

THE INNER THEATRE

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The Hedgehog Effect: The Secrets of Building High Performance Teams

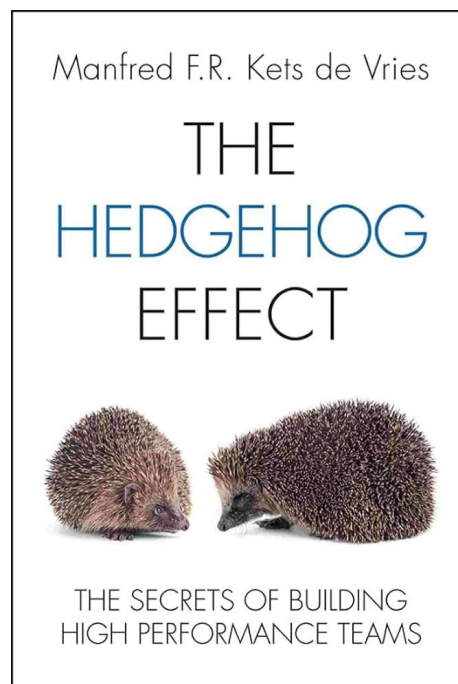
by Manfred F. R. Kets de Vries

In *The Hedgehog Effect*, Manfred Kets de Vries presents the case for leadership group coaching as an experiential training ground for learning to function as a high performance team. His group coaching model, incorporating living case studies, has been developed over more than 20 years of delivering programs to top-level executives and sets the standard in the field of leadership group coaching.

Written for coaches, consultants, leadership development directors, and anyone working in or with teams, *The Hedgehog Effect* begins with an in-depth analysis of what teams and groups are all about. The intricacies of leadership coaching are illustrated with an elaborate example of a team coaching intervention. In Part Two, the author applies a psychodynamic lens to the dynamics of teams and groups, taking a close look at relationship patterns, how groups evolve, and the phenomenon of the group-as-a-whole. Part Three takes a more systemic perspective, addressing the challenges that change processes pose for people in organizations, and how to create best places to work. Kets de Vries supports the whole with the story of an organizational change initiative accomplished through group coaching.

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Every extension of knowledge arises from making the conscious the unconscious.

Friedrich Nietzsche

Analysis does not set out to make pathological reactions impossible, but to give the patient's ego freedom to decide one way or another.

Sigmund Freud

Everything that irritates us about others can lead us to an understanding of ourselves.

Carl Jung

Man lives consciously for himself, but is an unconscious instrument in the attainment of the historic, universal, aims of humanity.

Leo Tolstoy

Rationality is an illusion

Irrationality is grounded in rationality. Irrational behavior is a common pattern in our lives, although in fact it will always have a rationale, or meaning, to it. Nothing that we do is random. Elements of psychic determinism are a fact of life. Understanding this rationale is critical to making sense of our own and other people's inner theater—the core themes that affect personality, behavior and leadership style.

Exploration of the Self in relationship to the Other can help us understand our conscious and unconscious mental life.

There was once a small boy who banged a drum all day and loved every moment of it. He refused to stop banging, no matter what anyone said or did. His distracted neighbors consulted a series of so-called wise women and asked them to do something about the child. The first wise woman told the boy that if he continued to make so much noise he would perforate his eardrums; but her reasoning was too advanced for the child, who was neither a scientist nor very bright. The second wise woman told him that drum beating was a sacred act and should be carried out only on special occasions. The child continued to drum happily. The third found a simple solution, and offered the neighbors plugs for their ears. The fourth gave the boy a book so he could focus his energy on other things. But obviously, books were of little interest. The fifth gave the neighbors books on anger management. The sixth gave the boy meditation exercises to make him placid and explained that all reality was imagination. Like all placebos, some of these remedies worked for a short while, but none worked for very long.

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Eventually, a truly wise woman came along. Handing the boy a hammer and chisel, she asked, “I wonder what is inside that drum?”

This story strikes me as highly appropriate in the context of human behavior; I have always maintained that we should work not only from the outside in, but also from the inside out. I work very closely with clients, taking their own lives and experiences as important sources of learning and development, rather than simply applying one-size-fits-all ivory tower theorizing. I emphasize that an in-depth exploration of the self in relationship to the other can help people better understand their conscious and unconscious mental life. As the philosopher Kierkegaard observed, “Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards.”

This approach greatly increases effectiveness in individual and organizational analysis. It brings a more holistic, systemic orientation—paying attention to micro, meso, and macro processes which we can visualize as interwoven individual, group, and organizational interactions.

I summarize the key elements in what I call the Clinical Paradigm. (“Clinical” originally signified “by the bedside.” In other words, it takes a practical application—seeing each person as their own live case to be discovered, rather than relying on theory.) This approach is not about pathology, but rather, deciphering what is deepest and most influential in each one of us. Exploring and understanding is the beginning of change or acceptance.

The six elements of the clinical paradigm

I. Much of what happens to us is beyond our conscious awareness.

Most of our behavior is driven by unconscious forces. To have a better understanding of these unconscious patterns we need to explore our own and other people’s inner desires, wishes, and fantasies; we need to pay attention to the repetitive themes and patterns in our lives, and in the lives of others.

This approach can be described metaphorically as a way of exploring an individual’s inner theater. Behind the curtain of our inner theater, a rich tragi-comedy plays itself out on the stage, with key actors representing the people we have loved, hated, feared, and admired throughout our lives. Some evoke painful memories; others fill us with a sense of well-being. These internal figures had a strong influence on the development of our values, beliefs, and attitudes, which lay the foundation of our personality, patterns of behavior, preferred leadership styles, and courses of action. Of course, what we see most prominently are the actions that result from these underlying influences.

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If we want a better understanding of ourselves, we need to explore these themes in our inner theater and pay attention to our wishes, desires, and fantasies. We need to identify recurring themes, patterns, or schemata and explore repetitive attempts to avoid distressing thoughts and feelings.

2. All of us are the product of our past.

Like it or not, there's a continuity between past and present. We are inclined to view the present through the microscope of past experiences. Our personality structure is due to our genetic endowment and the developmental outcome of our early environment. Because of the heavy imprinting that takes place in the earlier stages of life, we tend to repeat certain behavior patterns. To make sense of our behavior, we must explore our interpersonal history.

3. Interpersonal relationships reflect recurrent themes and patterns.

Adaptive and non-adaptive aspects of our operational mode will be affected by how our original attachment relationships—the relationships with our first caregivers—have evolved. We are all subject to unconscious transference or counter-transference reactions—inappropriate (but interesting) repetitions of relationships that were once important in our past (with a parent or sibling, for example), but are now unconsciously redirected and acted out in the present.

To understand our and others' behavior we need to identify these recurrent themes and patterns. Reflecting on these deeply-anchored relationship patterns provide us with a great opportunity to explore and work through difficult issues in the here-and-now. Identifying the relationships between past and present enables us to be liberated from ingrained, automatic behavior.

These unconscious forces affect not only the way we love, choose our friends, or express ourselves, but also influence patterns of relationships with bosses, colleagues, and subordinates. Like a movie projectionist screening a film, we project these early experiences on others. These projections affect the way we make decisions, our preferred leadership style, the way we communicate, and the degree to which we (like Schopenhauer's hedgehogs) are able to work together closely in teams.

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4. Nothing is more central to who we are than the way we express and regulate our emotions.

Intellectual insight is not the same as emotional insight, which touches us at a much deeper level. Emotions play a vital role in shaping who we are and what we do. Others around us often pay much greater attention to our emotional expression than to our words or actions—particularly if they are perceived as negative. “People remember how you make them feel,” according to the old saying. The way you make them feel is often directly related to how you are expressing your own emotions, even if this has nothing to do with another person.

5. We all have blind spots.

There are many things we don’t know—or don’t want to know—about ourselves. We all have our shadow side: those parts of ourselves that we don’t want to show to others, or even to acknowledge ourselves. We use defensive processes and resistances to avoid showing—or acknowledging to ourselves—problematic aspects of our experiences. We naturally avoid thoughts and feelings that are distressing or painful! These resistances come to the fore because of conflicts within ourselves; we need to accept that inner dissonance is part of the human condition. In addition, elements of our behavior may be seen by others around us, even though we don’t see this ourselves. Therefore, it is very important to be open to exploring the perception of others because this gives us an enhanced understanding of ourselves.

6. Motivational need systems determine our personality

The motivational need systems that represent the interface of nature and nurture create the tightly interlocked triangle of our mental life (the three points of which are cognition, affect, and behavior).

There are five basic motivational need systems, three of which impact the workplace only peripherally. The first encompasses our physiological requirements, such as food, drink, elimination of waste, sleep, and breathing; the second our need for sensual enjoyment and (later) sexual excitement; the third our need to respond aversively to certain situations through antagonism and withdrawal.

In addition to these, there are two systems that impact the workplace directly and powerfully: the need for attachment/affiliation and the need for exploration/assertion.

Our essential humanness is found in our need for attachment/affiliation—in seeking relationships with other people, and in striving to be part of something larger. The need for attachment drives the process of engagement with another human being; it’s the universal experience of wanting to be close to another, to have the pleasures of sharing and

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affirmation. When this need for intimate engagement is extrapolated to groups, the desire to be associated with others can be described as a need for affiliation. Both attachment and affiliation play an emotional balancing role by confirming our self-worth and contributing to our sense of self-esteem.

The other motivational need system that is crucial for the workplace—the need for exploration/assertion—involves the ability to play, think, learn, and work. Like the need for attachment/affiliation, these needs begin early in life. Playful exploration and manipulation of the environment in response to exploratory-assertive motivation produces a sense of effectiveness, competency, autonomy, initiative, and industry.

Relationship patterns play out in groups and teams

It is important to understand the significance of the relationships between people and their communication patterns, rather than merely focusing on the private wishes and fantasies of the individual. Communication, then, is not just from the point of view of the individual but specifically in the context of a relationship between people.

I was presented with one example during a team coaching session with the executive committee of an IT services company. I had observed repeated situations where the CEO simultaneously praised members of his team while cutting them down.

In one incident the CEO complimented the financial officer for successfully avoiding a financial quagmire—his conservative view of the economy had paid off—but at the same time berated him for his lack of creativity. While he initially seemed grateful for the compliment from his boss—and started to thank him for it—the second comment made him stiffen up; he no longer knew how to respond or what to do. Seeing his confusion, the CEO responded that he should loosen up more. This was only one of many instances of double-bind communication by this CEO. It was little wonder that the financial officer remained silent, while the other members of the team behaved as though they were walking on glass.

Let's take a closer look at what was happening here. If the financial officer interprets his CEO's messages correctly, he can only conclude that to remain in his boss's good graces, he must not show gratitude for compliments; yet if he fails to show gratitude (stiffening up and becoming silent) he will lose his boss's affirmation. Whatever he does, he will end up a loser. The great talent of this particular CEO was his apparent ability to drive his people crazy. Later on in the day, when the group had learned more about the CEO's background, I realized that the CEO was repeating patterns he had learned in childhood, from his mother's disturbing habit of expressing her love for him while simultaneously pushing him away.

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Disturbing behavior be explored by examining the matrix of our earliest relationships.

Just as there is no baby without a mother, and no child without a family, there is little in the way of miscommunication that cannot be understood by using a psychodynamic lens.

Families create communication feedback loops, that children learn to imitate. As adults, many of these deeply engrained patterns will be re-enacted and dramatized, albeit unconsciously. Team members in organizations may become unconscious representatives of past family experiences—with each team member bringing their own family behavior patterns into the group. These patterns of interaction may reinforce the ties between team members, or they may become destructive in ways that are not obvious to the group.

These early relationships also form the basis of how a person will relate to others. It will color their interactions in group situations.

Attachment behavior

To start at the beginning, it is a biological imperative that, for reasons of survival, the human animal strives to maintain close proximity to its principal attachment figure (early childhood caretaker). The fundamental organizing principle driving and structuring human existence is the need to belong.

These attachment needs will continue to manifest themselves throughout our life. The breaking of these bonds—for example, through conflict or distance—may lead to feelings of annihilation, persecution, and loss of affiliation. However, we need to remember that, like Schopenhauer's hedgehogs, human beings require both attachment to and separation from other human bodies, not only to survive but also to regulate the intensity of our interactions. We need to find a satisfactory balance between these two forces to arrive at a psychological equilibrium.

Because human infants, like other mammalian babies, cannot feed or protect themselves, they depend on the lengthy care and protection of adults. We are born with instinctive behaviors that help us to survive. Crying, smiling, vocalizing, grasping, and clinging keep us close to our primary caretakers, who protect us from predators, feed and comfort us, and teach us the good and bad things about the environment we live in. Nature equips attachment figures with their own innate and complementary behaviors: soothing, calling, and restraining, for example. They keep infants safe and cement the bond between mother and child. But there are individual differences in the way children appraise the accessibility of the attachment figure and how they regulate their own attachment behavior.

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The most important tenet of the attachment behavior theory propositions is that a young child needs to develop a relationship with at least one primary caregiver to enable normal social and emotional development. Without such a relationship, the child will face permanent psychological and social damage. Depending on these early experiences with caregivers, a system of thoughts, memories, beliefs, expectations, emotions, and behaviors about the self and others gradually emerges, making social behavior possible.

These attachment patterns become internalized, and can be observed as the child matures. In the case of separation or the threat of separation from principal attachment figures, different forms of “attachment behavior” will be acted out, indicating which pattern has become internalized.

For example, consistent, good-enough caregiver responsiveness will be associated with a secure attachment style. Over time, secure children mature into adults who expect their partners to be trustworthy and responsive, reactions that help them perceive themselves as worthy of love. Secure adults find it relatively easy to get close to others and are comfortable depending on others and having others depend on them. They don’t often worry about abandonment or others’ proximity to them. They tend to have a positive view of life, know how to manage and express their feelings, and have good social skills. Secure adults have a relatively high sense of self-esteem, feel well liked by others, and build relationships relatively easily. They are the hedgehogs that feel the desire to come closer together.

In contrast, the anxious-ambivalent style attachment pattern is a result of inconsistent caregiver responsiveness. People who are anxious or preoccupied with attachment issues tend to have a less positive view of themselves. They often doubt their worth as a partner and blame themselves for their partner’s lack of responsiveness. What may have begun as an attempt to hold on to an unreliable caregiver leads to attempts to hold on to others by using strategies that frequently backfire. Anxious/ambivalent adults find that others are reluctant to get as close to them as they would like. Predictably, they often worry that their partner doesn’t really love them or won’t want to stay with them. Given their level of anxiety, they may want to “merge” completely with another person. Ironically, this desire may scare others away. Furthermore, they may create conflict with people in positions of authority in order to get their attention. They are the hedgehogs that struggle to find the appropriate distance.

Finally, an avoidant style is associated with consistent caregiver unavailability and non-responsiveness. Avoidant people are uncomfortable being close to others; although they may want emotionally close relationships, they find it difficult to trust others completely, or to allow themselves to depend on others. They become nervous at proximity. They are more likely to lack empathy, may even take pleasure in the misery of others, and can be perceived as highly infuriating. These are the hedgehogs that keep their distance, fearful that they may get hurt.

Discover your attachment style

Study the following statements and label them TRUE or FALSE.

1. It is relatively easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on others and having others depend on me.
2. I want to be emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
3. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient, and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

If you select 1, you may be securely attached. If your answer is 2, you may fall into the anxious attachment group. If your answer is 3, you may be avoidant attached.

Beyond the dyadic mother-infant or caregiver-infant relationship, the situation becomes more complex as other family members and significant figures enter the frame.

The family becomes a matrix that provides the child with crucial meanings for constituting a stable image of the self. The child in turn transforms these meanings into personal interpretations of the world. These interpretations will play a specific role in the development and configuration of the child's (and the later adult's) attachment and relational skills. Our family script, our model of how we relate to each other (shared in family myths, legends, stories, and romances), becomes the script that we use in other inter-relational contexts—like teams.

The demons of shame and guilt

Shame is one of the most archaic and powerful of our human emotions. Unfortunately, groups (or teams) are ideal contexts for bringing feelings of shame to the fore. Covert feelings of shame are a formidable force to deal with as they diminish interpersonal trust, self-disclosure, and social reciprocity. Where there is shame, there is fear and reluctance toward any form of self-exposure. However, it is not necessarily easy to recognize these feelings when they surface: shame comes in many disguises.

Shame is the dread of being condemned or thought badly of by other people. It is about feeling like an outsider, about rejection, not belonging, and exclusion. Shame evokes feelings of self-loathing, self-exposure, embarrassment, and extreme vulnerability. Shame makes us feel flawed and unworthy of acceptance.

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Shame-prone people are preoccupied with negative aspects of the “self,” the total, essential being of what we are. For them, shame becomes an automatic and insidious reaction in all situations (“I’m a horrible person for doing these things”; “It’s clear that everybody dislikes me;” “I know everyone hates me.”) This inner voice keeps on condemning, saying, “Something must be wrong with me,” “I am inferior to others,” “I’m undeserving.” Shame is an attack on ourselves, a personal feeling that can cause embarrassment even when things happen that are beyond our control, such as feeling ashamed of the color of our hair, of not driving the “right” car, or of not being able to afford the most fashionable clothes.

Shame weighs on anyone who is self-conscious about the real or imagined negative judgments of others. Any public situation enhances such feelings—speaking up in a group is a typical example. In fact, anyone who has the attention of others, by definition, will be subject to criticism and judgment, but being in the public eye can make some people even more critical of themselves. As Konrad Adenauer, the German Chancellor, once said, “A thick skin is a gift of God.” Working in a team is quite a challenge for shame-prone people.

Shame and a low sense of self-esteem are intimately related, as both are associated with negative perceptions of the self. Such self-conscious feelings can be extremely painful and ugly to deal with so it is little wonder that shame-prone people will do anything in their power to protect themselves by hiding these feelings from others. A common tactic is withdrawal from public settings. Another is lashing out, or making fun of others, as a way of denying similar feelings inside themselves, behavior that can be quite disruptive, particularly in a team context.

This emotional muddle is complicated by other uncomfortable, related feelings, such as fear, anger, vulnerability, neediness, dependency, and sadness. Shame has also been associated with outbursts of anger, aggression (including family violence), depression, substance abuse, eating disorders, and even suicide. Unfortunately, instead of attempting to deal constructively with any one of these other reactions, shame-prone individuals prefer to wallow in self-deprecatory thoughts.

Shame is an inner-directed emotion, whereas guilt is a more outer-directed emotion.

Both can have an effect on group dynamics. Although shame is closely related to guilt, there are key qualitative differences. We feel shame about who we are, but we feel guilt about what we have done. Guilt says, “what I did was not good; Shame says I am no good.” Guilt says I've done something wrong; shame says there is something wrong with me. Shame involves the desire to hide something about the self, perceived as “bad”, from others, but these feelings are left undisclosed. Guilt, on the other hand, is associated with a desire to apologize, make reparation, and be forgiven for certain things that have been done. As Seneca once said, “Every guilty person is his own hangman.” Guilt can be seen as a more moral and adaptive way of handling

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situations. Actually, experiencing guilt can make us feel virtuous. It motivates us to say, “I’m sorry,” or to make amends in another way. The urge to relieve guilt may motivate a confession, but avoiding the humiliation of shame may also prevent it. Thus, at times, shame and guilt may pull us in opposite directions.

Here again, family scripts play a role.

Children learn moral emotional styles from their parents or caregivers. From a family-systems perspective, we can even discern inter-generational continuities, in that shame-proneness or guilt-proneness will be acquired through direct modeling and other forms of identification between parent and child. Society in general, through our parents, teachers, religious leaders, friends, or work colleagues, intentionally or unintentionally ingrains in us the urge to feel ashamed or guilty for things at an early age.

In a family and cultural setting, repeated humiliation often leads to shame. When children grow up in an environment where they are ridiculed and humiliated and their needs are consistently frustrated, they may well begin to ask, “What is wrong with me that I deserve such treatment?” They will wonder whether they are defective or unworthy of love. This experience is the common relational backdrop for vulnerability and susceptibility to shame. Children who are repeatedly humiliated are likely to act out or shut down. Fearful of negative exposure, they react by humiliating others or becoming unable to function. Later in life, as adults, these feelings will linger on.

Some people come from families that put an unusually heavy burden of responsibility on them when they were young. The downside of this is that throughout life, even a trivial infraction noted by some authority figure (parent, teacher, employer, etc.) may spark a sense of failure, guilt, and diminished self-worth.

It is also possible to distinguish between shame-oriented and guilt-oriented cultures.

Societies that rely heavily on public discipline and ostracism will instill greater shame in children than those that emphasize private discipline. Many non-Western cultures emphasize an interdependent self, one that is tied to group membership and tends to be more shame prone; while contemporary Western cultures tend to emphasize an independent self, separate from group membership and hence are more prone to feelings of guilt.

Shame and guilt proneness will play a major role in group settings. Depending on its intensity, it may be difficult for some executives to open up. To change such a pattern and help them open up, the creation of a safe space will be critical. Only when people who are preoccupied with such shame and guilt feelings feel safe, will they be willing to relax their guard, and feel free to participate. If such an ambiance of safety is not created, however, whoever plays the catalyst in fostering team dynamics, may have to deal with serious resistances.

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Are you haunted by feelings of shame or guilt?

Answer the following questions YES or NO.

- I constantly think about past failures or experiences of rejection.
- I have always had a sense of inferiority.
- I am generally disgusted with myself.
- I have never liked the way I look.
- I am extremely sensitive to criticism.
- When criticized, I tend to blame others.
- I am very anxious in public situations.
- I am considered shy.
- I have always doubted myself.

If you answer YES to most of these questions, you are overwhelmed with feelings of SHAME. You are very critical of yourself. You have a constant fear of rejection.

Emotional contagion

Another important issue in group settings is emotional contagion. Recent research has shown that our moods are far more strongly influenced by the people around us than we might think. All of us, as part of our Paleolithic heritage (where we needed to be on the lookout for predators at all times), have a tendency to converge emotionally. We all seem to be programmed to be receptive to other people's emotions. And we all have a tendency to recognize and feel emotions that are similar to our own—although we may not consciously recognize this.

We can even hypothesize that the urge to mirror others is hardwired into our brain through a neural feedback mechanism, which probably developed because co-operation leads to more food, better health, and economic growth for a community. Like present-day herd animals that benefit from the ability to rapid disseminate messages about risks and rewards, we automatically mimic and synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, body language, and other behaviors with those of other people. We also experience the emotions associated with the particular behavior we are mimicking.

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A student went to his Zen master and said, “I cannot really meditate. I feel so distracted. I think about other, more earthy things. My legs ache. I’m constantly falling asleep. It’s just terrible!”

The Zen master looked at him, and said matter-of-factly: “It will pass.”

A week later, the student came back to his teacher and said: “My meditation is wonderful! I feel so aware, so peaceful, I feel so alive! It’s just wonderful!”

“It will pass,” was the response of the Zen master.

This Zen master stands above emotional contagion. He knows that everything is transitory. He has concluded that there is an emotional, cyclic nature to life. As this vignette illustrates, the challenge is not to get caught up in emotional waves. As change agents, we need to realize that our emotional responses take place within a bigger picture. We need to have the understanding that our emotional responses inevitably follow one another. Life has its own cycles.

How susceptible are you to emotional contagion?

- Do you recognize how you automatically mimic and synchronize your facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of other people (yawning, smiling, etc.)?
- Do you realize how quickly you are influenced by other people’s mood states?
- Are you (consciously) aware of how swiftly and completely you are able to track the expressive behaviors and emotions of others?
- Do you consciously engage in emotional labor—that is, intentional emotional impression management consistent with organizational or occupational rules (such as smiling, using polite phrases, etc.)?

We use conscious and unconscious means to gain information about others’ emotional states. Greater awareness of emotional contagion (including mirroring) helps us obtain invaluable information about what makes other people tick. It will also be very useful for understanding better the behavior and mood states of teams.

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To sum up: behavior that may seem inappropriate can be more easily understood, and possibly modified, if we see them as being residual effects of adaptive solutions to the problem of living.

For example, I remember the story told by an executive from Lebanon. Comments on his 360° feedback report were related to his aggressiveness toward his boss, and his overprotective stance toward his team of employees. He mentioned during his self-portrait presentation that he had grown up in, and later fled, the civil war in his country. Without digging into what was a clearly painful topic, the group helped him see the connection between behavior that was necessary for survival as a child in a war-torn city, and appropriate behavior as a leader in a stable organization. The goal of applying the clinical paradigm is to help people to revisit past experiences and to become more aware of their choices and how they behave in the here-and-now. It is essential for healthy functioning that we do not remain strangers to ourselves. We need to free ourselves from the bonds of past experience to be able to explore new challenges in life.

Applying the clinical paradigm in organizational life helps to tease out the central interpersonal role in which people consciously and unconsciously cast themselves.

It also helps us to explore the roles in which other people are positioned in an executive role constellation. This term describes the way the strengths and weaknesses of members of a team can actually be complementary, creating a group that is much more balanced than the sum of its parts would suggest. For example, although a group of techies or creative types might feel more comfortable at first working in teams with people who think the way they do, the goal of the team will probably be better served if there is a mix of personality types and backgrounds.

The clinical paradigm also helps us identify self-defeating expectations and negative self-appraisals, as well as outdated perceptions of ourselves. For example, team leaders should try to be aware of the here-and-now relationship among the group members, and between the group and the formal or informal leader. The nature of the transference-counter-transference interface is a very important source of information.

This approach helps us to identify and address attempts to avoid distressing thoughts or feelings. What is left out—that is, unspoken, unexplored or even unknown (blind spots)—can be as important as what is left in.