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Abstract *Explores how psychoanalytic thinking can contribute to the management of the conflicting emotions stimulated by change. Suggests that successful change management depends on a combination of "positive" and "negative" capabilities. The positive capabilities involve the management of the substantive content of any change initiative, the change process itself, and the roles and procedures required by both of these. However, even when these three "technical" aspects are well managed, change always arouses anxiety and uncertainty. As a result, there is a tendency to "disperse" energy; that is, to be deflected from the task into a range of avoidance tactics. Through a particular understanding of such "dispersal" and its opposite, the "capacity to contain", psychoanalysis can suggest how this counterproductive tendency may be more effectively managed. The British psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion called this capacity to contain "negative capability".*

Introduction

Many emotions are generated in individuals and in systems (teams, departments, organizations) whenever change "threatens". These can range from fear to envy, from rivalry to anger, from enthusiasm to cynicism, or from energetic enjoyment to apathy. It matters little whether the changes are the result of deliberate innovation or originate in unpredictable and often unexpected or unwelcome shifts in environmental conditions. Nor is there any clear relationship between the scale of the change and the scale of its impact within an organization. It is not necessary to wait for a major innovation, a merger or a full business process re-engineering initiative to bring one face to face with the question: how far can we "change our [their] minds"? Merely to alter the arrangement of the furniture in a room or to appoint just one new member of staff can be enough to set the cats of anxiety and selfishness amongst the pigeons of stability and co-operation.

In organizations, as with individuals, someone therefore has to do the hard work of "containment"; that is of facing up to, understanding and managing the emotions that are inevitably aroused by change. This work of emotional containment is precisely the focus of psychoanalysis; namely, to help people find new ways to address change and the resistances or blockages to change.

For example, an individual, a couple or a family may wish or need to change in some way. If they are unable to do so on their own, they may seek help from a therapist, who will make him- or herself available to be used as best they can in that role. The success of this joint enterprise depends on the readiness of both parties to learn. More specifically, it demands of the therapist the ability

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to, as it were, "stand alongside" their clients, in order to help contain whatever anxieties they experience in the encounter with change. Indeed, the whole of psychoanalysis is based on the view that it is the containing presence and role of the analyst that are the lever for change in patients.

Bion continually sought to understand and to describe the state of mind that makes it possible for the analyst to "stand alongside their clients" in this way. Some of the terms he used might well resonate with anyone managing organizational change, such as the ability to think "under fire". One of his most evocative phrases, however, was borrowed from the poet John Keats. Bion suggested that the analyst's ability to bring about change in a patient depends on what Keats called "negative capability" (see, for example, Bion, 1978, pp. 8-9, 1984, pp. 124-5, 1990, pp. 45-6, 1991, p. 207).

The proposition here is that the "family resemblance" which Bion noted between the poet and the psychoanalyst also exists between the psychoanalyst and the leader or manager of change. Whilst they may have "no one thing in common which makes us use the same word for all, … they are *related* to one another in many different ways" (Wittgenstein, 1963, paras 65, original emphasis). "Negative capability" is the DNA strand which runs through all of these roles.

In order to explore these themes, I shall, first, explain what I take to be the characteristics of the state of mind called by Keats and Bion "negative capability". Second, I shall approach the same issue from the opposite perspective, as it were, by explaining what happens when negative capability is missing. To do so, I shall use a term coined by the philosopher Jacob Needleman to describe the dynamics of avoidance stimulated by the pain of change; namely, "dispersal". As well as considering "negative capability" itself, I shall, finally, reflect on the "positive" capabilities required to manage organizational change effectively and on the balance between "negative" and "positive".

"Negative capability"

Keats coined the term "negative capability" to characterise the key attribute of the great poet, "the Man of Achievement especially in Literature". In creating the term, he was describing a state in which a person:

> … is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason (Keats, 1970, p. 43).

In our era of globalization, the constant "uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts" provoked within organizations by environmental "turbulence" (Emery and Trist, 1965) have grown to the point where they are often described ironically as the one constant of organizational life. It is this that has led to the notion of negative capability being increasingly invoked in relation to the practices of management, leadership and consultancy (for example, Bennis, 2000; Handy, 1989, p. 54). However, the idea tends to be presented as if it were unproblematic, or at least self-explanatory, despite the fact that the letter in which Keats

introduced it has been described as "one of the most puzzling of all his letters" (Bate, 1964, pp. 236-7). Keats was, after all, only 22 years old when, in a period of intense exploration and speculation, he coined the phrase in a sequence of attempts to describe the "prime essential" of a poet (Muir, 1958, p. 107). Following such experiments as "scepticism", "pessimism", "Wordsworthian humanitarianism", "disinterestedness" and "humility and the capability of submission", "negative capability" was the final "dovetailing" of concepts in Keats' emerging view of the nature of the poetic imagination (Bate, 1964, ch. x; Caldwell, 1972, p. 5).

Negative capability indicates the capacity to live with and to tolerate ambiguity and paradox, to "remain content with half knowledge" (Ward, 1963, p. 161) and, therefore, to engage in a non-defensive way with change, resisting the impulse merely to react to the pressures inherent in risk-taking. It implies the capacity to integrate emotional and mental states rather than dissociating oneself from aspects of emotional experience or attempting to cut oneself off from such experience altogether. These capacities allow one, in addition, to identify with the moods and modes of suffering of the other, in order "to be a voice, a vision; to pass on a message, translating it, flawlessly, into another, more easily apprehended tongue" (Symons, 1901, p. 1627):

> By "negative capability" Keats meant the lack of personal identity, of preconceived certainty, which he believed to mark all great poets. It was necessary, Keats believed, for the poet to be, above all, open to impressions, sensations or whatever, which means that the "camelion" poet is forever changing his/her ideas (Bridgwater, 1999, p. xv).

At first sight, the thought of a leader, manager, consultant or "change agent", chameleon-like, "forever changing his/her ideas" may seem ridiculous. Received wisdom stresses the need clearly, consistently and unequivocally to embody the organization's vision.

However, as with many organizational paradoxes, "the truth is not in the middle, and not in one extreme, but in both extremes" (Charles Simeon, 1892 – reference unknown). At one extreme, the presentation and constant re-presentation of the vision – giving a lead and sticking to it – may indeed be a key element in the success of any change initiative. At the other extreme, however, effective change management involves seeing at every point what is actually going on, in contrast with what was planned for, expected or intended. This is the common ground between the "chameleon poet", the psychoanalyst and those responsible for managing change: moment by moment, day by day, each must assess the impact of change on themselves and on others. In response, they can then adapt, shift and adjust as necessary, allowing their minds be changed for the sake of the task. In this sense, then, negative capability might be thought of as the manager's most finely-tuned research instrument: "what is deepest in the human mystery gives way only before a *Negative Capability*" (Scott, 1969, pp. xii-xiii).

Thus negative capability implies the ability to learn, to allow one's mind to be changed by others. Working with the emotional impact of "uncertainties, mysteries, doubts" does not imply "losing one's mind" but rather accepting that

emotions also offer valid "information" (Armstrong, 2000) about the state of the organization's "weather system". Thus, a "storm" in one area (such as stress-related absence, rapid staff turnover, or "tears", real or metaphorical) may be caused by "low pressure" in a quite distant part of the organization or its context (French, 1998). Without losing touch with what we do know, negative capability can help us to stick with the stark and at times frightening reality that in conditions of change we simply do not know (French and Simpson, 1999).

As with other human capacities, the inborn propensity for negative capability is a "gift" (Raine, 1986, p. 322), a "native virtue of [the] mind" (Caldwell, 1972, p. 7) which varies from person to person. From birth, some people have a greater natural capacity for containing frustration than others, just as some people have a natural level of generosity which others have to learn. Thus, it may to some extent come naturally to us, but must also be learned: "This is a difficult intellectual stance to maintain even in the best of circumstances. To an active, seeking mind, the existence of mysteries poses a challenge. When those mysteries begin to touch a man directly, when they become, as Keats would call them a 'burden', the mind grows increasingly less capable of ignoring them" (Ryan, 1976, p. 157).

Thus, negative capability describes the capacity to experience emotion, one's own and others', but also to "contain" it until it has "in-formed" us and hence re-formed our understanding; that is, until we have learned or had a "change of mind" – or heart: "psychoanalysis is in essence a cure through love" (Freud, in Bettelheim, 1983, p. v).

Why "negative"?

The striking impact of Keats' phrase "negative capability" lies in its apparently paradoxical nature. It clearly means something and has a seductive and suggestive ring to it, but seems, at the same time, to cancel itself out. In everyday language the notion of being "capable" is so positive that to call a capability "negative" jars incongruously as, apparently, a complete contradiction. It is as though one were to express +/–, not as + or –, but as + and –.

However, on closer inspection, the basic image turns out to be entirely consistent. The root meaning of "capable", like "capacity" and "capacious" – though not "ability" and "able" – is "containing" or "spacious". They are derived from the Latin word *capax*, "able to hold much" (French, 1999), and the volume of any container is, of course, a measure of its internal "negative" space. As the *Tao Te Ching* says of the hollow space inside a cup or of the "empty spaces" in a house or room (the doors and windows): "without their nothingness they would be nothing" (Kwok *et al.*, 1993).

The "chameleon" work of the analyst involves attention and adaptation to the "negative spaces" of the patient's communication, to what is not spoken in words, as well as to what is said. To do this work, the analyst relies on his or her own "negative space"; that is, the ability to recognise in the "sounds" of their

own inner experience the echoes of something in the patient's inner world. By "tuning in" to these "echoes" the analyst can help the patient to become aware of and think about aspects of their experience of which they themselves may be only dimly aware, if at all:

> … psychoanalytic practice sets out to restore the capacity to think about human experience, a capacity that has been disabled by anxiety and fear. In other words, a psychoanalytic practice sets out to discover or rediscover what it is about our own experience that we do not or cannot grasp with our own minds, that has been rendered inaccessible or obscure (Eisold, 2000, p. 60).

The effectiveness of the analyst's empathic "echo chamber" depends on their ability to make themselves available to the dynamics of what psychoanalytic theory calls "transference and countertransference"; that is, what the patient "transfers" onto or into the analyst and, as a kind of "counter" to this, the actual feelings that analysts experience in themselves. This technical vocabulary should not obscure the fact that these ideas are also common in everyday language, in such phrases as "He/she reminds me so much of X or Y" (transference), or "He/she makes me feel stupid/ angry /great/ nervous." (countertransference).

The "negativeness" of this capability does not indicate negativity, deficiency or insignificance. Instead, Bion suggests that this aspect of the management of emotions may be rather like the way the digestive tract "manages" food. A person's negative capability can "take in" the emotions evoked by a situation and "digest" them on behalf of the whole system. For a poet, the outcome is a poem, which may bring about a change in the heart and mind in the reader; for a psychoanalyst, the outcome is a "word" or a silence, which may enable a change of heart or mind in the patient; for an organizational actor, the outcome is an intervention or a refraining from action – a pause to think – which may facilitate a change of mind or heart in self or colleagues, and hence learning in the wider system.

When negative capability fails – or is not "good enough"

The concept of negative capability – and its relevance to the management of change – may be brought into focus by looking at what happens when it fails or is inadequate to the organization's needs.

In this context, the psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott introduced a simple, yet extremely important and highly practical notion. He believed that what a baby needs in order to develop to physical, emotional, mental and spiritual maturity is a mother who is "good enough" (Winnicott, 1960, p. 145). Again and again, he strove to release mothers from the guilt-inducing sense that they should be "perfect" – and even from the expectation that they should be able to do it "right". "Good enough" is good enough.

If one could wish for just one idea from psychoanalysis to have an impact in organizations, it might be this generous, forgiving and apparently un-analytic phrase. As with mothers, we (managers, change managers, consultants, teachers, researchers) cannot hope to "get it right": "perfection" is not a useful or

even meaningful category in organizational life. What we can, however, expect of ourselves and of our colleagues is to be "good enough".

When the negative capability provided by a child's parents is not "good enough", he or she may begin to exhibit symptoms such as withdrawal, aggressive behaviour, bed-wetting, illness or depression. When, in its structures, in its procedures and in its relational matrix, an organization's negative capability is not "good enough", the impact can be similar. Group or organizational "symptoms" or coping mechanisms tend to emerge. These can range from relatively commonplace, though still debilitating forms of dependency or anxiety to potentially destructive forms of envy, splitting and projection, such as scapegoating.

In relation to organizational change initiatives, these symptoms may express themselves, for example, in myriad forms of resistance – conscious and unconscious – from organized political activity, at the micro or macro levels, to a simple withdrawal of commitment. Much of the literature on the application of psychoanalysis to group and organizational contexts traces these dynamics as they appear in the form of denial, avoidance and resistance, and the impact of these on managers, leaders and change consultants (see, for example, Colman and Geller, 1985; French and Vince, 1999; Hirschhorn, 1988, 1997; Hoggett, 1992; *Human Relations*, 1999; Kernberg, 1980; Kets de Vries, 1991; Menzies, 1959; Obholzer and Roberts, 1994; Salzberger-Wittenberg *et al.*, 1983.)

As a way of highlighting the patterns of avoidance that arise when an individual's or an organization's negative capability is not "good enough", I shall use a term employed in a quite different context by the US philosopher Needleman (1990, p.167): that is "dispersal".

"Dispersal"

Needleman uses the simple term "dispersal" to describe the complex ways we behave when we cannot tolerate the emotional impact of the "uncertainties, mysteries and doubts" that life inevitably and constantly throws at us. Rather than waiting, holding the tensions and anxieties, living with problems that may be intractable, accepting paradoxes and dilemmas for what they are, and conserving our energies – in other words, rather than developing and relying on our negative capability – we "disperse" our energies. We rush into action or try to break problems down into apparently manageable "bits" in an effort to make them seem manageable after all. Alternatively, we ourselves may "break down".

Needleman (1990, p. 175) says that the impulse to disperse occurs whenever we experience "the psychological pain of contradiction". As a kind of personal shorthand, he describes all such situations as moments when we are faced by "the question". To meet "the question" is to be faced with the stark reality of one's vulnerablility at the edge between the known and the unknown of one's experience (French and Simpson, 1999). It is the emotional impact of any such encounter with "the question", with the "pain of contradiction", which generates the almost unbearable pressure to "disperse", rather than to stay with the

experience – especially for members of a society as fully committed as ours to instant gratification and immediate answers.

Bion too was fascinated by "dispersal", calling it a "curious business" by which we "closure off what [we] don't want to see or hear" (Bion, 1978, p. 9), giving in instead to the temptation "always to engage upon something familiar" (Bion, 1990, p. 5).

In Needleman's view only two outcomes are possible when we meet, face to face, the uncertainties and anxieties stimulated by change – whether in ourselves or in others. If we or the system (the group or the organization) have developed sufficient negative capability, we may be able to stay with the moment and, by doing so, discover a new thought, a new idea, a new possibility, however slight: we may learn something. In so doing, we may also increase our negative capability, that is, we may enlarge our capacity to cope with such encounters in the future and to contain the uncertainty of not-knowing. The only alternative is: to disperse.

Needleman (1990, p. 167) specifies three forms which dispersal can take, three more or less automatic or habitual impulses; these are: explanations, emotional reactions or physical action.

As defensive-reactive impulses or manoeuvres, these three forms of dispersal are likely to be familiar to all of us, whether in our own personal responses to "the question" or in the behaviour of those we meet in the course of our working and private lives. At business meetings, for example, it is common during discussion of a difficult agenda item for there to be a call to postpone it to another meeting. The task participants face at such moments is to work out whether this is indeed a necessary postponement, both for the sake of other agenda items and in order to gather information not available to the meeting. If the postponement does not seem to be necessary for these or similar reasons, then the suggestion may simply be a "dispersal", caused by the difficulty they are experiencing in reaching a decision which may have painful consequences for some or all participants. It is generally only in the texture of one's own experience at such moments that one can recognise dispersal for what it is. It can appear, for instance, as a feeling in the stomach that one has let oneself or one's colleagues down: "How did it happen again?! I still don't know what I'm going to say to X tomorrow about all this …", or: "Why didn't I/we/she/he/they say in the meeting what they said at lunch an hour ago? Now we'll have to start all over again at the next meeting …"

Balancing "negative" and "positive" capabilities

"Negative" does, of course, make little sense without a concept of its opposite, "positive". Again, the "truth" of organizational life "is not in the middle, and not in one extreme, but in both extremes". The idea of negative capability represents one "extreme", or one end of a spectrum in relation to organizational change management. It is not "the truth", any more than psychoanalytic theory as a whole describes "the truth" – even for psychoanalysts.

As Gillian Rose has pointed out, Keats did not explore "positive capability". She likens positive capability to Aristotle's notion of phronesis, that is practical intelligence, "the enlarging of inhibited reason in the domain of praxis, of practical reason, … the educating of wisdom that knows when to pass unnoticed and when to act" (Rose, 1999, p. 32).

Negative capability is relevant to organizational change management because it represents the ability to absorb and respond creatively to the emotional turmoil which can both arise from and in turn cause change. It implies the development of mature intuition, of the ability to "see" what is going on and what is needed on the basis of one's own inner experience. It demands the ability to help other to manage themselves, to see the relation of parts to the whole, and to act on "faith" (Simpson, 1997).

Positive capability, on the other hand, supports change in a different way. The positive capabilities required of managers exist in the more familiar territory of skills and competencies, and form much of the literature on learning and change in organizations. The "technologies" of change demand good-enough positive managerial and leadership capabilities, whether in relation to the substantive content of the initiative itself or to its evolution from preparation and consultation through introduction and adaptation to full implementation and evaluation.

Negative and positive capabilities in action: a case example

I was approached recently by a campaigning charity whose senior managers were seeking outside help with managing the changes arising from very rapid growth: in the previous five years, this charity had expanded from a staff of six or seven, not all full-time or even paid, to over 100, and with a turnover of four million pounds. For the next year, it was predicted that the staff would grow further to around 150 and the budget to seven million pounds. These changes partly caused, and were partly stimulated by, major developments in the external environment.

The scale and speed of this growth had forced the organization to undertake major developments in terms of its positive capability. These included: moving premises, developing their information technology systems, putting in place a departmental management structure and promoting or appointing staff to work in it, and exploring new opportunities for funding, for marketing, for product development and for "influencing", that is, for disseminating their vision and message to stakeholder groups, in order to have an impact on policy makers and consumers at all levels, local, national and international.

In part, consultancy was being sought with a view to working further on such "positive" capability, in particular to increase the capacities of senior and middle management in terms both of structures and of management competences.

However, the situation with regard to negative capability was very different. This was not a new organization. It had been founded as the mouthpiece for a minority view some 50 years earlier. For the first half century or so, a "good

enough" negative capability had been provided by the enthusiasm and commitment of dedicated individuals. As is so often the case in such organizations, its staff were prepared to do what it took to keep things going, even if it required levels of self-sacrifice, commitment and loyalty seldom demanded in the "ordinary" workplace and which are, in any case, not sustainable in larger, more complex organizations.

Friendship had also played its part in holding things together, as had the almost religious zeal of the founder who, in the immediate post-war years, made an empassioned appeal to national pride and to Christian ideals, as well as making a reasoned scientific case in support of the cause.

When I started my consultation, it was clear – or would have been, if I had understood better at that time the framework I am proposing here – that the levels of organizational negative capability were extremely low: the associate director responsible, among other things, for organizational change and development and for staff welfare issues, was about to take enforced leave through stress-related exhaustion; several more senior managers talked openly of the unsustainablility of the situation and were actively considering leaving. In my interviews (with staff and with senior managers), it became clear that everyone felt extremely overworked and that the culture of commitment – to the cause, to the organization and to colleagues and friends – was experienced by many as a culture of bullying. For example, one new member of staff, still in her first week in the organization, said that she had felt overwhelmed with guilt on her first day at work when she had to leave at 6.00 p.m. in order to catch a train. If she had had any choice, she would have stayed – although no one had actually said anything to her to make her feel bad. Similarly, a senior manager was described by her line manager as lacking commitment because she was not in work after 7.30 p.m., the one time in the day when senior management could meet without interruption. After a very short time, she was asked to leave.

In striking contrast to this, most people spoke of the excellent relations amongst staff and of the great benefits of working there. In addition, the organization was successful as never before in terms of public interest, of membership and of its profile and impact, national and international.

The strongest negative feelings amongst staff – a sense of barely concealed chaos and an experience of overwork which threatened both the health of individuals and the efficiency of the whole – were not matched by a negative capability that was adequate to the task of containment. Instead, there was denial of the problem at the highest levels and a constant appeal to loyalty. That the organization still "worked" seemed to be due to the high calibre and dedication of staff at all levels, and to a high degree of technical information and expertise in the field. The charisma of the chief executive was also a key factor. This he used in roughly equal measure to inspire and to force his will on others.

If the lack of a "good enough" negative capability manifests as "dispersal", what was the evidence of dispersal as the uncontained response to the stresses of change in this organization?

There was certainly evidence of Needleman's dispersal into emotion. In the interviews I conducted and in the subsequent two-day workshop for senior managers, tears were frequently expressed, whether openly or in private, tears of anger, frustration and fear. Back pain and absence due to ill-health were understood and openly acknowledged to be the direct result of unmanaged emotional states.

Dispersal into explanations was most evident in the constant telling and retelling of the organization's history. This was used as a way of explaining current arrangements and problems, from the lay-out of the office to the lack of effective line management. Historical "explanations" were used both in relation to persons – that is, to locate individuals in relation to the organization and even to account for their attitudes and perceived reliability – and in relation to organizational issues, such as the nature of role-holding, of managerial responsibilities and of management structures and their flexibility, or otherwise.

Activity, however, seemed to be the dominant mode of dispersal. Because it was characteristic of both the chief executive and the associate director, it acted as a model for the culture of the wider organization. Alternative perspectives, attempts to disagree, to slow down, to say no to a new scheme, or to question policy or practice, however well-intentioned and clearly argued, were met and "repulsed" by a new project, a new demand, a new initiative, a new "call to arms". It was the sheer weight and persistence of the dispersal into activity, allied to the righteousness of the cause, that seemed to grind down resistance and derail all efforts to encourage grass-roots involvement in change.

The situation contained one final paradox. It was clear that the new departmental structure that had been introduced, and the associated senior and middle management roles created to support them, represented a positive capability with the potential to be extremely containing for all staff. They could have been a step towards what Jaques calls "requisite" management, because, in his view, "it is badly organized social systems that arouse psychotic anxieties" (Jaques, 1995, p. 343). In other words, a good-enough positive capability could have made a major contribution to the provision of a good-enough negative capability. However, the inability of the executive to contain "the question" for themselves and their colleagues, to live with "the pain of contradiction", meant that they were unable to allow their new colleagues to take up the authority of their roles in the new structure. It was clear in this organization that there is a dynamic relationship between negative and positive capabilities.

Concluding thoughts: negative capability and the management of self in role

Of itself, Keats' notion of negative capability adds little to an understanding of organizational dynamics. His focus was, after all, on the individual, the great poet. With Bion's use of the idea, however, there is a crucial shift from the

personal to the organizational, because his concern went beyond the natural in-born "giftedness" of the individual.

The psychoanalyst is not just another person in the patient's life but a person-in-role. Bion sought to understand and to define both the disposition required of the person-in-role-as-analyst, which he called negative capability, or "patience" (Bion, 1984, p. 124), and the positive capabilities that the role demands, such as: organizing the setting of waiting and consulting rooms, and agreeing the times for sessions and a fee, as well as the whole theoretical structure underpinning practice, the organizational structure of qualification and certification, the membership of a recognised analytic institution, and the availability of peers and colleagues for consultation and supervision.

A dynamic concept of role, appropriate to conditions of organizational change, demands a mature negative capability because managing in such conditions relies heavily on the capacity to live with uncertainty and yet still to act (see Simpson and French, 1998). Such an ability has been called "managing oneself in role", which "starts from the individual in his role in his enterprise questioning his responsibility and authority as a member of that enterprise" (Lawrence, 1979, p. 244)[1].

The notion of "role" originated in the theatre and was only translated to the broader organizational context in the seventeenth century. In theatrical terms, role originally described the "roll" of paper or parchment on which the words to be read by the actor were written. All the actor was required to do was to read clearly the words written for him or her on their "roll" as it unrolled in front of them.

Many theatrical revolutions later, however, we no longer see the "skill" of the actor – whether theatrical or organizational – merely in terms of a positive capability, that is, the clear and convincing enunciation of another's directives or words. Instead, the most critical skill for the accomplished actor – whether theatrical or organizational – is the ability to "get into role", which depends on positive and negative capabilities working in tandem. It means understanding the overall context and tasks to which a role relates and having a keen awareness of one's audience/clients and fellow actors/colleagues, in order to improvise, that is to create the role in action, not just read from the script.

Note

1. For a bibliography relating to this concept of role, see *Organizational Role Analysis: A Bibliography*, available from Professor Burkard Sievers at: sievers@uni-wuppertal.de

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