

IDENTITY VICISSITUDES IN WORK ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract

Today's pressing scientific and technological changes, while having an impact on the organizational life of our post-industrial world, are producing drastic transformations within organizations, creating in workers new feelings of anxiety and uncertainty.

The features of the present state of crises - instability, uncertainty, weakening of family bonds – define a peculiar social and psychological uneasiness, proper of our time, as a consequence of the technological business culture prevailing today, which is destabilizing the institutional role of organizations, namely fixing the various forms of personal identity.

This contribution offers, also by presenting a training experience in a business setting, a critical psycho-socio-analysis of the roles that individuals and organizations must presently face to foster development and, at the same time, provides directions to avoid the perverse drift of today's culture and promote the identity process through the reactivation of the learning/changing capacity aimed at the definition of new shared meanings.

Key-words: identity, organization, psycho-socio-analysis

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Abstract (italian)

Gli incalzanti mutamenti scientifici e tecnologici che impattano la vita organizzativa nel mondo post-industriale stanno determinando profonde trasformazioni nelle organizzazioni, innescando nuove fonti di ansia e di rischio percepito nei lavoratori.

Gli elementi che evidenziano lo stato attuale di crisi (instabilità, incertezza, affievolimento dei legami affettivi), definiscono un peculiare disagio sociale e psicologico dei nostri tempi in quanto la cultura tecnologica d'impresa oggi vigente rende instabile la funzione istituzionale dell'organizzazione di fissare le forme dell'identità personale.

Il presente contributo propone, anche attraverso il frammento di un'esperienza formativa condotta in un contesto aziendale, una lettura critica a vertice psicosocialitico dei compiti di sviluppo che l'individuo e le organizzazioni si trovano oggi a dover fronteggiare, ipotizzando una direzione che, evitando le derive perverse della cultura attuale, abbia cura di promuovere i processi identitari rimettendo in moto le capacità di apprendimento-cambiamento verso la definizione di nuovi sistemi di significati condivisi.

Parole chiave: identità, organizzazione, psicosocioanalisi

1. Premise: post-modernity condition

It might seem overdue recalling the key features of the conditions characterizing the present social systems, such as the speeding up of globalisation processes, the pervasive spreading of technologies demanding more efficiency and productivity and the new and immediate ways of communication.

It is not surprising that Augè (1992) terms all of that "super-

modernity” as he describes the complexity of our contemporary society founded on extremes, where the sense of community and its reference points seem to be lost, tending toward the individualization of one’s own perception of his place in the world.

The mass society within which modern people consume goods and services, along with the nation state, are both giving way under pressures of globalization. The day-to-day economic realities of life are being removed ever farther from the community, often beyond the borders of the nation state, and into a global market that is redefining, once again, the relationship between people on the one hand and production and consumption on the other. Specifically, the role of transnational corporations, and the global-market system that supports them, has become much more pervasive, becoming the primary means by which the late-modern individual now “purchases” and maintains a social identity (see Bauman, 2005; Barber, 2007; Beck, 1986; Sennett, 2006).

In the company context, the consequences of the post-modern progress are evident from the ongoing and sudden changes in organisational structures and in the resulting weakness and blurriness of the existing boundaries between organization and what is found outside of it; from the flexibility in the job market, now demanding also full mobility; from the uncertain job contracts and from the difficulty in planning one’s own professional advancement in the medium and long-term.

In the face of a diminished clear delimitation of roles and of a guaranteed definition of assignments and activities, it is found an increasing demand, by the organization, of required technical competences and desired adaptation ability to ever changing settings. Interactions, relations, affiliations, which are at the foundation of a

sense of identity, are fading, if not changing, along with the appearance of conditions causing uneasiness, which is so much widespread and so much difficult to recognize.

2. Identity vicissitudes

This is taking place, evidently, because globalisation processes are too rapid and oblivious of the need for a necessary time of adaptation, causing a crossing over of the very limits of the capacity to learning from the experience. From this point of view, the identity-building project is enriched by new and endless possibilities to the detriment of the symbolic reference universes.

Heading in that direction and in accord with the perspective introduced by Augè, Bauman (2002) states that the distinctive sign of modern society is indeed the regarding of one's own members as individuals or, better so, that modern society exists especially in its individualization activity.

Such an activity, which cannot be accomplished in one single act, requires new and ongoing changes, having the objective to emancipate from community's dependence, control and impositions.

This implies that the individualization process takes on, in our modern society, a non-linear pattern, devoid of a "tèlos", being rather characterized by radical reversals and turnovers (see Beck, 1986), where identity is not a matter of fact but a project in which individuals retains direct responsibility, a kind of "self-identification task".

While carrying out such a task, men and women do not find places to settle in, but at their best, places and roles in which they are obliged to «...be constantly on the move and promising no rest and no satisfaction on 'arrival', no comfort on reaching the destination where

one can disarm, relax and stop worrying. There is no 're-embeddedness' prospect at the end of the road taken by (now chronically) disembedded individuals.» (Bauman, 2002: p. XVI).

According to Lévi-Strauss (1977), talking about the present identity crises is a false problem, because it would imply trusting in a supposed oneness of the idea of identity, while it should be conceived as an unsteady function and not as substantial reality. As the author states, reduced to his subjective aspects, an identity crises does not offer any intrinsic interest. It would be better facing the objective conditions of which it itself is the symptom and the reflection.

Thus, Bauman's observations should be considered within the frame of these "objective conditions" or, more precisely, by considering the possibility the individual today has to express his own capacity of self-narrative construction by way of processing his own belongings. As far as there are the conditions to create an identity narrative tension, within which it is possible to pause in the "crossing area" (see Profita, Ruvolo & Lo Mauro, 2007) where one's own belongings are placed in relation to each other and considered, without the exclusion of confrontation and discontinuity, it is possible historicize of such a pattern, favouring an ongoing project of identity-building work. Wherever that individual, group or community's belonging history does not appear, it is revealed in an over-investment of the present, which hinders such a work (see Guarnieri, 2002).

The building of a sense of individual identity, from this point of view, more than a defined process of taking on an identity, is rather the provisional and dynamic synthesis of successive integrations requiring constant changes, having the purpose of reconstructing/recognizing dependence and belonging relations to one's own anthropological, cultural and community's roots.

3. Drift of identity processes in work organizations

The aspects considered so far move us, as far as work organizations are concerned, to see in a new light the challenges that the identity project has to face.

On the one hand, it stands out the extreme logic of the business culture, thus becoming "cultural perversion" (Profita & Ruvolo, 2009; Ruvolo, 2000a, 2000b, 2003), based on profit, imbuing personal relations to the extent of making them appear as a «...mere transaction/exchange from one another in the selfish/individualistic possession of objects.» (Profita & Ruvolo, 2009: p. 75).

On the other hand, that places a burden transcending the individual's own resilience, a burden beyond commitment, involvement and trust that requires the attribution of meaning to one's own presence in the business environment, within which the human being needs to recreate himself, search for himself and for his own motivation to advancing and working on his own project.

Granted, we could be left wondering whether it would be possible to conceive a theoretical model of understanding the organization able to read these changes and to consider the identity dilemmas workers are presently facing.

The first contributions in that direction, offered by the British socio-analysis (e.g. Jaques, 1955) and the French psycho-sociology (e.g. Castoriadis, 1975; Kaës, 1988), point out the various psychic functions performed by an organization, besides its social and cultural *raison d'être*.

In particular, by means of the investments and representations fundamental to the individual's identification within the social boundary, it represents the background of the psychic life where to

contain and deposit the residuals of the indistinct psychic features characterizing the first signs of the psychological organization.

The Italian psycho-socio-analysis (Burlini & Galletti, 2000; Forti & Varchetta, 2001; Pagliarani, 1985; Varchetta, 2007) reconsiders those contributions by offering an original reformulation following contaminations with the Argentinean psycho-analysis and with other disciplines and models (Bocchi & Ceruti, 1985; Bateson, 1972; von Foerster, 1982; Maturana & Varela, 1980). Such a perspective considers the institution as a collective living subject, the result of the mental and emotional dynamic of the groups composing it (Ronchi, 2006) and within which the dynamic between the organizational and institutional dimension is redefined in accordance with Bleger's enquadre concept (1966; 1967): a whole of rules and mental frames enhancing those activities related to both the primary role of an organization and its thinking function.

By such an assumption, the role an institution plays in the formation and in supporting personal identity is emphasized. According to Bleger (1966) each individual commit his personality to the institution and, by reflection, every institution is part of the individual's personality. From that perspective, we always refer to either a group or an institution identity since, ultimately, identity springs partially from one's belonging to a group, an institution, an ideology. Therefore, the institution offers support, security and social possibilities, placing itself at the very core of identity.

As a consequence of globalization processes, the identity project seems to be facing a paradigmatic change: working identity characterizes the personal identity shape of the contemporary individuals more than every other. Indeed, today's organizational experience appears to be confronted by a progressive weakening of

its institutional role of setting reference points to the building of a sense of identity. Firstly, today's work organization practices and structures are ever more tightly linked to a demand for efficiency caused by globalization's economic flows and are aimed at achieving a mere efficiency performance, paradoxically causing an ongoing process of "de-institutionalisation". Secondly, the global society forces people to accept relationship and role systems in which are in use different or divergent rules and styles requiring an endless transformism (Enriquez, 1989; Pagliarani, 1993) and where identity is fading (Hirshhorn & Barnett, 1993), causing anxiety in individuals (Varchetta, 2007).

4. Changing-Learning dynamics in organizations

What was traditionally regarded at the base of the identity process appears now to be missing. The individual is expected to take on direct responsibility in the self-identification work, in the search for and in the definition of his own individual meaning, expectations and projects. The result is the emergence of a baffling situation, that cannot be easily sorted out, primarily manifesting itself in the ever more frequent changes within organisations.

Organization changes phenomena are presently, no longer extraordinary events, but cyclic processes aimed at heightening the company's competition potential. The effects of these phenomena, on organizational structures, is reflected on the frailty of identity dynamics and of work groups: people have to face the difficulties of a fragmented and discontinued personal and professional identity process, which affords them only ambiguous forms of cultural integration; groups within the organization easily lose focus of their purpose by way of collusive dynamics which hinders them from

investing on their work, causing an emotional withdrawal and a mere instrumental involvement to the organizational life (Ripamonti & Kaneklin, 2005).

In the face of new and unknown situations, according to Devereux (1967), it is only natural experiencing feelings of anguish, resulting from losing one's reference points which consequently may also cause conflicts between the individual and the institution as well as among work groups. Anxieties resulting from the endless and ongoing demand for adaptation to changed conditions hinder change and learning processes.

Within the frame of the modern organizational experience, the change phenomenon has no correspondence to the learning phenomenon, since the latter is founded on a separation between cognition and emotion. Consequently, it is a learning process that purposes, on the one hand, to avoid the group or to the individual change's emotional effects, but on the other hand, it forces individuals to experience changes independently from their possibility/capacity for learning (Forti & Varchetta, 2001).

5. Description of a training experience

The observations considered so far can be briefly exemplified by the description of a training experience carried out in the company where I am presently in charge of Human Resources development.

The company in consideration recently underwent a radical change – from Governmental Corporation to Joint-Stock Company – and is now going through an intensive and recurrent organizational renovation work that is also connected to a change in the company's policy on staff development. Previously, workers were induced to relegate their own professional advancement to the company, which in turn,

secured their employment and established linear career progression steps. Lately, though, this policy has progressively changed methods and processes calling for a challenging individual assumption of responsibility in relation to one's own advancement project and to the development of one's own personal and professional skills.

The experience under consideration springs from the results obtained from a survey conducted on organization, sponsored by the Central Human Resources Department, having the objective of "...obtaining useful information for the development and the application of corrective measures." The results obtained showed, especially in relation to the line middle manager position – usually in charge of a plant maintenance operative department - divergence among several areas, namely, Internal liaison, Staff Services and, primarily, Professional development. The latter aspect was related to the individual's perception of being following a career that does not correspond to one's own skills and that does not acknowledge and estimate the individual's professional identity.

The Management's identified corrective actions, jointly evaluated with the line departments, purposed to strengthen and develop the line managers' professional technical-specialistic skills and related competences, by means of thematic prearranged training sessions. Each session, made up of 4 work units of 8 hours each planned every 2/3 weeks, involved several median groups – significantly called "development groups" – of about 12 up to 20 persons each, which, besides technical/strategic topics, scheduled time (usually the last 2 hours) for a sharing and a confrontation of training experiences. The chosen character for this part, of my own competence, was based on the operative group method, in a psycho-socio-analytic frame.¹

¹ This afforded space does not allow for a full description of the method and the theory on which

In this particular case, at the beginning of the training course, we took note of a widespread expectation for an opportunity to share opinions among colleagues about one's own role and the company.

As the worked progressed, a pervasive sense of uneasiness started to emerge. While the topics discussed in this training endeavour were judged as "interesting" and "helpful", perplexities began to surface about the type of investment the company was making in behalf of its workers by means of the "development groups" project.

Such an investment, apparently being an expression of the organisation's care for "its own" resources, was progressively turned down by feelings of anxiety expressed on paper by statements like: "it is as if they are telling us: "we've given you the tools, now you must see to it yourselves"; "previously who knew best became the boss, and now they are telling me that that is not enough, or at least that does not suffice, and I must be careful about how I manage resources: so, what is my job then?"; "when I was employed things were different: it was clear who had to do things and what, what was expected of a plant supervisor and of me; now I'm no longer sure of it"; "I'm not sure I've understood what they really expect of me"; "they tell me I now have to know how to manage my staff: but who is in charge of me?". These few short excerpts indicate how the comparison between a "before" and a "now" resulted in a difficulty in allocating the individual personal and professional identity within a

is based the operative group technique. It should suffice the explanation that operative groups and their related coordination techniques purpose to enhance those learned acquisitions which are progressively required to the completion of a work task (e.g.: in this case the task was to work as a group on the direct training approach).

The basic idea is that the obstacles to the realization of the learning tasks are related to the emergence of anxieties caused by new learning demands and by a change in the individual's reference points. These anxieties are not only perceivable from the individuals' emotional uneasiness but, since the task "institutes the group" or creates it, they end up representing the individual-group integration process. For further research see Galletti (2009); Marzotto (1994); Pichon-Rivière (1971); Ronchi (2006); Serventi (2009).

project context in which the challenge to be faced is focusing on one's own professional skills to the detriment of the realization of one's own needs. Related to that, the sense of inhibitions of the possibilities for professional advancement contributed in creating a sense of bewilderment, to the point of living that institutional experience as a threat to the individual's potentials for advancement. The challenge we were to face, therefore, was how to develop the capacity to cope with this ambiguity: the ambiguous expectations of a training experience that is felt both as a source of anxiety and as a learning opportunity beyond the stereotyped company's expectations.

The discourse so highlighted the ambiguity in the fundamental task of definition of identity over the worker identity. So, it seemed not enough to analyse social defence aspects of groups and its relationship to task and process. The emerging themes defined a situation of "identity ambiguity" which containment became more and more difficult.

The organization demanded for a skilled job at all levels, from master to ratings. It obliged workers to take into consideration such dynamic and continuous changing factors while, at the same time, focusing on solving identity issues that appeared in their work. Such issues affected productivity, work activity, group cohesion and personal and professional skills that they could possess in order to carry out the various functions for which they were certificated.

In such a situation, the role of coordinator was to guarantee a container in which both the personal and worker identity can be maintained despite their discrepancies, facilitating awareness around complexity and connection between these (apparent) different levels. In a broad sense, the objective of our work was to facilitate an understanding of identity in "shared experience" implying an

investigation of the organizational contexts and its requests.

In conclusion, we realised that the learning process should include the acquisition of more complex competences, not only technical and complementary, but also the ability to adapt to the company's demands called in by the organizational changes under way.

6. Conclusions

The group situation described earlier shows, on the one side, the loss of meaning in the pursuit of an individual professional advancement project opposed to the individual life project and, on the other side, underscores a passive adaptation to change manifested in a stereotyped defensive response. About this latter point, according to Pichon-Rivière (1971), the recognition of a new situation calls for an active adaptation, namely a renovation of the connections between individuals and between individuals and the institution. This need causes a twofold fear: fear of losing former connections and fear of a new situation in front of which one feels ill prepared.

Perhaps the most significant of all the changes wrought by globalization is the interdependency and interconnectivity it has fostered between peoples who would previously have considered themselves completely unconnected. The potential benefits seem to be clear: growth can be accelerated, even in crisis conditions. Nevertheless, this global linkage can also be a source of anxiety and concern as people become increasingly subject to unfamiliar forces that they are unable even to influence.

Today's individualism stresses so much the individual's importance to the extent of overshadowing the institutional role of organizations, as if we were witnessing to their disappearance. The tools at disposal for the development of the company's human resources today seem to

focus on personal accomplishment (e.g. coaching courses, individual development stages, personalized training) and especially on the single individual, an individual regarded as mere embodiment of competences.

Organization members today have to deal with an “enlarged” responsibility, since the present trends in society are leading to a perspective where the role offered and defined by organizations clashes with the one the individual has, that is to realise personal potentialities within and beyond the range of his own personal experience, thus risking a collapse. «The profound personal uneasiness felt on the workplace is thus caused by the individual’s need for a clear and defined identity that cannot be satisfied, to be filled also through organisational professions, and by an impelling need to lower complexity standards. But he is also in need for complexities and ambiguities, which are now pivotal in the social, anthropological and professional process. A bewilderment producing anxiety: a limit situation where the individual experience wreckage. The individual, through the enigmatic, unclear undefined work experience, constantly faces the wreckage of his own thoughts and the consequent wreckage of his projects. » (Varchetta, 2007: p. 110).

In the institutional setting, each psychological praxis sincerely aimed at fostering the individual, group or institutional’s welfare, must meet the challenge of reactivating/keeping an efficient identity process by means of the dual learning-change dynamic, therefore not creating illusive adaptation abilities, but promoting an individual, group and institution’s capacity to listen and to listen to themselves (Ronchi, 2007)

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