

Moral Tension in the Psyche: A Jungian Interpretation of Managers' Moral Experiences

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Abstract

The psyche imbues our behaviour and our moral choices. C.G. Jung placed an archetypal, spiritual self at the centre of the psyche which represents who we really are and evinces fundamental moral potential. This paper proposes that a Jungian framework of morality unravels our understanding of moral experiences by identifying points of moral tension in the psyche. The structure of the psyche is briefly outlined, with a clear emphasis on the morally relevant concepts of the persona, the self and the two-tiered conscience. The second part of the paper introduces a research study led amongst managers with an aim to make sense of their moral experiences. The results are discussed in light of the Jungian framework of morality, and conclusions are drawn on the moral significance of connectedness to the self.

Keywords

Jung, ethics, self, persona, conscience, managers

Introduction

Management research is not usually shy at borrowing concepts from other disciplines. Interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary projects aiming at a better understanding of the behaviours, actions and strategies of management people have abounded even more so in recent years. The Organisational Behaviour field has been keen on integrating a wide range of psychological concepts, whilst the Critical Management Studies area has welcomed contributions from sociology, philosophy, political sciences and popular culture amongst others. Given such an apparent openness and desire to share, it is surprising that management scholars have not turned to the particular stream of psychoanalysis defined by analytical psychology.

De Swarte (1998) remarks that both psychoanalysis and management science have taken off around the same time in the early twentieth century. Although ontologically and epistemologically at odds, de Swarte (1998) nevertheless believes that management research can redefine and rejuvenate its significance by welcoming psychoanalytical contributions. Gabriel and Carr (2002: 349) concur and explain that a psychoanalytical take on organisations shift the focus from a somewhat static and unrealistic model lauding "rationality, hierarchy and obedience" to a more complex yet realistic "symbolic, irrational, emotional and discursive" model of organisational life. They argue that although management scholars have not extensively made use of psychoanalytical tools, many organisational dysfunctions would benefit from the insights of the discipline which celebrates unconscious manifestations (Gabriel and Carr, 2002).

The dialogue between management scholarship and the psychoanalytical discipline kicked off with Freud and Schumpeter (de Swarte, 1998) but has remained fairly cautious ever since. Gabriel and Carr (2002) summarise these contributions into two different approaches: "Approach A" comprise those who, in a Freudian tradition, study organisations

in a psychoanalytical manner whereby the organisation and its members are the subjects of the analysis. The purpose is to uncover the unconscious content that affect the health of the subjects and highlight the social and cultural dynamics at play in the organisation as representative of broader phenomena. Whilst "Approach B" adopts a more pragmatic, interventionist stance whereby researchers aim to "fix" organisations (and sometimes their members) using psychoanalytical tools to bring back health and performance. The authors thus suggest that, for instance, Erich Fromm's humanistic stance (Fromm, 1947/2003) pertains to "Approach A" whereas Manfred Kets de Vries's take on troubled leadership and its pervasive influence on organisational life belongs to "Approach B" (Kets de Vries and Miller, 1986; Kets de Vries, 2006; Kets de Vries and Korotov, 2007).

Gabriel and Carr (2002) further point out that the two approaches diverge quite significantly, especially with regards to the nature and role of conflict as either an unavoidable, compensatory, even necessary mechanism (Approach A) or a dysfunction which can and must be corrected (Approach B). Whilst such divergence implies a deep incompatibility between these two approaches, Jung's analytical psychology offers a different proposition. A former disciple of Freud before splitting with the "father of psychoanalysis" on conceptual grounds, Carl Gustav Jung was firmly attached to understanding and analysing psychic phenomena. However his depth psychology also lends itself to very practical steps to consciously transform our lives and our environment, albeit through a lengthy process on a life-time scale. This paper aims to show that Jung's analytical psychology doesn't belong to either Approach A or B, but instead brings together both a conceptual richness for diagnosis and self-understanding, as well as practical layouts that empower each of us as agents of (self-)change.

Jung's work is truly interdisciplinary and his ideas have much to contribute to our knowledge of man, human relationships and the interconnectedness of peo-

ple and systems. Tarja Ketola (2006; 2008a; 2008b) has most extensively applied analytical psychology to redefine corporate responsibility and leaders' moral influence. Other scholars have referred to archetypes (Carr, 2002; Hart and Brady, 2005) or to the unconscious and its influence on subjectivity (Figler and Hanlon, 2008) whilst involved in management research; however these studies remain rare and are designed to inform a specific management area, mostly leadership and effectiveness. This paper embraces a more holistic view. Ethics is an integral part of life, so that what makes us morally better also makes us better as a whole person. The paper suggests that Jung's psychology is strongly moral and offers a comprehensive framework to make sense of managers' moral experiences. The paper starts with a summary of Jung's fairly spiritual approach and defines the central moral elements of the psyche. The Jungian framework is then discussed in light of the results of a research study led amongst managers with regards to their moral experiences.

The Spiritual Roots of Ethics and Self

Whilst the tradition of Virtue Ethics has sparked new interest over the past decades, the overall ethical debate has opened up to more intuitive approaches. Ethicists have welcomed more integral perspectives of ethics, encompassing not only a guide for good behaviour but also a dedication to achieve a happy, meaningful, fulfilling life. As a result, a growing literature on spirituality and ethics (e.g. Zsolnai, 2004), spirituality, happiness and positive psychology (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi, 1994) and the more applied spirituality in the workplace (e.g. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2003) is now on offer. The widely popular concept of Corporate Social Responsibility has also been questioned by one of its champion, William C. Frederick (1998) who called for a broader vision centred around the cosmos rather than the corporation with inputs from both natural and social sciences – to better organise our responses to environmental and social problems – and an integration of religious or spiritual values in corporate management. Frederick (1998) called this version CSR4, in reference to the CSR1 (Corporate Social Responsibility), CSR2 (Corporate Social Responsiveness) and CSR3 (Corporate Social Rectitude) which have so far been narrowly defined and proved more reactive than proactive.

Management research has embraced the spirituality movement in the hopes of increasing staff morale, performance, commitment and possibly improving the ethical climate. However this move remains borderline and controversial for both management scholars and spiritual practitioners. The former are sceptical at best, suspicious at worst of the intrusion of an irrational, feel-good thematic that sounds just like religion in disguise; whilst the latter worry that spirituality may lose its spirit if used as a purely motivational, instrumental strategy to get people to work without complaining too much. This paper does not aim to assess the virtues and downfalls of bringing spirituality into the workplace; it is however concerned with demonstrating how a more spiritual approach to work in general, and to management in particular, contributes to a better understanding of the moral experiences and moral behaviours of managers. The concept of self in a holistic sense is central to most spiritual traditions and shares close resemblance with Jung's archetype of wholeness. Therefore the paper adopts a Jungian moral framework, articulated around the concept of self, in order to bring light to moral experiences and to strengthen moral practice in organisations.

The work of Carl Gustav Jung is indeed clearly rooted in spirituality. The richness of his influences and the deep psy-

chological work he completed throughout his years of practice and research enabled Jung to build a strongly multidisciplinary school he soberly called analytical psychology. By and large Jung's theories are very much inspired by his own experiences and questioning. He examined cases of spiritualism for his doctoral dissertation and went on to explore topics as varied as mythology and symbolism, alchemy, Eastern spirituality, African and Indian traditions and practices, the I-Ching and Teilhard de Chardin's works (Jung, 1961/1995; Crowley, 1998; Robinson, 2005). Jung's influence has spread beyond the psychological field but remains clustered. I particularly wish to discuss here the distinctive flavour Jung's approach brings to studies in ethics and organisational ethics.

A Jungian Moral Framework

According to Jung, the psyche is central to our life and to our perception of the external world (Jung, 1969a, para. 357). The psyche is composed of two parts, the conscious and the unconscious. The conscious part is the domain of the ego or ego-consciousness. The unconscious part is composed of a personal layer and a collective layer. The personal unconscious contains hidden memories or ideas we rejected but which remain on the edge of consciousness. However the collective unconscious encompasses the footprint of humanity and manifests itself in the form of archetypes notably. An archetype is an influential symbolic image, "an unlearned tendency to experience things in a certain way" (Boeree, 2006).

At the forefront of ego-consciousness stands the persona, the mask we wear to interact with the world and suit perceived social expectations. The persona acts as a protection as much as a deception. Eventually identification with the persona (the role we play, the attitude we adopt in certain settings) constrains the expression of true individuality. Social roles are by essence collective, so that a persona-led individual is subjected to a collective script (Hill, 2000). Jung argues that our life purpose is to become a fully autonomous and authentic individual. He labels this process individuation. Individuation consists in "the conscious coming-to-terms with one's own inner center (psychic nucleus) or Self" (von Franz, 1968: 169). The self in Jungian terms is the archetype of wholeness, unifying and transcending the dual forces present in the psyche to express our true nature and personality (Jung, 1971). In other words, individuation involves the exploration of the personal unconscious to uncover the presence and influence of archetypes, as well as the assimilation of the dual forces in the psyche to eventually embrace the archetypal self. A life-long process which never really ends, it requires to bring ego-consciousness in line with the self so as to express one's true potential, to be an individual agent (Jung, 1971). This means acceptance and integration of our dark sides, simplistically pictured as the archetypal shadow, to allow a more conscious relationship with others to develop (Jung, 1970).

Jung took some great care to distinguish moral conscience from ethical conscience. He envisioned moral conscience as a mirror of the moral codes prevalent in society. Later shaped by custom and historical changes, the moral codes we traditionally obey first originated from a fundamental "moral reaction" arising from the collective unconscious (Robinson, 2005: 20). Therefore if moral codes are generally acceptable to most, it is because they partly reflect an original collective moral reaction. However may come a time when we experience a conflict between what our conscience dictates and what moral codes require us to do. These conflicts of duty highlight the different nature of moral conscience and ethical conscience (Jung, 1970, para.

855). Whilst moral conscience consists mainly in obedience and conformity to the social norms (the “mores”), ethical conscience represents an inner voice, a *Vox Dei* whose authority lies in its unconscious character.

Ethical conscience may require the individual to act against the moral codes to avoid a disagreeable feeling of self-betrayal. Jung (1970, para. 841) explains that: “[Ethical] Conscience – no matter on what it is based – commands the individual to obey his inner voice even at the risk of going astray. We can refuse to obey this command by an appeal to the moral code and the moral views on which it is founded, though with an uncomfortable feeling of having been disloyal.” The unconscious agency depicted through ethical conscience brings forward moral impulses to the ego-consciousness which informs the process of moral deliberation and, eventually, our moral knowledge (Jung, 1970). In cases of conflict of duty, the inner voice (the *Vox Dei*) taps into the vast, unconscious archetypal reservoir to provide a creative solution to the moral dilemma. Not only is this solution original but it is also “in accord with the deepest foundations of the personality as well as with its wholeness” (Jung, 1970, para. 856). Bridging conscious and unconscious, the inner voice opens up a world of moral alternatives, beyond what moral imagination (Werhane, 1999) allows us to envision. To obey ethical conscience means being connected to our collective heritage, to a universal human collective.

Jung nevertheless warns that conscience, just like everything in the psyche, is naturally dual. Therefore even conscience can be “false” at times (Jung, 1970, para. 844), complexifying the task of discernment (Robinson, 2005: 24). In that purview, strength of character, faith and consciousness become determining factors in our ability to make moral decisions. Jung (1970, para. 835) explains: “Were it not for this paradox the question of conscience would present no problem; we could then rely wholly on its decisions so far as morality is concerned. But since there is great and justified uncertainty in this regard, it needs unusual courage or – what amounts to the same thing – unshakable faith for a person simply to follow the dictates of his own conscience.” Self-knowledge through awareness of the ego’s tricks and con-

scious integration of the contents of our shadow participate in equipping us with such courage to follow the right call of our conscience. In other words, individuation is moral action, an uncanny process which reconnects morality with its unconscious foundations.

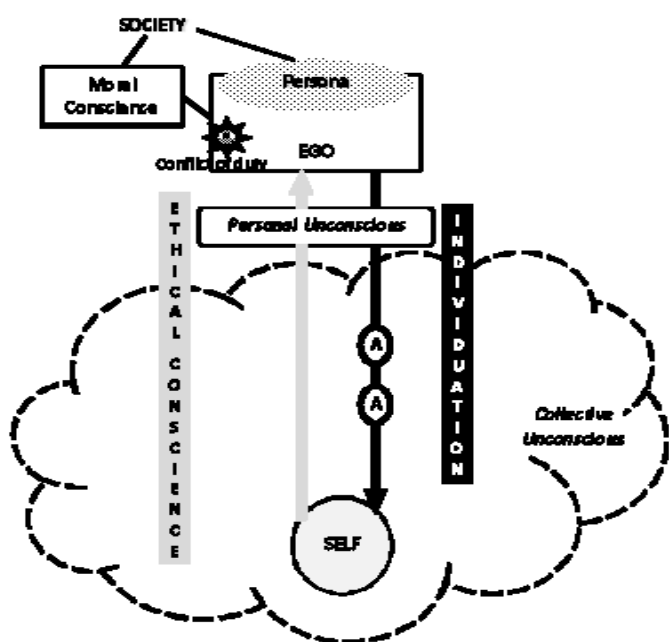
Jung’s moral framework is summarised in Figure 1. The persona is at the forefront of ego-consciousness and interacts with society. The ego is influenced by moral conscience, itself partly a by-product of social norms. To become individuated, the individual must become consciously aware of his or her personal unconscious. The images attached to their personal unconscious will direct them towards the relevant archetypes (A) they refer to, in particular but not only the shadow, which are located in the fuzziness of the collective unconscious. Once the archetypes are consciously integrated, the person has established a connection to his or her self. Ethical conscience follows a similar yet reversed path. When the ego experiences a conflict of duty originating from the insufficiencies of moral conscience, it appeals to the inner agency (which we can assimilate to the archetypal self since the self is also recipient of God – the *Vox Dei*) which then produces moral material true to the self.

The Study

The rest of the paper discusses the Jungian framework of morality as applied to managers. The analysis is based on a research study led in 2006 and 2007 during which nineteen managers were interviewed. The research participants held various managerial positions, ranging from middle manager in a multinational company to CEO in a small-sized enterprise, and worked in various activity sectors which included human resources, banking, direct marketing, retail, technology development and social care. Although the respective positions of the participants were varied, they all shared a certain level of managerial responsibilities including supervision and strategic planning. The study took place in France (nine participants) and Britain (ten participants). All but three participants were male. Their age ranged from early 30s to late 50s. The names provided are aliases so as to protect the confidentiality of the respondents.

The research participants were asked to relate their moral experiences, by which is meant instances of moral conflict, their personal interpretation of the conflict, their moral deliberation, and the subsequent decision and behaviour. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed by the researcher, and translated into English when necessary. The rich qualitative data which emerged from the interviews was analysed using an interpretive approach to respect the “wholeness” and “meaningfulness” of the data (Willis, 2007: 298). Transcripts were read several times to identify emerging themes, and were later analysed against the Jungian framework of morality (Patton, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Willis, 2007). This process aligns with qualitative content analysis methods of reduction and interpretation (Patton, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The purpose of the study was not to test the framework but rather to use its original approach to make sense of moral experiences. Three main themes emerged from the interviews as representing a significant moral concern: the persona, conscience and compartmentalization. Each theme is discussed below.

Figure 1. A Jungian Framework of Morality



Source: Compiled by author

A Jungian Analysis of Moral Experiences

The persona

The persona, also perceived through one's self-image, emerged as a critical concept in apprehending and making sense of the moral experiences narrated by the research participants. The persona often seemed to underpin a person's relationship to the world and more specifically to his or her perceived obligations as a manager. Some of the respondents clearly evinced a "business persona" or a "manager persona" which in their view embodies the features necessary to perform well in a somewhat ruthless and result-centred world. In this respect the persona reflects a stereotypical picture of a "good" business person: ambitious, results-orientated, pragmatic, rational rather than emotional, able to favour the organisation's interests over the individuals' interests. Yet for many respondents the persona seemed to occupy the major part of consciousness so that the ego could not turn its attention to the richness of the unconscious psyche. Indeed, when the ego-consciousness is busy fostering a persona, it does not have the resources to uncover the contents of the unconscious and to gain knowledge of the self at the same time. The apparent confidence or the obvious contradictions that were evident in some interviews illustrate how the persona has a direct effect on the perception of who one is as a person, and consequently on the actions of that person.

The persona also influences the quality of people's relationships to others. Indeed the respondents with a relatively weak persona seem to appreciate that other people first and foremost deserve the same respect as anyone else. A strong persona, on the other hand, can more easily trigger projections and confuse the perception we have of other people in terms of what they represent. In fact when we direct, either consciously or unconsciously, our psychic energy towards creating an image we want to project in society, our perception of reality might equally be filtered by the persona. Thus instead of seeing others "as they really are" we may be partly blinded by our own persona and perceive others in a deformed way, even though we are certain our judgement of them is accurate.

The type of relationship a person has with others, especially with one's colleagues, employees or customers to a lesser extent, also shows the degree of compartmentalisation of the individual. Indeed it proves difficult to delineate when professional friendliness slips into personal friendliness. Yet a few respondents were keen on separating the professional from the social sphere, only to later admit that it is a difficult and flimsy boundary to maintain.

Conscience

Jung's conceptualisation of two various types of conscience eases our understanding of the moral deliberation of managers. In the analysis, moral conscience and ethical conscience, which respectively stands for the social norms on the one hand, and the inner voice reflecting the self on the other hand, were linked to the perception of having or not having a choice in the moral matter. The respondents who seemed to rely mainly on their moral conscience tended to feel more constrained by the context (for example the short-term profitability imperative) than the respondents who had a stronger sense of self and could rely on ethical conscience as well.

This is because moral conscience is necessarily limited by the rules and customs of a social group, whilst ethical conscience draws from an archetypal source of knowledge. Indeed, as Jung

explains, ethical conscience enables us to find "creative solutions" when we face a dilemma which we cannot solve by calling upon the moral rules and customs we usually rely on. Ethical conscience can be viewed as a way to free oneself from the bounds of customary morality in order to find a new path of moral action.

Compartmentalization

The contrast between compartmentalized and non-compartmentalized research participants is particularly interesting, in so far as it most clearly demonstrates the significance of connectedness to self in the enactment of one's morality. Compartmentalization consists in a more or less voluntarily separation of aspects of our own personality or character. Psychology-wise, compartmentalization may serve a fair purpose, allowing an easier recovery after a traumatic experience or boosting self-esteem by focussing essentially on our positive qualities in a given context (Showers and Zeigler-Hill, 2007). It becomes problematic when a context-specific identity is essentially or exclusively attached to negative traits however.

From a moral perspective, the issue lies in the fact that compartmentalization does not suppress but rather stores away the psychic energy associated with the trauma or the experience. The psychic energy thus remains unassimilated, likely to become a complex attached with a "relevant" archetype. Over time, this complex may very well perturb our psychic and emotional balance. In the short-term, it also has a direct effect on our ability to act with authenticity and not compromise our values. Some study participants devoted much effort in compartmentalizing their work-life from their social-life, adapting or changing their personality according to the context. They generally seemed to alter their value-ladder at the same time, thereby accepting more readily that compromises "just have to be made" however hard and unsatisfactory they may be. On the other hand, non-compartmentalized participants were much more able to bring their values to work and to shape their environment according to these values. They showed a greater tendency to be "whole" and to be themselves at work as well as outside work. Their moral choices tended to be less compromised as a consequence.

A Typology of Moral Characters

As was suggested above, the persona plays a significant role in the overall moral character of the research participants. In many cases some level of a persona was identified. The extent to which the persona prevails as well as the reasons behind the persona's strength are varied. Nevertheless the presence of a persona usually directs the attention of ego-consciousness away from the self to more collective matters, weakening the individuality of the person.

On the contrary, some respondents did not seem to demonstrate the existence of such a persona. Instead, the connection to the self seemed stronger in so far as these respondents embraced their individuality more fully and seemingly more comfortably than others. Three broad categories have thus been identified according to the persona-self characteristics: cases where a strong persona prevails; cases where the persona is used as a protection; and cases where the participants are connected to the self to a greater or lesser degree (see Table 1). This typology does not claim to be comprehensive and it is possible that the research participants have evolved since. However it aims to demonstrate how the Jungian framework of morality helps identify practical issues in one's moral character.

Table 1. Summarised Typology of Participants' Moral Character

| Participant | Type |
|-------------|--|
| Charlie | Strong persona prevails and "fills in" |
| Ethan | |
| Louis | |
| Amy | Strong persona prevails and claims to "exist" |
| Oliver | |
| Will | |
| Samuel | Persona is a deliberate but "controlled" protection |
| Yohann | |
| Irene | Persona is a deliberate but necessary protection |
| Martin | |
| Zack | |
| John | Persona is "non-consciously" used as a protection |
| Ryan | |
| Tim | |
| Xavier | |
| Nick | Connectedness to self through enacting a passion |
| Paul | |
| Deborah | Connectedness to self through enacting strong values |
| Vincent | |

Strong Persona

"People are not perfect, there are instances where people do things to fit in...I think if you're not true to yourself, you risk being pretentious, you know, or you're just lying to yourself anyway... It depends on the situation, because if I give you a big job [you think] "I can do this" [but then you admit] "Oh, shut it now, I can't!". And then you find ways to try and justify that you can do it – or you don't. It's a situational thing, you just think about it, make a rationalisation, as we said, appraise pros and cons, go with it, don't go with it." (Ethan)

"It's all about perception. Even if I don't know something, you have to appear as if you do to the other people because, you know, just that impression – cause then you can go out and come back home and find out about it. But you have to give them the confidence that they can trust you and you know what you're talking about. Cause if you go "Well, oh, I'm not quite sure" then obviously it's "Gosh, she works for my company, and she doesn't even know what she's talking about!" – so then it looks badly on the company." (Amy)

Two main reasons emerged to explain the significance of the persona amongst these six managers. For Charlie, Ethan and Louis, the persona tends to "fill in" for something else. In Ethan and Louis's cases, the persona seems to make up for an unsubstantial self whereas for Charlie the persona has apparently "replaced" the self completely. For these three respondents, the persona is the essential point of contact with the world and the ego-consciousness seems fully directed towards fostering the persona rather than questioning it. Morally these respondents tended to adopt a self-interested approach, although they did not frame it in those terms.

For Amy, Oliver and Will, things are slightly different. Their persona prevails but its function is to maintain a sense of existence. Indeed Amy and Oliver characteristically present a front

because it reassures them; it gives them the impression that they exist. In other words, they seem so unsure of the value of their self that they rely on a constructed image to claim their place in society. The brighter this image, the more they sense their existence and their place in society are acknowledged. Rather than filling in a void as the respondents mentioned above, these managers use the persona to disguise a deep uncertainty or insecurity about themselves. Will fits into this category in so far as his great need for recognition tends to reflect insecurity about his real capabilities and his ability to stand out. Yet again the ego-consciousness seems completely dedicated to nurturing the persona rather than questioning it.

For these respondents, the significance of the moral rules and customs tends to be relative, in particular to their own interests. This means that they refer to the moral rules and customs that best foster their personal goals. Of course these six respondents have different motivations and they don't necessarily act immorally. However their actions are guided by values that emerge from a collective image rather than an individual will. Being selfish does not necessarily imply that one expresses one's individuality in the Jungian sense. The persona is "a mask of the collective psyche. Fundamentally the persona is nothing real: it is a compromise between individual and society as to what a man should appear to be" (Jung, 1966, para. 246). Thus the respondents subjected to the influence of a strong persona remain the objects of a collective and do not exist as true individuals. The persona prevents them from breaking off the dominating influence of the collective to assert their individuality. As such they are unable to use their *libre arbitre*, that essential constituent of moral responsibility. They are equally prevented from acting upon the ethical conscience since they remain in the bounds of a narrow interpretation of moral conscience. Jung (1966, para. 240) stresses that "every man is, in a certain sense, unconsciously a worse man when he is in society than when acting alone; for he is carried by society and to that extent relieved of his individual responsibility."

Persona as Protection

"I have two driving forces: doubt and stress. Stress pushes me forward – I am always doing things urgently, I am good at doing things at the last minute and doing them well. The second aspect is doubt. I doubt a lot and I doubt of everything, personal stuff and professional stuff. Externally no one sees it but internally I'm in turmoil. It affects the way I work somehow as I struggle with very self-confident people! Some of my collaborators are self-confident and I may admire them a bit, however when they get it wrong I don't let them off the hook easily." (Samuel)

"On the Friday, there's a dress down, okay? And in our factory this is really important, people don't wear ties. And people laugh at me saying "Don't wear ties" and I say "Well I don't know whom I'm gonna meet", and they say "Yeah, but it doesn't matter" and I say "What if the CEO of the company is coming?" I don't wanna be in jeans and tee-shirt. And people find that funny actually. I don't, it's like a uniform. In business. I feel more professional dressed that way. I'm very different in my personal life, I'm very neutral, I'm very relaxed." (Zack)

"Nowadays the boss of a small-to-medium-sized company can only succeed if he stays close to his employees... When the company just started, we were 6 or 7 friends, I had worked with them for years or I knew them from the times when we drove on the same roads and we used to have lunch together. But a change was needed, so today we are "less" friends because I had to break up this friendship. Before then we attended parties together at week-ends but then on the Monday morning there was no more

respect [for the boss-employee relationship]. So I put an end to that, but I really miss it, so I try to be available and close to my employees.” (John)

The second category subsumes the respondents whose persona is present but somewhat more elusive than in the previous category. These managers tend to use the persona as a protection but they are not as comfortable with this situation as their previous counterparts. Somehow they have a more spontaneous relationship with others which suggests they feel or yearn for something more than just the persona. Establishing “fake” relationships with people based on their persona does not appear to satisfy them. Yet they seem to neither understand the nature of this dissatisfaction nor to know how to confront it. Within this group, two types of attitude can be distinguished: some of the respondents appear to use the persona as a protection almost deliberately, whilst others seem less aware of acting in such a way. Using the persona deliberately does not imply manipulative behaviour; rather it means that the respondents demonstrate awareness that they display a front to others which does not fully correspond to who they actually are, and they feel uneasy about it.

Samuel and Yohann clearly use a persona as a deliberate protection and keep it under some degree of control. Both are very reflective and display some sensitivity to their self and to their ethical conscience. Yet they appear to hide their self behind a business persona because it seems to them the most appropriate behaviour given the circumstances, that is managing a profitable business. Although different, Samuel and Yohann both appear to be affected by their shadow and they seem conscious of their capacity to act in a way they would judge morally wrong. Yet instead of integrating the archetypal shadow and asserting the self, as the process of individuation would require, they appear to focus on the persona to help them cope with their shadow. Acting a part is perceived as a safeguard against their own dark motives in so far as the part they act is under control whilst the influence of the shadow is far less controllable. Should they accept to confront the shadow and to integrate their dark motives in a conscious effort to achieve their individuality, Samuel and Yohann would no longer need the illusory protection of a persona for they would embody their self, their true nature.

The cases of Irene, Martin and Zack are slightly different. They do not seem to control the use of their persona so much as they need their persona to protect them. It is almost a matter of survival because the gap between their self, their values and their job requirements is too wide to be managed suitably. These three respondents consciously try to compartmentalize their life tightly although they are not so successful in that endeavour. They apparently need to convince themselves that “being the persona” will prevent them from feeling ill-at-ease when they have to make difficult work decisions. Thus they have deliberately built a character which they want different from who they really are, but whose features are adapted to the business environment especially through the “uniform” of a suit. Yet the pain, especially the moral pain, remains because they feel the betrayal of their core values when they do what their job requires them to do. They want to find a comfortable moral space, which is why they try to convince themselves they can cope with adopting different moral behaviours when acting in different settings.

Other respondents use the persona as a form of protection in non-conscious manner. To this category would belong John, Ryan, Tim and Xavier, although the reasons for which they use their persona greatly vary. All of them display (along with the other respondents of this group) a certain degree of connected-

ness to self. However they do not seem to trust their self entirely. John feels he “has to” put some distance in his relationships with others, yet he suffers from this because it does not correspond to his personality. Ryan always feel the need to be an exemplar of hard work and commitment in order to motivate and manage his team; however he eventually pushes himself far too much as if being himself was not sufficient. Tim is eager to learn from others and to satisfy his strong desire to “win” so as to distinguish himself from the crowd and define who he is. Finally Xavier doubts his ability to make the best moral decisions; hence he prefers to hide behind the formal codes attached to his business responsibilities rather than get to grips with the issue. None of these four respondents seems to have established this protective persona deliberately; rather it has developed through time without them being aware of it. Nevertheless they display some instances of dissatisfaction with the existing status quo, and their otherwise open relationships with others may entice them to aspire for something different: a more spontaneous, true-to-self behaviour.

Overall, these managers may occasionally glimpse towards the self and get some sense of an intuitive moral call that echoes ethical conscience, but they feel more comfortable with the formality of moral conscience. They experience sometimes painful conflicts of duty. They may be sufficiently reflective to feel that they are not who they pretend to be in society but they remain attached to this image, deliberately or not. Their position is morally difficult because they tend to be constantly unsure of what the right thing to do is. They are torn between what moral customs say (which tends to align with the persona) and what they perceive as another, perhaps more radical but no less imperious voice representing the *Vox Dei*, the expression of the self. For Jung, the only way out is to pursue the process of assimilation of unconscious contents, both personal and collective, in order to build up the individual personality: “In the last resort it is a man’s moral qualities which force him, either through direct recognition of the need or indirectly through a painful neurosis, to assimilate his unconscious self and to keep himself fully conscious. Whoever progresses along this road of self-realization must inevitably bring into consciousness the contents of the personal unconscious, thus enlarging the scope of his personality” (Jung, 1966, para. 218). It is all the more important to obey “the will of God” as controlling it is not entirely possible, and resisting it leaves one with “a resentment that makes the otherwise harmless natural impulse our enemy” (Jung, 1969b, para. 51).

Connectedness to Self

“My values are humanism, it’s respect for the other, it’s all those values without which you can’t live in a community outside, and without which you cannot live in an organisation... You can’t disconnect from real life. These core values are also my professional values. And I happen to be lucky enough to work for an organisation that has the same values as me... If I had been hired by an organisation that did not champion these values, I wouldn’t have stayed, it’s very clear. I mean there are things on which I’m personally not prepared to compromise.” (Paul)

“Telling somebody they no longer have a job [is difficult]. You begin to think about do they have a wife? Do they have children? Do they have, you know, large mortgage and bills to pay? Even if you try to remove yourself completely, that will still go across your mind at some point cause losing your job is a major life changing thing for most people. So from a morality perspective, you certainly think about it... I certainly need to sit and take a little bit of time before I actually get through with the action to sort of remove all the thoughts of “concern and why” out of my

mind to actually focus on what needs to be done. So it's taking time to reflect and be quite conscious of pushing some thoughts out of the way. Because it's clearly a function of "this must be done and you need to execute that", albeit someone might say." (Vincent)

The third category includes the respondents who seem generally more acquainted with their self. It is impossible to assess whether they are individuated or not, but they nevertheless seem to display the most direct connection to their self compared with the other respondents. Within this category, we can highlight two paths: Nick and Paul seem closer to their self through a passion for their work. Nick is an authentic craftsman, and his enterprise is more a means to serve his art than a business organisation. Paul, director of a children's home, is genuinely dedicated to the children's well-being and his work is ingrained in his dedication. Neither Nick nor Paul care to count the hours they spend working because their work is almost an extension of who they are. They express their nature in what they do so that they do not need to pretend to be someone they are not; instead their actions echo the concerns and aptitudes of the self. In other words Nick or Paul actually "realise" their self. They naturally celebrate the virtues of perfection because their purpose is the perfect realisation of their art or their mission.

Deborah and Vincent are also closer to their self than the other respondents, but their rationale lies more in the strength of their values than in the love of their job, although they enjoy their work. Deborah and Vincent both act out of a strong consideration for others. Deborah believes in honesty and fairness and her values are so strong that she acts as if they were constitutive of her being. Not to act according to her values would be like betraying herself. On the other hand, Vincent has a strong connection to others so that not to act in full consideration of the other person as a person would be morally wrong. To consider the other person as a person means to acknowledge the self in the other person, so that the connection is actually made between two selves who acknowledge one another. In fact Vincent would not be true to himself if he did not act in a considerate way towards others. Hence for Deborah and Vincent, their values are central to their sense of self, to who they are. To betray their values would mean betraying themselves, something they are not readily capable of. Neither of them manage to control the circumstances in which they work so they sometimes face situations they morally disapprove of, but which they cannot change. Yet in those cases they either feel a strong uneasiness, or they disengage themselves so as not to compromise their values.

These four managers seem more sensitive to their ethical conscience. Even if they are not individuated as yet, they have a strong enough sense of self to act as individuals and extricate themselves from the collective. They have sensed that "[f]ar too much of our common humanity has to be sacrificed in the interests of an ideal image into which one tries to mould oneself"

(Jung, 1966, para. 244). By rejecting the persona society wants them to wear, and by enacting instead what they feel is right, they get closer to the "shared humanity" (Vine, 1983) embodied in the archetypal self. They react to that humanity in their relationships with others whom they recognise as bearing the same nature. Since ethical conscience goes beyond the rules and customs of a society limited in time and space, drawing from the collective history of humanity, it potentially attracts more innovative solutions to moral dilemmas or at least it gives the strength or the impetus to act "as one should act" according to the *Vox Dei*, albeit one can never be sure of the real nature of this inner voice (Jung, 1969b, para. 49).

Conclusion

Bankwala (2004: 162) argues that: "In understanding behavior it is important to see that I behave the way I do depending on what I value in life. ... If I lack clarity [of my values], any method will do." The discussion presented in this paper invites a reinterpretation of Bankwala's statement: In understanding moral behaviour it is important to see that I behave the way I do depending on how I value my self; if I lack clarity of my self, any moral attitude will do (whether right or wrong). Morality begins with the self, and organisational ethics will only improve if individuals strengthen their own consciousness and morality.

Successful modern managers are pictured as capable of adapting both from experience and from a knowledge-database to respond effectively and efficiently to the issues and the prospects of the business (Hannagan, 2005). On the moral front, however, successful managers need to develop a propensity to self-reflect. They equally need to adapt less to the circumstances and instead favour the expression of their self. Failure to do so does not make managers necessarily wrong in ethical terms, but it certainly makes them much more susceptible to fail morally in the course of their job. Being and acting as an individual, capable of discerning the appropriate virtues and values to further one's good as well as the common good cannot possibly prevent moral mistakes. However it would encourage the development of a more comprehensive approach to moral issues, which in turn would lead to a more human and more fulfilling management style located in the spiritual and moral space of the organization and society (Losoncz, 2004). Managers should not be expected to detach their personal values from their work; rather they should be allowed and encouraged to express their self in their work, providing they possess an appropriate level of self-consciousness. As Pfeffer (2003: 42) underlines: "An individual's desire and right to be treated with dignity at work, to be able to grow and learn, to be connected to others, and to be a whole, integrated person cannot simply be sacrificed for economic expediency." This, after all, is good old common sense and has never been more important than today.

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