
Change, Learning and Anxiety
Jaap Schaveling
June 02, 2004
You can download this article from www.aikima.com

Index

Background of this paper

This paper is written for the second module of the the International Professional Development Programme: Leading Meaningful Change, 2003-2004 (www.pro-dev.be).

The question I want to focus on is: How do organizations deal with anxiety in systemic terms? And what can we learn form this for dealing with change & anxiety?

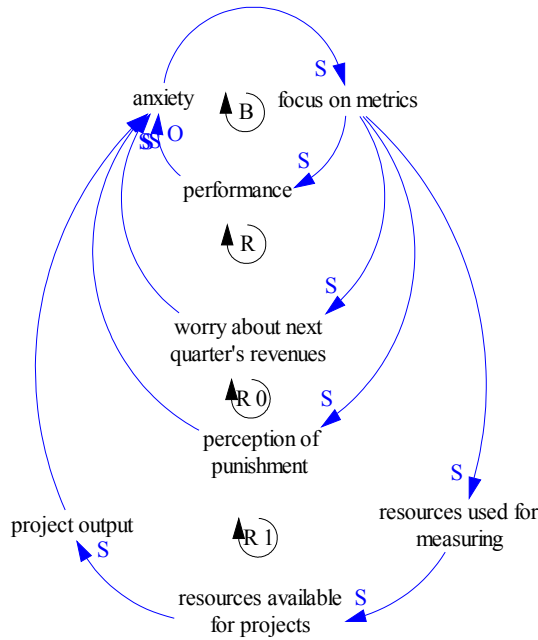
There are several reasons for my interest for the subject of this paper:

1. Anxiety very often appears as an important factor and perhaps the root cause of a lot of the difficulties I observe in change processes, communications, learning, management, and decision-making. Anxiety is therefore an important and interesting theme to address.
2. In groups very often I have the feeling of becoming or making myself 'smaller' than I am; dealing with anxiety in groups is a red tape in my life;
3. The increasing focus on outcomes in performance, learning, teaching practice, both as measure of learning and of quality in teaching, closes valuable areas of the organizational, learning, teaching experience to all participants in the process.
4. It's my idea that Business schools and consultants are not adequately preparing managers, students, professionals to understand and cope with the levels of ambiguity and uncertainty they will inevitably face when they take up positions in organizations; they do not include the paradoxical and unpredictable.

Counterintuitive/-productive behavior of social systems in dealing with anxiety

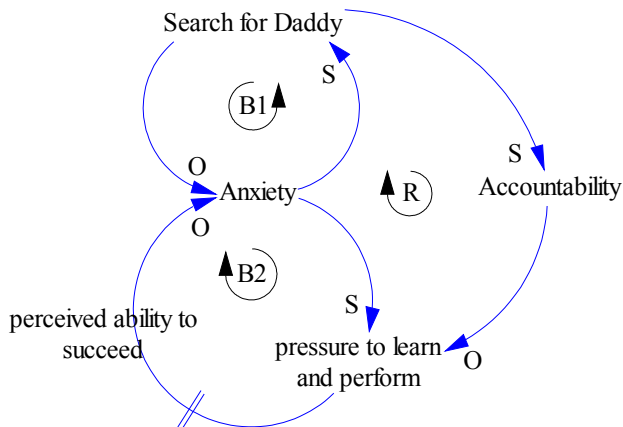
Fixes that fail – manic defense

In balancing the reinforcing tendency of anxiety we see that organizations sometimes choose for transparency by focusing on metrics, Balanced Score Card's etc. But after some delay the metrics does have some 'negative' side effects by which anxiety even grows in stead of reducing (Gould et al 1998).



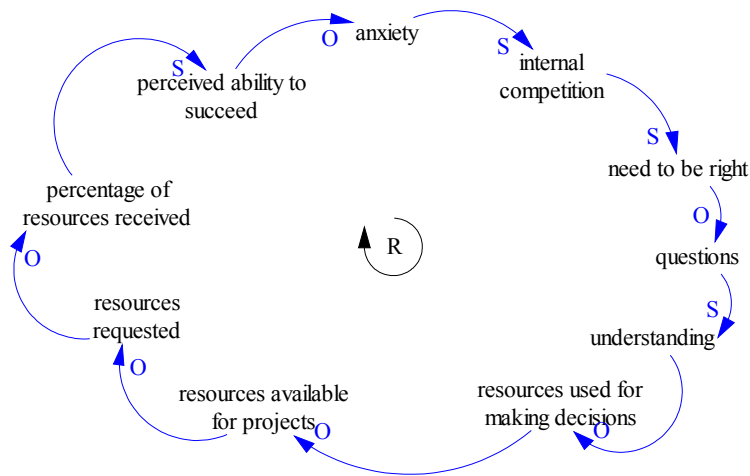
Shifting the burden – messiah

The 'search for Daddy' as solution for the growing anxiety does even have a more negative effect: it undermines the self confidence of the people, and the organization in the longer run (Gould et al 1998).



Reinforcing – fight loop

So our reactions in dealing with anxiety are systemically seen, very often counter productive. In the long run they create more anxiety than less (Gould et al 1998).



Systems dealing with anxiety

- The ‘solutions’ (in fact the defense mechanisms) are creating the exact opposite of what the group wants and needs; this is what Forrester called “the counterintuitive behavior of social systems”.
- The lack of balancing loops is a striking feature; balancing loops are the engines of control in any system, they return the system to its desired state, or equilibrium.
- In fixes that fail and shifting the burden anxiety falls in the short but rises in the long run (better-before-worse scenario)
- Just as the ‘R’ loops can heighten anxiety exponentially, they can also serve to reduce anxiety, if they are turned around
- Possible interventions
 - Use Systems Thinking to show what is happening
 - Instead of projecting anxiety onto ‘bad’ subordinates, learning to recognize both the good and the bad in the way their organization operates
 - Examine things in a far more systemic way than the traditional short-term perspective on e.g. metrics
 - Need for exploring mental models
 - Systemic behavior that backfires signifies a lack of shared vision within the group. Without a sense of larger purpose and clearly defined goals, a group makes irrational decisions.
 - Link a new outside force to anxiety in a way that would ease feelings of fear rather than heighten them (f.e. ‘use of private-life coping mechanisms’)
 - Strengthening ‘good’ loops
 - Weakening ‘bad’ loops: f.e. cut back number of metrics used, finding ways to reduce internal competition and the need to be right,
 - Deleting or adding feedback loops; f.e. give up search for daddy and enhancing empowerment

Anxiety 1 (“it’s too difficult”) blocks learning in organizations

We have learned not to learn which stops adapting individuals and organizations to changing circumstances. Schein called this Anxiety 1: the feeling that is associated with an inability or unwillingness to learn something new because it appears too difficult or disruptive. To avoid Anxiety 1, we deny the problem, or simplify it even if that means distorting the problem, or project the problem onto someone else, or in various other defensive ways, manage not to learn. Anxiety 1 blocks us for knowledge acquisition, for learning behavior and for ‘jumping in the new’.

Anxiety 1 blocks Knowledge acquisition and Insight

Our commonest view of learning is the acquisition of information to build our knowledge base. Our organizational culture, which can be thought of as the accumulation of prior learning based on prior success, typically limits and biases our capacity to perceive and understand a new vision. And sometimes our cognitive capacity is insufficient to grasp the complexity of what is going on.

The recent interest in systems thinking reflects a growing recognition that our ability to grasp how the world works is limited and that we need to learn special analytical techniques to help decipher real world dynamics.

Insight does not automatically change behavior, and, until our behavior has changed and we have observed new results, we do not know whether what we are learning cognitively is valid or not.

Anxiety 1 blocks Learning Behavior

This is the kind of learning symbolized by the use of the carrot instead of the stick. The most difficult aspect of such learning is overcoming bad habits and cultural rules.

Creating an ‘open culture’ is for example very difficult because of cultural rules about saving face and protecting ourselves (Argyris).

Habit and skill learning require us to embrace and tolerate errors as a valuable part of the learning process. But embracing errors is about the last thing most leaders are willing to do.

As followers we collude with our leaders in hoping that they will not commit errors, thus putting them into the position of always claiming to be doing the right thing even when everyone knows making such claims is the wrong thing to do.

To speed up this kind learning we have to provide practice fields and coaching in a psychologically safe environment. Unlearning is emotionally difficult because the old way of doing things after all, has worked for a while and become embedded. It is the history of past success and our human need to have a stable and predictable environment that gives culture such force. Culture is the accumulation of past learning.

Anxiety 1 blocks us for ‘jumping in the new’

Emotional conditioning is associated with Pavlov: the behavior will continue even after you have turned off the shock in both rooms. Once the pattern has been learned, the anxiety alone is enough to keep the behavior going even if no shocks are ever again administered.

Anxiety 1 is sufficient to keep us from finding out whether the dreaded behavior or place is dangerous or not. If the dog had to learn to live in a green room full of bells, it would take a long process of deconditioning and desensitization to overcome the phobia. People who are punished across a wide range of behavior are likely to limit themselves to very narrow safe ranges or become paralyzed for fear of making mistakes.

To the extent that our present managerial theories emphasize the stick over the carrot, we are building in strong resistances to new learning. We create very often a '*whack a gopher*' game: people who stick out their necks get whacked. Our present habits, values and assumptions are our black platform, and sometimes any proposed change can be a bell signifying that we are about to jump into a scary green room. Life on the black platform can be basically comfortable. The vision of the new green room of e.g. a new leader may sound great but the prospect of changing our behavior induces sufficient Anxiety 1 and dread that we do not listen or try anything new.

Our complex human mind is remarkable able to defend itself against messages that make us anxious. Most common defenses are:

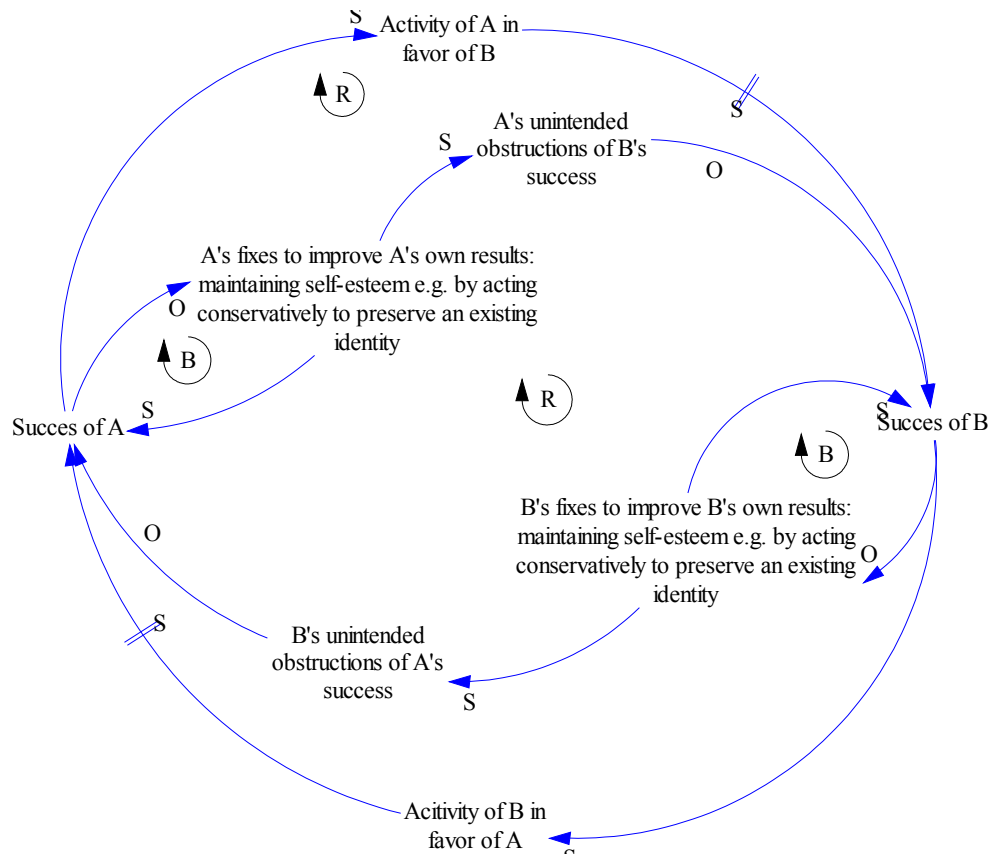
1. not to hear the message in the first place;
2. to deny that the message applies;
3. to rationalize that our leaders do not understand the situation.

Less learning because learning entails anxiety-provoking identity change

Individuals and organizations are not primarily motivated to learn to the extent that learning entails anxiety-provoking identity change (Brown e.a. 102). Rather, they maintain individual and collective self-esteem by not questioning existing self-concepts. In practice, this means that individuals and organizations engage in learning activities and employ information and knowledge conservatively to preserve their existing concepts of self. The self is protected by ego defenses that, in contexts where change is desirable, exert a dysfunctional influence.

In some companies the dread of discontinuity can reinforce a company's tendency to regress to a past identity with which it is more familiar and comfortable. F.e. Xerox stayed as copier company but had all the technologies for personal computers versus Intel from memory chips to microprocessor company.

Fig. Accidental adversaries: learning entails anxiety-provoking identity change



Organizations fail to learn because of the operation of ego defenses that maintain collective self-esteem. Examples are denial, rationalization, idealization, fantasy, and symbolization. (Laughlin, 1970, identified up to 48 ego defenses). It is important to note that a degree of defenses is characteristic of psychologically healthy individuals and organizations, which need to regulate their self-esteem in order to function adequately. In healthy organizations, the ego defenses operate to reduce doubt and uncertainty and to increase self-confidence in ways that permit complex and ambiguous phenomena to be interpreted and explained.

Defenses inhibiting learning

At an organizational level, defenses inhibit learning through their influence on

1. the external search for information;
2. the interpretation of information;
3. the use of information;
4. the storage of information;
5. the internal recall of information.

Is it possible to transfer the idea of (individual) defenses on organizational level? Our position (Brown & Starkey, 102) is that information that threatens an organization's collective self concept is ignored, rejected, reinterpreted, hidden, or lost, and the processes by which organizations preserve their identities are, in many ways, analogues

to the methods that individuals employ in defense of their own self-concepts. This argument derives from Jacques' suggestion that "institutions are used by individual members to reinforce individual mechanisms of defense against anxiety" (1955: 247).

How do work groups and organizations try to cope with the destructive feelings of anxiety?

1. Often we see a combination of (manic defense):
 - a. splitting: separation of 'good' and 'bad'
 - b. projection: we then project 'bad' qualities onto others
 - c. introjection: and introject 'good' qualities into ourselves
2. Denial: through denial actors seek to disclaim knowledge and responsibility, to reject claims made on them, and to disavow acts and their consequences; the denial of reality became the motivational base of organizational life for committed participants at NASA (Schwartz, 1987: 61).
3. Rationalization: an attempt to justify impulses, needs, feelings, behaviors, and motives that one finds unacceptable so that they become both plausible and consciously tolerable; involves a degree of self-deception, which limits self-knowledge. (drifting goals); e.g. Janis described groupthink
4. Idealization of a leader, tradition, object, idea, past successes, one aspect that is credited for success, etc.: the process by which some objects comes to be "overvalued and emotionally aggrandized" (Laughlin, 1970: 123) and stripped of any negative features
5. Fantasy: a kind of vivid daydream; fantasies represent an unconscious endeavor to fulfill or gratify difficult or impossible goals and aspirations
6. Symbolization: hierarchy itself may be regarded as evidence of symbolization, which reduces uncertainty regarding reporting relationships and decision-making powers, allocates responsibilities, and provides a sense of coherence and meaning for participants. Symbolization is reassuring but potentially self-deceptive and self-defeating: on the one hand it allows 'self-confident action and coherent life', but, on the other, it militates against learning processes that would reveal "the truth about our powerlessness and finitude" (Schwartz, 1985: 35)

Groups or organizations that are leaderless can also suffer more anxiety than most. In these cases, the people involved often defend themselves against fearful emotions in three ways (Bion):

1. Dependency: waiting for a messiah
2. Pairing: forming subgroups
3. Flight/fight: blaming an outside cause or pretending that no problem exists

Change, learning and emotion

Very often the emphasis remains on capturing an objectified learning in order to manipulate it for the organization's good (Aram and Noble, 1999: 323). This is different from the idea that there is a potential for learning which we can all jointly unfold in many different ways through our interactions with others. Reasoning and decision making can only take place with the involvement of those parts of the brain traditionally associated

with emotions (Damasio, 1994). Learning is not a purely rational, intellectual process, but a participative, social experience involving reason, emotion, intuition and interaction. The person is an embodied experiencing subject.

Learning, emotion and anxiety

Learning is a dynamic transformational process, continuously extended and re-defined in response to the context in which it takes place. Learning is part of what the ancient Greeks viewed as 'paideia', the cultivation of each individual's natural, in-born, potential in every domain of social activity, which cannot be achieved through fixed programs. (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: 439). Psychoanalytic approaches to learning emphasize the psychological work which it entails, accepting and tolerating the anxieties associated with all learning. Learning involves overcoming resistances to learning, many of which operate in unconscious and unacknowledged ways. Learning represents a challenge and a threat to individuals. The management of anxiety then becomes seminal in all learning situations, since too much or too little anxiety inhibits learning.

Emotions remain potentially unmanaged and unmanageable

Learning in the context of emotion implies a change in position, a reconstruction of one's way of perceiving and thinking, but Emotions remain potentially unmanaged and unmanageable. Yet, a fundamental principle of psychoanalysis is that there is no hard and fast line between normality and neurosis, since all normal individuals display certain processes and characteristics which are virtually undistinguished from those of neurotics. It is normal then that some of the emotions of all of us are, and remain, impervious to attempts to temper them, modify them or civilize them. This shows some of the limits in developing or modifying emotions through learning.

Learning re-defines/re-organizes emotions

It seems clear that core organizational processes, such as communication, co-ordination, decision making and problem-solving, entail both emotion and learning. However, many organizations, systemically and systematically suppress emotion and/or blocking learning (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: 445).

The need to encourage individuals within organizations to understand their emotions and to employ them constructively in their daily lives is one point on which current accounts of emotions converge (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: 445). Learning then is itself a deeply emotional process – driven, inhibited and guided by different emotions, including fear and hope, excitement and despair, curiosity and anxiety, organized in relatively long-lasting clusters. (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: 444).

Both emotion and learning can stand in the way of change, especially when they become entangled in the organizational and psychic dynamics of resistance, cynicism or indifference. Emotions of acute and unchecked insecurity and anxiety can paralyze any attempt to learn, while old learning may inhibit the taking of risks and responsibility for failure, thus inhibiting new learning.

The unique contribution of psychoanalysis in understanding this process lies in its appreciation that inner and outer change are mediated by a thick layer of emotion, fantasy

and desire, which accounts for the deeper meanings of change and our divers engagements with it (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: 447, 448).

The role of managers, consultants, MD programs in an uncertain complex world

An organization can be seen as a complex system, one in which large numbers of agents interact with each other. All of these systems are adaptive in that they do not simply respond to events, but evolve or learn. Through double-loop learning ‘species evolve for better survival in a changing environment – and so do corporations and industries’ (Waldrop, 1992: 11). Complex adaptive systems are most alive at what has become known as the ‘edge of chaos’, a space where order and disorder co-exist, where stability and instability paradoxically co-exist in unpredictable patterns and relationships. This is where change and creativity are possible through a process of double-loop learning.

In an uncertain world understanding is a process of continuous development where each ‘destination’ is a stage to new meaning and further understanding. It is an unclear journey, punctuated by phases of clarity or insight, consolidation points, times for reflection, before a path is taken up again (Chia, 1997: 79). Once we take account of the messy process of learning in unclear situations and seek to incorporate it into our practice, we also need to contain our own and our students’ anxiety by providing a good enough holding environment (Winnicott, 1965; Stapley, 1995) within which our students may learn.

Currently predominant models of change management have a valid role only in contexts of reasonable levels of certainty and agreement. When we move away from these conditions the level of anxiety of managers having to operate in this zone increases and current management theories offer little help in that. It is reasonable to ask whether management education is preparing managers for these contexts of high uncertainty.

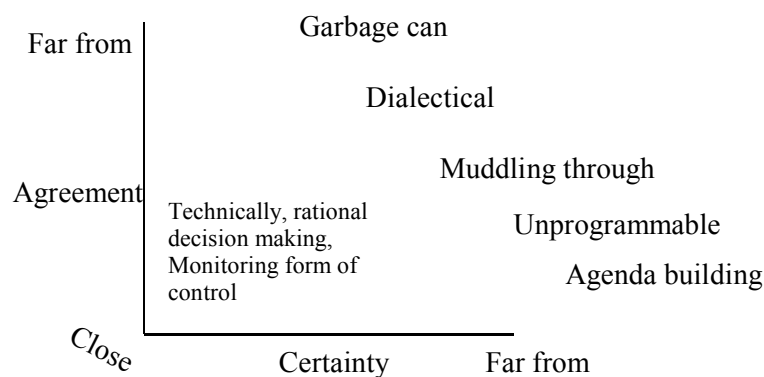


Figure: the relationship between change and decision-making/control modes

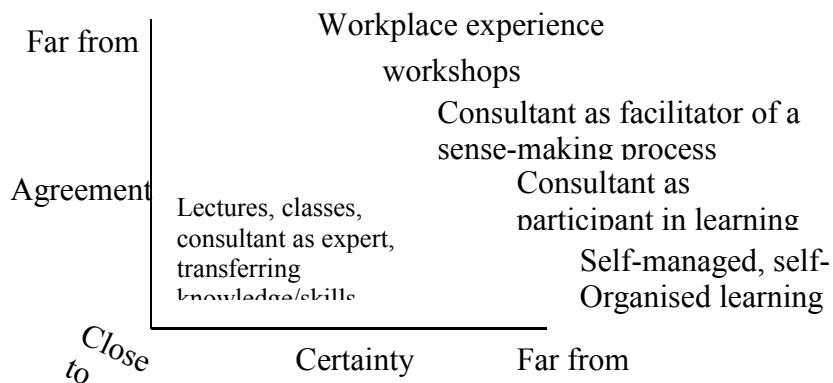


Figure: the relationship between change and the ‘teaching’ role and context.

A key requirement is the need for managers, and therefore students too, to be able to cope with the intermediate zone, the ‘edge of chaos’.

Education today can be characterized by single-loop learning in which the questioning, undermining of assumptions and novelty that are essentials of double-loop learning form a very minor part (Aram & Noble, 1999: 329). Sense-making and ‘knowing’ is local, transient and fractal, leaving space for other emerging realities, understanding and not-knowings. By entering into the learning process as co-creators of knowledge generated by a system of students and teachers, of managers and co-workers, teachers and managers take up boundary-keeping roles as participants in a self-organizing learning process (Aram & Noble, 1999: 329).

How to deal with change, learning and anxiety?

Finding out how an organization deals with change and anxiety

Lewin’s idea on the theory of practice and change is “if you want to understand a system, try to change it”.

It is a mistake to presume that diagnosis can be separated from intervention. An intervention is everything that involves the client system. So whenever a change agent initiates, monitors, coaches a consult system, the multiple roles of the agent appear as an intervention to the clients. The intervention, on the other hand, is a way of learning the essential dynamics of the system.

Principles for consulting from a complex adaptive systems perspective

Shaw (1997) has written about principles for consulting from a complex adaptive systems perspective:

1. focus on feedback;
2. bounded instability: a state where paradox is held and is constantly rearranged rather than resolved; the role of consultant will be that of container of the anxiety raised by the constant movement away from and towards stability and instability in order to make possible the creative learning work at the edge of chaos;
3. intervening not controlling;
4. sustaining multiple cultures;
5. participant learner, not expert teacher;
6. process not outcomes: the main measurement of learning may be in observing the change and development in ourselves as well as in our students, which require us to be self-reflective and self-aware.

“All that happens is that things happen”

By accepting and working with the view that “all that happens is that things happen” (Jordan cited in Chia, 1997), we validate working with what ‘is’: with what is arising from present interactions.

Chia (1997: 84) identifies four ‘pedagogical imperatives for management learning’:

1. staying with the ambivalence and ambiguity of the not-yet-known;
2. recognizing that how a situation emerges crucially shapes its meaning, interpretation and social significance’ as it is emerging;
3. recognizing that the way events unfold affects and is affected by the interaction between perceiver and perceived;
4. Emphasis on the significance and importance of experimental action as a means of initiating the creative advance into novel understanding.

Creating Anxiety 2

Schein (1993: 88): “we must create a new anxiety, Anxiety 2, and it must be greater than Anxiety 1 for new learning to occur. Accumulated change theory tells us that human systems seek homeostasis and equilibrium. We prefer a predictable stable world, and we do not let our creative energies out unless our psychological world is reasonable stable. We seek the largest possible black platform on which to rest comfortably. We are attaching animals.

Anxiety 1 is associated with doing something new and Anxiety 2 is associated with continuing to do something that, we know will lead to failure. Good coaches are well aware of this tension. They are masters at creating sufficient Anxiety 2 to motivate learning and sufficient direction and support to reduce Anxiety 1 enough to allow learning to occur.

To speed up learning, we must speed up the unfreezing process. Unfreezing requires simultaneous management of three processes (Schein, 1993: 88 e.v.):

1. Disconfirmation

- a. organizational members must come to perceive that their current ways of doing things are no longer working; there is not enough food on the black platform. This requires intense communication and economic education; employees often simply do not understand or do not believe it when management says “we are in trouble”.

2. Creation of guilt or anxiety

- a. Anxiety 2 has to do with the fear, shame, or guilt associated with not learning anything new. People must discover that if they do not learn something new, they will either fail to meet some of their important ideals, which will make them feel guilty, or they will put their job or security in jeopardy, which will make them feel anxious. Creating Anxiety 2 is what is colloquially called ‘getting someone’s attention’. Paradoxically, anxiety prevents learning, but anxiety is necessary to start learning as well. Managing learning of a change process means managing these two kinds of anxiety. Anxiety 1 must be present or induced in order to avoid immediate bad experiences. Anxiety 2 must be induced through disconfirmation. Anxiety must end up being greater than Anxiety 1.

3. Creation of psychological safety

- a. for change to happen people have to feel psychological safe; that is, they have to see a manageable path forward, a direction that will not be catastrophic. Not only a longer range sense of direction but also some immediate steps that are manageable. These steps allow us to make a gradual entry into the green room so that we learn that the shock has been turned off.

Transitional learning

To speed up learning we must create psychological safety by creating temporary parallel systems in which to develop new norms that favor learning. To make people feel safe in learning, they must have a motive, a sense of direction, and the opportunity to try out new things without fear of punishment.

Some essential elements of a psychologically safe environment are:

- Providing a 'holding environment'
- Place for aligning inner and outer world
- Transitional time, space, and containment
- Transitional objects or situations in facilitating transformation
- Time and reflection for working and worrying through
- Opportunities for training and practice
- Collaborative management style
- Problem toleration; Support and encouragement to overcome the fear and shame associated with making errors
- Coaching and rewards for efforts in the right direction
- Norms that legitimize the making of errors
- Norms that reward innovative thinking and experimentation
- Facilitating transitional learning: the design and double task.

The key to reducing anxiety in organizations is based on the psychological fact that it is easier to tolerate anxiety in the presence of sympathetic others than alone. To create an error-tolerant environment in which to practice, we must move temporarily out of the daily pressure of organizational life: transitional learning (Amado & Ambrose, 2001).

Transition is essentially a psycho-social process.

Critical self-reflexivity and the attainment of an attitude of wisdom

Learning to promote critical reflection upon organizational identity is crucial (Brown & Starkey: 103). Such learning involves the understanding and the mitigation of those ego defenses that tend toward a regressive retreat from a changing reality. Management's role is to promote mature and adaptive thought and action in pursuit of the collective organizational good. This involves critical reflection upon the nature of self-concepts that form the basis of organization as part of an ongoing learning process.

The outcome of critical reflection upon the nature of identity is a self-reflexive and wise organization, secure in its ability to negotiate identity change as part of its future strategic development.

Kohut (1978: 458-459) defines wisdom as "a stable attitude of the personality toward life and the world, an attitude that is formed through the integration of cognitive function with humor, acceptance of transience, and a firmly cathected system of values. For Kohut wisdom represents "the ego's ultimate mastery over the narcissistic self, the final control of the rider over the horse".

The attitude of wisdom assumes complexity and engenders what Weick (1993, 1995) terms complex sense making. Wisdom is associated with an ability to perceive the broader picture and “the connectedness of things”. This involves a shift in self-perception from “self as independent” to “self as part” of a larger whole (Bigelow, 1992: 147).

To promote identity change, therefore, organizations need to confront the psychological boundaries individuals and groups set up to contain anxiety. We need a new work culture that helps people contain and transmute their anxieties and in which it is acceptable for people to air their vulnerabilities.

Relating ‘in depth’ and recovering our own personal authority

The heart of the reparation process is to develop an understanding of the individual’s own purpose and to align this with the institution’s purpose and with the intentions of coworkers. We have to create conditions in which we relate ‘in depth’ to others and recover our own personal authority.

Schein (1993: 92): “if you are a leader and want to speed up the learning process in your organization, start with an analysis of yourself and your own learning needs. Then consider what anxieties, defenses, and cultural assumptions stand in your way. Think particularly about how to create the necessary psychological safety for people so they feel they can learn. Think about how to create a parallel learning system that can begin to build a culture more conducive to perpetual learning, drawing particularly upon group support to cope with anxiety.

Literature

This paper is strongly based on Antonacopoulou, E.P. and Y. Gabriel (2001), Aram, E. and D. Noble (1999), A. D. Brown & K. Starkey (2000), Gould, J.M., J.J. Voyer and D.N. Ford (1998), Schein, E.H. (1993).

Amado, G. & Ambrose, A. (Eds.), (2001). *The transitional approach to change*. London: Karnac Books.

Antonacopoulou, E.P. and Y. Gabriel, 2001. Emotion, learning and organizational change; towards an integration of psychoanalytic and other perspectives. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. 14(2001)5, 435-451.

Aram, E. and D. Noble. Educating prospective managers in the complexity of organizational life. 30(1999)3, 321-342.

Argyris, C.A. *On organizational Learning*. Cambridge, 1992, MA: Blackwell.

Bigelow, 1992. Developing managerial wisdom. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 1 (1992), 143-153.

Brown, A.D. & K. Starkey. Organizational identity and learning: a psychodynamic perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 25(2000)1, 102-120.

Chia, R. Process Philosophy and management learning: cultivating 'foresight' in management education. In: J. Burgoyne and M. Reynolds (eds) *Management Learning*. London, Sage, 1997

Damasio, A.R. *Descartes' error: emotion, reason and the human brain*. New York, Grosset/Putnam books, 1994

Gould, J.M., J.J. Voyer and D.N. Ford. *Anxiety in the workplace; using systems thinking to deepen understanding*. Pegasus Communications, 1998.

Jacques, E. Social systems as a defence against persecutory and depressive anxiety. In M. Klein, P. Heimann & R. Money-Kyrle (eds). *New directions in psychoanalysis*, 478-498. London, Tavistock.

Kohut, H. Forms and transformations of narcissism. In P.H. Ornstein (ed), *the search for self. Selected writings of Heinz Kohut: 1950-1978*. vol. 1 427-460. New York, International Universities Press.

Laughlin, H.P. *The ego and its defenses*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970

Schein, E.H. How can organizations learn faster? The challenge of entering the green room. *Sloan Management Review*, 34(1993)2, 85-92.

Schwartz, H.S. On the psychodynamics of organizational disaster: the case of the Space Shuttle Challenger. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 22(1987), 59-67.

Shaw, P. Intervening in the shadow of organizations – consulting from a complexity perspective. *The journal of organizational change management*, 10(1997)3, 235-250.

Stapley, L. *The personality of the organization: a psychodynamic explanation of culture and change*. London/New York, Free Association Books, 1995

Waldrop, M.M. *Complexity: the emerging science at the edge of chaos*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Simon & Schuster, 1992

Weick, K.E. *Sensemaking in organizations*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995

Winnicott, D.W. *Maturational Process and the facilitating environment*. London, Hogarth Press, 1965.