A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON BUSINESS FAMILIES

In most societies the family is a fundamental institution for transmitting values to succeeding generations, and for ensuring their physical and emotional development. Families are usually driven by a deep concern for both the well-being of individual family members and for the family legacy. However, in a business family, normal family goals may come into conflict with the business's economic goals because an important theme within the family system is to meet the human and psychological needs of its members rather than to arrive at the best economic return.

It is a truism that human beings are subjected to many elusive, out of awareness processes that affect how they make decisions. We all know that executives (including people working in family businesses) do not always act rationally, logically, or sensibly [1]. However, we have discovered that many leaders of family businesses seem to be especially prone to irrational behavior (as will be illustrated in the various case studies that appear in this book) [2]. Clinical investigation has shown that many problems in family businesses stem from the fact that their leaders (as well as other family members employed in key positions in the business) are often unknowingly acting out their deepest conflicts, desires and fantasies in the larger arena of the family business. The task for anyone studying family businesses is therefore to look at deep structures: the inner motives, fantasies, desires and defensive reactions of the principal actors. What drives them? What makes them act the way they do? How can we make sense of their behavior?

In a family business (particularly one in crisis) there will be a need at some point for its members to reflect on how their family is organized and to tease out the structures and rules that drive their interpersonal relationships. They will have to discover which of their interaction patterns are functional and which are dysfunctional. Carl Jung often asked his troubled patients, 'Is this behavior working for you?' If the answer is 'No,' it may well be time for the family to consider other approaches to relating to each other.

A very effective conceptual way of understanding individual behavior and motivation is psychoanalytic psychology, particularly objects relations theory [3]. However, when studying family businesses we have found that this orientation to understanding complex human processes needs to be enhanced by theory from the more recent fields of systems analysis and family therapy—known as family systems theory [4]. We have discovered that combining psychodynamic thinking with family systems ideas into a psychodynamic-systems approach can be invaluable as a key to unlocking many of the knotty problems faced by business families.

PSYCHODYNAMIC AND FAMILY SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVES

One of the challenges we faced in writing this book was overcoming some of the institutional or academic barriers to working across the boundaries between psychodynamic and family systemic therapy. In 1998, Christopher Dare, in a paper on the practice of psychodynamic and family systemic therapy, commented:

> The two disciplines of family therapy and psychoanalysis remain organizationally and conceptually disassociated from each other despite the two subjects having considerable overlap, plying adjacent trades and using theoretical ideas which show considerable parallels [5].

At the time, Dare encouraged a stronger link between the two disciplines. But in fact, a rapprochement of these two ways of looking at human behavior is increasingly becoming a reality. In

practice, we have found it extremely useful to establish a link to the inner psychological theater of the individual and explore how the scenes of this inner theater are enacted in the larger family system.

To have a greater impact in family business interventions, this book is designed around the application of psychodynamic and family systemic frameworks for studying human behavior [6]. Applying these two perspectives creates a more complete and balanced view of individual behavior and interpersonal relationships. It is an ideal way to bring a degree of rationality to what can, at times, be extremely perplexing behavior.

Because of this orientation, we use theories, concepts, methodologies, techniques, and vocabularies that are more often used in psychology than in discussions of management issues. In particular, we draw on concepts and theories taken from psychodynamic psychology (particularly object relations theory, self-psychology, and ego psychology), dynamic psychiatry, developmental theory, cognition, and the study of narrative.

In this search for rapprochement between various disciplines we like to emphasize that object relations theory, an offshoot of psychoanalytic theory that emphasizes interpersonal relations, primarily in the family and especially between mother and child, will be especially helpful to bridge the gap between classical psychoanalytic psychology and family systems theory. Object relations theorists are interested in inner images of the self and other, and how they manifest themselves in interpersonal situations. Consequently, there is a degree of overlap between this derivative of classical psychoanalysis and family systems theory. As Christopher Dare said, 'Psychoanalysis and family therapy can come together now, [. . .] by agreeing that both are preoccupied with the therapeutically useful, ethically apt re-creation and telling of stories' [7].

KEY IDEAS FROM THE PSYCHODYNAMIC APPROACH

The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud postulated that the human mind functions through the interaction of opposing forces. A

person has wishes and fantasies that evoke anxiety, leading to defensive reactions that range from relatively normal to dysfunctional. The conflict between these forces is mainly unconscious, and yet can have a huge impact on people's emotional life, self-image and relationships with other people and larger organizations [8].

Children are born with certain innate desires that cause them to seek pleasure and avoid pain. These desires become transformed into mental images that govern their feelings and behavior. As their parents attempt to socialize and fit them for society, children inevitably experience frustration of such desires as they learn what is allowed and what is forbidden. Gradually their childish impulses are modified and transformed more in line with societal norms. During this process many of the original desires and anxieties associated with them are seemingly forgotten. However, these unacceptable wishes and desires are not really forgotten but continue to linger below the surface, retaining the potential to affect adult behavior significantly in later life.

Freud later went on to formulate a general theory of mental development, part of which involved defining ideas such as the unconscious, defenses (the desire of the conscious mind to cope with wishes and fantasies emerging from the unconscious), and character patterns. He also described the developmental stages of childhood in his 'psychosexual stages of development' (which we look at in more detail in Chapter 4) and the idea of transference.

THE ROLE OF TRANSFERENCE AND COUNTERTRANSFERENCE

Everyday conversation consists of one person attempting to transmit feelings to another. We talk about 'putting something across,' or giving someone 'a piece of our mind.' For example, when we are in distress, we may try to convey to another person our distress in such a way that he or she can literally *feel* it. The normal communication process consists of fairly rapidly oscillating cycles of projection and introjection: as one person communicates with

words and demeanor (projection), the other receives and inter-prets the communication (introjection); then the listener, having understood the speaker's message, reprojects it to the original speaker, perhaps accompanied by an interpretation [9].

Similarly, at some stage in any research or process involving the investigating of human behavior, the subject of that investiga-tion is likely to evoke certain responses in the researcher—responses that in a therapeutic encounter between a client and therapist are usually referred to as 'transference' and 'counter-transference.' This cycle of projection and introjection—a ubiqui-tous phenomenon—is what transference and countertransference processes are all about.

Transference is normally used to describe the way in which a client perceives or experiences in their therapist characteristics or behavior that belong either to an important figure from the client's own past (a parent, for example), or that are a denied part of their own personality (for example, the client perceives the therapist as being angry or sad when in fact these are the client's subconscious feelings 'projected' on to the therapist).

The term 'countertransference' is normally used to mean the feelings that a client evokes in a therapist—again, possibly relating to an important figure or figures from the therapist's past. It describes feelings that therapists become aware of that do not seem to belong to themselves but which they experience as a result of being with the client. For example, at the end of a therapy session the therapist may feel inexplicably frightened, sad, confused, or worried. This may be due to the subtle transference of these feelings to the therapist by the client.

In short, transference refers to the feelings of the client about the therapist, countertransference refers to its mirror image: the feelings that a patient arouses in a therapist [10]. In this book we will use these terms to apply to the feelings that the subject (the business family) arouses not only in the researcher, therapist, coach, or consultant, but also in the individual members of a family organization toward one another.

For example, a typical example of a transference reaction can be found in the case of two colleagues at work, say a young woman and her much older boss, who can barely stand to be in

the same room with one another. Both are competent, responsible individuals but when together they seem to regress into dysfunctional behavior. Even though their acrimonious personal relationship has been addressed directly, agreements reached and boundaries set, the effectiveness of both women is compromised. The younger woman harbors a permanent grudge against her boss that she herself cannot rationally explain. Moreover, the older woman takes the bait, and the younger woman brings out the worst in her.

One approach to solving this problem would be to evaluate the possibility of a transference reaction on the part of the younger woman. Perhaps, as a child, she had a difficult, unresolved relationship with her mother or another older, female relative— many of whose mannerisms her boss shares. Forced to deal with her 'mother' at work, the young woman's unconscious emotions may spill over into her relationship with her unwitting superior.

Thus careful evaluation of transference and countertransference reactions provides us with *another source of information* that can be used concurrently with more conventional data. Although countertransference reactions can be confusing, we need to be aware of them and understand why they are happening, as they can be great assets to us in our 'detective' work.

Transference and countertransference are critical concepts in interpersonal understanding because they are ubiquitous elements of the human condition. They are processes whereby (as we indicated) there is a confusion of person, place, and time, due to the reliving of earlier relationships, usually in an attempt to resolve earlier development problems that were not successfully dealt with by someone earlier in life. They can be viewed as a kind of repetition, resulting in persistent, stereotypical behavior patterns that have their roots in privileged relationships with early caretakers. These two concepts are organizing activities, indicating the continuing influence of a person's early life experiences throughout the life cycle. The challenge is for us to understand that this pattern—useful as it may have been when we were young—may no longer be appropriate at a later stage of life.

Psychological Defenses

An individual's personality is largely determined by the particular way that person balances his or her intrapsychic view of the world with the impact of external reality. In dealing with the stress and strain of daily life we use 'psychological defenses' to help us to cope with emerging anxiety [11]. These defensive reactions are mostly unconscious (although we can learn to become aware of what we are doing), and have the effect of preventing us having to face aspects of ourselves that we find threatening, preventing us from being overwhelmed by feelings that are too disturbing. These often work well because through them we are able to find a mental equilibrium—albeit somewhat limited in some areas [12]. Of course, these defenses contribute to behavior that is not always easily understandable. A classic example is the 'kicking the dog' phenomenon—returning from work at the end of a frustrating day and shouting at the children or the dog. This pattern can be viewed as a displacement defense: we displace our anger from the person to whom we cannot safely express it (a likely candidate being the boss) onto a safer target, one that is less likely to retaliate.

A number of 'mechanisms of defense' are now part of everyday language—for example, projection and denial. Other terms often mean different things to different theorists and overlap: ideas such as 'rationalization,' 'intellectualization,' 'displacement,' 'reaction-formation,' 'introjection,' and 'splitting'. We take a closer look at splitting later in the book.

The Idea of Texts

One particular clinical research concept in psychodynamic therapy that is especially useful in understanding the family business is the notion of texts (in family systemic therapy they are known as 'scripts' or 'narrative') [13]. Texts are the grouping of inter-related information and all types of data containing messages and themes that can be systematized. When decoding family-business

texts, significance is extracted from interrelated factual, cognitive, and affective units constructed from the researcher's experiences with people in the business.

Texts can include obvious things (like managerial statements, writing, and observable behavior) and implicit things (like symbolic behavior, organizational myths and stories, specific strategic decisions, particular interpersonal styles, and the type of organizational structure that characterizes the company). When analyzed, these give clues to what life in a family or an organization is all about. Understanding these texts adds a further dimension to our analysis of organizational phenomena. If we are alert to underlying themes, to meanings behind the metaphors used by family members and other stakeholders, to the reasons for the selection of certain words, and to the implications of certain activities, our knowledge of family and organizational life becomes much richer [14].

A number of rules are helpful when decoding these texts. First, there is the 'rule of thematic unity.' When we try to analyze an organizational story, we have to shape the different observations into an interconnected, cohesive unit, a *gestalt* or whole. We need to identify themes.

Second, we are engaged in pattern matching, looking for structural parallels, for a fit between present-day events and earlier incidents in the history of an individual or organization; we are watching for revealing repetition [15]. These patterns demonstrate how individuals may misinterpret the present in terms of the past and relive the past through present actions. Transparently anachronistic repetitions probably indicate some form of transference reaction and when these happen, it is time to sit up and pay attention.

Third, interpretations need to be guided by the 'rule of psychological urgency,' which assumes that an individual's most pressing needs, intentions, or ways of acting can be identified somewhere in the family text. We need to tease out the operational code—what drives the individual—of a person's life [16]. The challenge is to identify pervasive relationship patterns, what have also been called 'core conflictual relationship themes' [17]. To understand what is going on, it is essential to identify these

constantly repeated patterns. There are always consistencies in an individual's relationships.

Finally, there is the 'rule of multiple function' [18]. Depending on the psychological urgency of the matter at hand, part of the text can have more than one meaning and can be looked at from many different points of view. Sometimes organizational resistances and defensive processes stand out. At other times, the key dynamics may be related to the way people manage aggression or affectionate bonds. Processes evolving around shame, guilt, envy, jealousy, and rivalry can also be important. To complicate matters even further, these issues can occur concurrently at the individual, interpersonal, group, intergroup, and organizational levels. It is therefore necessary to seek out meanings at multiple levels and to tease out the individual and organizational roots and consequences of a family business's actions and decisions.

THE FAMILY SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVE

Family systemic thinking is derived from many different streams of social science research on how individuals interact and relate to each other in groups. For example, in sociology, Kurt Lewin's work on group dynamics led to the awareness that group work can be an effective tool for changing ideas and behavior. The development of his field theory demonstrated how groups experience conflict, and how they communicate [19]. His conceptual ideas have informed psychologists working with families on interpersonal and relationships issues.

In a similar vein, Wilfred Bion, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst also working on group dynamics, identified three tactics that groups use to avoid dealing with the real task at hand: entering into fight/flight mode, pairing, or resorting to dependency reactions [20]. Although a group of people is supposed to engage in real work, it became clear from Bion's observations that groups could be extremely creative in resorting to other, more regressive activities that complicated progress on the task at hand. Executive coaches, consultants, and other advisers need to pay attention to

group phenomena—and the role they play in their clients' fantasy life—when dealing with family businesses.

Family systems theory makes it very clear that the therapist is not a detached observer of what happens in the family. He or she becomes very much part of its dynamics. Understanding the role of the therapist in the system is fundamental to understanding the systemic approach to families. Early family therapists assumed that the therapist could change the system while remaining detached and unaffected by what happened in the family [21]. But as research in the field progressed, it became obvious that there is a process of mutual influence that develops between the therapist and the family [22]. The development of this second-order cybernetic thinking supports the realization that there is no objective reality, and that the therapist, interacting with the family, constructs his or her own understanding of the family that is observed [23]. As we have suggested before, therapists, consultants, and coaches should be prepared to engage in a process of self-reflection and analysis in order to turn these interactions to their advantage; they should constantly think about what is happening to them while engaged in an intervention with a family.

Although, clearly, family systems thinking has a different focus from the psychodynamic approach, there is now an increasing convergence between family systems theory and psychodynamic ideas, in particular those of the object-relations theorists [24]. (See Table 1.1 for a comparison between the family systemic and the classical psychodynamic approach.)

Table 1.1 gives a sense of the nuances in client orientation: past versus future, individual versus the group, a more participative role versus a more detached role, and being directive versus being reflective. But because of the convergence between systemic family therapy and relational psychoanalysis we have to bear in mind that all that we are talking about are nuances. The mingling of family and business systems within a family enterprise explains why drawing on both the psychodynamic and the family systems approach has proved to be extremely helpful in addressing family business issues that fall outside the boundaries of traditional management theory.

Table 1.1 A comparison of family systemic and classical psychodynamic perspectives

Family systemic	Psychodynamic
• Focuses on family relationships	• Focuses on the individual
• Explores present to future	• Explores past to present to build for the future
• Focuses on behavioral changes in behavior	• Develops new insights as a prerequisite for change
• Addresses problems in the system	• Focuses on the problems of the individual, taking a relational perspective
• Therapist collaborates in the system	• Therapist has more of a detached attitude
• Works with actual family	• Explores symbolic family through the individual family members
• More directive approach	• More reflective approach

The psychodynamic perspective focuses on how individual thinking and behavior are shaped by experience and past events. Because we are all products of our experiences and our origins, the psychotherapist seeks to discover how these early influences affect the way clients interact with others as adults. Clinical insights can help to provide a rational explanation for seemingly irrational behavior. These insights become the building blocks for new beginnings.

In contrast, the family systems approach looks at how the family interacts *now*, and emphasizes the process of changing behavior to create more effective relationships. The family systems model recognizes the importance of past experiences, but focuses its intervention more on the requirements of the present. This is particularly useful in situations where people must interact on emotional and cognitive levels, as is the case in both family and business systems.

The advantage of using these two psychological perspectives in a family-business context is that they consider both the behav-

ioral problems and the more enduring belief systems that under-pin behavior at individual, interpersonal, and family levels. Using these two perspectives provides insights into the cognitive, emotional, interpersonal, and social spheres.

THE THERAPEUTIC ALLIANCE

A crucial factor in the success of a therapeutic or consulting intervention is the establishing of a good therapeutic alliance—the collaborative relationship a therapist is able to form with a client. It concerns the shared ability of the patient and the therapist to understand and to relate to each other on a deep level, being prepared to work on the task at hand [25]. It is this relationship that enables the client and therapist to explore together issues that are anxiety-provoking for the client and therefore usually avoided.

The working alliance is established by the therapist's ability to build relationships (allowing clients space to talk, empathy, demonstrating positive regard) and by the personal qualities of the therapist. This alliance is also established by the therapist's ability to maintain what is called the 'therapeutic frame,' a set of rules of working together, usually delineated in the initial meeting. The frame deals with practical matters, such as times of meeting, length of therapy sessions, the fee, confidentiality, regularity of meeting, and the setting of boundaries between the two parties.

Building the Alliance with a Family

When working with a family rather than an individual the therapist needs particular training in how to establish an alliance that provides a level playing field that will allow all participating generations to work as a family of adults. A family meeting facilitated by an external adviser needs to meet the needs of the senior generation (for example, by showing that their ideas are respected) and the younger generation (for example, by allowing

them to express their frustration, or other emotions, in a constructive way). As part of creating the therapeutic alliance, the adviser needs to provide the family with a 'safe space'—a reassuring environment that needs to be suitable in both physical terms (e.g. quiet, and where clients will not be overheard if strong emotions are expressed) and emotional terms (one in which clients feel they trust the therapist with their inmost anxieties). Only when this is available will family members' anxiety be sufficiently reduced for them to feel able to experiment with new ways of doing things.

A family meeting, or series of meetings, with a professionally trained facilitator can provide the family with opportunities to think about and test new ways of working together. For example, a family considering appointing the youngest son as managing director, or a daughter as the first woman board member, may have to overcome both the power of family scripts and the larger society's biases and traditions of business leadership.

A SUMMING-UP

This chapter has provided some basic understanding of the principles and theories we will refer to throughout the book. We will demonstrate how using a psychodynamic-systems approach can help the family to prepare for life-cycle transitions and other psychological issues that family businesses face, including:

- deciphering roles and responsibilities within the family and business systems;
- exploring the motivations of individual protagonists and their family; and
- developing organizational structures and processes that support decision making in the larger family-business system.

A critical value of family systemic therapy is the acceptance of the role of the therapist, consultant, or coach as a part of the system [26]. For the purposes of this book, we suggest that you, the reader, are also a researcher [27], especially if you are from, work for, or have experience with, a business family. Instead of

ignoring factors like personal emotions, you should recognize and welcome them, viewing your own reactions as important sources of data. By engaging in a process of self-reflection and self-analysis, you can turn these feelings to your advantage. Try to sharpen your skills in self-observation. You should constantly think about how you react as you work through the ideas in this book: Do you agree with what you are reading? Disagree? Why? And what kind of associations bubble up when you are reading?

ENDNOTES

1. Zaleznik, A. and Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1975). *Power and the Corporate Mind.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
2. Levinson, H. (1972). *Organizational Diagnosis.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Levinson, H. (1981). *Executive.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Levinson, H. (2002). *Organizational Assessment: A Step-by-Step Guide to Effective Consulting.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association; Zaleznik, A. (1966). *Human Dilemmas of Leadership.* New York: HarperCollins; Zaleznik, A. (1989). *The Managerial Mystique.* New York: HarperCollins; Hirschhorn, L. (1988). *The Workplace Within: Psychodynamics of Organizational Life.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1989). *Prisoners of Leadership.* New York: Wiley; Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (2006). *The Leadership Mystique* (2nd edn). London: Prentice Hall/Financial Times; Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (2006). *The Leader on the Couch.* London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd; Gabriel, Y. (1999). *Organizations in Depth.* London: Sage.
3. Freud, S. (1933). New Introductory Lectures. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol 21* (trans. and ed., J. Strachey). London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis. **22**; Sandler, J. and Rosenblatt, B. (1962). 'The concept of the representational world,' *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, **17**: 128–145; White, R. (1966). *Lives in Progress.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; Greenberg, J.R. and Mitchell, S.A. (1983). *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Lichtenberg, J.D. and Schonbar, R.A. (1992). Motivation in psychology and psychoanalysis. *Interface of Psychoanalysis and Psychology* (eds Barron, J.W., Eagle, M.N. and Wolitzky, D.L.). Washington: American Psychological Association, pp. 11–36; Lemma-Wright, A. (1995). *Invitation to Psychodynamic Psychology.* London: Whurr Publishers.
4. Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families and Family Therapy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Bowen, M. (1994). *Family Therapy in Clinical Practice.* New York: Jason Aronson; Lusterman, D.D., McDaniel, S.H. *et al.* (1995). *Integrat-*

ing Family Therapy: Handbook of Family Psychology and Systems Therapy. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association; Sexton, T.L., Weeks, G.R. *et al.*, (eds) (2003). *Handbook of Family Therapy*. New York: Brunner-Routledge; Harway, M. (ed.) (2005). *Handbook of Couples Therapy*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

 5. Dare, C. (1998). 'Psychoanalysis and family systems revisited: the old, old story?' *Journal of Family Therapy*, **20**: 165–176.

 6. Dyer, W.G. Jr (2003). 'The family: the missing variable in organizational research.' *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, **27** (4), 402; Kets de Vries, M.F.R. and Miller, D. (1984a). 'Narcissism and leadership: An object relations perspective,' *Human Relations*, **38** (6), 583–601; Kets de Vries, M.F.R. and Miller, D. (1984b). *The Neurotic Organization: Diagnosing and Changing Counterproductive Styles of Management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass; Kets de Vries and Associates (1991). *Organizations on the Couch*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

 7. Dare, C. (1998)—as note (5)—p. 174.

 8. Freud, S. (1920). *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, Boni & Liveright; Freud, S. (1933)—as note (3).

 9. Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (2007). Are you feeling mad, sad, bad, or glad? INSEAD Working Paper, Fontainebleau, France.

10. Epstein, L. and Feiner, A.H. (eds) (1979). *Countertransference*. New York: Jason Aronson.

11. Freud, S. (1933); Freud, A. (1966). *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*. Madison, Conn.: International Universities Press; Vaillant, G.E. (1992). *Ego Mechanisms of Defense*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press.

12. Jacobs, M. (1999). *Psychodynamic Counselling in Action* (2nd edn). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

13. Loewenberg, P. (1982). *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Kets de Vries, M. and Miller, D. (1987). 'Interpreting organizational texts,' *Journal of Management Studies*, **24** (3): 233–347; Rennie, D.L. (1994). 'Storytelling in psychotherapy: the client's subjective experience,' *Psychotherapy*, **31**: 234–243.

14. Kets de Vries, M.F.R. and Associates (1991). *Organizations on the Couch: Clinical Perspectives on Organizational Behavior and Change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

15. Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge*. New York: Basic Books; Spence, D.P. (1982). *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth*. New York: Norton

16. Leites, N. (1953). *A Study of Bolshevism*. New York: Free Press; George, A.L. (1969). 'The operational code: A neglected approach to the study of political leaders and decision making,' *International Studies Quarterly*, **13**: 190–222.

17. Luborsky, L. (1984). *Principles of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*. New York: Basic Books; Luborsky, L., Crits-Christoph, P., Minz, J. and Auerbach, A. (1988). *Who Will Benefit from Psychotherapy?* New York: Basic Books.

18. Waelder, R. (1936). 'The principle of multiple function,' *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, **5**: 45–62.

19. Lewin, K. (1951). *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

20. Bion, W.R. (1948). 'Experiences in groups,' *Human Relations*, **1**: 314–329.

21. Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Mind and Nature.* New York: Ballantine Books.
22. Von Forester, H. (1981). *Observing Systems.* Seaside, CA: Intersystems.
23. Anderson, T. (ed.) (1990). *The Reflecting Team.* New York: W.W. Norton.
24. Kohut, H. (1971). *The Analysis of the Self.* Madison, Connecticut: International Universities Press; Greenberg, J.R. and Mitchell, S.A. (1983). *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Fonagy, P., Cooper, A.M. and Wallerstein, R. (1999). *Psychoanalysis on the Move: The Work of Joseph Sandler.* London/New York: Routledge.
25. Greenson, R.R. (1965). 'The working alliance and the transference neurosis,' *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, **34**: 155–181; Sandler, J., Dare, C. *et al.* (1973). *The Patient and the Analyst: The Basis of the Psychoanalytic Process.* New York: International Universities Press; Castonguay, L.G., Constantino, M.J. *et al.* (2006). "The working alliance: Where are we and where should we go?" *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, **43**(3): 271–279.
26. Howe, R. and von Foerster, H. (1974). 'Cybernetics at Illinois,' *Forum*, 6.
27. Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory.* Chicago: Alpine; Devereux, G. (1967). *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences.* New York: Humanities Press; Turner, R. (1974). *Ethnomethodology.* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin; Edelson, M. (1984). *Hypothesis and Evidence in Psychoanalysis.* Chicago: Chicago University Press; Schein, E. (1987). *The Clinical Perspective in Field Work.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.