree. It seems to be a graded dimension whereby individuals will occupy different positions on a spectrum of cognitive/affective experience and expression (Martin et al., 1984). Moreover, insidiously, these alexithymic inclinations may influence our perceptions and actions. Given what we now know about alexithymic individuals, what is particularly noteworthy for the purposes of this article is that in their behavior, they resemble in an uncanny way the organization man.

THE ORGANIZATION MAN'S ALEXITHYMIC PREDISPOSITION

Many years ago an astute observer of organizational life wrote the following lines about some of its characteristics:

The dominance of the spirit of formalistic impersonality, 'sine via et studio', without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm. The dominant norms are concepts of straightforward duty without regard to personal considerations. Everyone is subject to formal equality of treatment; that is, everyone in the same empirical situation. This is the spirit in which the ideal official conducts his office (Weber, 1947, p.340).

Reading Max Weber's description of the bureaucrat, we recall the

alexithymics' factual, unemotional, and unimaginative way of behaving and acting. We remember the wooden quality implicit in such behavior. Since alexithymics don't know how to manage their emotions, it is easy to perceive how little room they have for feelings. We can actually observe how the people in question will often substitute action - inappropriate as it may be - for feelings. Moreover, we have noted how, when asked how they feel, these people will usually resort to a description of external events. For them "facts" seem to be what counts. Some people pervert what originally may have been a realistic concern. They have difficulty going beyond this obsession with facts, unable as they are to use their imaginations. They seem to suffer from a deficiency in utilizing feelings and fantasies in their mental functioning. Their behavior appears to be almost overadaptive. But we may discover - that is to say, if we go beyond the first impression of excellent functioning - the sterility of their imaginations and the monotony of their ideas. We can also recall the impression of blandness, dullness, and colorlessness with which we are left when dealing with such people.

Organizational Types

Organizations give alexithymics great opportunities to blend into the organizational culture. These organizational environments legitimize what otherwise may be looked at as strange behavior. As such they give relief in providing some kind of structure,

thus making alexithymic behavior less conspicuous; organizations take on a "containing" function (Bion, 1961). Moreover, given the possibility of the existence of such a phenomenon as secondary alexithymia, it may very well be that certain types of organizations go even further in that they possess the kind of numbing quality which awakens dormant alexithymic tendencies in their employees.

In looking at organizational factors which can contribute to this kind of behavior, we are reminded in particular of two organizational "ideal" types described in earlier research (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985, 1986, 1988): the "compulsive" and "depressive" organizations. In the former we find an organization which is bureaucratic and tends to be inwardly focused. A strict hierarchy exists in which an individual manager's status derives directly from a specific position. The leadership tends to dominate the organization from top to bottom, insisting that others conform to tightly prescribed rules and procedures. Slavish adherence to programmed, standardized, routine practices are the norm. There is strategic reliance on a narrow, established theme to the exclusion of other factors. Rigid formal codes, ritualized evaluation processes, and an attitude of risk aversion makes any form of change an extremely difficult proposition.

The 'depressive' organization is similar in many ways but is in

worse shape. This type of organization drifts with no sense of direction and is often confined to antiquated 'mature' markets. Various protectionistic practices are the only reason it still survives. Extreme conservatism, a very vague set of goals and strategies, and an absence of plans are the rule. Structurally these organizations are bureaucratic, ritualistic, and inflexible. There is a leadership vacuum, a lack of motivation and initiative, and an attitude of passivity and negativity. Communications are poor and so is scanning, as there is ignorance of market trends. The organizational climate is impersonal, 'decidophobia' being the rule, leading to a great resistance to change.

From the description of these two types of organizations we can see how well they fit with the alexithymic disposition. They provide an ideal holding environment which makes alexithymics less conspicuous. At the same time, we should not forget the effect of the organization on the individual, with its potential to bring out otherwise dormant alexithymic characteristics. Although other types of organizations may have similar effects, none has that kind of numbing quality that we find in the 'compulsive' and 'depressive' organizations.

Individual Styles

The detached CEO: going from an organizational to an individual

orientation, we can occasionally find top executives who experience great difficulty in dealing with emotions. To protect themselves from emotional involvement these people may use a detached style. McDougall has already equated alexithymic symptoms "to a form of schizoid withdrawal from others and to the maintenance of a devitalized inner state of which the individual is unaware" (1982, p.88). This form of emotional isolation can, however, have serious organizational repercussions since such behavior may frustrate the dependency needs of the other executives, leading to feelings of bewilderment and aggressiveness (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985, 1986, 1988). A highly politicized organizational culture may develop, a playground for second-tier "gamesmen" (Maccoby, 1976). Warring and uncooperative fiefdoms may be the consequence. If so, self-imposed barriers to the free flow of information will prevail. With such an organizational culture it is no wonder that there is insufficient scanning of the external environment: the focus of the organization is more internal. A vacillating, inconsistent, muddling-through type of strategy can usually be observed, its orientation depending on which clique managed to get the ear of the senior executive.

In this case we can see how alexithymic behavior at the top - given the dynamics of power - can have serious organizational consequences. We don't have to go all the way to the top, however, to find this type of behavior. There are certain kinds

of jobs which suit the alexithymic disposition very well. Here two groups of people come to mind, both of which show a type of behavior also observed in the context of the schizoid condition (Kets de Vries, 1980).

The systems person: These people will disguise their interpersonal difficulties by resorting to jobs which are thing-oriented. Abstractions, tasks, ideas, and inanimate objects become of overriding importance. Feelings are superfluous here; what really counts is "the system." Their contacts with others are depersonalized and mechanical. Attachment to procedures and rules and regulations becomes their way of coping with the sterility of their inner world. The present information revolution is a great facilitator in making such behavior less conspicuous. The increasing importance of the human/computer interface becomes a marvelous disguise for some of the people in question. The systems person operates in an automaton-like way, hanging on to fixed routines or zealously advocating abstractions and thereby abolishing relationships with real people. His or her pace is directed, and stimulus provided, by the terminal of his or her computer. Such people seem to be perfectly programmed. Unfortunately, with their often mindless and rigid pursuit of routines, curiosity and initiative are missing. Hence, they may not possess a sufficient adaptive capacity to cope with environmental changes, a deficiency which can have devastating consequences for the organization.

The social sensor :The behavior of these people has a chameleon-like quality. They are the role-players par excellence, taking on new roles when it suits them. They are very astute in picking up signals from the outside world and adjust their behavior accordingly. The only structure they know seems to come from the external environment. They are the "as if" personalities described as having "a highly plastic readiness to pick up signals from the outer world and to mold oneself and one's behavior accordingly" (Deutsch, 1965, p.265). They resemble the marketing-oriented people referred to by Erich Fromm (1947). They are also like the color-blind persons described by Krystal (1979, 1982/3), those who have learned how to cover up their deficiencies in affectual reactions. And they fit very well in service oriented industries where "prescribed" emotions frequently become the norm. But in spite of all their efforts and notwithstanding their superficial adjustment, a sense of conviction is lacking in their actions. Although the first impression is one of complete normality and they seem to be superadaptive, under the veneer one quickly discovers a sense of desperate shallowness and lack of warmth. Changeability in their attitudes and their talent for mimicry, seem to be their only permanent qualities. Their glibness in behavior makes for a notion of pseudosincerity and pseudoauthenticity. Their superadaptability and pseudocompliance seem to take place with only one goal in mind, that is, to avoid having to deal with feelings. What seems like adaptiveness is really insensitivity

to the feelings and reactions of the people around them. The mask of extroversion becomes a disguise for the emptiness of their "inner theatre". Given the deadness of their inner world, creativity and insight will be found wanting.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although the alexithymic predisposition, be it primary or secondary, is something that a number of executives possess or at least are susceptible to, albeit to varying degrees, this does not mean we cannot do something about it. Granted, we have seen how some individuals perpetuate the situation by finding jobs that shelter them from circumstances which may demand affective responses, and we have observed how some people manage to pursue rather stunted lifestyles. We have seen how such behavior, when it involves top managers, can sometimes influence the overall organization dramatically. We have also noted how organizations may take advantage of alexithymic predispositions and, through particular structural and strategic arrangements, even accentuate such a situation in their organizational cultures through the suppression or exact prescription of emotion. We have seen how the information and service revolution with all its accompaniments has very much facilitated this behavior.

In our assessment of alexithymic behavior we have observed that, in general, organizations do not appreciate it when people do own

up to their emotions. In large bureaucratic organizations affect is avoided, "greyness" in dress, behavior and actions appears to be the norm, and conformity the prevailing pattern. Even sexuality seems to be eradicated (Burrell, 1984). All in all, the executive and "the man in the grey flannel suit" are apparently almost synonymous. Expression of emotion is feared to disrupt organizational processes, or emotion is carefully managed with all the associated strains due to the suppression of one's "true self" (Winnicott, 1975). The climb to the executive suite is not enhanced by eccentricity in behavior. Executives have to "fit" and that does not necessarily make for the best and the brightest. However, we should also take note that in this context, innovation and creativity in organizations do not come from alexithymic-oriented behavior, i.e., how convenient this "don't-rock-the-boat" attitude may be from a short-term perspective. For creativity in organizations we need bold moves, leaps of imagination, passion, and vision.

The organization man does not necessarily have to be alexithymic to succeed. He or she doesn't necessarily have to give in to potential alexithymic tendencies in his or her make-up. The negative sides of the organization man and the stifling effects of organizational life can be avoided. But in order to be able to do so, both the organization man and the organization have a responsibility. The organization man has to take the initiative and establish preventive steps. Whyte made that very clear in

the conclusion of his book:

The organization man is not in the grip of vast social forces about which it is impossible for him to do anything; the options are there, and with wisdom and foresight he can turn the future away from the dehumanized collective that so haunts our thoughts...He must fight The Organization. Not stupidly or selfishly, for the defects of individual self-regard are no more to be venerated than the defects of cooperation. But fight he must, for the demands for his surrender are constant and powerful; and the more he has come to like the life of organization the more difficult does he find it to resist these demands, or even to recognize them. It is wretched dispiriting advice to hold before him the dream that ideally there need be no conflict between him and society. There always is; there always must be (1956, p.404)

To create more effective organizations, an effort must be made to help executives own up to their emotions and practice their capacity for reflective self-observation. The tendency of many executives to merely give in to "flight into action" (Klein, 1935) without the balance of reflection has to be carefully monitored. Executives have to discover or rediscover the ability to "play", learn how to use humor and how to engage in flights of fancy. It is from such characteristics that vision and

adaptability derive. Executives should be able to confront their feelings and not remain prisoners of a fictitious balance for which they are partially responsible. They should try to overcome infantile fixations and aims. To do so, imaginative experience and fantasy production must be encouraged, even if, paradoxically, this has to be done in a directed way. And here organizational leadership can play an important role fostering such practices. More importantly, organizational leadership can set the example that the expression of emotion is an acceptable practice by showing it themselves. They also should encourage a diversity in emotional expression and not just stick to prescribed routines. Of course to make this work within the organization, a climate of trust becomes a necessity. Executives should come to realize that the expression of emotion in a business context does not have negative career implications, that there is room for critical give and take, and space for imagination.

Other signals can be given by the organization through structural arrangements which encourage risk-taking, experimentation and participation. In order to foster such behavior, there will also be a need for imagination in human resource practices with respect to hiring, training, and development, which will in turn avoid creating organizations populated by "clones". Encouraging a positive attitude toward change should become a central concern. For the purposes of establishing a culture of change,

slack in the system will be needed to allow for continuous adaptation and development. Naturally, not only should structures be hospitable to change and adaptation, but so should individuals. In balancing these forces we should heed the words of Yeats who once said: "by logic and reason we die hourly; by imagination we live"!

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