Chapter 1

Psychoanalytic Principles of Personality Functioning

An executive, whether man or woman, is a leader of people. Either he builds an effective team, or he fails. As much as eighty percent of executive failure is due to the inability to lead, motivate, and integrate people toward the achievement of common purpose. As people become more affluent and better educated and therefore less likely to be motivated by money alone and more likely to be influenced by personal and professional standards, money and control, or carrot and stick, correspondingly lose whatever effectiveness they once may have had as motivational devices. Therefore, it is imperative for the executive to develop a sophisticated understanding of what motivates people. His knowledge about motivation must be as thorough as his knowledge of marketing, finance, control, policy, and production. Without it, he will be forced to rely on clichés, and he will flounder miserably, no matter how technically competent he may be, when he tries to act on the basis of that limited understanding.

It is important at the outset to understand that every managerial act, every organizational process and procedure makes some assumption about human motivation. An incentive system presumes that people are motivated by money. A name on the door and a rug on the floor reflects someone's assumption that people have powerful status aspirations. When a person talks to another about the prospect of promotion, he assumes that people want to advance in organizations. These assumptions

may be valid in varying degrees or not at all. Certainly incentives offered by others are only part of a person's life experience, and their meaning to him depends on the rest of that experience. For example, to more fully understand economic factors in motivation we must know in greater depth their relevance to the feelings and thoughts of those to whom we offer them. Otherwise, we will be dismayed when such motivating efforts fail. Thus, we will want to look carefully at each managerial decision, each program, each step in organizing people to ask what underlying assumptions are being made and how valid they are.

People in organizations, by definition, work in groups, and these groups are organized into larger forms—sections, departments, divisions, companies, and so on. Executives necessarily must work with groups, often more than with individuals. There is a vast literature on group behavior ranging from small groups to large organizations. Social psychologists and sociologists have much to say about how groups function and how the executive might make use of that knowledge. However, these conceptions are based on tacit assumptions about what motivates individuals. In every statement about group behavior there are hidden beliefs about individual psychology. The executive who would make use of the behavioral sciences therefore should be prepared to examine what he or she reads and learns for its assumptions about the individual. Groups, after all, are made up of individuals. No one who does not understand individual behavior can fully understand group behavior or behavior in large organizational units.

Introduction

Of course, there are many forces which influence how a person feels, thinks, and behaves. People act differently when they are starving than when they are satiated, and differently when they are economically deprived than when they are affluent. A man or woman who operates an electron microscope alone goes about work differently than a person on an automobile assembly line. Economic, sociological, and technological considerations do make a difference in motivation and behavior.

The operation of these forces is relatively easy to observe and understand. But these forces interact with a complex set of forces going on within individuals which are much more obscure and more difficult to understand. It is foolhardy, if not dangerous, to assume that people are motivated by external forces alone, or even primarily by external forces. Furthermore, our understanding of external forces is, in most cases, too limited a base for predicting the likely behavior of individuals. We cannot predict how a given person will act in a specific situation under given conditions without knowing a great deal about that person. The executive places bets on just such predictions every time he or she selects, criticizes, or promotes a person. Therefore, we begin our effort to understand human behavior by a careful examination of individual motivation, or the functioning of the individual personality.

Why Theory? Unlike arms and legs, which may be measured, manipulated, observed, and even operated on, the most powerful internal motivating forces, feelings and thoughts, are not visible. We do not know what thoughts and feelings go on in people. We have to depend on what they tell us, or we have to make guesses from their behavior. Much of the time we cannot depend on what they say because few people want to share their innermost thoughts and feelings, and there are social constraints against expressing what we really feel. Besides, people often do not know why they behave as they do, or even what they are really feeling. Therefore, we need a theory to help us understand what goes on psychologically within the individual.

A theory is a series of interrelated concepts, or best guesses about what is going on in a given area. The better our theory about human behavior, the more efficiently it will enable us to understand and predict behavior. A good theory will help us to specify the reasons for the guesses or inferences we are making about motivation and give us an opportunity to test those guesses or hypotheses. By beginning with theory we develop the basis for processes of: (1) inference, or conclusion based on a guess or hypothesis; (2) test of the inference (was it the right

guess?); (3) correction, based on feedback from behavior. A theory, therefore, is chiefly a mode of organizing one's thinking. It is a scientific device. It is not something one believes or doesn't believe. When a better theory comes along, the older one must be modified or abandoned.

Many people are uncomfortable about theory. They think of it as "long hair" or impractical or as something that only scientists use. Such feelings are especially prevalent in business circles. However, every one of us is always using theory. We do so in making assumptions about our everyday activities. A fisherman uses a theory about what level of the lake the fish are swimming in when he fixes his bobber on his line. A cook who is accustomed to boiling eggs in Boston discovers it takes longer to do so in the Rocky Mountains. Implicitly he or she had been using a theory about atmospheric pressure but didn't correct it in the new location. A parent is always using a theory when he or she disciplines a child, a supervisor when he or she communicates with a subordinate or a superior. Most of the time we can check our theories out quite readily in practice. However, when it comes to dealing with something as obscure as the sources of behavior, that more complex matter requires a more complex theory.

Which Theory? If a theory of personality is necessary, then which among the myriad of theories is the one to choose? Obviously a choice requires criteria. These—not necessarily original—are mine. One theory is better than another if:

(1) It leads to a better understanding, prediction, and control of behavior.
(2) It can account for and integrate the phenomena dealt with by another theory but not vice versa.
(3) It accounts for behavior from birth to death rather than one segment of life experience.
(4) It takes account of physiological, especially neurological, development.
(5) It accounts for unconscious motivation as well as conscious, for irrational behavior as well as the rational.
(6) It accounts for personality functioning in all settings, not merely an occupation or school or home, as a systematic whole whose continuity is clearly recognizable.
(7) It accounts for the integration of mind and body, particularly for the relationship of emotions to physical processes, thereby explaining psychophysiological or psychosomatic symptoms.
(8) It accounts for interactional phenomena, the relationship of a person to other persons and to his environment, especially if it can account for how environmental forces create individual stress or, conversely, how they may be supportive of the individual personality.
(9) It leads to multiple avenues of research.
(10) Aspects of the theory are testable and modifiable as a result of research and experience.
(11) It provides a logic for intervention: for therapy if the personality is somehow impaired or injured; for education to enhance intellectual and emotional growth; for the psychological component of management, leadership, and professional practice in various disciplines.
(12) It answers the questions of "Why?" "What for?" to provide a logic for intervention and a choice of intervention methods based on the person, the problem, and the context.
(13) It serves as a consistent guide to managerial or professional behavior which has face validity, namely that in using the theory every day, one can verify for himself the degree to which it fits his daily experience and guides him in his everyday activities.

If we are to take a systems approach to person-in-organization, then we must also follow a systems approach to the person himself. Psychoanalytic theory is the only comprehensive theory of personality which seeks to understand, describe, and explain man's motivations and behavior from birth to death. It is the only theory to meet all of these criteria. It takes seriously the inner forces, both biological and psychological, which make man uniquely human. It conceives of these forces as subsystems of an integrated total system which we speak of as personality,

and of that total system in interaction with its environment. It can include within its purview the concepts of the many other theories of personality but not vice versa.

It will, therefore, serve as our basic frame of reference. We can use it as a mode of integrating whatever else we may learn about personality, or as a point of departure for choosing whatever other conception might better fit our predilections and needs.

A System Conception. All living matter is embedded in a context. There are people who specialize in studying organisms in context. For example, ethologists are biologists who study animals in their natural habitat to understand the interrelationship of their sources of nourishment, protection, and other conditions for evolution and survival. Psychologists have tended to study aspects of people without taking their environments into account. Sociologists have tended to study environments without considering people as people; however, a person is a member of a family, a family is part of a kinship system and a neighborhood. The neighborhood is part of a community and the community of larger political and geographical units. The community has an economy, a geography, a topography, a population density, a given kind of school system and power structure. Although a person has a certain uniqueness—he will look like his parents and will develop into an adult human being regardless of environment—nevertheless, he is part of a system. We cannot really understand people and their behavior unless we take the system into account, too. Thus, as we talk about how men and women are motivated, we must necessarily also talk about the circumstances which have shaped them as well as the conditions under which they function.

Personality is the totality of the complex interaction of feelings, thoughts, and behavior as a series of interrelated subsystems and the whole as a system in equilibrium. A person is a system within a system. Therefore, personality has a dynamic structure. Since the personality is part of a living being who acts, we must conceive of a source of drive or energy which must be governed by some sort of *economic* principles. Obviously, a person obtains and stores information, only some of which he is

aware of or can recall, so we must account for the *topography* of personality, or levels of awareness or consciousness. Just as obviously, the personality evolves from birth to death, so we must think of it as pursuing a *developmental* course. Finally, the personality copes with its environment; it maintains its balance or integrity and survives, which requires us to think of modes of *adaptation*. So we shall approach personality from these five points of view: dynamic, economic, topographic, developmental, and adaptive.

Before we begin to examine these points of view, let me clarify the relationship of heredity and the physiological side of man to personality. The human being is an animal. He has certain inherited physical traits, capacities, and limitations. That is, we inherit such qualities as the color of our hair, the size of our nose, the physique of our bodies, and other physical traits. A person who has inherited an extraordinary capacity for fine motor coordination may have the necessary talents to become an excellent baseball player. He does not inherit the skill of playing baseball but he does inherit "the makings." A look at newborn infants in a hospital nursery will disclose that, from birth, some are calm and placid and others are easily irritable and more highly sensitive. Each person from birth differs both in his particular combination of natural endowments and in the degree to which these permit him to contend with various aspects of life. A person born with above average intelligence certainly will be able to deal with the problems of living with considerably greater ease than the person who is born retarded. A naturally phlegmatic person will tend to be less aroused when stimulated by the irritants of life than one who tends to respond more quickly to stimulation.

Heredity to a large extent determines what a person will be in the sense that he or she cannot be anything other than a two-legged, two-eyed, ten-fingered person. There are degrees of intelligence among us, various physiques and differential sensitivity to what each person sees, feels, hears, and touches. Some of us are short, some tall, some have handicaps, some have particular gifts.

We do not know as much about inherited abilities and capacities as we would like to know, and we are rather vague about just

how much inherited or constitutional factors have to do with psychological motivation. In this book we shall be discussing primarily the psychological side of man. This does not mean that we ignore his physical or biological side, but rather that we are not prepared to speak as comprehensively about its relationship to motivation as we are about the psychological aspect of his being.

A Five-Part Conception of Personality

1. Dynamic Viewpoint. Structurally, following Freud, we can divide the personality into three major parts. One part we call the *id*. The word *id* is a label for a group of functions and processes which are arbitrarily lumped together for better understanding. We speak as if it were a thing, but it is only a concept. The id is the seat of many memories and experiences which we cannot recall, and of the instinctual drives about which we shall talk later. Few of us can remember many experiences which happened before we were five years old. Many of the other experiences which have happened to us since are no longer in memory. Yet most of these events can be recalled under hypnosis or various forms of drugs or in certain kinds of illnesses. These experiences are stored within us as data are stored in the disc or tape of a computer or sound is recorded on a tape recorder. These experiences have had some effect on us and, in fact, continue to have an effect on us because they continue to exist, though well beyond our awareness. We allocate to the id also primitive urges and drives, that animal part of us which has been subdued, organized and controlled, but not obliterated, by the socializing effects of civilization.

The *ego*, a concept which designates the executive part of the personality, includes thinking and judgment, attention, concentration, perception, and planning. We have an organized intellectual and emotional life. We are able to understand and interpret many of the things which happen to us in the course of the day. We can remember incidents which happened to us yesterday and we can recall many events of the years gone by. To the ego we allocate the more rational planning and controlling functions of the person. It is that part of the personality which deals more directly with reality. In contrast, the id is largely

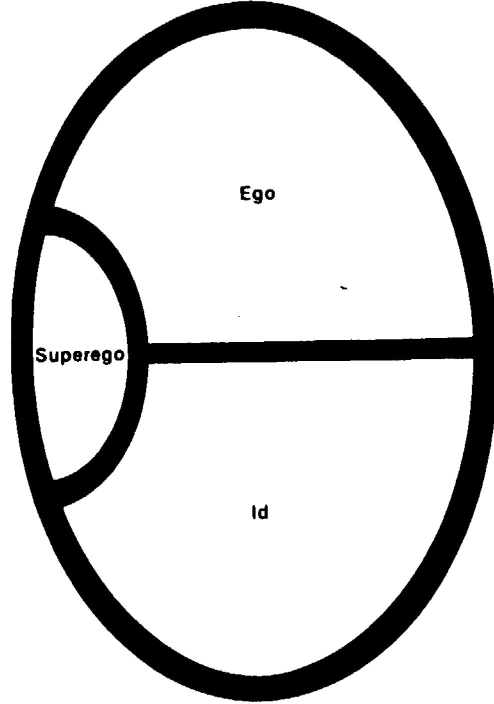


Figure 1. Dynamic or Structural Conception: A View of the Personality

irrational. The ego is governed by what Freud called the reality principle—it takes into account external reality for the long-run survival of the organism. The id is governed by what he calls the pleasure principle—basic urges and drives seek gratification regardless of consequences. Thus, these forces in the id must be controlled, guided, and directed by the ego. The ego also controls the muscles and body organs—the capacity to act on environment or self.

An extremely important component of the structural aspect of the theory is the differentiation between primary process and secondary process thinking. Primary process thinking is characteristic of small children, often of primitive people, and occurs in normal adults in dreams. It seems to follow no apparent logic, at least not the rational logic characteristic of most adults in our

society. It is often magical, condensed, symbolic, and without a time dimension: in dreams, events which have happened some years apart may seem as if they had happened sequentially. A small child has no difficulty accepting the idea that Santa Claus can descend from a sleigh pulled by flying reindeer into millions of chimneys with sufficient toys for all the children of the world in one night. By the time the child is five, he begins to doubt; by six, the idea is absurd. Rational, secondary process thinking has gained supremacy.

Primary process is not limited to children. Psychiatrist Michael A. Simpson asked seventy-eight medical, nursing, and theological students in a university course to fill out their own death certificates, guessing the date and cause of their deaths.[1] Some felt unable to fill them out at all; some filled them in but refused to let anyone see them; two returned them but asked that they be burned. Only thirty students turned in their certificates! Why all this feeling? The fear that writing it down might make it come true—word magic, a feature of primary process thinking.

As intelligent adults immersed in rational pursuits, we are usually unaware of our primary process or irrational side. Consequently, we neglect to take the irrational into account in managing. The primary process thinking of childhood does not disappear as we grow up. It is merely overlaid with rational processes. Indeed, even Freud was superstitious about his death date. Magical thinking surfaces when we feel threatened or feel we might be threatening someone else. It lays an extra emotional burden on us.

Our major concern with primary process thinking is that a thought, feeling, or wish is equated with the act by the child. As we saw in the death certificate example, to think something is the same as to do it. This raises particularly difficult problems when it comes to dealing with feelings of anger or hostility. All children become angry with their parents and siblings. If to become angry and to wish the temporary enemy destroyed unconsciously is the same as to do it, then in his fantasy the child runs the risk of losing the parents on whom he depends, of being viewed as bad, and of being punished on the talion principle—an eye for an eye. Such fantasies may cause the child to lean over

backwards not to display anger, to deny his anger, and to feel guilty for such thoughts as if they were indeed behavior.

Secondary process thinking is the normal rational process of thinking we know as adults. As secondary process thinking develops, as I noted in the example above, it does not entirely wipe out primary process thinking. As a result we tend to feel disproportionately and irrationally guilty for feelings of hostility. This guilt in turn corrupts the ability to supervise and appraise others and frequently leads to managerial actions which are guided more by the unconscious wish to avoid guilt than by rational managerial needs.

The third aspect of the structure of the personality which we conceptualize we label as the conscience, or *superego*. The superego is an acquired and developed structure, not an inherited one. The superego incorporates the moral and spiritual values of the culture in which a person lives, the rules and regulations within the family, and the attitudes toward himself which the person has acquired from those around him. Thus the superego is at once a policeman, a judge, and a preceptor. The superego represents the law, telling us what we should or should not do. It represents the judiciary, in judging how well we conform to the rules which it has set up, and it represents the preceptor, incorporating values and aspirations and goals. The person who has a strong superego has a long list of rules which he feels he must obey. Many of these are unconscious and therefore not in his awareness at all.

There are modes of thinking and behaving an adult takes for granted, having learned them as a child. If, however, he does not think or behave in those ways, he feels guilty and unhappy and uncomfortable. Since some of the admonitions have become unconscious, a person may no longer be aware of why he continues to feel unhappy and uncomfortable.

A superego that is not an extreme one, which does not have so many rules that a person cannot enjoy life, serves as an important guide and protector. By telling us what is right and wrong for us, by making us aware of possible punishments should we violate the rules, and by punishing us with guilt for infractions, the superego keeps us on the straight and narrow path, so to

speak. It should be noted again that although we speak of the superego as if it were a thing, it is only a concept, a way of grouping certain feelings and thoughts.

An important part of the superego is the *ego ideal*, or our image of ourselves at our future best. The ego ideal is a lifetime road map. We feel guilty if we are not working toward its ends. A person's wish to meet the demands of his own ego ideal, to be able to like himself, is the most powerful of all motivational forces. *Self-esteem* is reflected in the gap between the ego ideal and the self-image, or one's views of how things are in the present. If we were to measure ego ideal and self-image, this relationship might be expressed mathematically as follows:

$$\textit{self-esteem} = \frac{1}{\textit{ego ideal} - \textit{self-image}}$$

Thus, if the ego ideal were given a value of 10 and the self-image a value of 5, self-esteem would have a value of .2. If ego ideal were 20 and self-image 5, self-esteem would then be .066. The closer one approaches his ego ideal, the better he likes himself. Conversely, the greater the gap, the angrier one becomes with himself. Self-directed anger results in depression.

The ego ideal differs from the common understanding of the concept of self-actualization. The latter refers to the fulfillment of one's potential. Humanistic psychologists hold that failure to actualize oneself or to fulfill potential causes problems for the individual. According to our conception, potential is irrelevant. A person may have the potential to be an atomic physicist but may have a vastly different ego ideal. Unless he meets the demands of his own ego ideal, he is likely to be angry with himself. The ego ideal is partly culturally determined, but highly individualized.

We all know of people whose consciences would give them no peace for violations, and who therefore must atone constantly for what they believe to be errors or sin, or for not doing well enough. A conscience, if too rigid and too punitive, can make a person feel unduly guilty, ashamed, or worthless. If childhood experiences were full of restrictions and punishments, if every-

thing a child did was viewed as bad and he was constantly reminded of his inadequacies, his picture of himself is hardly likely to be one of a worthwhile, good person. His conscience may serve then as a harsh whip throughout his life. Those familiar with transactional analysis will recognize the "child," the "parent," and the "adult" to be popular representations of the id, superego, and ego.

2. *Economic Viewpoint*. An organism needs not only structure but motivational power as well. Biochemically two forces operate continuously in all plants and animals. There is a constructive or growth force called anabolism which works concurrently with a destructive or decomposition force called catabolism. Cells are constantly being created and destroyed. In the early life of any organism the anabolic forces are greater, and the organism grows and develops. In the later stages of the age of any organism, the catabolic forces gain dominance, and ultimately the organism declines and dies. The processes, however, continue concurrently throughout a lifetime. We see this most simply physiologically with injuries. A child who breaks an arm or a leg usually recovers quickly. Elderly adults necessarily fear a fall because recovery from a broken limb is a long, arduous process.

Freudian theorists assume that two basic psychological drives derive from this dual process of growth and destruction, of life and death: sex and aggression, which are sometimes called the constructive and destructive drives, or the life and death instincts. The basic feelings of love and hate derive from these drives. A major psychological task in one's life is to so fuse constructive and destructive drives that they serve himself and society rather than destructive ends.

Drives give rise to feelings, feelings to thoughts, and thoughts to behavior. This sequence modulates the effects of the drives and makes self-control possible. This sequence also means that if we would understand behavior we must work backwards from the behavior to the thoughts that preceded it and further to the feelings which gave rise to the thoughts.

The aggressive drive is the force which makes us want to strike

out when we are frustrated or angry or hurt. It is that force which gives us the motive power for defending ourselves against attack and the energy or drive which we invest in our various tasks. In early life the infant responds to frustration with anger or rage. The child must learn that he cannot go around striking, demanding, and hurting.

Early in life the constructive drive, the life instinct if you will, may appear to be selfish and pleasure seeking, with direct self-preservation as its primary aim. An infant tries to obtain food, warmth, and affection from those around him for his own survival. As it becomes more refined, however, the constructive drive becomes a source of thoughts and actions that are loving, kind, and creative.

In its rawest form, the aggressive drive expresses itself in mean and destructive feelings, thoughts, and actions. When people fail to grow up emotionally, when we see adults whom we speak of as immature, we mean that they act selfishly. They neglect themselves and others, they put off what they ought to do to fulfill their responsibilities, they are more readily jealous of others, and they are evidently hostile to others. However, when the aggressive drive is tempered by and balanced with the constructive drive, the aggressive drive serves as the energy to conquer the obstructions which stand in the way of reaching worthwhile goals. Well-coordinated, these two forces are both manifest in the achievement of successful business careers, of the gratification of a wide range of recreational activities, of good family and interpersonal relationships, and so on.

The constructive and destructive drives work like gasoline and oxygen in an automobile engine. Mixed together in the right amounts, gasoline and oxygen make the car work well. If there is too much gas, the engine floods and potential energy is wasted. If there is too much oxygen, the engine sputters and stops. If there is too much aggressive energy that is poorly directed and controlled, then it is not only wasted but also destructive. If there is not enough of it, then a person lacks drive and ambition.

The major psychological task for all of us is to learn to balance these two drives in our own best interests and in the best interest of society. How we do so depends very much on our

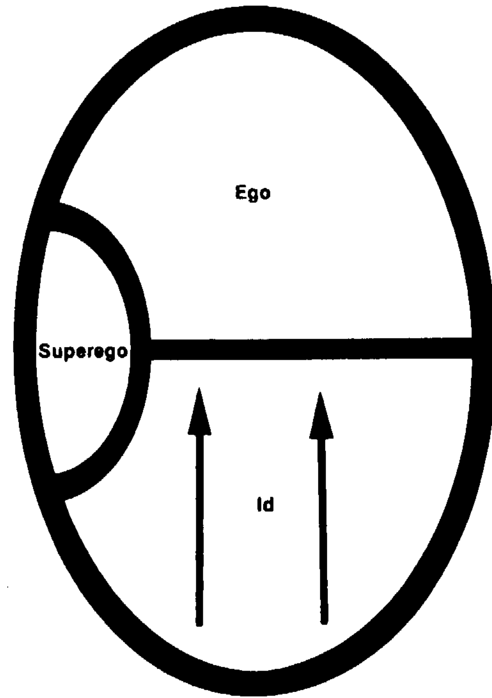


Figure 2. Economic or Energetic Conception: The Energy Sources of the Personality

early childhood experiences. If in the course of our early development our aggressive feelings were heavily stimulated by undue hostility on the part of others, powerful unconscious fantasies, or undue frustration, then we may have too much poorly controlled, accumulated aggression, which may get out of hand. If, however, during that same period of time we were given much love, consideration, and attention, this would tend to strengthen the constructive forces in the personality and make them better able to control the destructive forces. If a person's needs are adequately met, if he is given opportunity to express his feelings freely, his original self-centered concern grows into love for

other people who have demonstrated their love for him. In its more mature form, the constructive drive expresses itself in the creation of and love for a family, and in adding and giving something to the world. Of course, sometimes the interests of the person are opposed to those of society. Slavery was an example. In such instances energy must be invested in social reform or compromises.

These two psychological drives operate simultaneously and unconsciously. We are unaware of their continuous functioning. We can't measure them quantitatively, so this part of the theory is most hotly debated. Many people do not accept the concept of inherited aggression. However, animal studies seem to bear it out.[2]

3. Topographic Viewpoint. Topography refers to levels of consciousness. We are aware of many things going on around us—noise, movement, other people, and so forth. To be *conscious* or aware is to focus attention immediately. However, we are not immediately aware of many things, many experiences. We do not think of what happened to us yesterday, or we forget a name. We can at will recall the former and may spontaneously recall the latter at a later time. We speak of such phenomena and experiences as *preconscious*, meaning they are available to consciousness.

However, there are many experiences we cannot recall even if we want to, no matter how hard we try. Some are recallable under anesthesia, hypnosis, psychoanalysis, and similar circumstances. These we speak of as *unconscious*. People's personalities are shaped significantly by events of their past and fantasies about them which they can no longer recall because these events and the fantasies about them constitute the person's experience with his world and his interpretation of those experiences. These become the basis for his understanding of himself and his environment. For example, a child of divorced parents may well feel he is responsible for the divorce because of his rivalry with the father. The consequent guilt and disappearance of the father may make him feel worthless and subject to abandonment.

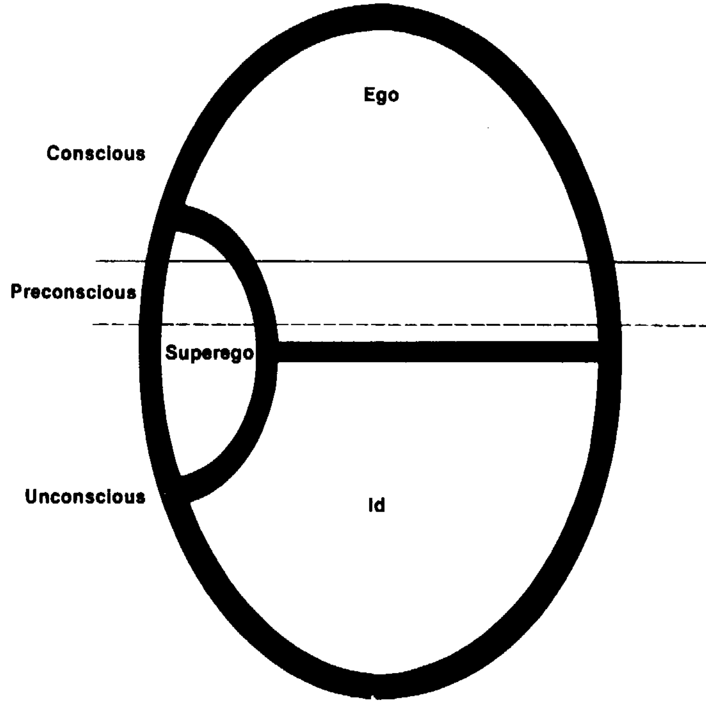


Figure 3. Topographic Conception: Levels of Awareness of the Personality

4. Developmental Viewpoint. The fact that the organism grows from being a helpless infant to a mature adult means that it passes through a pattern of development. During this pattern of development it is at different times capable of behaving differently. Ways of thinking, modes of forming concepts, the use of the musculature, coordination—all of these change with time, and these changes are influenced by experience. We are not as we were in the beginning, and indeed, as those who wear bifocals will testify, our flexibility tends to deteriorate a bit with age.

In that sense man is no different from a tree. One can bend a sapling, shape it, twist it, but one is less able to do that as it

becomes bigger and thicker and stronger because it also becomes more rigid.

Freud observed that the child experienced a series of stages in development which had much to do with his physiological development. As a child grows, he gets pleasure or gratification from different parts of his body at different times. This observation was the basis for his theory of psychosexual development. In this conception sexual simply refers to gratification from any part of the body. But the idea that children have sexual interests, however broadly the term is used, disturbed many people and still does. Most people do not understand the physiological facts underlying his formulation.

A complementary theory of psychosocial development has been formulated by Erik H. Erikson which will be discussed later. Erikson specifies the crucial social relationships and experiences which occur at each stage in the psychosexual development.

In roughly the first eighteen months of his development, the child is oriented around his mouth; that is, he must eat to survive, and at that time, the nerve endings of the mouth are more highly refined than those anywhere else. Therefore, in addition to being oriented around the mouth for eating purposes, the infant takes pleasure or gets gratification from the use of the mouth. This can be tested in animal experiments. For example, if one feeds puppies through a bottle with a nipple that has large holes punched in it so that the milk flows easily and the puppies get the milk without chewing and sucking on the nipple, subsequently the puppies will chew on each other's ears. Puppies who are fed with the usual kind of nipple without the large holes in it don't chew on each other.

Observe, also, that most adults use the mouth beyond what is needed to take in minimally necessary food. We smoke, we chew gum, we enjoy talking, we become epicureans, we may like good wines or special flavors or something else like that, and there is continued pleasure in the use of the mouth. We can use the mouth to express love and affection, as in kissing or speaking affectionate or supportive words, or we can use it aggressively or in hostile fashion by attacking somebody else, by biting. We talk

about making biting remarks, destroying somebody's reputation with gossip, and similar acts of oral aggression. Thus, both drives continuously operate through all developmental phases.

In his earliest state of helplessness the child is completely dependent on the parents or parent figures. The child may react to this helplessness by experiencing the outside world as hostile and painful, in which case he is likely to adopt a *paranoid* or suspicious attitude toward the perceived hostile world and adapt to it by a fighting posture. Or he may experience himself as inadequate and worthless and therefore adopt a *depressive* attitude, or one which depreciates himself and assumes himself to be blameworthy for the inadequacies of his situation.[3] Between these polar extremes are many shadings. These basic positions may be either amplified or modified by subsequent experiences.

The helpless child, seeking to become less helpless, begins to acquire competence by identifying with the closest more competent models, namely parents or parent figures. From the vantage point of the child, they are omnipotent. Seeking the same omnipotence, the child emulates their behavior and incorporates his perception of their perfect images within himself. Implicitly, such identification and incorporation include the experience of rivalry. That is, wanting to be just as good as, if not better than, they, the child takes from them elements of their behavior which ultimately make him as strong as, if not stronger than, they. Psychological growth is based significantly on models.

Thus, there is the continuous need to emulate power figures, to identify with them, and to acquire their competence. In addition, of course, the child experiences protection, nurture, love, security, and those other elements of the bonding process which facilitate the establishment of a relationship through which the child can acquire the behavior of the parent.

Identification is not acquired without rivalry or elements of rejection. The child also experiences fear, rage, and other negative feelings which make all relationships ambivalent. To be completely helpless and utterly dependent on the parent is to be merely an extension of the parent. That does not relieve the feelings of helplessness.

Roughly in the next eighteen months (these stages will overlap and this is not a rigid schedule) is the anal stage of development. At this time the nerve endings of the anus become highly refined, and for the first time the child has his attention called to the functions of excretion. Notice that this occurs at a time when the child discovers that he has something that somebody else wants; otherwise, why would people pay so much attention to it? And if one gives when he's supposed to be giving, mother is highly pleased. If he gives with regularity, she is pleased that he's trained. If he doesn't give, then she becomes exasperated and very unhappy. He then discovers that he has a device which has the capacity of exasperating mother, a weapon for getting back at her. So the whole issue of giving or withholding has to do with the development of the capacity to hold on tight or to let go and give out. There are contemporary continuities of this. We speak of people who are miserly as "tight." We speak about money as "filthy lucre." Once again, positive and negative, or affectionate and aggressive, drives are expressed in this stage.

One begins to see, particularly in two-year-olds, the child's rebellion against parental wishes, controls, and dicta and the pressure toward autonomy. Angry feelings begin to rise to consciousness. In this period, if the child represses and overcontrols his feelings, he is always threatened by the potential loss of control. This kind of internal pressure gives added weight to his feeling of helplessness and the depressive position. The child is then more likely to build rigid controls around himself. If, on the other hand, the child continues to fight a perceived hostile and oppressive world, his experience gives added emphasis to the paranoid position. Subsequent adult occupational choice and leadership behavior may frequently be compensations for the unconscious feelings of helplessness and the conflicts around those feelings which were exacerbated at certain points in development. For example, some people are driven to acquire power to cope with their feelings of having been victimized by a cruel world. As politicians or tycoons they seek to control as much of their environments as they can to reduce their feelings of vulnerability. Richard Nixon frequently spoke of the pain of his impoverished childhood. His history was one of pursuing power.

The third stage of psychosexual development according to Freudian theory, roughly between ages three and six, is the phallic stage, at which time nerve endings of the sex organs become highly refined, and children discover their sexual differences. Up to this point boys and girls have played together without caring too much about the distinction between them. Now children become aware of the fact that there are pleasurable sensations in those parts of the body. Once again the full force of social power may impinge upon them in the form of criticism about touching or playing with their sexual organs. In our culture, until relatively recently, condemnation of sexual curiosity, interest, and play produced widespread guilt around sexuality in adults.

The discovery of sexual differences is a painful experience, one which we have tended to pass over because it is too painful to remember. It is difficult for children to accept the fact that there is a difference between them. Up to this point they have played together and the difference has not existed for all practical purposes. Suddenly the difference makes a difference. How does one explain it? Little girls will ask, "Why am I not like brother?" Or they may insist that they will in time grow a penis. When the parent says, "No, you're a girl, you will not," they have considerable difficulty accepting this. Boys, on the other hand, are very fearful about the difference because if they have a penis, what happened to the one she had? She must have had one; everybody has one, they reason. It makes no sense to them that only some have one. So something must have happened to it; it must have been cut off, or something else equally punitive must have happened. Therefore, a certain kind of fear arises in boys with this discovery, a fear sometimes so powerful that later they are reluctant to assert themselves as men. Many girls are unwilling to accept the difference. These girls indulge in various kinds of tomboy behavior until the time of menstruation, when it becomes physiologically clear that they are not going to change; they are indeed feminine. Some women never seem to get over what they feel to have been a deprivation. They go through life trying to prove to themselves that they are not female. Some men have equally great difficulty with sexual

identification as widely publicized sex-change operations indicate. The phallic stage, then, is a very, very difficult period for children.

The next stage, roughly from six to twelve or so, is called the latency period. The concern for sexuality becomes quiescent. Boys concentrate on being boys and girls on being girls. They want nothing to do with each other. With the onset of puberty, children reach the genital stage. Physiologically, they are capable of procreation. They begin to reestablish relationships with the other sex.

Now, let us return to the phallic stage because there is an additional very critical issue. This is what is referred to as the "Oedipus complex" from the Greek myth. Oedipus was, according to the story, a prince. The Delphic oracle told his father that his son would rise up and kill him. So the son was abandoned in the fashion of Moses. (Notice the repetition of this kind of myth in different cultures. The contemporary reincarnation is Superman.) He was rescued, reared by a neighboring king, and subsequently became a prince again. He engaged in combat with his father, without knowing his opponent's real identity, and destroyed him. He then successfully answered the riddle of the Sphinx. His reward was the widow of the king he had slain. Oedipus discovered subsequently that he had married his own mother. He then blinded himself and, driven from Thebes by his sons, died in poverty and exile. Thus, he violated the only two universal taboos: parricide and incest.

Freud observed, as have many others who have worked with children, that there comes a point in time when children are rivalrous with the parent of the same sex for the attention and affection of the parent of the opposite sex. Children will try to get in bed with their parents and separate them. They try to demand the attention of the parent of the opposite sex to the exclusion of the one of the same sex. This becomes a psychologically painful battle because the child soon discovers, if he happens to be a boy, that father is far more powerful and he had better not fight too hard or father might retaliate. This conflict arises at a point when the child is already worried about what happened to the lost penis of the girl. When fears and threats

become exaggerated in fantasy, the little boy assumes that this massively powerful enemy can really castrate him.

This rivalry and potential threat must be resolved. Ideally it is resolved on the principle that if you can't lick him, you join him. This then creates the conditions for identification, for taking in the parent and making him part of oneself. This is the chip-off-the-old-block phenomenon. The little boy, discovering that he cannot have mother because father has mother, comes to the conclusion that the next best course is to be like father, in which case he may get somebody who is like mother. Thus, by identifying with father, he crystallizes the outlines of his character formation. He becomes much like the parent, not only physiologically but in terms of his behavior, as was noted earlier. Sometimes when one sees a father and son walking together, talking together, they seem almost identical. Indeed, it is a compliment to the father when the son emulates him.

Little girls at this point in time have the same problems that little boys have trying to explain to themselves why they do not have the same sexual organs as little boys. Some in their fantasy will assume this to be because they have been bad and therefore their sexual organs have been taken away as punishment, or that they are less than adequate because something is missing in them. These infantile fantasies are reinforced in many cultures—indeed even in our own until fairly recently—by sexual- and social-role stereotyping which communicates to girls that they are not as good as boys. They are "the weaker sex." Thus, elements of truth are given to otherwise irrational fantasies. These social definitions of women often tended to undermine their self-images, to make them take a more dependent role and to be more reluctant to compete with men. Some would try to compensate for these self-images by overasserting their denial of them, striving to be more like strong men than what they perceived to be weak women.

Both parents are powerful role models for children of both sexes. In the identification process children incorporate parental values, parental behaviors, and parental expectations. Children abstract the major characteristics of the parents with whom they identify, particularly the parent of the same sex, to evolve their

occupational choices. The oedipal experience, however, is such a painful one that the child represses it, pushes it out of consciousness and with it everything that came before, which is why we have great difficulty remembering what happened to us before we were five or six years old.

The oedipal struggle is so critical that it is conducive to difficulties and malformation of personality development. For example, if there are severe frictions between mother and father, and either of them says in effect or directly, "Don't be like him (her)," or if it becomes clear to the child that one has no use for the other, there is no point in identifying with him (her). That will not lead to success in obtaining the affection of the other. In fact, the child will be more successful in obtaining affection if he or she does not identify fully. In such circumstances a boy may often seek the mother as a substitute for the rejected father, which makes for distortion in growing up. If he experiences father as unduly harsh, it will be extremely difficult to identify with him; thus the unconscious rivalry is continued.

If the daughter feels her mother to be weak or somehow inadequate she may not want to identify with such a helpless figure and may instead identify with her father. This is especially likely to be true if her infantile fantasies have led her to believe that she is incomplete because something is missing. Her rivalry may be intensified if she perceives that father likes her better than he likes mother or if she interprets some aspect of his behavior as giving her indication that she might win out in the competition for him.

Where the mother is the only permanent figure and there may be a series of adult men moving through the family, the male child has little opportunity to identify with a man who demonstrates responsibility for the family and earns a livelihood. There is, then, a vacuum of male identification possibilities, making the evolution of a role model difficult. To the extent to which there are inadequate role models for the girls, the same problem may arise. In addition, without an adequate paternal figure the girl has no male model to use as a basis for selecting a mate or for pursuing occupational roles other than those defined as feminine.

In lower-class families the pressure toward achievement usually comes from the mother, who wants something more for her children. She often encourages, indeed pushes, the child to better himself. At lower socioeconomic levels it is often the father who says, "I only went to the eighth grade. What do you have to get more education for?" The mother will say, "You need more, you want more, you should want more," and pushes the child along. In the middle classes, both parents push. When both parents are in agreement, this consolidates the child's identification. Otherwise there may well be conflict within the ego ideal which undermines the possibility of moving the self-image toward the ego ideal and of consistent pursuit of career. We will explore the issue of parental influence on occupational choice later.

As the child incorporates the parental images within himself, he identifies not only with the behavor of the parents, but more importantly with their ego ideals. That is, viewing them as omnipotent, he identifies not with the parents as they really are, but as he perceives them to be, including the values and rules they espouse but do not necessarily live up to. Thus, through the identification process, a child builds a powerful set of self-demands in the form of an ego ideal far beyond his competence, which means that he has a self-image of inadequacy. With much love, affection, and support the inadequacy may be appropriately tempered, and the child may develop a more realistic ego ideal and an improved self-image. With greater disciplinary pressure the ego ideal may become more distant and the self-image lower, increasing the sense of inadequacy.

When in the oedipal stage the intensity of the rivalry is increased, the child, dependent on primary process or magical thinking, becomes even more fearful of what he imagines to be the potential destructiveness of his own angry impulses. This makes him feel all the more unworthy and unlovable. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary to facilitate the identification process with love and affection in order for the child to have a core image of himself as a lovable person around which he can then build his self-image and subsequently his career goals. For women the same issues hold true. We know that successful

women executives were nurtured and encouraged, not only by mothers, teachers, and others who served as good identification models and who fostered their free-ranging occupational choices, but also by fathers who held them in esteem, nurtured their self-images, and encouraged them to combine both masculine and feminine identifications.

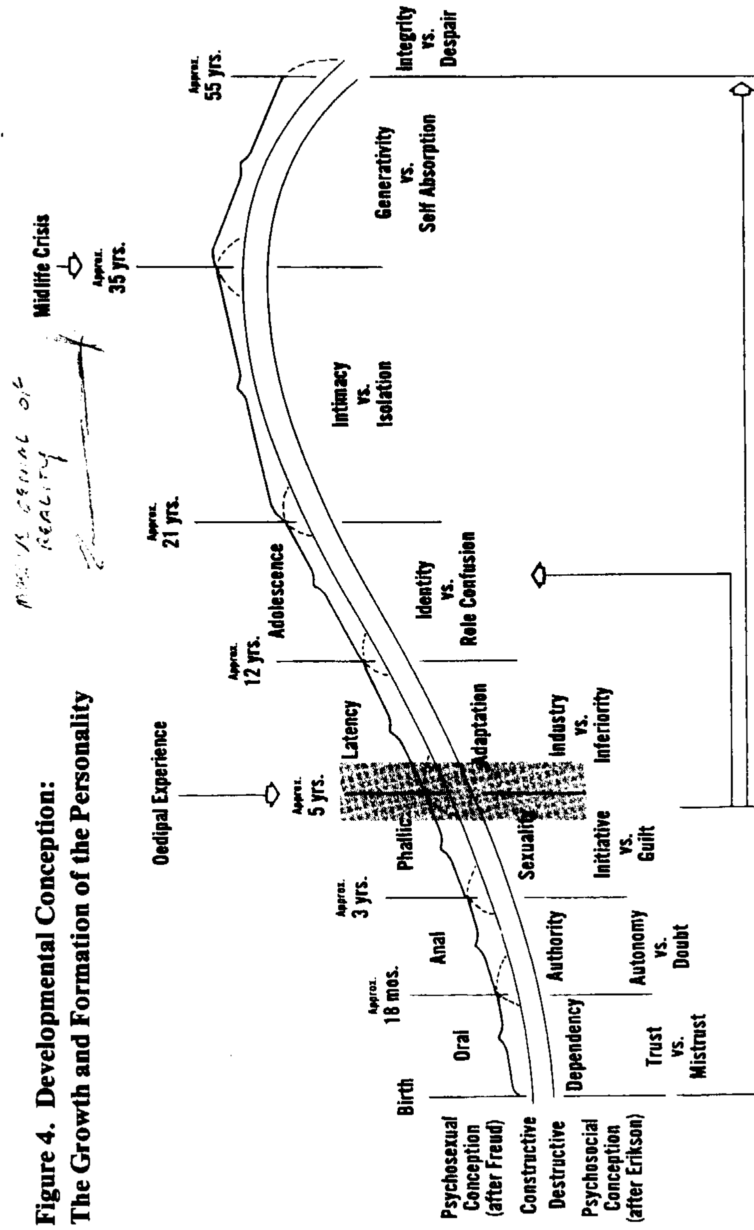
Taken together, all this constitutes the theory of psychosexual development, which explains how the fundamental outlines of the personality are formed very early in life. By the time the Oedipus conflict is resolved there are also formidable bits of superego. Of course, the superego continues to develop through a lifetime, as indeed does the ego. But the outlines are pretty well established as a result of identification with parents.

The superego tends to be more severe for boys than it is for girls because boys are compelled to resolve the oedipus complex at a much earlier age than girls. Both boys and girls identify first with the mother, then with the father. Boys must crystallize their identification at that point if they are to emulate their fathers and become men. They must cope with their powerful rivalrous feelings, and their hostility, and introject the paternal values at a time when they are too young to fully understand their feelings and identifications. Girls usually do not modify the wish to identify with the father and return to identifying more fully with the mother until puberty. By that time they are more mature and have a more accurate perspective on themselves, their parents, their feelings, and the values they accept.

Obviously the superego for many women is indeed severe or there would be no depressions or suicides among them. High expectations on the part of the parents for good behavior or academic performance, heavy control, and the manipulation of guilt feelings by the parents, together with unconscious guilt for feelings of hostility, all can combine to increase the severity of the superego for girls just as they can and do for boys.

Following Freud's work tracing the psycho-physiological aspects of development and their impact on the formation of personality, Erik H. Erikson developed a complementary conception, a psychosocial pattern of development encompassing the whole life cycle.[4]

Figure 4. Developmental Conception: The Growth and Formation of the Personality



Referring to the helplessness, and therefore the complete dependency, of the child, Erikson observes that in the oral stage the child learns to trust or to mistrust people in his environment depending on how well and consistently his parents meet his needs. Dependency and helplessness are difficult to tolerate. Each of us seeks to escape from that condition as rapidly as possible. Yet we all need to depend on others. A conflict about dependency endures for a lifetime. Some people cannot let themselves depend on others; some have difficulty standing alone. Most of us are in between, but we all struggle with these feelings.

During the anal stage, the infant comes face to face with authority and its demands. Mother tries to teach him bowel and bladder control, and sometimes tries to compel him to obey. This is his first experience with the full force of social control. The child struggles for autonomy against feelings of shame and doubt. Ideally the child should learn self-control without loss of self-esteem, but often he is abused or shamed into good behavior. Parental overcontrol brings a lasting sense of doubt and shame. The fundamental conflict is with authority, and here the child begins to evolve ways of coping with authority.

The phallic stage is characterized by the conflict between initiative and guilt. The child is curious, interested in, and overconcerned with his sexual discoveries. If he is made to feel guilty about these interests, then guilt will contribute to inhibition. Ideally his curiosity should stimulate initiative and his comfortable establishment of himself in his sex role. The issue here is, "Can I develop my interests and skills in whatever direction I want and still be in keeping with what constitutes a man (woman) in this culture?"

In the latency period the child concentrates on adaptation. He or she learns skills and develops competences. He learns to master things and fantasies by work and play, by experimenting, sharing, and planning. At this stage he develops either a feeling of adequacy or one of inferiority.

In adolescence, the central issue is identity. Ideally, the young person now begins to integrate all of his experiences toward a defined personality within a social reality. Here issues of dependency, authority, and sexuality recur. The critical questions are:

"Who am I? What am I? Where am I going?" Implicit in the concern with identity is, "Do I stand up and stand on my own, or do I lean on my parents?" On the one hand, the pleasures, security, and warmth of the family are welcome; on the other, "I want to grow up and be an adult. Hurry up, let me grow up." Life pulls in both directions.

The next question is, "Who is boss around here? Do I do what you want me to do, or what I want to do?" A ten-year-old girl said, "In eight years you won't be able to boss me anymore." She only began to say what is going to come, for in a few more years her feeling will grow in intensity. Then there will be sharper issues about who is going to be boss. In addition, the issue of sexuality is reawakened: "Am I a man or not a man (or woman)? What does it take to be a man (woman)?"

From this point on, all of these reawakened feelings are present. Dependency, authority, sexuality, and feelings about them enter into every kind of relationship, including those in the business world. They will be found in every supervisory problem, in every personality conflict, and in every managerial decision.

Erikson went beyond Freud to define three additional stages of adulthood, testifying to the fact that we continue to change psychologically as we grow older. Although the outlines of personality are laid down early, personality is by no means fixed at the five-year level. Development continues.

The first stage of adulthood is characterized by a conflict between intimacy and isolation. Ideally the young adult establishes real intimacy with a person of the other sex, and with other people, for that matter. He is able to come close to others if some problem does not require him to withdraw or push them away. Having established intimacy, the adult moves on to generativity. This concerns the establishment of the next generation. Individuals who do not develop generativity, Erikson says, often begin to indulge themselves as if they were their own one and only child. Finally, the last stage is characterized by the development of integrity. According to Erikson, it is an acceptance of one's own and only life cycle and of the people who have become significant to it as something that had to be. He adds that the lack or loss of this accrued ego integration (the bringing together

of the self-image and the ego ideal) is signified by despair and often an unconscious fear of death: the one and only life cycle is not accepted as the ultimate of life.

So there are many psychological tasks to accomplish from birth to death. These arise from within the person and are accomplished through interaction with the environment, particularly in relationships with significant other people. As Erikson points out, these tasks are never completely resolved. Every person is always working on them. A person's work and the conditions under which he does it are important modes of accomplishing these essential psychological tasks.

The fundamental elements in male occupational choice are father's values (his ego ideal) and the extent to which those together with father's behavior as a male adult pleased mother. In fact, the single most crucial element in occupational choice for the boy is what pleases mother, and for the girl what pleases father. The greater the conflict between the parents around these issues and the greater the difficulty of identification, the more difficulty there will be in occupational choice.

5. *Adaptive Viewpoint.* Thus far we have spoken of a biological organism which also has a psychology—feelings, thoughts, and behavior. The psychological aspect of the organism has both primitive and civilized components. Some feelings and thoughts are conscious, some unconscious. We have seen how conscience or superego develops and then becomes a force operating on the ego. We have also seen something of the operation of constructive and destructive drives, whose integration becomes a major task for the ego. In addition to these two internal forces—the superego and the id (including the drives)—man through his ego has to deal with external forces.

At times a person's environment is a source of affection, support, and security. The child in his mother's arms, a man enjoying himself among his friends, a man or woman in a happy marriage, a person building a business, a teacher helping others to learn, or a minister serving his congregation all draw emotional nourishment from the environment. Such nourishment strengthens the constructive forces of the personality.

When looked at closely, needs for status and esteem are essentially needs for love and affection. Few can survive long without giving and receiving love, though often in ways which are disguised. We know from studies of infants, concentration camp survivors, and the aging that relationships with other human beings literally make a life-or-death difference. Without relationships people become ill more often, deteriorate more quickly, give up more easily, and lose their reason for living. This is a major reason why people strive so hard to attain positions and possessions which become devices for obtaining the admiration, and presumably the regard, of others. Status needs have to do with the constructive forces of the personality. When a man seeks symbols of status, he simply searches for some concrete indication that some others hold him in esteem, or, more fundamentally, love him. A person needs infusions of affection and gratification to foster his own strength. Unfortunately, status is inadequate as a substitute for affection, and therefore the need for status is insatiable when a person depends on his status alone for his self-esteem.

The environment may also stimulate aggression: anger, jealousy, exploitation, competition for various advantages, economic reverses, wars, and so on. Every person must deal with the realities of his environment—the necessity of earning a livelihood, the frustration of an unsolved problem, the achievement of personal goals, or the development of satisfying relationships with other people.

The ego is always engaged in the task of balancing these multiple forces to maintain the equilibrium of the personality as an integrated system. To do this balancing task, man has a built-in psychological stabilizing force which operates in a way analogous to a gyroscope in a ship or airplane. This stabilizing factor has two components: *anxiety;* and *defense,* or *coping mechanisms.*

When for some reason the personality is threatened with imbalance, danger signals arise which take the form of anxiety. Anxiety is a state of internal alarm which causes the organism to mobilize its resources to protect itself. Anxiety is like fever in that respect. It is necessary for survival but too much of it may

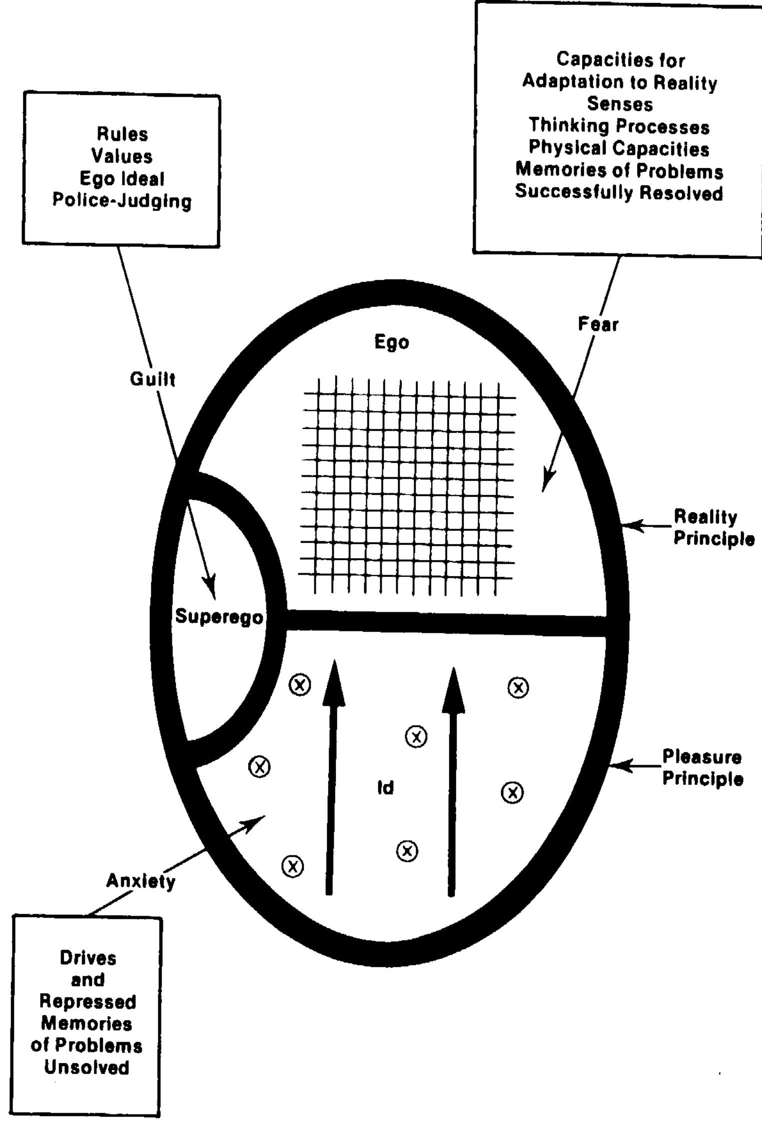


Figure 5. Adaptational Conception I: The Equilibrium-Maintaining Activities of the Personality

itself be threatening. There are three kinds of anxiety: *fear,* or conscious awareness of external danger; *guilt,* or threat from the superego (the major problem in occupational stress); and *anxiety* proper, or the unconscious fear of being overwhelmed by pressures from the id and, as a result, falling apart or losing control of oneself.

In response to anxiety, the ego has certain defense mechanisms, or standard methods for protecting the personality. *Identification,* the process of emulation, is a basic way of building one's own personality. Identifications may be temporary, as when a child imitates a movie star or athlete or a subordinate dresses as his boss does. Identifications may shift from one model to another, or a person may identify with only some of the skills, competences, and values of another. All of us seek to emulate the best qualities of those we admire. Sometimes people identify negatively, as when a manager overidentifies with his subordinates to the point where he cannot exercise authority over them. Identification is sometimes called social learning. It occurs both consciously and unconsciously.

When images of other people become fixed or internalized we call it *introjection.* The superego, representing the voices of the parents and other powerful figures, is an introject. Sometimes we even introject destructive self-images, as, for example, when a successful, powerful manager now in middle age still sees himself in his unconscious mind's eye as a helpless small child. The very fact that introjection means that the image is locked in indicates that negative reactions to one's own picture of oneself usually are not amenable to change by managerial means.

Sublimation is the channeling of drives into socially acceptable activities, such as play, work, hobbies, community services, and so forth, which are also in keeping with the person's capacities and values. For most people occupation is the major mode of sublimation. We choose that kind of work, however unconsciously, which helps us maintain our psychological equilibrium by combining in one pattern our preferred ways of handling drives, superego, ego competences, and the outside world. Building houses, for example, is a far more constructive way of sublimating aggression than attacking others. Helping others as

a community volunteer meets one's own dependency needs by turning them into assistance to others and is far more constructive to society than denying that one has such needs.

These three are character-forming or personality-building mechanisms. There is another which operates continuously: *repression*. Repression is a storing or containing mechanism. We repress or "forget" things which are psychologically painful. We also repress or hold down feelings which cause us immediate difficulty. If we cannot discharge our aggressive feelings appropriately in the form of standing up to other people, because we have been taught that to do so is not nice, we may unconsciously automatically keep such feelings down, containing them within us like steam in a boiler. If, in the process of growing up, we have tried to reach out to and love others, and these efforts have been repulsed, we may repress feelings of affection and become known as a cold person. Repression is a necessary device, but too much of it blots out much of what one should remember, and not enough leaves one struggling too much with unconscious material. When a person loses touch with reality and hears voices or believes things which are not true, the repressive barrier has been broken and the person has lost effective control over his unconscious experiences, thoughts, and fantasies.

Because our physical and psychological functioning are very highly attuned, the balance to be maintained is a delicate one. Man's tolerances are narrow. A few degrees of fever can incapacitate him. Small variations in the balance of body fluids can result in death. Variations in psychic balance can be equally threatening. The ego therefore must make use of a wide variety of temporary mechanisms to cope with various kinds of threats. All of us frequently use these mechanisms in varying degrees. Some, by now, are so commonly known that their names are part of everyday discourse.

The most common coping mechanism is *rationalization*, the process of creating reasons to justify our actions. We rationalize in order to appease our superegos. Management actions are frequently rationalized as necessary for profitability even when they may be destructive to individuals or to the environment.

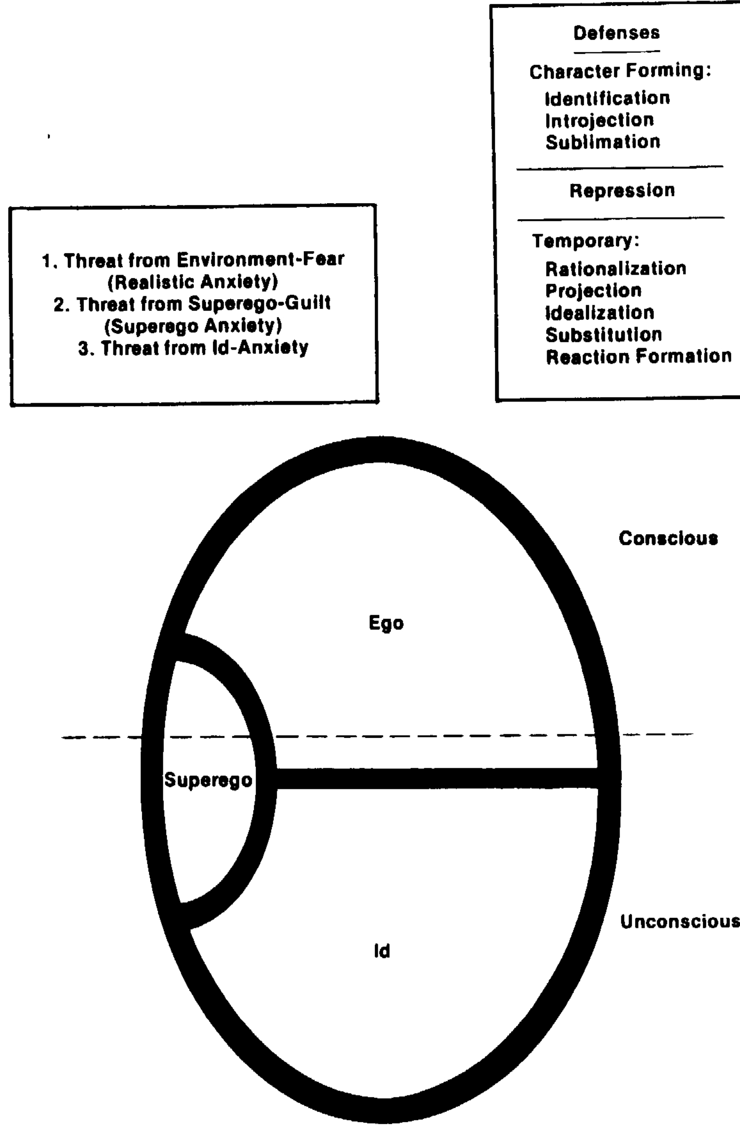


Figure 6. Adaptational Conception II: The Equilibrium-Maintaining Activities of the Personality

Poor quality or unsafe products are sometimes rationalized as "what the public wants." Decisions and actions always require some logic which frequently we have to make up, however unconsciously, if the reasons for our behavior are not clear even to us.

If accepting blame or responsibility for something is too painful for us, we can easily *project* or blame it on the next person. Historically, managements have attributed the union organization of their plants to the activities of union organizers whom they see as manipulating their workers when frequently the conditions which brought about union organization were created by managements themselves. From time to time the same has been true with respect to government regulations: the failure of industries to maintain quality control standards or professionals to control their disciplines have led to governmental intervention which is then attributed by the now regulated parties to the wish of nefarious schemers to socialize them or tell them how to run their business or profession. People who have great difficulty tolerating their own hostility, either because they can't accept the fact that they are so angry or because they can't manage that anger, frequently attribute hostility to other people. That attribution then permits them to feel justified about being hostile to those others. This is a major source of racial prejudice.

In *displacement* or *substitution,* we vent our feelings on a convenient but inappropriate target. This is the attack which follows projection. Scapegoating is just one variation of this mechanism. Managers frequently unload their disappointment in themselves onto their subordinates. Spouses and children or others who are relatively helpless are easy victims of displacement or substitution. When a man is angry at his boss, at whom he cannot strike back, it is not unusual for him to take out that anger at home.

Denial is a variant of repression. "It doesn't bother me," we say, when in reality we are very much bothered and our behavior shows it. Managers and executives, particularly those of middle age, frequently deny they have any psychological problem because they think they must solve all their problems themselves. Many people deny they have health problems, despite medical

findings, by violating special diets or failing to take appropriate precautions. Some deny that they are mortal, for example by smoking cigarettes when warning labels indicate a clear danger of harm to health. Many people deny they are angry or deny the intensity of their angry feelings. This is especially true when they also have affection for or great dependency on the very people at whom they are, and feel they should not be, angry.

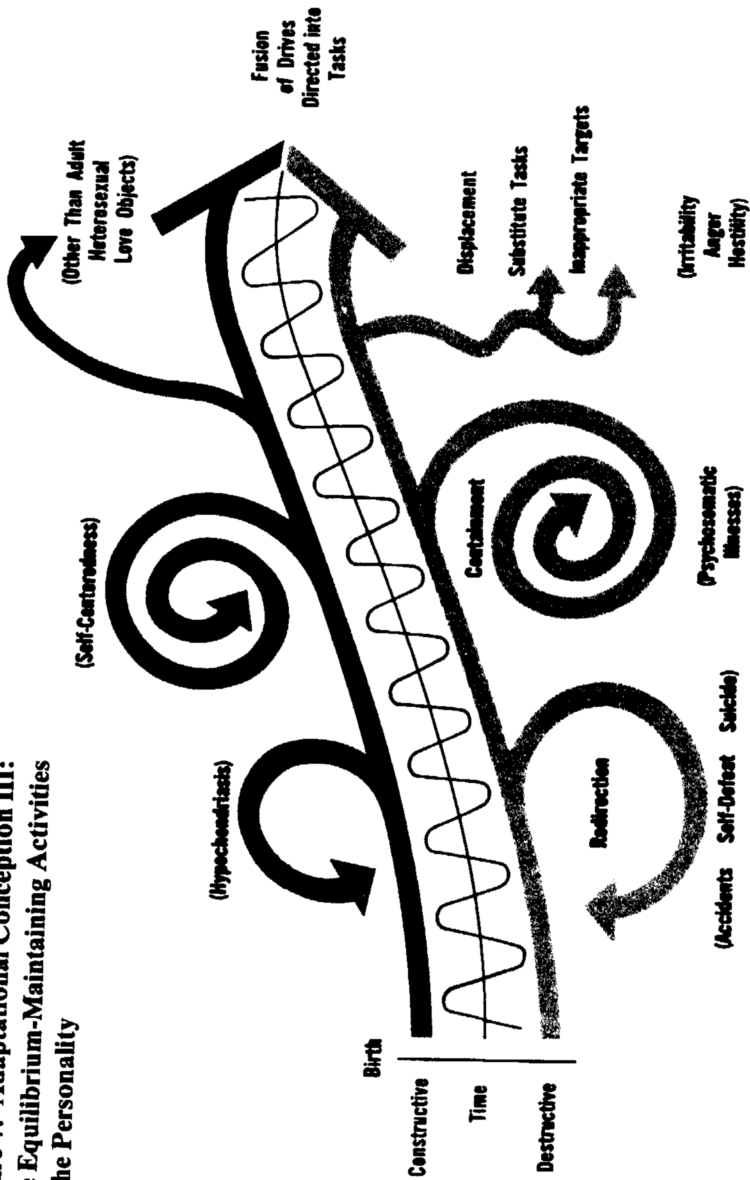
Reaction formation means behaving outwardly the opposite of how we feel inside: a person who is repressing great hostility may present himself to others as unaggressive, or even obsequious. People who feel helpless may go to great extremes to show how powerful they are, even to the point of devoting their lives to becoming tycoons or great political figures. A person who deep inside himself thinks he is bad may, as a consequence, present himself as a model of a good, helpful human being who seeks nothing for himself.

Idealization is overvaluing another, as happens when falling in love, or promoting someone because he does *one* part of his job well, conveniently ignoring the fact that he does not do all of it well. Idealization creates the most frequent mistakes in selecting and placing people because it interferes with seeing their behavior accurately.

Overcontrol of feelings leads to a constant state of emergency, or anxiety about the possibility that the feelings will escape. This, in turn, requires continued defensiveness. When the body reacts repeatedly to psychological emergencies, physical wear and tear or psychophysiological illness is the inevitable result. Much hypertension, coronary disease, ulcers, and other illnesses have their origin in, or are compounded by, psychological stress.

A person has essentially four ways of coping with his drives: (1) channeling them into problem-solving or environment-mastering activity; (2) displacing them onto substitute targets; (3) containing or holding on to them by repression; (4) turning them against himself, which leads to self-defeating behavior, accidents, and, in extreme form, suicide. We all use all of these modes in varying degrees much of the time. The problem is in overusing the less constructive ways of utilizing energies for

Figure 7. Adaptational Conception III: The Equilibrium-Maintaining Activities of the Personality



personal and social enhancement. The task for the executive is to create ways of directing energies into common tasks or problem solving rather than into defensiveness.

A person's favorite defense mechanisms become part of his mode of adapting to the world. They become evident to others as his dominant personality traits. Some people are blandly unconcerned about all of the threats and tragedies which may exist around them (denial). Others see themselves surrounded by a hostile world (projection). Each sees the world only as his or her traits and defenses permit him. For some, the world is made up of kind and friendly people and there is much to learn and do. For others, the world is comprised of people who are hostile and unfriendly and nothing new or stimulating or adventuresome ever happens. By the use of his defenses, as well as his capacities, each person actively shapes his world; he is not merely shaped by it as if he were a malleable blob of clay.

Our task will be to explain and discuss these processes in greater detail by translating them into their implications for problems of supervision, leadership, managerial processes, and organizational structure. The theory is extremely complex. You cannot expect to be able to know it and handle it with great familiarity from this cursory outline any more than you could take a brief course on atomic physics and be an atomic physicist. However, we can help create a frame of reference out of this theory and experiences with it which may contribute to a greater understanding of the problems with which you will have to deal.

Summary

It is important to emphasize again that feelings are the most powerful human motivators. A person's feeling about himself, and particularly how well one feels he or she is meeting the demands of the ego ideal, is the most crucial of all. The wise executive will understand that self-motivation is to be cherished and nurtured. His role is to do just that.

When people can meet the demands of their ego ideals, they feel pleasure in functioning, or in activity for its own sake. Robert W. White calls this *efficacy,* or a feeling of doing something, of being active or effective, of having an influence on

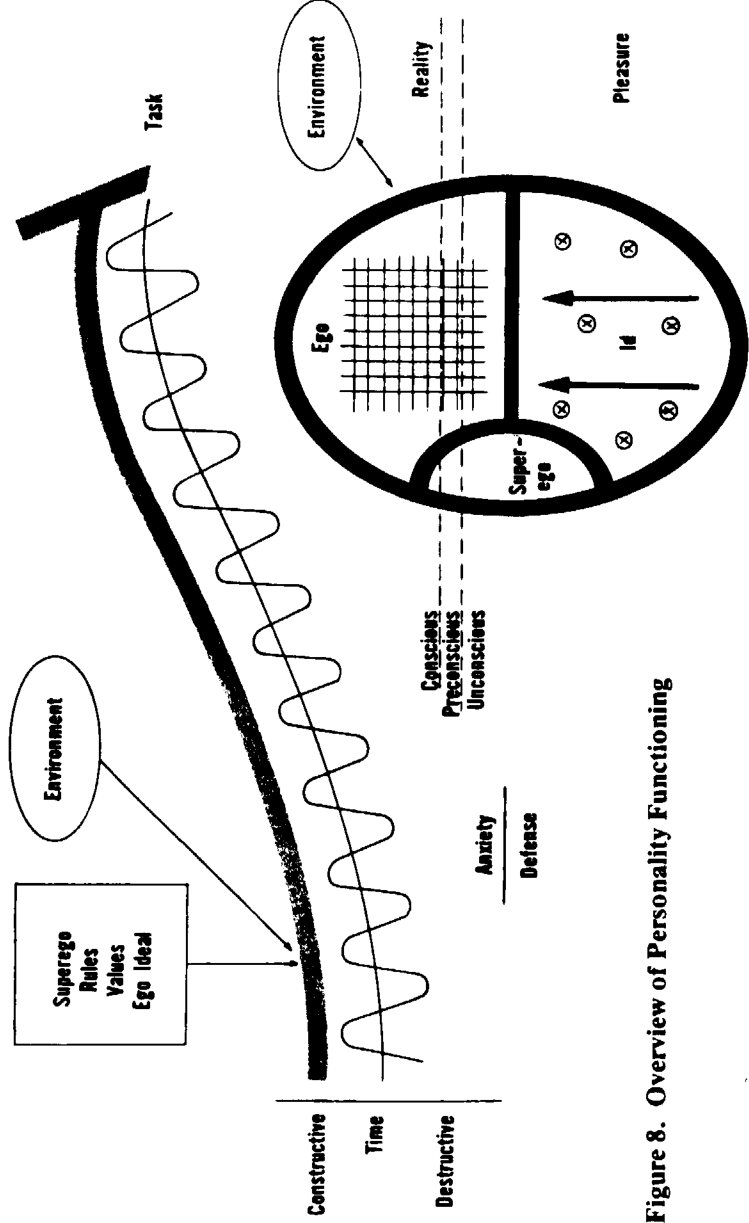


Figure 8. Overview of Personality Functioning

something.[5] People need activity to stay in touch with the world outside themselves and to feel competent in mastering it. Activity for its own sake is a major aspect of the adaptive process, he notes, and a vital theme in the growth of personality. Competence is the cumulative result of the whole history of transactions that lead to feelings of efficacy. The feeling of being able to have some effect on people, to get them to listen, of being able to provide for ourselves, to do some of the things we want, to receive and give some of the love and help we want—this feeling of social competence is the foundation stone of self-respect and security.

Work is a major activity through which a person establishes his or her competence and thereby meets lifelong multiple psychological needs and unfolding personality patterns. The executive, as a manager of organizations and a leader of people, is inevitably an instrument for psychological good or harm for many people. When he or she manages an organization psychologically well, it is more effective as an organization and healthy for the people in it; when he or she manages it psychologically poorly, its capacity for adaptation and perpetuation is undermined, and the organization is destructive to the people who comprise it. It is precisely these issues which make human behavior in organizations fundamental to the managerial role.