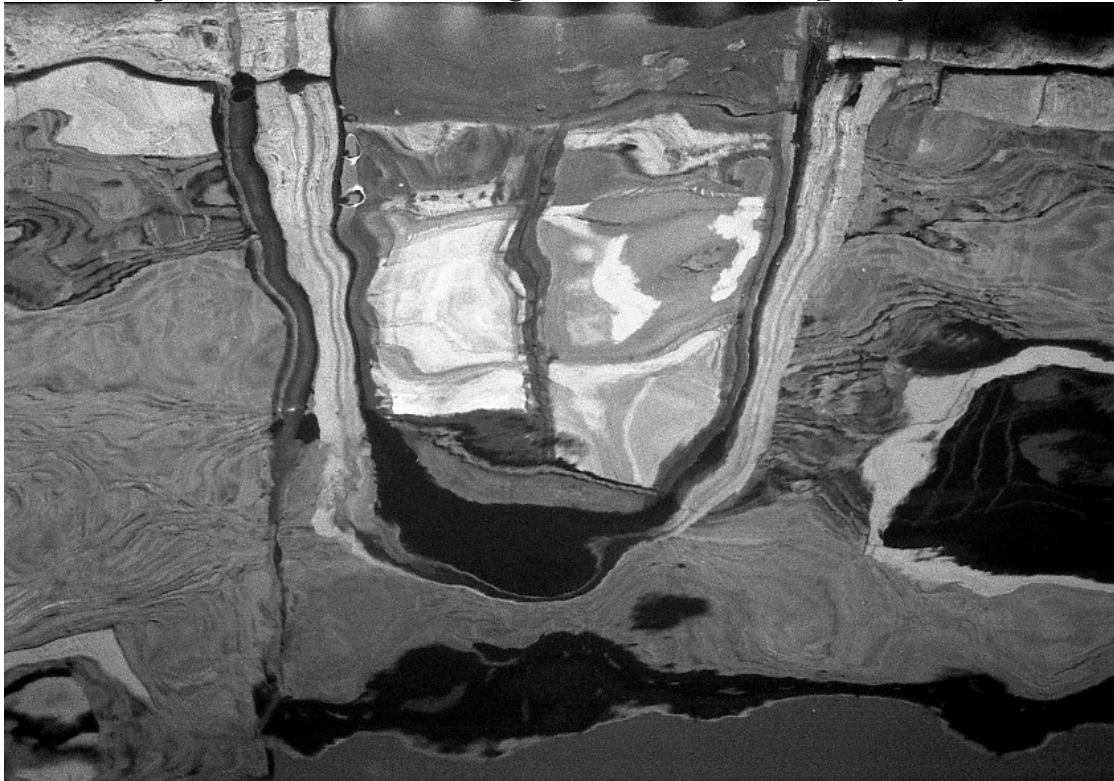


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TAMARA JOURNAL

for Critical Organization Inquiry



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Double Issue

6.3 Rodolphe Ocler Guest Editor: *Special Guest Issue:*

Trandisciplinarity and Organizational change

6.4 David Boje Guest Editor: *Special Guest Issue:*

Critical Feminism

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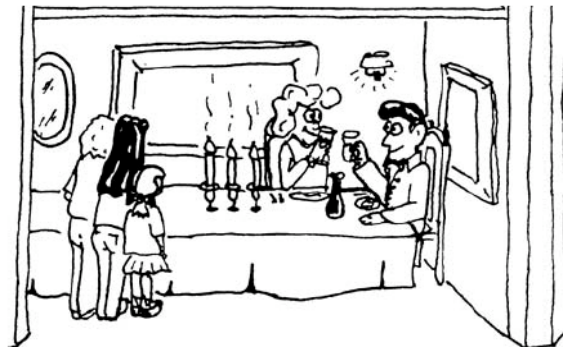
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Guest editorial 6.3

Introduction to Special Guest Issue: Trandisciplinarity and Organizational change

Ocler Rodolphe
Groupe ESC Chambéry, France

ABSTRACT

This special number of Tamara presents paper on transdisciplinarity and organizational change, deriving sense from a mix of approaches. The articles go from experimental pieces to case study. It is worth noticing that for the first time this edition is bilingual.

"As the prefix 'trans' indicates, transdisciplinarity concerns that which is at once between the disciplines, across the different disciplines, and beyond each individual discipline. Its goal is the understanding of the present world, of which one of the imperatives is the overarching unity of knowledge." Basarab Nicolescu

Corporations and organizations are intricate social structures that, over time, go through various evolutionary cycles.

Because these organizational systems are adapting continually to internal and external pressures as part of a traditional plasticity process, they frequently metamorphose to such an extent that their very structures, organization, outlook and core principles are affected.

The sole approach to understanding and analyzing this metamorphosis is through the mobilization of multiple types of knowledge to interpret and combine various levels of realities. Such a deductive process can only be analysed in depth from a transdisciplinary perspective.

Pluridisciplinarity, defined as the simultaneous analysis of a given subject in a particular sphere by experts from multiple fields, may of course highlight the various and fragmented components of a complex social phenomenon. The transdisciplinary approach goes beyond this mosaic, however, since it

aims at delineating a coherent perception of the world. In other words, transdisciplinarity is concerned with the dynamics of various levels of reality, taking into account the flow of information from one branch of knowledge to another and supporting disclosure of unity in diversity and, in turn, diversity generated by unity. Applied to organizational metamorphosis in the intent of generating genuine dialogue between experts from various fields, this approach targets unveiling the underlying - and frequently hidden - meaning of a social transformation process.

The articles:

Jack Appleton asserts that eclecticism facilitates the analysis of organizational evolution building upon positive psychology and discourse analysis

Helène Fine explores the concept of transdisciplinarity, seeing it more as a useful framework than as a distinctly different research approach.

Laurent Cappelletti, Miguel Delattre and Florence Noguera mix qualitative and quantitative approach within Socio-Economic Approach to management to identify the impact of management control

Christophe Assens and Alessandro Baroncelli analyse the organizational layers within Vivendi and use the concept of network to develop their analysis

Ocler

Florian Sala provides us with thoughts on human resource management and the need to develop transdisciplinarity within the academic world

Richard Delaye, Marie Peretti and Patrice Terramorsi analyse corporate responsibility via religious beliefs based on social responsibility

Rodolphe Ocler calls upon metaphors to provide a deeper understanding of strategy mixing martial arts with corporate life.

It is no wonder that the first bilingual publication of Tamara targets these topics. While management sciences developed itself and aimed at refining specific tools with sub-section of management (marketing, finance and so on), global vision as developed during "*le siècle des Lumières*" tends to disappear.

As this issue of TAMARA goes deeper into the link between different sciences fields, a major picture tends to arise, as sensemaking should not be derived from a single lens.

La transdisciplinarité concerne, comme le préfixe « trans » l'indique, ce qui est à la fois *entre* les disciplines, à *travers* les différentes disciplines et *au-delà* de toute discipline. Sa finalité est *la compréhension du monde présent*, dont un des impératifs est l'unité de la connaissance » Basarab Nicolescu

Les entreprises et les organisations sont des objets sociaux complexes qui, au cours du temps, connaissent de nombreuses évolutions. En s'adaptant à des pressions tant internes qu'externes, et conformément au déroulement classique d'un processus de plasticité, ces systèmes organisationnels subissent un ensemble de métamorphoses pouvant affecter la structure, l'organisation, le discours, la symbolique même... de l'organisation.

Ces métamorphoses ne peuvent être comprises et analysées que grâce à la

mobilisation de différents types de savoirs, interprétant et combinant divers niveaux de réalités. Seule une observation réalisée à travers le prisme d'une analyse transdisciplinaire permet d'approfondir ce type de lecture.

La pluridisciplinarité, analyse d'un objet d'une seule et même discipline par plusieurs disciplines à la fois, peut certes mettre en lumière des facettes différentes et fragmentées de la complexité d'un phénomène social. Mais, au-delà de cette représentation en mosaïque, l'approche transdisciplinaire a pour ambition de saisir une vision cohérente du monde. Autrement dit, la transdisciplinarité s'intéresse à la dynamique engendrée par plusieurs niveaux de réalité et prend en compte les conséquences d'un flux d'information circulant d'une branche de la connaissance à une autre, favorisant la révélation de l'unité dans la diversité et de la diversité par l'unité. Appliquée aux métamorphoses organisationnelles, et en suscitant l'émergence d'un véritable dialogue entre les spécialistes des différentes branches de la connaissance, cette démarche vise à découvrir le sens profond et souvent caché d'un processus social de transformation.

Les articles

Jack Appleton nous propose d'analyser l'impact d'une approche éclectique se basant principalement sur la psychologie positive et l'analyse de discours

Helène Fine explore le concept de transdisciplinarité, proposant de le voir plus comme un cadre d'analyse que comme une méthodologie spécifique

Laurent Cappelletti, Miguel Delattre et Florence Noguera mixent des approches qualitatives et quantitatives, développant à l'intérieur de l'analyse socio-économique une méthodologie pour identifier les effets du contrôle managérial.

Christophe Assens et Alessandro

Baroncelli analysent les différents niveaux organisationnels de Vivendi se basant sur la théories des réseaux

Forian Sala propose de réfléchir à l'impact de la transdisciplinarité dans le monde académique, plus particulièrement lors de la mise en place de cursus en ressources humaines

Richard Delaye, Marie Peretti et Patrice Terramorsi analyse le concept de responsabilité sociale à travers le prisme des diversités confessionnelles

Rodolphe Ocler se base sur les transferts métaphoriques afin de développer une analyse de la notion de stratégie se basant sur les arts martiaux

About the Guest Editor:

Rodolphe Ocler is head of the strategy and entrepreneurship department at the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Chambéry, France. Dr Ocler's major area of research interest is discourse analysis and its implications for organizational implication. Dr Ocler's PhD was on proactive strategy.

Il ne semble pas étonnant que le premier numéro bilingue de TAMARA se centre sur cette problématique. Alors que le développement de la connaissance en management se base principalement sur le raffinement d'outils provenant de sub-division du monde managérial (marketing, finance..), les visions plus globales, héritières du Siècle des Lumières ont tendance à disparaître.

Alors que les articles de ce numéro spécial s'enchaînent et examinent les liens entre les différents champs de la connaissance, une vision globale tend à se dessiner, la recherche de sens ne pouvant provenir d'une approche entièrement normée n'ayant qu'une optique.

He has published in a range of international journals on topics including social responsibility, qualitative approach and discourse analysis. He is currently guest editor for a book on semantic and organisation to be published in the second semester of 2008.

Appleton

Eclectism Facilitates the Analysis of Organizational Evolution

Jack Appleton

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ABSTRACT

Organizational evolution is presented in lieu of the concept of change, revolution, revitalization, etc. in that one can assert that organizations can only evolve, they cannot develop a new structure and paradigm from nonexistent precursors, elements, structures, etc. One year is action science based with the executives diving off of logs into the arms of their vice presidents, the next is playing games and doing puzzles to determine the company's cognitive centre, more recently its not been about expressing feelings and defenses, or understanding perception, but about being appreciated. In short, all of these evangelically based approaches which view an organization through a single lens fail

The term organizational evolution is presented in lieu of the concept of change, revolution, revitalization, etc. in that one can assert that organizations can only evolve, they cannot develop a new structure and paradigm from nonexistent precursors, elements, structures, etc. Such metamorphosis can appear to be revolutionary, extreme, etc. nonetheless it can be asserted that such conclusions are a matter of vantage point, or wishful thinking, and not the result of something new from nothing in the old. In essence, organizational transformation can be viewed as the emergence of motifs and milieus that were latent and not expressed. Such transformation can be facilitated evangelically. In fact such facilitations are common as the facilitation fad changes from one technique to another. One year is action science based with the executives diving off of logs into the arms of their vice presidents, the next is playing games and doing puzzles to determine the company's cognitive centre, more recently its not been about expressing feelings and defenses, or understanding perception, but about being appreciated. In short, all of these evangelically based approaches which view an organization through a single lens fail.

They fail not so much for reasons

known, or their own short-comings or flawed application, although all of the above does happen, but because organizations are essentially narrowly defined and well bounded communities nested within a larger communal environment. In short, they are the privy of multiple disciplines within the social sciences., They are not suitable for analysis through a single lens. As such only an eclectic analysis can provide enough information for the development of a successful change. An analysis that not only involves various approaches to knowledge, but also one that connects the various layers of analysis from the top layer of espoused action to the macro environment which forms the foundation the organization rests upon. Eclectically harvested via a multidiscipline approach yields layered information that can be woven into a coherent image of the organization.

Utilizing an eclectic approach lessens the importance of where one starts an analysis of an organization. It is important to follow a systematic rubric that lends itself to incorporating an iterative process of multiple analyses which will eventually be connected and layered to form not only a rich and accurate understanding of the organization, but a clear evolutionary path down which the organization can travel to

increase its positive fit within its niche. One also has to keep in mind that with such research conditions a history develops as the iterative process take place over time and thus takes on a history and an interaction with the subject entity all of which has to be accounted for, and incorporated into the final analytical framework. The tapestry that is developed is not a snap shot of the organization from which a path for positive change is determined, but a multidimensional thick image with strands and threads tight and loose, coherent and divergent, strong and weak all running in many directions.

Successful organizational study and change requires an entry point from which positive results can be obtained. The organization's sense of threat, the researcher's sense of risk, and all issues associated with field work need to be considered prior to engaging the organization and the work itself. Positive Psychology coupled with Appreciative Inquiry are excellent places to start and proposed here as a means of entry with the organization. These results are subsequently woven together with more rigorous forms of linguistic, structural, and economic analysis which follow the initial effort and analysis.

Starting with Positive Psychology as the first layer of analysis is a good launch point and means of entry. Few organizations will strongly resist exposure to positive psychology. The aim of Positive psychology is to begin to catalyze a change by building on preexisting positive qualities. Traits that contribute to positive psychology tend to fall into four categories: subjective well-being, optimism, happiness, and self-determination; subjective well being refers to what we think and how we feel about our lives; optimism mediates between external events and a person's interpretation of them; self-determination focuses on competence, sense of belonging, and autonomy. Positive psychology concedes that no man is an island and that such positive experiences are embedded in a social structure, thus community and institutions, etc. must be taken

into account as shall be shown later. (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000)

Positive psychology's methodology, in an organizational context, consists of interviews and non-therapeutic focus groups. The need to develop an interview regimen delivers the discussion to Appreciative Inquiry (AI). AI's methodology lends itself well to narrowly defined interviews which reflect the sentiments of positive psychology as well as both paired interview settings and group settings. It is simultaneously a method of action research and an agent of change.

Appreciative Inquiry begins with the idea that conversations are socially constructed, or in other words the question defines the situation and by asking different and positive questions one can change the reality of the organization. AI is a question and answer a process. The answers are then thematically data mined by the participants to build a new social reality for an organization. The process builds upon the strengths expressed thematically in the data that emerged from the answers. The implementation of the themes then becomes the basis of the change process. In some sense it is applied positive psychology with faith in the ability to intentionally socially construct a new organizational reality.

AI's strength is its ability to create a buy-in for the participants, its an iterative process so that the data becomes both strengthened, bought into, nuanced as it emerges through the AI process. It also has the added advantage of facilitating quick implementation as the buy-in does not have to be transmitted being, ideally, everyone in the organization is a participant. In some sense the implementation initiates before the AI process comes to a closure. AI leads to a reorganization as the organization's reality is reconstructed, its past, present, and future are reframed, the organization not only emerges with new initiatives, processes, policies, procedures, and structure, but with a new definition of itself and its environment. It is a transformational process, perhaps

Appleton

revolutionary, but it can be clearly argued that its evolutionary in that all of the elements of the new organization and its new reality emerged from the answers to the questions and where in essence latent characteristics within the organization. The organization in a sense changes to adapt to what it perceives as its new niche in its new environment. All of the abilities and pieces where there but not expressed.

AI takes the social construction of the company and through the interview and thematic selection and discussion process isolates aspects of the company's reality and then focuses on expanding those aspects of the company through a discussion process. Through this public vetting the selected positive elements of the entity are emphasized and expanded, and become the foundation of new social reality of the company.

In short a new story is constructed and because it is a new story and because it is public there is an auto-buy-in process which, according to AI and Positive Psychology this new construction with its positive base, renders the company's previous internal issues, defensive routines, miscalculations, and structurally dysfunctional routines moot. As a new socially constructed reality emerges from the AI process, and now positive psychology based understanding of the company's new reality all previous issues have simply become latent qualities and part of the company's past history. Nice transformation: all of the company's dysfunctional routines changed, all of its defensive mechanisms short circuited, and the wind only at their backs as they move out to claim their new destiny. Their new socially constructed reality is so positive and the buy-in so complete and their new tasks and attitudes and the now positive values which are emphasized so embedded that only a positive future and organization lay ahead. All of this accomplished without any change in the personnel at the top of the organization, as for changes in the rest of the organization well they are result of the positive AI

process, have been bought into, and so the chips fell where they had too. So with such beauty one can stop their iterative investigation of the organization, and simply presume that all is well and what one sees is what one gets, after all everything was positive, public, the participants have been appreciated and those now emphasized appreciated elements are the new core of the entity.

Everything is solved-- except for one little detail which requires further investigation. Earlier it was noted that organizational transformation can be viewed as the emergence of motifs and milieus that were latent and not expressed. It was also noted that organizations were presented as narrowly defined and well bounded communities nested within a larger communal environment. Furthermore it was suggested that they are the privy of multiple disciplines primarily Anthropology and Economics, but what they are not is an entity suitable for analysis through a single lens. It was asserted earlier that only an eclectic analysis can provide enough information for the development of a successful change. So the inherent problems which were not addressed, because they could not be addressed via the single lens of positive psychology and its application via appreciative inquiry, did not go away. They will latently fester until the newly socially constructed entity becomes dysfunctional once again-- which it will. This is especially true if it views itself once again as a single entity with a single story and a single narrative as its self-defining mechanism.

This is a fundamental truth because the organization exists in a multifacited and multimotified environment. It does not exist as a single unified environment. The entity is part of a dynamic where competing motifs, cultural milieus (especially in heterogeneous societies such as the United States, Europe, China, Latin America) and multiple social structures constantly interact with the organization and from time to time render its single lens story dysfunctional. Over time its ability to function

is debilitated as its new singled lens positive framework, even a dynamic one, is founded on a new single narrative and therefore has a limited range of adaptive responses and a relatively narrow range of dynamic solutions to the problems that arise as its new construction interacts with the world. So to be succinct, if the transformative process and analysis stop where AI concludes what has been accomplished is one set of problems has been traded for a new and yet unknown set of future problems because one story alone cannot encompass the entire environment.

Thus one is left with no option other than to continue with another layer of analysis of the organization, which now includes a touch of history as well, but stories can accommodate history as stories can have a beginning a middle and an end. The immediate issue for the analyst that is left is how to balance the single-lens focused view of the new social reality that has emerged within the target organization with the view that its environment is multifaceted, and by extension the organization is as well regardless of its current self-image.

Two immediate solutions come to mind, and being studying organizations is inherently interesting and a multilayered activity one should proceed with both solutions. The first is to continue the study of the target entity from the perspective of antenarrative. The second, which shall be discussed in more detail later, is to proceed with a multi-structural analysis. The answer is to do both.

Antenarrative is way to look at an entity where the emerged narrative is explaining the past by adding Goffmanian frame, plot and coherence to what was a reality that may or may not have had either. It renders a story that is told to be a constructed representation of a reality, a coherent history with its coherence imposed. It shows the story of the company to be an imposed reality (which then requires one to study the process of that imposition). The concept captures well the same concept that is the reality of a classical

music composer just prior to notating his music. The music is in his head, its emerging as its being formed at the same time its exists, its correcting itself, it lacks coherence and structure, but its there formed and being formed-- existing yet not yet written down for others to interpret. It mirrors society as motifs rise and fall, change and reemerge with strength and consistency, and are interwoven to create a fabric which forms a multifaceted milieu which is instinctively referred to as society, culture, etc.

Organizations within such a universe are microcosms mirroring while contributing, complementing while interacting and changing the environment which both sustains them and to which they contribute and form structure. Antenarrative reveals the stark reality that a single narrative with coherent themes and support in does not exist, but in fact an organization is a constructed tapestry with multiple motifs, themes, which both reflect and create multiple realities within the single organization.

Antenarrative is apperceptive as it pays attention to the speculative, the ambiguity of sense making and is willing to approximate a description of what is happening within the flow of experience. One should note that while sense making is often connected to Weick, Dervin, and Klein in order to approach the concept with appropriate depth it should be dealt with from the more complex and motivational perspective of Murry, Morgan, and Shneidman. (Shneidman, E. 1987). Weick, et. al. look at sense making in the more narrow understanding of discourse and social construction. Murry, et. al see apperception as the formation of understanding as an interplay between an individual's inner psychology and the ambiguous external environment which, by definition, cannot communicate a complete and coherent picture of the environment to any given individual hence one has to "make sense" of his world and does so through his own psychological mechanisms. Thus when individuals are presented with a sufficiently ambiguous situation their explanation, what

Appleton

Boje would refer to as their narrative story, reveals more about the actor than the reality of the environment.

Antenarrative theory mitigates this distortion by acknowledging that stories, narrative, explanations, etc. all emerge from something that is undefined, but exists prior to their being formed. Boje tells us that antenarrative "directs our attention to the flow of the storytelling . . . antenarrative is an experience of storytelling life with abbreviated and interrupted story performances that yield plurivocality." (Boje, 2001). Antenarrative captures the flow of experience, as does apperception which acknowledges and strives to gain understanding and insight into the process of narrative formation within the individual. Antenarrative operates at the level of the collective prior to explanation being reified. It celebrates the diversity, complexity, and ambiguity of the dynamic process of the creation of a story which then forms the socially constructed reality of an entity by in essence drowning out the other voices. Much in the same way that a great symphony ends with a single unified melody, structure, harmony, etc. When well done the now unified orchestra produces music which appears to have been the inevitable result of the early motifs woven into the fabric of the music and expressed and interpreted by the orchestra . In short there appears to have been no emergent process of social construction, only a single preordained emergent inevitable truth. Antenarrative theory unravels the process destroying the myth of unity and inevitability.

Antenarrative theory, while Boje is not a linguist, rests on modern linguistic theory, specifically discourse analysis. Social Construction theory while developed within the field of Sociology by Burger and Luckman also rests on linguistics. So, this leads one to another layer of analysis that is necessary within the study of an organization, discourse analysis. At this point it also allows one to increase the reliability and validity of any explanations, data, etc. that one has as AI,

Positive Psychology, and antenarrative are all laid over a foundation of discourse theory.

Discourse analysis begins with a systematic collection of conversations among the participants within a given community-- in this case an organization. These are then analyzed, and followed up with interviews which focus on the general question of "what were you thinking when you said." The goal is to do develop a discourse model of the shared understanding of meaning within the community of speakers-- the organization. This shared meaning forms the basis of the socially constructed reality as meaning and definition are emergent phenomena which result from discourse among the community of speakers. In other words meaning, what one said, is a result of a social process. Meaning is created by the framing of the conversations as Goffman suggests and does not depend on place and time, but depends on definition and community boundary. It is also created by what Mead and Cooley refer to as the I-Self, or Buber termed the I thou. For the purpose of organization or community studies the self/thou does not have to be an single individual. It fact it can and is often presented as a separate and non-human entity as in "the company's response is, or the company's policy is." In such cases the company has been reified and elevated to the level of an agent. The real reason for this, of course, is so that the individuals involved can hide behind the social construction known as the organization to avoid individual responsibility for individual acts. For a better understand of the phenomena of rules and their lives one can turn to Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology.

The primary advantage for the researcher to, at this point, turn to discourse analysis is that all of the necessary data has been, or should have been, collected. In the course of conducting the AI, and subsequent follow-up the researcher should have sufficient transcripts of conversations to conduct a discourse analysis on the material already gathered. While eliminating work: the work of gathering more data, utilizing pre-

existing data from earlier transcripts. One negative aspect of this is that it also eliminates a methodological check on the validity and reliability of the early collected conversations. So in some sense, at this point without going back to the organization and collecting another set of original data whatever methodological problems exist within the available data set will be magnified.

Discourse analysis concerns itself with how language is involved in social practice, meaning, the interaction between and within text (in this case transcripts of verbal conversations), and the representations (and thus the creation of meaning) of social events. I am making a distinction between Titscher's conversational analysis and general discourse analysis which is more in line and more accessible to Social Theory and its analytical tools. General conversational analysis will not significantly advance our portrait of an organization while discourse analysis will deepen and act as confirming tool of the layered work already accomplished above. Social discourse does not necessarily change the reality or even reconstruct it with every conversation and text produced, sometimes it is merely a reflection and/or an acknowledgement of an earlier reified social construction, in short an affirmation of what exists.

As such discourse analysis will assist the researcher in the identification of those aspects of interaction which cause an organization to evolve, to be dysfunctional, to resist evolution, etc. Such analysis highlights the effect of ideology. As textual information (verbal and written) propagate it can inculcate, sustain, or change dominant ideology (Norm, 2003). In short what words we use matter as to how what we are discussing is envisioned within the community. Thus, as an organization engages in a discussion of itself latent themes can emerge which are then defined as being better able to have a positive influence on the organization's future than the current, now fading discourse which has defined and

sustained the organization in the past. By adding a discourse analysis to the above one can clarify and temper aspects of the analysis formed up to this point. It still does not place the organization within its larger Macro environmental context, in order to add that to the analysis of an organization one has to turn to a structural approach within Anthropology.

Structural analysis has a long tradition in the Social Sciences. At one time it was considered the way to conduct proper Sociology, and Anthropology. Hence some clarification is in order. A Parsonian analysis is absolutely not what is being referred to within this discussion. While the concept of latent structures is one of the key features of Talcott Parson's work and the term is being used here, its use is more in line with Biological Adaptive Theory in the sense that an entity has unexpressed qualities that might not only become expressed or become essential within a different environmental context. Structural analysis is being used here more in line with Claude Lévi-Strauss, Clifford Geertz, and Gregory Bateson. Structural in the sense that there are created social structures that form the underlying lattice work of the organization. That understanding these is an interpretive act, and that multiple and in fact contradicting structures can exist simultaneously and can be seen from multiple points of view. These structures can be explicit as in formal, as well as informal, and the degree of the awareness of them by the participants themselves varies within a given community. Strauss demonstrates that within a given community multiple structures, explanations, and meanings, exist commingled within the same community. The elite of the community may share one view while the common members of the exact same community share a completely different understanding and set of explanations, both are equally valid and can be utilized for both their explanatory strength and their predictive power. Bateson explains how the same behavior can have multiple meanings, be seen from multiple points of view and all them are neither mutually

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exclusive, contradictory, exclusionary of each other, nor are they invalid from each of the other points of view (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Clifford Geertz, 2000, Gregory Batson, 1958)

When analyzing an organization, especially from a linguistic or related or language based point of view it is important to create a cradle for the analysis so that it can be contextualized. Structural theory within Anthropology provides such a lattice cradle onto which all of the above can be attached and connected to more macro based phenomena. While it can be debated that the result of the analysis at this stage will be a connection to grand theory, once a structural sense of the organization has been developed-- and it can emerge out of the discourse analysis or from a fresh foray into the organization, the entire study can be set within one of the grand approaches. For the above approaches the greatest internal consistency will be achieved by tempering the above layers of understanding with a Neo-Marxist approach.

By doing so one will arrive at a holistic representation of the dynamics of the changing motifs and the interplay of their competing and changing intensity as a means of describing the dynamics of an organization's evolution into a new form. A Neo-Marxist approach lends itself to integration with language and social construction based analysis more easily than other grand theories. Furthermore, Neo-Marxist theory provides the actors a motivational explanation for their sense of agency and for the details of their discourse and view of the organization. It gives the analysis a predictive ability which can be tested, is there evidence of exploitation among various subcommunities, are there consistent differences in points of view, in-group/out-group language barriers, where to look for Batsonian predictions of multiple structures, lines of connection, etc. Are gender issues, economic self-interest issues played out within the organization and expressed in various stories and discourse

patterns or AI themes. None of the other approaches above address either the question of motivation or provide one with predictive ability. One could argue that positive psychology/appreciative inquiry give a researcher some predictive ability, but to say that participants do something because its rewarded and makes them feel good is shallow at best and more useless than useful. The more rigorous linguistic analysis may indeed have greater scientific strength from a methodological point of view and allow for less pontification based on a philosophical starting point (such as Neo-Marxism), but such analysis does not rise above the micro level of theory even when stretched to be applied to groups of speakers and communities. Discourse approaches, even when done well, and accurately cannot explain motivation or agency among the participants, they only deal with their expression and the emergence of expression. It can only provide proof and evidence for further analysis with a different framework. Structural theory clarifies the macro dynamics, context, and flow thus approaching Neo-Marxism in its provisioning of motivation and agency, but does not provide an explanation of why people are involved in a specific dynamic and why there are attached to the structural lattice where they are, only that they are in fact part of the community. Non-Marxist structural approaches may document the political life of an organization, but they cannot explain it. Neo-Marxist based structural approaches fill the final gap in the study of the organization, and provide not only the participants of the community motivation and place, but the organization motivation and place with its community as well.

When one wants to delve into organizational studies no single lens is wide enough, rich enough, or detailed enough to provide a complete picture of the organization only a collage of images taken from different points view can sustain an accurate understanding of an organization.

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Transdisciplinarity: Trying to Cross Boundaries

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the concept of transdisciplinarity, seeing it more as a useful framework than as a distinctly different research approach. As such it can help professionals from a full range of fields and people from all walks of life work together across the boundaries that normally separate them. The boundaries between the sciences and other fields are of the most concern. Because of this, transdisciplinarity is often equated to Mode 2 Science; i.e., science that engages with humans to solve problems together out in the world. A major concern here is with the strength of prevailing beliefs about the value of expertise and the importance of the specialized division of labor. These are viewed as important tools in the struggle to control one's own work. Of equal concern is the opposite danger that the topic will reify and become just one more academic discipline. Personal examples as well as an analysis of the literature on industrial sociology, the sociology of occupations and professions as well as that on transdisciplinarity itself are presented in this exploration

INTRODUCTION

The concept of transdisciplinarity has surfaced in a number of different knowledge generating channels and in a range of geographic regions (Chan et al. 2006; Nowotny, 2003; MacMynowski, 2007.) While there are different thoughts about the concept's meaning and effectiveness, there is substantial agreement on its appeal. It would be hard to resist an approach to solving human problems that brings us together across the boundaries of academic disciplines, occupations and professions, or even across different social strata. At the same time it is not entirely clear that any concept, even one as appealing as transdisciplinarity, can really enable us to transcend our individual differences and enable us to identify, let alone correct, the problems that we face together as human beings (Zierhofer and Burger, 2007). Within the literature there is even some question of whether transdisciplinarity is a specific mode of knowledge production (Zierhofer and Burger, 2007). What is clear is that it expresses a longing for a lost world - one where people of all walks of life can live, work, and play together (Nowotny, 2003; Steinmetz, 2007; Chan et al. 2006).

As someone who has worked across economic, social, environmental, and political boundaries to bring about change at a regional level while incorporating these experiences as the content for academic work in a school of business, transdisciplinarity, however we define it, is most welcome. At the same time, my immersion in organizational change efforts as well as in the study of that change makes me all too cognizant of the inherent difficulty of challenging the mainstream tendency to compartmentalize information, knowledge and experience. Quite to the contrary, people seem to be quite ready to abide by the cultural norm of placing a high value on specialization and expertise. They are all too willing to engage in the process of establishing themselves as experts while also conferring expertise on others. At the other extreme I share the worry of some that transdisciplinarity will itself become yet another stand-alone discipline (Nowotny, 2003). This would contradict the spirit of the construct, which implies a repeated tearing down of the boundaries that separate existing disciplines, coupled with a continuous generation of new modes of thinking. Moving between my two concerns of the practicality of achieving

transdisciplinarity in this culture, on the one hand, and the tendency toward reifying and ossifying it, on the other, I can nevertheless embrace transdisciplinarity as an excellent framework with which to explore and resolve complex issues. Without worrying overly much about its exact nature or about whether it represents a fleeting mode of analysis, a process, or just a different way of thinking I will explore its meaning further and, mainly, try to determine just how workable a concept transdisciplinarity is.

Overview

This paper will begin with some examples from the transdisciplinarity literature. It will then turn to some early literature on industrial sociology, drawing from this some social constructs that favor the acquisition of specialized knowledge and expertise, particularly technical expertise, and that confer status on and give power to those that have it. Included in this review will be material from the sociology of occupations and professions as well as from some neo Marxist analyses of this field. In addition to reviewing some earlier sociological writing, the paper will recount both personal and professional experiences that illustrate the challenges faced by those trying to work with transdisciplinary approaches to change. The paper will conclude by accepting transdisciplinarity as a fluid continuous process of transgressing existing boundaries - one that is not yet encased in either a particular methodology or in a field of its own.

TRANSDISCIPLINARITY

Depth and Breadth of its Appeal

A Google search followed by one of some library electronic databases yielded articles that revealed deep interest in the topic at hand. The overarching theme that emerged is that of the expressly felt need for the concept of transdisciplinarity. This need stems from the changing nature of knowledge production and the resulting importance of trying to understand knowledge production in the new terms. Transdisciplinarity, as a

result, generally exists at a particular new place; namely, at the interface between a social and another science (Chan et al, 2007; Nowotny, 2003; MacMynowski, 2007). In fact, the recognition of the change often leads to the definition of transdisciplinarity as a research methodology that is the equivalent of a different mode of science known as Mode 2. There is, however, other work that takes exception to this view. For those who adhere to the Mode 2 view, transdisciplinarity reconnects science to humanity and as its adherents attempt to solve urgent human problems, they create a new field that is greater than the sum of the different fields that come together in the search for solutions (Nowotny, 2007). Those who take exception to this view question the idea that transdisciplinarity is even a distinct approach, let alone a feasible one (Zierhofer and Burger, 2007).

There are also other exceptions to the science methodology definition. The definition put forth in Tamara's call for papers is one of these (<http://www.peaceaware.com/tamara/calls/index.htm>); another is one that just uses the idea of transdisciplinarity to expand sociology so that it includes all human endeavors. (Steinmetz, 2007).

Finally, there is evidence of an interest in transdisciplinarity (although not necessarily by name) outside the academic research methodology sphere. Two that I would like to mention are the Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard Law School and the soon to open Microsoft Research New England lab. The former brings together "...faculty, students, fellows, and entrepreneurs working at the intersection of technology, law, business, and social sciences" (<http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/home/>); the latter plans to "...create new fields at the boundary of computer science and the social sciences" (<http://research.microsoft.com/news/features/tories/publish/Chayes-Borg.aspx>).

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Working Definition

Although there does not seem to be a good reason to pin the term transdisciplinarity down too tightly and, conversely, there are many to keep it loose, I will adopt an operational definition for purposes of this paper. Transdisciplinarity here will refer to a process of integrating different approaches to resolving complex, real world problems in a humanly satisfactory way. Although these approaches generally are used by academic researchers that is not a condition for inclusion in this category. Beyond functioning as a contemporary research tool, transdisciplinarity should strive to draw people from dramatically different backgrounds into a team effort that they can all accept as legitimate.

PREVAILING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTS

Genesis of the Prevailing Constructs Unfavorable to Transdisciplinarity

The resistance to transdisciplinarity stems from a number of sources including many that can be understood with reference to some early work in sociology, particularly Marxian industrial sociology and the sociology of occupations and professions. The Marxians put forth a number of ideas, including the following:

- With the transfer of power from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, those members of society who have successfully served the former ruling class now had to regroup and find a way to sell their services to the newly emerging ruling class.
- They did this by offering their skills as the rationale for becoming providers of services to the latter.
- Their training and education as professionals provided the skills and enable them to meet the new standard of merit.
- The result was the rise of a professional class that staked its claim to legitimacy on its command of esoteric knowledge; i.e. its expertise.

The claim to expertise, for example, enabled those in the medical profession to take power from the herbalists and midwives that had always served the ordinary people. This despite the fact that the professional physician was more likely to kill than cure his patients while the holistic practitioners genuinely helped them (Adrienne Rich, 1995; Margali Larsen, 1977).

While a transfer of power at the macro level was playing itself out in the struggle for legitimacy for professionals to serve the newly emerging middle classes, a similar struggle was going on at the micro level of the workplace.

Other Marxian writers, in their role as ethnographers situated themselves right inside the workplace. As participant/observers they were able to document the workers' struggle for control of their own work. Not only did the workers ultimately lose but also this struggle ultimately became a continuous process wherein the managers and owners of capital try to remove power from those who do the work and lodge it in the hands of those who oversee and/or benefit from it.

In response to the loss of control, the workers do find ways to take it back. They do this by developing mechanisms for imparting meaning to work in the form of "games" and "making out". To an outsider the meaning might not be clear but it is who work inside these intricate systems (Burawoy, 1979). The struggle continues with those on the top (at least relatively) successively and excessively dividing the tasks of labor. This in turn results in the proletarianization of white-collar work (Braverman, 1974). Ultimately control is removed from professionals who become the new laborers.

Historian of technology, David Noble, sees the development of technology as a weapon in the struggle for dominance over work. He makes a convincing case for the fact that even the decision to move away

from analogue to digital technologies was a clear attempt to remove control (and, of course, power) from the skilled machinists and lodge it with the more reliable engineers. (Noble, 1984) Noble agrees with Marxian Industrial Engineer, Seymour Melman, that educational and industrial institutions are more concerned with "command and control" than they are with performance! (Melman, 1971; Noble, 1984)

Finally, there arose within the United States a comprehensive culture of professionalism. With the denial of class and privilege as a factor in occupational selection and mobility merit derived from education, experience, and training formed the basis of control and legitimacy. This hastened the development of a whole culture of professionalism (Bledstein, 1978). The early ethnographers who ultimately entered the training and educational institutions with the prospective professionals attested to the power of education to provide the socialization needed for the new industrial order (Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961).

The Ethos of Professionalism

The relevant sociological literature, then, revealed a set of beliefs that professionals hold about the work that they do. These include the belief that their claim to control of this work rests on:

1. Their training.
2. Their command of esoteric knowledge.
3. The importance of bringing this knowledge to bear on the problems that their clients, customers, or patients bring to them.
4. Their superior ability that has been proven by the selection process that they have undergone.

All these factors make them specialists and even experts. They help them rationalize their claim to power over their own sphere. These, in turn, lead to their feeling of satisfaction with what they do. Because of their belief in the social importance of their

skills and their work, they have no qualms about charging fees for their services or accepting the admiration of others. The socialization process that education and training accomplishes, enables them to define themselves and their colleagues as insiders and relegate all others to the role of outsiders. Once they do this, they do not take seriously any judgment about their work that is given by these outsiders. Often their expertise transfers to fields well beyond their own.

The claiming of expertise and with it power spills over into occupations that the society does not always identify as professional. The work of the police, the military, and even that of housewife may also appear to be the basis of expertise by those who perform it. I have been in many a kitchen where the woman of the house claims total control and is wedded to a specific (correct) way of organizing a meal. Administrative assistants in hospitals and universities are generally the only ones who understand how the organization really works, what person in a given office will be able to perform a particular task, and how to locate an important record. It goes without saying that only the custodial staff is allowed to touch a thermostat!

There is a problem for the professional here, however, in that the field of professionals is a fluid one. New work enters as the old loses ground. Medical doctors, for example, once reigned supreme. Now Healthcare and other CEO's often best them. A loss of both status and wealth has driven people away from choosing this profession. Loss of control over the work has hastened the exodus of those already in it.

Loss of control over one's work is another issue that was a topic of great concern to early industrial sociologists. It is worth revisiting this matter here.

The Elevation of Expertise and the Struggle for Control

As I noted above, Marxian sociologists and historians of technology documented the struggle for control of work quite well. Despite evidence that skilled craftsmen traditionally had a significant role in production itself as well as in the design and development of machine tools needed for production, management repeatedly chose to ignore this and bypass them in the development of newer sets of tools. This resulted in the deskilling of existing work and in the elevation of new skills for production. These new ones were then lodged with engineers and other technical professionals (Noble, 1984). This process continued until even technical professionals began to lose ground.

With control over their own work continuously undermined it is not surprising that professionals now feel the need to keep trying to reassert themselves as experts whose advice others should heed. When contemporary information technology consultants, for example, complain about the older computer scientists for being irrationally attached to their own software designs they are unwittingly documenting a small part of this struggle for control. An integrated information system or decision support system might well be more efficient but with the implementation of one, control slips away from the technical professional. Resistance to this change is - and, perhaps, ought to be - the norm, not the exception.

STORIES TO ILLUSTRATE THE POWER OF EXPERTISE

From Academia

Some years ago my then husband and I were invited to dinner at the home of a London professor. This professor and my ex-husband were both reasonably well known in their respective fields of philosophy. The former had a specialty in aesthetics; the

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latter, in the philosophy of science. At the time I was a fairly serious, practicing artist. The London professor and I became totally engaged in a conversation about contemporary art, thereby violating the rules of British polite society which mandates equal conversation time with the person seated on each side of you. A few days later, a package addressed to my ex husband arrived. In it was a manuscript for a book about Freud and art as well as a note from our London host inviting my ex husband to write a review of this work for the Times of London! Not only was this way beyond my ex's field of study, but also because he had never been part of our conversation, the professor had no way of knowing whether he had either the interest or the knowledge to offer a reasonable review. I, on the other hand, had revealed that I had both. I did not, however, have the academic credentials and hence, lacked the expertise that he needed.

From the Political and Economic Realm

Lest I be accused of sour grapes, let me offer a story about an instance when others attempted to confer the power of expertise on me. There have been many such cases but I will present a brief a summary of just one. This took place in Ithaca, New York more than thirty five-years ago.

In Ithaca I ran for city office on a third party ticket. I did this as part of a larger protest against the two major parties because of their poor choices of candidates. For reasons that I won't go into I was awarded free radio time each week for fourteen weeks. I used this to speak out quite strongly (and even militantly) against the top down, big business approach to urban renewal - which we referred to as urban removal - that was about to be pushed through local government. My ending tag line was, "This is (my name) saying it is time to return power to the people!" This resonated better than any of us in our third party expected and I became a celebrity almost over night. As a result, I was

invited to appear on local television and radio talk shows and in panel discussions around the city. After a short time of this, spokespeople from the newspapers, radio, television, and many different organizations often approached me to speak on subjects that had nothing to do with the areas of my expertise that included the arts, education, and economic development. It was clear that my expertise on these topics was enough for some to confer expertise on me for others that were far removed from anything in my repertoire.

Examples from Teaching

When I used to teach math based courses like quantitative methods, I generally began by citing literature that shows that students who work in small groups have a better track record for learning math than those who study alone. I would then place them in teams and repeatedly encourage them to use team members as study partners. One time a student irately exclaimed on the evaluation sheet, "She didn't teach me a thing. It was my classmates not the teacher who taught me everything I know!" I had clearly shirked my role as expert!

More recently I generally lead my graduate students in a product development process class through the development of an actual product. During one semester last year I had them complete all the background research for creating a hybrid, alternative energy, flexible minibus system. They investigated the appropriate technologies, located potential bus companies, planned a marketing campaign, did a preliminary feasibility study and presented their plan at a graduate student symposium. This brought them rave reviews. Yet two of them complained that I hadn't taught them anything. Once again, in their minds, I hadn't transferred any of my expertise to them.

CONCLUSION

As I indicated at the beginning of this paper, I view transdisciplinarity primarily as a

useful mechanism or process for bringing together people from different disciplines and walks of life to identify and begin to resolve mutually troublesome problems. It could also help establish a mode of operating that encourages mutual respect for different perspectives as well as a genuine regard for these differences. With time we might also be able to reinforce the belief that the results of engaging in this process are better than those achieved in other ways.

As Nowotny has already noted, working together in this way will require great patience (Nowotny, 2003). I would also add that it will require time, an appreciation of the benefit of incremental change, and a willingness for all of us to join one another in relinquishing whatever advantages our own claim to expertise has offered. We will not find it easy to ignore the social ethos of professionalism that pervades our culture.

By biggest concern, however, is with the opposite issue that I noted in the introduction; namely, the tendency to reify a new concept until it ossifies. There is already a hint of that in the literature that often relies on the prevailing modes of analysis within a given discipline to decide whether transdisciplinarity is really a new mode or whether the knowledge yielded is really an improvement over what results from the application of a single type of analysis (Zierhofer and Burger, 2007).

As long as we remain aware of the two sets of problems, however, and agree to use transdisciplinarity as a continuously changing process for pooling our respective modes of analysis and synthesis so that we can transcend them, we should be able to make good use of it.

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Introducing the First Management Control System in Independent Professions: A Qualimetric Enquiry

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the question of introducing the first management control system in independent professions through the case of French notary public offices. In order to provide elements of response to the research question, a qualimetric approach which combines qualitative and quantitative models has been chosen to improve the validity of observations. The qualitative approach selected was based on an action research program carried out in 350 notary public offices between 1998 and 2004. In parallel, 5 explicative variables for measuring the successful set-up of the management control system were tested and analyzed, primarily by factor analysis.

Keywords: management control, qualimetric approach, independent professions, very small businesses.

Introducing the First Management Control System in Independent Professions: A Qualimetric Enquiry

Introduction

The paper examines the problematic of introducing the first management control system in independent professions through case study of 350 French notary public offices. The research question of the paper could be summarized in these terms: what are the contributions of a management control system in independent professions and what are the key factors of success in introducing such a system? Much is at stake with management control issues. Practical stakes, first of all, since law-related offices, like most very small businesses, are often equipped with rudimentary or very informal management control systems (Parson, 2004). Yet, with rising globalization and hypercompetition, to cite Richard D'Aveni's expression (D'Aveni, 1994), which characterize contemporary economy, even very small businesses such as independent professions are confronted with the problematic of controlling their costs.

Secondly, from a theoretical point of view, if the field of management control is well documented in its application to large firms, thanks to groundbreaking work by Anthony (1956, 1965, 1988) and Simons (1987, 1995, 2000), independent professions are less studied, such as lawyer, bailiff and notary public offices in particular. Through cases of socio-economic management control, this paper focuses on control systems that combine tools of regulation and measurement of material phenomena with tools that impact actor behavior and measure immaterial phenomena.

In order to provide elements of response to the research question of this paper, an innovative methodology was chosen: the qualimetric approach (Savall, 1974, 1975, 2007; Buono and Savall, 2007; Savall et al., 2008). The qualimetric approach combines qualitative and quantitative models to improve the validity of observation. The qualitative approach selected was based on an action research methodology (Baker, 2007). It consisted in setting up a socio-economic management control system in 350

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notary public offices between 1998 and 2004. In parallel, 5 explicative variables for measuring the successful set-up of the management control system were tested and analyzed, primarily by factor analysis. The results presented, in response to the research question, were obtained through observation in the course of intervention-research carried out in 350 notary public offices. These findings were then supplemented by a quantitative study. They show that in 75% of the tested cases, setting up a socio-economic management control system improved both social and economic performances of very small businesses such as notary public offices. Furthermore, they showed that one of the key variables of successful set-up is involvement on the part of the company CEO during the set-up phase.

Theoretical framework: Management control system in independent professions

This section positions socio-economic management control inside the field of management control. It also discusses the strategic constraints of independent professions, beyond those common to all very small businesses, explaining the specific needs of these enterprises for innovative methodologies of management control.

Socio-economic management control: Concepts and tools

Socio-economic management control respects the basic concepts of management control as exposed in the founding theories. Its particularity lies in the conception of the tools it proposes, which are aimed at improving both social and economic performances of the organization.

Traditional conceptual framework of management control

Numerous actors have contributed to developing management control. Our goal here is not to draw up an exhaustive inventory of authors having contributed to the domain of management control, but rather, to introduce those authors whose work entertains a relationship to the socio-

economic theory and to the socio-economic management control it inspires. Management control, seen as a set of frameworks that help managers, has two essential dimensions (Simons, 1987, 1995, 2000)

- An economic and strategic dimension that consists in choosing the operational rules and regulations that permit attaining fixed objectives;
- An organizational and psycho-social dimension that enables inciting individuals to behave in accordance with operational rules and regulations.

Anthony is considered an author of reference in the field of management control. He first defined control as "the process that consists in assuring that the organization does what management wants it to do" (Anthony, 1956). Anthony includes management control in the problematics of convergence between goals and guarantees that strategies are implemented. He subsequently defines it as "the process through which managers obtain confirmation that resources are obtained and utilized in effective and efficient manner to accomplish the objectives of the organization" (Anthony, 1965). Anthony defined, in a third period, management control as "the process through which managers influenced other members of the organization to implement company strategy" (Anthony, 1988). For Anthony, management control is the control of managers by other managers, these being heads of teams with objectives to attain. Simon also situated his research work within the field of strategy and considered control systems as potential vectors for change (Simon, 1987).

The specificities of the socio- economic management control system

Socio-economic management control (Savall, 2003a; Buono and Savall, 2007), can be seen as a continuation of work by Anthony and Simons, with the particularity that it aims to improve the enterprise's socio-economic performance. Indeed, the fundamental hypothesis upon which it is based recognizes compatibility between

social and economic performances. According to this fundamental hypothesis, sustainable development of performance is only possible by reconciling social performances, namely the satisfaction of involved actors in the large sense, and the economic performances of the organization. This fundamental hypothesis heralds the work of Pfeffer (1995, 2005) who shows that social performance and management quality strongly contribute to an organization's economic performance. The tools and methods of socio-economic management control are organized around three axes: the tool axis, the change and cost management axis and the policy axis. This tri-axial methodology is called the HORIVERT method. It has been tested and successfully implemented in hundreds of businesses and organization is more than 30 countries around the world since 1974 (Savall, 2003b; Buono and Savall, 2007; Zardet and Harbi, 2007).

The objectives of the HORIVERT method are comparable to those attributed to management control by Simons (2000), Kaplan and Norton (1996, 2001, 2004). It concerns equipping the enterprise with an appropriate control system for measuring performance and determining strategy effectively and efficiently. However, the method differs from the Simons model by proposing its own measurement and piloting tools. It also differs from the Kaplan & Norton in that it equips the controller with management tools situated along the three axes, to enable describing and explicating performance. Thus, this method is descriptive, explicative and prescriptive, which places it in the hybrid framework called "generic contingency" (Savall, 2007). This median positioning between constructivism and positivism is open to debate. Indeed, it is unique in management control where one typically finds either positive and normative methodologies, or constructivist and interpretative methodologies (Baker, 2007). Thus, Péron and Péron (2003) wrote an article in JOCM in which they bring out the numerous connections that can be established between the socio-economic

approach to management considered as an architecture and the postmodern movement. We invite the reader to refer to this article for more details on the connections between socio-economic management control and postmodern movement.

The axes of the socio-economic management control system

The tool axis of socio-economic management control is composed of six tools:

The periodically negotiable activity contract formalizes the objectives of qualitative, quantitative and financial results available to the organization.

The internal-external strategic action plan is a strategic tool that takes into account both external targets (the Products-Markets pair, clients, suppliers) as well as internal clients (technology, material and immaterial investments, adequate training/employment for Humans, from the CEO to workers).

Priority action plans is an inventory of priority actions, up-dated bi-annually, to be carried out by a group of teams (services, workshops, board of directors and management, etc.) in order to attain the organization's strategic objectives, following decisions defining those priorities and feasibility testing.

The piloting logbook combines all pertinent indicators, qualitative, quantitative and financial, utilized by all members of the management team to concretely pilot staff and activities in their zones of responsibility.

The self-analysis of time management grid is a coherent set of time management instruments that facilitate more efficient organization of individual and collective time management.

The competency grid maps out competencies currently available in a team. It facilitates developing a collaborative training program adapted to the evolution of everyone

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in the enterprise, according to needs and in keeping with the objectives of company strategy.

These tools assist company actors in orienting company strategy toward the development of human potential, while at the same time, fostering the attainment of short-, medium- and long-term economic objectives.

The change and cost-management axis constitutes an iterative process of socio-economic intervention in four phases: diagnostic, project, implementation and evaluation. The socio-economic diagnostic is a diagnostic that reveals the organization's dysfunctions and the hidden costs they generate. The diagnostic is carried out through semi-structured interviews conducted by interveners with the various categories of actors: managers, supervisors and staff. The following stage entails formalizing a socio-economic project, based on information provided by the diagnostic, to reduce dysfunctions and convert hidden costs into value-added. These projects are developed in participative fashion and include the calculation of an economic balance where material and immaterial investment costs are balanced by the economic performances of the projects under consideration. Following implementation, a socio-economic evaluation permits analyzing the qualitative, quantitative and financial results obtained.

Such a procedure could not take place without the strategic determination of managers. **The policy axis** serves to stimulate strategic decision-making on the part of senior managers gathered in the steering committee. Senior management's strategic decisions influence actions that contribute to the implementation of the strategy and the reduction of dysfunctions.

Independent professions: The case of notary public offices

Independent professions such as notary public offices, like other small businesses, are subject to new strategic constraints that oblige them to implement

management systems in order to better control their costs, activate their human resources and develop their strategy. In sum, independent professions need effective and efficient management control systems just as much as large business do, but they need control systems tailored to their size (Altman and Weil, 1996; Boutall and Blackburn, 1998 ; Cappelletti, 2007).

Notaries: Liberal professionals, small business heads and government representatives

France has approximately 4,600 notary public offices, managed by over 8,000 notary publics and employing 40,000 salaried staff. On the average, notary public offices employ 8 staff members and are managed by a notary or several lawyers working as associates. Together, such offices turn over a total of some €3 billion annually. Approximately 80% of this revenue is generated from legal activities connected with family law (e.g., inheritance, marriage, divorce) and real estate law (e.g., real estate purchase and sale). Within these areas of activity, notary publics enjoy a state-regulated monopoly in which charged rates and fees are fixed by law. However, they are in competition with each other, since clients have a free choice of which notary they use. The remaining 20 % or so of revenues is derived from non-monopoly activities, where fees are unregulated (e.g., company law, asset management, real estate negotiation). In this market, notary publics are in competition not only with each other, but also with other independent professionals, such as lawyers and certified public accountants (Daudé, 2006).

To ensure compliance with these regulations, notary publics are members of the regulatory organizations that control them, promote the profession and help it develop. Notary publics are also appointed by decree of the Department of Justice and belong to a Chamber, a body containing all the notary publics in the same geographical *département* (there are 95 such Chambers in France). The Chamber is the basic unit of the profession,

elects a notary as President every two years, and plays a disciplinary, promotional and management role within the profession. These bodies act within policy guidelines that are set and monitored by a national authority, the *Conseil Supérieur du Notariat* (CSN) which plays an institutional role by setting policy and a single set of regulations for the profession. In summary, the notary is a public official, but works within the legal framework of independent professions and receives his or her income from the business (Daudé, 2006).

The management control needs of notary publics

Since the French property crisis of the early 1990s, notary public businesses have had to cope with new strategic constraints that have required them to improve the quality of their management control system. This requirement, which is also being felt in other professions such as health care and law, is a recent development in a world where, for many years, the lawyer's expertise had been sufficient to ensure the survival and development of notary public offices (ISEOR, 1998-2004).

In terms of their monopoly activities, notary publics have tended to be rather somnolent when it comes to strategy: their working methods have evolved very little and have rarely focused on improving effectiveness and efficiency. Very few notaries have introduced any form of management control to monitor the profitability of their monopoly activities, preferring to manage by focusing primarily on a single source of revenue. The growing reality is that notary offices need to exercise management control over both their monopoly and non-monopoly work if they are to improve the profitability of their offices. They also need to apply innovative management methods to reduce their costs, increase their value-added initiatives, and invest in new product development like other independent professions and small businesses (Parson, 2004; Maister, 1993, 1997).

As in other professions, notary publics have to cope with increasing competition and rising client expectations. Despite the discipline imposed by the profession, there is fierce competition between notaries for monopoly sector business. There is also intense inter-professional competition from lawyers, certified public accountants and realtors in the free market sector for services such as company law and real estate negotiation. Notary publics must also cope with the rising expectations of staff who are demanding to have a direct interest in financial results and to become more involved in the business. However, they must now become true managers with the ability to lead a team of staff members who are much more demanding in terms of training, promotion, career prospects and profit sharing. Notary publics are often confronted with poor staff motivation and commitment and are even finding it difficult to attract new skills. As businessmen, notary publics are literal beginners when it comes to management. As with other professions, they did not receive any formal management training during their time at the university and are typically ill-equipped to respond effectively to these expectations (Parsons, 2004).

Research Methodology

Encouraged by the Superior Council of Notary Publics (*Conseil Supérieur du Notariat*), Regional Councils and Chambers, notary publics requested the assistance of the ISEOR in helping to improve management quality and control and accelerate office development, which between 1998 and 2004 worked with 350 notary public offices in 9 regions of France. Socio-economic management control was introduced using a scaled-down implementation method adapted to suit the needs of very small businesses and professional practices.

This method is referred to as Multi-SB (small business) HORIVERT (Savall, 2003a; Buono and Savall, 2007; Cappelletti, 2007). In order to supplement observation carried out during intervention-research, in particular by identifying the variables that exert an impact

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on successful set-up of socio-economic management control, the variable Y (entitled "successful set-up of socio-economic management control in a law-related enterprise") was studied by examining five explicative variables. The final results of the study are thus a product of the qualimetric methodology, which combines the qualitative model and the quantitative model with 350 cases of direct observation.

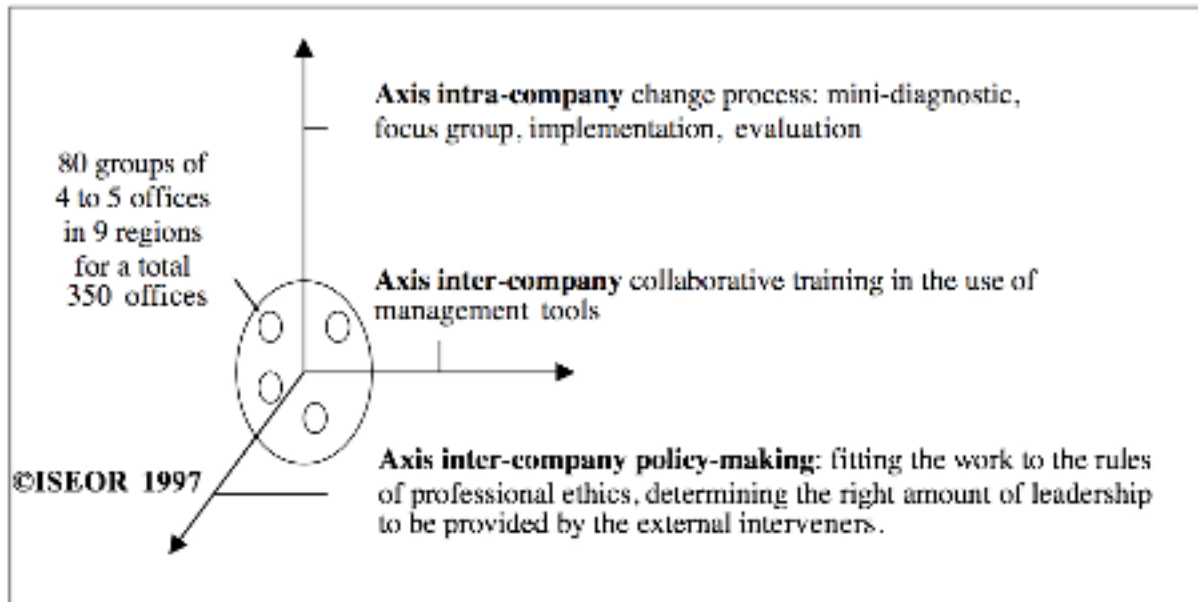
The set-up method of socio-economic management control

The socio-economic management method was introduced into 350 offices in 9 regions of France, involving a total of 3,000 notary publics and salaried staff. This sample is representative of the total population of 4,600 French notary public offices in terms of size, geography and areas of business. The offices making up the sample have between 1 and 55 staff members, with an average of 8 employees (which reflects the national figure). The offices in the sample are both city-based (urban) and country-based (rural) offices. The sample contains equal numbers of traditional practices, focused primarily on monopoly business (mainly family law), and

more innovative practices involved in significant levels of competitive business (mainly real estate negotiation).

The offices in each region were brought together into groups of four. Each office within a group was involved in an intra-company action plan (work done within the office) and an inter-company action plan. This was coordinated in each region by a steering group made up of notary publics elected to represent their region. The Multi-SB HORIVERT approach comprises three dimensions: (1) bringing about change through intra-company action plans, (2) collaborative training in the use of socio-economic management tools through inter-company action plans, and (3) the development of an overall synchronization policy. The Multi-SB HORIVERT method follows the same principles as the HORIVERT method, but uses action plans that are scaled down to suit SBs and professional offices. All the action plans were coordinated by twenty or so ISEOR interveners distributed across the 350 offices.

Figure 1: The three axes of the scaled-down Multi-SB HORIVERT method



Intra-company framework

Intra-company frameworks were similar in all 350 offices. They consisted of carrying out a mini-diagnostic focusing on the problems responsible for disrupting office effectiveness and efficiency. These problems were grouped into six themes that model the quality of management within a company. In each office, notary publics and staff were interviewed separately about the problems relating to these six topics. A collective evaluation meeting, bringing together the notary public and his or her staff, was then held to evaluate the hidden costs of these problems (i.e., the amount of value-added lost due to dysfunctions). The qualitative, quantitative and financial results of these mini-diagnostic sessions were used as the basis for the work done by a two-tier focus group: a small group containing only the notary publics, and a larger group involving the notary publics and all office staff. The personal assistance sessions designed around the management tools introduced in the collaborative training sessions were combined with the intra-company focus group sessions.

Inter-company framework

Each of the 350 offices was also involved in an inter-company framework built around groups of 4 offices of different sizes. The purpose was to organize collaborative training sessions focusing on the six basic tools of socio-economic management: time management, competency grid, the internal-external strategic action plan, the priority action plan, the strategic piloting indicators and the periodically negotiable activity contract. Each office is represented by the notary public and one, two or three members of staff, depending on the size of the office.

A steering group of between 4 and 6 Chamber-appointed notary publics and one Superior Council (*Conseil Supérieur du Notariat*) representative was set up in each of the 9 regions. The interveners were responsible for leading these steering groups and presenting anonymous assessments of the work accomplished in the offices. The

steering groups for 2 of the 9 regions (Region 3 and Region 7) asked their interveners to help provide maintenance action plans to support the continuation of the initiative after completion of the project. The result of this request was that the interveners led a day-long workshop in each office 6 to 10 months after the original initiative ended in order to stimulate the use of these management tools, consolidate dysfunction resolution processes, and increase the financial value-added created by the office.

Intervention schedule of the scaled-down Multi-SB HORIVERT method

The specifically scaled-down Multi-SB HORIVERT method was designed to optimize the effectiveness and efficiency of these initiatives in each office. It was felt that for each office in a group of 4, the involvement should be spread over a period of 8 months to allow for the integration of management and design tools and the implementation and evaluation of the selected improvement initiatives. For each group of offices, 4 inter-company collaborative training sessions on socio-economic management tools were held every two months, alternating with 5 intra-company diagnostic sessions, followed by focus group and tool implementation sessions. Each office in every group of 4 was involved in the same number of inter-company sessions as intra-company sessions (2_ days). Three steering group sessions provided the opportunity to monitor how work was progressing in the various groups of offices within the region.

Observation carried out and variables tested

The variable explained in our Y model is entitled "successful set-up of socio-economic management control in a law-related enterprise". This variable is determined by five explicative variables:

- (a) The competency of the intervener who sets up the socio-economic management control system;
- (b) The size of the enterprise;
- (c) The involvement of the CEO;
- (d) The CEO's competency in

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management control;

(e) The management team's competency in management control.

The analysis model is as follows: $Y = \pm.a + ".b + \geq.c + \times.d + \alpha.e$

The work concerns setting up of control tools, such as those of Kaplan & Norton (1996), and management modes in small businesses, such as those of Parsons (2004) or Davila and Foster (2007), stressing CEO involvement for successful set-up and the company-size effect (variables b and c). However, this work makes little reference to the role played by the management competency of company actors and interveners competency in successful set-up (variables a, d and e). The study presented here defines competency in the way Hamel and Prahalad (1994) defined it: as know-how and aptitudes implemented in satisfactory fashion. In this sense, actor competency in management control supposes both theoretical and practical mastery of that discipline. Indeed, good theoretical mastery does not necessarily guarantee satisfactory practice. And conversely, satisfactory practice should be based on theoretical foundations if it is to evolve.

Measurement of the Y variable

The success of socio-economic management control set-up was assessed one year following set-up launch, or four months after the set-up phase, which lasted eight months. This one-year period seemed sufficient for evaluating the success of the management control system implantation in a small-sized company. On the other hand, assessing the endurance of such a system over several years would call for further investigation, notably including reporting by researchers in every office after two or three years of tool set-up.

The measurement of the Y variable concerns sustainable hidden cost reduction and effective management control tool utilization, according to the prescribed mode of utilization. Indeed, the SEAMES knowledge-base shows that cost reduction and tool utilization are linked. Yet, SEAMES also

shows that an ephemeral reduction of costs can be provoked, in the absence of tools, by the frameworks of the change process axis (diagnostic, project, implementation and evaluation). The tools contribute to the process of sustainable cost reduction; for example, with the implementation of new priority action plans every six months, broken down into individual objectives and piloted thanks to the piloting logbook. Conversely, without the frameworks of the change process axis, the tools progressively lose their relevance in the absence of on-going identification of dysfunctions and the costs they generate. SEAMES reveals, ultimately, that costs do not "behave" in Malthusian fashion in businesses and organizations, since they are the results, as are performances, of human activity.

Data collection was carried out in every office where a researcher had not yet intervened, in order to avoid the risk of bias (for example, the manipulation of measures to show success). Data collection was done through interviews of notary publics and their collaborators, as well as direct observation of the tools. A 1-to-4 scale was attributed to every enterprise in the sample to evaluate the degree of set-up success or failure:

- Value 1 : high cost reduction (more than 20,000€ per person per year) and generalized utilization of the tools (all six socio-economic management control tools utilized frequently according to the prescribed utilization) ;

- Value 2 : significant cost reduction (between 5,000€ and 19,000€ per person per year) and rather general utilization of the tools (at least three socio-economic management control tools utilized frequently according to the prescribed utilization);

- Value 3 : low cost reduction (between 500€ and 4000€ per person per year) and low utilization of the tools (one or two socio-economic management control tools utilized according to the prescribed frequency) ;

- Value 4 : little or no cost reduction (less than 400€ per person per year) and no utilization of the tools.

The Y variable is thus a discrete variable, since the assessment attributed to Y can assume no more than four values, corresponding to the four referenced states.

Measurement of the explicative variables

Explicative variable a: the intervener's competency was measured on a scale of 1 to 4. 1: very high level of competency, 2: high competency, 3: medium competency, 4: low competency (beginner). Competency levels are dependent on the formal training the intervener has received and on his or her professional experience in the studied fields. In terms of intervention organization, beginning interveners were placed in small notary public offices, but rarely in medium or large offices.

Explicative variable b: size of the organization, led to classifying the studied businesses into four categories, each category attributed a value from 1 to 4: 1: very large (more than 50 employees), 2: large (from 21 to 50 employees), 3: medium-size (from 6 to 20 employees), 4: small (5 employees). Most notary public offices are either small or medium-size businesses; however, some large offices do exist. The 350-office sample was representative of that distribution.

Explicative variable c: the CEO's involvement was measured on a scale of values ranging from 1 to 3: value 1: high involvement, value 2: medium involvement, value 3: low involvement. Evaluation of the CEO's involvement was based on the amount of time the CEO spent with interveners and then collaborators using the socio-economic method and tools that had been set-up. Indeed, SEAMES shows that actors' involvement cannot be evaluated solely on the basis of their observed behavior, but demands more conclusive, formal data collection. In this sense, the reserving of time spans by liberal professionals in their appointment books is a very conclusive sign of involvement. Evaluation of notary publics'

behavior was done on the basis of observation of their behavior toward the socio-economic management control tools. Evaluation of monthly time devoted by notary public to tool utilization was done through interviews of notary publics and consultation of their appointment books. At the end of the 8-month set-up, each researcher had assembled data collected in view of evaluating CEO involvement. Thus, that evaluation was not carried out *ex post*, which could have been a source of bias, but through consolidation of data collected throughout the set-up process. A 1-to-3 scale of values was attributed to every enterprise in the sample:

- Value 1: high involvement (positive behavior on the part of the notary public during work sessions and monthly time devoted to tool utilization superior to 8 hours);

- Value 2: medium involvement (rather positive behavior on the part of the notary public during work sessions and monthly time devoted to tool utilization between 4 and 7 hours);

- Value 3: low involvement (passive behavior, even resistance, on the part of the notary public during work sessions and monthly time devoted to tool utilization inferior to 3 hours).

Explicative variables d: « management control competency of the CEO » **and e:** « management control competency of managers » were measured in every office where the researcher was in charge of the office. The researcher evaluated, at the beginning of the intervention, the management control competency of the CEO and the managers through interviews and direct observation of management control practices inside the office. An *ex post* competency evaluation, at the end of the 8 months of set-up, could have been a source of bias, CEO and manager competency in management control having been modified through the intervention. A 1-to-4 value scale was attributed to every enterprise in the sample reflecting the measurement of CEO and manager competency:

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- Value 1: very high competency (excellent theoretical mastery of management control and very regular and relevant utilization of management control tools);

- Value 2: high competency (good theoretical mastery of management control and regular and relevant utilization of some management control tools);

- Value 3: low competency (little or no theoretical knowledge of management control and utilization of some basic management control indicators);

- Value 4: very low competency (little or no theoretical knowledge of management control and absence of management control tools and indicators).

Results of qualimetric research: discussion

The results of the qualitative study are first presented and explained. Then, the results of the quantitative study are discussed and connected with that of the qualitative part of the research.

Results of qualitative research

The results of the study permit evaluating the effects of introducing socio-economic management on office management quality and the consequent recovery of value-added. The study makes a distinction between immediate results (those which have had an effect on performance during the current year) and the creation of potential (the investments - most of them intangible - that will have an effect on future performances).

Quality of management results

In nearly 75% of the offices in the sample of 350 offices, the introduction of socio-economic management produced positive effects that significantly improved the quality of management, operation, products and services. These positive effects had an immediate result in terms of performance, as well as a deferred result in terms of the creation of potential. Significant levels of success were achieved with the introduction of socio-economic management tools into the 350 offices studied. The time management

and competency grid tools were implemented in over 80% of offices. The management indicators, internal-external strategic action plan and priority action plans were implemented in 60% of offices. In nearly 70% of the offices, the focus groups implemented management quality improvement initiatives, which emerged during the first month and were developed throughout the 8-month project period. These activities considerably strengthened the offices' ability to survive and develop.

The positive effects observed in the study were viewed in reference to four dysfunction categories:

- o **Personnel management:** Changes included the development of training plans and career plans for staff, the introduction of monthly office meetings and bi-annual meetings between individual staff members and the notary, and notary public offices setting individual targets for staff members.

- o **Business management:** Initiatives encompassed introducing mini-management controls, drafting and monitoring of quality procedures, and creating action plans to address the need for synchronization between the notary and those staff responsible for legal drafting in complex cases.

- o **Client relationship management:** Actions involved reorganization of client reception areas and telephone answering procedures, introduction of personalized client relationships, clients receiving regular updates on the progress of their cases, and greater accuracy in the fee quotation process.

- o **Strategic actions:** Efforts focused on the definition and implementation of strategies for new activity development (in areas such as company law) and the definition and implementation of strategies to upgrade office computer systems.

However, in approximately 25% of the offices, management quality improvements, although real, were not so well-established. This 25% rate can be analyzed in the following fashion. In approximately 15% of

the offices, utilization of tools and cost reduction was low (values 3 and 4 measured for variable Y). In 10% of the offices, despite cost reduction and significant utilization of tools, the results remained low. In these cases, the introduction of management tools, the reduction of dysfunctions and loss of value-added, and the solutions developed by the focus groups did not result in a lasting improvement of management quality. Analysis demonstrates that the offices concerned were those that did not volunteer for the initiative and simply took the passive route of following the policy instructions issued by their professional Chamber, which had decided to make the initiative compulsory for all offices within their region. In these cases, the lack of involvement on the part of the notary managing the office impeded introduction of the management tools, restricted the creativity of the focus group, and caused considerable disappointment among the staff. Intervention-research has shown how important it is that the managing notary public sets an example by welcoming

the initiative and that this type of role modeling behavior has a direct effect on the qualitative and financial results obtained.

Financial results

These positive effects resulted in improved financial performance in the offices (immediate results). These improvements were evaluated financially at the end of the process in each office, by measuring the reduction in hidden costs, i.e. the growth in value-added. The study demonstrated that, on the average, the positive effects of introducing socio-economic management produced a 37% reduction of value-added loss, resulting in value-added gains of some €40,000 per office, or approximately 10% of the variable cost margin. Our intervention-research revealed that the majority of notary public offices contain the ability to conduct proactive endogenous strategies to cope with an environment that has become highly competitive.

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Table 1: Financial results of setting up socio-economic management control in 350 offices

Region	Number of offices	Hidden costs (= lost value-added) per person and per year	Reduction of hidden costs (= lost value-added) after 8 months
1	34	10 000 €	36 %
2	24	12 000 €	29 %
3	27	10 000 €	27 %
4	81	11 000 €	37 %
5	31	Not evaluated *	Not evaluated *
6	54	16 000 €	45 %
7	57	12 000 €	38 %
8	14	15 000 €	36 %
9	28	10 000 €	47 %
TOTAL	9	350	an average 13 000€
			37 % or an average 40 000€ per office

* Not evaluated due to the limited time allotted to the study.

The Hourly Contribution to Margin on Variable Costs (HCMVC), the margin on variable costs divided by the number of workhours, was the object of evaluation in every office at the beginning, then at the end of the set-up. The HCMVC, as an indicator of an organization's economic efficiency, appeared to be a relevant control variable for verifying that cost reduction was actually transformed into increased performances. The measurements carried out showed that the HCMVC were established on the average in the sample offices between 30 and 50 Euros per hour. They enabled identifying two types of offices following one year of set-up:

offices with a stable HCMVC that chose to utilize cost reduction for undertaking creation of potential actions; offices with increasing HCMVC that chose to utilize cost reduction for their immediate results.

Results of quantitative research

The significant results presented below were obtained through multi-variable analysis of data collected in 350 notary public offices. In order to identify the explicative variables of successful or failed socio-economic management control set-up, data collected were subjected to principal component analysis, dynamic cluster analysis, regression analysis and discriminate analysis.

The combination of these different methods of statistical analysis was aimed at better describing (principal component analysis) structuring and classifying (dynamic cluster method) and explicating (regression analysis and discriminate analysis).

components is a descriptive method that enables positioning the notary public enterprises in relation to one another in function of their proximity, and the variables in function of their correlations. The variables selected were Y, a, b, c, d and e. Principal component analysis was carried out based on the following correlation matrix:

Principal component analysis

The analysis of the principal

Table 2: Analysis of the principal component based on the correlation matrix

	Y_SUCCESS	A_COMPET	B_SIZE	C_INVOLV	D_CEC	E_MANAGT
Y_SUCCESS	1,00					
A_COMPET	0,17	1,00				
B_SIZE	0,02	0,35	1,00			
C_INVOLV	0,74	0,24	0,03	1,00		
D_CEC	-0,00	0,42	-0,00	0,04	1,00	
E_MANAGT	0,10	0,45	0,06	0,07	0,85	1,00

The first analyses enables reading a manifested correlation between CEO involvement and set-up success, which

confirms qualitative observation carried out. The results of principal component analysis are given in the table below.

Table 3: Factor Analysis (before rotation)

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,315	38,583	38,583	2,315	38,583	38,583
2	1,683	28,046	66,629	1,683	28,046	66,629
3	1,127	18,790	85,419	1,127	18,790	85,419
4	,482	8,038	93,457	,482	8,038	93,457
5	,263	4,375	97,833			
6	,130	2,167	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Two-thirds of the initial variance (66.6%) was mapped out on the first two axes:

The map displays positions of the 6 criteria and positions the 350 observations analyzed using Sphinx software. 66.4% of the variance is mapped out on the two axes represented.

The dots are proportionate in size to the number of observations for every section of the grid. The mapping can be interpreted *de visu*:

- Strong correlation exists (attributed to CEO cosine) between success and CEO involvement,
- Strong correlation also exists between

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CEO competency and Management Competency,

- However, the two axes are almost perpendicular, which presupposes the existence of an independent linear system.

- The "geometric" axes (horizontal and vertical) offer little significance for

interpretation, thus it is preferable to reprocess the analysis employing the "Rotation" option which facilitates interpretation by maintaining maximum variance (« Varimax » Rotation).

Table 4: Factor Analysis (with Varimax rotation)

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,315	38,583	38,583	2,088	34,793	34,793
2	1,663	28,046	66,629	1,778	29,629	64,422
3	1,127	18,790	85,419	1,260	20,997	85,419
4	,482	8,038	93,457			
5	,263	4,375	97,833			
6	,130	2,167	100,000			

Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis

One notes, for the first three axes, that rotation leads to different distribution of the variance:

- Axis 1 (34,8%) : Competency axis (CEO and Managers)

- Axis 2 (29,6%) : Success axis linked to CEO involvement

- Axis 3 (21,0%) : Size axis

The correlations between successful intervention and CEO involvement on one hand, and between CEO and manager team management control competency on the other

hand, are confirmed.

Dynamic cluster analysis

The dynamic cluster method makes it possible to identify 4 classes:

- Class 1: 52 businesses

- Class 2: 49 businesses

- Class 3: 156 businesses

- Class 4: 93 businesses

The results obtained by this method are summarized in the following table.

Table 5 : Typology 1 Averages

Typology_1	A_COMPET	B_SIZE	C_INVOLV	D_CEO	E_MANGT	Y_SUCCES
Class n° 1	2.68	3.02	3.82	3.30	3.27	3.50
Class n° 2	1.21	2.76	1.43	1.51	1.49	1.75
Class n° 3	1.55	2.58	1.09	3.30	3.12	1.61
Class n° 4	2.92	3.64	1.18	3.09	3.02	1.83
TOTA	2.07	3.01	1.52	2.91	2.81	1.95

The values of the table are averages calculated without taking into account non-response.

The names of the discriminate criteria are in column headings. The highlighted numbers correspond to the averages par category that are significantly different (test t) from the overall sample (95% risk). Remember that for the set-up success variable Y, the more its value is close to 1, the greater success is. For variable a « intervener competency », the closer its value is to 1, the greater competency is. For variable b « size of the office », the closer its value is 1, the greater size is. For variable c « CEO involvement », the closer its value is to 1, the greater involvement is. And finally, for variables d and e « management control competency of CEO and mangers respectively », the closer their values are to 1, the greater competencies are.

Interpretation of the table above shows, first of all, that enterprises in class 1, or 52

offices out of 350, that is 14.8%, are major failures (mean value of Y at 3.50), corresponding to the 15% evaluated in the qualitative research. The other three classes being total success or relative success. The “failure” of class 1 enterprises is explained through all variables except size. The “success” of class 2 enterprises (mean value of Y between 1 and 2) is explained with regards to all variables. The “success” of class 3 enterprises is explained by CEO involvement and intervener competency. Finally, the “success” of those in class 4 is thanks to CEO involvement.

Regression analyses

In attempting to determine the factors of success, a multiple regression of the variable "Success" (quantitative) was carried out in reference to other quantitative variables in the model. As before, the analysis was conducted "ascending stepwise", which made it possible to identify the three most significant variables.

Table 6: Coefficients

Coefficients^a

Mode	Unstandardize Coefficients		Standardize Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	Std.	Beta		
1 (Constant)	1.006	.116		8.649	.000
c: Involv_CEO	.607	.029	.733	20.720	.000
d: Compet_CEO	-.272	.068	-.273	-4.021	.000
e: Compet Mangt	.287	.070	.279	4.091	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Y: Success

The following observations can be made:

- The error risk is very low for each of the three variable (inferior to 1/1000);
- The most influential variable is CEO

involvement (the Beta coefficient represents the marginal contribution of the variable, *ceteris paribus*)

- The CEO's perceived competency has a significantly negative influence. This statistical outcome was unexpected. It appears that notary publics who were

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already well-experienced in management control less willingly accepted the introduction of new tools inside their enterprises. Two interpretations can be invoked. First, notary publics were reticent to the intervention because they believed they already had sufficient management control knowledge and tools. Secondly, notary public could have thought they had already undertaken sufficient action to reduce costs and did not need additional action.

In this approach, reliability can be improved with the aid of discriminant analysis that attempts to explain success (a two-class qualitative variable: Success-Failure) through reference to other variables previously taken into account. Discriminate analysis is carried out with SPSS using the « Ascending Stepwise » method, whose criterion maximize the le *Wilks Lambda* defined with reference to the determinants of the variance/covariance matrix.

One can thus predict the degree of success following the regression equation obtained:

$$Y_SUCCESS = +0.607 * C_INVOLV -0.272 * D_CEO +0.287 * E_MANGT +1.006$$

The matricial structure of the discriminant function shows in descending order the crucial importance of CEO involvement. Another significant indicator is the rate of success, which is the percentage of observations properly reclassified by the discriminant functions. The following table (called the "confusion matrix") indicates by columns the success or failure predicted as compared to reality. Only 4 offices were poorly reclassified, resulting in a rate of success close to 100% (98.8%).

By order of significance, the following variables can be identified:
 - C : CEO involvement
 - E : Management competency
 - D: CEO competency (in Management Control).

Discriminant analysis

Table 7: Classification results

Classification Results^a

		Success: S+ (1 or 2) S - (3 or 4)		Predicted Group Membership		Total
		S+	S-	S+	S -	
Original	Count	S+	296	S-	3	299
		S-	1	S+	50	51
	%	S+	99.0	S-	1.0	100.0
		S-	2.0	S+	98.0	100.0

a. 98.8% of original grouped cases correctly

Analysis of results and discussion

Certain results of the qualimetric research call for more in-depth analysis in order to bring to light its originality or its limits. Generally speaking, intervention-research shows that it is possible to set up a management control system inside very small

companies, on the condition of an appropriate methodology, a well-structured intervention team and a favorable policy and strategic context. With regard to this point, it would seem that mobilizing political representative of the profession to sustain management control tool set-up could be a factor of success, notably in regulated liberal professions. One

could perhaps distinguish a “political” *Hawthorne effect* that could characterize the introduction of management inside regulated liberal enterprises. For notary publics, the fact of being observed by representatives of their political authorities doubtlessly plays a role in the intensity of their involvement.

Results also show that a well-adapted management control system is a vector of social, economic and strategic improvement in small enterprises. This outcome is in contrast with certain other research work that recommends informal management control modes for small companies, such as Jorissen et al. (1997). Instead, it would be closer to work that recommends combining informal control, guaranteeing flexibility with formal control, factor of development. For example, Davilla and Foster (2007) established a correlation between the development of a small enterprise, measured with financial variables and size, and the utilization of formal *management control* such as budgets and piloting logbooks. In the same way, Parsons (2004) showed that a formal, well-adapted management control system enabled small structures to achieve the margin of internal maneuver necessary to survive and develop. In other words, and yet this hypothesis requires further research, the absence of formal, well-adapted control inside a small enterprise would probably constitute a brake on its development.

The statistical results do not show, of course, that variables not tested by the research - the conception of a control system, the set-up methodology, the political and strategic context - do not affect the success or failure of a management control system set-up. Indeed, statistical analysis was not focused on those variables, since research was centered on discriminating variables that could reveal different measures from one office to another. However, every office in the sample was immersed in the same policy context and included the same management control tools set-up according to a similar methodology. The statistical results show quite clearly that the size of an office

does not play a significant role in the success or failure of a management control system set-up. Thus, they relativize size as a factor of contingency in the case of a management control system set-up; even though size difference among the offices in the sample was not very significant (no office had more than 55 employees). Furthermore, the results confirm across a large sample that CEO involvement was a central factor in the success or failure of the management control system set-up inside a small structure, bearing out the conclusions of Maister (1993, 1997), for example. However, those findings relativized the importance of intervener competency, which is surprising. That observation could perhaps be explained by the intervention team constituted for the research, composed of researchers well-experienced with intervention. Indeed, it is vital to avoid, notably in setting up a research program, thanks to a recognized “veteran” team, the rejection of interventions on the part of notary publics.

Conclusion

The results presented in response to the research question were obtained through direct observation carried out in the course of intervention-research conducted in 350 notary public offices and supplemented with a quantitative study. They show that, in 75% of the tested cases, setting up a socio-economic management control system permits durably improving social and economic performance in very small enterprises such as notary public offices. Intervention-research revealed that failure in setting up the methodology resided, first and foremost, in a lack of CEO involvement, namely insufficient time spent with interveners, and with collaborators to incite utilization of the tools. Research showed that mobilizing political authorities undoubtedly contributes to stimulating CEO implication.

These observations were refined by a quantitative study combining principal component analysis, dynamic cluster analysis, regression analysis and discriminate analysis. The findings were confirmed by a

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quantitative study that permitted testing five explicative variables of successful socio-economic management control set-up: CEO involvement, business size, intervener competency in management control, CEO and Management competency in management control. These variables were selected for testing because, following research-intervention, they appeared to contribute to explaining successful set-up of a socio-economic management control system. The quantitative study showed that CEO involvement, and to a lesser degree his or her competency in management control, were the most significant variables at the crux of set-up success. Finally, the results of a qualimetric study permitted concluding that management control system set-up in independent professional business such as notary public offices depended, *nonobstant* its design, on the attentiveness and participation of the CEO. The sizes of businesses and intervener competency in management control play lesser roles in successful set-up. This result could signify that management control methodology should include a political dimension in its design, to incite the adhesion and involvement of CEOs.

In the end, this research makes a double contribution. On one hand, it shows that management control is a source of performance for small structures, on the condition of relevant miniaturization. On the other hand, it positions, within the management control debate alongside the usual problematics of tool design, the technical problematics of their set-up and the political problematics of CEO involvement. Moreover, this study raises certain hypotheses that constitute an incentive to pursue further research; for example, research addressing the causes of enduring management control systems over several years, or addressing the generalization of the results to other liberal professions, and beyond small enterprises. This complementary research could contribute to the debate on small French enterprises, often more focused on reduction of their visible charges and less attentive to exploitation of

their endogenous resources through well-adapted management control. It could also contribute to analyzing the rejection of certain management control methods for small structure, such as the *Balanced Scorecard* method, whose application seems reserved, perhaps erroneously, to large enterprises (Rampersad, 2005).

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L'Enchevetrement Organisationnel Du Groupe Vivendi

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ABSTRACT

The debate on the organization modes has begun by discussing the nature of markets and hierarchies. Adding further perspectives to somewhat outdated economic views of organization, it was then made clear that network forms of organizations should be considered as a third type of coordination mode. As a result of this work, it is now commonly accepted that the dichotomous view of economic organization should be overcome. Thus, the debate moved away from critiquing the tyranny of markets and hierarchies. Many scholars concentrated on discussing the supremacy among organization modes. They focused on the prevalence and functionality as well as constraint and disfunctionality.

Résumé

Les mécanismes de coordination relevant de la logique de marché, de réseau et de la hiérarchie se combinent pour former un enchevêtrement organisationnel, dont cet article vise à explorer les dimensions théoriques et managériales. L'argument repose sur l'idée qu'aucune entreprise ne peut correspondre en tout point à un idéal type organisationnel (marché, réseau, hiérarchie), d'une part car chaque modèle d'organisation est imparfait et nécessite l'apport des autres modèles, d'autre part, car la dynamique du changement impose de mixer des approches structurelles ou des démarches qui ne demeurent idéales que sur une période donnée. Pour illustrer et débattre de cette perspective, une monographie d'entreprise est présentée sous un angle longitudinal. Sur une période d'observation en dehors des périodes de grand changement, l'enchevêtrement s'articule autour d'une forme d'organisation dominante, en réponse au poids de l'une des parties prenantes. Lors d'un changement majeur, l'enchevêtrement organisationnel hérite par inertie de cette forme dominante, dans une nouvelle configuration où apparaissent de nouvelles complémentarités entre les mécanismes de marché, de réseau et de hiérarchie.

Mots-clés : Réseau, Marché, Hiérarchie, Organisation, Dynamique Organisationnelle
Network, Market Hierarchy, Organisation, Organisation Dynamics

Summary in English is followed by Complete French Version

The debate on the organization modes has begun by discussing the nature of markets and hierarchies. Adding further perspectives to somewhat outdated

economic views of organization, it was then made clear that network forms of organizations should be considered as a third type of coordination mode. As a result of this work, it is now commonly accepted that the dichotomous view of economic organization should be overcome. Thus, the debate moved

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away from critiquing the tyranny of markets and hierarchies. Many scholars concentrated on discussing the supremacy among organization modes. They focused on the prevalence and functionality as well as constraint and disfunctionality.

This paper reviews work that contributed to these debates and move forward trying to support the theory of polymorph organization. The argument is made that no real organization can be seen as an ideal-typical category. The paper claims that the entanglement of organization modes is ineluctable given the non-monolithic nature of organization. An in-depth longitudinal case study of Vivendi group is used to highlight and discuss organization entanglement and to show how it is ineluctable in changing environments. We argue that when external and internal change occurs the entanglement of organizational mode tend to prevail whatever the organizational design of the management is. In this respect, we share Weick (2001)'s view when he argues that although most theorists persist in referring to organization as they were monolithic, one can hardly find an organization which is not segmented. Although it is often assumed that the technology of an organization is essentially the same across tasks and occupational groups and the social structure is the same across work units, multiple structure and designs are found within a single organization. Finally, an agenda for future research efforts on these issues is advanced as we consider the managerial implications of this inquiry is still in its infancy. We know little, for example, of how the organizational entanglement could be mastered in order to improve the overall effectiveness of the organization. Why it is that certain firms, with comparable level of complexity as well as expertise, seem to be more able to manage strategic and organizational change? Further research maybe oriented to investigate around the hypothesis that the capability to design an appropriate organizational entanglement to face changes within and outside the organization can be regarded as a

competitive advantage.

The organizational entanglement

The tendency to present an organization as a unity rather than as a cluster of segments has introduced inaccuracy in most analysis of organizations. It is a matter of fact that the majority of the organizations are more likely to be represented as segmented organization rather than unities. In these segments will eventually prevail the hierarchy, the market or the network as organizational modes. This implies that the single organization will be simultaneously tangled up in different forms. For Brousseau (1993) and Imai and Itami (1984), the networking research trend introduce the idea that organization has to become more modular, to produce variety with the same elements without altering structures limits, in order to adapt the offer to different environments with the same resources and competencies. Thus, their contributions support the idea of "interpenetration" and "hybridation" of organizational forms.

The evolution process is then considered not like an objective to reach for the firm, but like a "natural imbalance" of its operating cycle. So, there is only one certainty: everything is changing. In this context, the capacity to change and to evolve rapidly with an economy of investment come from the capacity to combine structural advantages from the market, the hierarchy and the network. One attends to weigh up that most of the organizations, facing brutal environment mutation or strong structural metamorphosis, are engaged in an interpenetrating process of the typical organizational forms. In some cases, clandestine solidarity from inter-firms or interpersonal networks are superimposed to traditional charts (Håkansson, Johanson 1988, 1989). The network is then superposed to the hierarchy as a way to add some structural flexibility in a rigid set of relations. This emergent solution is best fitted to facilitate transversal relations between actors from different business units, and to

harmonize the coordination with external partners. Lastly, one assists with the emergence of a “hierarchical market” pattern, with few dominant firms which try to transform the free play of competition in a captive market or a quasi-monopoly situation.

Elsewhere (Baroncelli and Froehlicher, 1997) have already introduced the notion of “organizational entanglement”; we would like to further define that concept. We consider that organizations are polymorphic as they tend to divide themselves in discrete subunits or segments where the most efficient operating structures are different from each others. The evolution of the organization is often presented as the shift from of one discrete (and somehow “pure”) coordination mode. On the contrary, through the notion of organizational entanglement we would like to argue that not only the different coordination modes are simultaneously present within the same organization, but also that there is no pure mode of coordination in real organizations. Rather, we observed contamination of modes across the segmented subunits in which an organization can be divided. In dynamic environments this entanglement of organization forms tend to be accentuated due to the lack of knowledge and visibility on different and somehow new business conditions.

Research Methodology

This paper uses grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in order to handle a large amounts of non-standard data which otherwise makes analysis problematic. Research proceeded in two stages over one period of 18 months:

- a first stage of data collecting necessary, to build a chronological account about the evolution of Vivendi Universal in the new economy;
- a second stage to validate this account near the principal actors, difficult to join because of the infernal timing imposed by the net-economy. In the first stage, we analyzed a press review over the period until 1996. Then, we supplemented this approach by in depth interviews with actors engaged in the communication sector within Vivendi Universal, or in relation to the group.

The first investigation elements have been validated with telephone and electronic mail from the same actors or other employees at the head office of Vivendi Universal. To eliminate bias of objectivity, these data were crossed with interviews outside the group near consultants or analysts in the businesses in which the group have refocused its activity overtime.

Interviewed actors	Interview object	Interview time
Associate-manager of the funds of venture capital : Viventures	To study the links between the start-ups portfolio in Viventures and the strategy of Vivendi	2 X 2 hours
Representative at Canal + Representative at Vivendi Net	To study the stakes of audio-visual on Internet and the forms of coordination between Canal – and Vivendi	3 X 1 hour
Representative at the Direction of the Strategy and Development in Vivendi	To study the forms of governance and valuation of the assets on Internet	1 X 2 hours

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In complement of secondary data, we carried out in depth interviews with the key actors, on the level of the subsidiary concerned with ICT (Canal +, Viventures, Vivendi Net), but also on the level of the head

office with the department responsible for the questions of strategy design and implementation.

Type of contact	Object of contact	Method of contact
Representative Direction of the strategy and development	To validate the strategic and organizational stakes	Interview and E-mail
Business lawyer Financial consultant	To validate the legal stakes To validate the financial stakes	Interview and E - mail
Consulting engineer	To validate the stakes of the information systems	Interview and E - mail

L'Enchevêtrement Organisationnel Du Groupe Vivendi

o Introduction

L'une des clés de la compétition économique livrée par les entreprises réside dans les choix d'organisation. Pour certaines d'entre elles, il n'existe point de salut sans la capacité de croissance en taille par fusion acquisition. L'organisation sert alors à tirer le meilleur parti de ces mariages en valorisant les complémentarités industrielles ou commerciales des entreprises fusionnées. Pour d'autres entreprises, au contraire, il est vain de chercher à absorber les concurrents ou les partenaires, car les économies d'échelle réalisées s'accompagnent d'une augmentation sensible des coûts de structure et des problèmes d'organisation. Il convient alors davantage de rechercher un niveau de performance, en nouant des contrats ou des alliances avec des partenaires ou/et des concurrents indépendants, en avance dans leur domaine de spécialisation (Quelin, 2003). Pour autant, ce schéma n'est pas forcément supérieur au précédent, puisqu'il expose l'entreprise aux risques d'opportunisme des sous-traitants ou des partenaires éventuels. Une théorie aborde ce dilemme dans le choix d'organisation. Il s'agit de la théorie sur les

coûts de transaction développée par Williamson (1975, 1991), qui compare les modalités d'organisation suivant le contexte économique. Trois situations sont examinées : hiérarchique, marchande et celle de la coopération, qui s'explique si l'opportunisme sur le marché devient trop fort. Pour Richardson (1972), la coopération prend des formes diverses, de la mise en valeur des complémentarités additives entre concurrents, à la recherche d'une symbiose entre partenaires non substituables. La coopération forme alors un trait d'union entre le marché et la hiérarchie pour assouplir le modèle bureaucratique et pour stabiliser le modèle marchand, mais ce n'est en aucun cas une configuration organisationnelle au sens de Mintzberg (1998). Il s'agit d'un mode relationnel spécifique entre des firmes dont les intérêts particuliers se rejoignent de façon épisodique, au cours d'un projet par exemple, sans forcément partager une vocation commune, ou une identité collective. Néanmoins, lorsque la coopération devient durable et récurrente, apparaît une forme d'organisation qualifiée d'hybride ou de quasi-firme par Williamson (1991), ou de firme transactionnelle par Frery (2001). À ce sujet, Powell (1990) explique que ces formes hybrides, présentées souvent de manière intermédiaire au marché et à la hiérarchie, forment un troisième type d'organisation

spécifique : l'organisation en réseau. Dans ses travaux, Powell (1990) s'attache à montrer en quoi le réseau est viable, tout en étant différent de l'entreprise contractuelle ayant recours à l'externalisation sur un marché, ou de l'entreprise patrimoniale ayant recours à l'intégration dans un cadre hiérarchique. Il souligne notamment les principes de fonctionnement spécifiques au réseau comme la confiance, par comparaison avec des mécanismes de contrôle bureaucratique, ou de négociation par contrat. Certains auteurs, comme Ouchi (1980), vont plus loin dans le raisonnement, en considérant qu'il existe un quatrième type d'organisation au-delà du marché, de la hiérarchie et du réseau : le clan. Cette forme n'est pas éloignée du fonctionnement en réseau. Faire partie d'un réseau, d'une certaine manière, c'est faire partie d'un club. Mais derrière le « club » des entreprises membres du réseau qui affichent une solidarité dans des alliances commerciales ou dans des maillages industriels, figurent des acteurs qui incarnent « la main visible » de la coopération inter-entreprises, c'est-à-dire les « liens forts » qui sous-tendent les « liens faibles » pour paraphraser Granovetter (1985). À l'image d'un clan, les membres d'un réseau subissent un processus de socialisation qui les distingue de ceux qui n'en font pas partie. Ils partagent des principes de parrainage pour entrer dans le maillage ; ils apprennent des règles implicites et des conventions comme la réciprocité pour interagir avec les autres ; ils sont fédérés par des valeurs communes comme la solidarité, qu'ils doivent respecter sous peine d'exclusion. À la différence du clan, les membres d'un réseau ne sont pas nécessairement liés par le lien du « sang ». Le clan dresse alors l'image d'un réseau orchestré par une organisation centrale qui joue un rôle quasi-hiérarchique (Lorenzoni, Baden Fuller, 1993). Selon nous, il existe donc trois grands idéaux-types organisationnels, dont les variables d'analyse figurent dans le tableau 1 : la hiérarchie, le marché, le réseau - i.e. le clan étant une forme particulière de réseau dans laquelle les membres partagent un lien spécifique de

filialité ou de cousinage comme dans une famille. L'établissement de type-idéal d'organisation correspond à un instrument de classification, mais également à une méthode pour simplifier la compréhension du réel selon Weber (1971). Toutefois, au contact de la réalité empirique, les types-idéaux perdent de leur " pureté " et deviennent plus complexes et aussi plus riches. Pour Jossierand (2001), il importe alors de percevoir l'organisation d'une entreprise comme une combinaison entre des modes de coordination coopératif, ou non coopératif, et des principes de contrôle hiérarchiques ou non hiérarchiques. Selon l'auteur précédemment cité, la combinaison des modes de coordination et de contrôle découle alors d'un savant mélange d'idéaux-types, adapté au contexte, à la situation et à l'environnement. Dans cette mesure, il n'existe pas une forme pure d'organisation mieux adaptée qu'une autre, et il n'existe pas de domination économique d'une forme d'organisation par rapport aux autres. L'objet de notre article vise justement à explorer ce pan de la littérature concernant les situations hybrides d'organisation, qui témoignent d'un croisement durable des idéaux types. Pour cela, nous envisageons dans une première partie de revenir sur la notion d'enchevêtrement organisationnel dans le prolongement des travaux de Baroncelli et Froehlicher (1997), en discutant des enjeux théoriques et méthodologiques. Dans une deuxième partie, nous présentons les résultats d'une étude empirique, pour souligner dans quelles conditions s'effectuent l'enchevêtrement, à quels niveaux, comment est-il possible de le piloter et comment affecte-il l'évolution d'une entreprise. L'étude empirique porte sur le groupe Vivendi Universal (VU), dont la dynamique du changement depuis une dizaine d'année prête à interrogation sur la nature de l'organisation. Cette étude empirique nous permettra dans une troisième partie de discuter de la portée du concept d'enchevêtrement, de sa dimension opérationnelle, de son pouvoir de validité externe, de ses limites.

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La Théorie de l'enchevêtrement Organisationnel

Pourquoi évoquer l'enchevêtrement ?

L'enchevêtrement organisationnel est un phénomène inévitable, et admis dans la littérature notamment en sociologie des organisations (Friedberg, 1997), car une organisation est par définition imparfaite en raison de l'incertitude des jeux d'acteurs. Pour compenser cette imperfection, les acteurs sont obligés de recourir à des combinaisons de modes de coordination, envisagés sous l'angle de leur complémentarité et non sous l'angle de leur opposition. Ainsi, le marché aurait besoin de la hiérarchie et des communautés solidaires pour fonctionner harmonieusement, et réciproquement. Si l'on considère par exemple le modèle hiérarchique fondé sur des principes bureaucratiques (Crozier, 1963). Il tend à être ajusté par des mécanismes de réseaux ou de marché. Lorsque l'autorité ne suffit plus à guider l'action de façon cohérente et efficace en raison de conflits d'intérêts ou de rivalités de pouvoir, il convient de combiner la bureaucratie avec d'autres logiques de coordination : le marché pour arbitrer les conflits dans l'intérêt général (White, 1981) ; le réseau pour renforcer la cohésion à travers un ordre social fondé sur des conventions librement partagées, et non sur la base de contraintes. De même, le modèle du réseau s'enrichit au contact des deux autres modèles. L'organisation en réseau est fondée sur le principe de modularité. Il s'agit de produire de la variété dans l'offre avec une économie de moyens, en recombinaison les mêmes « briques » de compétences ou de ressources sans bouleverser à chaque fois les fondements structurels (Thorelli, 1986). Toutefois, pour que ce processus combinatoire fonctionne, il est nécessaire que les « briques » du réseau soient ajustables. Le partage des conventions aide à cette compatibilité. Pour autant, il est parfois utile de négocier les modalités de combinaison en dehors des conventions pour être plus

efficace, notamment en faisant appel à des « briques » plus compétitives, extérieures au réseau. Des conflits peuvent alors survenir sur l'utilité ou non de respecter les conventions, sur l'utilité de marquer une préférence communautaire au sein du réseau vis-à-vis de l'extérieur. Dans certaines situations, un ordre hiérarchique doit alors se substituer aux règles de coopération ou de marchandage, pour préserver l'unité dans le réseau, pour discipliner les membres, et pour faire respecter les conventions en dépit des tentations opportunistes (Lorenzoni, Baden Fuller, 1993). Le modèle du marché est également tributaire des deux autres modèles. D'une manière générale, le modèle du marché est soumis aux effets systèmes. Certaines décisions parfaitement cohérentes sur le plan individuel produisent des effets contre-productifs à l'échelle collective, et nuisent en retour aux enjeux individuels de départ. Le principe des bulles spéculatives est édifiant à ce sujet. L'effet système d'aveuglement collectif subsiste pourtant, renforcé par des phénomènes de dissonance cognitive ou de désinformation. À ce sujet, Crozier (1963) parle d'un « cercle vicieux », qui enferme les choix individuels dans des routines, et la structure de marché dans des schémas auto-référents. Une fois que ce cercle vicieux est dévoilé, que la hausse est perçue de façon excessive, le marché financier connaît une sorte d'état de choc, au cours duquel le processus d'expansion s'inverse de façon brutale provoquant la ruine de nombreux acteurs. Pour réduire les asymétries d'information, et donc afin d'éviter ces risques de spéculation, il n'est pas rare d'assister à des ajustements par l'émergence de réseaux d'acteurs (Baker, 1992). Par exemple sur les marchés financiers, les analystes et les entreprises s'échangent des informations privilégiées sur le registre de l'échange de don : par exemple en contrepartie d'un rapport favorable, l'analyste a accès à des informations qui ne sont pas révélées au grand public (Stiglitz, 2003). Ainsi, lorsque la transaction ne peut pas s'effectuer sur le registre du marchandage, pour des raisons d'éthique, ou par défaut d'évaluation du prix, il existe de multiples arrangements entre les

acteurs du marché pour ajuster leurs positions. Le marché ne pourrait pas se réguler de lui-même sans ces mécanismes informels et tacites. Pour autant, les réseaux introduisent d'autres risques, des risques de connivence à la place des risques d'opportunisme par exemple. Certains acteurs peuvent par exemple agir en position de juge et partie, et orienter l'évolution du marché vers des intérêts corporatistes. Pour contrôler ces risques de comportement déviant, une forme d'autorité hiérarchique doit s'exercer sur les marchés, par exemple au niveau des pouvoirs publics : soit pour compenser l'insuffisance d'investissement ou le manque de croissance par des politiques de déréglementation, soit pour réguler au contraire le manque de transparence et le défaut d'information par des politiques de réglementation. Notamment dans les crises spéculatives, l'Etat intervient comme dernier recours. Mais les pouvoirs publics sont également soumis aux pressions partisans des réseaux d'acteurs par le lobbying et aux variations de marché influant sur la progression du PIB et sur la capacité de redistribution des richesses. Autrement dit, la tutelle hiérarchique qui s'exerce sur les marchés (conseil de concurrence, législateurs) est étroitement liée aux autres formes de régulation : l'économie de marché entre l'offre et la demande et l'économie des conventions entre les acteurs. Si l'un de ces mécanismes est défaillant (trop ou pas assez d'Etat, trop ou pas assez de connivence, trop ou pas assez de marché), les autres servent à compenser les dysfonctionnements pour ramener la stabilité et l'équilibre dans les transactions entre les firmes et les échanges d'informations entre les acteurs. Il existe donc de multiples sources de complémentarité entre les modèles hiérarchiques, marchands et réticulaires évoquées dans la littérature. Ainsi, Brousseau (1993-a) et Imai et Itami (1984) considèrent que l'organisation est nécessairement modulable, afin de produire de la variété avec une économie de moyens, en utilisant les mêmes éléments sans changer de structure. Cette modularité lui permet d'adapter la variété de l'offre à différents environnements avec les mêmes ressources

et compétences. Ces auteurs soutiennent l'idée de « l'interpénétration » et de « l'hybridation » des formes d'organisation, pour parvenir à cet objectif de modularité. Par exemple, des solidarités parallèles entre firmes ou entre acteurs, complètent le dispositif d'action sur un marché en favorisant les formes d'alliances ou de coopération sur le principe gagnant-gagnant (Håkansson et Johanson 1988, 1989). D'autres réseaux se superposent aux organigrammes traditionnels, pour faciliter la transversalité des décisions ou l'externalisation des activités dans le modèle hiérarchique. À l'inverse, on assiste à l'interpénétration de la hiérarchie au sein du marché pour régir des transactions qui échappent au libre jeu de la concurrence. Le processus d'hybridation ou d'interpénétration est considéré non pas comme un objectif à atteindre dans la gestion de l'entreprise, mais comme " un déséquilibre normal " de son mode de fonctionnement. La forme de l'organisation d'une entreprise devient alors plus complexe (Daft, Lewin 1983), de façon à rechercher les avantages compétitifs procurés par une combinaison des propriétés du marché, de la hiérarchie et du réseau. Les trois mécanismes typiques de régulation (marchés, hiérarchie, réseaux) ne constituent pas des modalités exclusives, mais au contraire sont appelés à se combiner de manière originale. Ce faisant, ils génèrent dans l'entreprise des conflits d'intérêts car ces mécanismes ne s'associent pas toujours sans heurt et en parfaite harmonie. L'entreprise a donc une organisation enchevêtrée, car elle tend à fonctionner en combinant différents mécanismes de coordination comme la négociation par les prix, ou l'ajustement mutuel par la confiance, qui correspondent aux idéaux types que sont le marché, la hiérarchie et le réseau. Dans ces conditions, détenir un avantage compétitif durable nécessite pour un dirigeant d'être capable de concilier des logiques d'action jugées parfois incompatibles, en combinant de façon harmonieuse et équilibrée, différents modes de coordination fondés sur la négociation, l'autorité, les contrats, la confiance, les conventions, les procédures,

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en accord avec les travaux de Bradach et Eccles (1989).

Comment observer l'enchevêtrement ?

Pour étudier les combinaisons d'idéaux types, il convient de repérer dans un premier temps la présence des variables de

coordination et de contrôle correspondant aux idéaux types, et dans un deuxième temps la façon dont ces mécanismes se complètent et s'ajustent dans l'organisation pour produire une forme d'enchevêtrement particulière : voir tableau ci-dessous.

Tableau 1 : les variables de différenciation des idéaux types

	Marché	Réseau	Hiérarchie
Nature de la relation	Transaction, liberté contractuelle	Echange, apprentissage mutuel, solidarité	Autorité, adhésion, engagement
Répétitivité	"Spot contracting"	La récurrence	Continuité précarité /permanence
Mode de Contrôle des transactions	Impersonnalité	Réciprocité	Leadership / subordination
Mode de Contrôle des membres	Autonomie des membres organisation autogérée	Autonomie et Interdépendance des membres organisation complexe	Interdépendance des membres organisation supervisée
Mode de Coordination	Négociation par les prix, Le « deal » : recherche d'un accord équitable	Confiance, conventions tacites et ajustement mutuel : recherche d'un consensus	La conviction, l'obligation, la standardisation des règles : l'application des procédures,
Mode de Résolution des conflits	Recours en justice	Normes de réciprocité et notoriété	Administrative, par un arbitrage formel
Degré de flexibilité	Elevé (selon les barrières à l'entrée)	Moyen (coûts de mobilité)	Bas (irréversibilité des investissements)
Culture de travail	Opportunisme	Recherche de bénéfices mutuels	Bureaucratique
Implication des parties	Moyen à élevé	Moyen à élevé	Faible
Coûts principaux	Coûts de transaction	Coûts de coordination	Coûts de structure

Il est possible d'utiliser cette grille de lecture pour repérer dans la dynamique d'une firme l'influence des idéaux types. En effet, chaque idéal type d'organisation conditionne la façon de concevoir et d'analyser la stratégie d'entreprise, la manière d'atteindre des avantages compétitifs, la façon d'appréhender l'environnement et d'en tirer un bénéfice pour la stratégie. Pour autant,

lorsque nous réfléchissons à la mise en œuvre de ces modèles dans un souci de performance, nous constatons leurs limites, et la nécessité de dépasser leurs imperfections, par une réflexion qui les englobe simultanément, au lieu de les dissocier :

La démarche cartésienne du modèle hiérarchique : sur le plan

stratégique, l'entreprise adopte cette démarche pour obtenir un avantage décisif sur les concurrents par l'intégration des facteurs clés de succès comme des compétences uniques ou des ressources rares (Barney, 1990). Sur le plan organisationnel, ce modèle hiérarchique repose sur l'idée qu'une entreprise fonctionne de façon mécanique avec un certain nombre de rouages. Par souci d'efficacité, il suffit de fragmenter les décisions et les responsabilités sous une autorité unique pour en garantir la bonne cohésion. Les acteurs se comportent ensuite de façon rationnelle, sans faire preuve d'arbitraire ou de subjectivité. En cherchant à maximiser leur utilité individuelle, ils maximiseraient l'optimum d'ensemble. Dans ce modèle, les facteurs du capital et du travail sont indépendants, ils ne s'influencent pas et peuvent se substituer l'un par rapport à l'autre pour augmenter la productivité par exemple. Ce modèle ignore les phénomènes de frottement dans les rouages, car la coordination et le contrôle hiérarchiques ne se déroulent pas sans heurt. L'organisation subit de multiples influences internes avec les conflits de pouvoir ou les risques de démotivation, ou externes avec la nécessité de changer ou d'innover, qui rendent inopérante une performance fondée uniquement sur des automatismes cartésiens, ou sur les vertus auto référentes de la pyramide hiérarchique (Crozier, Friedberg, 1977).

La démarche concurrentielle du modèle marchand : sur le plan stratégique, l'entreprise adopte cette démarche pour obtenir une rente de situation dans les échanges avec d'autres sociétés, en se protégeant de la compétition, par la recherche d'une domination par les coûts ou la différenciation (Porter, 1986). Sur le plan organisationnel, la coordination des tâches sur un marché est décentralisée; elle est articulée autour des variables de négociation par les prix pour aboutir à un contrat et à un transfert de propriétés. Le contrôle repose sur le respect des règles de concurrence

face aux risques d'opportunisme qui demeure toutefois présent. Or, ces règles de la concurrence pure et parfaite demeurent un mythe économique. La plupart du temps, les acteurs sur un marché obéissent à des incitations juridiques réglementaires et fiscales qui provoquent des asymétries et des déséquilibres dans les échanges. Par opportunisme, les acteurs cherchent à exploiter les failles de ces réglementations et à détourner les principes de concurrence à leur avantage. Dans ces conditions, le marché ne contribue pas toujours à faire émerger une conscience collective de l'intérêt général en économie, et il ne permet pas nécessairement d'atteindre un optimum de croissance, sans risques et sans externalités négatives. En effet, certaines décisions opportunistes deviennent souvent contre-productives pour l'équilibre collectif du marché, et se retournent alors contre l'intérêt individuel des acteurs engagés dans ces décisions. Le marché n'est donc pas à lui seul, le vecteur de performance que l'on idéalise trop souvent.

La démarche solidaire du modèle réseau : sur le plan stratégique, l'entreprise adopte l'organisation en réseau pour neutraliser les concurrents et pour contrôler l'accès à des ressources complémentaires, au sein d'un tissu d'alliances récurrentes et durables (Osborn, Hagedoorn, 1997). Sur le plan organisationnel, la coordination au sein d'un réseau s'effectue par ajustement mutuel avec des relais grâce au lien de confiance entre les membres (Ring, Van de Ven, 1992). Le contrôle est souvent diffus et décentralisé. Il prend alors la forme d'un enracinement social, par l'adhésion à des règles non écrites ou conventionnelles (Granovetter, 1985). Ce modèle de fonctionnement souffre néanmoins d'un certain nombre d'écueil. Il est souvent considéré comme instable et difficile à piloter, car il cherche à marier flexibilité et stabilité, différenciation et unification. Le premier risque relatif au fonctionnement en réseau résulte du comportement grégaire des membres. La volonté de rester entre soi dans une communauté solidaire, pousse les membres à pratiquer la cooptation et à faire

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du « clonage reproductif » sur les nouveaux arrivants, ce qui risque de créer à terme un phénomène de repli sur soi du réseau avec une perte d'efficacité par rapport au nécessaire besoin d'ouverture. L'autre risque est relatif au phénomène de rivalité latente entre les membres d'un réseau, en l'absence d'une autorité commune en position d'arbitre. La recherche de consensus peut alors céder le pas à des comportements plus individualistes, préjudiciables à la coopération et à la solidarité dont l'organisation dépend pour développer le maillage. Ainsi, il n'existe pas toujours dans un réseau, des mécanismes d'auto régulations suffisamment efficaces pour rétablir un ordre social profitable à tous. En conséquence, le réseau, en soi, n'est pas toujours synonyme de performance.

Dans ces conditions, l'observation de l'enchevêtrement organisationnel se nourrit de l'observation des failles et des limites dans la cohérence des mécanismes de coordination spécifiques au marché, à la hiérarchie et au réseau. L'enchevêtrement organisationnel intervient dans les zones d'ombre des modèles, lorsque plusieurs logiques d'actions imprévues se chevauchent, ou lorsqu'il s'agit de compenser une instabilité organisationnelle par un dosage mieux équilibré, entre la centralisation et la décentralisation des décisions, l'autonomie et la dépendance des acteurs, la standardisation et l'innovation dans les produits, l'harmonisation et l'adaptation des règles, etc. De cette manière, l'objectif consiste à révéler par l'observation, la nature de l'enchevêtrement, les déséquilibres qu'il compense ou qu'il provoque dans l'organisation, le caractère instable ou stable de ses composantes, la dimension contingente ou spontanée de son état.

Etude empirique de l'enchevêtrement organisationnel

L'investigation empirique que nous présentons dans cet article repose sur l'utilisation de la grille de lecture de l'enchevêtrement dans un cas concret d'entreprise : l'observation et l'analyse des

modalités d'organisation chez Vivendi Universal (VU), deuxième groupe mondial des services dans la communication. Cette recherche a démarré il y a une dizaine d'années, dans le cadre d'un travail visant à découvrir le fonctionnement de l'organisation de VU, sous l'angle de la théorie des réseaux. Face aux limites d'interprétation de cette théorie, la recherche s'est ensuite prolongée avec une grille de lecture fondée sur l'enchevêtrement, englobant le réseau, mais ouvrant l'observation et l'analyse à d'autres formes d'organisations. La plupart des données ont été collectées dans un cadre non participant, comme observateurs extérieurs de statut universitaire, dont la démarche de recherche visait à réduire les biais d'interprétations en croisant les sources primaires et secondaires d'observations. Les données ont été collectées avant 1996 et après 1996, date à laquelle VU connaît une alternance du pouvoir de direction, avec un changement de PDG et une évolution radicale des objectifs stratégiques. Avant 1996, nous avons surtout consulté les archives du groupe, la lettre d'information mensuelle pour les cadres, les bilans et rapports d'activités. Nous avons également constitué un dossier de presse. Pour compléter ces données historiques générales, nous avons construits des études de cas très spécifiques à partir d'une cinquantaine d'entretiens semi-directifs, études de cas révélant les diverses facettes de l'organisation de VU à une période où le groupe était dénué des points de repères traditionnels : absence d'organigramme, absence de reporting comptable, absence de comité de direction. À cette occasion, nous avons interrogé des acteurs au niveau des filiales engagées dans des projets communs pour comprendre la façon dont elles parvenaient à s'organiser en l'absence de directive commune, avec une hiérarchie absente et pourtant présente. Puis nous avons validé notre travail, par quelques entretiens au niveau de la direction générale. Après 1996, nous avons prolongé notre investigation à partir de données secondaires dans un contexte différent, avec une ouverture plus grande de l'entreprise aux sollicitations des médias, des chercheurs et

des journalistes. À cette période, l'observation de VU présentait deux atouts. Premièrement, il s'agissait de l'une des plus grandes entreprises d'Europe avec 250 000 salariés, 45 milliards d'euro de chiffre d'affaires et 120 milliards d'euro de capitalisation. Dans ces conditions, le titre VU côté en Europe et aux Etats-Unis suscitait l'intérêt partagé des journalistes et imposait à la direction de communiquer régulièrement à l'égard des actionnaires. Deuxièmement, le groupe était présidé par un dirigeant charismatique, M. Messier qui n'hésitait pas à évoquer publiquement sa politique générale et ses choix d'organisation, dans des entretiens télévisés, à la radio ou sur Internet. Nous avons bénéficié au cours de cette période d'un abonnement par Mail de l'ensemble des

communiqués de presse du groupe. Nous avons également exploité les informations publiées sur le site institutionnel des filiales et le site institutionnel du groupe, qui étaient liés par des échanges de bannières ou des liens hypertextes, permettant ainsi de naviguer en s'imprégnant de l'univers du groupe. Enfin, nous avons effectué des entretiens exploratoires, semi-directifs, au niveau des filiales concernées prioritairement par les restructurations du groupe (Canal +, Viventures, Vivendi Net), mais également au niveau du siège social avec le département en charge de la réflexion sur le "business developpement" et les structures.

Tableau 2

Acteurs interrogés	Objet de l'entretien	Durée de l'entretien
Associé du fonds de capital risque Viventures	Etudier les relations entre les start-up et la stratégie de développement de Vivendi	1 X 2 heures
Chargé de mission Canal + Chargé de mission Vivendi Net	Etudier les enjeux de business développement de Canal + et les formes de coordination avec Vivendi	3 X 1 heure
Chargé de mission Direction de la stratégie et du développement de Vivendi	Etudier la relation entre stratégie et structure	2 X 2 heures

Pour limiter les risques de biais dans l'observation à cette période comme dans la période précédente durant la thèse, nous avons validé l'interprétation des données par un retour sur le terrain auprès des acteurs interrogés, en utilisant le principe du "Feed-Back Survey" cher à Crozier (1963). La

validation de notre vision de l'enchevêtrement chez VU s'est déroulée par téléphone et par échange de courrier avec des acteurs appartenant au siège de VU et avec des experts travaillant ou ayant travaillé avec le groupe.

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Tableau 3

Acteurs interrogés	Objet des contacts	Modalité du contact
Chargé de Mission Direction de la stratégie et du développement	Valider les enjeux stratégiques et organisationnels	Entretien et courrier
Avocat d'affaires Ingénieur - consultant Auditeur financier	Valider la chronologie des événements, et les étapes de restructuration au sein de VU	Entretien Entretien et E-mail E-mail et courrier
Chargé de mission Direction de la communication	Valider les enjeux de confidentialité du travail de recherche	Téléphone et courrier

Pour traiter l'ensemble de ces données, nous avons appliqué une démarche « d'audit de l'enchevêtrement » sur VU, en deux phases. La première phase consistait à décrire la nature de la configuration organisationnelle c'est-à-dire la façon dont s'imbriquent les idéaux-types M,H,R faisant l'objet des paragraphes 2.1 et 2.2. Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons porté notre attention sur la dynamique de l'enchevêtrement, en cherchant à interpréter le phénomène de transition entre les différentes formes d'enchevêtrement sur les deux périodes étudiées avant 1996 et après 1996. Ce point est exposé dans le paragraphe 2.3.

L'enchevêtrement organisationnel de VU entre 1970-1996

Durant cette période, Vivendi Universal (VU) se présente encore sous son ancienne raison sociale de Compagnie Générale des Eaux (CGE). Celle-ci a une vocation généraliste visant à répondre aux besoins des collectivités locales dans tous les compartiments de la vie publique : transport collectif, restauration collective, chauffage, BTP, eau, télécommunications, immobilier etc. L'organisation de VU est conçue pour apporter une solution au besoin du client, en combinant « sur mesure » et de façon modulaire les ressources et les compétences de ses filiales spécialisées. C'est la raison pour laquelle, la structure de VU n'est pas enfermée dans un

organigramme classique, mais elle repose principalement sur le maillage des filiales gérées en commandite par actions, de façon très autonomes, au sein d'une organisation en réseau. Au centre de ce réseau, un acteur détient plus de pouvoir que les autres, il s'agit du PDG : M. Dejouany. Durant son mandat à la tête du groupe jusqu'en 1996, il va multiplier par 5 la taille de VU pour lui permettre d'atteindre la position de leader mondial des services aux collectivités. Il applique en effet une stratégie de croissance externe poussée à l'extrême, afin de compléter la palette des métiers et des compétences détenues au sein des frontières de VU. Les choix d'acquisitions ou de prise de participations relèvent d'une volonté d'atteindre une taille critique dans tous les secteurs relatifs aux collectivités, d'abord sur le plan national, puis à une échelle mondiale. Cette croissance, de l'ordre de 15 % par an, propulse le chiffre d'affaires de 2,6 milliards d'EUR en 1981, à 17,8 milliards d'EUR dix ans plus tard. Durant cette période, des mécanismes d'autogestion évitent à M. Dejouany de s'impliquer directement dans l'administration des filiales, en déléguant les responsabilités au niveau le plus bas, comme l'explique l'un de ses proches collaborateurs :

" La répartition des responsabilités entre le siège et les filiales est basée sur le principe de la subsidiarité, c'est-à-dire sur la règle de suppléance. Le principe de la subsidiarité est affirmé entre le siège et les filiales de premier rang ou de second rang, selon lequel les compétences sont a priori conférées au niveau le plus bas, à moins qu'il ne soit démontré que le transfert à un

niveau supérieur ne permette de gagner en efficacité. A la limite, le siège ne peut être utile en rien, de la même façon que le cerveau n'est pas forcément utile pour réguler les battements du cœur ou le gonflement des poumons. On ne réfléchit pas pour respirer. On peut comparer les relations du siège avec les filiales au mode de fonctionnement du système nerveux dans la respiration. Il y a des muscles lisses et les autres. Certains disposent du degré d'autonomie suffisant pour ne pas dépendre du système central. De même, l'intervention du siège sur une filiale ne se justifie qu'en vertu du principe de valeur ajoutée. Si l'intervention engendre de la valeur ajoutée dans l'entité, alors, elle se justifie. Compte tenu de l'état de la filiale, le siège réfléchit pour savoir comment la valoriser par son expertise ou ses contacts. Il n'y a pas de règles générales, ni de procédures systématiques. Il est très difficile d'imaginer une règle de gestion qui englobe toutes les situations du terrain, il est donc préférable que les filiales valident leurs propres règles au contact du terrain. "

Ce mode de gouvernement privilégie les échanges interpersonnels en dehors des canaux hiérarchiques traditionnels, en respectant des règles tacites et des conventions informelles. Il en résulte une autorégulation remarquable de l'organisation, fonctionnant sur une double orientation de l'action entre la dimension « corporate » du réseau de filiales au niveau global, et la dimension « business » des maillons qui constituent ce réseau au niveau local. Dans ce contexte, la coordination porte sur des conventions multilatérales et bilatérales qui façonnent et transforment les échanges entre les filiales, en l'absence d'organigramme et de comité de direction. Ces conventions sont comparables à des routines, c'est-à-dire à des comportements répétés de manière quasi-automatique, hérités et donc issus de la mémoire de l'organisation. Les routines portent sur un encadrement minimal des conditions de relation entre les filiales. Elles sont particulièrement perceptibles quand une filiale a recours à la sous-traitance interne. Ainsi, il existe une règle non écrite qui donne

un droit de préemption aux filiales VU sur des contrats de sous-traitance interne, par rapport à des firmes extérieures au réseau. De la même manière, les délais de paiement sont « routinisés » entre les filiales. Mais comme le précise lors d'un entretien l'un des responsables d'une filiale, ces routines provoquent une forme d'inertie organisationnelle, en enfermant une partie des comportements dans des conventions préétablies :

" Le jeu des règles non écrites introduit des effets pervers. A l'échelle du groupe, entre les sociétés, y compris à l'intérieur d'une même entreprise, on peut se demander comment se transmettent les savoirs en l'absence de procédure. Un savoir-faire technique se transmet facilement, car il est standardisé. Mais, à partir du moment où un savoir est personnalisé, comme la connaissance d'un territoire, d'une firme ou d'un marché, l'information est beaucoup plus difficile à transmettre. En l'absence de règles formelles, cela présente un énorme inconvénient, car les membres du réseau sont obligés de répéter plusieurs fois les mêmes tâches et les mêmes fonctions, mémorisées par un acteur ayant quitté l'organisation. Par contre, cela permet de gagner beaucoup de temps, car personne n'est obligé d'écrire. Par exemple pour la comptabilité au sein de VU, il n'existe pas de règles particulières qui permettent d'harmoniser les règles d'imputation des comptes. L'expérience montre que les acteurs se rattachent alors à la coutume et aux habitudes du passé, en refusant d'innover. En l'absence de lois ou de décrets, la coutume semble l'emporter. "

Pour compenser les failles d'un fonctionnement trop complexe et improductif à partir des règles tacites, le réseau des filiales est structuré par pôles d'activités : l'environnement (eau, énergie, propreté, transports), la communication (télécommunications, médias) et l'aménagement (construction, immobilier). Chaque pôle d'activités est piloté par des filiales de premier rang elles-mêmes reliés directement au siège social de la CGE dans la consolidation

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comptable. Ces filiales de premier rang sont assimilées à des têtes de réseau : des nœuds d'interconnexion qui ont une fonction d'intermédiation et de régulation importante vis-à-vis des autres nœuds à l'intérieur d'un territoire ou d'une zone d'influence du réseau. Chaque tête de réseau est gouvernée par un ou plusieurs directeurs généraux rattachés directement à M. Dejouany. Entouré d'une vingtaine de directeurs généraux qui lui rapportent directement, celui-ci gouverne sans comité de direction, sans organigramme à l'exception de l'annuaire des cadres, en supervisant directement les dossiers importants et en accordant une grande confiance aux directeurs généraux qui lui doivent leur nomination et l'étendue de leur pouvoir. À l'intersection des territoires contrôlés par différentes têtes de réseau, il subsiste des zones d'ombre à l'intérieur desquelles les filiales se comportent en toute indépendance, en refusant parfois de collaborer, en pratiquant la concurrence interne, en négociant les termes d'un contrat avec d'autres filiales de VU après une mise en concurrence avec des acteurs extérieurs au réseau. Ce schéma est éloigné d'une configuration divisionnelle, en l'absence d'une politique globale de rationalisation et de supervision systématique des transactions entre les filiales. Ce faible niveau de hiérarchisation est revendiqué par la direction générale de VU comme l'explique l'un de ses représentants:

" La normalisation des procédures ou des règles de partage des tâches s'impose à partir du moment où elle procure une plus grande valeur ajoutée. Le problème, c'est que nous évoluons sur des métiers qui ne sont pas standards. Notre organisation s'est constituée à partir de cette spécificité. Prenons l'exemple de l'eau : aucune eau ne ressemble à une autre dans sa composition; et aucun confluent ne ressemble à un autre dans son relief. En général, la formalisation procure une plus grande cohérence au sein de l'entreprise, avec une plus grande lisibilité des actions et un langage commun entre les acteurs ; par contre elle colle moins bien à la

réalité. C'est un peu comme dans l'habillement entre le sur-mesure et le prêt-à-porter. Par notre métier, nous sommes amenés à évoluer dans le sur-mesure."

Pour autant l'organisation demeure rationnelle, par une logique d'enchevêtrement centrée sur M. Dejouany qui reste le seul point de repère stable dans une organisation particulièrement complexe. Par ses décisions d'acquisition et de cession de filiales et par les fusions ou les recompositions de pôles d'activités, il introduit des niveaux de responsabilité hiérarchique : têtes de réseau, filiales de premier rang, filiales de second rang... Ce faisant, il opère un premier « réglage » de l'organisation. Lors des acquisitions et des cessions, il fixe ensuite un deuxième « réglage » de l'organisation, en définissant le niveau de « redondance » des filiales, c'est-à-dire en déterminant le nombre d'entités en situation de concurrence potentielle. Il peut ainsi réguler le niveau d'intensité concurrentiel au sein du réseau : le niveau de redondance entre les nœuds du réseau. De même, il intervient aussi pour redéfinir les positions entre les maillons, en fusionnant ou en refondant plusieurs filiales. Il découpe alors le réseau en sous-ensemble homogène plus facile à gouverner. Enfin, en accentuant les spécialisations et la différenciation des filiales, il incite tacitement à la coopération. En conséquence, pour paraphraser Chandler (1962), M. Dejouany, par une activité de délégation d'autorité, devient la « main visible » qui détermine l'existence d'une « main invisible » au sein de l'organisation. En guise de synthèse (voire figure 1), l'organisation de VU à cette période comporte un enchevêtrement organisationnel à de multiples niveaux. La forme réseau domine le fonctionnement de l'organisation. Elle est articulée avec les modes de contrôle marchand pour départager l'offre des filiales au niveau des clients, et les modes de contrôle hiérarchique pour réguler les échanges dans le réseau de filiales par l'affectation de directeurs généraux à la tête des filiales de premiers rangs, en position de têtes de réseau.

Fig 1 : l'enchevêtrement organisationnel de VU entre 1970 et 1996

Mode de coordination \ Mode de contrôle		Mode de coordination		
		Marché	Réseau	Hiérarchie
Mode de contrôle	Marché		Les filiales coopèrent au sein d'un réseau sous le contrôle externe du client	Suivant le principe de subsidiarité, l'autorité est déléguée au contact du client
	Réseau	La mise en concurrence des filiales avec l'extérieur s'effectue dans le respect de conventions tacites au sein du réseau		Le siège social crée des pôles d'activités pour favoriser l'autogestion dans le réseau, entre les filiales
	Hiérarchie	La compétition interne entre les filiales relève d'un management par exception de la part du siège social	Les entrées et les sorties de filiales au sein du réseau sont gérées par le siège social	

L'enchevêtrement organisationnel de VU entre 1996 -2002

Au cours de cette période, une transition du pouvoir s'amorce entre M. Dejouany et M. Messier. Ce dernier devient le nouveau PDG du groupe. Cette transition du pouvoir s'explique par les déséquilibres de l'organisation précédente : une organisation centrée principalement sur la logique de réseau où la concurrence interne se banalise avec des risques d'incohérence ; une organisation dont les ramifications sont trop diversifiées dans des métiers en crise comme l'immobilier ou le BTP, ou dans des activités trop éloignés de la vocation de base, comme l'hôtellerie, ou la grande distribution avec les magasins Fnac par exemple ; une organisation dont le développement externe est mal maîtrisé avec un niveau d'endettement record de 10,6 milliards d'EUR (195 % des fonds propres), et des pertes historiques, pour la première fois depuis 50 ans, évaluées

pour l'exercice 1995 à 0,5 milliards d'EUR, et des pertes cumulées évaluées dans l'immobilier à 5,7 milliards d'EUR. Dans ce contexte, M. Messier semble posséder les compétences requises pour résoudre les problèmes financiers en réduisant le niveau de complexité de l'organisation. Ancien inspecteur des finances, ce dernier a développé un profil de dirigeant spécialisé dans les problèmes de « corporate governance », en phase avec la montée du pouvoir des représentants d'actionnaires anglo-saxons et de fonds de pension, au sein du conseil d'administration de VU (Mertens-Santamaria 1997). Dans son parcours de dirigeant, M. Messier s'inspire de son expérience de banquier d'affaire chez Lazard. À ce titre, sa vigilance s'exerce prioritairement sur la création de valeur pour les actionnaires. Cette façon de gouverner contraste nettement avec les habitudes de son prédécesseur davantage focalisé sur les métiers et sur les clients. Pour atteindre l'objectif de création de valeur, M. Messier

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utilise différents leviers :

- Le levier stratégique : sur le plan stratégique, M. Messier effectue un désinvestissement dans les métiers traditionnels de VU (l'eau, l'énergie, la propreté, le transport...) qui affaiblissent la rentabilité des capitaux investis, car il n'est pas possible de délocaliser ou d'automatiser la production de ces services de proximité, pour en réduire le coût de main d'œuvre. Dans le même temps, il engage une croissance externe vers d'autres métiers de services à plus forte valeur ajoutée, dans la communication (téléphonie, cinéma, édition, jeux vidéos, e-commerce sur Internet, TV et canaux de distribution, etc.).

- Le levier financier : pour financer la stratégie de croissance externe dans le secteur de la communication, il utilise le principe de l'offre publique d'échange (OPE). Chaque rachat d'entreprise par fusion-acquisition augmente mécaniquement la valeur de l'action VU, valeur d'action qui sert ensuite de monnaie d'échange pour procéder à de nouvelles acquisitions. Cette croissance repose sur la bonne conjoncture boursière favorable aux métiers de la communication. Mais sur le plan industriel, la croissance en taille est discutable, dans la mesure où VU devient un groupe plus coûteux à gérer avec des frais de fonctionnement plus importants : par exemple le siège social parisien est transféré sur l'avenue de Friedland avec une multiplication par cinq des effectifs représentant plus de 1000 personnes en 2000. Ce type de dépense induit une baisse de la rentabilité sur le long terme, phénomène qui n'est pas anticipé à cette époque dans la valeur de l'action VU, ou dans la capitalisation boursière.

- Le levier du gouvernement de l'entreprise : pour faire adhérer les actionnaires et autres parties prenantes à sa politique, il s'entoure d'administrateurs qui lui doivent leur nomination. Par ailleurs, il communique les résultats de sa politique principalement autour des critères de croissance patrimoniale : l'EVA qui correspond au surplus du résultat

d'exploitation après impôts par rapport à la rémunération des capitaux engagés, et le critère de l'EBITDA qui correspond au résultat d'exploitation avant amortissement et dépréciation, activités de restructuration et autres éléments exceptionnels. En interne, il indexe une partie des revenus des cadres dirigeants et des salariés, par l'attribution de stocks options, rendant les objectifs financiers prioritaires sur tout autre but. Compte tenu de ces nouvelles orientations, l'organisation de VU est entraînée vers une logique d'intégration hiérarchique avec un recentrage dans l'environnement et une diversification dans la communication. Il s'agit de la plus importante reconversion industrielle jamais opérée par un groupe de cette taille en France : 18 milliards d'EUR d'actifs sont cédés en trois ans, pour diminuer le niveau d'endettement (80 % des fonds propres en 1998) et pour financer le développement dans les métiers stratégiques. Dans ses choix de restructurations, M. Messier cherche à renforcer la position concurrentielle de VU dans tous les métiers, soit pratiquant de la concentration horizontale, soit en cherchant à acquérir des compétences verticales pour dominer la compétition. Dans le cadre de cette démarche, M. Messier consacre une grande partie de ses investissements pour posséder des contenus exclusifs dans la communication, et pour renforcer la taille critique de VU dans l'environnement. Toutes ces actions sont menées suivant un registre hiérarchique centralisé, lisible et cohérent du point de vue des marchés financiers. Ce mode de fonctionnement devient dominant sur les autres possibilités de coordination et de contrôle. Il est présent à tous les niveaux de décision de VU, au sein du siège social avec la présence d'un comité de direction et d'un conseil de surveillance qui supervisent un organigramme divisionnel, au sein des divisions et des principales filiales avec la présence d'une direction générale. La hiérarchie est considérée comme un vecteur d'intégration des éléments de l'organisation. Les compétences ou les ressources à forte valeur ajoutée (rare, non substituable, non imitable), qui contribuent à une forte image de marque auprès des clients, ou à une forte

valorisation du titre VU auprès des actionnaires, sont donc intégrées dans la structure, le plus souvent par croissance externe dans le cadre de fusion acquisition. De façon complémentaire, l'instabilité de l'environnement, l'ouverture mondiale des marchés, les brusques changements technologiques et le raccourcissement du cycle de vie des services poussent M. Messier à recourir à d'autres modes de croissance et d'organisation plus flexibles et moins centralisés notamment dans la branche communication (cf. annexe 1). Pour s'adapter à la concentration de l'offre sans disposer des capacités d'investissement, M. Messier adopte une stratégie de coopération avec des concurrents qui éprouvent la même difficulté, comme British Telecom dans la téléphonie fixe, Sky Network dans la télévision, Sony et Yahoo dans la diffusion de musique en ligne, Bertelsmann dans l'édition en ligne, Vodaphone dans la téléphonie mobile. Certains deviennent co-actionnaires avec VU dans des filiales communes, comme Vodafone, leader mondial dans la téléphonie mobile qui possède des parts du capital de SFR, numéro deux sur le marché français. Cette coopération entre concurrents, cette « co-opétition » (Bradenburger, Nalebuff 1997), est d'ailleurs un moyen privilégié de contrôler l'intensité concurrentielle ou d'ériger des barrières à l'entrée du secteur, en partageant des informations et en définissant des normes collectives; les PDG de Bertelsmann et de VU, administrateurs croisés, appartiennent d'ailleurs à plusieurs associations de lobbying pour ériger des normes internationales concernant le commerce électronique. Pour autant, le risque de compétition n'est pas totalement écarté. L'alliance fondée sur des circonstances conjoncturelles ou des opportunités passagères peut évoluer dans des rapports conflictuels et les anciens partenaires redeviennent alors des concurrents au sens strict du terme. Le recours au marché complète cette logique d'action stratégique. Lorsque l'activité est jugée secondaire ou lorsqu'il n'est pas possible d'acquérir la société qui la détient, VU externalise, par contrat, des inputs ou des outputs sur

certains maillons de la chaîne de valeur des services (cf. annexe 1). Ainsi, deux logiques guident l'action de M. Messier dans la « nouvelle économie » : le désir de s'adapter à l'environnement en luttant contre les contraintes et en saisissant les opportunités ; le désir de modifier l'environnement pour réduire les incertitudes, en créant par exemple de nouvelles règles de valorisation des services sur Internet. Ces deux logiques sont présentes simultanément dans la dynamique de l'organisation. Au terme de cette mutation rapide, le chiffre d'affaires de VU est constitué pour moitié par les activités de communication. Mais les bénéfices ne sont pas à la hauteur de l'ambition de M. Messier, notamment pour la partie Média (musique, cinéma, télévision, Internet, édition). Celle-ci représente, en 2001, 35 % du chiffre d'affaires total, bien qu'elle totalise à peine 13 % des bénéfices. Si nous comparons le ratio du résultat d'exploitation sur le chiffre d'affaires (indice de profitabilité), on obtient à cette époque, 6,7 % pour l'environnement, 17 % pour la téléphonie et 2,4 % pour les médias avec des résultats négatifs dans certaines branches comme la télévision et dans Internet. En conséquence, en 2002, le groupe VU est valorisé par les marchés financiers comme un empilement d'actifs, avec une décote de 50 % de la somme du prix estimé de ces actifs ($1+1 < 2$), à l'image d'un holding financier, et non pas comme un véritable groupe spécialisé dans la communication et capable de générer des synergies entre ses métiers. Ce phénomène contribue à l'éclatement de la bulle spéculative sur les marchés boursiers pour les valeurs TMT (technologie, médias, télécommunications), et réciproquement. Ces difficultés apparaissent dans l'organisation de VU. La logique hiérarchique devient prédominante au détriment des dimensions coopératives ou marchandes qui complètent de façon périphérique les choix de coordination et de contrôle (voir figure 2). C'est un renversement complet de l'enchevêtrement par rapport à la période précédente, dans un environnement concurrentiel qui incite les dirigeants à aligner leur stratégie sur des normes de visibilité définies par les marchés

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financiers. Chez VU, les choix d'organisations visent ainsi à compenser les déséquilibres étudiés dans la période avant 1996, mais provoquent de nouveaux troubles non désirés et difficiles à endiguer.

Figure 2 : l'enchevêtrement organisationnel de VU entre 1996 et 2002

<i>Mode de coordination</i>			
<i>Mode de contrôle</i>	Marché	Réseau	Hiérarchie
Marché		L'offre compétitive est élaborée par des alliances récurrentes avec des partenaires extérieurs	Certains maillons de la chaîne de valeur sont externalisés sur le marché, après étude de benchmarking
Réseau	VU pratique le cross-marketing, le cross-selling, le co-branding entre ses filiales dans la branche communication		La direction générale met en place des interfaces pour faciliter les synergies internes entre les filiales
Hiérarchie	La direction générale pratique la croissance externe pour intégrer de nouvelles sources de création de valeur pour le client	Les dirigeants forment un réseau d'acteurs qui cherche à imposer de nouvelles normes dans la nouvelle économie	

Dans ce contexte, VU présente toujours la physionomie d'un groupe enchevêtré, mais avec un dosage de moins en moins équilibré dans l'utilisation des mécanismes de régulation du marché, des réseaux et de la hiérarchie. En effet, à chaque étape de croissance externe consécutive à de nombreux rachats d'entreprises, le pouvoir de M. Messier et le rôle du siège social s'affirment davantage au détriment de la marge de manœuvre historique des filiales et des niveaux traditionnels de management médians et opérationnels. Ce renforcement de la dimension hiérarchique, satisfaisante pour les marchés financiers sur la visibilité des comptes et de la stratégie, introduit un mauvais dosage de l'enchevêtrement organisationnel, avec un recours moins

fréquent à la flexibilité du marché ou à la souplesse des alliances dans des réseaux. En conséquence, ce que VU gagne en cohérence dans l'intégration, elle le perd en flexibilité et en capacité d'adaptation dans un environnement marqué par des mutations rapides sur Internet qui privilégie pourtant ce type de configuration. Dès lors, la structure de VU souffre de rigidités, dont les manifestations les plus flagrantes se traduisent par un manque d'anticipation sur les retournements de marché, par l'amortissement de survaleurs sur des investissements irréversibles et par une perte de compétitivité face à des entreprises plus petites, utilisant de façon plus équilibrée, toutes les capacités organisationnelles. Dans une interview, M. Messier reconnaît cette difficulté à faire évoluer l'organisation :

« J'ai échoué dans une étape essentielle pour la réalisation de ma

stratégie, créer un champion de la communication à partir d'un champion de l'environnement. À un moment, il fallait que les deux étages de la fusée (Vivendi Communication et Vivendi Environnement) se séparent pour continuer le lancement, et cette opération ne s'est pas réalisée au moment où il le fallait en janvier 2002, en pleine période de campagne électorale pour les présidentielles. Les administrateurs ont subi la pression du pouvoir politique pour ne pas permettre à des investisseurs étrangers d'entrer dans le capital de Vivendi Environnement. Les administrateurs se sont opposés à la cession des métiers de l'environnement. Mon erreur à cette époque a été d'être trop préoccupé par ce qui se passait aux USA et pas assez en France... Avec le recul, le pire qui puisse arriver pour une entreprise, c'est une division à l'intérieur du conseil d'administration avec des fuites à l'extérieur qui alimentent et propagent des rumeurs sur les marchés financiers. C'est finalement ce qui a provoqué ma démission. »

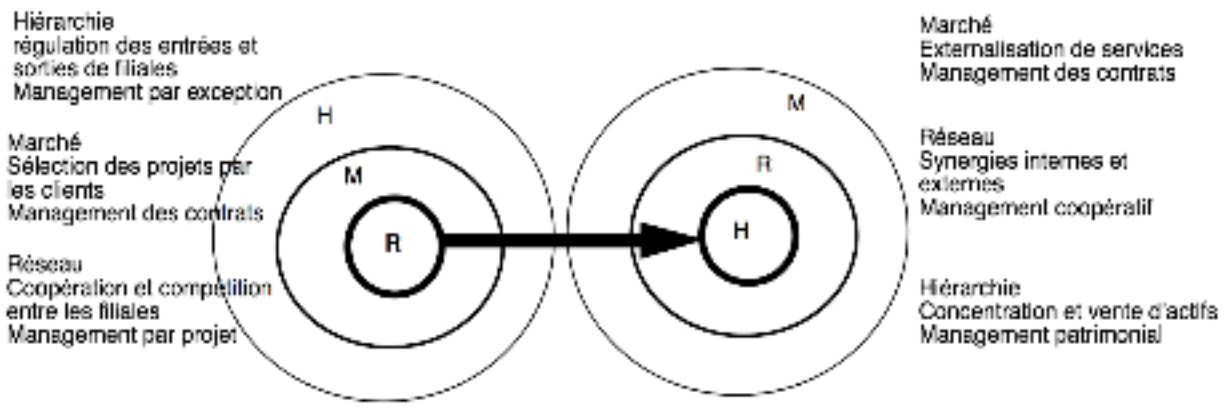
Nature du processus d'enchevêtrement

L'étude longitudinale du cas Vivendi-Universal sur deux périodes 1970-1996 et 1996-2002 nous permet de discuter des apports et des limites de la recherche (voir figure 3). La première période étudiée entre 1970-1996, se caractérise par la domination de la forme du réseau intra-organisationnel afin de maîtriser une offre de services complexe, interconnectée et co-produite par des filiales autonomes, parfois concurrentes. L'identité d'entreprise est l'élément fédérateur de cet édifice complexe qui ne repose ni sur un métier spécifique, ni sur une famille fondatrice, ni sur un actionariat bien circonscrit. Au-delà des liens de propriété financière entre le siège et les filiales, l'identité permet ainsi de délimiter les véritables frontières de l'organisation. De façon complémentaire, le marché et la hiérarchie

agissent comme élément régulateur pour compenser les faiblesses du réseau en matière de coordination et de contrôle, ou lorsqu'il s'agit de palier les besoins de ressources par l'intégration de nouvelles filiales ou par la sous-traitance d'activités. Ce mode d'organisation particulièrement complexe entraîne VU dans une diversification vers des métiers mal maîtrisés avec de nombreux doublons entre les filiales. Cette forme d'enchevêtrement est déséquilibrée par un excès, non souhaité, de flexibilité (un excès de slack-organisationnel au sens de March et Simon 1958), qui provoque une crise de management et un changement de dirigeant. En effet, au delà d'une certaine taille, la forme réseau devient ingérable de l'extérieur par le marché ou de l'intérieur par la hiérarchie (Lorenzoni, Baden Fuller, 1993). La deuxième période étudiée entre 1996-2002 est ensuite dominée par la forme hiérarchique, pour compenser le déficit de cohérence révélé dans la période précédente. La priorité est alors donnée à la croissance patrimoniale et à l'intégration d'actifs dans un périmètre de consolidation qui constitue les véritables frontières de l'organisation. En complément, le réseau et le marché jouent le rôle plus marginal de variables d'ajustement pour accéder à des ressources et à des compétences qu'il n'est pas possible d'intégrer dans un premier temps. Cette forme d'enchevêtrement comporte également des déséquilibres structurels, avec un excès de rigidités lié à l'irréversibilité des investissements financiers. Ces déséquilibres sont révélés par des variations soudaines dans l'environnement de VU, au niveau des marchés financiers notamment. Cela provoque une nouvelle crise du management avec la démission du dirigeant imposée par le conseil d'administration en 2002, remettant à nouveau en cause les choix d'organisation.

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Figure 3. le processus d'enchevêtrement de VU entre 1970-2002



Cette étude de cas illustre plusieurs phénomènes intéressants. Tout d'abord, l'enchevêtrement organisationnel tend à se cristalliser autour d'une forme dominante. Cette forme dominante est une réponse apportée de façon circonstancielle aux menaces et aux incertitudes les plus fortes qui pèsent sur l'action du dirigeant. En accord avec Thompson (1967), la forme de coordination dominante permet à l'organisation de conserver une marge d'autodétermination dans son action, en transformant les incertitudes extérieures en certitudes contrôlables en interne. Ainsi, entre 1970 et 1996 la logique de réseau au sein de VU sert à neutraliser l'influence politique et économique des clients ; entre 1996 et 2002, la logique d'intégration hiérarchique au sein de VU permet de contrôler l'influence grandissante des actionnaires. L'organisation déplace ainsi ses frontières pour intégrer ou contrôler les contraintes majeures, en adaptant ses structures au client, en fusionnant avec des concurrents, en intégrant des fournisseurs ou des distributeurs par exemple. Mais, incorporer les contraintes dans le processus d'enchevêtrement n'est pas un exercice simple, car il nécessite souvent pour le dirigeant de concilier des principes de gestion contradictoires. La forme de l'organisation navigue ainsi, selon Hamel et Prahalad (1989), entre la nécessité d'adapter les moyens et les

ressources à un environnement précis (« *strategic fit* »), en accord avec les intentions stratégiques des dirigeants (« *strategic intent* »). C'est la raison pour laquelle, la forme dominante dans l'enchevêtrement organisationnelle est complétée simultanément par d'autres mécanismes de coordination et de contrôle : le marché et la hiérarchie complètent le réseau dans la première période étudiée sur VU, le réseau et le marché complètent la logique hiérarchique dominante dans la seconde période d'observations. Notre recherche permet également de renforcer l'hypothèse d'inertie structurelle (note 1) présentée par Aldrich (1991), selon laquelle les structures de l'organisation évoluent moins vite que les variations de l'environnement. En effet, dans notre étude, nous constatons que l'enchevêtrement organisationnel bascule d'une forme dominante à l'autre lorsque le décalage entre l'entreprise et son environnement devient insupportable pour le dirigeant et les parties prenantes. Ce changement en rupture avec le passé est le seul moyen de rompre avec une forme d'inertie figée dans les intentions du dirigeant. Pour autant, la nouvelle forme d'enchevêtrement hérite de la précédente et conserve une partie des mécanismes de coordination et de contrôle, héritée de l'ancienne forme dominante : la hiérarchie de M. Messier hérite des réseaux de M. Dejouany. Cela tend à prouver que l'enchevêtrement organisationnel est très difficile à piloter entre le poids de l'héritage

structurel et l'inertie des choix organisationnels.

o **Conclusion**

Cet article offre une grille de lecture sur la mixité de différents modes de coordination dans les entreprises en mouvement. Notre recherche se démarque des approches normatives fondées sur la recherche d'un modèle dominant d'organisation qui découlerait soit de la diminution des coûts de transaction (Williamson 1975-1985-1991), soit d'éléments macro déterministes (Hannan, Freeman 1977), ou de contingences micro déterministes (Pfeffer, Salancik 1978). Présenter une organisation comme un tout homogène et indivisible plutôt que comme un ensemble de parties disparates et hétérogènes est inexact. Bien que la plupart des théoriciens se réfèrent à une conception monolithique de l'organisation, dans la majorité des cas, l'organisation est segmentée dans des domaines d'activités tributaires de la hiérarchie, du marché ou du réseau en tant que modes d'organisation. Ceci implique que l'organisation est simultanément enchevêtrée dans différentes formes pures de coordination et de contrôle des activités. Une conception universelle du design organisationnel est donc fallacieuse parce qu'elle repose sur une homogénéité qui n'existe pas (Dornbush, Scott, 1975). L'observation des pratiques de gouvernement du groupe VU confirme cette idée. L'articulation de l'enchevêtrement organisationnel auprès de VU nous montre que la direction générale ne conçoit pas des structures opérantes, mais des structures de décision. Les cadres supérieurs divisent ainsi l'organisation en sous-unités segmentées, qui conçoivent à leur tour des structures de fonctionnement opérationnel. Ceci nous permet d'adhérer à la notion du "métamanagement" de Kuhn et Beam (1982). En d'autres termes, les cadres supérieurs ne contrôlent pas réellement l'organisation, ils contrôlent le processus qui contrôle l'organisation. Un manque de connaissance et de visibilité - qui tend à empirer dans les environnements turbulents - empêche ainsi

les cadres supérieurs d'harmoniser tous les compartiments de l'organisation sous la forme d'une entité monolithique. Des structures et des configurations multiples sont donc trouvées au sein de chaque organisation. Il convient alors de décrire l'organisation non comme une entité uniforme et indivisible, mais comme un groupe de groupes d'acteurs, comme un ensemble de coalitions, ou comme une fédération de cultures secondaires. Une fois de plus nous partageons l'opinion de Weick (2001) qui est plutôt catégorique : "*Any attempt to construct the design is doomed because there is no such thing*". L'entreprise est donc le fruit d'une combinaison d'unités opérationnelles chacune d'entre elles se rapprochant des idéaux-types organisationnels. Au sein de VU il est donc possible d'observer un enchevêtrement spécifique de différents mécanismes de coordination (ajustement mutuel par la confiance, standardisation des règles, négociation des prix) et de contrôle (application des contrats, obéissance à l'autorité, respect des convention). Cette étude montre qu'aucune forme idéal typique d'organisation (marché, réseau, hiérarchie) ne peut à elle seule représenter toute la complexité de fonctionnement du groupe. À travers ses multiples métiers et domaines d'activités, VU ne fonctionne correctement qu'en tirant parti de la diversité des mécanismes de coordination et de contrôle, même si selon la période d'observation, certains mécanismes prennent plus d'importance que les autres. À cet égard, gouverner l'enchevêtrement organisationnel apparaît comme un levier d'action pour répondre simultanément à des exigences différentes et souvent contradictoires (des dépenses commerciales pour le client, des réductions de dépense pour l'actionnaire), de façon à réduire les incertitudes (Thompson 1967). Dans l'enchevêtrement organisationnel, il s'agit de préserver une harmonie entre les parties prenantes internes et externes, identifiées et représentées dans l'esprit du dirigeant. Cette harmonie correspond à un juste équilibre entre la contribution et la rétribution des parties prenantes. Si cette harmonie n'est pas

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respectée, l'équilibre sera menacé entre le niveau de contribution et le niveau de rétribution de chacun. Or, cet équilibre peut être rompu à tout moment, si l'une des parties prenantes exerce une pression plus forte que les autres et qu'elle est prise en compte de façon disproportionnée dans l'action du dirigeant, comme nous l'avons constatés à plusieurs reprises dans le cas de VU, d'abord avec l'influence excessive des clients puis avec celle exagérée des actionnaires. Le management de l'enchevêtrement est alors détourné de la recherche d'équilibre pour satisfaire les intérêts de la partie prenante dominante : celle qui menace le plus fortement la légitimité du pouvoir managérial, souvent au détriment des autres parties prenantes. Ce phénomène entraîne inévitablement un déséquilibre dans l'enchevêtrement organisationnel : une coopération parfois anarchique entre les filiales de VU avant 1996 pour satisfaire la clientèle des collectivités locales, une intégration d'actifs trop systématique et parfois sans fondement industriel chez VU entre 1996 et 2002 pour satisfaire les actionnaires regroupés dans des fonds d'investissement. Or, dans le processus étudié chez VU, on s'aperçoit qu'il est difficile ensuite de rééquilibrer l'organisation en faveur de l'intérêt général de toutes les parties prenantes, car l'organisation est soumise au problème de l'inertie structurelle (Aldrich 1991). Elle continue d'hériter dans ses évolutions, des mécanismes de coordination et de contrôle instaurés lors des périodes précédentes. Il existe donc une sédimentation naturelle des règles et des conventions, entre les nouvelles règles et les anciennes règles, qui enferment les acteurs et le dirigeant dans des comportements passéistes. À ce sujet, l'étude du cas VU montre à plusieurs reprises l'incapacité du dirigeant pour modifier son style de gouvernance afin de mieux équilibrer l'enchevêtrement ou afin de répondre à de nouvelles exigences des parties prenantes, lorsque ces exigences sortent radicalement de son champ d'expérience ou de sa représentation cognitive. Il devient alors plus simple de changer de dirigeant, que d'engager la transformation de l'enchevêtrement, en

cours de mandat pour un même dirigeant. Le processus d'enchevêtrement résulte de cette tension permanente entre la volonté du dirigeant de neutraliser l'influence des parties prenantes par des choix d'organisations complexes, et les contraintes d'environnement qui obligent à réviser ces choix avec un risque de déséquilibre des intérêts en présence et une remise en cause dans l'exercice du pouvoir.

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Annexe 1 . L'enchevêtrement organisationnel dans les métiers de la branche communication de VL entre 1996 et 2002

	Externalisation (Marché)	Coopération (Réseau)	Intégration (Hiérarchie)
(1) Cinéma et TV	Sous-traitance de la diffusion de films en salle de cinéma et sur des réseaux de TV concurrents (Sky Network)	Alliance envisagée de Canal Satellite et TPS en France, de Télé + (canal +) et Stream (réseau de BSkyB) en Italie.	Production de films avec les studios Universals (3e catalogue mondial avec 9000 films) et Studio Canal (40 % de la production française de film)
(2) Musique	Vente des licences d'exploitation du catalogue d'Universal Music sur Amazon (portail n°1 sur Internet en commerce BtoC)	<u>Alliance interne</u> avec SFR pour fournir le mobile universel de musique: un nouveau sur la musique de ligne par offre de téléphone <u>Alliance externe</u> avec Sony et Yahoo pour créer Duet, une plateforme musicale sur l'Internet basé sur le pair pour dévisager technologie	Acquisition d'Universal Music, premier portefeuille mondial de maisons de disques (A&M, Decca, MCM, Polydor...)
(3) Édition	Vente de la presse professionnelle et médicale et désengagement du B to B	Coopération avec Bertelsmann pour développer l'édition en ligne	Acquisition de Havas (40 % du marché français) et de Houghton Mifflin
(4) Téléphonie	Sur le marché français de la téléphonie, location des infrastructures de France Telecom afin de relier ensemble les réseaux fixes et mobiles	<u>Alliance externe</u> avec Vodaphone pour partager des dossiers d'abonnés <u>Alliance interne</u> de SFR (mobile) pour soutenir Vizzavi comme point d'entrée pour accéder par téléphone à Internet	Création de SFR (mobile) et de Cegetel (fixe) sur le marché français comme 2e opérateur après France-Telecom
(5) Internet	Le métier de fournisseur d'accès sous-traité à d'autres opérateurs comme AOL La régie publicitaire des sites Web de VU déléguée à une filiale de Bertelsmann en France : IP Interactive Sous-traitance de contenus à Yahoo	<u>Alliance externe</u> association avec Nextenso Alcatel, Cisco, British Telecom sur équipements de réseaux d'infrastructures <u>Alliance interne</u> Collaboration entre les canaux de distribution (SFR, Canal +) et les contenus (Havas, Universal...)	Investissements dans des fonds de capital risque afin d'intégrer des start-up dans la galaxie des services proposés par le portail universel (Vizzavi),

Notes

1. " Ecological models implicitly assume a systemic model of organizations, reinforced by the assumption that

organizations are structurally inert - changing at rates slower than their environments. Many institutional analyses also contain an implicit assumption that organizations only change

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when it is forced upon them : change is imposed, authorized, induced, imprinted and incorporated.” Source Aldrich (1991), opus.cit 11.

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« Faire vivre la pluridisciplinarité : un défi surmontable ? »

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Résumé :

Au carrefour des histoires singulières, il y a parfois des événements particuliers. La création, le développement et l'évaluation d'un corpus d'enseignement et d'un programme de recherche en gestion des ressources humaines, sur une période significative (1990-2008), fait partie de ces événements. Les cours de l'option GRH ont fortement évolué au cours des années avec notamment la mise en place de stages obligatoires chaque été et de missions en entreprise. Ces missions sont en grande partie proposées par les partenaires de l'option et permettent aux étudiants d'avoir, avant leur entrée sur le marché de l'emploi, des expériences professionnelles significatives. Cependant Pluridisciplinarité et Transversalité et GRH n'entretiennent pas avec la transparence, la Vérité, des rapports absolument constants

« Is a multidisciplinary approach an acceptable challenge? » Florian Sala

ABSTRACT: In the seventies and eighties, Jean Piaget and his colleagues from the Ecole de Genève elaborated the general underlying laws at the origin of knowledge, from psychological and epistemological studies on the fundamental categories of thinking. Did they, at that time already, forecast the birth of a new science, the management of human resources based on a future knowledge economy? Almost thirty years later, what are the inherent questions in the knowledge economy in terms of human resources and what ideas does it support when it postulates that the answers that will be provided will most probably not be given by economists or managers only? In this domain of knowledge, even more necessarily than in many others, a multidisciplinary approach must be made, a realistic analysis of one single subject via several disciplines must be attempted. The pursue of what is universal in each individual or category, the principle of civilisation, is the basic reason for our plea of a multidisciplinary system. This represents an acceptable challenge on condition that we agree to talk and listen to each other, to ask ourselves some important epistemological questions which are needed if we want to set up and implement such a challenge. A multidisciplinary system is a juxtaposition, even an association of several disciplines and also a cooperation that must not be mistaken with interdisciplinarity (a decompartmentalization of disciplines) or with 'transdisciplinarity' (cross functional competencies). Let us move on to real things, associate competencies and adopt a multidisciplinary approach while accepting to take one risk: the risk of changing. It is an ambitious and modern goal as we must change our practice through integrating the people with whom we work and decompartmentalizing studies, projects and teams. These changes have become the only path towards survival.

At the junction of individual stories there are peculiar events sometimes. The creation, development and assessment of a teaching body and of a research programme in Human Resources over a significant period of time (1990 - 2008) are one of these events. HRM courses have drastically evolved over the years, notably with the obligation to go on a work placement every summer and the opportunity to do corporate missions. Most of the missions are offered by

Sala

the partner companies and allow the students good professional experience before their first employment. However, multidisciplinary and cross functional systems and HRM do not always match with transparency and Truth. The Man in charge of men, whether HR or operational manager, often gets his assessments, appreciations and settlements wrong. Is the Man in charge of teaching HRM really able to explain the parameters of globalisation and post-modernity? What follows is the extended article in French.

Une nouvelle et dernière chance

C'est à partir d'études psychologiques et épistémologiques sur les catégories fondamentales de la pensée que Jean Piaget et ses collaborateurs de l'Ecole de Genève ont pu mettre en évidence, dans les années 70-80, les lois générales sous-jacentes à la formation de la connaissance. Envisageaient-ils, déjà à cette époque, l'apparition d'une nouvelle science, la gestion des ressources humaines, basée sur une possible économie de la connaissance ? Ce grand savant, décédé en 1980, ne peut plus nous répondre mais nous pouvons, sans crainte de le trahir, imaginer en toute légitimité que cette idée était déjà dans l'air du temps dans le dernier quart du XX^e siècle. Les recherches de son école internationale d'épistémologie ont connu de multiples évolutions et développements dans la plupart des domaines de la connaissance contemporaine, tout d'abord en biologie, puis en psychologie, pédagogie, mathématique, physique puis enfin en économie et gestion. Les synthèses des rencontres de 1979 entre Jean Piaget et Noam Chomsky, au Centre Royaumont pour une science de l'homme, sont à bien des égards représentatives de ces idées dans l'air du temps, structuralistes et interactionnistes, stipulant avec force que notre monde ne peut pas faire l'économie de la connaissance accompagnée d'une réflexion permanente et critique de celle-ci.

Près de trente ans plus tard, quelles questions l'économie de la connaissance, en gestion des ressources humaines, porte-t-elle mais aussi supporte-elle en postulant immédiatement que les réponses qui seront apportées ne pourront pas être posées uniquement par les économistes ou les gestionnaires. Il n'y a pas de nom donné à une science qui ne soit traversé par un non. Il n'y a pas non plus de nom et de non sans

crise et sans conflit. Dans une hypothétique économie du savoir et de la connaissance, les crises et les conflits font florès et c'est peut-être justement là que se trouve la variable explicative la plus discriminante. Si le consensus se fait pour dire que nous sommes entrés dans l'économie de la connaissance, pour reprendre la belle expression de Jean-Pierre Archambault (Médialog, 2004) tout n'est pas joué loin de là et une réflexion épistémologique donc politique doit être engagée au plus vite pour éviter quelques dérives déjà observées. Ce qui donne le plus à penser se tient toujours dans un temps, une époque, une histoire, un fantasme, un conte, une économie de la connaissance. Rien ne se réduit à la mémoire, rien non plus n'est hors de la mémoire qui emprunte toujours la voie sensorielle et perceptive bien connue, celle de l'observation. Tandis que l'histoire est construite sur les traces du passé, la science les efface, visant à imposer aux hommes un présent toujours remis en cause par un mouvement perpétuel. L'histoire fait symptôme alors que la science n'a pas de mémoire même si elle est connaissance.

Sur ce dernier point rappelons que toute connaissance, du monde extérieur comme des processus internes, emprunte la voie sensorielle et perceptive. Aucune science ne peut faire l'économie de ce mode d'investigation de son objet d'étude. Il en est ainsi dans toutes les sciences physiques, humaines et biologiques. Les sciences de gestion ne font pas exception à cette règle fondamentale, l'économie de la connaissance encore moins ! Cette dernière propose de capitaliser les connaissances et de mettre l'accent sur les compétences des ressources humaines présentées comme le seul et unique avantage compétitif pour les entreprises internationales. Cependant comprendre et

expliquer en économie de la connaissance nécessite un construit, une construction de nouvelles structures opératoires, une attitude novatrice, une représentation graphique et imagée souvent élaborée à partir de méthodes dites d'observation. Si, dans d'autres domaines comme celui de l'ophtalmologie, ce que nous enregistrons en tant que perception n'est pas toujours conforme à notre image rétinienne, alors méfions nous de nos illusions dans nos observations de la réalité complexe des entreprises et des organisations en général et dans celle plus particulière de la gestion des ressources humaines (Bournois, Livian & Louart, 1993 ; Brabet, 1993 ; Dessler, 2008 ; Peretti, 1994, 1996 ; Piganiol, 1994 ; Sala, 1991 ; Thévenet, Dejoux, Marbot & Bender, 2007).

Dans ce domaine de la connaissance, encore plus que dans bien d'autres, il nous faut oser la pluridisciplinarité, l'analyse réaliste d'un seul et même sujet par plusieurs disciplines. Oui osons ce genre de provocation vivifiante en 2008 car cela représente notre dernière chance pour lutter contre l'insuffisance et le recul de l'enseignement supérieur français (classement de Shanghai 2007). Une telle audace représente, selon nous, une chance pour l'Homme du 21ème siècle qui est au cœur du capital de l'entreprise et de ses métamorphoses. Les cloisonnements disciplinaires ont fait leur temps, leur impérialisme n'a que trop duré. L'idée même de « vérité scientifique » est battue en brèche et les sciences sociales et humaines doivent s'ouvrir davantage et se mettre à travailler ensemble si elles ne veulent pas disparaître. La recherche de l'universel dans chaque individu ou catégories, présentée par le grand sociologue Alain Touraine (2008), comme un principe de civilisation, est à la base de notre plaidoyer pour faire vivre la pluridisciplinarité. Ceci représente un défi surmontable à condition que nous acceptions de nous parler, de nous écouter, de nous poser quelques grandes questions épistémologiques nécessaires à l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre d'un tel challenge (Morin,

1994).

Notre monde est défini comme complexe et ne tourne que par le travail soutenu, persévérant et intensif de millions d'ouvriers et d'employés, certains rémunérés, d'autres précarisés. Ce travail douloureux est accompagné de son corollaire, les charrettes d'exclus de toutes sortes. Le chômage, même s'il diminuait en France au début de l'année 2008, touche encore toutes les familles. Si l'expérience du travail permet à nos concitoyens de se valoriser individuellement et socialement, elle génère également des troubles physiques et psychiques ainsi que de nombreuses souffrances, enregistrées chaque année par les médecins du travail. L'homme peut supporter les conditions de travail les plus dures et les plus artificielles, accepter la pression et l'accélération de son travail, à condition seulement que le moral tienne et, qu'en conséquence, son état psychologique général ne soit pas trop abîmé (Laplanche, 1981 ; Nothomb, 1999 ; Sala, 2006 ; Wiesel, 2006).

Dans les entreprises privées et publiques, le recrutement, l'intégration, l'identification des talents, la valorisation et le développement des ressources humaines doivent être bien faits. Cela exige, en particulier, des personnes DRH et des services de RH très performants. Mais le DRH, passionné hier de Knowledge Management, aujourd'hui d'économie de la connaissance, sait depuis longtemps ne renoncer à rien. Il ne sait échanger qu'une chose contre une autre à défaut de savoir se détacher des enjeux explicites et de ne pas suffisamment comprendre les enjeux implicites et par voie de conséquence inconnus et inconscients. Jouons carte sur table, nous savons bien qu'il n'y a que l'argent qui compte et que toute nouvelle science cache une forme de consensus et une espèce de mensonge. Aider et former les Hommes n'a qu'un but, celui du retour sur investissement et du profit à court terme.

Trop souvent, les salariés se dopent pour tenir. Les hommes et les femmes de

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demain seront probablement dans des situations professionnelles difficiles dont ils essaieront de sortir tant bien que mal. Ils seront à la limite de la rupture pour un grand nombre d'entre eux et pour d'autres la chute sera au bout du voyage, de jour comme de nuit. Disons-le encore une fois ! Il y a de la violence sociale et de l'exclusion dans les entreprises contemporaines (Dejours, 2005 ; Eckert, 2006 ; Leclaire, 1998 ; Marsan, 2006 ; Sala, 2004). Le travail moderne n'a plus rien de commun avec ce que l'humanité avait appelé travail jusqu'à présent. De chaque côté de toutes les frontières du monde moderne, l'ensemble des hommes du troisième millénaire est mis sous pression, sous tension. L'hostilité est de tous les temps, mais les nôtres cybernétiques semblent plus étranges encore.

Dans un tel contexte la pluridisciplinarité est probablement une des voies essentielles pour sortir de nos difficultés. Cependant elle connaît surtout du succès surtout sur la toile Internet mêle si tous les secteurs économiques et sociaux sont concernés et si toutes les sciences revendiquent cette pluridisciplinarité malgré quelques résistances individuelles et frayeurs collectives. La pluridisciplinarité est une association, une juxtaposition de plusieurs disciplines mais c'est aussi une coopération à ne pas confondre avec l'interdisciplinarité (déclouonnement des disciplines) ou encore avec la transdisciplinarité (compétences transversales). Passons des mots aux réalités, associons les compétences, pratiquons la pluridisciplinarité en acceptant de prendre un risque : celui de se transformer. Ce but est ambitieux et réaliste car la modification de nos pratiques en intégrant les gens avec qui on travaille, en décloisonnant les études, les projets et les équipes est devenue la voie de notre survie.

Au carrefour des histoires singulières, il y a parfois des événements particuliers. La création, le développement et l'évaluation d'un corpus d'enseignement et d'un programme de recherche en gestion des ressources humaines, sur une période significative

(1990-2008), fait partie de ces événements et nous allons en rendre compte dans les lignes suivantes sans négliger les apports fondamentaux des chercheurs français et québécois de la même période (Arnaud, 1995 ; Bartoli & Duyck, 1992 ; Cazal, 1993 ; Duyck, 1993, 1994 ; Guiot, 1992 ; Weiss, 1992 ; Werther, Davis & Lee-Gosselin, 1990).

Une création d'une majeure Gestion des Ressources Humaines

Un résumé idoine

DUT, DU, DESS, DEA, DOCTORAT, voici très rapidement en quelques sigles bien connus l'ancien marché traditionnel de la formation en Gestion des Ressources Humaines : domination sans partage du monde des Universités, après la disparition de la plupart des Mastères des grandes écoles. Tous ces sigles ont vécu et ont été récemment modifiés par le fameux LMD (Licence, Master, Doctorat) qui a fait naître des diplômes nouveaux en apparence comme Master 1, Master 2 et Master Recherche. Que peuvent bien faire ou dire les grandes écoles dans un tel contexte ? Quelles sont leur légitimité, leur marché, leur apprentissage, leur compétence ?

C'est à partir d'une expérience dans une de ces grandes écoles, le CERAM, que nous essaierons de rendre compte de la création puis du développement original et pérenne d'une formation GRH dans une école de commerce. Ce corps d'enseignement a été conçu dès le début sur le principe d'une pluridisciplinarité et d'une transversalité de la GRH. Il représente, en 2007-2008, un ensemble de 180 heures obligatoires sur la 3^e Année et de 120 heures électives sur les 3 années du cursus. Ce programme est reconnu par les entreprises et même un peu par les classements de la presse nationale (SMBG). 18 ans d'âge (1990-2008), ce n'est pas encore l'apogée ni le déclin mais c'est peut-être le moment de rendre compte d'une belle aventure arrivant à l'âge de la fameuse maturité et après deux audits internes (Bes, 1991 ; Le Moigne, 1995) et un audit externe (Benoît, 2002).

Une introduction interpellative

Sans nier l'efficacité de l'organisation de la science en disciplines spécialisées, il apparaît de plus en plus urgent de dépasser cette coupure. La fragmentation des connaissances entre les sciences exactes et les expertises diverses est patente et regrettable. Dans les sciences sociales, dans les sciences de gestion, il en est de même. De partout, le siècle nouveau apparaît comme celui de la mise en commun, pour une question de survie, des imaginaires individuels, du complexe, de l'indéterminé et du contradictoire. Dans la pédagogie, la problématique générale est de même nature. Les discussions sur les finalités, les profils, les choix, les allocations de ressources, les méthodologies d'apprentissage connaissent bien des rebondissements.

Le débat classique entre généraliste ou spécialiste dépasse très largement les considérations pratiques du « tout petit monde universitaire » cher à David Lodge. Dans ce contexte, la pluridisciplinarité et la transversalité trouvent toute leur place. La toute moderne gestion des ressources humaines s'inscrit bien dans ce cadre car elle donne le vertige par le nombre de forces qu'elle combine. Bien que faisant partie, depuis longtemps, des enjeux principaux du management avec la finance, le marketing et la production, la gestion des ressources humaines se veut aujourd'hui plus moderne, plus rigoureuse, plus méthodique et plus directement articulée à la politique générale et à la stratégie des entreprises. Toute science a son jargon, son langage, son code linguistique, son référentiel, son praticien, son chercheur, son destin, son enseignement. Le jargon de la gestion des ressources humaines est particulièrement touffu dans la mesure où il se fait tout d'abord l'écho de la jeunesse du domaine, puis de la vieillesse relative des sciences connexes humaines et sociales, et enfin de la pluralité des écoles, des idéologies et des chapelles qui s'y affrontent (Duyck, 1994 ; Kets de Vries, 2003 ; Livian, 2008 ; Piganiol, 1994).

La GRH apparaît comme une science récente, prise en étau entre les méandres des sciences de gestion et les délires tout puissants et irréels du management intuitif, spectaculaire et stratégique. La GRH a bel et bien un objet d'étude spécifique, celui de la compréhension de l'enjeu du travail humain dans l'entreprise, celui de l'établissement d'un corps de connaissances valides, contradictoires, opératoires, issu de l'observation rigoureuse d'une ou de plusieurs entités organisationnelles. Le savoir de la GRH est aujourd'hui communicable et communiqué. Empreint de crises et de remaniements, il est traversé par une approche essentiellement cumulative et disparate. L'objet de la GRH est ainsi qualitatif, complexe, bien qu'il ne coïncide pas toujours avec les représentations bien pensantes et rassurantes des praticiens ou avec les discours académiques et souvent réducteurs des chercheurs.

La GRH repensée, revisitée, est à resituer dans son contexte socio-historique, celui des changements, celui des bouleversements mondiaux, celui des risques d'isolation psychique. La GRH est confrontée à de nombreuses difficultés, internes et externes, inhérentes à un environnement mondial agressif, violent, conflictuel, concurrentiel, mythique, pathologique. Elle gère ces nouveaux défis, ces nouvelles contradictions, en transigeant avec des objectifs et des stratégies et en manipulant des êtres humains au gré de la productivité, de l'efficacité et de l'efficience. Plans sociaux, plans d'accompagnement, incitations au départ, les passages à l'acte se sont succédés allégrement dans la première moitié des années 90 justement celles de la création de l'option GRH du CERAM. Alors, comment et pourquoi avoir créé et animé un tel enseignement dans un contexte social et économique si difficile ?

Un faible degré de spécialisation

La réponse est historique et contextuelle. Le 10 décembre 1990 avait lieu la première réunion d'information concernant la création d'une option GRH au CERAM.

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1990-2008 : le temps est venu de faire le point sur cette innovation. Pourquoi cette option ? Quelle évolution a-t-elle connue ? Quelles sont ses perspectives pour les prochaines années ? Quelles leçons pouvons-nous tirer de cette expérience ? Quels conseils pouvons-nous donner à de futurs créateurs ou repreneurs ?

En 1990, un questionnaire avait été passé auprès des étudiants de deuxième année, par rapport à leur intérêt pour une telle option. Il en ressortait plusieurs points. Les étudiants semblaient intéressés par la fonction Personnel, le terme de l'époque. 55% d'entre eux se disaient « peut-être intéressés » par cette option. La GRH, malgré son caractère récent, était perçue en très fort développement et jugée indispensable par les étudiants. Le quart des étudiants avaient un profil plutôt littéraire ou juriste. Dans la majorité des cas, ils n'avaient pas de projet professionnel très précis.

En ces temps anciens, peu d'écoles de commerce offraient à leurs élèves la possibilité de consacrer leur temps et leurs efforts à penser et à comprendre les enjeux explicites et implicites du facteur humain dans les entreprises. Communiquer, accueillir, intégrer, mobiliser, convaincre, rémunérer, former, motiver, organiser, tels sont en substance l'objet même et les fondements de la gestion des ressources humaines. Vaste et utopique tâche, passionnantes missions s'il en est ! Créer une option GRH en 1990 dans une école de commerce représentait un risque aussi bien du côté de la direction de l'Ecole que de celui des élèves. En effet, que pouvait bien venir faire un enseignement de ce type dans une école centrée exclusivement sur les fondamentaux de la gestion à savoir la finance et le marketing.

Les rares cours pré-existant à l'option étaient ressentis depuis longtemps comme faciles ou inutiles et étaient classés dans la catégorie des cours "pipeaux" pour reprendre le langage toujours nuancé des élèves. Aussi, le combat fut rude, les échecs nombreux et l'énergie pour continuer plus que

nécessaire. Ce qui a été clair dès le début, c'était l'idée qu'il n'était en aucune façon question de créer une option dite de spécialisation mais bien au contraire de donner les conditions de la création d'une option d'ouverture professionnelle en GRH dans laquelle le facteur humain puisse trouver sa place, toute sa place, rien que sa place.

Le CERAM était à l'époque centré sur la mise sur le marché de cadres généralistes. Aussi, il s'agissait de donner à ces étudiants une sensibilisation aux RH pour le plus grand nombre ainsi qu'une palette de cours qui, mis bout à bout, pouvaient représenter un cursus RH très significatif. Un étudiant passionné par ce domaine pouvait suivre près de 300 heures de cours sur ce sujet pendant sa troisième et dernière année d'étude. Ce qui représentait quantitativement un quota correspondant à certains DESS. Pour la plupart des étudiants prenant l'option GRH les ratios réels ont été mesurés plutôt autour de 200 heures, un grand nombre d'entre eux s'orientant vers des cours électifs en finance ou en marketing international.

L'option Ressources Humaines était une véritable ouverture professionnelle. Organisée autour d'un enseignement généraliste en gestion, cette option proposait des stages et des études qui abordaient successivement et synthétiquement le droit social, l'audit social, la gestion des carrières, la gestion de la formation, la psychologie du travail, la sociologie des organisations, la formation de formateurs, la gestion de l'information et de la communication internes, l'animation et la motivation des équipes, la gestion internationale des ressources humaines et enfin la gestion des ressources humaines en PME et PMI. Le cursus a bien évolué en 18 ans.

Le mot ouverture prenait ici tout son sens. Il ne s'agissait pas de spécialiser les étudiants à la GRH mais de leur offrir l'opportunité de s'ouvrir au monde professionnel par le regard particulier du facteur humain. Les mutations technologiques futures impliquaient une remise en question

des qualifications et des formations. La GRH devait devenir le lieu de compétence du management de ces mutations. La logique pédagogique était clairement celle de l'ouverture des esprits et des consciences à l'égard de la place des Hommes dans les entreprises et les organisations. Les DRH sont aujourd'hui des penseurs et des acteurs, dont les missions sont explicitement articulées à la stratégie et à la politique de l'entreprise. L'enjeu humain est enfin perçu comme l'élément essentiel de la compétitivité.

Une finalité professionnelle

Tantôt considérée comme rivale, tantôt assimilée ou subordonnée aux filières traditionnelles financières, techniques et commerciales, la fonction RH est tout d'abord une fonction stratégique possédant en son sein un nombre significatif de professions de toute nature au service des diverses composantes de l'entreprise. L'option RH prépare à cet avenir et peut parfaitement être suivie par des étudiants qui aborderont leur carrière par le biais du commercial, de la finance ou de la vente. En créant cette ouverture de 3^e année, cela permettait de porter l'effort sur l'humain sans que celui-ci induise quoi que ce soit pour la suite des

carrières des étudiants.

Il était donc clair, dès le départ, qu'il fallait mettre l'accent sur l'ouverture intellectuelle et méthodologique avec un axe politique dans lequel l'enseignement de cette option avait une faible finalité professionnelle. La suite, dans une certaine mesure, a montré que certains étudiants ne se sont pas insérés en RH mais se sont orientés vers toutes sortes de carrières les plus diverses et les plus internationales. Ouverture, ouverture est bien le maître mot de cette majeure de fin de cycle. Pour d'autres, vraiment accrocs, les choses se sont poursuivies par des DESS et même par des DEA et des Doctorats.

Un programme pluridisciplinaire

La formation et l'histoire personnelle du créateur d'un cursus pédagogique, quel qu'il soit, explique en grande partie le contenu du programme en question.. Celui-ci était donc, dès son origine évolutif, réflexif, transversal et transdisciplinaire. Observons deux tableaux du programme à dix ans de distance.

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Tableau 1996-1997 2008	Tableau 2007-
1 ^{er} semestre 1 ^{er} semestre	
Audit stratégique humaines des Ressources Humaines 1	Management stratégique des ressources
Administration du personnel RH	Fonctions
Gestion et Ingénierie du recrutement européen	Droit social et droit social
Gestion et Ingénierie de la formation	
Droit social européen	
2 ^{ème} semestre 2 ^{ème} semestre	
Audit stratégique compétences des Ressources Humaines 2. Mission en entreprise	Gestion des
International Human Resources RH	Pratiques professionnelles en
GRH travail et Communication interne	Structures de la personnalité & relations humaines au
Le dialogue social en entreprise	
Sociologie des organisations	

Un fort contact avec le milieu professionnel

Le tableau ci-dessus représente avec force les évolutions qualitatives et quantitatives de ce programme de 3ème

cycle. Dès le départ, l'accent avait été également mis sur les relations avec les entreprises. Pourtant, à y regarder de plus près, travailler effectivement à l'élaboration d'un programme pédagogique avec les

entreprises relève vraiment d'une totale sinécure. En effet, les attentes, les langages, les besoins sont fort différents selon que l'on soit une grande multinationale ou une PME. Dès son origine, l'option GRH a essayé de travailler avec les entreprises afin qu'elles construisent et valident le cursus, qu'elles envoient des cadres susceptibles d'enseigner ou de témoigner, qu'elles s'engagent à prendre des élèves en stage, en mission, en audit et aujourd'hui en apprentissage.

Un comité de pilotage, devenu avec le temps comité scientifique, s'est réuni trois à quatre fois par an. Il s'agit d'une instance originale qui élabore et fixe les objectifs pédagogiques annuels de l'option. Ce comité permet aux professionnels et aux professeurs de différents horizons d'échanger, de se rencontrer et de mieux se comprendre. Les étudiants délégués participent, au sens vrai du terme, à chaque comité. Il est composé de chefs d'entreprises, de cadres, de DRH, de consultants, d'universitaires des secteurs publics et privés. 52 personnes, correspondant à 28 entreprises petites, moyennes et grandes, ont participé en dix-huit ans à ces rencontres. Le comité est vraiment au travail et peut à tout moment modifier les contenus, les modules, les supports, les intervenants, les cours et leurs modalités d'évaluation. Ce comité existe, élabore les éléments de doctrine, travaille en améliorant en permanence la qualité du cursus et celle des apprentissages.

Un faible degré de sélection à l'entrée

Dans le passé proche, peu d'heures de GRH étaient dispensés pour tous les étudiants de l'école de commerce. L'objectif du CERAM étant de former des généralistes, il leur fallait développer la GRH, qui prenait une place de plus en plus importante dans les entreprises. Les formations de GRH et d'audit se développaient aussi bien en amont (IUT et DUT) qu'en aval (DESS). L'option Gestion des Ressources Humaines était donc vue comme un avantage concurrentiel par rapport aux autres écoles, comme une compétence distinctive. Ouverture professionnelle et non

option de spécialisation, ce choix entraîne nécessairement une approche particulière des étudiants qui passe, en partie, par une faible sélection à l'entrée. Le seul pré-requis de 2^o année concerne le cours classique de droit social (30 heures).

Une histoire de 18 ans

Les cours de l'option GRH ont fortement évolué au cours des années ; par exemple, les cours de *gestion internationale des ressources humaines et gestion prévisionnelle de l'emploi et du personnel*. La gestion internationale a par exemple donné lieu à de multiples débats de contenu mais aussi de forme en particulier centrés sur celui de la langue d'enseignement (anglais ou français). D'autre part, le cours *formation de formateurs* a été absorbé dès la deuxième année par le cours *gestion et ingénierie de la formation*. Le nombre d'étudiants choisissant l'option est resté quasiment stable pendant toutes ces années (20-25 en moyenne). Le développement de la formation continue devait faire évoluer ce chiffre de manière non négligeable mais cette hypothèse ne s'est pas confirmée et c'est plutôt la réponse Mastère Spécialisé Bac + 6 qui est apparue de 2003 à 2007.

L'option a évolué, avec notamment la mise en place de stages obligatoires chaque été, et de missions durant le second semestre de la troisième année. Ces stages, audits ou missions, sont en grande partie proposés par les partenaires de l'option, et permettent aux étudiants d'avoir, avant leur entrée sur le marché de l'emploi, des expériences professionnelles intéressantes. En effet, le stage de fin de deuxième année, d'une durée de six mois, donne à l'étudiant une véritable expérience professionnelle dans le domaine des ressources humaines. D'autre part, les résultats en terme d'intégration professionnelle des promotions précédentes ne sont pas négligeables : CDD et CDI dans le domaine marketing/vente, DG créateur d'entreprise, CDI dans le domaine Gestion des Ressources Humaines mais aussi coopération, DESS de communication, DESS de Gestion des Ressources Humaines,

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Etudes de lettres, DEA, Doctorats.

Il apparaît donc nécessaire de travailler au préalable dans un autre domaine, afin de mieux connaître le monde de l'entreprise, et de pouvoir aspirer ensuite à un poste en ressources humaines. Les perspectives d'avenir semblent bonnes cependant : le CERAM n'est pas en retard par rapport aux autres écoles de management, et propose une formule originale. De plus, la demande des entreprises pour des diplômés en ressources humaines semble s'accroître en raison de la pluridisciplinarité et de la transversalité des origines.

Cependant force est de constater que Pluridisciplinarité et Transversalité et GRH n'entretiennent pas avec la transparence, la Vérité, des rapports absolument constants. L'Homme, en charge des hommes, DRH ou opérationnel, se trompe bien souvent dans ses évaluations, dans ses appréciations, dans ses arbitrages. De manière générale, l'Homme posé comme arbitre, garant de l'équité managériale, de la Loi, du règlement intérieur, ne tient pas assez compte de l'immense diversité que présentent ses collaborateurs. Il arbitre donc sans finesse, sans valeurs, sans compréhension des enjeux du *je* des inconscients, sans intégration des éléments affectifs et des contradictions corrélatives ou concomitantes. L'Homme, en charge des enseignements de GRH est-il plus à même de faire passer les messages aux étudiants intégrant les paramètres dont nous venons de parler ?

A l'évidence, l'originalité et la légitimité de la recherche-action en GRH passent par le fait qu'elle doit aboutir, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à une amélioration des pratiques, des actions, des actes, donc à un projet de transformation des comportements et des moyens d'action du praticien, du chercheur, du consultant et de l'expert. Pragmatisme, finalisation de l'action et complexité ont permis à l'Entreprise de devenir un mythe, ces trois dimensions doivent impérativement permettre l'inverse, un renversement vers le contraire en quelque sorte. Régulatrice de l'action

collective, la GRH est traversée par les pulsions de ses acteurs, de ses auteurs, elle remet en cause les harmonies. La formation-action en GRH, nous venons de le voir rapidement, demande un effort de la pensée car il n'y a de science que du secret, que du caché. La GRH science clinique de l'Homme dans l'entreprise doit conduire ses acteurs à l'explicite.

L'organisation des données de la GRH, par comparaison et classification, par modélisation, cache la forêt des décisions irrationnelles, calfeutrées, illégitimes. La vérification du « modèle » qu'il soit celui de l'instrument, de l'arbitre ou de la mise en oeuvre suppose la prévision. L'objet de la GRH n'est pas donné, il est construit par les chercheurs et les professionnels. L'objet de la saisie des données et de leur interprétation n'est jamais indépendant, quant à eux, de la forme de la saisie. Celle-ci peut être structurée sur un rapport de violence contre l'objet même de la connaissance, contre les artefacts, contre les sujets. La dépression, la position dépressive du sujet guette alors le moindre faux pas. Alors, GRH science de la pluridisciplinarité ou de la transversalité ? Le savoir et les techniques de la GRH, les savoir-faire du DRH, les savoir-être du Management, sont les moyens et les outils d'analyse de la science de l'organisation.

Management et organisation

Selon Didier Cumenal, professeur de systèmes d'information au CERAM en 1997, les attentes d'un entrepreneur du 21^{ème} siècle seraient aussi celles des étudiants d'une grande école de management. Les créateurs d'entreprise aujourd'hui ont appris ce que leurs prédécesseurs ignoraient, la gestion selon le beau mot de Peter, F. Drucker (1984).

Trois arguments sont présentés par cet enseignant-chercheur :

1^o) Les futurs managers auront régulièrement besoin de créer et de déployer des stratégies de changement organisationnel (démarche de type CORDA : Comprendre -

Observer - Réfléchir - Décider - Appliquer). Ils s'appuieront largement sur les nouvelles technologies émergentes liées à l'information et à la communication (la stratégie dite du sous-marin toujours selon l'auteur). Pour cela, ils devront apprendre à rendre leurs organisations flexibles et réactives.

2°) Ils devront bâtir une organisation "apprenante" pour s'adapter rapidement à un contexte économique turbulent et développer ainsi de nouvelles performances et gagner plus (innover et créer des avantages compétitifs durables).

3°) Ils auront à évaluer les impacts techniques, organisationnels et financiers d'une nouvelle technologie. Pour lors, ils seront placés en situation de décider.

L'auteur propose par la suite la création d'un nouveau cours susceptible de permettre aux étudiants d'une grande école de découvrir les leviers et les freins d'une organisation ainsi que de simuler, par l'outil SAXSO, les fondements opérationnels d'une nouvelle stratégie organisationnelle. Une méthodologie générale et une évaluation pédagogiques sont alors déclinées. Tout semble au point et bien ficelé. Une réponse critique mais positive à ce projet pédagogique est cependant possible voire souhaitable. Elle s'exprimera sous trois formes, la Conversation, le Sujet et l'Autre.

Silence et modestie sont commodes à la conversation

Le Management de l'Organisation n'est pas seulement un ensemble de techniques, une nouvelle science, un système de communication, c'est aussi une aventure imaginaire, celle de la culture humaine, celle que produit l'Homme pour se penser et penser l'institution dans laquelle il travaille. Système de connaissance (encore et toujours incertaine) ou aventure civilisatrice (encore et toujours pérennante) ne s'opposent pas radicalement dans la mesure où ils comprennent tous deux des croyances, des coutumes, des règles sociales, des langues de bois et des techniques obsolètes. L'esprit de gestion est cependant souvent opposé à l'esprit d'entreprise. Ces idées, silencieuses

et modestes, supposent que le management de l'organisation est une aventure systématisée du savoir de l'Entrepreneur du XXIème siècle. Cet homme ou cette femme tentera bientôt d'organiser, de coordonner, de converser, de dominer par la formation de l'esprit scientifique et le raffinement intellectuel et moral la complexité et les incertitudes du monde des entreprises et des affaires internationales. Ils resteront cependant dominés et déterminés par leur histoire personnelle et par les rapports qu'ils entretiennent peu ou prou avec la question de l'Altérité. Comme le proposait Montaigne, silence et modestie sont commodes à la conversation.

Là où Nous s'installe, Je doit revenir

Le management, système univoque de représentation, prend le plus souvent la forme d'une pensée dogmatique, à savoir celle d'un impératif catégorique qui exige de la part du spectateur (étudiants, employés, cadres, fournisseurs, clients, politiques) l'audience et la créance sans apporter la moindre justification ou la moindre argumentation. Le *Nous* s'installe. Les nouvelles technologies et le management de l'organisation s'identifient souvent à une science, une idéologie, mais également à une croyance religieuse et métaphysique. Aussi être en position de Sujet, entrepreneur ou étudiant apprenant à le devenir, c'est être le jouet de la négation de l'incertitude. Prendre en compte cette dernière agite les acteurs économiques contemporains et les pouvoirs publics. L'avenir n'est pas prédicable, sauf à faire appel au religieux sous toutes ses formes, et les décideurs ne peuvent pas le maîtriser. Rien n'assure, bien au contraire, que ce ne soit pas précisément cet impossible qui permette de former une architecture validée de propositions pédagogiques. Les heureux chefs d'entreprise deviennent alors *Je*.

Du look sophistiqué de l'Aventure

Le management de l'organisation est traversé par une perpétuelle interrogation sur l'idée même du *Non-savoir* qui hante les nuits et les jours des entrepreneurs et des

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étudiants d'une Grande Business School. Alors que les stress professionnels, psychiques et biologiques, se multiplient et se diversifient, tout se passe encore comme si l'écoute de l'Autre était interdite. Etre à l'écoute des enjeux de la parole, pour soi comme pour l'autre, apparaît comme quelque chose de superfétatoire, d'inutile et de non économique. Le facteur humain n'est pas vraiment au centre des préoccupations managériales. A y regarder de plus près, le management commence quand le Sujet s'interroge sur le sens du profit ou sur celui de l'histoire des entreprises, de leur développement et de leur croissance. Les techniques de pointe ne seront pas le meilleur moteur de la croissance dans l'avenir. Elles en seront l'un des instruments, mais pas le plus important. Les sciences de gestion, synthétisées en partie par ce redoutable vocable *management*, sont encore et toujours attractives (nombre d'élèves aux concours) parce qu'elles découpent leur objet dans un univers présenté comme certain, fini et déjà mentalement constitué. Malgré les discours sur la complexité, c'est bien cette certitude pédagogique qui rassure les étudiants en gestion. Pourtant, en dehors des bancs des écoles fument-elles Grandes, le management véhicule une connaissance actuelle précaire, faussement opératoire. L'équipe *Nous/Je* constitue un univers réificateur et souffreteux. Dans ce sens, management et science semblent différer radicalement.

Les deux tendances du management d'une organisation (souci d'une métaphysique systémique et systématisée, curiosité inquiète à l'égard de la connaissance en gestion et de la pensée) s'affrontent depuis une vingtaine d'années et le XXIème siècle devrait être le réceptacle de refoulés toujours peu dépassés. Si aujourd'hui encore le nom même de Management évoque une prédilection particulière pour la répétition et le transfert des modèles américano-japonais, pour la valorisation outrancière des nouvelles technologies, il n'en reste pas moins qu'une défiance à l'égard du savoir mis en formules prend tout doucement forme dans les esprits les plus silencieux et les plus simples. Le

savoir définitif, mathématique, rationnel, fermé, complet, transmissible dans les lieux magiques et nobles des Grandes Ecoles présente, malgré la toute puissance des technosciences et des sciences de l'information, des signes d'essoufflement. Trop d'appel à la technique, à un savoir garanti qui rassure étudiants et managers, est le signe qu'on a surtout peur. L'enjeu du XXIème siècle sera, à n'en pas douter, plus éthique que technique.

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RSE et diversité confessionnelle: une responsabilité en clair-obscur

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Résumé: Alors que 2007 a été déclarée *année européenne pour l'égalité des chances*, un nombre toujours plus important d'entreprises affichent leurs engagements en termes de lutte contre la discrimination et de valorisation de la diversité. Les actions promouvant l'égalité entre les sexes ou l'intégration des personnes handicapés, sont ainsi très largement avancées comme une preuve du caractère responsable des entreprises. Dans le même temps, la prise en compte de la diversité confessionnelle laisse place à un silence pesant. Or, selon une étude de la Commission Européenne réalisée en 2007¹, sur l'état des discriminations en Europe, la France est le pays des 25 où l'existence de discrimination liée aux convictions religieuses est le plus fortement ressentie. A travers une approche transdisciplinaire mêlant apports de la sociologie, de l'anthropologie et des sciences de gestion, un travail de déconstruction a, à ce propos, été entrepris. Au plus loin des « effets cosmétiques » des autres actions engagées sous couvert de diversité, la diversité confessionnelle donne lieu à de réelles pratiques, dans les entreprises françaises aujourd'hui. Or, si ces pratiques semblent répondre à un réel besoin des entreprises comme de leurs salariés, elles apparaissent toujours plus ou moins occultées. S'appuyant sur une contextualisation du questionnement actuel sur la diversité confessionnelle en France, une approche itérative associant analyse théorique et expression des acteurs de terrains (responsables de la diversité et responsables de cabinet spécialisés dans la gestion de la diversité), pourra permettre d'éclairer les raisons du silence des organisations vis-à-vis d'une problématique essentielle au tissage d'un lien social durable vis-à-vis d'une population salariale hétérogène.

Abstract & Summary in English followed by entire article in French:

2007 was declared the European year for equal opportunity and at the same time an increasingly more significant number of companies promised to re-enforce the fight against discrimination and to promote diversity. Companies demonstrated their social responsibility by implementing procedures to promote equality between the sexes and/or the integration of disabled employees. Nevertheless there has been little talk of denominational diversity.

However, according to a study by the European commission carried out in 2007 on the state of discrimination in Europe, France is the country of the 25 where the existence of discrimination related to religious convictions is most strongly felt. Through a multi - disciplinary approach mixing contributions from sociology, anthropology and management theory, a complete and thorough study on this subject was undertaken.

Moving away from the “cosmetic approach” of other activities under cover of diversity, denominational diversity gives place to real practices in French companies today. However, if these practices seem to meet a real need for the companies as well as their employees, they always seem to be applied with more or less discretion. To conclude on the topic of the current

¹ . Eurobaromètre spécial (2007), La discrimination dans l'union européenne, Direction Générale Emploi, Affaires sociales et Egalité des chances, commission européenne

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questions regarding denominational diversity in France, an iterative approach associating theoretical analysis with the views of the key professionals (responsible for diversity and those in charge of bureaus specialized in the management of diversity), will make it possible to clarify the reasons for this silence within organizations with respect to the problems associated with enforcing a durable social link with the heterogeneous wage population.

Le long processus d'institutionnalisation de la question de la diversité, s'est en effet très largement accéléré, durant la dernière décennie. Les actions promouvant l'égalité entre les sexes, ou l'intégration des personnes handicapées, ont alors très largement été avancées comme une preuve du caractère responsable des entreprises. Parallèlement, la question de la diversité confessionnelle laisse place à un silence pesant. En France, 63 % des personnes interrogés pensent que la discrimination concernant la religion est « assez » ou « très répandue », contre 44 % pour la moyenne des pays de l'Union.

«Certains Hommes croient en un dieu. D'autres en plusieurs. D'autres se tiennent pour agnostiques et refusent de se prononcer. D'autres enfin sont athées. Tous ont à vivre ensemble».
Henri Pena-Ruiz, Qu'est ce que la laïcité ? (2003)

Ce constat résonne avec force au sein d'une société où l'affaiblissement des institutions traditionnelles, fait peser sur l'entreprise la charge d'associer des individus, toujours plus libres et autonomes. Alors que 2007 a été déclarée *année européenne pour l'égalité des chances*, un nombre croissant d'entreprises affichent leurs engagements en termes de lutte contre la discrimination et de valorisation de la diversité.²

Le long processus d'institutionnalisation de la question de la diversité, s'est en effet très largement accéléré, durant la dernière décennie. En France, le vote en 2001 de la loi sur les nouvelles régulations économiques a représenté une étape essentielle. Les entreprises dans l'obligation

² Comme en témoigne le nombre d'entreprises signataires de la « Charte de la diversité ».

de produire, tous les ans, un rapport sur leurs actions en termes de développement durable (Igalens, Joras, 2002), ont mis en oeuvre des pratiques permettant de satisfaire aux attentes des parties prenantes et plus particulièrement des agences de notation sociale. Les actions promouvant l'égalité entre les sexes, ou l'intégration des personnes handicapées, ont alors très largement été avancées comme une preuve du caractère responsable des entreprises.

Parallèlement, la question de la diversité confessionnelle laisse place à un silence pesant. Une illustration de ce phénomène est visible dans « *les bonnes pratiques* » de gestion de la diversité, diffusées par la Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité. Sur 84 pratiques et outils, mis en avant par la HALDE, aucun ne traite directement de la « diversité confessionnelle »³. Or, selon une étude de la Commission Européenne réalisée en 2007⁴, sur l'état des discriminations en Europe, la France est le pays des 25 où l'existence de discrimination liée aux convictions religieuses est le plus fortement ressentie. Ainsi en France, 63 % des personnes interrogés pensent que la discrimination concernant la religion est « assez » ou « très répandue », contre 44 % pour la moyenne des pays de l'Union.

Entre mise en lumière et zone d'ombre, cette réflexion sur la gestion de la diversité offre la possibilité de déconstruire les discours standardisés pour faire apparaître les contrastes existant entre responsabilité affirmée et véritablement assumée

³ <http://www.halde.fr/repertoire-bonnes-pratiques-initiatives-86/repertoire-87/>

⁴ Eurobaromètre spécial (2007), La discrimination dans l'union européenne, Direction Générale Emploi, Affaires sociales et Égalité des chances, commission européenne.

(Brunsson, 1989) par les entreprises françaises.

Dans un premier temps, une contextualisation du questionnement actuel sur la diversité confessionnelle en France, nous apportera les bases sociopolitiques indispensables à une réflexion sur un sujet complexe. Une approche itérative associant analyse théorique et expression des acteurs de terrains (responsables de la diversité et responsables de cabinet spécialisés dans la gestion de la diversité), nous permettra ensuite d'éclairer les raisons du silence des organisations vis-à-vis d'une problématique essentielle au développement d'une durable vis-à-vis d'une base salariale hétérogène.

Religions, responsabilités sociales et entreprises

Religions et société

Confrontée aux retombées démographiques d'une faible natalité depuis des siècles, la France a fait appel à une main d'œuvre étrangère pour pallier au manque en découlant. Durant les trente glorieuses, des vagues d'immigration originaires du Maghreb ont introduit une diversité confessionnelle d'une ampleur sans précédent au sein de la société française. Parallèlement, et au fil de l'actualité nationale comme internationale, l'image du musulman s'est, dans les représentations sociales, surajoutée à celle déjà complexe de l'immigré maghrébin. C'est à travers cette image que sont aujourd'hui perçus nombre de jeunes Français. Au gré d'évolutions démographiques, politiques voire géopolitiques et économiques, force est de constater que la question du fait religieux a, ces dernières décennies, investi le débat public français.

Deux bouleversements qui affectent profondément la société française doivent à ce propos être envisagés. Le premier a trait au passage d'une société « moderne » - dans laquelle grand nombre de rapports sociaux sont liés aux rapports de production propres à la société industrielle - à une société

qualifiée parfois de post-moderne, traversée de part et d'autres par des flux d'information et des réseaux de communication (Touraine, Khosrokhavar, 2000, p.45).

Ici, à l'accélération de la globalisation des échanges, répond l'éclatement des espaces sociaux dans lesquels sont insérés les individus. Les processus d'individuation sont alors subordonnés à la capacité de chacun de maintenir en soi un semblant de cohésion, de résister aux injonctions souvent paradoxales du marché et de la communauté (Jung, 1986, Camilleri, 1999). Car le second bouleversement, dont découle en partie l'émergence du fait religieux dans l'espace public contemporain, peut être envisagé comme le passage d'un régime d'interaction au sein duquel la fiction prédominante est égalitaire (Martucelli, 2002, p.249) à un régime où la question de la différence est centrale (Wieviorka, 2001, p.43). Ce passage se traduisant par l'explosion au sein de l'espace public des sociétés démocratiques des attentes et des demandes de reconnaissance (Lazzeri, Caillé, 2004, p.88). Si ces bouleversements sont intimement liés, ils peuvent cependant être distingués dans une perspective analytique. Alors que le premier permet d'envisager la fragmentation des espaces sociaux dans lesquels les individus sont insérés, le second met l'accent sur les fictions politiques dominantes, fictions qui influent autant sur le débat public national que sur les représentations et pratiques des acteurs sociaux.

C'est dans les interstices ouverts par ces bouleversements que l'émergence récente du fait religieux en France doit être envisagée. D'une part, le religieux pallie à la perte de sens générée par la fragmentation sociale, de l'autre, il prend appui et renforce les communautés qui s'érigent sur les cendres de la croyance en une République, une et indivisible, qui garantie l'égalité de ses citoyens. Et l'émergence du fait religieux au cœur de la nation française contemporaine ne va pas sans poser de problèmes. Une approche rapide des *images publiques de l'immigration* (Battegay, Boubeker, 1993)

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comme des débats socio-législatifs qui agitent notre démocratie ces dernières années (Weil, 2005) permet d'envisager la prégnance de ces tensions dans notre quotidien ainsi que leur cristallisation autour de la figure du musulman.

S'il ne s'agit ici d'en dénoncer les aspects médiatiques ou politico-juridiques - dénonciation déjà menée de façon marginale mais active par les chantages de la lutte contre l'islamophobie ou le racisme, force est toutefois de souligner leur puissance stigmatisante et excluante ainsi que le danger qu'elles font peser sur la possibilité, pour une partie non négligeable de la population française, de se construire sereinement en tant qu'individu, professionnel et citoyen.

Ces éléments se répercutent de diverses manières sur l'espace social que constitue l'entreprise. Leur incidence en matière de gestion des ressources humaines ou de management peut notamment être soulignée. Le questionnement sur le rapport de la société au religieux, ne peut toutefois s'arrêter aux portes de l'entreprise, les conceptions actuelles du travail, de l'organisation et de la responsabilité des entreprises étant elles mêmes largement influencées par certaines éthiques religieuses.

Travail, religions et responsabilité sociale

La notion moderne de « travail », telle qu'elle se constitue à la fin du XIX^e siècle (Méda, 2007, p.1194), revêt au-delà de sa dimension instrumentale, une dimension spirituelle certaine. Celle-ci participe, selon Hegel, à la mise en œuvre d'un processus d'« extériorisation dialectique », permettant à l'Homme de se construire en participant à la transformation du monde (Lallement, 2007, p.26). Le travail revêt alors un enjeu nouveau, « pour chacun faire prendre conscience de soi tout en se faisant reconnaître comme membre de la communauté humaine » (Sobel, 2004, p.198)

D'autre part, le développement du capitalisme

s'est, selon Max Weber, réalisé sur la base de l'éthique protestante et plus particulièrement du puritanisme calviniste, qui en favorisant le passage d'un ascétisme religieux à un ascétisme séculier, a influencé les comportements économiques et organisationnels (Fleury, 2001, p.44). La notion de « *Beruf* », présentée par Weber, traduit ainsi l'exigence dans les préceptes protestants de placer son action « *dans le monde* », non seulement vis-à-vis de ses pairs, mais aussi vis-à-vis de Dieu. Une telle doctrine excluant de ce fait « tout mysticisme, tout ritualisme, toute magie [...] conduit ainsi à un désenchantement du monde et à une rationalisation de la conduite de vie » (Id, 2001, p.48).

L'entreprise moderne semble ainsi marquée par la double influence d'une « *démagification* » des comportements accompagnant le processus de rationalisation et par l'influence certaine d'une éthique religieuse dans la manière d'appréhender la réalité.

Le paternalisme moral de la fin du XIX^e siècle (De Bry, Ballet, 2007), le concept de responsabilité sociale du chef d'entreprise, puis de l'entreprise dans son ensemble et vis-à-vis de la société est caractéristique de cette dualité. De fait, la capacité du chef d'entreprise à répondre aux besoins de la société revêt un caractère à la fois, spirituel (Acquier, Gond, Igalens, 2005, p.89), utilitaire et idéaliste (Pasquero, 2005, p.132).

L'ouvrage de Bowen (1953), *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* - considéré comme l'acte de naissance de la conception moderne de la RSE - est ainsi très largement inspiré par l'éthique protestante. Constituant l'un des six travaux commandés par le *Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, il est destiné à donner corps à une doctrine sociale protestante. Cela, en réaction aux encycliques du Pape

Léon XIII⁵ formalisant la position de l'église catholique romaine face à la dégradation de la condition ouvrière et la « menace » socialiste (Pasquero, 2005, p.90, De Bry, Ballet, 2007, p9).

Parfois à visées pragmatiques, parfois plus marqué par des intentions éthiques, le concept de responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise a été au fil de son développement modelé par des courants aux perspectives divergentes (Capron, 2003). Tel qu'il est envisagé de nos jours, notamment en Europe, le paradigme de la RSE apparaît à première vue indépendant de toute influence religieuse - son intégration par les institutions internationales contribuant à une forme de « laïcisation », qui s'appuie elle-même sur le concept de « *développement durable* » (Acquier, Gond, Igalens, 2005, p.17).

Selon Pasquero (2005, p.128), « grâce aux travaux sur la RSE, l'idée wébérienne [selon laquelle] en dehors de la rationalité instrumentale fondée sur l'efficacité économique, il pouvait exister une rationalité tout aussi légitime fondée sur le respect de valeurs universelles, a définitivement trouvé sa place en sciences de gestion ». Cependant, malgré l'effort visant à remplacer l'éthique religieuse, à la base de ces « valeurs universelles », par une vision « laïque », les marqueurs religieux sont encore sensibles les engagements des entreprises en termes de responsabilités sociales.

Ainsi, soulignons que même les penseurs s'intéressant à l'influence des autres formes d'éthiques religieuses, l'ont toujours fait dans le cadre d'espaces-temps distincts (Weber, [1920] 2006). Or, les sociétés contemporaines se caractérisent précisément par l'abaissement des frontières et la remise en cause des « systèmes de sens indiscutables » (De Foucauld, Piveteau, 1995, p.109). Aujourd'hui, c'est au sein même des entreprises occidentales, que se pose la

question de la gestion d'individus aux références éthiques diverses, qu'elles soient religieuses ou laïques.

S'intéresser à la prise en compte de la diversité confessionnelle par les politiques de RSE, c'est alors s'interroger sur les limites rencontrées par un modèle de gestion pensé pour une population homogène, face à la rencontre d'acteurs sociaux aux valeurs et identités multiples.

Dans les faits, le législateur place l'entreprise dans l'obligation de respecter un certain nombre de droits fondamentaux. Au niveau international, la *Déclaration universelle des droits de L'Homme* indique que « *tout individu a droit à la liberté d'opinion et d'expression, ce qui implique le droit de ne pas être inquiété pour ses opinions (...)* » (article 19) tandis qu'à l'échelon national la *Constitution de 1958*, dans son *article 1er*, reconnaît la liberté religieuse comme une liberté fondamentale.

Le droit du travail décline de manière plus opératoire ces principes et offre un cadre d'action aux entreprises. Ainsi, l'article *L 120-2 du Code du travail* spécifie que « *nul ne peut apporter aux droits des personnes et aux libertés individuelles et collectives, des restrictions qui ne seraient pas justifiées par la nature de la tâche à accomplir, ni proportionnées au but recherché* ».

Or, le principal problème réside dans le fait de savoir si ces convictions doivent être restreintes à la seule sphère privée. La Cour Européenne des Droits de l'Homme, s'appuyant sur l'article 9 de la convention européenne des Droits de l'Homme, apporte un début de réponse en soulignant que « *si la liberté religieuse relève d'abord du for intérieur, elle implique de surcroît [...] de manifester sa religion. Le témoignage en paroles et en actes se trouve lié à l'existence de convictions religieuses* » (Katz, 2005).

On est alors dans le cadre de la pensée de Rawls (1987), pour qui « la liberté

⁵ Léon XIII (1891) Encyclique *Rerum, Novarum* http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_fr.html

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morale et religieuse est la conséquence du principe de liberté égale pour tous; et en admettant la priorité de ce principe, la seule raison pour refuser les libertés égales pour tous est qu'on évite ainsi une injustice encore plus grande, une perte de liberté encore plus grande » (*Id*, p.250).

Désormais, l'organisation est questionnée sur sa capacité à reconnaître et associer durablement, dans le cadre d'un *modus vivendi* renouvelé, le caractère à la fois universel et unique de ses salariés dans la recherche du bien commun. Dans une société affirmant avec force la laïcité comme l'un de ses principes fondateurs, les marges de manœuvre de l'entreprise, face à cet enjeu, apparaissent des plus étroites. Or, le respect de ces principes de laïcité ne signifie aucunement inaction. Tout en n'occultant pas l'objectif principal d'une organisation qui est de générer du profit et donc de veiller à une performance optimale, les entreprises peuvent et doivent agir. Des études canadiennes montrent ainsi que la religion est perçue pour 43 % des salariés comme la principale source potentielle de tensions sociales. Dès lors, même lorsqu'elles en ont la capacité, les organisations hésitent préférant se concentrer sur des questions plus consensuelles.

L'environnement réglementaire et politique, français, souvent avancé comme une explication à l'absence d'action en matière confessionnelle, loin de représenter un obstacle insurmontable, représente une richesse unique. L'Etat lui-même permet ainsi par une directive datant de 1964⁶, à ses fonctionnaires de bénéficier d'autorisation d'absence pour motifs religieux. L'exemple de la prise en compte de la diversité confessionnelle au sein de l'armée française peut permettre de nourrir une réflexion à ce propos.

Organisations et religions : l'exemple de l'armée française.

La « vieille Dame » est historiquement habituée au brassage social et à l'intégration

des diversités d'une façon globale. Elle a, de plus, longtemps contribué au brassage de la population par la transmission de références communes. Et pourtant, cela ne va pas sans poser de problèmes. Prenons l'exemple de l'Islam, religion très présente dans nos armées depuis les débuts de la conquête coloniale et rappelons que, durant cette période, les Spahis et Tirailleurs étant des sujets de l'Empire, ils ne bénéficiaient pas d'un traitement identique à celui des métropolitains, considérés quant à eux comme des citoyens. Qu'il s'agisse de la solde ou de l'avancement, les règles étaient différentes.

Aujourd'hui encore, l'Institution accuse un retard au regard de ce culte qui concerne près de quatre millions de nos concitoyens. Car si les Aumôneries militaires, dont les statuts datent de 1880, comptent quelque 233 aumôniers à temps plein dont 176 catholiques, 37 aumôniers protestants et 20 israélites⁷, c'est seulement en 2006⁸ que le CFCM a pu proposer au chef d'Etat-major des armées un Aumônier en chef représentant le culte musulman. Un changement important s'est donc orchestré ces dernières années. Il peut être intéressant de s'arrêter un instant sur les tensions qui l'accompagnent.

L'opposition des discours entre l'idée d'une éventuelle suppression des aumôneries - défendue par Alain Richard, alors ministre de la défense dans le gouvernement de Lionel Jospin - et le respects des pratiques religieuses - souligné par Jean-François Bureau, directeur du service de presse des armées qui rappelle officiellement que « les armées sont un modèle d'institution républicaine sur le plan de l'intégration et le sont aussi sur celui de la laïcité » tout en soulignant l'importance « de permettre à ceux qui le souhaitent de pratiquer leur religion » - est des plus explicites à ce propos.

Malgré ces évolutions récentes, la place des imams au sein de l'armée reste problématique. Leur accession au statut de conseillers faisant fonction de références en

⁶ Circulaires FP/7, N° 901 du 23 septembre 1964 et N° 2034 du 16 octobre 2002 (Katz, 2005)

⁷ Cf. : La Croix.com (17 mars 2005).

⁸ Arrêté du 18 mars 2005.

matière de rites religieux, à l'instar de leurs confrères d'autres confessions, ne semble aujourd'hui pas acquise.

Ceci peut paraître paradoxal puisqu'un décret interministériel, précisant les termes l'intégration d'aumôniers musulmans par le chef d'Etat-major des armées, employeur des ces derniers devraient assurer une égalité de traitement. Il est même précisé que, dans la mesure où ils sont assimilés à des officiers, ils sont soumis à l'avancement et à l'ancienneté avec une solde afférente. Ils doivent également être disponibles et aptes (médicalement) pour accompagner les forces lors des missions à l'étranger. Car leur connaissance de la population autochtone lors des théâtres d'opérations est d'une rare préciosité. La volonté est donc bien là.

Mais au sein de l'Institution militaire, ce projet suscite de sérieuses craintes. Le risque d'intégrer des fondamentalistes dans les armées, la tentation d'ouvrir les portes à une certaine forme de prosélytisme⁹ sont notamment énoncées. Pourtant, la « grande muette »¹⁰, loin de se rétracter, anticipe cette éventualité en exigeant de ses aumôniers musulmans de posséder les critères essentiels à leur rang d'officier et en leur demandant de suivre une formation commune aux aumôniers sur la connaissance des armées ainsi que sur les relations d'aide et d'écoute, comme le suggère l'aumônier en chef protestant, le pasteur Bernard Delannoy.

Dans l'optique de faciliter l'œcuménisme, il est même envisagé de créer des lieux de culte « interconfessionnels ». Ces différents éléments nous conduisent à considérer que nous sommes là face à une réelle action en faveur de la liberté confessionnelle, qui se traduit par des faits tangibles et s'intègre parfaitement dans la logique de l'institution. Opérationnellement, remplir la mission doit rester l'ultime objectif du militaire. En aucun cas, la pratique religieuse ne peut entraver ce sacro-saint principe et

⁹ Propos de l'aumônier catholique régional de Lyon, le père Jean-Louis Dufour (Le Figaro, 10-07-2007).

¹⁰ C'est ainsi que l'on nomme l'armée

remettre en cause les impératifs opérationnels. C'est la raison pour laquelle les besoins du service priment toujours sur l'aspect confessionnel et il paraît évident qu'à ce titre les possibilités de pratique différeront d'une armée à l'autre. Ceci semble toutefois parfaitement conciliable avec le respect des croyances de chacun, notamment en ce qui concerne des actions quotidiennes telles que la préparation de rations sans porc voire de double ration le soir durant la période du ramadan pour les musulmans, voire la mise à disposition de produits casher pour les israélites.

Ces différents éléments permettent ainsi d'envisager qu'au sein d'une Institution républicaine telle que l'armée, la diversité confessionnelle peut donner lieu à des pratiques assumées. Interrogations et craintes ne sont pas, dans le cas de cette organisation, des motifs d'inactions. Ils représentent, bien au contraire, une exigence de réflexion éthique et de transparence. Peut être moins soumise que les organisations traditionnelles aux pressions de l'environnement, l'armée peut mener des actions ne cadrant pas directement avec la gestion institutionnalisée de la diversité, mais représentant dans les faits une véritable responsabilité sociale. A partir de ces pratiques d'autres visant à véhiculer un fort sentiment d'appartenance à la Nation, peuvent être développées, en complément des approches traditionnelles, face à une population aux parcours et aux attentes hétérogènes.

RSE et diversité confessionnelle, raisons et conséquences d'un silence

Analyse à partir de la théorie néo-institutionnelle

En bousculant parfois les normes sociales et organisationnelles établies, certaines organisations agissent ainsi en matière de gestion de la diversité confessionnelle. Cependant, très peu d'entre elles affichent cette responsabilité souvent assumée dans les faits. A travers une

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réflexion itérative s'appuyant, d'une part sur la théorie néo-institutionnelle et d'autre part sur le témoignage de praticiens spécialisés dans la gestion de la diversité, nous analyserons les décalages pouvant exister entre discours et pratiques.

La théorie néo-institutionnelle naît de la conception d'une entreprise « encastrée » dans la société, à la recherche d'une légitimité symbolique lui permettant d'exercer ses activités (*licence to operate*) (Capron, 2005, p.6). L'origine de cette pensée initialement économique est attribuée à Selznick (1969) qui, rejoignant la conception du système de Parsons, défend « une conception 'Holistique' de l'organisation et du lien social » (Rojot, 2005, p.421). Ainsi, les organisations désireuses de s'affirmer comme « responsables » sont amenées à adapter leurs structures, afin de répondre aux exigences externes (Meyer et Rowan, 1977, Previdente, 2004).

Or, ne pouvant satisfaire simultanément aux attentes de partie prenantes multiples et à ses exigences économiques, l'entreprise va procéder à la « dissociation » de ses pratiques (Capron, Quairel, 2006). Brunson (1989), évoque ainsi la notion d'« entreprise hypocrite » pour rendre compte du décalage existant entre les réponses formelles, apportées aux attentes de l'environnement, et l'activité économique établie selon des objectifs de rentabilité.

L'analyse à partir du prisme néo-institutionnel nous permet ainsi d'avancer une explication sur le décalage omniprésent entre responsabilité sociale proclamée et réellement assumée en matière de diversité. L'importance de l'institutionnalisation des réponses, apparaît ainsi lorsque l'on demande aux praticiens spécialisés ce qui relève, pour eux, de la diversité dans l'entreprise :

« Vous avez la qualification, vous avez l'âge, vous avez le genre, vous avez l'invalidité et vous avez l'origine étrangère ».
Responsable d'un cabinet de conseils spécialisé dans la gestion de la diversité

L'institutionnalisation consiste, au sein de l'entreprise, à transformer des attentes sociales en objectifs techniques impersonnels, se plaçant au dessus de la discrétion individuelle (Rojot, 2005, p.433). Le choix des politiques mises en œuvre par l'entreprise en matière de diversité doit donc avant tout permettre le consensus. Les thématiques abordées par les entreprises s'imposent alors comme des valeurs absolues ne prêtant pas à évaluation.

« Sur un problème comme le handicap, qui fait l'unanimité, on n'aura pas de freins véritables c'est très bien ».
Directeur de la diversité, Secteur de l'énergie et des travaux publics

« Dans nos fonction la gestion de la diversité consiste, pour l'instant et prioritairement, à la mise en œuvre des accords sociaux qui ont été signés, notamment sur le handicap et l'égalité professionnelle homme - femme »
Chargé d'étude RSE et Diversité, Secteur de l'assurance

Des lors, le décalage entre le développement de politiques de gestion de la diversité destinées à afficher la responsabilité de l'entreprise vis-à-vis de l'environnement et les autres mesures destinées à régenter réellement les interactions est sensible.

« Les actions sur la diversité sont largement relatives à la communication, il ne faut pas se le cacher. Il y a des actions qui sont purement cosmétiques, il n'y a rien derrière. Je connais l'envers du décor, il y a rien ».
Directeur de la diversité, Secteur de l'énergie et travaux publics

« Aujourd'hui, ils ont compris qu'ils ne pouvaient pas se passer de communiquer dessus, mais pas forcément d'agir ».
Responsable d'un cabinet spécialisé dans la gestion de la diversité

La question des convictions religieuses demeure toutefois encore taboue, même si les personnes interrogées reconnaissent son existence au sein de

l'entreprise :

« Il est certains qu'il y a beaucoup plus de personnes d'origines culturelles ou de confessions diverses dans notre entreprise que de personnes handicapées, par exemple. Mais il n'y a pas d'actions prévues en ce qui concerne les religions. On n'est pas mature pour cela. Comme pour les préférences sexuelles. On va attendre un peu. Même si nous pourrions mener des actions, les salariés, la culture de l'entreprise ne s'y prêtent pas. Il faut y aller en douceur puis petit à petit ouvrir. On ne peut pas, du jour au lendemain, mettre une affiche ».

Chargé d'étude RSE et Diversité, Secteur de l'assurance

Par ailleurs, l'institutionnalisation des réponses à l'environnement passe par ce que Rojot (2005, p.433) nomme les codes « pré-pakagé[s] » et l'adoption « cérémonieuse » d'engagements qui permettent à l'entreprise de s'afficher comme une « bonne organisation », quel que soit le décalage existant entre discours et réalité des pratiques :

« Tout a commencé pour nous avec la signature par le président du groupe de la charte de la diversité. Par la suite, il a fallu mettre en œuvre, au niveau organisationnel, ces engagements et donc, logiquement, la direction RSE a été créée avec un directeur. Mais celui-ci n'a pas pu occuper le poste pendant pratiquement six mois, car il était en poste ailleurs [...]. Nous ne sommes pour l'instant que deux au sein de cette direction. »

Chargé d'étude RSE et Diversité, Secteur de l'assurance

Les leaders jouent un rôle de première importance dans le processus d'institutionnalisation des valeurs. C'est ainsi la définition même du leadership de choisir, suivant une perspective plus ou moins rationnelle, les valeurs de la société qui vont être incorporées durablement dans

l'organisation (Id, p. 421) :

« Il faut que cela vienne de l'entreprise, et du plus haut niveau. Il faut que le président affirme la politique de l'entreprise de vouloir mettre en œuvre une politique de diversité au niveau des talents, et non pas de rester dans le cadre d'une politique où toutes les personnes sont les mêmes ».

Directeur de l'innovation sociale - Secteur de l'énergie

Concernant la diversité confessionnelle, l'entreprise se trouve dans la situation quasiment inverse. Si elle adopte ponctuellement des mesures destinées à faciliter les interactions entre les différentes formes de pratiques religieuses, ces actions ne sont pratiquement jamais assumées comme entrant dans le cadre d'une responsabilité de l'entreprise :

« Il y a un problème d'ordre 'pratique', notamment au niveau du Ramadan. Car les travailleurs maghrébins, qui observent le Ramadan, lorsque c'est l'hiver passe encore, mais lorsque c'est l'été, je peux vous dire qu'il y en a qui font des malaises, qui ont du mal à travailler. [...] Il peut y avoir un phénomène de rejet de la part de leurs collègues. Au début c'est la compassion et à la fin c'est le rejet ».

Directeur de la diversité, Secteur énergie et travaux publics

L'entreprise traite donc au cas par cas, sans pour autant développer une vision globale de la problématique. Or, l'absence de lignes directrices fragilise la position des salariés placés dans une situation où l'informel fait loi :

« Dans toutes les entreprises que je connais, il n'y a pas de prise en compte ! Il y a des prises en compte sur le vif : 'ah, mince, qu'est-ce qu'on fait, elle a mis son voile', 'ah bah mince on a que des sandwiches au jambon ...' Donc ils découvrent. C'est vrai aussi que cette question-là n'était pas aussi puissamment posée, par exemple il y a vingt ans. Donc c'est vrai que c'est nouveau pour

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les entreprises et là, c'est toujours pareil : le mot le plus grossier, celui qui fait le plus peur dans le monde de l'entreprise, c'est anticiper ».

Responsable d'un cabinet spécialisé dans la gestion l'innovation sociale et de la diversité

Si les entreprises sont souvent amenées à réagir suite à des situations de tensions, qui restent au dire de nos interlocuteurs très marginales, la question de la diversité confessionnelle va bien au-delà des manifestations des faits religieux. Dans le mode de gestion actuelle, seule les cas les plus saillants accèdent à une certaine visibilité, laissant la grande majorité des individus, se fondre dans un cadre préétabli, et laisser de côté la richesse que représente leurs visions du monde. Ainsi, au-delà de la question des pratiques religieuses, c'est la possibilité de réaliser une construction spirituelle et identitaire de soi au sein de l'espace organisationnel, promu au rang d'institution sociale, qui est niée à des salariés déjà fragilisés (Sainsaulieu, 1992, Pauchant, 2001).

Le silence qui pèse sur la question de la diversité confessionnelle peut alors s'expliquer par le fait qu'à l'inverse des thématiques « classiques » de la diversité, elle ne peut être traitée dans le cadre du processus actuel d'institutionnalisation développé en matière de responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise. D'une part, l'influence de l'éthique religieuse dans la conception moderne de la responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise pose la question de sa capacité à reconnaître les autres orientations éthiques, de l'autre, la co-construction d'un cadre fixant les termes de l'interaction des convictions religieuses de chacun dans l'espace commun nécessite une réflexion complexe, qui ne se donne pas d'emblée pour acquise. Cette réflexion ne peut faire l'économie d'une prise en compte de l'estompement actuel des frontières entre espace public et privé. Elle s'avère aujourd'hui indispensable à l'association d'individus porteurs d'identités multiples. Le silence régnant à ce propos

n'apparaît, en effet, pas exempt de conséquences socio-économiques.

Des conséquences du silence

Afin d'envisager les conséquences de ce silence au sein des entreprises, il peut être intéressant de s'arrêter sur un exemple au retentissement médiatique important, celui des espaces dévolus à la prière au sein des aéroports de Roissy Charles de Gaulle et d'Orly. Bien que marginal, cet exemple paraît en effet des plus significatifs, ne serait-ce qu'au vu des signifiants et acteurs sociaux qui ont été mobilisés à ce propos.

Mais avant de nous engager plus avant, il semble tout d'abord nécessaire de préciser chacun des termes d'une configuration qui apparaît, à bien des niveaux, symptomatique.

La nature du tissu économique, tout d'abord. Dans l'espace aéroportuaire se côtoient sociétés au rayonnement international et PME parmi les plus modestes. Alors que les premières disposent d'une population salariale relativement qualifiée et souvent syndiquée, les secondes, souvent spécialisées dans le traitement des tâches subalternes, sous traitées, font appel à une main d'œuvre précaire, souvent immigrée ou d'origine, recrutée à proximité géographique des lieux de travail.

La chronologie précédant la construction de l'événement, ensuite. Depuis longtemps sur les aéroports de Roissy comme d'Orly, des parties de vestiaires ainsi que d'autres lieux à la fois peu visibles et peu valorisés sont utilisés comme lieux de prière par les employés des entreprises sous-traitantes - seuls les salariés susceptibles d'accéder en zone publique ayant accès aux lieux de recueillement aménagés pour les voyageurs. Ces lieux de prières sont par évidence démographique des lieux de prières musulmans (prier cinq fois par jour est une obligation pour les pratiquants de cette religion massivement majoritaires dans les pays d'où sont originaires nombres de

vagues d'immigration contemporaine).

En avril 2006, Philippe de Villiers, président du *Mouvement Pour la France* publie un ouvrage, *Les Mosquées de Roissy*. Cet ouvrage dénonce l'existence de ces lieux de culte et insiste sur la présence de fondamentalistes potentiellement terroristes parmi les salariés présents dans l'aéroport. Ces deux éléments sont étroitement imbriqués dans l'ouvrage. Quelques mois après la sortie de son ouvrage, les lieux de culte officiels sont fermés par le Ministère de l'Intérieur qui supprime également les badges d'accès d'une quarantaine de salariés, annihilant ainsi leur possibilité d'exercer leur emploi¹¹.

La situation sociale en découlant, enfin. Parmi les salariés se retrouvant de ce fait soudainement au chômage, certains sont soutenus par la CGT et Sud aérien. Pour sa part la CFDT sera très active pour la restitution des badges d'accès leur permettant de travailler.

Ici donc, l'informel dans lequel se situe la diversité confessionnelle ouvre un espace aux récupérations politiques les plus diverses tout en favorisant les tensions sociales. Cet exemple permet également de souligner que les éléments déclenchant la prise en compte de ce clair-obscur religieux, sont toujours des éléments négatifs (*affaire du voile, affaire des Mosquées, terrorisme ...*), ce qui semble renforcer une appréhension négative de la place du fait religieux au sein de l'entreprise.

Or, ces représentations négatives ont une incidence sur le recrutement et la gestion des ressources humaines au sein des entreprises comme sur les parcours professionnels de nombre d'individus. De véritables logiques auto-discriminatoires, voient ainsi le jour. Alors que tous les penseurs s'intéressant aux faits sociaux constatent une augmentation des signes extérieurs de religiosité dans la société française (Wieviorka, 2005), acteurs économiques comme institutionnels semblent se fermer toujours plus à la question.

¹¹ http://www.crcmidfcentre.com/actualite_050.htm

Concomitamment, on constate le développement, en France d'une véritable classe moyenne supérieure de personnes issues de l'immigration du Maghreb et de confession judaïque ou musulmane. Parmi ces individus, certains se refusent à renoncer à une pratique contraignante de leur religion, préférant se tourner vers des entreprises qui présentent un caractère religieux ou identitaire et favorisent ainsi leur recrutement.

Alors que, d'une part, des entreprises par ailleurs engagées dans la promotion de la diversité se privent de la richesse socio-économique que constituent ces classes moyennes supérieures, de l'autre, se développent des organisations qui favorisent, dans leur recrutement, une certaine uniformité et captent de fait cette richesse. Le tableau ainsi esquissé nous permet d'entrevoir que ces différentes pratiques concourent à une mise à mal du principe de diversité. Au plus loin de toutes les théorisations de la laïcité comme espace garantissant l'égalité des chances, l'approche empirique conduit à concevoir que si l'entreprise n'aménage pas des espaces au sein desquels les différents individus qu'elle regroupe peuvent concilier appartenance confessionnelle et épanouissement professionnel de nombreux risques sont envisageables. Ces risques ont trait aussi bien à une perte, pour ces entreprises, en termes de compétences qu'à l'augmentation de micro-entreprises recrutant sur la base de l'appartenance confessionnelle. Ces dernières doivent être envisagées au vu de l'émergence de diasporas transnationales aux liens de plus en plus lâches avec leurs sociétés d'accueil.

Arguments pour une gestion réfléchie et assumée de la diversité confessionnelle.

Peut-on, sans promouvoir l'intégration du fait religieux au sein de l'entreprise, envisager sereinement l'intérêt d'affirmer de manière assumée une prise en compte d'une diversité confessionnelle existant déjà largement de fait ? Les différents éléments

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évoqués ci-avant, éléments relatifs aux dangers liés à la relégation de ces questions dans un espace informel, tendent à en démontrer l'intérêt.

La prédominance de l'informel laisse, en effet, largement la place aux manipulations de tous bords. Dans une société désignée par certains penseurs comme « post-moderne » (Baudrillard, Derrida), l'affirmation d'une responsabilité sociale affirmée apparaît indispensable à l'établissement d'une réflexion distancée sur les modalités d'établissement d'un « espace commun » d'interactions capable de répondre aux attentes d'un individu à l'identité fragmenté, évoluant au sein d'une société éclatée (Rojot, 2005, p.451).

De fait, suite à l'effacement apparent des institutions traditionnellement pourvoyeuses de sens (De Foucault et Piveteau, 1995, p.109), l'entreprise contemporaine apparaît comme l'un des principaux lieux d'articulation de l'individuel et du social (Bernoux, 1999 p.72). La commission européenne, fixant le cap de la politique de développement durable de l'Union, place ainsi « la cohésion sociale » et « l'investissement dans le capital humain » en tête de ses préoccupations¹².

La réflexion sur l'interaction entre individus de confessions diverses trouve ainsi sa place dans une perspective plus large où l'entreprise est chargée d'assurer une fonction jusque là réservée à l'Etat nation : la création et le maintien d'un lien social dans la durée (Pierre, 2001, p.141). Par delà la réalité d'une gestion informelle, le développement d'une éthique assumée par l'entreprise et allant au-delà des thématiques institutionnalisées de la diversité apparaît indispensable au développement des conditions facilitant l'implication d'une population hétérogène. En développant une responsabilité affirmée en termes de gestion de l'interaction identitaire, l'entreprise

explicitera, à travers ses politiques et pratiques, ses valeurs. Elle pourra ainsi permettre aux salariés de procéder au travail d'association et de disjonction entre celles-ci et son histoire personnelle. Un tel processus semble nécessaire au développement de l'implication organisationnelle (Thévenet, 2004, Meyer, Allen, 1996).

D'autre part, l'absence de politique globale des interactions confessionnelles semble, si l'on se réfère aux travaux de Savall et Zardet (1995), engendrer un certain nombre de coûts cachés. Insistant sur l'importance de l'investissement dans le capital humain, leurs recherches ont démontré que « le coût de la non-maintenance du patrimoine immatériel de l'entreprise, défini comme l'ensemble des ressources accumulées pour entretenir la capacité d'activité de l'entreprise, est très élevé » (Savall et Zardet, 2005, p.311). Pour ces chercheurs, « la capacité d'activité de l'entreprise repose sur un facteur clé, primordial pour la création de valeur ajoutée : son potentiel humain ».

Face, à l'élargissement de la population salariale traditionnelle et à l'ouverture à de nouveaux profils plus variés (Peretti, 2006), la qualité de la gestion de l'interaction confessionnelle doit être considérée comme un élément essentiel du « capital social » de l'entreprise. Pour cela, l'organisation doit dépasser les freins la conduisant à adopter une position défensive consistant à agir au coup par coup et à nier toute responsabilité globale. Elle doit également développer une politique « proactive », au sens de Caroll (1979), lui permettant de traiter, de manière précoce, les signaux de tensions, « grâce à des intentions stratégiques plus déterminées qui permettent de développer des actions de prévention (...) » (Savall et Zardet, 2005, p.311).

L'entreprise est donc face à un risque connu, et son intérêt à agir devient grandissant au fur et à mesure de l'accroissement de l'hétérogénéité de la population. Affirmer une responsabilité déjà

¹² Commission des communautés européennes (2001). «Promouvoir un cadre européen pour la responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise», Livre vert.

largement assumée dans les faits, permettrait de clarifier une situation où l'informel favorise les comportements extrêmes et fait peser sur l'entreprise le coût des tensions sociales et de la non implication des salariés.

Conclusion

Interrogeant les bases éthiques du concept moderne de responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise, puis analysant les pratiques en étant issues à travers l'approche néo-institutionnelle, notre propos a été, ici, de déconstruire les discours dominants et de donner sens aux espaces de réflexion volontairement laissés dans l'ombre. Il nous est ainsi apparu que, par delà les tabous et les discours institutionnalisés, la question de la gestion de la diversité confessionnelle constitue aujourd'hui un enjeu économique et social pour des entreprises confrontées à la fois à la disparition de leur population salariale traditionnelle, à l'apparition de salariés aux parcours et aux attentes hétérogènes dans un contexte sociétal complexe.

De fait, si pour Weber, la modernité était caractérisée par l'opposition insoluble de la sphère du religieux avec d'autres sphères de valeurs (Fleury, 2001, p.66), le passage à une société de l'information et de la communication à remis en cause les frontières existantes entre espace public et privé, rendant en grande partie les individus responsables de leur construction identitaire. Cette réflexion sur l'intégration de la question confessionnelle dans les politiques de gestion de la diversité offre un éclairage sur cette question du sens et, plus généralement, sur les conditions du tissage par l'organisation d'un lien social durable.

Alors que ni le sentiment d'appartenance national, « ni les repères anciens d'appartenance sociale, ne suffisent [...] à définir les identités, individuelles et de groupes, nécessaires pour mobiliser et former les capacités productives dont l'entreprise a besoin » (Sainsaulieu, 1992), il apparaît que les acteurs économiques et institutionnels ne peuvent plus aujourd'hui se

soustraire à leurs responsabilités.

Ces bouleversements posent ainsi de façon accrue la question de la gestion, par les entreprises, d'un fait religieux à l'importance grandissante. Autrefois, pensée comme un espace purement rationnel, l'entreprise est, en tant que système ouvert sur la société, soumise à un processus de « réenchantement » (Osty, 2002), lui-même porteur d'interrogation quant à sa capacité à s'affirmer comme un espace d'interaction créateur de sens.

Aujourd'hui, cette gestion du fait religieux existe, mais elle ne déborde que très rarement de la sphère de l'informel. Or, la question des actions qui n'affectent ni les principes d'équité, ni les principes de neutralité qui prévalent au sein de l'entreprise peuvent être développées, mais le désir de s'afficher comme responsable et la peur de tensions sociales sont encore les plus fortes. Cette affirmation ne pourra être réalisée que par une mise à distance des stéréotypes et représentations, qui président parfois de manière quasiment inconsciente aux pratiques mises en place à ce propos. Ces stéréotypes et représentations apparaissent particulièrement forts et négatifs en ce qui concerne la religion musulmane.

La responsabilité sociale de l'entreprise, réside alors dans sa capacité à développer une réflexion éthique globale concernant les conditions de l'interaction confessionnelle. Celle-ci, loin de générer de nouvelles différences permettrait de répondre dans l'un « espace commun », que représente l'entreprise, au besoin fondamental des êtres humains qui est de donner sens à leur travail et à leur vie.

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Ocler
The Influence of Martial Arts on Companies

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ABSTRACT

What would have happened if the strategy concepts were not based on Clausewitz but on Sun Tzu for example? To answer this question, we recommend using metaphors with a certain number of precautions, which have to be respected. The key concepts of Ki, Kokyu and Ma-ai serve to better define the notions of energy, flow of energy and distance/time/space relationships. Each of these has its practical application in the management of an organization, enabling us to conclude by proposing a new vision of the company and its links with its environment.

Key words : Metaphors, martial arts, propensity, potential of situation, energy

INTRODUCTION:

The notion of strategy mainly derives from military concepts. The aim of this article is to propose a way to define strategy based on the asian view of military sciences. What would have happened if the strategy concepts were not based on Clausewitz but on Sun Tzu for example? To answer this question, we recommend using metaphors with a certain number of precautions, which have to be respected. We will thus demonstrate the distinction between structural and semantic metaphors, preferring the latter in social sciences. We will question the validity of the use of metaphors in scientific construction and try to establish a validation model for the scientific production that they generate. This leads us to show, how, by borrowing from the world of martial arts, and through the use of metaphors, a new definition of managerial concepts can be envisaged. The key concepts of Ki, Kokyu and Ma-ai serve to better define the notions of energy, of energy canals and distance/time/space relationships. We will then demonstrate how each of these has its practical application in the management of an organization, which enables us to conclude by proposing a new vision of the company and its links with its environment.

***METAPHORS AND
MANAGEMENT***

Firstly, we propose to sweep away the theoretic field dealing with the use of metaphors in order to determine which are the contributions and the limits of the latter. After having defined these elements, we will endeavour to suggest a model for the application of metaphors in the company world at the same time making sure of the validity of these transfers.

Definition of scientific concepts

When analyzing the various approaches of knowledge production process in management sciences, we note that the use of the language calls upon problems of the different type:

- o Ontological: realistic/nominalist,
- o Epistemological: positivist/constructivist,
- o Praxeological: the role of the metaphor as a tool for comprehension of reality,
- o Paradigmatical: use of one or several metaphors.

For Desreumaux (1998), the first two conflicts are of ontological nature and return to the question of knowing if organizational reality is produced by the metaphor or if it exists independently of metaphorical descriptions which one can make.

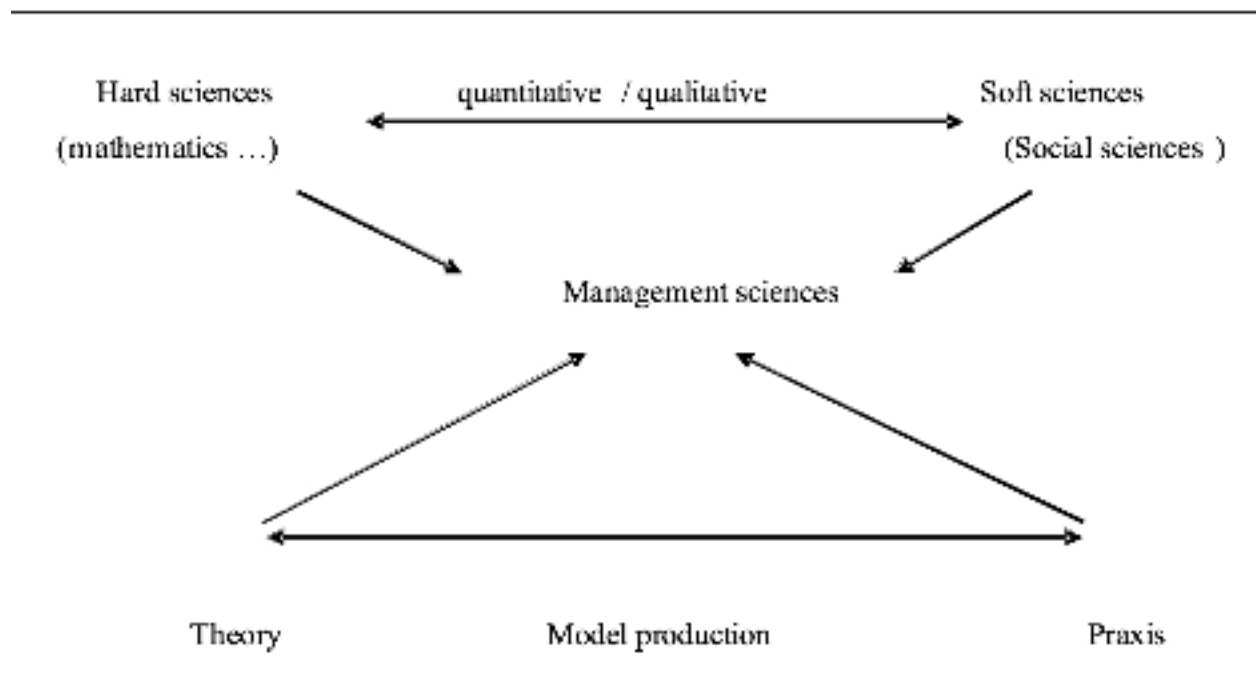
According to Nietzsche (1979), the process of knowledge production is working with metaphors, the truth being an illusion, a moving space composed of metaphors, metonymies and anthropomorphism.

In a realistic approach, the metaphor is appreciated for its capacity to retranslate the essence of a given reality: existence of one reality that the metaphor will reveal. In a nominalistic approach, the multiple uses of metaphors must make it possible to avoid

privileging with excess a point of view among the others: there is no reality but a multitude of interpretations of reality.

When defining concepts, we can also notice another source of interrogation. Management sciences are at the crossroad between known as hard sciences and soft sciences. Moreover they integrate theoretical elements as well as practical elements.

Figure 1 : Management sciences and models



A dichotomy between these various poles is then possible. There would be then zones in which certain aspects would have higher weight than others. In other words, on a given axis, the process of definition of a concept can evolve/move between two poles, one praxeological, the second theoretical. In the same way, the concepts used in management sciences can derive from an analysis with mathematical formalization or on the contrary to find their genesis in an approach much more

qualitative. In this case, the majority of the model is derived from a verbal phase: a process by which words are associated an idea. According to Reason and Torbert (2001) : *“the empirical positivist perspective adopts a realist ontology and draws on methods based on operationalization, measurement, and the generation and testing of hypotheses, ideally through rigorous experiment. Post-modern interpretivism, drawing on what is often referred to as the “linguistic turn”, views reality as a human*

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construction based in language; and draws on a variety of qualitative methodologies which attempts to portray these constructions, often to "see through" or "deconstruct" taken for granted realities"

The process of concepts definition and the analysis of the organizations go through an obliged passage: the verbalisation phase which uses either a literal approach or a metaphorical approach. The critics on literal language or metaphorical language are done on the level of coding and decoding. The communication of information comprises three distinct fields:

- o Syntax: which covers the problems of transmission of information and is treated by the information theory (coding, transmission channels, capacity of the noise, redundancy);

- o Semantics: This analyzes the symbols which remain meaningless if the transmitter and the receiver did not agree before on their significance;

- o Praxeology: it studies the influence on the behaviour.

Our analysis is mainly at the level of semantics. Indeed, for Nonaka (1991, 1994) the process of scientific discovery, especially in social sciences is strongly dependent on the language and thus by definition on the use of the metaphor.

The problem of the use of the metaphors in sciences appeared with Aristote which introduces from the start the distinction between literal language and metaphorical language, this latter according to the statements of the philosopher, being reserved for poetry but eliminated from the natural science.

For Pinder and Bourgeois (1982), metaphors are opposed to the literal language which is seen as basis for scientific knowledge. In this functionalist paradigm, the metaphor does not form part of scientific knowledge and can for even be harmful him. Consequently, if it is inevitable, it must be

minimized.

According to Desreumaux (1998), it is common to oppose the positivist epistemology, which nourishes a project of accumulation of knowledge on regularities and causal relations, supposed to characterize the world of the organizations, and the constructivist epistemology, expressing a subjective posture according to which one cannot include/understand the phenomena without analyzing the framework of reference of the participant in action.

For the positivists, the use of the metaphor alone is unable to produce a rigorous knowledge of the organizations. It is, at most, only one preliminary stage with the development of a literal language which must be preferred. On the contrary, some consider that the handling of such a language is not possible, since there is no absolute truth but only truths built on the basis of framework of subjective reference: the metaphors are then essential since they structure the conceptual framework used and then are part of the way reality is socially built.

Some authors privilege a median position. Marshak (1993) does not show any preference between the two types of approach and admits that instead of separating them, they could be used in a congruent way, especially in the projects of organizational changes.

For Black (1962), the major advantage of the metaphorical speech is to introduce a theoretical terminology into still unexplored fields, and depends for this reason mainly on catachresis. The scientific terms, being fixed perfectly (specific and non interchangeable), can not in turn be used to explore these grounds.

According to us, within the framework of a strategy of communication, the literal approach is to be privileged in the phase of formalization for a more effective diffusion; the metaphorical language being more appropriate in a process of definition and

search for direction. Although we are close to Tsoukas (1991), when it declares that the metaphors are useful to capture a flow of experiment in the first stages of the development of a literal language, we are persuaded that the role of the metaphors is not limited to this starter.

Metaphors and definition of concepts

In rhetoric, the metaphor is a figure of style belonging to the family of tropes: a trope being a figure that modifies an expression or a word from its original sense.

In attempting to define more clearly what a metaphor is, we find several interpretations:

- o a metaphor is a **transfer of the sense** (first definition of the metaphor given by Aristotle)
- o a metaphor **brings together** two separate elements placed in an environment that is only defined in a very global manner. (Le Roy (1999))
- o a metaphor consists of substituting one term for another, which is assimilated into it, thus creating a **comparison** between two notions that have an analogical relationship. (Durieux (2000))
- o a metaphor is a figure of speech whereby a notion or a descriptive term is **transferred** from one object to a different object, but analogical to the one to which it is normally applicable. (Tsoukas (1991))
- o a metaphor is a procedure which either **juxtaposes** the terms or the concrete examples in order to create a network of similarities and **thus gives a sense to the description of reality** (Kuhn (1993)) ;
- o a metaphor is a cartography between two conceptual fields; normally separated (Sweetser (1990), Turner (1991));
- o a metaphor is a representation tool through which a concept can **develop a sense**. It reduces two terms to their **joint characteristics**; thus permitting a linguistic

transfer from one field to another (Coffey et Atkinson (1996))

- o A metaphor is a basic and structural form of **experience** through which humans commit themselves, become organised and **understand the world** (Morgan (1993)).

We consider that metaphors constitute a possible tool for defining concepts in management science. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1995), the metaphor is not seen as simple figurative speech but as one of the most important means of understanding in the world, that is to say a process by which a field is understood and structured. These authors specify that, behind every linguistic metaphor, lays a conceptual metaphor that will guide the structuring of a field. They even postulate that metaphorical concepts which guide the majority of our activities, (decision-making process, time allocation, etc), structure our reality. Other authors, such as Travers (1996), agree with this view.

According to Wacheux (1996), analogical reasoning, and therefore metaphoric, is an innovative methodology for separation, and makes it possible, in this way, to advance in management science. In the view of Desreumaux (1998), this method can be applied either in the understanding of the organization itself, or in a more circumspect examination of one of its practices or one of its vital processes.

Metaphors are traditionally used to enable a great variety of analyses (Palmer et Dunford (1995)) and are to be found in different models (see in particular 'le Macroscopie de De Rosnay (1975)'), models which give preference to a trans-disciplinary approach, filtering the details, developing what links the different methods, causing what brings them together to emerge. Certain authors insist on the fact that the use of metaphors enables us to go beyond a pragmatic analysis and unite the fields that seem, a priori, to be mutually exclusive.

It is in this way that Barley and Kunda (1992), put forward the idea of a synthesis of

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idealistic and materialistic currents; the idealists prefer an analysis of the metaphor in itself whereas the materialists are more interested in concrete examples.

According to Palmer and Dunford (1996), the use of metaphors enables an approach at the same time, etic and emic (the slight difference between the science of substance and that of form). Moreover, it is the method retained by Morgan and highlighted by Boje and Summers (1994).

For a large number of authors, (Le Roy (1999), Granger (1987), Travers (1996)), the role of a metaphor is to create a representation of a field according to formalised models in another field. Confirmation of this is given by Tsoukas (1991), when he says that its role (the metaphor) consists in the global transfer of information from a relatively well-known field (source field) to a new rarely studied field (target field). Metaphorical transfer is, by nature, a non-conventional relationship: it concerns conceptualising an element from the target environment with reference to a concept originating from the source model. For Delattre (1990), the metaphor brings two separate elements together in a defined environment and in a very global manner. The metaphor is used, therefore, to create a sense and to look for solutions, thanks to the richness of the field to which it is transferred (Getz (1994)). However, for Black (1962), a connection exists between the source field and the target field and the sense is derived from this interaction.

Metaphors and scientific validation

The first observation that we will make is that metaphors, originating from the social sciences, have been largely used in management, even if this remains subject to caution. (Desreumaux (1998)).

The main opposition to metaphors originates from West traditions, from Plato to Heidegger, who considered the verbalisation phase as an unfortunate necessity. The

writings of March and Simon (1958), devaluing the role of the metaphor, also reflect this state of mind.

On the contrary, for certain epistemological authors, metaphors represent a tool, which can enable us, at the same time, to create new vocabulary and to have access to greater mental images. For Nonaka and Ymanouchi (1989) for example, metaphors are the images that help to reduce ambivalence and which, make it possible to articulate and to solidify the infrastructure within an organization. For Weick (1989) organizational life would be more orientated towards interpretation, intellect, metaphors and the research of the senses than by decision-making or adapting to the environment.

This leads us to think that metaphors transmit sense if they are used in a non-prescribed but solely explanative way

Pinder and Bourgeois (1982) remind us that the use of metaphors makes it possible:

- o to acquire a legitimacy, particularly when it concerns borrowing concepts originating from, so called, 'difficult' sciences;
- o to stimulate multi-disciplines, which is a very strong tendency in organisational theories;
- o to avoid increasing existential problems: borrowing a word originating from another discipline makes it possible to avoid the personnel reflections of the researcher.
- o to rapidly produce a body of knowledge

If the search for an explanation goes through a necessary metaphoric phase, these metaphors must be considered as a definition tool as not as the definition itself.

According to Getz (1984), metaphors are part of a scientific approach (which has the objective of a literal description of reality), and according to certain authors, (Lakoff and Johnson (1980)), they are even the essence

of it, for all scientific descriptions are metaphoric. The use of metaphors is necessary in the process of producing a sense as Weick (1989) remarks, for it enables us to filter and structure the problems and make them tangible.

It is thus necessary to make a distinction between structural and semantic metaphors.

The structural metaphor contains all the connections that must be transferred from the source field to the target field. It provides an analysis of the reality, which will be duplicated in the target field. The semantic metaphor does not transfer this structure with it; it simply opens the door to new concepts. A concrete example will enable us to better illustrate this point. If, when we speak about the 'brains of an organization', we mean the CEO, and we are using a semantic metaphor. Using the same expression, we look at the CEO but also the points of contact (the executives as neurones), the flow of information (nerve impulses) etc. we are using a structural metaphor.

After having created this framework, and swept aside our fundamental theories, we now arrive at the heart of our demonstration, by proposing, through the use of metaphors originating from the Japanese Martial Arts, and particularly aikido, a new perception of companies.

COMPANIES AND AIKIDO

Definition of terms

Aikido is a martial art that was developed at the beginning of the century by Master Morihei Ueshiba, a contemporary of Jigoro Kano, the founder of judo

L'aikido is a synthesis of different traditional Japanese martial arts and integrates as much spiritual as technical elements.

It is principally inspired by Jujutsu (Kito Daito school), by Aijutsu (combats with a

sabre) by Bojutsu (combats with a stick), and the art of the Naginata (Japanese lance).

From a more spiritual point of view, it takes its roots from Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism by creating a synthesis between these different teachings. Although a synthesis of the different ways of thinking present in Japanese martial arts, aikido differs from them however, by its philosophy, at the same time, taking into account, men spiritual and his physical dimension. After this rapid presentation, we will examine more in detail, the key concepts which this martial art is based on.

Notion of Ki (Chi or Prana) (Energy)

The concept of Ki is present under different names in the Asiatic basin and can have different meanings. One can find the essence of the Prana in India, the Qi or Chi in China and the Ki in Japan. In Japan, the term is made up of two ideograms. The classical pictographic approach provides us with a very revealing image: two radicals linked together, rice and steam. The significance of these two radicals has been profoundly researched and the conclusions vary from one author to another. For Cauhépe and Kuang (1998), the term Ki can be interpreted as a synonym for the following words: spirit, vital energy, skill, opportunity, favourable instant.

For other authors, the Ki is mainly centred round the notion of energy and more particularly that of vital energy. (Wesbrook and Ratti (1996) or Protin (1977)). The latter is appreciated as the result of the harmonisation and coordination of physical and mental constituents previously assembled together and centralised in the hara (the stomach, the intestines) For Tohei (1978), former chief instructor of Aikikai (mother house) and founder of the Ki school, this energy which reflects the perfect balance between the mind and the body, is symbolised, at a physical level by the flux of respiration.

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Uemura (2000) makes us think about another way of defining this concept. For him, Ki must be understood as 'information' and /or the very character that is diffused, generally by the intermediary of the electro-magnetic waves in one's body. This concerns the recent introduction of a fundamental differentiation, for this author specifies that the notion is not synonymous with energy but really with information, and that it is precisely this information that will generate the energy.

As a general rule, it is commonly admitted, that the term Ki is impossible to translate. It is to be found in diverse Japanese expressions with a different meaning each time. We can however describe with Ueshiba (2001), the archetype on which this notion is based, and which includes:

- o a spiritual dimension: soul, mind,
- o an affective level: instinct, intuition, sentiment,
- o a psycho physiological axis: respiration, breath.

The same author (1981) defines Ki, in a more esoteric manner, as “the principle of harmony, the source of creativity expressed in the Yin and the Yang (Laozi), the vital vacuity (Huinanzi), courage born from moral rectitude (Mengzi) and the divine force penetrating everything”

From now on, it will be convenient for us to use this term, knowing that it links together the three aspects already evoked. We will see, in the next part, the real contribution of this concept to the understanding of the organizational world.

Notion of Kokyu (Flow of energy)

As well as the concept of Ki, we will develop the notion of Kokyu. If Ki is synonymous with energy, Kokyu is concerned more with the notion of a transporting, of conductivity, what conveys the energy from one point to another. It is therefore natural that certain authors define Kokyu as the power and the respiration (Cauhépé et Kuang (1998)).

Different references to Kokyu exist in

Aikido

- o **Kokyu** dosa : method to overcome a partner with Ki instead of muscular force;
- o **Kokyu**-ho undo : breathing regulation exercise, obtained by clasping the wrist,
- o **Kokyu** nage : technique making it possible to throw a partner by the coordination of mind and body;
- o **Kokyu** ryoku: extended breathing.

Kokyu is thus naturally linked to energy conduction. It concerns the main physical channels through which energy circulates, and in the sphere of martial arts, it is very often assimilated with water, currents, and fluidity. Kokyu is what enables the Ki to be guided inside the body and, according to the martial technique chosen, to concentrate one's energy in a given place at a given moment without, in any way forcing or losing one's internal equilibrium.

The notion of Kokyo concerns a systematic vision of Man and ensures that the whole of the human body is irrigated by the necessary information and energy, not only to function, but equally to evolve.

All the techniques developed by Aikido using Kokyu as a vector have two aims:

- o Firstly, that we could describe as a useful objective: to defeat an opponent, to neutralise an attack. It is the visible and technical part, what the Japanese call 'waza'
- o The second, closer to an internal hidden finality: to ensure that the internal energy flows through specific and adapted channels

Notion of Ma-ai (distance/space/time)

We will now introduce a third notion, that of Ma-ai which integrates three different elements: time, space, distance

For Protin (1977), “ Ma-ai can be defined as the ideal distance to put between oneself and one's opponent (or opponents) in such a way as to have a total vision of the

elements and the circumstances of the combat, thus making it possible to pierce the opponent's defence, at the slightest indication, and to immediately take defensive action under the best conditions".

A comparable perception is to be found in the work of Cauhépé and Kuang (1998), who define Ma-ai, as the correct appreciation of time and space between one and one's partner.

This term brings together two notions often perceived as mutually exclusive. Our approach is to integrate them both and to ensure that, not only have they really been taken into account, but that they have been in a concomitant and non-linear way (firstly one taken into account, then the other): linear logic limiting the scope of the technique, even making it inoperable. The principal virtue of martial arts training is to make the participants aware of this distance, of this space-time and enable them to master it. The technical perfection does not prove to be, in fact, of any usefulness if the technique is not used at the opportune moment

To resume the previous remarks, the notion of Ma-ai can express:

- o A simple notion of distance,
- o The notion of distance and of time, which leads to the concept of opportunity, (accident or luck in the Greek sense);
- o The distance and the opportune time for beginning an attack or a defence action,
- o The control of time and distance between two opponents (in other words, not to let another person approach our centre of gravity without maintaining a possibility for action)

We will use, from now on, this concept as a synonym for dynamic distance, for this definition seems to us to best resume the concepts contained in this notion.

APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTS IN THE ORGANIZATION

This section will be consecrated to the

transposition of the principal concepts of aikido to the company. We will clarify here, that by convention, the different terms used, can be defined as follows:

- o Ki :mind, intuition, energy and breath,
- o Kokyu: energy conduction, coordination of body and mind,
- o Ma-ai: dynamic distance (mastering of time and of distance as well as movements which makes it possible to find an opening left by one's opponent without leaving one's own opening), which enables a person to make an attack without his or her opponent being able to do the same (for a day to day application of Ma-ai see Tobert 2002).

Ki in the organization

It seems important to us to draw attention to the fact that, in the martial arts, as in companies, a clear vision of the adopted strategy is an essential element and a factor for its success. We actually think that it is essential that the company strategy be understandable and perceived in a clear way by all the players within the company. A formalised but flexible strategy, adaptable to external and internal changes must be developed to take into consideration the constraints, but also in order to not lose sight of the fixed objectives

Ki in the organization corresponds firstly to this idea of the precise vision of the objective to be reached, of the direction to follow. The objective aimed at is to open up a path towards growth, permitting the company to ensure, at the same time, its continuity, and its development but also its survival in the short term as well as to respect a certain ethic. This path leads, at the same time, to going beyond a survival level from an economic point of view (level of profitability) and that of an axis, marking the investment limits (level of development) by emphasising the creation of essentially immaterial potential guaranteeing a certain stability of cash-flow in the future, but it also makes it possible to take into consideration the role played by the company in society.

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The second axis that makes it possible to define Ki in the organization relies on the notion of intuition, understood here in a different sense to that of its accepted one. We will now deal with the notion of structured intuition, which is in fact derived from a heuristic approach of organizational problems. According to Savall and Zardet (1995), "heuristics is a process for producing knowledge by treating the factual information, by an approach of intelligent trial and error where the search for the solution incorporates, step by step, the rules for discovering pertinent information." Structured intuition is characterised by:

- o The reduction of time in dealing with pertinent information,
- o The correctness (adaptation of the decision to the objectives to be reached) of the decision taken;
- o The immediate effect and the practical transposition of the decision taken.

The reduction in the time necessary for decision-making and the rapidity of the action cause the appropriate reflexes to come into play. Intuition is therefore no longer just an accident or luck, but really a type of precise treatment and at the same time as the information is received. We could compare this type of function to the muscular memory, which activates automatic action where there is a precise stimulus. This structure is even stronger when the internal system for dealing with information is structured.

The last point that we would like to take up in this part concerns the notion of energy. We consider that energy in the organization emanates directly from the people who are part of it. The energy, such as we see it here, can be defined as the process that enables them to go from one state to another. (the element of transformation) thanks to a synergy between the competences of the players. We have remarked that a lack of energy should not be confounded with an inability to master the energy channels and thus to transfer this energy from one point to another. We will

now, as a logical sequence, consider these channels.

Kokyu within the organization

The energy centres within the organization are not generally structured and do not benefit from the change over necessary for the setting up of a process of permanent change. In other words, all the competences present, and consequently; the possibilities for change which ensue from it, are rarely identified and recorded within the organization.

The hidden internal potentials are not always recognised. The classical internal structure (a communications system, work organization, etc.) does not allow different types of energy to circulate within the organization and the channels set up to convey it do not always send a good type of energy in relation to the objective to be reached. (kokay) The different types of energy that we were able to locate are:

- o Strong energy: energy designed to limit the informal power of the players,
- o Mild energy: energy designed to control the formal power of the players,
- o Energy for transformation: energy for acting,
- o Energy for conforming: energy for conforming to the rules and internal procedures, the time and resources used to adapt to these rules.

The energy necessary for the good functioning of the organization must be identified and the channels for transferring energy (coordination meetings, hierarchic lines, etc) must be given particular attention. In concrete terms, management tools are likely:

- o to establish the typology of the competences of each person, the first source of company energy, (management of competences);
- o to mobilise this energy (management

by objectives),

- o to channel the latter (strategic plan of action)).

Ma-ai within the organization

Beyond the energy and the ways of circulation that it uses, we should reflect on the notion of time in strategic implementation.

For Clausewitz, the two principles, which are determining factors lead back respectively to the notion of Kokuy and to the notion of Ma-ai :

- o the fluidity des partisans “the popular war, like something hazy and fluid, which must never be condensed into a solid body, otherwise the enemy will send a force against this nucleus and break it »;

- o the role of time “ the simple length of the combat will, little by little, bring the force of the defence to the point where his objective will no longer be an adequate equivalent, thus to a point where he will have to abandon the struggle”.

In the implementation of the strategy, time and distance are of great importance. According to Jullien (1996), “We are faced with, not one, but two crucial moments, (i.e. the beginning and the end of the transformation) Before the final stage, the opportunity has become flagrant, although at the initial stage it was still hardly perceptible; but it is this first demarcation which is decisive however, because it is from this that the capacity for effect commences, the final opportunity being, in sum, none other than the consequence”.

All the art consists in pinpointing this initial instant that determines the precise moment where the impulse must be given. When the famous 'non-action' is evoked in Japanese or Chinese literature, it obviously concerns the phase considered at the final stage.

It is thus that the moment, said to be, critical does not correspond to the

manifestation stage but is shifted to the previous phase, to the most infinite point, that of the beginning- there where the split between transformation and reaction starts to take place, and which is decisive. The wise or the good strategy is one that has the capacity to detect, at that moment, the potentialities of a situation. 'Acting' placed at the final stage, characterises reactivity; the same situation found at the initial stage signifies pro-activity. Jullien also maintains that good strategy is the one that intervenes before the process: it knows how to recognise the factors which are favourable to it when they have not as yet been actualised, and from then on, it can cause a situation to evolve in the sense that it wishes: when the accumulated potential proves to be completely in its favour, it resolutely begins the combat and success is assured. It is not therefore the final action that is determining although it is the most visible.

TOWARDS A NEW VISION OF STRATEGY

Potential of a situation

Le Roy (1999) reminds us that, in military strategy, the strategic advantage is to be found in the element of surprise and rapidity: only necessity or the favourable opportunity, justify the battle. In a general way, it is necessary to know the enemy, its habits, the way its generals behave, its number and its positions. In the context we are interested in, we would even say that strategic genius is that of attributing, developing and using the resources, not only according to this environment but also to modify it.

We agree with Jullien (1996) here, who stresses that two notions are thus to be found in the heart of the ancient Chinese strategy and are interlinked:

- o On the one hand, that of the situation or configuration (*xing*), such as it actualised and takes form under our very eyes (as a power struggle);

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o On the other hand and matching it, that of potential (*shi*; pronounced she), such as it is implicated in this situation and that can be modelled to one's benefit.

We are thus placed in an external environment that at the same time determines our internal environment, but also determined by this latter.

The interaction between the external and internal thus creates the opportunity, a phase that makes it possible to best use, according to the internal possibilities, the external potential.

This author also maintains that it ensues that, if an operation must actually intervene before the beginning of a conflict, this must not be planned, but in fact an evaluation (notion of "*xiao*"), or more precisely, a calculation (in the sense of evaluating, in advance, and by calculating: notion (notion of "*ji* "). The evaluation will thus determine the possible fields, and in this way, help to avoid a too idealised and non-realizable strategy.

The essential point, therefore, is to be capable, during the evaluation or calculating phase to really understand the total potential of the situation, that is to say, to precisely identify the possibilities offered. It is by this faculty of detection that the genius of Chinese strategy can be recognised.

We agree, on this point, with the vision of Lavalette and Niculescu (1999) who argue in favour of an intuitive approach, integrating in a sure way, the knowledge of global potentialities within the company, without being restricted by the current results, drawn from past analysis.

In our opinion, pro-activity is derived from an analysis of the potential of the situation, for this latter makes it possible to develop a strategy, both efficient and structured:

o efficient, for it attributes external potentials to internal potentials and favours the

emergence of synergies which could not have otherwise been created;

o structuring, for it adapts the internal potential, at the same time acting on the environment in order to limit friction and loss of energy.

Propensity

The notion of propensity must be closely linked to the notion of potential. We consider, in the strategic framework:

o that, instead of constructing an ideal form that is projected onto things, it is preferable to endeavour to detect the favourable factors functioning in their configuration;

o that, instead of fixing a target for the action, it would be advisable to let ourselves be influenced by propensity,

o in short, that, instead of imposing one's plan on everyone, it is more efficient to rely on the potential of the situation.

Adapting this data to the process of a socio-economic intervention can be described as follows

o Aiding the structuring, but allowing the information to emanate from the players (diagnostic);

o Formalising the tools, but allowing the players to use them themselves (project),

o Analysing the potential of the situation by structuring it (project),

o Endeavouring to follow the potential of the situation in its evolution (Evaluation)

In fact, according to Jullien (1996), the conception of this potential ensures the transition between the initial calculations, made according to fixed rules, and the further development of the circumstances, once the process has started. For although one must not cease, during the operations, to put one's opponent off the track (understands here the external environment), it is necessary to constantly adapt to him.

The calculation of the relationship of

the forces in action is established from a series of items that aim to recognise the situation in all its aspects. By systematically answering this type of questionnaire, and making the data converge, the political advisor reaches a sufficient level of knowledge of the factors at work, to be certain of the result of the operation that he has undertaken. Moreover, we note the parallel that can be made between this description and the socio-economic diagnosis, based on a group of key ideas, generic of the problems the most frequently encountered in the company. The diagnosis serves to review the situation such as it is perceived by all the players. It thus determines the possibilities for evolution and it is in relation to the diagnosis that the project is created. It is therefore, in this case, really the potential of the situation that will determine the direction that the research for the solution will take.

If we lean more towards the 'Chinese analysis', "we observe that all effective Chinese thought, and whatever its idealistic options are, is to be found in this gesture: going back to the roots, the base, that is to say the departure point of what, as a condition, carried along by the evolution of things, will progressively assert itself on its own. The effect therefore, is not only probable, as in a relationship created with a means to an end, but as '*sponte sua*' ensues! It inevitably happens. "From the moment that it is started, a process is meant to expand itself, something is undertaken which just asks to evolve. By itself, signifies that the expansion in question is contained in the present state of things that it goes 'without saying', that it is 'so', that this is natural. However, the fact that it is involved does not necessarily signify that this process will be realised, it is still necessary to provide the conditions for its development" (Jullien (1996).

Effectiveness

If we retain this vision, it therefore becomes clear that the proactive strategies are not built identically to traditional strategies, according to a target to reach *ex nihilo*.

Their essence is to be composed of both structured internal elements, that is to say, adapted to the variations of the environment and the structuring internal elements, that is to say, having an influence on the structuring of the external environment.

Chinese effectiveness is not to act for or against, to undertake or to oppose, but simply, meaning in terms of the process, to initiate and to inhibit (to initiate what, in expanding will, itself spread in a favourable sense, and to inhibit what, however small, but already contained in the situation, would cause it to evolve in a negative way (Jullien (1996)).

Strategy thus becomes the art of activating or of deactivating the elements that will enable the organization to evolve in a favourable way and to limit the differences between the desired objectives and the attained objectives (notion of Western effectiveness)

It is also important to note that, in this context, the strategy can be described in terms of a process that integrates, at the same time, the internal and the external. The initiation and the inhibiting concern as much the company's own elements as those located in its external environment.

It seems important to us here to make a point about the famous 'non-action' that is to be found in Asiatic literature and has too often been given a connotation of passivity. If we consider the definition of Chinese effectiveness, it appears that the action (the initiation and the inhibiting) disappears with time and it is not possible to trace the effects in a distinct way. The Asiatic non-action is to be understood in this sense. The action must not be undertaken in a rigid manner, by attempting to force a change of condition. On the contrary, it must take place beforehand, that is to say that it has a vocation to transform the determining elements of the potential of the situation in order that the desired result happens on their own.

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Table 1: Implementing a proactive strategy

ELÉMENTS	CONSTITUANTS	EXAMPLE
Potentiel of the situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Identification of the qualitative elements B) Identification quantitative elements C) Identification of the financial elements D) In-depth dialogue (for opinion and suggestions) with the personnel about the strategy and the company situation through a regular system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Development of vigilance (prevention and working conditions) 3 Definition of the social policy and management of its coherence 4 Study of work accidents 5 Monthly sales department meeting, activity checks and weekly reporting
Propensity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personalised remuneration for all the personnel on a contractual basis • Personalised system of evolution for all the personnel with explicit working rules • Increase in investments by more than 100 % 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of all the working hours in the workshop (shift by shift for some of them) • Formalisation of a training plan for maintenance workers • Communication of performance indicators for the personnel in the workshop. • Explaining requirements to operators
Efficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generalisation of new forms of organisation (semi-autonomous groups, enrichment, extension) • Increase of more than 10% in the ratio added value/Marge on variable costs • Change in technology with adoption of innovating technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formalisation of a development project for the production zone (awaiting finance) • Development of a sales management per clients (delegation, accepting responsibilities) • Rationalisation of the range of products

¹ Note however in this context, the term is without any negative vision and must not be interpreted as conveying a Machiavellian connotation.

It is no longer a case of forcing, of opposing, but really of determining the circumstances in such a way that it is not possible to obtain a negative result.

Strategy therefore really aims to manipulate_ its environment, in the first sense

of the term, that is to say, to modify the configurations in order to put together those that will be the most adapted. An efficient strategy is thus one that succeeds in manipulating both the internal and the external environment. All these elements must lead to

the setting up of a new type of strategy that can be qualified as proactive. (Ocler (2002)) such as it is described below:

CONCLUSION

After having established a framework for the use of metaphors in the production of knowledge in managerial terms, we mainly concerned ourselves with the transfer to companies of the key concepts, originating from martial arts.

In this framework, we particularly analysed the notions of energy, of energy channels and space/time.

These elements led us to propose a new vision of the company and of the environment in which this latter evolves, by using as a basis the constitutive elements of the Asiatic philosophy (propensity, situation potential, effectiveness) We proposed an outline in the form of an analysis grid aiming to link these elements to tangible existing constituents inside the company world. The next stage of our analysis would be to determine if a behaviour pattern based on these criteria would lead to the emergence of a distinct advantage.

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TAMARA JOURNAL ISSUE 6.4 *Special Guest Issue: Critical Feminism*

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

Critical Feminism?

David Boje, New Mexico State University, U.S.

ABSTRACT

This special number of *Tamara* presents articles on critical feminism. Critical feminism combines critical theory with feminism. The articles in this issue make their contribution as well to the multiplicity of voices that make up feminist texts. Each of the works is dialogical about feminism.

What connects these articles is their critical feminism. Each of the pieces involves a critical empirical or a critical reflexive dialogic with other perspectives and voices.

The articles come from presentations, then dialogue, and reviews of work done at the 2007 Standing Conference for Management and Organization Inquiry meetings in Las Vegas. The theme of the conference that year was on feminism and diversity.

The articles:

- o Heather Höpfl (Master & Convert...) article is the result of her keynote lecture at the 19th meeting of *Standing Conference for Management and Organization Inquiry* (2007) in Las Vegas. <http://scmoi.org>

- o Graeme Lockwood, Patrice Rosenthal & Alexandra Budjanovcanin (Sexual Harassment Litigation in Britain...) gives us an empirical article on the socially irresponsible workplace.

- o Alexis Downs & Donna M Carlon (Viewing organizing through a feminist lens...) is an analysis of the discourse and material conditions of individual and organization identities.

- o Adrian N. Carr & Cheryl A. Lapp (*Vive La Difference* in the workplace) is a Freudian look at liberal and conservative theory played out in Las Vegas Casinos.

- o My own piece (Boje Feminism) is a look at parallel storytelling of my Vietnam war time as a golf pro and some stories of females caught in the sweatshop industry.

- o Lisa A. Zanetti - Musings on Feminism, Surrealism, and Synthesis

- o Matthew Eriksen, Wanda V. Chaves, Angela Hope, & Sanjiv S. Dugal - Creating a Community of Critically Reflexive Feminist Scholars

I want to thank all the reviewers for their work on getting reviews back to *Tamara Journal*. I want to thank the authors for their contributions to this issue.

Höpfl
**Master and Convert:
women and other strangers**

Heather Höpfl
University of Essex

ABSTRACT:

This paper is about estrangement, about exile: about waiting to be called into existence. Waiting. In transit. Homesick. Lost. The paper offers an attempt to examine the position of women as foreigners, as strangers in a male world. Despite the criticisms of Kristeva's work for its lack of attention to class, gender and race, her ideas have currency for the examination of these areas. Other criticisms have mentioned the extent to which she deals with her own subjectivity in her writing. However, this seems to be a very unreasonable criticism. It is precisely Kristeva's own experiences which makes her supremely capable of this particular analysis and, for me, it works to open up not only a gendered space but also a class wound.

Keywords: feminism, exile, foreigner, Kristeva, gender, psychological homelessness

"A woman will only have the choice to live her life either *hyper-abstractly* (original italics) in order thus to earn divine grace and homologation with the symbolic order; or merely *different* (original italics), other, fallen.....But she will not be able to accede to the complexity of being divided, of heterogeneity, of the catastrophic-fold-of-'being', (Kristeva, 1986: 173).



Copenhagen Airport

Waiting to be Called

It is Saturday 19th March 2005 and I am at Copenhagen airport waiting for the flight back to London. I have been attending a two day "summit" on *Organisational Theatre* organised by the Learning Lab Denmark at a conference centre at Lisegaarden on the coast. The conference has brought together a group of people who are all involved in various ways in organisational theatre: directors, actors, choreographers, consultants and academics. The well-known Dacapo Teatret from Denmark is well

represented. The event has been a strange and disjunctive experience. I am very tired. I have spent a congenial hour or so in the coffee bar before check-in with an old friend, Chris Steyaert, from St Gallen and a new friend, Jan Rae, from South Bank. Now, like actors entering the performance arena, we have to pass through check-in into the indeterminate space which is the international departure area. Not wanting to sit around for two hours, I have taken a trolley and I am wandering past the line of shops, stopping occasionally to gaze wide-eyed at the high

prices of duty free goods. Trapped in this nether world like a lost soul in limbo, I become fascinated by the slow sweep of the aisles that I have started to make and I imagine myself like the tranquil robotic women of Stepford. And so, I begin playing out the role of a Stepford wife. I move majestically up and down the aisles of the duty free shop, glide silently out through Accessorize, along

past a shop which specialises in Danish foods, along towards the bookshop. There I see Chris Steyaert casually studying the book titles but I glide on and past. I do not stop. We are in a different world now and the conventions of civility do not apply. I glide on. And wait to be called.



In Transit at Airport

This paper is about estrangement, about exile: about waiting to be called into existence.¹³ Waiting. In transit. Homesick. Lost.

Diverted

Fare forward, travellers! not escaping from the past
Into different lives, or into any future;
You are not the same people who left that station
Or who will arrive at any terminus.....
TS Eliot *The Dry Salvages*, *The Four Quartets*.

Milan Kundera's ([2000] 2005) novel *Ignorance* is about the great journey, exile and return. In it he says, "The Greek word for 'return' is 'nostos.' 'Algos' means 'suffering.' So nostalgia is the suffering caused by an unappeased yearning to return. To express that fundamental notion most Europeans can utilise a word derived from the Greek ('nostalgia, nostalgie') as well as other words with roots in their national languages: 'anoranza,' say the Spaniards; 'saudade,' say the Portuguese. In each language these words have a different semantic nuance. Often they mean only the sadness caused by the impossibility of returning to one's country: a longing for country, for home", (Kundera, 2000: 5). So there is a time of exile which is a time of

¹³ In Transit photo
<http://mischarmed.wordpress.com/?s=singapore>

Höpfli

waiting to return: a time of homelessness.
This is a time of heimweh: the pain of
separation, homesickness.



Returning

Similarly, Julia Kristeva in her book *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991) traces the position of the *foreigner* as an introduction to her discussion of the nature of otherness. She speaks of the elusive strangeness of the other in terms of the toccata and fugue. Toccata in terms of an inchoate otherness “barely touched upon”: a flourish of performance, something not defined, and fugue as that journey of the self, that diversion which distances the past and moves into a different future. The fugue is an elaboration, an excess which is characterised by digression. Here the intention is to take the ideas which Kristeva offers on the nature of estrangement and consider how such otherness might be applied to the feminine. It is a selective reading of the text, something which would not disturb Kristeva, and like her own writing, a personal reading. What is it then to acknowledge the strangeness of the world and to identify oneself with the foreigner, with the exile, with the other?

Scars in the Flesh

Kristeva makes a number of points about the foreigner. First, she says that the foreigner is always something “in addition” whether “perturbed or joyful” what she

describes as “the ambiguous mark of a scar” (Kristeva, 1991: 4). There is always something, she argues, between “the fugue and the origin”, between the diversion and the starting place, “a temporary homeostasis” (Kristeva, 1991: 4). It is temporary nature of this state which is of interest here. In the airport, being neither here nor there: being between departure and arrival - this is a state of not being at home. Kristeva's second point is about the “secret wound, often unknown to himself [sic], (which) drives the foreigner to wandering. The foreigner seeks the “invisible and promised territory, that country that does not exist but that he [sic] bears in his [sic] dreams, and that must indeed be called a beyond” (Kristeva, 1991: 5). Driven from home by the desire for home, nostalgic for a home which no longer exists, suffering the pain of separation, the foreigner is one who has lost the mother. Like Camus's stranger, a strangeness brought on by the death of the mother: physical, metaphorical, a loss of mother, mother land and mother tongue. The foreigner, Kristeva argues, find a role in assuming a position of humiliation, for example, by taking on the role of the domestic in relationships or being the partner who is a nuisance when ill or victim: the one who is put upon.



Immigrants for domestic service arriving in Quebec

Photo Source 14

Kristeva says that this is not merely masochism, although this is a part of it, it is also “a hiding place” from which to scorn the “tyrant's hysterical weaknesses” (Kristeva, 1991: 6). “The space of the foreigner is a moving train, a plane in flight”, (Kristeva, 1991: 7, 8). The foreigner is caught between the courage to leave and the humiliation of difference, now homeless and dissimulating, the foreigner acquires multiple masks and a repertoire of performances that conceal an absence of self.

The foreigner explains him/herself as doing what is required of him or her, responding to the wishes of others. Kristeva's view is that the sense of “me” does not exist (Kristeva, 1991: 8). Moreover, Kristeva says that when the foreigner does find a cause albeit a job, a commitment, a person, he or she is consumed, “annihilated” (Kristeva, 1991: 9).



Polish women immigrants 1890s

¹⁴ Quebec photo
http://www.canadiana.org/citm/_images/common/c009652.jpg
http://www.canadiana.org/citm/imagepopups/c009652_e.html

Lost Homeland

The foreigner might “survive with a tearful face turned towards the lost homeland”) where “the lost paradise is a mirage of the past he will never be able to recover” (Kristeva, 1991: 9, 10). And so, she argues, the foreigner turns the rage against others, against those who caused the exile, into a range against the self, “How could I have abandoned them? I have abandoned myself”. So that melancholia becomes the love of absence: the foreigner a “lover of vanished space” (Kristeva, 1991: 9). “Always elsewhere, the foreigner belongs nowhere” (Kristeva, 1991: 10), neither tied to the past or the present. However, Kristeva argues that there are two types of foreigner. “There are those who waste away in an agonizing struggle between what no longer is and what will never be” whom she terms “the ironists” (these she later, and perhaps more appropriately, terms the “cynics”) and “those who transcend: living neither before nor now but beyond, they are bent with a passion that, although tenacious, will remain forever unsatisfied: it is a passion for another land” (Kristeva, 1991: 10). These she calls the “believers”. While the ironists grieve, the believers convert.

Höpfl

Conversion of Muslim women, bas relief 15C Grenada Cathedral

Foreigners then, feel “completely free” (Kristeva, 1991:12) but such freedom is a form of solitude. According to Kristeva, deprived of belonging, the foreigner is free of everything, *has* nothing, *is* nothing. “No one better than the foreigner knows the passion for solitude” and believes it to be an enjoyment, or something to be borne as suffering, a space where “none is willing to join him [*sic*] in the torrid space of his [*sic*] uniqueness” (Kristeva, 1991: 12). The foreigner, she argues, “longs for affiliation, the better to experience, through a refusal, its untouchability” (Kristeva, 1991: 12). In other words, being excluded in itself confirms both the position of “outsider” and the elusive quality of affiliation.

Belonging Nowhere

The differences do not end here. The foreigner is “one who works” (Kristeva, 1991: 17). The foreigner values work as means of achieving dignity and establishing their worth. The foreigner takes on all jobs and tries to succeed in those which are the scarcest, to find a niche, to think of something that has not been previously undertaken, to pioneer new ideas and developments. It is toil that is taken across borders and sacrifice. To the person who is without definition, without standing, work gives identity and meaning.

¹⁵ Polish Immigrants photo
<http://www.indianahistory.org/programming/immigration/images/polishgirls1890sclaghorn.jpg>
<http://www.indianahistory.org/programming/immigration/INTRO/intro15.html>



BBC Website discussing racial hatred

Photo Source ¹⁶

Undoubtedly, the foreigner experiences “the hatred of others”..... “hatred provides the foreigner with consistency” (Kristeva, 1991: 13). Kristeva argues that the foreigner is authenticated by hatred. It makes experience real and, she argues, it confirms the secret hatred the foreigner bears “*within himself*” [sic] [original italics] against everyone and no one, the possibility of “*being an other*” [original italics] (Kristeva, 1991: 13). The foreigner learns what it is to be tolerated and to be expected to be grateful for such toleration, to be abused because one comes from “nowhere”, nowhere of any importance. The foreigner is always deficient, always lacking.

.....and silent. The foreigner is silent because s/he is cut off from the mother tongue. The poetry of the foreigner's own language is lost. It “withers” to be replaced by attempts to gain mastery of the new language which will grant an accommodation, an assimilation: a desire to pass unnoticed amongst natural citizens. In the space between these two languages is silence.

“We must often remain silent,
A sacred language is missing - hearts

¹⁶ BBC photo
http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/3872000/jpg/_38720955_graffiti300.jpg

are beating and yet
Speech can't emerge?” (Hölderlin,
1801, *Homecoming*, James Mitchell,
translator).¹⁷

Mute in the absence of mastery, the foreigner must do rather than say. Activity replaces social discourse so the foreigner becomes a master of activity: domestic, leisure and/or work. The foreigner is industrious and silent. Aware that s/he is being tolerated and hesitant in the alien language, the foreigner retreats into active isolation where the only respite comes from fellow foreigners and particularly those of the same kinship. Kristeva speaks of the new language as a “prosthesis” (Kristeva, 1991: 16); an artificial augmentation which attempts to compensate for a missing or deficient body part, like a silicone breast implant that makes a woman appear something that she is not. The foreigner seeks to *appear* like a native. But, is never *the real* thing. “Saying nothing, nothing needs to be said, nothing can be said”, she continues, “it is the silence that empties the mind and fills the brain with despondency, like the gaze of sorrowful women coiled up in some non-existent eternity” (Kristeva, 1991: 16).

¹⁷ <http://home.att.net/~holderlin/index.html>

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“The sorrowful gaze of women”
Women Waiting for Food Distribution in Darfur

Photo Source 18

More than silence, there is a reluctance to argue, to challenge the values, tastes, judgements of the native. Kristeva says that the foreigner feels that s/he has no right to argue with those who have such strong roots in native soil. The foreigner, in turn, she argues, begins to take root in a world of rejection unable to utter, to express her/his views. In this way, native and foreigner face each other across an abyss concealed by what appears to be “peaceful co-existence” (Kristeva, 1991: 17) by the silence of the stranger.

¹⁸ Darfur photo
http://www.thewe.cc/contents/more/archive/darfur_sudan.html



University of Pennsylvania

Photo Source¹⁹

Quotations from women at the University of Pennsylvania:

"I was the second or third French woman in the MBA program, and the only woman in most of my business classes, with all the conspicuousness you can imagine in those days. Whenever my name was called every single person (man) turned to me -- being the only representative of my gender and nationality, I was supposed to have an opinion (different?!) on any issue that was raised in class discussions! It wasn't always easy to deal with the sometimes condescending comments from teachers and classmates, but for the most part curiosity, recognition and respect were the most frequent attitudes people had towards this 'daring and original student.'" --- Catherine Anne Geneste, 1972 A.M., 1973 M.B.A.²⁰

¹⁹ University Penn - archives Digital Images Collection
<http://imagesvr.library.upenn.edu/cgi/i/image/image-idx?type=detail&cc=pennarchive&entryid=X-20030820001&viewid=1>

²⁰ Geneste
<http://www.archives.upenn.edu/img/20030820001x180.jpg>
<http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/women/quote8.html>

The foreigner comes to be feared as an invader, as someone who does not know his/her place, who provokes a sense of homelessness in the native who no longer feels "at home" in his/her world. This produces a desire to "kill the *other*" (Kristeva, 1991: 20) who poses such a threat to the native's way of life and understanding. The foreigner's speech "fascinating as it might be on account of its very strangeness, will be of no consequence, will have no effect, will cause no improvement in the image or reputation of those [the foreigner] is conversing with. One will listen to you only in absent-minded, amused fashion, and one will forget you in order to go on with serious matters..... The foreigner is a baroque person" (Kristeva, 1991: 20): excessive in rhetoric and gesture. It seems that there is either silence or an insistent and defiant otherness: the playing out of a formulaic repertoire.

Höpfl



Kathy Prendergast, *Lost*, 1999

Photo Source ²¹

Lost

“At first glance, Kathy Prendergast’s **map of the United States** appears straightforward, providing topographical information about mountain ranges, lakes, and state borders. Yet, closer inspection reveals that the only places located on this map have been named, “lost.” Do these Lost Creeks, Lost Islands, Lost Mountains, Lost Lagoons, and Lost Canyons, describe the actual places and their hidden position or report on a particular wasted resource? Or do they describe the mental states of the early settlers who named them? Or, perhaps, the eventual fate of the native peoples and their traditions? The ambiguity evoked in these actual place names mirrors a feeling of possibility in a land of uncertainty. *Lost*, 1999, provides a poetically ambivalent reminiscence of American history”.

²¹ For a fuller discussion of this debate see Ziarek, (1995). Photo Source:
http://www.albrightknox.org/fresh/memory/memory_images/P2000-4.jpg
http://www.albrightknox.org/fresh/memory/memory_pages/memory_04.html

The acquisition of the appearance of the native separates the foreigner from her/his past, from parents and home so that the foreigner is alienated from past and present: an orphan. *Lost*. Belonging to neither world. “Friends could only be those who feel foreign to themselves” (Kristeva, 1991: 23). She identifies paternalists, who are kind to foreigners as a gesture of largesse as long as they are in the power position of having more to offer, paranoids who identify with the otherness of the foreigner until they see this too as an element of their oppression, and perverse people whom she says prey on the foreigner’s need for a home at the cost of “sexual or moral slavery”. One response to this is for the foreigner to form an “enclave of the other within the other, [where] otherness becomes crystallized as pure ostracism: the foreigner excludes before being excluded” (Kristeva, 1991: 24). Here the foreigner adopts a fundamentalism, a symbolic “we” which is given meaning by austerity and sacrifice (Kristeva, 1991: 24). On the other hand, to cross one boundary permits the crossing of many others and permits the casting aside of inhibition and an excess of

difference. The foreigner can become liberated to the excesses of the flesh, experimental and transgressive, can throw him/herself into unrestrained physicality but, as Kristeva observes, this can also lead to the "destruction of psychic and corporeal identity" (Kristeva, 1991: 31): a paradoxical annihilation of difference.

Conversion

Men do not realise the extent to which women live as strangers in their world. What is normal and taken for granted is a world which is defined, constructed and maintained by male notions of order. Kristeva's analysis of foreigners provides a range of issues which apply very well to the position of women. *Strangers to Ourselves* ([1988] 1991) does not apply theories of difference to race, class or gender yet her analysis of the foreigner appears to offer significant insights into what it is to be a woman and a stranger in a male world. Of course, some might reject this notion out of hand. Some would argue that the world has changed over the past thirty years and that, in any case, the world is what you make of it. However, these are also the self assurances which the foreigner offers him/herself. "It is not too bad", "You can make of it what you want". "If you are prepared to work, you can achieve anything". This is the simple rhetoric of those who desire to be assimilated. It is the language of resignation and stoicism.

Kristeva's work is redolent with personal insight and subjective tensions. This has not made her ideas acceptable to some critics who see her work as concentrating on the psycho-analytical to the exclusion of the socio-political (Butler, 1990; Fraser, 1990; Ziarek, 1995). However, other writers, notably Young (1986) have seen considerable potential for the reconceptualization of the political in Kristeva's writings. In relation to this, women can only be defined, constructed and ordered as objects in that world and to be saved must submit themselves to the therapeutic quest for order: must be converted to reason. To become accepted as a member of an

organization, a woman must either conform to the male projection offered to her or else acquire a metaphorical phallus as the price of entry into *membership* (Höpfl, 2003). Women who do conform acquire the status of "honorary man" but in order to do so they must accept impotence.

Kristeva's *Strangers to Ourselves* ([1988] 1991) which forms the theoretical backbone of this paper, has been criticized for its lack of attention to class, gender and race and Kristeva has been criticized for her lack of political insight and confusion of the personal in the text. Yet it is clear that many of the insights that she offers on the foreigner derive from her own experiences in Paris in the 1960s. Kristeva is Bulgarian by birth and upbringing. She arrived in Paris around Christmas 1965. She was twenty-five, Bulgarian and supported by a French government scholarship (Lechte, 1990: 91; Moi, 1986: 1). She was already disposed to an ambivalence towards French language and literature from her Bulgarian education, already had an awareness of oscillating positions and exclusions. These two constructions alone have had a significant influence on her work. She had come to Paris to study and was at first committed to the communist cause and was a supporter of Maoism but she later remained in Paris as an exile from Bulgarian-Soviet communism. Within a year, she was contributing to the most influential and prestigious journals, *Critique*, *Langages* and *Tel Quel*. In the subversive mood in the Paris of the mid 1960s, Kristeva found a fertile site for her ideas and, no doubt, gained insights from her own experiences of exile and of difference which gave impetus to her prolific writing during this period. From the start of her studies in Paris, she was to work with some of the leading figures in French structuralism. She was particularly influenced by Roland Barthes who, as one of the foremost champions of structuralism, had sought to reveal the ways in which bourgeois ideology was embedded in French language and literature. Barthes was one of the "New Critics" and a semiotician. This concern with

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semiotics and the implicit regulation of language was significant in terms of the development of Kristeva's writings although it is clear that she was already forming a dialectical relationship to these ideas even in her early writing. Barthes himself acknowledges Kristeva's influence when he says that she "changes the order of things.....(that)....she subverts...the authority of monologic science and filiation" (Moi, 1986: 1), (vide: Höpfl, 2004)

A Stranger

Kristeva had gone to Paris to study Bakhtin. She had been schooled in Marxist theory, spoke fluent Russian and had lived under the strictures of Eastern European communism. She had a formidable intellect, knew Latin and Greek, spoke French, Russian, German, as well as her mother-tongue Bulgarian, and, at the same time, she carried powerful experiences which, with simplification, one might set against her intellectualism. Clearly such tensions find expression in her ideas and in her writing. She was a foreigner and a foreigner exiled from her native land: estranged from her own country and estranged from the theoretical ideas to which she was exposed in her adopted one: another vacillation between the appeal of semiotics and her own theoretical position. The notion of *strangeness/estrangement* was to play an important part in the development of her ideas. Not only this but also, in the mid 1960s, Kristeva was a woman in the masculine world of French intellectuals. It seems that in virtually every respect Kristeva was confronted by repressive structures, by alterity and by estrangement. Yet, it is precisely these experiences which provided the tensions from which her ideas spring. It is as if the more emphatic the restriction, the more emphatic the resistance. Her writing disrupts and disturbs the phallogocentric order. Along with estrangement and exile, there is the notion of subversion and revolution in Kristeva's writing. There is also the border. The border plays a very important role in Kristeva's ideas. Given her

background and experiences, this is not particularly surprising and her concern to examine the borders of subjectivity seems to relate to her own homelessness and exile.

Foreigners/Women

It is not possible to do more than outline some of the implications of Kristeva's characterization of the foreigner for an understanding of the position of women. However, it is worth considering this in more detail. First perhaps one might consider her description of the foreigner as being defined by work. The foreigner, unable to speak freely in a tongue other than the mother tongue is first reduced to silence and then defines him/herself by a commitment to work. I think of my mother, now over eighty, who has for years told me that I should "not say anything". "Don't say anything" she counsels every time I look as if I might be angry or fed up. "Don't say anything, keep quiet, smile". My mother is a strong woman: not at all meek, and she offers me this advice more in defiance than in submission. "Don't say anything or he will know he has got you". She is saying don't place yourself into a position where you can be manoeuvred. Her words are meant to salve and she is telling me, "Don't get into competition. Men can't stand that. Don't get involved. Don't submit". I remember when I was working at a new university in the north east of England and the new Vice Chancellor announced a restructuring. At that time there were twenty two Heads of School of which ten were women and twelve were men. After the reconstruction and following amalgamations, there were eleven new schools and they were to be headed by ten men and one woman (a woman who left within eighteen months of the new regime). Following this period of displacement, and when fates were sealed and it was too late to attempt to bring about changes, the newly homeless women consoled each other. "Don't let them know how you are feeling. Smile and nod" they said to each other. They were not reduced to a mute compliance but rather united by a sense of outrage and impotence: spectators as their

own destinies unfolded and yet completely unable to act. Grief and distress was private. It took place in the homes of mainly female colleagues where a "tearful face [was] turned towards the lost homeland" (Kristeva, 1991: 9, 10). "Waiting. Displaced. Homeless.

So, what of Kristeva's explanation that the foreigner, unable to speak, puts every effort into activity be it domestic, leisure or work. Certainly, women work. Studies of women at work seem to suggest that women do more to achieve the same degree of promotion as men. There is a polite collusion which indicates that women are now accepted in organizations on an equal footing as men. However, the reality is rather different. Just as is the case with Kristeva's own experiences and the support she received through influential men, it is still arguably the case that women achieve participation in organizations to the extent that they first, renounce or annihilate themselves in order to conform more fully to the male desire for organization, which Jung has described as the pursuit of "sterile perfection" (Dourley, 1990: 51), and secondly learn to speak in the prosthetic language of the patriarchal discourse. Sterile perfectionism, according to Jung, is one of the defining characteristics of patriarchal consciousness. Order and rationality function to exclude the physical. The organization is not a world for real women of flesh and blood. Whitmont puts forward the view that the *control* of passions and physical needs traditionally have been valorised because they idealise maleness (Whitmont, 1991: 243) and give emphasis to the "*merely* rational" [italics added] (Whitmont, 1991: 243). Organisations then, as expressions of collective expectations, render physicality "dirty" corrupting and, by implication, not good. Indeed, the corollary of this emphasis on rationality is a distrust of natural affections and the loss of compassion (Whitmont, 1991: 245). Flesh is exiled from the site of production. Women can only enter as ciphers: as homologue or as objects of desire. Recently, I had a conversation with a young woman academic in her early thirties. She had recently finished her doctorate and

contemplated improving her publications, "But", she confided, "I haven't given up the idea of having a family. But it would be so difficult. I don't have family nearby who could help and the university is no place for that sort of thing". That sort of thing - the physical, pregnancy, with all that goes with it such as a changing body, the smells and realities of maternity - have no place in a world dedicated to abstraction and tidy rationality. In this sense, Kristeva is right the foreigner is exiled from mother, mother tongue and mother country. In the organization, it is the mother who is exiled. Women must dedicate themselves to work as the price of their participation. They cannot permit a personal life, the life of the homeland, to enter the ordered world of organization. Recall the terrible story told by Joanne Martin of the woman who arranged to have her baby induced early so she would be available for the launch of some corporate initiative or other (Martin, 1991). Germaine Greer once famously remarked that most women have very little idea how much men hate them. In psycho-analytical terms, the boy must kill off the mother in order to become a man and this dynamic remains. Not surprising then that the organization is not a place for the mother. So, in effect, women can enter as quasi males but in order to do this they must first be neutered - just as a foreigner might be naturalized in order to be granted citizenship in the country of exile.

This is more than to *neuter* as one might neuter a cat: render it sexless. There is no term in the English language to refer to the removal of a woman's power. To remove a man's power is to *e-masculate*. However, to *effeminate* is not a term in use: effeminate means unmanly, womanly. In order to enter into membership a woman must not only be rendered sexless but must be turned into an impotent man: must not be a threat to male reality definitions. Women permitted to enter are not real *members* and do not possess real *members*. Such quasi-men cannot become the "fathers" of the organization. In any event, since organizations only produce "sons" reproduction of the organization is

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entirely phallogocentric. Women who become true homologues renounce the friendship of other women, declare themselves to prefer the company of men and make phallic shows to confirm their *membership*. There is a lot of "bad faith" (Sartre, [1943] 1989) amongst women about the extent of their permission to participate. Women have to be converted in order to achieve standing in this male world. They must be converted to reason and rule by logic, to the language of order and to the rules of their adopted country. They must demonstrate that they are believers. As converts they must not only conform but do more. They must actively demonstrate their commitment to the values and customs of their new land.

And is the stranger treated with hospitality? One might say, only if they agree to renounce their old ways and be received "out of heresy" as the old form of words for the reception of converts into Catholicism used to say. Here, Kristeva's comments on paternalists, paranoids and the perverse seem to have some relevance. Indeed, some men welcome women as they might welcome the stranger and are generous while power remains on their side. Others might seek to share some intimate meaning, to try to understand a common sense of oppression and other might seek to exploit or manipulate women for their own ends. These are thumbnail sketches that require more detailed and sophisticated analysis. However, the point here is merely to identify the way in which Kristeva's characterization of the foreigner might be further explored.

The paper offers an attempt to examine the position of women as foreigners, as strangers in a male world. Despite the criticisms of Kristeva's work for its lack of attention to class, gender and race, her ideas have currency for the examination of these areas. Other criticisms have mentioned the extent to which she deals with her own subjectivity in her writing. However, this seems to be a very unreasonable criticism. It is precisely Kristeva's own experiences which make her supremely capable of this

particular analysis and, for me, it work to open up not only a gendered space but also a class wound. My own experiences of moving between classes accords very well with Kristeva's account of her own strangeness. It is on the political front, however, that the criticism of her work is perhaps least founded since Kristeva offers a way forward through her postmodern characterization and her commitment to a new approach to ethics. Kristeva's appeal to us to find "the foreigner within" as a means of establishing a new cosmopolitanism deserves further attention. However, one place to start is with postmodern characterization which involves "first, the confusion of the ontological status of the character with that of the reader; secondly, the decentring of the reader's consciousness, such that she or he is, like the character, endlessly displaced and 'differing'; and, thirdly, the political and ethical implications of this 'seeming otherwise', shifting from appearance to different appearance in the disappearance of a totalized selfhood" (*such that there is*) "a marginalization of the reader from a centralized or totalized narrative of selfhood" (*which renders*) "the reading subject-in-process as the figure of the dissident" (Docherty 1996: 67).

This is an interesting and provocative suggestion which invites women to take up the position of dissident in relation to the text. To move to a position of "marginalization and indefiniteness; [where] they are in a condition of 'exile' from a centred identity of meaning and its claims to a totalized Law or Truth". Docherty argues that exile itself is a form of dissidence "since it involves the marginalization or decentring of the self from all positions of totalized or systematic Law (such as imperialist nation, patriarchal family, monotheistic language)". Hence, Docherty puts forward the proposition that postmodern characterization, "construed as writing in and from exile, serves to construct the possibility, for perhaps the first time, of elaborating the paradigmatic reader as feminized" (Docherty 1996: 68) "always dispositioned towards otherness, alterity". Consequently,

to perceive oneself as "the foreigner", as an exile is a good starting point. A compassionate community requires that the man must learn to bear the child: to experience the *other within*. The man must learn to bear the child and this requires a loss of standing. To move and to carry requires a renunciation. It is a renunciation of both standing and of the power to define. If women are no longer to simply wait or learn

to be like men, there needs to be both bearing and moving: to move and to bear. This is accomplished when the man learns to bear the child. In other words, when men find the feminine in themselves and learn to bear children as well as they bear words. Women know this in their hearts: even from exile. The man must learn to bear a child.



"A Palestinian man carries a badly wounded child..." (Khalil Hamra, AP, 2004/05/19)

"A Palestinian man carries a badly wounded child as others rush to help moments after an Israeli missile strike on a demonstration in the Rafah refugee camp, southern Gaza Strip, Wednesday, May 19, 2004."²²

²² <http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/040519/481/akcf110051913>
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**Sexual Harassment Litigation in Britain:
A Window on the Socially Irresponsible Workplace**

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ABSTRACT:

Sexual harassment is a widespread organizational phenomenon and an evolving legal issue. There is a growing literature on sexual harassment, but a dearth of research on claims that have been pursued in the courts, especially outside the US context. The paper explores the organizational and legal context in which parties to claims are operating and presents a preliminary analysis of the population of sexual harassment cases heard by Employment Tribunals and Employment Appeals Tribunals 1995-2005. Core findings relate to the imbalance of power between parties to claims; an over-representation of claims from women in paraprofessional occupations; a notable proportion of owners or proprietors involved in cases, pointing to problems in small businesses; the predominant nature of claims clearly reflecting sexual harassment as an operation of power; and a range of outcomes relating to initial complaints of SH and to subsequent litigation. Policy and further research implications of these preliminary findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment (SH), as a widespread organizational phenomenon and an evolving legal issue, clearly is relevant to analysis of social responsive and socially responsible workplaces. Corporate social responsibility has become a new buzzword (Carron 2006: 2). An important device for improving the ethical performance of an organization is the deployment of diversity policies designed to tackle discrimination or harassment in the workplace (Jenkins 2002). Sexual harassment has been recognized in most countries as a form of sexual discrimination. By some accounts, it touches the lives of 40 per cent to 50 per cent of working women (European Commission, 1999, Fitzgerald *et al*, 1995). Organizations should strive to improve policies in this domain because morally and legally it is the correct approach. It constitutes good organizational citizenship and failure so to do can have significant costs to individuals and to organizations (Dansky and Kilpatrick, 1997). A wide variety of literature has identified the detrimental impact of sexual harassment in the workplace (Crull 1982; Crull and Cohen 1984; Loy and Stewart 1984; Gutek and Koss 1993). Research has found a wide range of

psychological and work-related harms, including diminished work performance, lower job satisfaction, absenteeism, career interruptions, job loss, depression and health problems (Gutek, 1985). Economic effects to organizations have been assessed in US studies as \$6.7 million on average per company per year, **excluding** the litigation costs (Dansky and Kilpatrick, 1997) that probably represent the greatest perceived risk from a managerial perspective.

Litigation as a Focus of the Study and its Importance to Organizational Theory

The paper explores the organizational and legal context in which parties to claims are operating and presents an analysis of the population of sexual harassment cases heard by Employment Appeals Tribunals 1995-2005. For a problem that receives widespread attention by lawyers, academics, policy-makers and management, surprisingly little is known about SH litigation in Britain. There is no systematic understanding of the extent, nature or outcomes of SH cases reaching tribunal hearings in Britain. Such records are available, but heretofore have not been analyzed systematically. This is a significant lacuna in the literature; as such knowledge

would strengthen organizations understanding of SH and how to tackle it. The research is relevant to organizational studies because it is important that the employer responds adequately to a complaint of SH, carries through a proper investigation and takes remedial steps (Lynn Bowes and Sperry). It is the responsibility of organizations to set the climate of behavior in the workplace and make it clear that individual employees must not be treated abusively or with disrespect. Hunt *et al.* (2007: 6) observes that if management allow a climate of disrespect to exist within an organization this makes it more likely for certain inappropriate behavior to be taken for granted, leading to the creation of a 'incivility spiral'

The research will also clarify the ground from which the law is refined and developed and the manner and contexts in which individuals use this mechanism for the enforcement of employment rights. The detailed case record could provide numerous avenues of contribution, not least a window on the operation of SH in organizations - in behavioral and/or perceptual rather than legal terms. The narratives captured in tribunal cases can in general terms reflect how SH 'works' in practice. That is, they can say something about this day-to-day enactment of power in organizations beyond the strictly illustrative or anecdotal accounts currently available in the literature.

The litigation record can also help in an understanding of how/when SH does not 'work' - in other words, cases in which the target's response to perceived harassment has not been submissive or passive but direct, formal and litigious. An understanding of who has brought and sustained cases against what kind of respondent, in which kinds of occupations and organizations can aid in an understanding of reactions to SH. In particular, a comparison of these data against the existing research on incidence of SH (where and against whom it is more prevalent) could help illuminate understanding of obstacles to the filing of claims.

Finally, a detailed understanding of the litigation record can also provide value of a more practical kind. Policy makers and managers need an understanding not just of abstract legal issues, but also of the individual and organizational factors associated with litigation - that is, whether particular sectors, occupations and work relationships are particularly prevalent. This can help managers in assessing their risk and in a more general movement towards responsible workplaces - not merely to avoid legal liability, but to reduce the incidence of SH in the first place.

The paper is structured as follows. In the first section, the legal framework in which claims are pursued is outlined. In the second part of the paper, we identify the empirical shape and detail of litigated cases over time in Britain. In the final section, we consider some practical and further research implications of this analysis for organizations.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT: THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Since 1986 UK tribunals and courts have interpreted section 6(2)(b) of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (SDA) in a manner which recognizes that sexual harassment may constitute a 'detriment' on grounds of sex, against which protection is available under the SDA (*Porcelli v Strathclyde Regional Council* [1986] IRLR 134). Section 41 (1) of the SDA states that an act done by an employee in the course of employment shall be treated as done by his employer as well as by him, whether or not it was done with the employer's knowledge or approval. For an employer to avoid liability for acts of sexual harassment by its employees, section 41(3) SDA provides that it is necessary for the employer to prove that it took such steps as were reasonably practicable to prevent the employee from committing in the course of his employment, an act of harassment. An employer cannot avoid responsibility for harassment merely by arguing that there was nothing it could have done to prevent it. That argument will only succeed where the employer has laid the groundwork in advance

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by adopting, implementing and disseminating a sound anti-harassment policy.

An employer may respond to an allegation of sexual harassment by: relying on the s.41 (3), statutory defense, denying the claims by the respondent, or by arguing that the actions complained of do not constitute sexual harassment. Denial that the alleged harassment took place appears a favored argument of employers. This is unsurprising, since the extant literature has revealed the evidential difficulties faced by applicants in proving claims of sex discrimination in employment tribunals (Earnshaw 1993; Hows and Drummond 2006).

A person who considers that they have been discriminated against can make a claim to an employment tribunal. Such a claim must be made within three months of the act complained of. An appeal from an employment tribunal on a question of law or a mixed question of law and fact can be made to the Employment Appeal Tribunal (EAT).

SEXUAL HARASSMENT CASES HEARD: 1995 - 2005

Research Design and Method

The population of individual Employment Appeals Tribunal (EAT) case records with a sexual harassment component was accessed via the BALII database for the period 1995-2005. These case records were content-analyzed using a framework of variables developed for the study. In addition to the core data on EAT cases, we also report some findings relating to first hearings Employment Tribunal (ET) cases. These data, which are interesting in context setting for the EAT analysis, were collected from analysis of secondary data provided by the Equal Opportunities Commission, who receive material on discrimination cases from the Employment Tribunal Service.²³

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

²³ We are grateful to the EOC for their assistance with the research and the Leverhulme Trust for its financial support.

We present the findings on SH litigation in three main sections. First, we set **background and context** to the core analysis of EAT cases by reporting on the extent of such litigation (numbers of cases reaching tribunals) and the additional (to SH) claims brought in the cases. Second, we present findings relating to the **detailed content of the cases** themselves, namely a) the characteristics of the claimant and respondent and the workplace and organizational context from which the litigation arises, b) the nature of the SH being claimed and c) some core legal aspects of the litigation. Third, we report on **outcomes**, these relating a) to the alleged SH and b) to the litigation itself.

In the discussion below, we use the terms claimant and applicant to refer to the individual employee bringing the tribunal case. We use the term respondent to refer to the organization and/or the named individual against whom the case has been brought.

Background and Context

Extent of SH Litigation

In the period 1995-2005, approximately 914 claims alleging SH reached 'full merits' hearings of employment tribunals.²⁴ In 832 of these cases, the litigation ended with the tribunal judgment. In another 82 cases, this judgment was appealed (by either the claimant or the respondent) and heard by the EAT. These 82 cases form the first tranche of data for the study and the focus of this paper.

Table 1 presents the extent of litigation identified above along with the rate of success and failure of the first hearings claims. These ET data indicate that claimants reaching a tribunal hearing have a little less than 1 in 2 chance of winning their cases.

²⁴ This figure is an approximation based on analysis of raw data provided by the EOC, in turn provided by Employment Tribunals in Great Britain. These data are incomplete as not all case data are provided by Employment Tribunals to the Commission.

Table 1: Extent and outcome of sexual harassment litigation (First hearings) 1995-2005

	Number of cases to reach court 1995 - 2005	% of successes (for claimant)	% dismissed (for claimant)
Employment Tribunal	832	48.0	52.0
Employment Appeals Tribunal	82	46.0	54.0

Additional Jurisdictions
 Our data suggest that applicants do not claim SH on its own when bringing cases against their employer. 80% of cases included at least one further type of complaint, as outlined in Table 2. Table 3 presents the types of additional complaint

brought by workers in our cases. Unfair dismissal was the most common additional claim brought by workers alleging SH, followed by victimization.

Table 2: Number of additional claims brought with sexual harassment litigation

Number of additional claims brought	Percentage
0	20.5
1	53.8
2	19.2
3	5.1
4	1.3

It should be noted that the vast majority of tribunal filings are dismissed, settled or otherwise dropped prior to full merits hearings. According to Department of Trade and Industry research (Survey of Employment Tribunal Applications, 2003), just 27% of claims filed with an ET (across all jurisdictions) make it to a full merits hearing.

that SH is not claimed in the absence of other claims) requires further consideration. It likely relates to the costs of filing claims (which may encourage applicants to maximize the number of claims made in a case) and also to the particular nature of SH as an operation of power - likely therefore to be implicated in a wider range of harms, such as victimization, dismissal and so forth.

The significance of the finding of multiple types of complaints in cases involving SH (ie

Table 3: Jurisdiction of additional claims brought

Jurisdiction of additional claim	Percentage
Unfair dismissal	41.0
Victimisation	28.2
Sexual discrimination	16.7
Breach of Contract	9.1
Race Discrimination	7.7
Pay-related claim	3.8
Disability discrimination	3.8

The Content of EAT Claims

A key focus of the analysis concerned the detailed content of EAT cases, relating to the individual characteristics of claimant and respondent, the workplace and organizational contexts giving rise to the litigation and the nature of the SH being alleged. We also report some key legal aspects of the cases, including the nature of the defenses relied upon by employers.

Characteristics of Parties, Relationships and Contexts Associated with Tribunal Cases
Who brings cases to tribunal?

The vast majority (96%) of workers bringing claims of SH were female. Our data suggest that claimants were more likely to be single than married. Of the cases in which the claimant's tenure with the organization was available, this ranged from a few days' service to a high of 13 years. 28.4% had

been employed one year or less and 31.9% two years or more when the alleged SH occurred.

Claimants' occupations ranged across a wide spectrum, however a number of occupations appeared repeatedly in the cases. These included bar staff, secretary, cleaner, administrator, police constable and sales assistant. We also coded occupations according to the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC) as used in the Labor Force Survey and other analyses.

Table 4 demonstrates that the largest proportion of claimants work in the associate professional and technical occupational category, followed by administrative and secretarial roles.

Table 4: Claimants' and respondents' occupations according to SOC 2000

SOC category	Percentage of claimants	Percentage of respondents
Managers and senior officials	14.1	52.4
Professional occupations	6.3	19.0
Associate professional and technical	31.3	17.5
Admin and secretarial	17.2	0.0
Skilled trades	1.6	1.6
Personal service occupations	3.1	0.0
Sales and customer service occupations	9.4	4.8
Process, plant and machine operatives	4.7	3.2
Elementary occupations	12.5	1.6

The data indicates that the category of associate professional and technical workers is strikingly over-represented compared to LFS data on occupation by gender (ONS, 2002, 2005). This finding with respect to paraprofessional women has support in the US literature on sexual harassment charges (Terpstra and Cook, 1985).

Against what kind of respondent?

In many ways, the profile of respondents appears a mirror image of claimants. This is true in terms of gender (92% are men) and also in terms of organizational power. Table 4 above presents the SOC data for respondents as well as claimants. It shows that the large majority of individuals named as respondents in SH cases are managers or professional employees.

Table 5 presents the role relationship between the parties in SH claims. In 75% of claims, the alleged harasser was in a superior hierarchical position in the workplace. In over half of claims, it was the claimant's manager. And, in one suggestion of the problem of SH in small workplaces, in almost a quarter of cases, the alleged harasser was identified in the case records as the owner of the company. Colleagues and subordinates accounted for 21% and 1% of respondents, respectively. SH of workers by customers has been identified as a growing concern given the dominance of service jobs and emphases on quality and customer sovereignty (Korczynski, 2001); however, claims of SH by customers represent only 3% of EAT cases over ten years.

Table 5: Relationship between claimant and respondent

Nature of work relationship	Percentage
Senior is alleged harasser	51.4
Owner/Proprietor/Managing Director is alleged harasser	23.6
Colleague is alleged harasser	20.8
Client is alleged harasser	2.8
Subordinate is alleged harasser	1.4

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In what kind of workplaces and organizations?

The EAT cases analyzed in the study reflected a wide range of workplace and organizational settings. 77% of cases were associated with private sector organizations compared to 23% linked to public sector organizations. Analysis of the industrial sectors involved in EAT cases reveals several noteworthy findings. One is the wide range of sectors involved in SH litigation. Another is the large majority of cases located in the service sector broadly defined, as would be expected given its dominance in terms of employment. A quarter of the cases arose in sectors that could be clearly defined as 'male preserves' (Gruber, 1997), including manufacturing, police, prison/corrections and the military. Finally, only 1% of EAT cases were based in the financial sector. This contrasts with the heavy play that SH cases based in financial institutions are often given in media reports of SH.

The Nature of the Sexual Harassment Claimed

Claimants in 97% of the cases were alleging SH directly focused on themselves as individuals - as opposed to claims of a hostile environment generated by harassment directed at women as a group in the workplace. In 16% of cases, the alleged harassment was a one-off occurrence and in 42%, numerous instances taking place over a span of time were claimed. SH may also be understood in terms of the kinds of acts or behaviors involved. Table 6 presents a typology distinguishing between unwelcome acts that are verbal (eg sexual remarks or requests), non-verbal (eg the posting of obscene materials, looking up a woman's skirt), physical (eg sexual touching, etc), and assault. As shown in the table, verbal SH is the most prevalent of the types claimed, however a worrying proportion of physical acts and indeed assault, feature in the claims.

Table 6: Types of harassment reported

Harassment Type	Percentage
Verbal	78.5
Physical	40.6
Non-verbal	37.5
Assault	14.1

Fitzgerald et al's (1997) model, conceptualizes SH in three dimensions of motive and accompanying acts. The first, 'gender harassment', includes acts meant to convey degrading or insulting attitudes towards women (eg remarks, slurs, display of obscene materials, hostile acts). The second consists of 'unwanted sexual attention', where the aim is to gain sexual cooperation through verbal or physical acts. The third, 'sexual coercion', involves attempts to coerce sexual favors in exchange for

employment opportunities (eg such as keeping one's job). We used this model to analyze the narratives presented in the EAT records and found that hostile environment SH is the far more prevalent type of claim (see Table 7). Only one case alleged direct sexual coercion. Just over half of the cases alleged acts consistent with the unwanted sexual behaviour type. Yet, a substantial proportion of cases (just over 40%) alleged activities consistent with the gender harassment type. This latter finding

underscores the value of approaching SH as concepts of sexual drive). an operation of power in the workplace (in contrast to understandings grounded only in

Table 7: Types of Harassment based on Fitzgerald et al.'s (1997) model

Harassment Type	Percentage
Unwanted sexual attention	51.6
Gender harassment	40.6
Multiple types	6.3
Sexual Coercion	1.5

Legal Aspects of the EAT Cases

Where appeals were brought against the SH aspect of the claim, (59 cases in total), 66% were brought by the claimant from the first stage hearing. As shown in Table 8

below, the majority of the SH appeals cases brought relied upon an error in the application of the law as the basis for the appeal, with a little over a third citing perverse findings as the basis.

Table 8: Bases for appeal in EAT cases

Basis for appeal	Percentage
Error of law	58
Error of fact/perverse finding	35
Both bases	12

Vicarious liability on the part of the employing organization was at issue in almost all the cases as indicated in Table 9. Where the organization was named as a respondent (either alone or joined with an individual as

second respondent), the organization was found to be vicariously liable for an employee's actions in 46% of cases.

Table 9: Vicarious liability in EAT cases

Vicarious liability	Percentage
Organisation not named as respondent	2.5
Organisation vicariously liable for SH	45.5
Organisation not vicariously liable for SH	51.9

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As to defenses used by respondents to avoid liability in SH cases, Table 10 demonstrates that by far the most common response, both by organizations and individuals faced with allegations of SH, is straight denial of the actions. A much smaller and roughly equal proportion of cases reflect either the statutory defense or an assertion that the actions complained of did not constitute SH.

Outcomes

The final aspect of analysis concerned outcomes of SH and SH litigation for claimants and for respondents. We look at outcomes for individuals, first in relation to having complained of sexual harassment within their organizations (i.e. prior to the tribunal filing). These are presented in Table 11 below. The most common outcome for these claimants alleging SH in the workplace was resignation or dismissal (46% each). A much smaller proportion of cases involved claimants being transferred or continuing to work in their current roles.

Table 11: Outcomes of appeals cases

Claimant Job-related Outcome	Percentage
Resignation	46.0
Dismissal	46.0
Transfer	4.3
Continuation of employment	2.9

Missing data: 16% of total dataset

These findings may have implications for understanding responses to SH. The literature suggests that outcome expectancy may (along with other factors) drive an individual's response to SH. This expectancy (Will I be believed? Will there be repercussions?) may be a powerful influence on whether individuals come forward initially. But, given the large majority of cases in which the claimant had either been sacked or resigned following the internal complaint, the filing of tribunal cases may be driven less by outcome expectancy and more by a sense of injustice or a feeling of nothing left to lose.

It is worth noting that 36% of those dismissed from their jobs as a consequence of alleging SH did not bring an additional claim of unfair dismissal despite having the tenure

to do so. Amongst those who resigned as a result of sexual harassment in the workplace, a far higher proportion (70%) brought a claim for unfair (constructive) dismissal in conjunction with their sexual harassment claim.

Of the claimants who had been dismissed subsequent to the internal complaint, 38% went on to win their tribunal case, while 63% were unsuccessful. Of those who had resigned subsequent to the internal complaint, 57% won their ET case and 43% were unsuccessful at the full merits ET hearing.

Outcomes of the appeals themselves are presented in Table 12. The data show that in SH cases, appeals generally are much more likely to be dismissed than upheld. The data further suggest that respondents from first

hearings (typically, the employing organization) do rather better at appeal. They have a lower proportion of their appeals dismissed than do the original claimants and are more likely to win a remit for a fresh hearing.

Table 12: Outcomes of appeals cases

	Appeal Outcome		
	Upheld (%)	Dismissed (%)	Remit for fresh hearing (%)
Appellant: Claimant from first hearing	13	69	18
Appellant: Respondent from first hearing	15	55	30

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

This paper has outlined a set of results from analysis of sexual harassment cases heard on appeal in Britain 1995-2005. This research reveals some important findings that policymakers within organizations need to be aware of when developing anti-harassment policies. First, the data is reflective of the dominant scenario in social science research wherein SH is most likely perpetuated on women with less organizational power by men with more of such power. This suggests that incidence and reaction (litigation) may be broadly in synch - that lower level workers are more likely to be harassed and also more likely to file cases. This may be a somewhat heartening result given a plausible expectation that managerial or professional women with more individual resources might dominate in terms of formal SH complaints - and probably points to the importance of the support available through the EOC and other organizations.²⁵

The over-representation of paraprofessional claimants, also found in US research, may complicate the picture

²⁵ An additional possibility may be that professional and managerial women may be more likely to negotiate acceptable settlements of their cases earlier in the conciliation process. Further research would be needed to explore this possibility.

however. It may be that paraprofessional women are more likely to be harassed, given their relatively low hierarchical position and perhaps the nature of their (close but unequal) work relationships with managerial and professional men. Or, as Terpstra and Cook (1985) suggest, they may be more likely to file complaints, in that they tend to work in looser extra-organizational networks compared say, to professionals (meaning that reputation effects for making complaints would be less of an issue) and may find it easier to get alternative employment. Further research is needed to clarify this finding and its relation to incidence v reaction.

A second key finding explicitly relates to SH in small businesses. The nature of the case records throw up significant difficulties in identifying the size of the organizations involved in tribunal cases. However, the finding that a quarter of cases involve allegations of SH against the owner of the organization clearly reflects a problem in small workplaces. New legal requirements require workers to make formal written complaints within their organizations (and for those complaints formally to be investigated) *prior* to seeking redress in the tribunal system. Given the power dynamics in small business, the new regulations likely will have a chilling effect on filings in these workplaces in particular. This may rebound on individual

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workers *and* on small workplaces by increasing the hidden costs of SH in low performance, low morale and resignations.

The third key finding relates to the nature of the harassment being claimed in tribunal cases. The Fitzgerald et al model appears a useful analytical tool and the findings in this regard are important in highlighting the complex and multi-dimensional nature of SH in workplaces. In particular, the prevalence of 'gender harassment' claims, in which the nature of the offensive behaviour is *not* to secure sexual cooperation, but to insult, demean or control, particularly clarifies and supports SH essentially as an operation of power, a position argued in much of the social science literature (Welsh, 1999).²⁶

The final set of results to be highlighted relates to the outcomes of SH and SH litigation. One of the most striking findings concerns the consequence for these claimants of complaining of SH within their organizations, with 43% being sacked and another 43% resigning (and most of the latter thereafter claiming constructive dismissal). This demonstrates the importance for organizations - along with the development and dissemination of SH policy - of effective and appropriate *investigation and handling* of internal SH complaints. In particular, it may demonstrate deficiencies in procedures for dealing with complaints including absence of sympathetic counselors and independent, objective investigations. This stands as a key practical implication of the analysis so far - along with the suggestion of particular types of workers strongly associated with SH claims and the particular issues relating to small workplaces.

Finally, based on the data available to this point, it appears that claimants filing and sustaining sexual harassment cases to full merits tribunal hearings have about a 50%/50% chance of prevailing. Given the

²⁶ It is worth noting that gender harassment was the type recognized in the 1986 British case first establishing SH as a type of sex discrimination, Porcelli V Strathclyde Regional Council.

power differentials between individuals and organizations in most cases, these might not be considered bad odds.

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Viewing organizing through a feminist lens: The discursive and material creations of individual and organization identities.

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Abstract

In recent years, feminist scholars have made substantial inroads toward a better understanding of the intricacies and complexities of organizing. Through the metatheoretical lens of a "feminist communicology of organization," gender is seen as a dynamic principle of organizing, and organizations are seen as fundamentally gendered. By looking at both the macro- and micro-level activities of gendered organizing, we obtain a much richer, organic understanding of the processes inherent in creating and sustaining organizations.

*Such an approach helps us to understand one of the newest forms of organization-the virtual one-that exists both discursively and materially **only** in the virtual world. To better understand how organizing is accomplished in the virtual world, we have chosen to focus on the postings to a "renegade" web site called "Teamster.net." This site was established by and for members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters but is not sanctioned by The Teamsters. Through content analysis, we studied the ongoing discussions concerning if, and how, this site should be moderated, and by whom.*

We found that these chat room dialogues exhibit the key characteristics of multiple discourses occurring simultaneously. Contributors are both social actors and the objects of multiple discourses that seek to normalize and control these actors, often occurring in disjunctive and contradictory ways. While contributors acknowledge the need for both social equality and respect, their mechanisms for dealing with these contradictions are most often unconscious; in psychoanalytic terms, compromise formations. Thus we offer this deeper understanding of virtual organizations through the metatheoretical lens of feminist communicology and the theoretical lens of compromise formations.

Key words: Feminist communicology, compromise formations, organizing

As research into the nature and extent of organizing has enveloped feminist strategies, a new framework for a deeper and richer understanding of organizations has emerged: i.e., the "feminist communicology of organizing" (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004b). The six premises of the framework serve as tools to examine (gendered) communication processes in the workplace. Arguing that all organizations are inherently gendered and that gender is a fundamental principle of organizing, Ashcraft and Mumby (2004b) suggest that a

metatheoretical approach to studying organizations and organizing is required which views an organization as an *enduring* social structure, offers the tools needed to analyze the structure as a *material* object, and incorporates both social and institutional contexts in the analysis. Thus their approach to studying organizing is both conceptual and analytical, situating everyday actions within the broader theories of feminism and gendered relations.

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To begin this exploration, we have chosen to focus our research on the postings to a “renegade” web site called “Teamster.net.” This site was established by and for members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters but is not sanctioned by The Teamsters. In fact, organizers of the site have indicated that the union has been trying to shut it down since it was launched in mid-2002. The site appears to cater to individuals who want to converse about union-related issues in a public space but do not want to, or are unable to, appear in more traditional public spaces such as union meetings.

Chat rooms are possibly the newest form of organizing in action. But since the medium is so new, we know virtually nothing about how individuals are influenced and changed through participation in a site, especially when the postings are influenced by an organization, its leaders, or organizational activities. Research into the multitude of uses and effects of electronic media is young. It is only in the last decade that widespread installation of these tools has made possible both routine and not-so-routine electronic communication between individuals and within organizations. Dialogue in a chat room can be simultaneously more equalizing and less respectful. The ability to post anonymously has the potential of equalizing contributions, or at least of eliminating preference based on name or position. (It does not, as we demonstrate below, eliminate other forms of preference based on, for instance, language use or misuse.) We know of no models of interactivity associated with individual development and change via chat-room postings. Nor is there any available research focusing on the interconnectivity of the knowledge economy, gender, organizing, and electronic communication media.

Ashcraft and Mumby's (2004) model of organizing suggests that organizational and individual identities can best be examined by evaluating the relationships between gender, discourse, organizing, and power. Their framework consists of six basic

elements: (1) a feminist perspective of subjectivity that is unessential, unstable, and evolutionary; (2) a privileging of the contradictory nature of dynamic, resistive power relations in everyday communication; (3) inclusion of historical context which gives rise to dominant discourses; (4) acknowledgement that organizational discourse has “tangible effects on real, flesh-and-blood people” (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004b, p. 78); (5) a fundamentalist notion of gender, and the dialectics of masculinity and femininity; (6) an ethic of political engagement that uncovers discursive mechanisms that privilege the status quo. Finally, they situate the model at the intersection of modern and postmodern theorizing, incorporating the materialism and dominance that are inherent in modernity with postmodernity's notions of discourse, identity, power, and organizing, “a view that moves beyond essentialism and toward irony and contradiction” (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004b, pp. 111-112). It is this contradiction that we are most interested in as we explore Teamster.net.

Thus we begin our paper with a discussion of feminist communicology. We then situate Teamster.net website within this framework before proceeding to identify contradictions inherent in this act of organizing.

The feminist communicology of organizing

Ashcraft and Mumby (2004b) open their discussion of a feminist notion of organizing by first exploring the modernist-postmodernist-critical triumvirate that frames organizational studies. They situate their model at the intersection of modern and postmodern theorizing, incorporating essentialism and relativity in the same model. Thus gender, discourse, organizing, and power are both constitutive and productive of the act of organizing as evidenced in their six-element framework of subjectivity, resistance, history, materiality, masculinity/femininity, and an ethic of political engagement.

Subjectivity

Ashcraft and Mumby (2004b) seek to redefine the agent/identity dichotomy in modern organizations by suggesting that a much more powerful concept of subjectivity derives from the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of identities, discourses, organizations, and actions that exist simultaneously. This is, in part, a melding of feminist's values of agency and identity with the postmodernist position of the decentered self. "We see no contradiction between viewing people as both decentered selves who are the product of multiple discourses and as agents who engage in the social world in an active and meaningful way" (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004b, p. 119). Identity construction is an evolutionary process that happens in a range of contexts and through a variety of discourses which simultaneously complete, complement, contradict, and resist each other.

Resistance

Long positioned as a reactive affect of domination and control, resistance takes on a much more holistic meaning in Ashcraft and Mumby's model. Instead of the dualistic definition of power that is prevalent in most organizational research, they suggest that a more fruitful approach is dialectic which examines power as disjunctive and contradictory discursive formations of day-to-day communicative events.

History

Again citing apparent inadequacies in many models of organization, Ashcraft and Mumby (2004a, 2004b) position the third element of their model-history-as providing contextual understanding of the ever-changing economic, political, and cultural forces that influence organizing and help shape organizations. An historical perspective provides two benefits. First, it enables researchers to explore developing discourses in the context of the already established discourses. Second, it acknowledges the evolutionary nature of discourse that responds to changes in shifting economic and cultural environments.

Materiality

Materiality enhances the organizing model by acknowledging that communicative processes are enacted by real people in real settings. They do not dismiss the discursive nature of organizations; they just situate them within the material world. This approach is an enhancement of the constitutive nature of communication within the highly politicized context prevalent in most organizations today.

Masculinity/femininity

In the feminist communicology model, individuals within an organization as well as the organization itself are gendered (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004a). Thus their model argues for a fundamental notion of gender that is enacted in multiple ways in multiple settings. Gender is always present in organizing; how it appears is the focus of this model.

Ethic of political engagement

In this model, the ethic of political engagement is a values-driven analysis of the creation and evolution of hierarchies and other forms of structure. Thus it is a process-driven look at how some voices are privileged over others, how some interests and needs take precedence over others, and the resulting consequences of such privileging. Again, Ashcraft and Mumby (2004b) assume that all organizing is privileged; their model seeks to uncover the ways in which day-to-day interaction create organization hierarchies and structure.

Organizing and virtual materiality

The use of postings to the Teamster.net site produces an interesting and unique melding of organizing and the virtual world. Established in 2002 by and for the 1.4-million members of the International Brotherhood of the Teamsters, the website serves as virtual organization of union members, most of whom have never met face-to-face or interacted in any other way. Its stated purpose: "Teamster.Net is a web site built and maintained by Teamster Members who share the idea that Members of the Teamsters Union needs (sic) a common

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place to exchange ideas and information” (www.Teamser.net). Thus it is a site of participation and engagement. This participation is just one of the ways that union members create, establish, and recreate their identities.

Most researchers view participation as a positive element of worker identity. This is true of mainstream organizational researchers such as Monge & Miller (1988), Wisman (1997), Deetz (1992), Stohl and Cheney (2001), and Holtzhausen (2002), as well as industry specific scholars, such as Lazes and Savage (1996) and Schurman and Eaton (1996). Holtzhausen initially describes it as an anecdote to “The marginalization of workers in decision-making about their own future...” (p. 30). She then suggests that participation is “the most visible and dominant variable” (p. 33) in workplace democracy, citing more than a dozen scholars who have investigated workplace participation. Wisman (1997) privileges worker-owned and worker-controlled organizations, and then uses “democracy” interchangeably with “participation.” Dissatisfied with a simplistic explanation, Cheney (1995) delves into the meaning of participation:

A system of governance which truly values individual goals and feelings (e.g., equitable remuneration, the pursuit of enriching work and the right to express oneself) as well as typically organizational objectives (e.g., effectiveness and efficiency, reflectively conceived), which actively fosters the connection between those two sets of concerns by encouraging individual contributions to important organizational choices, and which allows for the ongoing modification of the organization's activities and policies by the group (pp.170-171).

From the perspective of the individual, Chaney's definition incorporates self-actualization, voice, and accomplishment, and requires a structure (system), presumably with rules that govern behavior. It is still

participation-driven, as evidenced by the phrase “individual contributions to important organizational choices.” Thus the act of organizing is multi-faceted, occurring simultaneously at the discursive and materialistic levels. It requires an ethic of participation at the micro level while reacting to the dialectic of control that is inherent in the macro-level practices.

One issue that the organizers of the Teamster website still deal with is the structure of participation. Initially seen as way to equalize voice, the website existed for almost three years with little restraint on postings. But as participation grew, contributors started to demand control, asking, for instance, that some postings be eliminated because of disrespectful language or because a contributor was “hogging” the site. What started out as a purely democratic environment, soon turned into one of debate and derision, leading site administrators to grapple with the process of constraint. It is this grappling that we study here.

The influence of the mind on an ethic of participation

Since participation is a social contract that begins with the individual, it's important to understand how we come to develop ethical stances. Although ethical knowledge has been assumed to be analytic (e.g., Brady 1986), we take the position that management ethics rely upon individual psychodynamics. To some extent, we agree with ethicists who describe ethics as “conversations”: i.e., “dialogues people have about their experiences and the abstract principles designed to account for those experiences. . . . The principles are mirrors in which a person examines his or her own moralities” (Kahn, 1990, p. 315). Since the ethic of participation concerns individual dynamics rather than normative or contextual dynamics, we examine this ethic as individual *compromise formations*. Brenner (1982) defines a compromise formation as a consequence of psychic conflict: i.e., a land of paradoxical wish accompanied by unpleasure (p. 7). Brenner (1982) identifies

the components of this type of psychic conflict as drive derivatives, anxiety and depressive affects, defenses, and superego functioning (p.7). Drive derivatives are wishes for gratification of the biological needs of libido and aggression (Brenner, 1982, p. 24). Individuals seek satisfaction of these drives but are not always successful. When their wishes are frustrated, individuals experience anxiety and/or depressive affects and are motivated to defend against the affects. For example, if a child feels that the mother no longer loves him or her, the child experiences depressive affect: i.e., loss of love. Depressive affect occurs as a result of past misfortune and anxiety occurs as a result of anticipated misfortunes. When unpleasurable affects are aroused, individuals do whatever is possible to avoid or reduce the affects. Defenses ward off unpleasurable affects.

The superego is born of the conflict between wishes and unpleasurable affects. As explained by Brenner (1982), "The superego is both a consequence of psychic conflict and a component of it. . . . The superego is a compromise formation or, to be more precise, a group of compromise formations originating largely in the conflicts of the oedipal phase" (p. 120). In short, the superego has multiple functions. Its moral strictures oppose drive derivatives and conflicts of the oedipal phase, but the superego continues as a component of later conflicts as well.

Brenner (1982) identifies compromise formations as either "normal" or "pathological." A vocational choice is a normal compromise formation (p. 222); neurotic symptoms, such as a fear of flying, are pathological (p. 143-144). The underlying conflict becomes apparent in dialogue through discontinuities in expressed thought: that is, failures of defense in psychoanalytic terms. Shevrin and Dickman (1980) discuss such failures in terms of "discontinuity" (p. 422). They explain, "A discontinuity is inferred when the apparent (i.e., consciously accessible) causal factors for a particular

thought, feeling, or act are not, in and of themselves, sufficient to explain its occurrence" (1980, p. 422).

Influenced by Freudian theories of the unconscious, Swogger (1999) addressed "the reality of psychic complexity" and its contribution to studies of "personal and ethical responsibility" in organizations (p. 233). That is, according to Swogger, unconscious dimensions influence behavior, and Swogger posed questions for the Western legal tradition that focuses on *conscious* intent and state of mind. In his discussion, Swogger describes the relevance of the individual *superego* to conscience and ethics.

Swogger generally describes the relevance of depth psychology to organizational ethics, but in this paper, we use empirical data to examine the emergence of ethical democracy. In the following paragraphs, we argue that these ethics are normal compromise formations that occur when an individual seeks to resolve the paradoxes inherent in the practical application of workplace democracy. Thus, to better understand the development and application of workplace democracy, we must first study these compromise formations.

Methodology and description of data

Our data are drawn from the general forum discussions and freight chat rooms on www.Teamster.net. We chose to gather data from Teamster.Net for several reasons. First, web-based organizing is a new phenomenon which obscures the boundaries between the materialistic and discursive. Second, a gendered notion of organizing provides new insight into an abundantly masculine forum. Finally, we can think of no better way to evaluate the validity of a feminist metatheory that privileges a gendered notion of organizing than an abundantly masculine forum. In short, we see in the Teamsters a conflation of gendered identities and issues that are uniquely suited to an exploration of the communicology of

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organizing.

Using the qualitative research software NVivo (2002), we utilized a four-step process to identify and analyze postings to the site. First we searched for conversation threads that specifically used such words as “morals,” “democracy,” “right,” “free speech,” “equality,” and “participation.” We then read those postings closely, focusing on a wealth of comments relating to free speech in the context of democracy. Two topics stood out: the role of the Teamster.Net moderator, especially in regards to potentially offensive content; and the propriety of anonymous postings. As of January 2, 2008, there were 6,676 registered users and more than 235,000 posts to eight forums. Teamster.net imposes few restrictions on screen identities. It permits users to contribute through multiple screen names with or without identifying information. It also permits anonymous postings but does prohibit the “hijacking” of another poster’s identity.

Based on Ashcraft and Mumby’s model, we make the following assumptions: (1) the identities of the moderator, administrators, and contributors to Teamster.net are fluid, and because of the virtual nature of the medium, are perhaps, more erratic than the “real world” ones; (2) Any debate about restrictions to the site will produce contradictory, dynamic, resistive power relations because all communication does so; (3) Any discussion of restrictions occurs within the historical context of the nature of The Teamsters Union and the origins of Teamster.net; (4) Postings to the

site and discourse about restricting/controlling those postings have real life effects on the site participants; (5) The unfolding of the discussion is influenced by the gendered nature of the site participants, the union itself, and the medium of electronic communication; (6) The resulting restrictions are heavily influenced by an ethic of engagement and participation that is one of the cornerstones of unionization. Our working hypothesis was that Teamster.Net, a site for Teamsters to exchange ideas and participate in open and democratic forums, would reveal multiple discourses, occurring simultaneously and played out in disjunctive and contradictory ways. That is, we expected to see individual compromise formations apparent in the posts; in dialogue with others, the individual would experience unpleasurable affect and modify a compromise formation.

Sample Data

Since we are particularly interested in discursive contradictions that arise through the management and control of posts to this web site, we chose to read messages posted during the first six months of the site’s existence--June 20, 2002, and January 2, 2003. In the passages reproduced below, we have omitted some discussion in order to focus on those passages most relevant to our research. Omissions are noted in the text. In order to familiarize our readers with Teamster.Net, we provide below examples from discussions of the role of the moderator, Phil Ybarrolaza, and examples from discussions regarding anonymity.

Teamsters - Teamster Net Heisler free board

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 10-07-2002 at 03:56

Phil, is there any chance of getting a Heisler-Free board.

As soon as I see his name 50 times on a page, I wanna puke, and I certainly won't read him. . . . He's just so dam long winded. He's not a Teamster.

Please block him. I'm not registered yet...but this is Maniac.

JC53Agent

Posted 10-07-2002 at 05:10

Hey Phil;

I agree. Why you won't respond to this I don't know, but certainly there would be no "free speech" issues if you incorporated some sort of ignore feature on this board to allow us to block the incessant "spam" posts that take away from this board so much . . .C'mon Phil, help us out here.

[discussion omitted]

Moderators Needed!

AuthorModerators Needed!

TeamsterNet

Posted 17-07-2002 at 20:05

I would like to assign some people to moderate the various message boards as well as some of the system areas like polls and the calendar. I was

wondering if anyone had any ideas on how to select the moderators. One mandatory requirement is that all moderators must keep their politics separate

can to!
from any moderation or system responsibility. If I can do it you

I'm looking for some feedback on how this should be done.

-Phil

[This message was edited by: TeamsterNet on
17-07-2002 20:06]

[some discussion omitted]

Bill

Posted 17-07-2002 at 22:28

Phil

Being a moderator is not at all that difficult, if the person you select has the ability to separate there personal beliefs and take a middle (moderate) stance on all issues that come before them. Any

The above posts from July 2002 discuss anonymity:
exemplify much of the discussion about the
role of the moderator. The following posts
from September 2002 and December 2002

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Teamsters - Teamster Net 115 meeting.....got a minute?

115 meeting.....got a minute?

Author115 meeting.....got a minute?

FU-Smith

Posted 22-09-2002 at 19:30

Well the September meeting was incredibly

informative! [omitted discussion about lack of information at meeting]

JC53Agent

Posted 26-09-2002 at 10:19

I see that the summer is also over for the "115 whiners" who are so brave to comment on a public forum only days after sitting on their hands when they had the opportunity to speak up. I know those posting here are in the minority of 115 members, but they are the poorest examples of Teamsters you can provide for the world to see.

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 26-09-2002 at 12:53

To JC53 Agent: Do you know what happens to Local 115 members that speak up? They get fired, laid-off, brought up on charges at the Joint Council and suspended by Hoffa's hand-picked lackeys, hassled, or otherwise screwed for publicly or privately asking a legitimate question.

[part of posting deleted]

There is no democracy.

Teamsters - Teamster Net Controlling Anonymous Posts.

[introductory debate omitted]

Quote

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 02-12-2002 at 13:01

Why are so many of the people who are always complaining about losing civil liberties and civil rights under the new administration so upset about a person wanting to remain anonymous on a chat board? Isn't it their right? If many of us are forced to register, we will simply leave. It is our right.

[discussion omitted]

scb

Posted 02-12-2002 at 14:17

The major objection I have about going back to the "old" format is that of people posing as others by hijacking their handles. Sometimes you could tell who was posing as who by the IP name posted against the comment, but with the AOL proxies, etc., they could be coming from anywhere. I never appreciated people appropriating MY handle to promote THEIR issues....I thought of it as the basest form of dishonesty then, and still do today. To my mind, having people pose as someone

else is an evil that's even worse than the "anonymous" problem....although I grant you that not knowing which individual to address responses

to is "gruesome". I'm against "anononymous" posters; however, I'm a strong believer in allowing incognito posts.

Those with handles aren't truly anonymous...you have a name to associate comments with and post response

to. On the other, those that place their true names (and hence the ability to be "found") on this board seem to be just asking for trouble.

We analyze the issues of ethics and voice in the following paragraphs.

Data Analysis

In order to analyze the data, such as that data exemplified above, we looked for "discontinuities" or failures in defenses (Brenner 1922; Shevrin and Dickman, 1980, p.

422). Given our data, discontinuities appear as contradictions, logical inconsistencies, and changes in grammar or spelling. Such discontinuities reveal conflicts, which may or may not be interpretable here due to data limitations. In other words, Teamster.Net is not a therapy group.

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The consequences of conflict are compromise formations, as defined by Brenner (1982), and may be normal or pathological. Using the threads about the role of the Moderator and the function of anonymity, we looked for conflicts that result in new, normal compromise formations. The superego as a moral function is itself a compromise formation or group of compromise formations arising in the oedipal phase (Brenner 1982, p. 120). Here, we proceed by providing examples of discontinuities; then we provide an example of a new compromise formation; finally, we interpret the discontinuities to the extent

possible with our data. The example of a new compromise formation together with an interpretation of the data provide evidence of emerging ethics through dialogue.

Discontinuities

Sentences and phrases that we consider discontinuous are highlighted and italicized in the following posts. The following posts from July and August 2002, address the problem of free speech on Teamster.Net. The posters are JC53 Agent and the moderator, Phil Ybarrolaza.

JC53Agent
Posted 11-07-2002 at 08:27

I actually enjoy intelligent debate and am a proponent of those who wish to exercise their right to dissent. That, however, is not you. You seem to flood this board like it's your own personal website and I believe you cross the line from someone who simply likes to express his opinion to someone who floods the board for only one purpose: Annoying those that wish to participate. I've seen so many threads die because you post 3 page long cut and paste rebuttals that have no significance to the issue at hand. I wish to employ an "ignore" feature BECAUSE I enjoy intelligent debate. Note the operative word in that last sentence.

JC 53 Agent expresses a contradiction: i.e., he is "a proponent of those who wish to exercise their right to dissent," but "that, however, is not you." In short, he advocates and stifles dissent. The contradiction is a discontinuity and indicates conflict.

TeamsterNet
Posted 10-08-2002 at 08:58

I am entitled to an opinion. I have also moderated TeamsterNet to the highest standard of neutrality!

The moderator's statement that he is "entitled to an opinion" and has "moderated . . . to the highest standard of neutrality" is a discontinuity. If he expresses his opinion, he's not neutral. The discontinuity indicates conflict.

The following posts are responses to the Trent Lott fiasco. We see posts that welcome dissent, but struggle with racist comments.

Vegas Jim

Posted 14-12-2002 at 13:22

anon,

Perhaps you should type a bit slower, as you see I've always found much difficulty in comprehending racism, and those who support and/or excuse it. *I love discussing and debating issues on this forum, however I refuse to do so with an obvious racist such as yourself - I just don't believe views like yours deserve the time of day.*

[discussion deleted]

Vegas Jim loves "discussing and debating issues," but he refuses "to do so with an obvious racist." His statement is discontinuous, contradictory, and conflictual. Vegas Jim's post is followed by a "niger funeral" joke which we do not include. The joke was posted by an anonymous user on December 14, 2002 at 14:52. The joke

precipitates additional discussion about free speech and the role of the moderator. For example, on December 16, 2002, one poster writes, "Heisler giving a warning on T Net rules is similar to a hooker trying to teach morals at Sunday School."

Heisler responds in the following post:

Posted 16-12-2002 at 10:30

I have only urged that clearly racist "jokes" be deleted from TeamsterNet and suggested that those who persist in posting them might very well be banned by Phil the Webmaster.

[discussion omitted]

Now answer the question. Do you think the Webmaster should delete racist "jokes" posted on TeamsterNet or not.

Downs & Carlon

Sniper71 responds, as follows, by pointing to Heisler's discontinuity:

Sniper71

Posted 16-12-2002 at 10:46

No is correct but it'd be meaningless if you were not leading the pack, based on today alone.
And now a word from Heisler himself

Author: Ed Heisler (---.pcinternet.net)
Date: 11-07-01 16:14

Is Teamster Net finished? It sure is starting to look like it. Today the Webmaster at Teamster Net has made a threat which is unheard of at any public forums or message boards anywhere on the world wide web. There are probably thousands of message boards on all kinds of subjects on the World Wide Web. To my knowledge, never has any Webmaster at any of this boards threatened to delete the history and record of past posts of specific individuals. Until now... [Phil] threatens to conduct his own style of internet "book burning". . . . he will destroy the complete history of all posts made by persons he determines have "violated" his rules.

Here is what Phil wrote:
author: TeamsterNet ()
date: 11-07-01 14:02

"I don't want to get in the business of trying to clock people out so it is likely that if someone doesn't get the message they will have all of their previous posts, no matter how many, erased. That may seem harsh but I would imagine that no one would want to waste everything that they have worked on over the course of many years." This threat goes way beyond simply banning someone that Phil does not agree with under the guise of violating new posting rules. This threat has absolutely nothing to do with enforcing Phil's guidelines. Phil's threat is tantamount to book burning, since he would wipe from the historical record all documentation of what a poster said or did not say on TeamsterNet. With that history destroyed by one person, Phil, a poster cannot prove or disprove anything about what a poster wrote or did not write in the past on TeamsterNet. The historical record is destroyed by one person. And that act will be done in the name of free speech and expression on the net! ... Such a despicable act would be a betrayal of the democratic and free speech ideals of both this nation and most readers of TeamsterNet.

Sniper 71 points out that Heisler wants to delete racist jokes, but Heisler also is incensed when the moderator suggests that he [the moderator] will delete posts that violate Teamster.Net rules. (Note that Sniper

71 is quoting Heisler, who refers to a 2001 post from an earlier version of Teamster.Net.)

When Heisler responds on December 15, 2002 at 13:08, he castigates "white power' losers [sic] . . . that could tickle [sic]

your funnybone.” Citing the spelling errors, an anonymous poster recognizes the discontinuity or failure of defense of Heisler and writes, as follows:

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 16-12-2002 at 13:16

Hang on now, your starting to upset Ed, his spelling has gone all to hell. That is a sure fire way to tell he is upset, as he is usually the first to criticize others spelling. When his goes bad, you know you have hit a sore spot.

The point is that sudden misspelling is a discontinuity that indicates preconscious conflict. In Brenner's words, "Conflict occurs whenever gratification of a drive derivative is associated with a sufficiently intense, unpleasurable affect" (p. 55). We suggest that the above discontinuities in posts indicate the authors' conflicts. New compromise formation would be consequences of conflict.

Compromise Formation

Our data include a new compromise formation for the moderator. As a consequence of psychic conflict regarding his role as a moderator, Phil struggles to develop a compromise formation: i.e., a new ethical position. The superego, the moral function, is itself a compromise formation and becomes a component in later compromise formations. Because of the psychic conflict, we would expect the moderator to develop a new compromise formation. He does in the following post from August 10, 2002:

Downs & Carlon

ThePghKid

Posted 10-08-2002 at 08:10

I believe Phil is allowed to have his own opinion, and post as he sees fit. I also think to separate his views from those of "Teamster.Net" he should post under another handle, as to not confuse his own views with "Teamster.Net" as a whole.

PK

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 10-08-2002 at 08:16

I agree. TeamsterNet is suppose to be a fair and neutral website. Phil entitled to his opinions and should be allowed to present them ... using his name, and not as TeamsterNet. I think Phil crossed the line here.

TeamsterNet

Posted 10-08-2002 at 09:02

I just read all of the replies and posting with a separate handle is not a bad idea, I will do that in the future!

Thanks!

-Phil

The moderator has developed the new compromise formation-i.e., to post his opinions separately-as a consequence of internal conflict. His new compromise emerges in dialogue with posters.

Interpretation.

In our interpretations of conflicts, we cannot exceed our data. Our interpretations are based upon Brenner's conflict theory (1982), so we focus on libidinal and

aggressive drive, derivatives, unpleasurable affects, defenses, and superego functioning. Also, interpretations are contextual and require that analysts, of any sort, know their data. We read and re-read and re-read again the postings about free speech.

For JC 53 Agent, Heisler and Vegas provides interpretable data, and we have highlighted significant words. Jim, we do not find enough data for an interpretation. However, for the moderator, we find data. We think the following thread

mickyfinn
posted 10-08-2002 at 23:40

I understand and realize that you are entitled to your opinion, so let me ask you this now that you have opened this can of worms. What is your opinion on the Hogan/Passo deal. I don't really want your opinion I just wanted to point out that *you may have created a monster here.*

[discussion omitted]

The moderator replies, as follows, on August 11, 2002:

Downs & Carlon

TeamsterNet

Posted 11-08-2002 at 12:07

Yes a can of worms is open but in my experience this has been a necessary discussion about once a year. I don't feel that I need to make any attempt to defend TeamsterNet's neutrality. There is a overwhelmingly large amount of data that proves that everyone has been treated equally. I am guilty! I am guilty of catering to everyone.

[d i s c u s s i o n o m i t t e d]

I am also guilty of creating a monster! It was done back on June 6th 1996 or '98 it's been so long I can't remember. ***The monster was named TeamsterNet and it's been scaring the hell out of people ever since. Some love the monster and some want to kill the monster and they both have damn good arguments.***

As for my thoughts on Passo and Hogan, they suck. Like Carey they should be expelled and barred from any IBT anything. Bad, lazy or incompetent union officials need to go! They all give union officials a bad name. I think Trumka should be expelled from the AFL-CIO for taking the FIFTH. I also think that Hoffa screwed us out of a great opportunity to demonstrate our ability to self govern by excusing himself from the investigation and in the end he gave an example of why we can't.

[discussion omitted]

Well enough of that I'm going to try and salvage my day and get out in the sun.

-Phil

The moderator's reference to "creating a monster" is interpretable data. Mary Shelley's Dr. Frankenstein created a monster when he harnessed electricity and obtained the brain of a criminal; he was the monster's father. The moderator has combined electronic technology and an organization with a history of corruption; he is the monster's (Teamster.Net's) father. In an earlier post, Bill writes about the moderator's

father:

Bill

Posted 17-07-2002 at 22:28

Being a moderator is not at all that difficult, if the person you select has the ability to separate their personal beliefs and take a middle (moderate) stance on all issues that come before them. Any individual having been elected by their peers, understands this, only too well. **Your Father** was a good example of this, and that was why he was so well respected.

One interpretation is this: The moderator wishes to replace his father; such a wish causes conflict. We expect additional conflict and additional compromises in future postings; however, the point is that the compromise is moral and ethical in the sense that the superego is a component of the compromise and the new, ethical position is internalized in a way that formal ethics are not. In addition, the moderator is himself a component in the formation of others' compromises.

The moderator (below) is open to information from posters, who are open to each other. Teamster.Net serves as a powerful example of emerging ethics through dialogue.

Downs & Carlon

Anonymous

User not Registered Posted 11-08-2002 at 19:09

Your bonus opinions are well taken Phil.
[discussion omitted]

We address ourselves as anonymous out of fear but are no less Teamster. Retaliation suck's too Phil. Physical or by innuendo. ***The headache you created, T.Net, has been a great experiment at seeking the truth about ourselves and T.Net is evolving. Great Job.*** But, thanks for the tip that you are not neutral. You might have the clutch in, but it's not neutral.

[discussion omitted]

Your role as moderator is important Phil. Most who come here don't post. But they are searching. Looking to see if a problem can be resolved, an idea exposed, a trust extended. Non of this can happen without some rules of order. There are some here that are out of bounds, offsites, and I for one have been clipped from behind. Common sence makes this all work or NOT work.

Discussion

The feminist model of communicology provides a rich approach to examining identity formation and organizing in the virtual world. It's clear from this research that all of its elements are at play. Teamster.net permits anonymous postings and permits contributors to post under multiple names. The website consists of multiple forums, where contributors may (re) create their identities based on context and control. Issues of control consume significant resources; in fact, a review of postings in February 2008, almost five years after the initial debate about control, clearly shows the ongoing, contradictory nature of equality and participation (Teamster.net).²⁷ Considerations

²⁷

<http://www.teamster.net/index.php?act=announce&f=1&id=6>

of right and wrong (ethics) coupled with equality and respect (democracy) are of paramount concern to individuals who use chat rooms as a way of building community. It's evident from the postings that the contributors all have at least one thing in common, and perhaps only one thing: a level of interest in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Some are Teamsters; others are not. Some post regularly, others log on and never post at all. Some are knowledgeable about the workings of the IBT and some are members of various locals. Only the moderators have any assigned duties related to the site and only the moderators have any obligations concerning the site. The only acknowledged objective of the individuals who are part of the site is to discuss various topics of interest; not all topics are even related to the IBT.

As shown in our data analysis, conflicts arise between the theoretical and practical. This is most obvious when trying to understand the need for a moderator. The initial discussion in the chat room began when Maniac asked Phil (the moderator) to block the postings of a non-Teamster. "Phil, is there any change of getting a [name omitted]-Free board. As soon as I see his name 50 times on a page, I wanna puke, and I certainly won't read him...He's just so dam long winded. He's not a Teamster. Please block him." JC53Agent initially agrees but then backs off of the blocking, asking for an "ignore" feature so that site doesn't have any "free speech" issues". Phil responds by asking for volunteers to serve as moderators. "One mandatory requirement is that all moderators must keep their politics separate from any moderation or system responsibility. **If I can do it you can to (sic)!**" Another poster named "Bill" maintains that "Being a moderator is not at all difficult, if the person you select has the ability to seperate (sic) there (sic) personal beliefs and take a middle (moderate) stance on all issues that come before them." We have moved from individuals who can "keep their politics separate" to those who "take a middle (moderate) stance on all issues". Since Phil is forced to come to some kind of resolution of these contradictions, psychoanalytic theory would suggest that a internalized ethic in the form of a compromise formation be used as the bridge from equality (anyone can post anything) to respect (I am entitled to a personal opinion). That does happen with three postings on October 8, 2002 from "ThePghKid" who says "I believe Phil is allowed to have his own opinion...I also think to seperate (sic) his views from those of "Teamster.Net" he should post under another handle." An anonymous poster continues "I agree. TeamsterNet is suppose to be a fair and neutral website. Phil is entitled to his opinions and should be allowed to present them...using his name, and not as TeamsterNet. I think Phil crossed the line here." And Phil responds "I just read all of the replies and posting with a separate handle is not a bad idea, I will do that in the future! Thanks!"

Phil has clearly come to an internal resolution of the discontinuity between having an opinion of his own and being the moderator of the site. An important element of this compromise formation was the input from contributors to the site, some of whom are probably known by Phil and some who are not. (Since some of the postings were anonymous, it's impossible either for us or for Phil to know for sure.) In fact, the anonymity of some of the postings raises some interesting issues concerning external influences in the compromise formation. The dialogue cited above concludes when Phil is challenged by an identifiable poster-mickyfinn. Once Phil has reached a resolution of the discontinuity, he is unable or unwilling to accept additional criticism and input. In other words, he's happy with his compromise formation and does not, at least at this time, see the need to change it. mickyfinn says, "I understand and realize that you are entitled to your opinion, so let me ask you this now that you have opened this can of worms.....I don't really want your opinion I just wanted to point out that you may have created a monster here." Phil responds, "Yes a can of worms is open but in my experiance (sic) this has been a necessary discussion about one a year. I don't feel that I need to make any attempt to defend TeamsterNet's neutrality. There is a (sic) overwhelmingly (sic) large amount of data that proves that everyone has been treated equally. I am guilty! I am guilty of catering to everyone....I am also guilty of creating a monster!" So not only has Phil rejected mickyfinn's input, but in the process has in fact defended himself and the site even though he maintains that he doesn't fell the need to! Would Phil have been so quick to reject this criticism and defend himself if the poster had been anonymous? It's impossible to tell with these data, but the influence that identity plays in democracy and ethics is an important one.

It's also clear that these posters do not consider participation to be a means to an end, since there is no "end" here except the ability to post commentary while respecting others. These postings demonstrate both the

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fundamental principles of democracy and the paradoxes inherent in each: equality (“everyone has been treated equally” and “I just don’t believe views like yours deserve the time of day”) and respect (“Phil is entitled to his opinions and should be allowed to present them” and “I wish to employ an “ignore” feature”). Recognizing the inherent contradictions in organizing, the identities of the contributors, moderators, administrators, and the site itself shift as the discourse unfolds. To deal with the contradictions, the individuals employ compromise formations as an ethical device in their conversations, all the while maintaining a democratic stance. Thus they effectively resolve the tensions inherent in organizing and everyday interaction.

Conclusion

Clearly, organizing in the virtual world exhibits many of the same complexities as does organizing in the more traditional settings; perhaps more. We’ve gotten just one glimpse into it with this project. While the feminist communicology of organizing is a recent creation, we believe it’s provided a valuable theoretical lens by which to study just one aspect of organizing: compromise formation and its role in virtual identity development. We also have just begun to scratch the surface of this phenomenon. Our data were drawn from “the third space.” We have no knowledge of the posters’ feelings about their virtual identities or about what catalysts exist to spur deliberate creation of multiple identities through multiple user names. We know little about the context of the identities or about the relationships between the posters outside of the web site.

Ultimately, the value of such any metatheory, including the communicology of organizing, is in its ability to explain entire phenomenon-not just pieces of it. So our exploratory analysis is just that-exploration. Further work with this site, other chat boards, and other aspects of organizing is necessary before we can draw any generalizations about this virtual world.

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Carr & Lapp
**Vive La Difference in the workplace: Feminism meets
liberal theory in Las Vegas Casinos**

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the broad strokes of liberal theory, feminism and universal rights. It covers opposing conservative arguments in which we review individual and social psychodynamics that we believe form the foundation for the tension between Liberalism and feminism and perhaps, more widely, Liberalism and Conservatism. It is within these discussions that we offer practical application of these posits in the form of our summary of precedent setting legal cases originating in Las Vegas and reported from Las Vegas. The cases are all united by the fact that they not only relate to Nevada, but that all, in one form or another, concern the matter of sexual difference. In our view they are also united in the manner in which they represent a perceived tension that arises in Liberalism as it is espoused in the United States and how it seeks to eradicate sexual difference under the law. We strive to unravel issues of identity as they pertain to the synthesis of Liberalism, feminism and the psychodynamic vantage.

Bright light city gonna set my soul
Gonna set my soul on fire
Got a whole lot of money that's ready
to burn,
So get those stakes up higher
*There's a thousand pretty women
waitin' out there*
And they're all livin' devil may care
And I'm just the devil with love to spare
Viva Las Vegas, Viva Las Vegas

(*Viva Las Vegas*,
Words & Music: Doc Pomus & Mort
Shuman, 1964; italics added)

In 2000, the *Standing Conference for Management and Organization Inquiry* held its annual conference in Las Vegas. At that conference, a number of ideas were put forward including the prospect that Las Vegas was trying to remake itself as a family destination for what was termed “*visual*

consumption” (Carr, 2000, 2001). It was argued that this remake largely relied upon being able to tap into common fantasies given the many ways the 'art', 'arts' and buildings on display were simply amusements to be consumed rather than 'analyzed' or critically appraised. In another idea, it was suggested that the glitz, glitter and newness of the present Las Vegas appears all the more meaningful in light of the archaic. Drawing upon Homer's tale of *The Odyssey* (trans. 1991), the argument was advanced that one can clearly reveal how risk-taking, self-denial, repression and sublimation are archaic constituents in modernity that are noticeably 'played out' in Vegas. Some of that argument was captured in the following paragraph:

The sweet songs of the Sirens may have been replaced by the alluring tones of popular entertainers but, the song of the Sirens has also taken the form of the sound of poker machines and the barrage of aural stimulation associated

with winning and the announcement of jackpot winners. The urge, so akin to an Odyssean approach to temptation, to defy the odds and emerge triumphant with money in hand. Being able to enjoy the entertainment of it ALL is a temptation not to be resisted ["it is impossible to hear the Sirens and not succumb to them" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947/1997, p. 59)], but it is a temptation to be mastered through cunning. Earlier we noted that "cunning ... is defiance in a rational form" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947/1997, p. 59). One can allow oneself the fun of it all, and even to be mesmerized by the spectacle, but at the same time, still sufficiently aware that this is a spectacle that has the intent to seduce one to spending more money than one had intended. Of course, there are those who cannot resist the 'song' and are fatally drawn to the allurements. (Carr, 2001, pp. 135-136)

It was the juxtaposition of the archaic with modern Las Vegas that afforded us an opportunity to *see ourselves in spite of ourselves*. This also applies to females working in Las Vegas casinos, who also become economically drawn to the allurements of working in these establishments.

In 2007, we return to the 'devil's playpen', where attention is brought to bear upon how this "Bright Light City" *provides us an opportunity to reflect*. This time our sights are set on the manner in which Las Vegas, Nevada and some casinos in particular, have handled employment relations in their workplaces. In this context, we are particularly interested in sexual and gender discrimination and how some of the courts have responded to these disputes. In a number of these cases, the judgments have had important ramifications for employment relations throughout the United States; and they pose some interesting questions and challenges for feminist movements in the context of the broader development of Liberalism, across this and other countries.

Section one of this paper discusses the broad strokes of liberal theory, feminism and universal rights. Section two follows with opposing conservative arguments. In section three, we review individual and social psychodynamics²⁸ that we believe form the foundation for the tension between Liberalism and feminism and perhaps, more widely, Liberalism and Conservatism. It is within these discussions that we offer practical application of these posits in the form of our summary of precedent setting legal cases originating in Las Vegas and reported from Las Vegas. The cases are all united by the fact that they not only relate to Nevada, but that all, in one form or another, concern the matter of sexual difference. In our view they are also united in the manner in which they represent a perceived tension that arises in Liberalism as it is espoused in the United States and how it seeks to eradicate sexual difference under the law. By using this reporting combination, we can see how organisational policy before and after legislative 'fixes' influences those in and outside of our workplaces. Finally, in section four we strive to unravel issues of identity as they pertain to the synthesis of Liberalism, feminism and the psychodynamic vantage.

Feminism, liberal theory and universal rights

In attempt to provide an overview of feminism, we borrow some main precepts:

1. "Woman" exists in an irreducible way as an essence hitherto unrecognized.

2. This feminine essence gives women the potential of a psychic existence which the Occident crushes and hides.

3. This feminine essence of woman can only be discovered outside the oppressive social framework, that is to say, *in the body of the woman*.

²⁸ Like many other scholars, we use the term *psychodynamics* in preference to the term *psychoanalysis*, as *psychodynamics* is a less 'treatment' oriented term that implies the normality and dynamic nature of psychological processes.

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4. The potential existence of woman thus depends on the discovery of her essence, which lies in the specificity of her body (Schor, 1994, p. 6; see Plaza, 1980).

In the first place, *woman* is the representative of feminism who, relative to *man* has and also is an essence of feminism. Second, feminism supports the existence of *woman's* intrinsic knowledge and use of intuition. Third, for others to recognise feminism, this recognition usually occurs through the viewing and then the analysis and or evaluation of the *woman's* body. Finally, in order to find separation between feminine and for example, masculine, it is the *woman's* body, what it looks like, what it does, and what it does not that is its essence of what the "oppressive social framework" is not: feminist. It is our contention that Liberalism, an "oppressive social framework", can be considered to 'own' feminism and the bodies that represent feminism such that sexual difference becomes irreducible under conservative liberal 'rules'.

Liberalism can be defined as:

... an ideological orientation based on a belief in the importance of the freedom and welfare of the individual and the possibility of social progress and the improvement of the quality of life through change and innovation in social organization. (Theodorson, 1969, p. 230)

Although the term *Liberalism* has had many denotations, it is seldom separated from the Latin word *liber*, to be free. For the purposes of analysis, Liberalism can be seen as being of two separate philosophical traditions: *classical Liberalism*; and, that of *utilitarian tradition*. Classical Liberalism, heavily influenced by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704), and sometimes referred to as *contract* or *natural rights theory*, has a number of major tenets that can be summarized under four headings:

Individualism: A highly atomistic conception of society based on the absolute autonomy of individual will and worth. Classical Liberalism viewed society as an aggregation of individuals who might choose by individual acts of will to act in concert.

Contract theory: The legitimacy of government rests upon the free consent of the governed. The only legitimate and enduring means of securing domestic tranquility, therefore, is by law based upon reason and representation rather than force.

Liberty: There are certain inalienable rights invested in individual humankind without which the individual would be dehumanized. Often referred to as natural rights, they ought to be protected *by* and *against* government through constitutional guarantees such as a bill of rights. This also led to the belief that the government that governs least, governs best.

Liberal epistemology: A transcendental order exists in the universe, which ordinary mortals can understand without divine revelation. Reason and will, however, are required before an individual can translate this universal order into a practical guide for moral conduct. The choice, therefore, between liberty and license, order and anarchy, is an individual one. (see McCoy & Wolfe, 1972; Scruton, 1982; Szacki, 1979)

By upholding these fundamental tenets, liberals supported such things as: a) freedom of expression; b) abolition of slavery; c) increases in civil liberties; and d) opposition of all but 'essential' government interference in economic activities that supported free competition.

In the 19th century through the influence of utilitarian thought; and particularly that of John Stuart Mills' (1806-1873) ideas on freedom in his essay *On liberty* (1859), liberals came to believe that freeing the individual from autocratic control was not sufficient. Instead, as the collective representation of society (i.e., on behalf of

the State), government must take positive steps to ensure each person's welfare (i.e., setting precedent for each group of similar persons' welfare). Under this influence, 20th century Liberalism supported increases in government regulation that ensured minimum wage clauses, pure food and drug acts, civil rights legislation and the like. Thus, in attempting to ensure the welfare of the individual, Liberalism has come to support certain curtailments on the classical notion of the freedom of the individual, who in this case is *woman* as is depicted below, in the practical legal case:

Case # 1: Jespersen v. Harrah's Casino

Darlene Jespersen, a bartender at the Nevada at Harrah's Casino was dismissed in 2000 for a failure to comply with the following employer's written policy for female bartenders in relation to grooming: "Makeup (face powder, blush and mascara) must be worn and applied neatly in complimentary colors. Lip color must be worn at all times". Males were subject to a policy that did not permit "eye and facial makeup" but required that "hair must not extend below top of shirt collar. Ponytails are prohibited". The requirement for the hair of female staff was that "Hair must be teased, curled, or styled every day you work. Hair must be worn down at all times, no exceptions". Jespersen felt that makeup made her feel "forced to be feminine" and "dolloed up" as some kind of sexual object (see Colb, 2005; *Jespersen v. Harrah's Operating Co., Inc.*, April 14th, 2006).

Jespersen sued her employer on the grounds of sex discrimination; and specifically that the requirement placed unequal burdens on men and women and on the grounds that such differentiation requires employees to conform to specific sex stereotypes and as such, is unlawful. The original panel of judges dismissed Jespersen's case and upheld the employer's right to dismiss the employee for non-

compliance with the policy. The court determined that the policy did not run counter to the federal anti-discrimination law in as much as it placed an equal burden upon both male and female employees. In December 2004, this ruling was upheld in Jespersen's appeal to the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in a 2-1 decision of the three-judge panel. Upon further appeal, in May of the following year the court reversed the decision and, without comment, ordered the case to be re-heard by a panel of 11 judges. In April of 2006, in an affirming 7-4 decision in favor of Harrah's Casino on the basis that the plaintiff "failed to create any triable issue of fact that the challenged policy was part of a policy motivated by sex stereotyping" (*Jespersen v. Harrah's Operating Co., Inc.*, April 14th, 2006, p. 4121).

This case shows clearly that liberal support of freedom of expression and 'essential' government interference in economic activities (among others) is transgressed and especially in light of feminism and its 'properties'.

The paradox of freedoms

The handed-down values of Liberalism; and especially the appeal to 'reason', have been the subjects of much critique (see, for example: Crozier, Huntington & Watanuki, 1975; Spragens, 1981; Walzer, 1980), much of which has been inspired by the work of Karl Marx. In the face of the demands of a complex industrial world, often the focus of the more contemporary critique is upon the demonstrable need for Liberalism to "shore-up" its belief in *laissez-faire* as a viable economic theory. The stream of critique on liberty, which is the focus of this paper, arises from Liberalism's championing of 'freedom'.

Liberalism's notion of freedom has a dual trajectory. There is a *freedom to be left alone* and there is a *freedom to be treated equally without any form of discrimination*. In relation to the former, a legal right to be left alone *free* of government control and without

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civic responsibility to others, potentially undermines traditional society and the cohesiveness of its institutions. Michael Walzer (1980) viewed this as a crisis for Liberalism:

For liberalism is above all a doctrine of liberation. It sets individuals loose from religions and ethnic communities, from guilds, parishes, neighborhoods. It abolishes all sorts of controls and agencies of control: ecclesiastical courts, cultural censorship, sumptuary laws, restraints on mobility, group pressures, family bonds. It creates free men and women, tied together only by their contracts -- and ruled, when contracts fail, by a distant and powerful state. It generates a radical individualism and then a radical competition among self-seeking individuals. (pp. 97-98; see also Bates, 1985; West, 1997/1998)

Walzer also suggested that an anarchistic hedonism would result if not for two countervailing forces: a) the continuing restraint that comes through the tradition of family and other institutions; and, b) the manner in which capitalism inevitably forces men and women to seek protection, in the form of the welfare state, from the vicissitudes of the market and "against entrepreneurial risk taking" (Walzer, 1980, p. 99). The aforementioned utilitarian influence on Liberalism can be noted here. Again, and paradoxically, the freedom to be left alone free from surveillance and interference that is accompanied by a plea for protection, requires "the construction of an organizational framework which is committed to bureaucratic surveillance and social control" (Bates, 1985, p. 24). The liberals' logic of legislating for a freedom to be left alone, is demonstrably flawed when one is confronted by the actuality of free market capitalism and the need for the administrative state. Individuals' rights to be left alone may also serve to undermine the interests of others, or come at too high a cost to the welfare of others. In regard to 'body control', some feminists have argued it has

"contributed to a male flight from familial and paternal responsibility for their offspring" (West, 1997/1998, p. 10). Of course, in some of these examples, to embrace the extreme alternative communitarian position would place severe limits on life choices. One of the ironies (i.e., contradictions) from the liberalist inspired legislative framework to protect individual rights is that the legal system still seeks to protect institutions such as marriage and the family unit -- albeit through a 'reorientation' of family law that renders that area of law more as a branch of "private law" and where parenting is seen as a form of consumer choice and marriage is itself "a long term contract for labor, consortium, and sexual services" (West, 1997/1998, p. 11).

The following practical application provides insight into how the 'physicalness' of traditional, paternalistic familial roles plays itself out in the workplace.

Case #2: Costa v Desert Palace.

In 1994, Caesars Palace dismissed Catharina Costa after a verbal and physical altercation with a male co-worker. Costa was dismissed having had a number of disciplinary infractions and suspensions. The male co-worker who had a long period of employment without such a disciplinary record, was given a 5 day suspension. Costa was the only female heavy equipment operator in the employer's warehouse and claimed her long disciplinary record was due to different treatment she received as a woman. Costa filed a gender discrimination lawsuit against Caesars Palace. Costa gave evidence that when male employees came in late they were given overtime in order to make up for the time lost and because "He's a man and has a family to support". Costa, on the other hand, was denied overtime and when she was late by even a minute and this 'lateness' was punished by issuing her a formal reprimand. The court ruled in favor of Costa and, in 1998, awarded her

\$364,000 in damages. The district court had given what is described as a "mixed motive instruction", having instructed the jury that:

If you find that the plaintiff's sex was a motivating factor in the defendant's treatment of the plaintiff, the plaintiff is entitled to your verdict, even if you find that the defendant's conduct was also motivated by a lawful reason. However, if you find that the defendant's treatment of the plaintiff was motivated by both gender and lawful reasons, you must decide whether the plaintiff is entitled to damages. The plaintiff is entitled to damages unless the defendant proves by a preponderance of the evidence that the defendant would have treated plaintiff similarly even if the plaintiff's gender had played no role in the employment decision. (Citation of the District Court by U.S Supreme Court, *Caesars v. Costa*, June 9th, 2003, pp. 384-385)

Caesars Palace appealed the decision to the Supreme Court after the Appeals court, in a 9-0 decision, had upheld the original judgment in favor of Costa, but reduced the damages to \$100,000. It was subsequently argued that the case appeared to shift the burden of proof to the employer to show there was no discrimination: "The Bush administration has sided with Caesars Palace in the case. Irving Gornstein, assistant to the solicitor general, told the court that Congress did not intend for the 1991 law to radically change the burden of proof requirements" (Batt, 2003, p. 2). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it unlawful for an employer to discriminate against an employee on the basis of sex. This Act was subsequently amended by Congress in 1991 such that, among other things, it provides that:

(1) an unlawful employment practice is established "when the complaining party demonstrates that ...sex... was a motivating factor for any employment practice, even though other factors also

motivated the practice", ... and (2) if an individual proves a violation under Sec 2000e-2(m), the employer can avail itself of a limited affirmation defense that restricts the available remedies if it demonstrates that it would have taken the same action absent the impermissible motivating factor. (U.S Supreme Court, *Caesars v. Costa*, June 9th, 2003, p. 381)

In another view on the decision, Eric V. Hall, of Rothgerber, Johnson & Lyons LLP, argued that mixed motive cases such as this "are frequently compared to a quagmire because (1) they are seemingly impossible for an employer to escape from, and 2) the law is hopelessly confused" (2003a, p. 1).

In the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Supreme Court noted that the word "demonstrate" posed an equal burden on both parties and amounted to a new "evidentiary rule" for mixed-motive cases. The Supreme Court unanimously upheld the lower court's direction that mixed-motive cases do not require direct evidence, but can rely upon circumstantial evidence. Others noted that the ruling also provided employers with a limited affirmative defense such that if the employer could demonstrate (i.e., not prove) that they would have taken the same action irrespective of a discriminatory motive "a plaintiff cannot, for example, be given monetary damages, reinstatement, or a sought after promotion. As a result, in such cases, plaintiffs' victories are more form than substance -- they get the satisfaction of knowing the court or jury found that their employer discriminated against them, but they do not get any money or their job back" (Hall, 2003b, pp. 1-2). The decision is seen as a great outcome for plaintiffs' lawyers, who will get paid by the employer being sued, even if the employer is able to sustain a case for an affirmative defense. The decision was also seen as making it "easier for plaintiffs to get their cases before a jury" (Piper Rudnick, June 2003, p. 1). Lawyers were quick to point out that this ruling applies only to "cases falling under the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and

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does not apply to age discrimination claims under the Age Discrimination and Employment Act" (Ison Law Group, 2003). The court's unanimous rejection of the Bush administration argument that the court should only rely upon the higher burden of proof, namely direct evidence, has seen employer groups lobby the administration for a change in the legislation and adherence to the general evidentiary requirement for direct evidence.

The masculine norms, historical sex stereotyping and the closure to subjective particularity is what Liberalism 'overlooks', masks or suppresses, in its notion of equality and its posit of the abstracted individual and especially when tenets of feminism are evidenced.

The *freedom to be treated equally without any form of discrimination* also provides us with some interesting paradoxes and political challenges. As can be noted from the legal judgments presented earlier, Liberalisms' freedom to be treated equally, enshrined within the Civil Rights Act of 1991, is a freedom that has sadly missed its mark in terms of its appreciation of sexual inequality. While it has also missed its target in terms of other groups in society, it is the issue of sexual inequality that we wish to devote our attention and to its critique that comes from feminists.

In respect to an appreciation of sexual inequality in society, the feminist Robin Morgan (1996) charged Liberalism as offering a "piece of the pie as currently and poisonously baked" (p. 5). At first glance this might seem to be a strange source for criticism, since much of feminist goals are concerned with freedom *and* issues surrounding equal treatment under the law. At the centre of feminist critique is the fact that the universalism of freedom and rights invokes an 'abstracted individual', or 'blank-page' individual, which fails to recognize the social milieu and history in which the individual relates to others. As C. Fred Alford (1994, p. 135) remarked, "the individual is always a groupie". The abstracted individual

(i.e., read: disembodied reasoner) is a fantasy, for from birth the individual and the awareness of one's grouped 'nature' are co-constructed (Carr, 1994; Carr & Lapp, 2006). The self is experienced with other(s) as a co-construction and it is this experience that cannot be blanked out or rendered 'neutral'.

The *neutrality* that Liberalism claims is that it insists upon each individual being treated similarly under the law. The gender bias on insisting that all are to be treated *the same*, under the law, comes from abstracting the 'individual' from the social experiences that contribute to their being. Prominent feminist Catharine MacKinnon underlined this conceptual problem when she noted:

Socially, one tells a woman from a man by their difference from each other, but a woman is legally recognized to be discriminated against on the basis of sex only when she can first be said to be the same as a man. ... Sex equality becomes a contradiction in terms, something of an oxymoron. (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 216; see also Schaeffer, 2001).

Robin West (1997/1998), Professor of Law at Georgetown University, chided liberals and liberal feminists for "insisting on the shared universality of male and female nature" to the degree that they:

... have also felt compelled to deny or diminish important differences, such as woman's different biological role in reproduction and the scores of differentiating needs that difference in turn entails: women's different and greater vulnerability to rape, harassment, and sexual assault; women's differential embrace of stereotypically "feminine" rather than masculine ways of self-presentation; women's different perception of and reactions to sex and violence; women's different degree of interdependency and involvement with infants and small children; and, arguably, women's

different ways of thinking, feeling, and caring for others. (p. 5)

West also noted that the liberal conception of equality seems to undermine the "logic of affirmative action" (Ibid).

The conservative side

The premise of 'sameness' and the downplaying of sexual difference are liberal-legalistic issues not only criticized by some feminists, but also by conservative commentators. Somewhat ironically, the conservative critique marks out the same territory when it comes to recognizing the underlying matrix in which sexual inequality is embedded. Specifically, conservatives dismiss feminist arguments of gender bias in Liberalism's notion of freedom to be treated equally -- a notion enshrined within the *Civil Rights Act of 1991*. Yet, in this denial, the very basis of the feminist critique makes a conspicuous appearance. For example, Professor of Government at Harvard University, Harvey C. Mansfield (1995) argued:

Feminism is now the greatest blight on our national prospect and the greatest threat to moral responsibility. In its opposition to the principle of the division of labor, in its desire to construct an undivided society never before seen in human history, feminism is a form of Marxism. But it is hardly recognizable as such because it begins from the right of equal pay for women -- and who can object to that? Equal pay, however, includes equal right to a job, thus disregarding *the male status of protector and provider*. Although feminism speaks of equality, it is in practice more interested in independence. For protection the liberated woman will turn away from the husband who loves her to the government whose very impersonality allows her to think she is free (Feminism's love of Big Government is neo-Marxist). Children may not be so dispensable as a husband -- witness

Murphy Brown -- but they will grow up without a father. (p. 85, bracketed comments are those in the original text. Italics is added emphasis)

In the case, *Costa v Desert Palace*, we see that "conservative women who do not follow feminism to the end are nevertheless caught up in its inherent radicalism, of which they are often unconscious" (Mansfield, 1995, p. 85).

The irreducibility of sexual difference is clearly an issue for Liberalism. Susan Varney (2000) summarized part of the significance of this situation, when she argued:

From almost its inception, liberal theory has been plagued by a feminist critique that charges it with failing to recognize the sexual inequality inherent in its own conception of universal rights. As has been repeatedly noted, liberal theory gave women the grounds upon which to demand rights for themselves, to ask that this "universalist" conception of rights apply to them as well. On the other hand, by asserting that women deserved access to these rights as much as men, feminists contested the very logic upon which this system of "universal rights" had been conceived -- namely, the concept of the "abstract individual". By asking for rights on behalf of women, feminists unavoidably made sex a political issue. ... Feminism thus put sex on the political table and, in so doing, introduced the problem of particularity into a political discourse seemingly founded on its potential eradicability. (p. 72)

This issue of the ineradicability of sexual difference -- and as we have shown through the previous legal cases that have set the constitutive function of sexual difference -- is a matter that we would like to suggest paradoxically holds considerable

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significance to both feminists and Liberalism in rearticulating their own aims. In order to sustain such an argument and to reveal some of its broader implications, it is instructive to consider the work of Sigmund Freud.

Betting on the psychodynamic house: Freud, feminism and sexual difference

Arguably, Sigmund Freud's greatest discovery has been that the realm of the mind called the "unconscious" is a source of motivation and a 'place' where certain thoughts and desires are hidden from the awareness of the individual. This conception of the unconscious stood in stark contrast to his contemporaries who, in the main, considered the unconscious a messy collection of ideas, desires, mental residue and or impulses that were beyond analysis and largely inconsequential to '*normal*' human behaviour (see for example, Hewett, 1889, pp 32-33). Some of his contemporaries thought the unconscious might be some kind of paranormal or spiritual repository or entity. In an early work, Freud (1916/ 1991) wrote:

'Unconscious' is no longer the name of what is latent at the moment; the unconscious is a particular realm of the mind with its own wishful impulses, its own mode of expression and its peculiar mental mechanisms which are not in force elsewhere. (p. 249)

Freud was to discover that, like the proverbial iceberg, much of mental activity responsible for human interaction lay below the "surface", hidden from our conscious awareness. In the now familiar typography, Freud (1923/1984; 1933/1988a) suggested the mind consisted of three hypothetical mental provinces: a) the *id* -- various biological urges, drives or instincts; b) the *ego* -- the part of the mind that uses logic, memory and judgment in its endeavor to satisfy the demands of the *id*; and, c) the *super-ego* -- the province of the mind whose concern is

for obeying society's 'rules of conduct', (i.e., morality and social norms) and reminds the ego of these social realities. Freud argued that the *id* operated entirely hidden from our conscious awareness and that also, in the realm of the unconscious, were aspects of the ego and super-ego. Freud called particular attention to the manner in which certain ideas, feelings, desires and urges emanating from the *id* were held back by the ego and repressed from conscious thought. In processes that operated at an unconscious level, the ego employed a variety of defence mechanisms, including the aforementioned repression, in an effort to protect the integrity of the psyche from what the ego recognizes as potentially, a reoccurrence of aspects of previous painful experiences or anxiety producing situations. These defences are also used by the ego, often in response to reminders from the super-ego about social realities and constraints, to delay or postpone desires of the *id* to a time and location that is deemed more appropriate. It was through a variety of techniques such as 'free association', the analysis of dreams, jokes, 'accidental' behaviours, slips of the tongue, and the use of language that Freud believed he could gain access to 'contents' of the unconscious.

In his description of the topography of the mind, Freud linked the development of those realms or mental agencies with stages of sexual development. Freud (1905/1986) identified five different discontinuous stages of sexual development that were psychosexual in character. These psychosexual stages were characteristically related to different parts of the body, or the individual's contemplation of different parts of the body, and these stages can be described as: 1) oral (-18 months); 2) anal (18 months - 3 years); 3) phallic (3-5 years); 4) latency (5-puberty); and, 5) genital (puberty). The particular stage that has greatest relevance to this paper is the third, the phallic stage, as it is firmly linked to the development of the super-ego.

It is in the phallic stage that the individual comes to ponder the origin of babies and genital differences. Freud (1905/1986) suggested that boys assume all human beings have the same male form of genitals and initially may deny that girls are different, preferring to “recognize the female clitoris as a true substitute for the penis” (Freud, 1905/1986, p. 114). Boys subsequently reach “the emotionally significant conclusion that after all the penis had at least been there before and had been taken away afterwards. This lack of a penis is regarded as a result of castration, and so now the child is faced with the task of coming to terms with castration in relation to himself” (Freud, 1923/1986, p. 310). It is at this time that feelings related to what Freud called the “Oedipus complex” become significant. In the Greek myth of the male *Oedipus*, it was foretold by the oracle at Delphi that *Oedipus* would kill his father and marry his mother. Freud used the theme of this story to highlight the manner in which a boy enters a phase in which “he begins to manipulate his penis and simultaneously has phantasies of carrying out some sort of activity with it in relation to his mother” (Freud, 1940/1986, p. 386). At this same time, the father is considered to be a dangerous rival by the boy child. Freud argued that a real danger arises for the child in relation to these fantasies of “being in love with his mother. The danger is the punishment of being castrated, of losing his genital organ” (Freud, 1933/1988b, p. 119). Also at this time, the male child *identifies* with the father and wishes to be like him -- even the fantasy of taking the father's place with the mother. Indeed, by identifying with their fathers the possibility arises of a vicarious experience of achieving gratification with the mother. The male child, nonetheless simultaneously represses both the desire to kill the father and to be united with the mother. Identification with the father has the child introject the patriarch's values and ideals that come to constitute aspects of the super-ego. It is through this process of *identification* that the super-ego gains its initial script (Freud, 1921/1985, pp. 134-140).

For infant girls, Freud believed the Oedipus complex²⁹ is more complicated and “obscure” (Freud, 1924/1986, p. 320) as the absence of a penis means the fear of castration is not a motivating issue. However, Freud, somewhat controversially, suggested the lack of a penis leads to envy of what the father possesses and the subsequent blaming of her mother “who sent her into the world insufficiently equipped” (Freud, 1925/1986, p. 338). This latter disappointment with the mother is such that the girl “gives up her wish for a penis and puts in place of it a wish for a child; and *with that purpose in view* she takes her father as a love-object. Her mother becomes the object of her jealousy” (Freud, 1925/1986, p. 340). The castration fear does not arise, but it is the fantasy of having been castrated that brings girls into the Oedipal situation. It is this same thought that encourages a partial identification with the mother who is in the same position of *lacking* a penis, perhaps giving rise to feelings of inferiority with their male counterparts. The super-ego is not developed in the same manner as that of boys due to the different circumstances in which the idea of castration is encountered. Freud (1925/1986) argued that as a result, a girl's super-ego has developed *differently*: “their super-ego is never so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins as we require it to be in men” (p. 342). As such, women “show less sense of justice than men ... are less ready to submit to the great exigencies of life ... are more often influenced in their judgements by feelings of affection or hostility” (Freud, 1925/1986, p. 342). This is not to say, as one writer correctly stated, that Freud thought “women's moral judgement is *inferior* to men's” (Jacobs, 1992, p. 55), but that men and women have

²⁹ It was Jung who used the term “Electra complex” in an attempt to create a synonym for the manner in which the Oedipus complex takes its form in women. Freud rejected the term as being unhelpful and too reductionist of a more complex and larger psychodynamic (Freud, 1924/1986; see also Laplanche & Pontalis, 1967/1988, p. 152), which is why Jung's beliefs are not applicable for this paper.

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different notions of morality -- "Men focus on issues of justice, fairness, rules and rights, whereas women emphasize people's wants, needs, interests and aspirations" (Jacobs, 1992, p. 55; see also Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982).

Freud determined the major repercussions of the manner in which the Oedipus complex is encountered are that:

The female sex, too, develops an Oedipus complex, a super-ego and a latency period. May we also attribute a phallic organization and a castration complex to it? The answer is in the affirmative; but these things cannot be the same as they are in boys. Here the *feminist demand for equal rights for the sexes does not take us far, for the morphological distinction is bound to find expression in differences of psychical development.* (Freud, 1924/1986, p. 320; emphasis added, see also Freud, 1925/1986)

As if to underline this argument and further reinforce the issue of the different manner in which the super-ego develops, another writer surmised:

Because girls do not fear castration as boys do, says Freud, girls never internalize father's authority in the form of general principles of morality, the origin of the superego. Consequently, women never learn to govern their actions by principles and rules to the same degree as men. They remain enemies of civilization, guiding their conduct by particular attachments, rather than universal ideals. (Alford, 1994, p. 141)

While "morphological distinction" finds expression in different psychical development, at the same time Freud warned that some assumed character differences between men and women are nothing more than "social convention". For example, in his discussion of femininity, Freud (1933/1988c)

specifically rejected the common assumption that feminine meant being "passive" while masculine was shorthand for being "active". In Freud's words (1933/1988c, p. 149): "But we must beware in this of underestimating the influence of social customs which ... force women into passive situations".

Get those stakes up higher: Marcuse and surplus repression

In the discussion of the realms of the psyche, it was noted that the process of engagement with the challenges that the Oedipus complex presents also gives rise to the psychodynamics of repression and identification with the parent of the same sex. It is in the identification with the parent that the values and attitudes that the super-ego obtains much of its 'script'. Earlier, we described the super-ego as that province of the mind whose concern is for obeying society's 'rules of conduct' (i.e. morality and social norms, and reminds the ego of these social realities). The acquisition of these rules and codes principally come from the identification with authority figures such as the parent and can be crudely described as a process of socialization. The struggle for gratification and need for forms of repression was a struggle for the developing individual. The critical social theorist Herbert Marcuse (1955) was of the view that these same psychodynamic processes could be applied to the understanding the antagonistic character of society.

Marcuse (1955) suggested that the societal norms and rules were not only reproduced *within* the individual in the form of the super-ego, but that also society superimposes restraint *over* the individual through other agencies, which have a system of ideals and rewards that become sources of gratification. The super-ego is the 'conscience' that informs the ego of what is prohibited and thus must be repressed, but in absorbing the values and attitudes of the parent it also acts to an ideal to be achieved - specifying what Freud (1933/1988a) originally called an ego-ideal. For Marcuse, if

the ego-ideal is itself repressive, one can quickly appreciate the manner in which social action is constrained by both an ego-ideal and as a censor. It was the psychodynamics of repression understood in terms of the Oedipus complex that pointed Marcuse toward the instrumentality of the societal administrative apparatus, which comes to assume such a powerful position in the individual psyche. Using a male child in his example, Marcuse argued:

The revolt against the primal father eliminated an individual person who could be (and was) replaced by other persons; but when the domination of the father had expanded into the domination of society, no such replacement seemed possible, and the guilt becomes fatal ... The father, restrained in the family and in his individual biological authority, is resurrected, far more powerful, in the administration which preserves the life of society, and in the laws which preserve the administration ... there is no freedom from administration and its laws because they appear as the ultimate guarantors of liberty. (Marcuse, 1955, pp. 91-92; See also Carr, 1989; Carr & Lapp, 2006)

Marcuse ultimately traced the individual's sources of repression and compliance to the social structure and the prevailing economic interests in the society. Like Freud, Marcuse (1955) suggested that a certain amount of repression is necessary "for civilized human association" (p. 37). However, some institutions in society have enacted additional "controls" to those which are socially useful and necessary, which Marcuse (1955, p. 38) called "surplus repression". Marcuse argued that the workplace was one institution that contained an ethos and social practices that placed additional controls over human beings. Case 3 below, provides examples of these additional controls:

Case 3. Dr Jeff Crouse v. Bishop Gorman High School (Pending).

Dr Jeff Crouse a former seminarian, was dismissed on May 12, 2006 from his employment as a teacher at Bishop Gorman High School for violating church doctrine in declaring his sexuality on the popular blogging website MySpace.com. Dr Crouse posted on the website that he was a gay Catholic man, looking for "straight-acting single men ... Defying political correctness (sorry!), please no bisexuals, those with HIV, or effeminate men". The posting somehow came to the attention of the school principal who then sacked Dr Crouse for being in breach of his employment contract. Specifically, Crouse was sacked for "maintaining, by word or action, a position contrary to the ordinary teaching of the Catholic Church". It appears religious organizations can hire and fire on matters related to upholding religious doctrine, whereas non-religious organizations fall under the Civil Rights Act of 1991 that prohibits discrimination on such grounds. In the local newspaper -- the *Las Vegas Sun* -- Richmond and Littlefield (May 24th, 2006) noted that:

There are various examples of Catholic teachers being fired for violating church doctrine. A Milwaukee teacher is appealing her 2004 firing for getting pregnant through in-vitro fertilization. A football coach at a Massachusetts school was fired for getting his girlfriend pregnant. In November, a young Brooklyn, N.Y., teacher was fired for getting pregnant out of wedlock. And in October, a Sacramento teacher was fired after officials learned she had previously volunteered at an abortion clinic. (p. 2)

A question worthy of consideration that arises from these arguments is: to what degree is the field of organization studies

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complicit in helping to legitimize or justify surplus repression? (see Carr & Lapp, 2006, p. 105). It is certainly the case that through many MBA programs and alike, there is an un-reflexive appreciation of enacting controls over workers as well as trying to create cultures where the organization ideal to be aspired is both exploitative and repressive. These courses often feed a fantasy of control in as much as social relations and technical aspects of the enterprise are all viewed as 'technical issues' that are fixable as long as one has the right tool at one's disposal. By inspiring a faith in technical fixes, there is a tendency to abstract the organization from its environment and to be un-reflexive as to how generic 'tools' have embedded forms of control that are unnecessarily repressive for all and may be differentially repressive for particular groups in our society.

While much of the foregoing may be familiar to some, in the context of this paper, there are a number of aspects of these psychodynamic processes that need to be emphasized. First, in Liberalism there is an emphasis and assumptive basis of the individual in society being rational and making choices on that basis, whereas psychodynamics emphasizes the unconscious and that it is not logical in the manner we normally think about logic (and is thus able to carry contradictions -- see Carr & Hancock, 2006). Second, notwithstanding the fact that some feminists have criticized the work of Freud, and psychodynamic theory more generally, on the basis that it is a paternalistic and patriarchal reading of human development, the firm conclusion is that the morphological differences between the sexes does lead to a *different* (i.e., not inferior) psychical development. It is for this reason that it is widely observed "psychoanalysis is founded on the irreducibility of sexual difference" (Varney, 2000, p. 72).

**Critical paradoxes:
Psychodynamics, feminism and identity**
The insistence on the irreducibility of sexual difference places psychoanalytic

theory squarely at odds with the Liberal notion of the abstract individual. Put simply, if somewhat crudely, Liberalism insists on treating all as though they are in some way essentially the same. The 'equality' of rights logically follows from this universalist assumption. Contrary to this position, psychoanalytic theory argues that the individual is neither simply a product of nature, nor that of nurture, but a

... subject understood to retain the traces of its own difficult transition into a formally conceived social and symbolic order. ... The body does not exist as the domain of nature but as a site of sensation and perceptions and, more specifically, *the place where these various perceptions are organized into a narrative of experience that is replete with its own internal logic*. And it is within this discursive terrain that Freud reveals sexual difference as the first and most fundamental symptom of the subject. (Varney, 2000, p. 73)

The inner history of an individual is a history that is punctuated by experiences and challenges that are clearly psychosexual in character. Thus, as it has been expressed in terms of developing our identities:

Of course, identities are dynamic -- they change throughout life. But, like trees whose development may be affected by different conditions of nature and nurture but may not re-root themselves in different spots or grow branches where none exist, people's identities cannot discard or disregard early experiences (happy or painful), including experiences related to their gender, position in siblings order and so forth. In this sense, then, their histories follow them throughout life. (Gabriel & Carr, 2002, p. 354).

The legal cases we have outlined in this paper, bring to the foreground the difficulties of the law in recognizing equal

rights and how these difficulties stem from Liberalism's conception of universal rights. The work of Freud and psychodynamic theory points the way to the irreducibility and ineradicability of sexual difference. Thus, the legal cases while being practical applications of these posits work in theory but paradoxically not in practice because all concern the matter of sexual difference that is really based on the irreducibility of sexual difference. In terms of identity, the ineradicability of sexual difference means that individuals have both masculine and feminine elements. The degree to which one uses 'masculine' or 'feminine' behavior is based on the extent the ego has absorbed and or the manner is treated by its super-ego, which leads to the creation and or sanctions of norms.

These circumstances pose some interesting paradoxes for feminists in relation to articulating a view of equal rights that does not undermine itself by a rejection of Liberalism and the political support that it brings. In the context of describing the legal system's embrace of a legal standard based on a norm of *reasonableness* that is related to masculine and feminine norms, West (1997/1998) argued that such legal standards will be difficult in their development because:

1. While committed to liberalism there is at the same time evidence that equal respect for sexes (i.e. read also sexual orientation) does not exist. Concomitantly, these issues cannot be heard because of liberals' unwavering denials of difference: "Equality -- understood as the equal treatment of human beings that are the same -- will not be sufficient to imply the conclusion that a "reasonable woman" standard should be the norm against which conduct is measured in the area of sexual harassment law..." (West, 1997/1998, p. 8)

2. Feminists, at the same time, stand in solidarity of their differences to men while simultaneously stating their shared essential nature with men. As Case Study 3 illustrates, to eliminate differences is to create a less healthy, less tolerant and a poorly functioning

society. Equality and a universalist position do nothing to imply anything opposite. "The false conviction that it does involves nothing more than mistaking a shared trait -- even an essential one -- with a shared identity, or even more fundamentally mistaking a part for the whole (West, 1997/1998, p. 8).

The argument by West reveals a paradox for feminists in relation to Liberal theory, at one and the same time however, one can also note *other paradoxes* that stem from what would seem to be the impasse posed by Liberalism's universalist conception of rights and the invoked abstracted individual. One such paradox that we have in mind is that Liberalism, in its declaration of universal rights, makes such a statement only through noting implied differences -- of which sexual difference is most prominent. Another paradox is that Liberalism's universalist conception of rights is that it is repressive as well as enabling. The denial of subjective particularity and sexual difference specifically, provides the very space in which groups of feminists are afforded the opportunity to draw the distinction between feminine/masculine, female/male. In this articulation, sexual difference is affirmed. Varney (2000) came to a similar conclusion when she argued:

The mark of sex serves the ends of justice in so far as it sustains a disjunction between the individual subject of the law and the Law itself, insofar as it sustains a distance wherein the debate over the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the law can continue to be debated. Sexual difference is thus not simply a problem, a discontent that liberalism should endeavor to transcend; on the contrary, we might want to consider the possibility that sexual difference functions as *its* paradoxical *cause* as well. Which is as much to say that the riddle of femininity, and the problem of sexual difference, function as internal critiques *and thus also supports* of a liberal political tradition. Sexuation is thus a shorthand for the

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site wherein subjects continue to question, and thus rearticulate, the "cause" of their own freedom. (p. 76)

Clearly, the "discontent" needs to be recognized "as constitutive of the liberal State, as an ineradicable remainder" (Varney, 2000, p. 76) and as part of the guarantee of the freedom that Liberalism seeks to uphold. This guarantee of freedom also applies to the workplaces in Las Vegas as we have provided with the inclusion of practical application in the form of Cases. While Nevada and in some decisions, the United States, seeks to eradicate differences, we can see how organisational policy before and after legislative 'fixes' influences those in and outside of our workplaces. These 'fixes' are part of our superegos and perhaps even ego-ideals such that many paradoxes are found to impact and perhaps 'inflict' female identity onto men and male identity onto women. On the one hand liberal dictates in Las Vegas casinos and in other Nevada legal decisions mean that "what happens in Vegas should be happening to you". On the other hand we can say Vive Las Vegas: Vive la difference.

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Boje
**Boje Feminism:
Parallel Storyability of Male Vietnam Veteran and
Female Sweatshop Body Traumas**

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ABSTRACT:

Boje feminism is an alternative to *Foucault feminism*. One difference is Foucault feminism is *discursability formation*, whereas Boje feminism is *storyability formation* of the body, its discipline, and the power/knowledge relationship. A second difference is where as Foucault Feminism is about micropolitics of power/knowledge, Boje Feminism is far wider focus on macropolitics, even global sociopolitics of late modern capitalism. This parallel storytelling develops the differentiation between collective memory groups (gender, race, socioeconomic, class, etc) construct out of direct experience, and what Hirsch (1999) calls 'postmemory,' such as the trauma children of survivors of Holocaust live with. My feminism enters into investigation of trauma events women endure in sweatshops is possible for me, because of its resonance with my own trauma as a soldier in the Vietnam War. I explore here why this is so for me.

This article is presented in left and right column, my column and her columns. After a bit of standard introduction. the columns are meant to intervibrate, to resonate, to interpenetrate, one another, as two voices, as many voices within me and her.

STANDARD 2 column INTRODUCTION

As storyteller Catherine Conant put it, "David Boje discussing feminism? Is that a little like Donald Rumsfeld discussing life as a Quaker?" Conant continues:

As I understand it a feminist is someone who believes that there should be political, economic and social equality for men and women. Even though I haven't seen you in more than a decade, I'm happy to confer upon you the title of feminist and all the benefits inherent, including still only earning \$.76 for every dollar a man earns. But here, just when I'm sending you kudos for your insights and courage I see where you say you saw the *Virginia Monologues*.....oh dear, I'm sorry, your Freudian slip is showing and you're out of the game... -- Catherine Conant

This is all about women's work in sweatshop. It is post-memory, because I have not been allowed in sweatshops, and

have only interviewed women about *their* experience. Still I now have a certain amount of sweatshop trauma. It is how I seek to understand the trauma in sweatshops.

Conant worked with me to cultivate my personal story using certain rules (Feb 13, she gave me this advice):

- 1) Know why I am telling you the story of my PTSD
- 2) Know what the story means to me, so that I can tell it with balanced counterstories.
- 3) Understand the catalytic moment of my transformation, where I go on a new life adventure because as the bottom falls out of my life, I discover the macropower of exploitation.
- 4) Tell it in a way the personal respect for the public, so they do not want to rescue me the victim of war tragedy, but instead think reflectively of their own personal story.
- 5) Find my voice in the process of preparing my personal story for public telling.
- 6) Out of the whole ghastly horror of war and sweatshop collective memory and

postmemory story the redemptive quality, the moment where I dedicated myself to stop sending any young man or woman to war.

- 7) As I make myself vulnerable, and share a personal story that moves me, be a little kinder to the boy whose life was changes forever by Vietnam, who left as a soldier, and came back as a peace activist, and started becoming feminist.

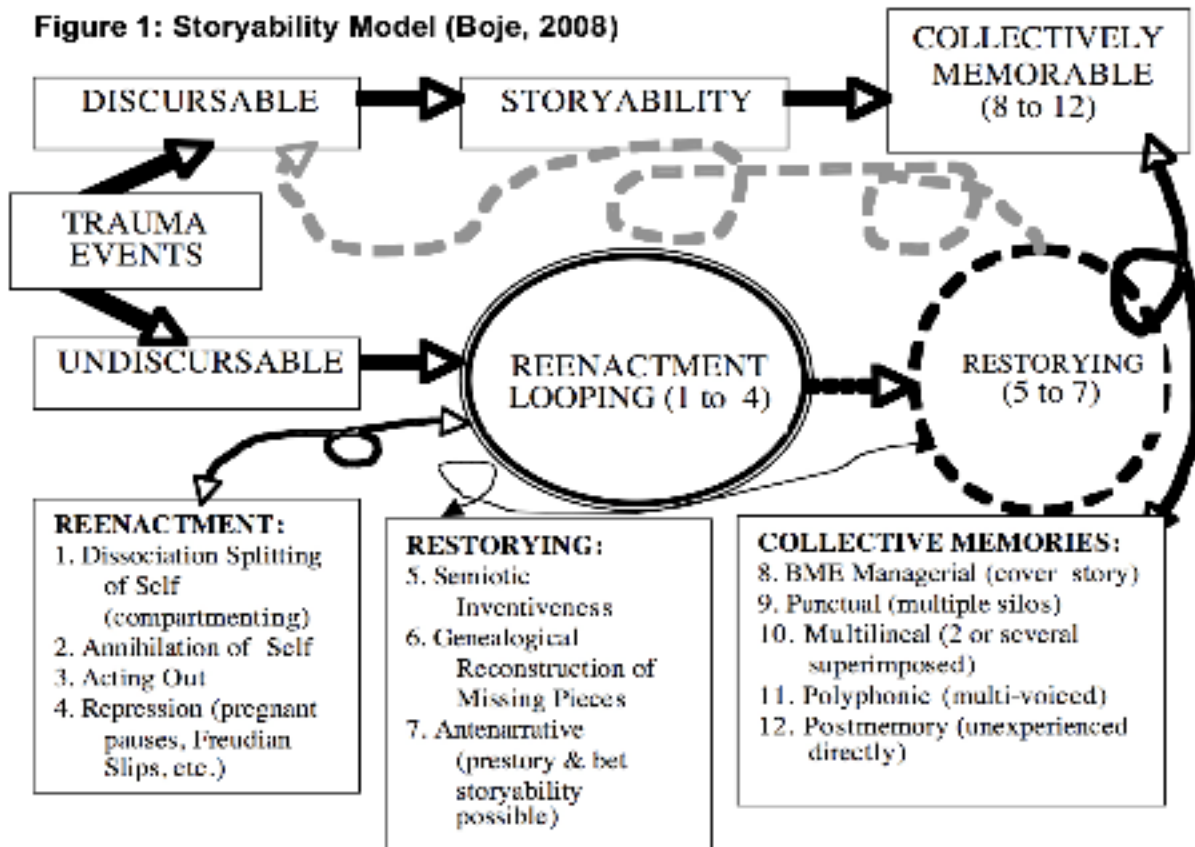
Sweatshop Feminism

Why am I telling you stories of women in sweatshops of Vietnam, China, and Mexico? I have only postmemory of women's work in sweatshop. It is post-memory, because I have not been allowed in sweatshops, and have only interviewed women about *their* experience. Still I now have a certain amount of sweatshop trauma. It is how I seek to understand the trauma in

sweatshops.

In my twenty years of studies of sweatshop feminism, the woman's body is an effect of modernist disciplinary power, a strategy that oppresses the female body, and often child's body, especially in the garment and sneek industry, in a pathological regulation, control, and discipline that is sadomasochistic corporeal reality. I have a feminist view of sweatshops. I am investigating events women (and men) in sweatshops recount that I have never experienced. I do not count a factory tour, even if Nike or Wal-Mart granted me access, as a direct experience. I would have to be a woman, work in the factories as a woman, and experience the oppression and resistance to have it count as direct experience. Mine is not direct collective memory. Perhaps a model will help.

Figure 1: Storyability Model (Boje, 2008)



According to *storyability theory* not every storyable into experience. event in complexity or in life trauma is

Boje

Reenactment Looping I argue that reenactment and storyability sensemaking are quite different. I reenact Vietnam events, but I don't have till now a storyable experience.

In what I call 'reenactment looping' trauma victims dissociate (#1 in Figure 1) from the trauma-event by splitting of the self to compartmentalize, annihilates the self (#2), acts out (#3, such as reliving past events of trauma, triggered by resonance in the presence), and that repression (#4) of the events can leak into discourse in pregnant pauses, Freudian slips (as the unconscious struggles to break into consciousness).

Research into Holocaust, genocide, war, rape, child abuse, accident, loss of loved ones, and other severe trauma events suggests that trauma is initially just reenactment without storyability into experience or memory (Bal, 1999; Hirsch, 1999).

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) have a couple of types of memory types that extend Halbwachs' theory.

1. Punctual (#9) is also managerialist in its processes, with several center points connecting to social units, such as multiple silos extending from headquarters to branches in other places (Linda Mustachio Adoriso & I are studying this in Wells Fargo bank's punctual collective memory).

2. In multilineal (#10) two or more collective memories co-exist in the same social unit (such as in bank merger or acquisition).

3. The more complex case is more polyphonic collective memory (#11) where the collective memories are fully embodied by different actors (persons & their groups), and these interact to negotiate collective storyability, and the restorying, as well as antenarrating possibilities.

They were not all that polyphonic about collective memory in Vietnam.

Finally, in trauma research, there is what Hirsch (1999) terms 'postmemory' (#12).

Postmemory is definable as collective memory that was never directly experienced by the person having the memory. For example, going to work and hearing a founder's story, or historical saga, to which you never had any direct participation with the events.

Or, in the case of trauma, when you study War trauma, if you were not in a war zone, you don't have experience. You can hear about it, but it's not the same thing.

Events only become experience when one willfully stories them into experience. I theorize that women in sweatshops of Vietnam, China, Mexico and elsewhere are reenacting trauma events, and only in a few cases have they rendered them willfully into a story that reshapes their memory.

Boje feminism is a theory of unstoryability when postmemory of trauma of another, becomes the experience one has never had, but is equally traumatic. Foucault feminism focuses on female and male oppression being the product of patriarchal discourse that is historically situated for many millennia. Las Vegas, for example is male obsession with technologies of female body nudity, in wider macropower selling gambling, drinking, meals, and hotel rooms. This essay is not about that.

Bojean feminism is defined as an inquiry into wider antenarrative and narrative formations of power/knowledge, sex/desire and sadomasochistic of global socioeconomy and genealogy of late modern global capitalism. Bojean feminism differentiates itself from Foucault feminism (McNay, 1992: 25) is "formulated around the notion of discursive practice rather than around an ideology/material distinction."

In Marxism, ideology and class differences constitute the pre-existent truth. But in Foucault feminism it is the discursive

interplay of power and knowledge that is the archaeological or genealogical discovery of discursive operations in micropower of organizations, be they prisons, hospitals, universities, state, or business.

For Marxists, and Critical Theorists, oppression of the body, is economically driven, not a matter of patriarchal structure or discursive formation (with some exceptions such as Culture Industry work in 2nd phase CT, and Fromm's psychoanalytic work).

I can only hope that my exploration of Vietnam War PTSD is a way women coming out of sweatshop experience, can heal their own suffering. Conant (2007 Feb email, asks, "Do the stories of women in Southeast Asia speak to you ----- because you may have left much of your boyhood innocence there, or is there another reason?" Answer: the stories speak to me, because they are storyable about trauma, and I just reenact trauma without storyability. Yes, I lost boyhood innocence, as I watched the body bags stack up on the airfield, a short way from my barracks.

As Consant (Feb 2007 email) reminds me:

Both you and Ms. Lap do share a common experience, living (albeit in different times and circumstances) in a country that was torn by war, strife,

Boje's Story:

I stepped off the TWA flight into the oven of Vietnam. That night lizards crawled my bed. I coned a job as company clerk in Saigon (Ho Chi Ming City). I did payroll, personnel scheduling, like 'Radar' in the movie, M*A*S*H. I worked my workaholic pace for 6 months becoming Sergeant Boje.

I exhausted my body and mind, and broke down. Barracks buddies invited me out for a pizza. "Let's stop here, to pick up something. Come along!" one said. In the hospital room, they tackled me, bent me over, pulled down my pants, and a nurse shoved a needle, seemed a foot long, and I was out for several days.

corruption and exploitation. However, your story predates hers and hers is of a world that you cannot possibly know except through the telling of her story from which you can only extract that which fits your need to understand your own story of being in Vietnam. So I guess you could say that your stories are both apples, but two very distinct varieties with differing flavors, sizes, shapes and colors. One is not more delicious than the other, but they are not the same.

Please read the article in the style of Derrida's (1972) *Tympan*, with resonances and entanglements in Freudian Slips, and intertextual answering from the Left column (Vietnam War Story) and Right column (Sweatshop Story).

From here on out, Please read the article in style of Derrida's (1972) *Tympan*, with resonances and entanglements in Freudian Slips, and intertextual answering from the Left column (Vietnam War Story) and Right column (Sweatshop Story).

Nguyen Thi Lap's Story:

At right, I share stories that have become postmemory trauma for me. IThis one is about a Vietnamese woman, Nguyen Thi Lap:

The interview that follows is with Nguyen Thi Lap. It was conducted and translated by Mr. Thuyen Nguyen, Vietnamese/ American businessperson, and founder of *Vietnam Labor Watch*. Ms. Lap is a worker in a *House of Terror* (sweatshop factory) called Sam Yang, located in Cu Chi district of Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon). As you shall see, the interview in 2001 was not Ms. Lap's only interview.

Boje

BOJE: I have Post-Traumatic-Stress-Disorder (PTSD). I woke up more terrified than I ever recall. In beds around me were soldiers, with missing arms or legs, or bandaged heads. "When do I see the doctor?" I kept asking. None came. I tried to act sane, followed the sleep, keep quiet, and eat routines. After several days, a doctor appeared. "How are you feeling Sergeant Boje?"

"I'm ready to go back to work," I replied. And I was released. Back at work, I decided that the office needed to work fewer hours. Ms Cang (Vietnamese secretary) and I did a work slowdown. We worked for this Major, who was a rageaholic and super heavyweight lifter. He'd scream, "Cang get in here **now!**" and she would run out from her office, to hand him the phone ringing on his desk. If I was not typing, he'd thump the back of my head. So I typed, a million times, "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country!"

One day, when the power was out, I stopped working, so did Ms. Cang. Result: I was taken on another ride, another shot, several more days of forced sleep.

Inter-viewer. Does an interviewer inter-view? How many views are inter-viewed?

BOJE: Demand more pay, better hours. This time, no more company clerk job. "Choose any other," said the Major's replacement, a Colonel. "**Sir, I choose the job of Golf Pro!**" I replied.

LAP: She was interviewed by ESPN in Feb 1998, which is an event that led two months hence to her demotion and punishment. After a series of punishments, she became ill, tried to keep working under quite demoralizing conditions, and finally had no choice but to quit Sam Yang factory in May 1998 (numbers to left are from tape counter)

0 Lap Today I want to re-tell my experience at the Sam Yang Company (Translator's Note: shoe factory for Nike Corporation in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam). I started in October 1995.

Inter-viewer Please tell us your name?

LAP: My name is Nguyen Thi Lap., I worked for Sam Yang company, employee number 11204.

Me in 1969:



David Boje - Vietnam War Vet:
 As Golf Pro, I wore a name badge
“GOLF PROSHOP DAVID M. BOJE, NCOIC.”

BOJE: Oh I have stories, but they dance around the repressed events. For example, I can tell you that I was a golf pro who never played golf. I read a book the size of phone book by Arnold Palmer. When generals came for their green fees, they saw the Golf Pro nameplate. They would ask, “how to correct by hook?” I would reply, from memory, “No problem sir. Just interlock your fingers like this. Take the club, back of the head, and slowly bring it into position behind the ball. Pull back and let her go.” That’s how I knew I could teach. After all, what is a professor, but someone who instructs using someone else’s knowledge?

Vitnam Factory



LAP: I joined the company in October 1995. In March 1996, I was promoted to section leader of Sewing Line No: 15. At the time, the company only has 15 sewing line. I was the leader for the sewing line number 15. Since then, I have contributed a lot to the company. I was given bonuses and awards.

175 For example, when the company started a program to encourage people to finish their quota faster, I was ranked the Number 1 worker for the year. I was given \$7 Million Dong (Translator Note: \$530 USD)

1150 The personnel manager Tran told me that if I don’t want to work in different jobs, then I should quit But I did not want to quit and did not sign the paper that day. Two days later they keep punishing cruelly me to the point when I cannot take it any more. So I signed the paper to quit.

1175 Do you still wants to work at that place? Did they force you to quit?

1150 The personnel manager Tran told me that if I don’t want to work in different jobs, then I should quit But I did not want to quit and did not sign the paper that day. Two days later they keep punishing cruelly me to the point when I cannot take it any more. So I signed the paper to quit.

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<http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/nike/vietnam.html>

Boje

BOJE: The Army is surreal. For example, then the U.S. military built and Olympic size pool, with champion diving boards and more lanes than the 405 Freeday in LA, they made a rule that no Vietnamese could use the pool. Of course, Koreans could use it, since they were mean. I pulled some lifeguard duty once in a while. And how do you tell the difference between a Vietnamese and a Korean, when they're standing there in their bathing trunks?

Beside, if we were there to train and help the South Vietnamese, why keep them out of the pool? I hate prejudice! General Westmoreland came to the opening of the new pool. OK, this is several collective memories in interplay (U.S. soldiers, Koreans, Vietnamese). Lot of times, we just let anyone with a bathing suit in that pool

My grandfather was a WWI soldier, my dad fought in Philippines in WWII, and then in the Korea War. It's in my blood. But Vietnam was not an honorable war. Indeed it was not declared a war at all, some kind of insurgency is what I was told.

Let tell you absurd. In our barracks was a guy with a Luger, his own jeep, and he got calls in the middle of night. He'd write something in his notebook, and off he'd go. He was a biker looking dude, taller and beefier than the rest of us. So I got asked to find you what he does. "Jerry, mind if I ask what it is you do?" "Why you wanna know?" "Just curious," I says. "Well, when the guys at the DMZ cannot get parts for their cannons, or cannot get a jeep, or other part through the supply requisitions route, I take their order and fill it." "Why?" I asked."Lot of times they put a requisition for a machine guy part, or some fencing, and they get sent something else like, toilet paper."

LAP: 273 When I became sick, I went to the clinic. The doctor said that I have fever of 37 degree C..

On the Sunday the 29th while working overtime, I was working very hard and being sick at the same time, so I got a really bad headache. So I put my hands on my head. The manager then hit me in the arm. After the manager hits me, I could not work so I went to the nurse to take the rest of day off. I took another day off the Monday. When I came back on Tuesday, the personnel manager Tran said that section leader cannot take sick day, and demoted me to become a sewer. But the plant manager did not let me sew. Some day they made me cut threads, some day they made me do pressing (?) and continued to move me around from one job to another.

1175 Do you still wants to work at that place? Did they force you to quit?

219 Today I want to talk about my current problem with the company, how it treated me, how the Korean manager treated me. I went to work sick one day. I asked for a sick leave. The manager told me that as a section leader I cannot take sick day. I know my responsibility as a section leader is to get the section to complete the quota, but there were just too much over time. In Feb & Mar (1998), I worked 113 hours of overtime. For several weeks in a row, I worked over 18 hours of overtime. In one month, I worked two Sundays overtime in a row.. (no day off for 3 weeks)

So I filed a complaint with the union and asked the union resolve the conflict. During the time while waiting for the union's action, they make me do very menial work.

BOJE: "So what to you do, exactly?" I asked. "Say they want a jeep, I go to the supply depot, break in, stencil the right numbers on it, fill it with whatever else they need, and drive it to the DMZ. I get a helicopter ride back." In return Jerry was getting into a special cooks' school. Go figure. That's a story I have told often. Its not really a reenactment.

Reenactment, is like when I hit the ground when a car backfires. Take me to a movie, I'm the one that jumps out of seat when I'm startled

When I got out of the hospital the 2nd time, I wanted to be sure my brain still worked. So I started reading a book a day, if it was something like History of the Beatles. A philosophy book took two days. I mean all I had to do was pass out green fees at 8 AM till 8:30, and take them back in, about 3PM or so. So I read books.

I noticed something. The officers ate different food than the rest of us. We ate 'shit on a shingle' (gravy with red lumps in it, over some kind bread). The officers ate steak. So I started to think. I had run personnel and most of the administration for a 15 companies organization, with about 35 full time and 85 part-time military, and Over 120 Vietnam employees.

There was even a U.S. ambassador's daughter that got hired. She was gorgeous, with blond hair, blue eyes, in her mid-twenties. What was she doing there? Beats me. Diplomatic privilege I guess. Anyway, when she got hired to work in our office, with Cang and I, all of a sudden the commander, and the top sergeant began to spend more time in the office. That meant, they wanted to actually manage things. That meant, I had to give them back things I was managing. For six months, while I was company clerk the first lieutenant (a ROTC, pronounced *Rot-See*) played with the service club ladies trying, but never scoring. The company commander lifted weights in the gym. Oh get this, he did not like blacks.

LAP: Let me tell you, I was a section leader overseeing 50 workers. Why do they have to punish me this way? Why don't they recognize my past contribution to the company?

There were times they make me mop the floor on the second floor. Because I was a section leader, I am too ashamed to carry a bucket of water and so I asked a friend to take the bucket up for me

451 While I was mopping the floor, I was crying.

458 Lap starts to cry [IN THE INTERVIEW!]

463 Inter-viewer Do you think the treatment was related to the interview (translator note: with ESPN)?

479 Lap When the union asked me to do the interview,... right before I did the interview, the manager told me that since I'm an employee of this company I should said nice thing about the company, that the company is currently facing problems. After the interview, the manager (Bak) called me up and asked me what I told the reporter. I told her that I only talked about wages. She asked me if I told the reporter whether the company still beats workers. As soon as she questioned me, she asked me to leave.

On April 2, 1998 ESPN's "Outside the Lines" ran an hour-long show on sweatshop abuses in Vietnam to coincide with their coverage of the Olympic Games.

Boje

BOJE: Can you believe it? So he transferred the guy who ran the craftshop and ran it exceptionally well to the gym to pass out jock straps. Guy was an E-5 (sergeant), like me. What a waste.

Restorying my experience, I can begin to see that when the blonde got hired, the place went to hell, at least for me. I remember walking with her when I came back from the hospital. "Oh Dave, we were all so worried about you." I think she was sincere, who knows. I was not hitting on her, and she seemed to hold her own against those that were.

The first sergeant (highest in rank), he had a Vietnamese girl on the side, and half-ownership in a bar downtown. So he did not come around much, till his girl got pregnant and was in the hospital.

I liked my job as company clerk. I was drafted. I had no skills. Could not even type. So naturally the Army made me a typist. Well there's more to that story. I was doing so well on their tests, I was almost put into officer school. I put down on one of them, that I knew math. I knew some, went to class a (very) few times in what passed for high school. But I also held the school record (still stands) for most absences (over 80) and lateness (like everyday) and still graduated.

So here was the Army giving me responsibilities. Not that I need more. I was married, with a daughter born six months into the tour. I talked to the sergeant about pregnancy of my wife and his mistress. I think that is why the shit hit the fan. Or maybe it was officers wanting to show off to the blonde. Or was it just that I burned out. It depends how you story it, doesn't it?

I did not stop being creative when I went from company clerk to Golf Pro. I build a driving range, by swapping green fees for some netting.

LAP:

.530 After the interview, I was asked to lead another sewing line in a different plant. But the people the company staffed the line were not experienced sewers and they were trainees.

LAP: I told the manager that without experienced sewers, it's going to be hard to get the quota done. The manager told me that it would take time for people to gain experience. I told the manager that it would be hard for me to complete my quota with only trainees. The manager assured me that she understood the situation.

618 So it's hard for me to understand where I did not do a good job, I don't know how I could not do anything wrong as a section leader. I know that the company was watching me. They have people followed me around. The next person who supervised that same line, the one with trainees and the worst sewers did the same amount as I did. The line was staffed with only 40 sewers not 50, and most of the sewers are not experienced. They were from other sections: pressing, gluing and were definitely not sewers.

NOTE ABOUT THE INTERVIEW: Ms. Lap's story reconstructed by me and by others, and her own personal experience in story, after having left Nike's employment, being the victim not only of the House of Terror, but the terrorizing media, investigative journalist, documentary film/TV producers, and by a gaggle or academic and on-academic activists --- gives my own postmemory construction more weight.

BOJE: In fact, you ever watch that movie "Good Morning Vietnam!" I knew that guy, in exchange for greenfees (so he could sleep in, instead of line up), I got him to cover my golf tournaments and advertise the driving range on his radio show. He invited me to parties that the officers held.

Get this! They send a bomber to Hawaii, to load up lava rocks, palm leaves, and pigs. They draft the Hawaiian sergeants assigned around Saigon to dig a fire pit, get the lava rocks nice and hot, wrap pigs, and various vegetables in burlap, cover it over with palm leaves, and viola, party time.

I should say something nice about the Army. They paid for my education. I decided to go to college when I got stateside. America felt guilt for killing so many young men and women. So it was a great GI set of benefits. Just as I got my BA, they funded MBA fully. The year I got all but finished with that, they started funding the Ph.D. Still took out 40K in loans, but what the heck. Thanks to the Army I was to first one in my family tree who went to college, let alone graduate, and first one to get a Ph.D., as well.

I learned I could lead.

When I reflect on my own Vietnam trauma I am still am unable to story much of it willfully. I reenact it. I have seen other men reenact their Vietnam trauma. I was teaching a class in organization behavior at UCLA, about 1980. I was doing an experiential exercise on storying and assertiveness. I ask students to think of an experience that has a subjective level of discomfort, that was about mid-level (not mild, not the worst). A young man did so, and wrote down his experience in a short paragraph (which I said I would not read). Everyone did the same. Out of nowhere, I see desks flying, hurled across the classroom, smashing into the wall. "What is going on?"

BACK TO THE LAP INTERVIEW

1150 The personnel manager Tran told me that if I don't want to work in different jobs, then I should quit. But I did not want to quit and did not sign the paper that day. Two days later they keep punishing cruelly me to the point when I cannot take it any more.

LAP: So I signed the paper to quit.

1175 Do you still wants to work at that place? Did they force you to quit?

1230 I just want my job as a sewer. I don't want them to punish me by making do menial works, switching me to different jobs. My hand were getting swollen from repairing the shoes and their punishment. So I asked the union to resolve the problem.

1254 [Lap is crying]

1268 (while crying) It's not like I did not work hard for the company. It's not like I just work and get my monthly paycheck. I have accomplished a lot as an employee there. I started in October and was promoted to section leader in March. I spent many days working overtime.

1315 On Sunday I was sick. On Monday I took the day off. Even though I was not well, I went back to work on Tuesday because I am afraid of losing my job. As soon as I entered the plant, the manager asked me "why I took the day off?". I told the manager that I was sick. He yelled at me and cursed at me, and said that he does not need me as a section leader. Then he made me sitting down to sew.

Boje

BOJE: I asked as I escorted the chair-hurler from the room, into the hallway, where we could be along. He says, "I was thinking of an event in Vietnam, when I was in the foxhole, and our position was being overrun." I told him, "OK take a few deep breaths. Calm it down.

I asked for a story of something mid-range. It's a class exercise not the battlefield." Now years latter Bal's theory of trauma types as reenactment, and Hirsh's concept of postmemory, gives me insight. The chair-hurler was doing reenactment, and not doing storytelling. He had not yet been able to story his trauma.

The Vietnamese conscripted soldiers. It was not like the draft. More like, you got pulled off your bicycle, if you looked old enough to fight. I saw them training sometimes. Hit the recruits in the back and on their bare legs with long metal rods. There was a lot of desperation in that. In my bootcamp, we got kicked around some, but metal rods, no way.

Ms. Lap worked in Ho Chi Minh City, the new name for Saigon, where I also worked, but not in the same decade. Our work is separated by several *alterity differences*:

1. Temporally, our time in the same city is separated by 30 years
2. Our gender gap is insurmountable.
3. She is Vietnamese and I come from the invading country, now a sweatshop-contracting country
4. I am much older, maybe almost twice her age
5. I live in economic privilege, but this was not always the case

BOJE: OK, I've told you a few stories, and some reenactments. I know why I am telling you the story. I think that storying is different than discursability. In storying there is willful reshaping of memory. I know what the story means to me, and I told some counterstories, to be appreciative.

LAP: 1590

The workers are mainly concerned with wages. We want to have the new contract to be based on floating US dollar rate and not on a fixed rate. In the previous contract, the wages was pegged to the US dollar on fixed rate and the dollar went up and we lost a lot of money. That contract was signed in 1997.

1629 In 1997, the company made every worker signed the contract individually and we were told to sign the contract or sign a letter or resignation. After many workers signed the contract, we realized what happened and went on a strike. The contract was eventually approved by the union but it was not done under fair conditions, it was done under a threatening condition.

MARX'S HOUSE OF TERROR TRAUMA

The second trauma is from the acts of random violence and humiliation. Marx (1867) describes how in the UK, the solution to poverty was imagined to be rounding up all the poor, and putting them into workhouses called 'Houses of Terror' which Marx says is the factory, the 'sweating' shop (or sweatshop) that he wrote about.

BOJE: When I got stateside, I served a few months at Fort Dix (NJ), then took an early out and enrolled in Burlington County College. With an early out, you get out four months early to attend college, under the GI bill. I got some money for books, and the tuition was paid. I worked weekends, breaks, and summers, but got through. I was initially just into business to take over my dad's multiple corporations. But by the time I was ready to graduate with a bachelor's he had lost them all, one worth well over a million. So I went on to get master and Ph.D.

I understand that the catalytic moment was waking up in that hospital and figuring out, you know what, the enemy is not the Vietnamese people. The greatest prejudice was in the general staff. The once's like the Good Morning Vietnam guy, and the protestors at home, keeping young men out of the death pit, they had it right. Somehow I became not only activist but feminist.

The feminist transition would take decades. I was ready to be a peace activist immediately. Yes, the bottom fell out, but I had resources. I could pick up the pieces, and get on with it. And I now saw that the macropower issues of exploitation were where the resistance needs to be placed.

I've reflected on my personal story. Don't rescue me. I want to work this through, come out of the repression and dissociation. I want to find my voice as activist and writer. I'm ready for the public telling. You bet.

War is a ghastly horror. Vietnam was not the war to end all wars. I hit the streets to protest the Afghanistan, the Iraq war, and I hear we're headed for Iran. The whole ghastly horror just keeps repeating itself.

I found something important in the peace movement. The rage of war is not the way to win peace. After getting flipped off enough times, I let it get to me, and had to take a break. A peaceful heart is needed in the peace movement. Sounds simple. Try it.

MARX HOUSE OF TERROR: The random acts of violence that the workers experience in the 1990s and that still seems to continue is random acts of physical abuse (most famous is women slapped about the face with a Nike sneaker by their supervisor), sexual abuse (rape is quite frequent), verbal abuse (names derogatory to women are quite common practice). These acts of violence in the House of Terror, the sweatshop are a form of trauma. Again, Marx has no direct experience of House of Terror trauma, he is engaging postmemory.

It turns out very few workers experiencing these two traumas can tell their story, can compose story, while they are still embedded in performativity and the 'House of Terror' trauma. The reason for this is stated in a book by Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Pspitzer (1999) called *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. The assemblage of articles is mainly about Holocaust trauma, its unstoryability into memory. Until trauma is storyable, the person reenacts the trauma, but has not mastered it in story to be able to make sense of it, to willfully control it, and to shape it into their collective memory (collective in that it is from the group experience).

Boje

BOJE: Redemptive quality. It's no accident that I look at macro issues of global sweatshop oppression.

When Ms. Luc's story came my way in 1996. It was like a strange attractor in complexity theory. I was hooked. She was Vietnamese. She probably worked in the barracks or supply buildings I was in. I began a war on sweatshops. Took me a decade before I got the point. Don't make war to gain peace. As feminist I want to do something to help. But the problems are global. I focus on deconstructing the ads, the rhetoric, the stories told by corporations.

To keep myself peaceful, I make myself vulnerable, when I tell my personal tales. I share a personal story that moves me. When it doesn't move me anymore, I stop telling it. Actually, I story partly, and reenact bits partly, trying to investigate, tease out the repression. That's why I prefer impromptu, improvisation, here and there, so I can see what shows up. I dig out the repression and dissociation a bit at a time. It's amazing to me, that each time there is more, and maybe its just endless.

1996, I was still wearing Nike shoes. Great style, real comfortable. I began teaching a critical management class to MBAs. Decided to start investigating stories I was hearing about Vietnam. I was amazed at the militaristic way the Nike contract factories owned by the Taiwanese and Koreans were being run. I thought about this, perhaps the U.S. military in Vietnam trained most of the ones using that military technique, but now on young women.

When I started the research there were lots of stories about child labor, women slapped, lots of stories about piles of lady fingers, from running machines all day without rest or safety gear, and getting them stitched off.

MARX HOUSE OF TERROR: If this is true of Holocaust, rape, child abuse, and other extreme trauma victims it could also be the situation faced by sweatshop workers.

There are two implications. First, when corporate sponsored monitors such as Accounting firms or the Fair Labor Association (FLA) send in a monitor to interview women workers (I saw women because garment and shoe production is 85% women's work) --- those women are not yet able to disengage, attain some distance, and tell their story. They can only reenact the trauma, not story it. In the recall of trauma, instead of storying, there are two results. One is repression, to drive out the trauma from consciousness (it is called ellipsis, the omission of important elements in narrating experience). Second is dissociation, which "doubles the strand of the narrative series of events by splitting of a sideline" (Bal, 1999: ix; see also Bal, 1985).

Dissociation is also called *paralepsis* (disrupting the follow of narrative that shapes memory of experience). In dissociation, its as if one stories a pseudo story that splits off as a side line or cover story and the trauma is put into a separate part of the brain, where when it is recalled it is only reenacted, and remains not yet storyable. That means in repression the reenactment is dramatic in a Freudian slip (or pregnant pause or gaffe), and in dissociation the trauma is not healed, since it reenacts by is not storyable by the person.

BOJE: All that marching to and from meals, all that military rule. Seemed like a worthy project for a Vietnam veteran to engage. Living in New Mexico, I recalled the heat of the sun in Vietnam.

In Vietnam, I got a day off. So I put on some shorts, and grabbed a few beers and sat outside. Big mistake. I had major burns, and the skin was peeled to the flexh. I could not imagine anyone being so inhumane as to sun-dry employees in the Vietnam sun.

I started investigations, recruited colleagues to write articles, sought out activists around the world. I wanted to see what could be done.

When I talked about the global sweatshop epidemic, students in 1996 through 1998 did not care much. A few did. For most, it was about Asian women, or women in Mexico, who were from the villages. Shop at NikeTown and Wal-Mart, what did sweatshop exploitation matter to most college students? Not much. Students would carp, "I have a right to shop at Wal-Mart!" Sure shop away.

That changed with Kukdong. New Mexico State is close to Mexico. 42% of our students are Hispanic. Others have grown up with Hispanic females, and they did not like what they ere hearing about Kukdong. Most did not care. But, a sizeable portion did care. As I got into it, I decided to go to see first-hand, to stop playing in second-hand, postmemory work. I wanted first-hand experience of sweatshops. I wanted to see first hand if women were being treated with such disrespect.

Believe me I know that there's a lot worse in store for women than sweatshops. But, there was something about helping Asian women, if I could, lend a helping hand, then that was what I wanted to do.

LAP: What is heroic about Lap is coming through her trauma reenactment to be able to story it, to will it into a shape that does not torture her. She is still crying about the events, but she is able to sort up which events to focus upon, which to emphasize.

This is what makes Ms Nguyen Thi Lap's storytelling so remarkable. She has attained enough distance to deal with repression and dissociation. She is telling a sympathetic Vietnamese-American business person her story. He flew to Vietnam, and did his own investigation. It impacted me.

Nguyen Thi Lap had her first 15 minutes of *Tamara* stardom. On October 17, 1996, the CBS News 48 Hours reporter, Roberta Baskins was on site to give Nguyen Thi Lap her first interview. For Ms. Lap was a team leader that day, and one who was slapped by her Korean supervisor, Madame Baeck.

The scene speaks directly to the issue of violence trauma in the House of Terror, the factory. The story was reauthored March 29, 1997 in a *Vietnam Labor Watch Report*, a 16-day fact finding tour of Vietnam factories, that included a study of the Sam Yang factory by Vietnamese-American businessman, Thuyen Nguyen. An apparel industry logo-corporation flew former Ambassador Andrew Young to this factory in Vietnam, several others in Indonesia, and China to assure the first space spectators that the AA industry was under control and such incidents were exceptional or just misrepresented by an errant media (Young, 1997).

Boje

BOJE: There came a point where I became as interested in the plight of all women in sweatshops, as I was in the Vietnam sweatshops.

I think I broke through my own reenactment of Vietnam post-traumatic stress disorder, in 2001. It seems to be a time of intense Nike writing activity. I decided to actually go to a sweatshop, to interview women directly. I traveled with my wife Grace Ann and good friend Miguel Alcantara-Carrillo to Mexico to interview women workers (Boje, Rosile, & Alcantara-Carrillo, 2001).

Kukdong is one of 300 Korean owned maquiladora factories. Working women who were brutalized on January 12th, 2001 in the Kukdong Gauntlet were kept away from the media for about 15 days.

A nightmare I keep reliving called the gauntlet. A gauntlet is two parallel lines of men swinging clubs and shields, through which the panicked women must run to achieve their exit from the factory. The gauntlet was organized and administered on the evening of January 12th. As the women negotiated and tried to set up their own independent union (SITEKIM, finally named SITEMEX) they were confronted with the violence and force of not only the Police in riot gear, but a goon squad of FROC-CROC state union men.

Writing now, in 2007 I am using the concepts of postmemory, collective memory, ellipsis, paralipsis, and living story that I did not have in 2001. I was just wrestling in 2001 with antenarrative. After 2001, I wrote few pieces about Nike, Reebok, and the other sweatshop contracting corporations. However, I have begun to write of it again. I stopped writing about women in sweatshops because it was just too dark, depressing, hitting too close to home. Now I am writing differently. I think this is because I am not, as much, filtering the writing through Vietnam reenactment. But I am not sure of this.

LAP CHRONOLOGY:

Table 2: Time Line for Lap Nguyen and Nike and all the interviewers: What is the Answerability here?

For complete time line of events See Nike In The News; For items relevant to Nike's Stock Prices, see Nike stock stories. See year by year Nike chronology.

1995 - October - Nguyen Thi Lap starts working for Sam Yang (Korean owned) sneaker factory in Ku Chi, Vietnam. Her employee number is 11204. March, 1996 she was promoted to section (team) leader of sewing line number 15.

1996 - March 31 - The headline story in The Vietnam Worker newspaper on March 31, 1996 proclaimed, "Foreign Technician Strikes 15 Vietnamese Workers." The same newspaper, on April 1, 1996, proclaimed: At Sam Yang Company, Cu Chi District, Ho Chi Minh City, Korean Technical Employee Strikes Many Vietnamese Female Workers. It went on to say that immediately after the incident took place, 970 workers on strike to protest the mistreatment of their fellow workers (See Vietnam Labor Watch Report). **That incident occurred on March 8, International Women's Day** - when most companies in Vietnam give women workers flowers.

1996 - October 17 - CBS News 48 Hours transcript, October 17, 1996. CBS News. (c) MCMXCVI, CBS, Inc. Transcript of Roberta Baskins on site visit to Nike in Vietnam This was the first interview with Nguyen Thi Lap a team leader in Nike's Sam Yang (Korean owned) sneaker factory in Ku Chi, Vietnam.

BOJE: There is a new area I am exploring called 'cover story.' A cover story is a kind of paralipsis, but instead of fitted to a trauma victim of violence, I am retrofitting it to the corporation. It is a spin-off storyline, one told to cover over some scandal, to spin it in a way of damage control. I find my own career quite alarming. I once was a corporate advocate, defending the free enterprise system against all critics. I recall doing this throughout college, until I became concerned with oppression. Bob Dennehy remembers the textbook we wrote, how full it was of concern over oppression, the cover of the book had a huge pyramid, crushing down on workers (Boje, & Dennehy, 1991). it was during that time, I began to questing the cover story of corporations, looking at greenwashing, and phallogocentrism, and taking feminism very seriously. It was in 1996 with my move to New Mexico State University, that I began to hear stories about how Vietnamese women were treated in sweatshops contracting to Nike and to Disney. It got me into a spiral, a swirl of currents crisscrossing between my Vietnam experience, and the experience of women in Vietnam. It expanded into concern for women in sweatshops in UK during Marx's time, then into Mexico, where I could see and hear for myself, whether I had been embellishing my storytelling about corporations.

LAP:

- o Nguyen Thi Lap's Her basic wage, even as a sewing team leader, still doesn't amount to the minimum wage, \$42 a month for working six days a week. Lap puts in more overtime than the annual Vietnam legal limit of 200 hours.

- o Lap " and 14 other team leaders were singled out and punished by their Korean supervisor, Madame Baeck, seen here sitting at a table with the Nike shoe she used to hit the women. It was in retaliation for some poor sewing. " Two were later sent to the hospital (Nguyen, Vietnam Labor Watch Report March 29, 1997). Madame Baeck was convicted, but was allowed to leave the country after the incident, despite conviction (source).

1997, March 29 Vietnam Labor Watch Report is released that includes study of the Sam Yang factory.

1997, March and April, former Ambassador Andrew Young makes a whistle stop tour of 12 Nike factories, in China, Indonesia, and Vietnam. One of the factories toured, was Sam Yang, and one of the photos in Young's album, is the women who were slapped, which would include Lap (See Good Works International Report, note photo link is being mysteriously diverted).

1998 - April 2, ESPN's "Outside the Lines" ran an hour-long show on Nike and Reebok sweatshop abuses in Vietnam (Sweatshop Watch). This was based on ESPN's visit to Vietnam factories in February, 1998 (See Globe Project, Vietnam).

Boje

BOJE:

Boje is Anti-Corporate I told you this is what deans and colleagues say about me. In my new rendition of cover story theory I put it this way. Corporations experience trauma (quite the mild form) when immersed in scandal. They formulate cover story, which is in part the strategy story (logo, motto, plot, mission, vision, & founding story). That is where the larger-than-life monumentalism occurs. The CEO, the dead founders become larger-than-life, forming what we call the ghosts of dead leaders (Boje & Rhodes, 2005 a, b). The dead CEOs and a few lives one constitute for the employees, and sometimes the customers, a postmemory. But, there is a parceling out of what is nat storyable, not speakable, all the goings on in the contract world of sweatshop capitalism. I don't mean to sound anti-corporate. I just retain the trauma of my own welfare experience, my time in the Army in Vietnam, being dismissed by UCLA (untenured is the word), which is not a corporation, but universities are being corporatized. Add to this list being beheaded as President of International academy of Business Disciplines (not a corporation, but its all they talk about). I need to mourn all of this before I can overcome my anti-corporateness.

Why get anti-corporate over stories of women sweatshop workers? i think it fits with a pattern of trying to support the corporate cover story, trying to celebrate larger-than-life entrepreneurs (easy to do my dad is one). If I don't deal with my anti-corporate feelings I won't heal my experience of sweatshops, and what organizations do as well to me, and keep doing to workers. I know I should care more about the trauma corporations experience. I am told that there are most good-hearted people in them, even at Nike, Disney, and Wal-Mart that just contract to sweatshops, but try to make the conditions bearable. feminism?

LAP:

- o Thi Lieu was a 22-year-old worker in Reebok's Powyen (Pou Chen?) factory. Lieu was fired after the ESPN report aired in April, 1998, then rehired after ESPN protests to Reebok.

- o In Spring 2000 (before August), Thi Lieu was let go along with 3000 other employees, "When their contracts expired so they could be replaced by minimum wage workers, a common practice.

- o In February, 1998, ESPN interviewed Nguyen Thi Lap, a senior worker with an exemplary history at Nike's Samyang plant in Ku Chi "When I went to the interview" says Lap (in 2000 ESPN Interview aired in December), " the Korean manager kept suggesting to me that as an employee of the company I always had to speak well for the company."

- o In February and March, 1998 Lap worked 113 hours of overtime.

- o Lap was demoted several times after the April, 1998 interviews with ESPN aired. When she fell ill, she says she was denied medical leave, eventually forced to quit her job, and then diagnosed with tuberculosis. Lap is currently unemployed.

1998 - May 12 - Knight spoke May 12th, 1998 to the National Press Club Luncheon.

BOJE: I wonder if they know about the trauma of performativity, or the accumulated effects of acts of violence.

Some days, the more I self-reflect, the more anti-corporate I become. Yet, where am I? In the Business College. Where do I present and publish? Audiences who want to know how to run corporations. And dare I write about feminism.

NEXT STORY: **Mexico Sweatshops**

The Short Version of the Kukdong Story - The Kuk Dong story is about how mostly young women workers struggled against a national union called FROC-CROC, Korean maquiladora owners and managers, and Nike and Reebok corporate PR teams so they might exercise collective bargaining rights guaranteed to them in corporate, FLA, and WRC codes of conduct as well as by Mexican law.

From January 9 to 11 the young women took over the factory and locked themselves inside. They tried to talk to the Korean managers inside the factory, but some brick-laying workmen entered and secured the escape of the Korean managers, shortly after the factory takeover had begun. Family members and friends of the women holding the factory, like it was the Alamo, brought them food and blankets. They also brought the children to be with their working and now protesting mothers. On January 12th, Melquiades Morales Flores, the governor of the state of Puebla, sent 200 Mexican police dressed in full riot gear.

LAP:

o One month after the ESPN report aired, A CA class action suit was filed, and the Ernst and Young audit was front page news, Phil Knight, CEO of Nike announced major reforms.

o Phil Knight said: "One columnist said, 'Nike represents not only everything that's wrong with sports, but everything that's wrong with the world.' So I figured that I'd just come out and let you journalists have a look at the great Satan up close and personal" (May, 1998).

2000 - Thuyen Nguyen's interview with Nguyen Thi Lap (a second copy is on the Clean Clothes Campaign Web site, and what happened to Lap). Thuyen Nguyen is a Vietnamese-American business man who has traveled to Vietnam to verify working conditions first hand. Thuyen issued the Vietnam Labor Watch Report on March 29, 1997, after he returned from 16-day Fact-Finding Tour of Vietnam Factories in Vietnam.

2000- Chairman Phil Knight withdrew a \$30 million contribution to the University of Oregon, which is Knight's alma matter. It is one of 45 universities that have joined Worker's Right Consortium (WRC), a student-backed anti-sweatshop group (See New York Times, "Sweatshop King: Nike Exec Reneges On \$30 Million Pledge" by Steven Greenhouse, April 25, 2000). See also Knight, P. H. 2000, 'Statement from Nike Founder & CEO Philip H. Knight Regarding the University of Oregon', Nike's web site , Portland.

Boje

BOJE: The police force was led by Renee Sánchez Juárez, FROC-CROC secretary-general for the state of Puebla. The riot police were led by hired FROC-CROC construction workers, and this group did brutally attack 300, mostly female workers, beating those they could catch, with clubs, and sending 15 to the hospital. In our interviews with two workers and a local labor lawyer who were there, we found out that at least two of the women were pregnant, and two lost their babies as a result of the violent and cruel attack.

I assembled the material into a time line. David Tobey and I in 2007 are working up a piece for the *Journal of Management Spirituality and Religion*. I will tell you the timeline and then say what I see different in 2007 as compared to 2001 in my postmemory.

LAP:

2000- December - ESPN's Monthly Outside the Lines 10th Anniversary show which aired in December, 2000. This was their 10th Anniversary show. (See Globe Project, Vietnam).

2001- Nike blames the story of Nguyen Lap (whose name they reverse) on Tim Connor, noting the Vietnam court ruled in Nike's, not Lap's favor (See Nike Biz).

Table 3: More Stories of House of Terror

o ·In 1996, a supervisor at the Korean Sam Yang Co. factory, a Nike sub-contractor, was convicted for hitting 15 Vietnamese women team leaders over the head with the upper sole of a Nike shoe (Nguyen, VLW Report, 1997b). On September 16, 1996, Phil Knight in his stockholder's speech rewrote the incident by saying one woman was struck on the arm by her supervisor (Nike Web documents, 1998).

o ·In 1996 CBS News filmed a *48 Hours* segment on the 15 workers who were beaten with a Nike upper sole. The women also accused their factory bosses of sexual harassment (*CBS News 48 Hours*, 1996).

o ·A supervisor at the Taiwanese factory Pou Chen Corp. found himself before a Vietnamese tribunal at the end of March for forcing 56 women workers to run 4km around the factory for not wearing regulation work shoes. Twelve of the women workers had to be taken to hospital (ICFTU, 1997).

CONCLUSION

I juxtaposed my story of Vietnam with Ms. Lap's story of Vietnam sweatshops, with Karl Marx's story of 19th century sweatshops, and my interviews with two women who worked in a Mexico sweatshop. I found some parallels, and mostly lots of differences. I think the exploration of postmemory feminism gives me compassion for how workers are treated in sweatshops. I am sure that for many readers, they prefer the stories told about sweatshops by überathletes, getting megabucks to tell much more Pollyanna stories, or just deflect the spotlight of scandal onto their adventures on the golf course, the soccer field, or in the paint of the basketball court. Still I do feel answerable, ethically, to explore these stories. I also benefit, I admit, but understanding my own trauma.

In sum, experience is mediated by the act of story that reshapes personal event reenactment into personal memory, and as group member, into collective memory, into history. Story and discourse mediate collective memory, taking it out of the sphere of reenactment, repression, and dissociation into willed story. I invented two concepts to explain this. First is antenarrative (a pre-story and a bet that a story can happen that is transformational) [see Boje, 2001d]. Antenarrative is the bet, in this application, that reenactment of trauma can be pre-storied, and then storied, to become a willed reshaping, that shapes collective memory. The second is what I call living story (Boje, 2006a). Living story is the story that shapes our life. A reenactment of trauma shapes a life, a living story either gets it into willful shape, or the story lived shapes the person. Both are possible. In other words, stories are more than textuality, they are living.

LAP:

- o ·On International Day, March 8, 1997, 56 women at the Nike factory, Pouchen, were forced to run around the factory grounds: 12 of them fainted and were taken to the hospital by their friends. This was particularly painful to the Vietnamese because it occurred on International Women's Day, an important holiday when Vietnam honors women (<http://www.boycottnike.com>).

- o ·Forty-five women were forced by their supervisors to kneel down with their hands up in the air for 25 minutes (<http://www.boycottnike.com>).

- o ·In the case of Ms Taska, her supervisor gave her nine cuts with a knife because she planned to participate in a strike for better safety conditions.

- o ·On November 26, 1996, 100 workers at the Pouchen factory, a Nike site in Dong Nai, were forced to stand in the sun for half an hour for spilling a tray of fruit on an altar which three Taiwanese supervisors were using. One employee (Nguyen Minh Tri) walked out after 18 minutes, and was then formally fired. Mr Nguyen Minh Tri was reinstated after intervention by local labor federation officials. Mr Tri, however, has declined to work for Pouchen (<http://www.boycottnike.com>).

- o ·In Vietnamese, *phoi nang* means sun-drying. Employees deemed in need of a bit of discipline are forced to stand in the tropical sun, which packs a wallop unfamiliar to those from more temperate climates (Manning, 1997).

Boje

BOJE: My contribution in this essay is performativity trauma, terror trauma, and the hypothesis that in the middle of trauma, and until it stops being reenactment, the person being interviewed by the monitor auditors, reporters, activists, or researchers simply can not story, not yet, perhaps, not ever.

A Tamara Journal Reviewer asked:

“Now you have written this article, these story columns. You have storied some of the trauma. Stepping outside the theory and under your skin, what is the reflexive effect on *you*? How did it feel when you were writing this? And how do you feel now that it is written? We see the process and the result and feel it colliding with our own stories, slipping under and around them, pushing on them, sometimes coaxing our stories and sometimes shoving like a playground bully. We get our feelings and your analysis - that you now understand your own trauma better, but I want to know about the influence of the storying process on you, on your heart, on *your feelings*. To me, it is the only thing that feels missing from the piece.”

To me the columns vibrate into one another. And so do the traumas. Lap got under my skin and so did the Vietnam events. It has taken 30 years to be able to story just the surface aspects of the Vietnam events. Each time I speak or write the Vietnam stories, I move bit by bit from reenactment to storyability. Not everything is storyable, and certainly not all at once. It takes time to get perspective, to step outside the theory.

Time Line for Kukdong Scandal Turned Media Spectacle

- o March 2000 Kuk Dong, owned by Hyu Su Byun of Korea, began to manufacture for Nike and since December 2000 for Reebok.

- o March 2000, there were approximately 1,800 workers at Kuk Dong producing one million sweatshirts for Nike and 40,000 for Reebok

- o As labor conditions worsened at Kukdong International, the number of workers dwindled from 1,800 to fewer than 900 by January 2001 when the strike and factory take-over by the workers began

- o March 6-12, 2000, Martin Austermuhle of Penn State University accompanies PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC) monitor on an inspection of three Nike factories in Puebla, including the Korean managed and owned, Kuk Dong factory. A brief report is posted on the NikeBiz web site. The longer report (Kepne, 2000) lists several violations and documents that Nike knew through PWC what was going on in Puebla.

- o Dec 13 2000 The Kukdong general manager confirmed that a supervisor had struck a worker with what he described as a “small hammer” on December 13, 2000, and that that the company had not disciplined the supervisor at that time (See WRC Report # 2, June 2001).

- o Dec 15, 2000 - Workers refused to eat factory food to protest its poor quality; then five worker-representatives are written up by management.

BOJE: For me there is these interesting difference between narrative and story. IN narrative, the aim is to get at some kind of form, some kind of abstraction, and these are said to be universal. But in story, as I see it, there is a reflexivity process taking place. And it is at that moment that story is most different from narrative. For me when I am able to story, I can move out of reenactment of trauma, and get a grip on story. I can turn events into experience, and here and there, wisdom tries to creep in. When I story, I master the events. When I reenact, the events master me.

In this way, I think you are spot on, the story is bidding me, coaxing me, egging me on, to get to some deeper reflexive level of awareness and understanding.

I can only get there by seeing my story emerge in relation to so many other stories I am encountering. In this way the stories of my times in Vietnam and Lap's times in sweatshops, and Marx's time in UK sweatshops, are informing one another, and I am being coaxed into some new relationship with my own living story.

And sometimes, living story is like that playground bully, pushing me to a point where I either reenact or withdraw.

TIME LINE CONTINUES:

o Jan 3, 2001 - five worker-supervisors were fired: The five fired worker-representatives are: Marco Santiago Perez Mesa, Marcela Muñoz Tepepa, Josefin Hernandez Ponce, Mario Nicanor Sefina, and Eduardo Sanchez Velasquez (Labor Bulletin, 2001; Alcalde, 2001). This dismissal was a result of the workers' refusal to eat the factory food on December 15, 2000. Only one of the five worker-supervisors signed a letter of resignation. 20-30 other workers were forced to sign letters of resignation.

o Jan 23, 2001 the Fair Labor Association (FLA) announced that it had approved seven major brand-name apparel and sports shoe companies to participate in its monitoring program, that included Nike and Reebok. Those companies now (August, 2001) include: Nike, Reebok (for footwear only), Adidas-Salomon AG, GEAR For Sports, Levi Strauss & Co., Liz Claiborne, & Patagonia, Phillips-Van Heusen, Eddie Bauer, Gear for Sports, and Polo Ralph Lauren.

o Jan 30, 2001 a Verité observer reported seeing 30 unarmed factory security personnel in civilian clothing patrolling work areas and production lines. 30 armed factory security guards were stationed at the factory gates.

Boje

BOJE: It is interesting that you ask about the impact on storying on my heart, on my feelings. I feel sad about Vietnam, about sweatshops. I feel that here is this woman named Lap, who is totally courageous, standing up against a major corporation and its supply chain, and all the prejudices that cut across race and gender. And standing up to it, she is beaten down, humiliated.

I feel somehow complicit in the process of Lap's humiliation. I feel complicit as a researcher. The times when ESPN and the Vietnamese businessman, and every academic, including me, are writing about Lap, we are either adding to her misery, drawing attention to her misery, or both.

So I feel there is this thread running between the theory, the empirical work, the interviewing --- and what is happening step by step to Lap. And it is why Kukdong is also important to story about. Did you know that when Sept 11 2001 happened to the U.S., Nike took that moment to back out of the SITEMEX worker;s union the young women at Kukdong had started?

Here I am in Mexico, and if I interview a worker still employed by Kukdong, then she will certainly be punished once the managers find out. She will be abused, most likely fired. And it is the research that is complicit in that process. We only interviewed the workers who had already left Kukdong employment.

JUST A BIT MORE TIMELINE:

- o Mar 2001, the factory employed only 600 workers, 585 in production and 85% are women, between the ages of 16 and 23 (Verité, 2001). A significant portion had lied about their age, and were less than 16. However, all records of employees less than 18 years of age were no longer in the files by the time the monitors did their inspection
- o Mar 26- Mar 31 2001 - Boje, Rosile & Alcantra-Carrillo go to Atlixco, Mexico to Kukdong factory (780 workers there; we interviewed only ones who had left)
- o Sept 11 - 2001 Terrorism
- o Sept 21st - SITEMEX workers' union was officially recognized
- o Oct 17, 2001 Vada Manager of Nike Corporation sent Dr. Boje a letter informing him that Nike would not be renewing orders at the Kukdong factory for the time being.
- o July 7 2001 - Rosile, Best, & Boje (2001) do their presentation in Heather Hopfl session in the theatre track at EGOS in Lyon France.

A professor jumps up. He is angry. Why do you try to make me feel guilty? Research should not be about emotions.

I started to explain. You have the power to change all this. You only have to become informed, to dig a bit deeper than the advertising hype.

BOJE LEFT COLUMN: I went back to New Mexico State, to my university. I organized some students to start up a United Students Against Sweatshops club. We went to our bookstore, where sweatshirts are sold, to see where they were made, and under what conditions.

So my feelings about Lap, about Kukdong, about Marx's work on sweatshop, and about myself, all mingled together. And my living story took a turn. I moved from writing about it, to doing something about it where I work and live.

I was shocked by the response. I was shocked that many students could be less than who makes their clothes, and even if severely abused will not change their purchasing practices. I was also amazed that when we went to the bookstore and to the buyers, these women cried when I told them stories of Lap and of the Kukdong women, and what had happened to them. All of a sudden, they were concerned. They wanted to help. "What can we do they asked?"

I told them, 'Keep buying the products. These women need the jobs. But demand that the factories pay a living wage, respect women's bodies, stop the abusive language.' Use your purchasing power as leverage to improve conditions. And they started doing just that.

I hope that answers the reviewer's questions.

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RIGHT COLUMN:

Let me remind you this is a presentation in Lyon France on theatre, on dramaturgy. And there is a lot of theatre going on. There is front-stage spectacle, and behind the scenes there are plays of power.

I realized that as I told living stories, that they were not his stories. I realized that this man was being very unsettled by stories I was sharing. Why? I think it may be that I was being in-the-moment, reenacting some trauma, and telling a story that had some distance from it. So now I must amend my theory. It seems the trauma still lingers, and is part of the performance, and so is the story. And my living story is still being worked out.

This returns me to the question posed at the outset. Is a story that is not distant from its events, from its pain, is that a story that one should tell?

I hope this answers the professor in Lyon concerns about me telling sweatshop stories.

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Musings on Feminism, Surrealism, and Synthesis

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ABSTRACT

This article explores Surrealism as portrayed quite differently by the male and female artists of the movement. The article further explores the dialectical concept of synthesis as a representation of "simultaneous states" and envisions feminism as a synthesis in the current historical context.

Keywords: feminism, surrealism, dialectic, synthesis

INTRODUCTION³¹

Some years ago I explored, with Adrian Carr, the similarities between critical theory and surrealism (Carr & Zanetti, 2000). In this article, we suggested that surrealism could be seen as a form of critical theory, contributing an important negation-estrangement effect, stepping outside oneself or one's customarily-held perspective to imagine and accept the antithesis: seeing the new in the old as well as the old in the new (see also Zanetti, 2003). This estrangement-effect is at the heart of dialectical thinking and dynamics. Dialectical thinking is destructive, but this destruction re-emerges as a positive act. Marcuse writes in the preface to the 1960 edition of *Reason and Revolution* that the function of dialectical thought

... is to break down the self-assurance and self-contentment of common sense, to undermine the sinister confidence in the power and language of facts, to demonstrate that unfreedom is so much at the core of things that the development of their internal contradictions leads necessarily to qualitative change: the

explosion and catastrophe of the established state of affairs (Marcuse, 1960, p. ix).

Estrangement produces emotional disturbance, turmoil, and discomfort in the psyche of the viewer (see Zanetti & Carr, 1997, 1998, 1999). It runs counter to prevailing attitudes and modes of thought. But this estrangement creates the conditions for overcoming the social amnesia, for seeing the world anew in the form of the synthesis. Jameson writes evocatively:

There is a breathlessness about this shift from the normal object-oriented activity of the mind to such a dialectical self-consciousness - something of the sickening shudder we feel in an elevator's fall or in the sudden dip of an airliner. That recalls us to our bodies much as this [dialectical transformation] recalls us to our mental positions as thinkers and observers. The shock is indeed as basic, and constitutive of the dialectic as such: without this transformational moment, without this initial conscious transcendence of an older, more naive position, there can be no question of any genuinely dialectical coming to consciousness.

But precisely because dialectical thinking depends so closely on the habitual everyday mode of thought

³¹ A version of this paper was originally presented at the "Anti-Essentialism Conference," Florida Atlantic University, Ft. Lauderdale USA, 2007, and I thank Hugh Miller and the conference participants for their helpful comments. I would also like to thank several anonymous reviewers for their insightful observations that have helped me refine some of the concepts presented here.

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which it is called on to transcend, it can take a number of different and apparently contradictory forms. So it is that when common sense predominates and characterizes our normal everyday mental atmosphere, *dialectical thinking presents itself as the perversely hairsplitting*, as the overelaborate and the oversubtle, reminding us that *the simple is in reality only a simplification, and that the self-evident draws its force from hosts of buried presuppositions* (Jameson, 1971, p. 308, emphasis added).

A feminist review of surrealism

In the years since the publication of the surrealism article, I've had cause and opportunity for continued rumination over the thesis. In retrospect, I don't believe we went far enough in our exploration of the relationship between surrealism and critical theory, for while the movement did provide an important intellectual foundation for twentieth-century developments in art, literature, and philosophy, the most prominent Surrealists were still prisoners of their historical context vis-à-vis their view of, and relationship with, both females and the feminine.

Reviewing Surrealist work with from a feminist ontology brings the work into an entirely different (and horrifying) perspective. Surrealism employed an "aesthetic of dismemberment" (Lyford, 2000) to illustrate the fragmentation of the world order, an aesthetic Lyford suggests was forged in the Parisian military hospital of Val-de-Grâce, where both Louis Aragon and Andre Breton met and served as physicians in training in 1917. Val-de-Grâce was a cutting-edge teaching hospital but also housed a museum that hosted and displayed a visual collection of the carnage of war: human bones and preserved body parts, medical and surgical equipment, prostheses, wax casts of injuries, and an assortment of drawings, paintings, and sculptures of the carnage of war. The French government opened the collection to public display beginning in 1916 in an attempt

to generate support for the war (honoring the brave men) and to highlight the ways in which French science and technology were treating the most severely wounded soldiers. It is certain that Aragon and Breton viewed the materials and exhibits. Lyford suggests this aestheticization of human suffering, portrayed primarily in terms of shattered and dismembered male bodies, as used by the government to promote national reconstruction, was not surprisingly picked up and employed by the Surrealists themselves as critique:

[S]urrealism's emphasis on dismemberment suggests a proposal to recast the state's rhetoric of reconstruction in language that reasserted the carnal horror of the war (the kind of destruction that Salvador Dali's melting, invaded forms or Man Ray's cropped and headless figures might conjure forth) instead of framing trauma as a necessary element in France's social and industrial evolution (Lyford, 2000, p. 52).

A number of scholars (I am not alone in this view) have critiqued Surrealism as hostile (or, at least, unenlightened) regarding women. Almost from the beginning, as in the 1934 pamphlet entitled "Qu'est-ce que le Surrealisme?", disturbing images of the female form prevailed. On the cover of this noted and notable pamphlet was printed Magritte's work entitled *Le Viol* (The Rape), a depiction of a woman's head in which her face has been replaced by her torso: her eyes are now her breasts, her nose has become her navel, and her mouth is depicted by her pubis (Greely, 1992). The ostensible purpose of this selection was indeed to shock and repulse, as Breton was announcing a revolutionary program. Surrealism was intended to disrupt conventional bourgeois morality and reveal its hypocrisy; free love and unconventional sexual arrangements were a part of this revolution (Gubar, 1987). The work can be interpreted as a commentary on the sexual silencing of women within the confines of a

stifling social order, and Kuspit (1988) argues that the Surrealists represented a transitional phase between authoritarianism and anti-authoritarianism. Still, I would argue that the psychoanalytic undercurrents and associations cannot be ignored: the male as voyeur; the image of woman speaking only through her genitals; an excessively long neck that suggests a puppeteer's hand animating the otherwise mute and lifeless figure. Aesthetic purpose, as Greely and Gubar suggest, does not automatically legitimize degradation.

Markus (2000) notes the Surrealist fascination with the praying mantis, a powerful metaphor and archetypal symbol of the devouring (castrating) female. As I have discussed in other work (see Zanetti 2002, 2003, 2007), the female mantis is notorious for devouring her male partner after mating (although there is some evidence that this ritual is most likely to occur when the creatures are in captivity). Markus notes:

Andre Breton and Paul Eluard cultivated mantises in their homes, studied them closely, and invited others to observe the spectacle of their macabre sexual rites The Surrealists' attraction to the mantis is underscored by the two most prominent motifs in their art, metamorphosis and vagina dentata. Both are

represented frequently through the image of the mantis (p. 33).

Sex and death seem to be inextricably linked for the Surrealists, especially Bataille, who explored this theme extensively. Images of devouring females with prominent teeth can be seen in Picasso, especially in his works *Nude on a White Background* (1927), *Bust of a Woman with Self Portrait* (1929), *Large Nude in a Red Armchair* (1929), *Seated Bather* (1930), and *The Kiss* (1931).³²

The dismembered female form occurs

³² Interestingly, these works were produced in the years that Picasso was most closely associated with the Surrealists (Markus, 2000).

repeatedly throughout Surrealist art. One of the most disturbing series, to me, is that of Hans Bellmer's revolting headless and disfigured dolls, which generally appear to be female forms. Man Ray's photographs are arresting but also fetishistic: see, for example, *Restored Venus*, 1936, a female torso - headless, limbless - in bondage; *Juliet, Nude in a Blond Wig* ca.1950-51, with her harsh red lips and dominatrix wig, even as she is nude and vulnerable; *Henry Miller and Masked Nude*, 1945, where the author appears as himself but the woman's face is obscured; and his "Electricity" photos, where only the woman's nude torso is visible.³³

Female surrealists, as far as is known, did not use the mantis to represent woman, although they, too, employed techniques and themes of violence, dismemberment and destruction. Lucy Schwob and Suzanne Malherbe, better known by their deliberately gender-neutral names of Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore, pushed the boundaries of gender and androgyny in ways that were disturbing - sometimes even dismembered and fragmented (see Claude Cahun and Moore, *Untitled*, 1928) - but not dismissive or misogynistic. For one thing, their faces remain: bold, assertive, androgynous (especially in the case of Cahun) and challenging.

I am particularly captivated by the work of the female Surrealist Leonora Carrington, whose paintings are on display at the Dallas Museum of Art as I write this, and whose art I find psychoanalytically interesting as some of it reminds me of the blazing, shimmering work often created by persons with schizophrenia or bipolar disorder.³⁴ The daughter of a wealthy British textile manufacturer, she rebelled against her social class in striking ways, running off with Max Ernst in 1937 (he was still married), surviving

³³ I do, however, love Man Ray's "Kiki" photos, which are transgressive in a fun and playful manner.

³⁴ Indeed, Carrington was at one time institutionalized for a mental breakdown and medicated with the drug cardiazol (Chadwick, 1986).

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the war and eventually settling in Mexico with the exiled Hungarian photographer Emerico Weisz. Hers is the art of self-exploration, utilizing symbols of alchemical transformation and the wisdom of the feminine. She employs the figure of the hyena to represent the merging of male and female. And perhaps because she has led such a long life (she is still living), we have an extraordinary opportunity to watch the development of her work as the representation of a woman's life journey.

It is also intriguing to read Carrington's descriptions of her time spent with the Surrealist masters. In an interview entitled "Leonora and Me," British journalist Joanna Moorhead (2007) writes of her discovery that she is related to the artist, and of her journey to meet and interview her famous relative. The first statement that caught my attention was that Moorhead's family referred to Carrington as the somewhat eccentric cousin who ran off to be "an artist's model." The assumption, we note, is not that Carrington could have been an artist, but only an artist's model (with the suggestion of loose morals that the phrase evokes). Moorhead had no idea of the vast body of work produced by her distant cousin; nor was she aware that Carrington had an international reputation as an exceptional artist and writer.

When Moorhead finally travels to Mexico to meet her famous cousin, she asks for Carrington's recollections of some of her most famous (and notorious) colleagues. About Ernst, for example, Moorhead writes:

In 1936, the first surrealist exhibition opened in London - for Leonora, something of an epiphany. "I [Carrington] fell in love with Max [Ernst]'s paintings before I fell in love with Max," she says. She met Ernst at a dinner party. "Our family weren't cultured or intellectual - we were the good old bourgeoisie, after all," she says. "From Max I had my education: I learned about art and literature. He taught me everything."

Carrington was somewhat less profuse in her admiration of others in the Surrealist circle. Moorhead continues:

Picasso is just one of the artists she [Carrington] came to know. "A typical Spaniard - he thought all women were in love with him," she remembers. And were they? "Well, I certainly wasn't. Though I liked his art." And then there was Salvador Dalí: "I met him by chance one day in André Breton's shop. He certainly wasn't extraordinary then: he looked like everyone else. It was only when he went to America that he started looking extraordinary." Dalí liked her - "a most important woman artist," he called her. She didn't much like Man Ray, "though I liked his girlfriend Ady Fidelin. What she saw in him, I'll never know - it certainly wasn't his looks." The couple knew Joan Miró - "He gave me some money one day and told me to get him some cigarettes. I gave it back and said if he wanted cigarettes, he could bloody well get them himself. I wasn't daunted by any of them" (Moorhead, 2007).

Finally, Moorhead writes of Carrington's importance as an artist:

Back in England, I talk to Matthew Gale, a curator at Tate Modern, about Leonora's significance as an artist, and detect an embarrassment that the Tate owns only two of her works, both pen and ink drawings. "In many ways, Britain has acted in the same way as your family," he says. "She has been neglected: apart from the collector Edward James, who bought many of her paintings, and an exhibition at the Serpentine in the 1980s, she's had very little exposure here. But all the time, she's been building up a massive international reputation, so suddenly we're scrabbling around to catch up, to put her in her rightful place in her native country."

Her importance, he says, lies partly in that she - along with artists such as Leonor Fini and Remedios Varo - opened up a new, and more female, strand of surrealism: in Mexico, Leonora and Varo dabbled in alchemy and the occult, and the work of both was rooted for a time in the magical and domestic elements of women's lives. "One of the extraordinary aspects of Leonora's work is how she draws on so many different inspirations, from the Celtic legends she learned from her nanny, through the constraints of her upper-class upbringing, to the surrealism of Paris in the 1930s - and then to the magic of Mexico," Gale says. "Her work is evocative of so many things, and it's enormously complex: she hasn't had a massive output because her technique is so meticulous and the work so detailed. She certainly wasn't a Picasso who could churn out several pictures a day; her work would take many months, even years."

When I tell Leonora about my conversation with Gale, she is thrilled. I hear the mischievous note in her voice that once so infuriated her father, and delighted Max Ernst. "So, they think they should have more of my work, do they?" she says. "Good! That's made my day!" (Moorhead, 2007).

Feminism and essentialism

Discussions regarding essentialism have surfaced in many fields of inquiry. Essentialism, in its most stripped down meaning, refers to the belief that people and/or phenomena have an underlying and unchanging "essence," similar to Plato's ideal forms. The term essentialism is commonly used in three main ways. First, it refers to the use of biological, physiological and, increasingly, genetic, causes as explanations for human social behavior. In this case little, if any, explanatory weight is given to psychological, sociological or cultural

explanations. An example would be to argue that women are more emotional than men and that this is inevitably due to hormonal differences. The intention is to use biology to argue that a particular social difference and/or behavior is both unalterable and unavoidable.

A second use of the term essentialism is when generalized statements make no reference to cross-cultural differences or previous historical variation (also sometimes known as universalism). An example would be to state that men are more visual than women, in all cultures and at all times. Against this a sociologist or anthropologist may argue that the way we use our senses, and which ones we prioritize, is something that varies between cultures and throughout history.

Third, the term essentialism refers to the use of unified concepts. This means that when we talk of the experiences, for example, of the disabled, the mentally ill, or (often) the experiences of women, we are lumping all individualized experiences together to provide a generalized (and generalizable) description of highly individualized conditions.

Essentialism is often posited against anti-essentialism, following our Western "principle of non-contradiction" which dictates that contradictions ("a" and "not-a") cannot logically exist simultaneously. Therefore, when we encounter contradictions, we typically are tempted - indeed, often we are instructed - to resolve them at any cost. Typically, the evocation of anti-essentialism is attributed to the group of scholars loosely referred to as postmodernists (Baudrillard, Lyotard, Derrida, and Foucault, among others) who trace their intellectual genealogy back to Nietzsche and Heidegger.

Dialectic and non-essentialism

I suggest that this characterization omits an important intellectual option in failing to address the contributions of critical theory, which, through the use of dialectic, provides a distinctive approach to logic and patterns of

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thought that provides an alternative to the principle of non-contradiction, and, by extension, to the opposition of essentialism and anti-essentialism. In response, I would like to consider the possibility of what I call "non-essentialist" thinking, characterized by the dialectical logic of critical theory.

Dialectic has a long history as a form of philosophical debate which developed from Socratic dialogue. It is the major form of debate in Plato's "Dialogues" where the protagonist provisionally accepts an opponent's view in order to explore contradictory consequences. Aristotle identified dialectic as a form of argument which started from unsubstantiated opinion and which therefore could not result in the verifiable conclusions of logical forms of argument. For the Stoics, and later for medieval thinkers, the term simply referred to a form of argument. Hegel gave new meaning to the term, seeing the dialectic as a process of reconciliation of opposites (thesis and antithesis, leading to synthesis). For Hegel, the dialectic was the driving force behind historical change and an expression of a Universal Mind or Spirit.

However, not every framework presenting two sides of a question or situation is dialectical. Dialectic incorporates a "substantive" contradiction, rather than simply a formal-quantitative one. Second, simplistic reduction of the familiar thesis-antithesis-synthesis relationship has given rise to the perception that the synthesis is analogous to compromise, a kind of middle ground halfway between the two original starting points (Horkheimer spoke contemptuously of the tendency to represent dialectic as a "lifeless diagram").³⁵ Mediation takes place in and through the extremes (the thesis and antithesis); it is not a simple give-and-take along a continuum. The synthesis becomes a new "working reality" and may, in turn, become a thesis (which then engenders its own antithesis). The contradiction is not "resolved" but instead is absorbed and transformed: the frame of reference which

made the poles opposites in the first case is transcended (Arato and Gephardt, 1982/1993). Thus, what might appear to be opposites in one construction (force and consent, for example) might no longer be opposites in a different context.

A third common misunderstanding refers to the nature of contradiction represented by the dialectic. Traditional (or formal) logic dictates that two contradictory elements can never be true together (see, for example, Popper, 1963), but traditional logic, because it focuses on empirical (mostly quantitative) representations of reality, necessarily builds on arbitrarily constructed foundations. At some point, the logic is abstracted from reality (formalized). In critical theory, however, form cannot be separated from content. It must continually reflect the whole of reality, not just a simplification of it.

Adorno's goal was to formulate a post-Hegelian dialectic which does not culminate in a final synthesis or conceptual unity, but which provides a reflective openness that infinitely postpones the moment of closure. What is problematic, for Adorno, is the tendency of modern reason to culminate in self-enclosure or self-sufficiency, elevating human subjects to a position of mastery or domination in and over the world. Adorno's dialectic is negative in the sense of nonaffirmation: with the claims of linear teleology and systematic unity cast aside, human reason is no longer an instrument of domination but instead assists in the emancipation of social phenomena from conceptual restraints (Dallmayr, 1997).

Non-essentialism, ambivalence, and simultaneous states

Despite our brain-marination in the flavor of Western logic, we are, in fact, surrounded by examples and experiences of non-essentialism. Keats used the evocative phrase "negative capability" to characterize the key attribute of a great poet. In this state, "man [sic] is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable

³⁵ Horkheimer, in Arato & Gephardt, 1982/1993. p. 414.

reaching after fact & reason” (Keats, 1970, p.43). Negative capability indicates the capacity to live with ambiguity and paradox, to hold or contain - not just react to - the pressure to act from one's own ego impulses or act out, to identify with the moods and modes of suffering of another. It was necessary, Keats believed, for the poet to be, above all, open to impressions, sensations or whatever, which means that the “camelion” (sic) poet is forever changing his/her ideas. Although it may to some extent come naturally to us, negative capability must also be learned: “This is a difficult intellectual stance to maintain even in the best of circumstances. To an active, seeking mind, the existence of mysteries poses a challenge. When those mysteries begin to touch a man directly, when they become, as Keats would call them a 'burden,' the mind grows increasingly less capable of ignoring them” (Ryan, 1976: 157).

Ambivalence involves expression of both sides of a dualism, in contrast to compromise, which seeks a middle ground and therefore may lose the essence of both (all) sides. In political science, the term ambivalence is often used to suggest value conflict. Hochschild (1981) finds that “given the opportunity, people do not make simple statements; they shade, modulate, deny, retract, or just grind to a halt in frustration.” Hochschild is clear that not all value conflicts result in ambivalence. For example, an individual might sort the importance of different norms among different domains. In Hochschild's work, individuals experience ambivalence when they aren't able to resolve the conflict; however, she does not separate out similarly conflictual states. Ambivalence is manifested in helplessness, anger, inconsistency, or confusion. Feldman and Zaller (1992) also view ambivalence as a manifestation of value conflict. In their study using open-ended questions, they find that social welfare liberals tend to be more ambivalent regarding social welfare, and they suggest that this is due to their difficulty in reconciling their pro-welfare view with individualism, and limited government, which are highly valued in American politics.

Ambivalence is a type of conflict in both of these works, but neither of these works addresses intensity, or personal importance. For example, a person could be conflicted about whether there should be a flag burning amendment, but feel that they want more information before they make up their mind. Another might feel conflicted, but also not care as it has little impact on their life. A third might care deeply about the issue but also feel conflicted- perhaps they strongly believe that freedom of expression should be protected, but also believe that flag burning hurts national pride, which they value highly. When asked about flag burning, all three individuals might appear ambivalent under this first definition.

To complicate things further, in political science there has been a tendency to use the term ambivalence in the context not of individual citizens and their individual attitudes, but in the context of public opinion. It is common to read impressionistic reports of public opinion polls in the media, or to hear talking heads debate the “ambivalence” of the public - when the data being discussed show disagreement in aggregate public opinion about some policy. But just because 49% of the public believes that policy should go in one direction, and 51% disagrees, does not indicate that *individuals* are ambivalent.

Psychologists define ambivalence more narrowly. Cacioppo and Berntson (1994) argue that ambivalence is a state of simultaneous high positive and high negative evaluation of an attitude object. Importantly, they argue that positive and negative evaluations are not necessarily coupled as the traditional bipolar scale implies. People can hold a very positive evaluation and little in the way of negative feelings towards the same attitude object, as the bipolar scale implies, or they could hold low negative and low positive feelings, or even high negative and high positive feelings simultaneously. This last state is their version of ambivalence. Bassili (1998) also measures ambivalence by asking respondents about positive and negative feelings separately, and measure the amount

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of conflict. He finds that the higher the conflict (or potential ambivalence), the slower they are to express their opinions.

Some political science views of ambivalence are closer to the definitions found in psychology. McGraw et. al. (2003) include subjective and objective measures of ambivalence and uncertainty in a study of on-line and memory-based candidate evaluation. Their objective measure of ambivalence is calculated by dividing the subject's average intensity of reactions to characteristics (positive and negative) by the similarity of reactions, while their subjective measure is a simple agree/disagree with the statement "I have both positive and negative feelings about [candidate]." Interestingly, they find that the subjective experience of ambivalence is related to a memory based judgment strategy, meaning that these participants were more likely to rely on information that was readily accessible (as opposed to their on-line tally). They also find that the subjective measure of ambivalence is directly related to candidate evaluation for participants low in political sophistication, but not for participants high in political sophistication. In contrast, the objective measures of ambivalence are moderately related to candidate evaluation for more sophisticated participants, and are unrelated for less sophisticated participants.

Alvarez and Brehm (2002) define ambivalence as strong internalized conflict. In their book, they characterize it as when:

Coincident predispositions induce wider response variability [and when] information widens response variability. Ambivalence results when respondents' expectations or values are irreconcilable... (p. 58).

In their operationalization, Alvarez and Brehm portray ambivalence as a condition experienced by the respondent at the moment of the interviewer's question, which reveals itself because of characteristics of prior information about the respondent's choices, in the form of their value-orientations and state

of informedness, and detected via an inferential statistical approach.

There are important distinctions in the ways these authors are using the term ambivalence. Some view it as a general state of confusion, and others restrict it to only those instances of high evaluative conflict. Depending on which definition is used, ambivalence is either common or rare in public opinion. Another important distinction is between the subjective experience of feeling ambivalent, and ambivalence as a property of an attitude, as measured by combining separately measured positive and negative evaluations.

Sociologically speaking, in an ambivalent stance, the clear positions of the oppositions are retained (Meyerson, 2001). However, I suggest that ambivalence does not necessarily involve conflict, but can represent the ability to be non-essentialist - that is, to maintain both "a" and "non-a" simultaneously - a condition I am calling "simultaneous states."

So how does this relate back to feminism? Much of the scholarly discussion and disagreement among feminist theorists can be characterized as a debate between essentialists (women are different from men) and anti-essentialists (there may be differences, but they are largely socially constructed). I am, in some respects, an essentialist. I accept, for example, that there are significant biological differences between the brains of most women and those of most men, and that those differences may cause men and women, as groups, to approach and interact with the world quite differently. In the recently-published book *The Female Brain* (2006), for example, Brizendine provides some very convincing arguments for the physiological equivalent of "Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus": that men and women are fundamentally different.

But I also accept that male and female, as sex categorizations, are not dichotomous distinctions, as compellingly illustrated in the

Jeffrey Eugenides 2002 novel *Middlesex*. Despite external appearances and the presence of either/or categorizations on bureaucratic forms, inter-sexed individuals (hermaphrodites) are far more commonplace than we are led to believe.³⁶ In many plant and animal species, hermaphroditism is commonplace, or even a normal part of the life cycle. Generally, hermaphroditism occurs in the invertebrates, although it occurs in a fair number of fish, and to a lesser degree in other vertebrates. On very rare occasions, such a hermaphrodite can even impregnate itself, but this will result in complications, such as the offspring having identical DNA to its parent.

Sequential hermaphrodites are organisms born as one sex which later change into the other sex, and can only function as one sex at one time. A few species in this group can sex change multiple times, but they can only function as one sex at a time.³⁷ One example, Clownfish, are colorful reef fish found living with anemones. Generally one anemone contains a "harem" consisting of a large female, a smaller reproductive male, and even smaller non-reproductive males. If the female is removed, the reproductive male will sex change into a female, and the largest of the non-reproductive males will mature and become reproductive.

Protogyny describes a situation in which the organism starts as a female, and changes sex to a male later in life. Wrasses are reef fish that are all protogynous, but have two different life strategies: some species all start out as females, and when they get large enough they will change sex to males. Other species start out as females or

males (initial phase), and either may shift to become a supermale (terminal phase male). The females and the initial phase males have similar colorations. The supermale is larger and usually brightly colored, and there is only one in a given area of the reef. This supermale dominates the other wrasses of the species, and "pair spawns" (one male with one female) repeatedly. The initial phase males will group spawn, with many males and females participating. When the supermale dies the largest wrasse in the area (male or female) changes into the new supermale.

A simultaneous hermaphrodite (or synchronous hermaphrodite) is an adult organism that has both male and female sexual organs at the same time. Usually, self-fertilization does not occur. For example, Hamlets (a species of fish) do not practice self-fertilization, but when they find a mate, the pair takes turns between which one acts as the male and which acts as the female through multiple matings, usually over the course of several nights. Earthworms are also synchronous hermaphrodites. Although they possess ovaries and testes, they have a protective mechanism against self fertilization and can only function as a single sex at one time.

Banana slugs are still another example of synchronous hermaphrodite. Mating with a partner is most desirable, as the genetic material of the offspring is varied, but if mating with a partner is not possible, self-fertilization will occur. The male sexual organ of an adult banana slug is quite large in proportion to its size, as well as compared to the female organ. If a banana slug has lost its male sexual organ, it can still self-fertilize, making its hermaphroditic quality an invaluable adaptation.

The term hermaphrodite is also used in botany to describe a flower that has both staminate (male, pollen-producing) and carpelate (female, seed-producing) parts that are self fertile or self pollenizing. Hermaphroditism in plants is more complex

³⁶ True hermaphroditism requires the presence of both ovarian (female) and testicular (male) reproductive tissue and is relatively rare and poorly understood. Pseudo-hermaphroditism is more common.

³⁷ Unlike humans, these animals' DNA does not determine their sex, allowing full functional sex change without modifying the DNA. Protandry describes when the organism starts as a male, and changes sex to a female later in life.

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than in animals because plants can have hermaphroditic flowers as described, or unisexual flowers with both male and female types developing on the same individual—a closer analogy to animal hermaphroditism.

The point of the above discussion is that the sexes of “male” and “female,” which we conventionally categorize as essentialist, discrete conditions, can and do exist quite widely as simultaneous states. We see a similar condition when we look at certain illnesses. Bipolar disorder, also known as manic depression or manic-depressive illness, is a mental illness in which one's moods can swing wildly from euphoria to deepest depression. In the manic phase, sufferers typically experience a range of symptoms, including increased energy, racing thoughts and rapid speech, impaired judgment, reckless behavior, a sense of exhilaration, irritability and hostility, and changes in perception, which can extend to hallucinations, delusions, and paranoia. A somewhat milder form of mania, generally referred to as hypomania, is particularly seductive and difficult to recognize. Then there is the inevitable depression. Bipolar depressions tend to be different from unipolar depressions, and often in the absence of a full-blown mania it is the atypical depression that finally identifies the disorder.

But the experience of bipolar disorder is not limited to the two poles of mania and depression, separated by periods of stability. It is also possible to be both manic and depressed at the same time, a turbulent condition with the disarmingly diffident classification of “mixed state” or “mixed episode.” The DSM-IV alludes to mixed states where full-blown mania and major depression collide in a raging sound and fury, but there are also more subtle manifestations. Clinicians commonly refer to these under-the-DSM radar mixed states as dysphoric hypomania or agitated depression, often using the terms interchangeably. Some describe the former as “an energized depression.” In any case, the point is that both conditions — mania and depression, “a” and “not-a” — exist

simultaneously. In my experience, it is the physical (physiological) manifestation of Jameson's intellectual description earlier in this article: the “sickening shudder” of synthesis.

Feminism as synthesis

I want to suggest that, as it relates to any number of fields of scholarly study, feminism has served important dialectical functions. On the one hand, feminist interpretations have served as the antithesis to many patriarchal, prevailing explanations of the world. On the other hand (and owing a great debt to Judith Butler), I suggest that, for the time being, feminism may also be a contemporary synthesis.

Over the past several years I have been musing about the exact nature of synthesis. What is it, really? What happens in the “black box” between thesis and antithesis? How does that Hegelian shift take place — how does the slave come to understand that s/he is actually overlord of the master?

It seems to me that some degree of ambivalence must be present in the synthesis — and expression of both sides of the dualism. Furthermore, it seems that a condition of “simultaneous states” must also take place — that in the process of thesis resolving with antithesis, we must be able to “be both” and hold contradictions long enough for the organic process of synthesis to occur (see also Zanetti, 2003).

Judith Butler's brilliant book *Undoing Gender* (2004) gives us much to think about along these lines. In the chapter entitled “The End of Sexual Difference?” Butler, a Hegelian scholar and feminist theorist, reviews the questions posed by various theorists regarding this question. For Luce Irigaray and Drucilla Cornell, the question is how to come to terms with otherness. For Anne Fausto-Sterling, the question is one of multiple genders and/or degrees of hermaphroditism, as discussed earlier in this article. Rosi Braidotti considers the question one of

metamorphosis and transformation, using bodily activism to find a way through pain and limitation.

In the following chapter, Butler addresses the question of social transformation, and it was in reading this chapter that I found myself thinking of feminism as contemporary synthesis. She writes:

That feminism has always thought about questions of life and death means that feminism has always, to some extent and in some way, been philosophical. That it asks how we organize life, how we accord it value, how we safeguard it against violence, how we compel the world, and its institutions, to inhabit new values, means that its philosophical pursuits are in some sense at one with the aim of social transformation (p. 205).

I particularly like this assessment because of its focus on the nexus of sex and life, rather than sex and death as seen in Freudian psychoanalytic theory and the work of the male Surrealists. I have long maintained that, as a woman who has borne and reared children, my associations with sex are generative rather than nihilistic and the connection between sex and death makes no sense to me. Furthermore, these associations do not change simply because I will no longer bear children. I do not suggest that these associations are biologically bound; rather, they seem more a product of the patriarchal, bourgeois social-cultural framework.

Feminism, I would argue, represents the synthesis in this historical moment. On the one hand, it is important to maintain a framework of sexual difference because it reminds us that patriarchal domination is a continuing cultural and political reality. Until that situation changes, it will always be different for a woman to enter into transgressive gender norms (while acknowledging that men have their issues with gender norms, as well). In exploring

butch-femme distinctions, theorists and activists noted new understandings emerging; butch and femme were not just replications of heterosexual roles but something distinct. Butler continues: "I would hope that we would all remain committed to the ideal that no one should be forcibly compelled to occupy a gender norm that is undergone, experientially, as an unlivable violation" (p. 213).

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Eriksen, Chaves, Hope, & Dugal
**Creating a Community of Critically Reflexive Feminist
Scholars**

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ABSTRACT:

In this paper, the authors explain and display their process for becoming more critically reflexive scholars (Cunliffe, 2003). This is accomplished through creating a *community of critically reflexive scholars*. Within this community of inquiry (Eriksen, 2001), participants attempt to go beyond a simple awareness of their ontological and epistemological assumptions and to reflex upon their individual uniqueness as a human being who is engaged in scholarship. In other words, each participant jointly attempts to understand his or her self as a scholar. Specifically, in this article, the authors critically reflex upon their selves within the context of their roles as feminist scholars. The process of inquiry consists of ongoing four stages: giving an account of one's self with respect to a particular area of scholarship, reading everyone else's account, and responding to reading each others account, and finally sharing these responses with one another. Through this process, the authors not only became more critically reflexive scholars but were also personally transformed and obtained a deeper understanding of feminism.

Key words: self-reflexivity, self-awareness, dialogue, inquiry, feminism

Prologue

Based on my initial reflections on Sc'Moi's conference theme of feminism and what to write about for the conference, I found myself reflecting upon the question I am often asked by those who become aware of my work with female cadets at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy on their lived-experience as female cadets and our efforts to change the Coast Guard Academy to improve female cadets' leadership development and day-to-day lives at the

Academy. The question that is most often raised is "why?" "Why do I engage in such research?"

I most often answer with something to the effect that it is because I had been engaged with racial diversity issues at the University of Rhode Island while a graduate student there, and I planned on continuing this work at the Coast Guard Academy but quickly found out race was not something that was openly discussed at the Academy, at least outside of Admissions. Also, the

multicultural organizations at the Academy function primarily as social clubs - this is not meant to trivialize their purpose because this is a very important need they fulfill. But they do not engage in the activist role that multicultural organizations do on most college campuses.

Although not very relevant to the day-to-day embodied experience of female cadets, there was some discussion of gender at the Academy (this has improved somewhat because of the cadets' and my work and few other committed staff members). But the discussions mostly focused on the percentage of cadets that were women. The Administrators at the Coast Guard Academy focused on the fact that women made up more than twice the percentage of cadets as they did at the other U.S. military academies. This of course was used to mitigate conversations concerning the actual lived-experience of female cadets. Based on some of the female cadets' personal leadership conundrums (a semester-long project based on the cadet's personal leadership conundrum (Eriksen, 2007) that they explored in my leadership course, I became aware of and interested in lived experience of female cadets' at the Academy and in the operational Coast Guard. This was the impetus for my ongoing work with female cadets and officers.

But what I have come to realize is that this explanation does not really answer the question in a meaningful way. In other words, it does not help me understand myself, why I engage in this type of teaching, research and change initiative, where I am positioned with respect to feminism and what it means to my research approach and day-to-day life. I shared these musings with my colleague Wanda, and through our discussion, we realized that each of us has a unique understanding of and relationship to "feminism" that has to do with our experiences, who we are and what social space(s) we occupy, or into which we are interpellated (Althusser, 1971

& Dugal. et. al, 2003.) - we can separate these three things for means of discussion but they cannot be understood outside one another. Also, we realized that there are material, cognitive and emotional consequences, both "positive" and "negative," for us to engage in "feminist" scholarship and to being labeled a [pro-] feminist. We came to the conclusion that to explore these issues would be valuable to us as individual scholars and to Sc'Moi as a community.

Wanda and I have asked Sanjiv and Angela to join with us in giving an account of ourselves (Butler, 2005) with respect to feminism. After we have done this individually, we will share our accounts among us, and then we will express how this sharing affects our understanding of self, feminism, and our position relative to feminism. Thus, this paper is a personal and collective exploration and account of ourselves with respect to feminism as body of knowledge and a category into which we might be hailed and the consequences of this is to our lived experience. We believe the personal, subjective, narrative nature of this exploration, is more meaningful in understanding our position with respect to feminism and of feminism than to simply categorizing ourselves within a particular feminist camp. Also, it reveals the complexity, flux, contingency and personal nature of our understanding of and position with respect to feminism. Also, we hope to provoke other academics and professionals see and feel the limitations and consequences of most "academic" discussions, research, and knowledge on feminism.

In our paper, each of us will describe our self as we are typically hailed (e.g., Matthew as a pro-feminist) in relationship to our role as [pro]feminist researcher, how we came to the topic as an area of interest, how we understand the topic of feminism, the experience and consequences - positive and negative and personal and professional, how we orient ourselves within or in relation

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to the field of feminism, to us from our engagement in feminist research or practice and of being hailed a [pro]feminist.

--Matthew

The Requisite Academic Framing

It is our desire to understand our selves with respect to the topic of feminism, so we can grapple with how we are part of our scholarship, not something separate of it. We realize the world we research is not separate of our experience of it. Our conceptions of our selves influence how we conduct our scholarship and research and the conclusions that we draw from this research. Who we are determines how we perceive and conceive when engaging in research. Our understanding of our selves facilitates our action, for purposes of this article our action as feminist scholars.

In this paper, we present our process of attempting to become more critically reflexive scholars (Cunliffe, 2003). We do not focus on our assumptions about the nature of knowledge and being, even though we believe a researcher's knowledge and understanding of these assumptions is critical to him or her conducting meaningful research (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2003). The implication of possessing certain epistemological and ontological assumptions has been addressed by many other scholars (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, Cunliffe, 2003). Instead, we focus on "the complex, interactional and emergent nature of our social experience (Cunliffe, 2003, 984)." In other words, as researchers, we are much more complex than simply our ontological and epistemological assumptions, and these other parts of us are worthy of and essential to our exploration in *becoming* more critically reflexive scholars. Thus, in this paper, our accounts of our selves are based in our practical everyday understandings of ourselves, which may be more or less "academic" in nature.

We explore our selves through creating a community of inquiry (Eriksen, 2001, Dewey, 1908). As we explore and develop our selves, we also explore and develop our understanding of feminism. Feminism is not something that exists "out there" separate of us, but rather it is an idea that is created and sustained between us, moves through us, and affects how we understand our selves and our scholarship perspective. In other words, who a researcher is cannot be separated from her or his research. Our understanding of our selves can not be separated from our understanding of reality, or in this case our understanding of feminism. Like Deleuze and Guattari, we conceive of the self not as being but as becoming. "[B]ecoming is not the becoming of some being. There is becoming, from which we perceive a relatively stable point of being (Colebrook, 2005, 52)."

In this paper, we will explain the nature of our engagement, our community of inquiry. Then we will present the content of this process - our writings. Finally, we will present some conclusions we drew from engaging in our process.

The Nature of our Community of Inquiry

For purposes of this paper, the process of inquiry consists of ongoing four stages: giving an account of one's self with respect to feminism, reading everyone else's account, and responding to reading each others account, and finally sharing these responses with one another. Beyond the context of this paper, it was the first round of this ongoing four-stage process in which we continue to be engaged.

First, we gave an account of ourselves (Bulter, 2005), we presented our self to each other. These accounts can be conceived of as photographic images that presents our selves at a particular moment in time (Flusser, 2000, Dugal, Eriksen, & Robbins, 2007) - "a relatively stable point of being (Colebrook, 2005, 52)." It is a

snapshot from which we move into continually emerging understandings of our selves and feminism. In other words, we attempt to create a picture of our self to share with each other; we fix in time and space our process of becoming. In giving an account of our selves, we are trying (re)present something that has no materiality; we are trying to (re)present a conception that emerges from within us and is determined by the social influences.

Rather than being an account of an objective permanent self, our account is an exploration and creation of our self within the matrix of social institutions (Butler, 2005). These accounts are delimited by how we imagine our audience - who we want to be in their eyes, who we imagine them to be, how we imagine they will respond to our narrative, and what that reaction means to us. "[W]e seek to present an aspect of ourselves that is acceptable to both ourselves and the eventual viewer (Dugal, et al., 2007)." These conceptions of self may be accepted, supported, rejected, rewarded, punished, etc. through each other's response. The response may strengthen, weaken, or alter our presented account of our self.

Second, we each share our account and read and experience each other's account. Through our reading of each other's account, we deepen our understanding of our selves. It is through the difference(s) in the selves that we present to each other (Dugal & Eriksen, 2004) that we begin to understand our selves in new ways. The four of us are different in many ways such as sex, age, race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, and geography, and experience. Some of us have never actually met in person and thus, only know each other through our texts. Difference signifies, speaks, and carries a message (Hall, 1997).

Third, we respond to each other's account. Of course, these responses are another presentation of our selves and our

understanding of feminism. We deepen our understanding of ourselves and feminism through this dialogue with others (Bakhtin, 1935/1981). It is through our recognition of our differences that we begin to understand our self and to imagine new possibilities for our self. As we reflect on, write about, and present our selves, we are actively constructing our selves in the telling. Finally, we share our responses with one another.

Accounts of Self

Angela:

Three different organizations have had an enormous impact on me growing up and they still continue to impact me greatly. They have shaped who I am in many ways, and they have (with my help of course) turned me into a raging and radical feminist. These organizations are the family, the Catholic Church, and the U.S. military.

My father is a village born Greek. Although he has always supported me in everything I do, he is a product of his culture. For him, women's primary purpose is to cook, clean, and have children or to put it another way serve the patriarchal institution. For my Dad, sure I can rule the world if I want, but I still have to come home and cook for my husband and care for my children. I was raised Catholic and went to parochial schools as a child. I grew up never missing mass on Sunday. If I did, I had to go to confession because it was a sin to miss mass. When I was seventeen, I enlisted in the army and seven years later, I am still in the service. As far as these latter two organizations are concerned, I contend they are the bastions for patriarchy--the match which lights the oil. Both the Catholic Church and the military remain the only two organizations which can legally bar women from certain roles in the United States. These organizations often make me feel like I am in a lion's den; however, I also call them home.

My feminist journey has been a beautiful one so far. Before I entered graduate

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studies, I would have said that I was someone who used the phrase: "Well, I am not a feminist, but..." Then I took a leap of faith and signed up for the course "Feminist Theology" with Dr. Shelly Rambo at Boston University School of Theology in January of 2005. Taking this course was the best thing I have ever done in my life. It marks my transformation from a patriarchal woman into a woman self-defining. I did not ease myself into the literature and the dialogues of this course; I took the jump off the cliff. I remember one particular day very clearly. It was at the end of the course, when we each had to present a liturgy of some sort that could be in the form of a poem, dance, song, or ceremony. When it was my turn to present, I showed a video clip which I had made of women in the military. In the end, I broke down and sobbed. I did not anticipate this at all. I shared with everyone in the class that I felt as though the stool which I had been sitting on for the past twenty plus years was taken out from under me. This challenging experience was filled with passion, emotions, depression, joy, and love. I took the jump instead of walking down slowly because I saw freedom and life at the very bottom of the cliff. At the bottom of the cliff, I saw my gorgon rage calling to me—I saw Medusa, Eve, Mary Magdala. I saw Goddess. My feminist journey was and continues to be an embodied, spiritual endeavor, and healing my feminine wound is a never-ending process.

Part of being a feminist I have found means taking the good with the bad. The range of schools that follow my beliefs and ideologies are regrettably few and far between. For example, when I began searching for PhD programs in Management in the United States, I emailed numerous professors asking if they would be willing to supervise my work. I stated upfront that I was interested in critical, qualitative, and feminist approaches. The responses I did get were not too promising. One particular professor shared with me that finding business programs open to feminist and

critical research would be extremely difficult. Furthermore, the only reason she survived as long as she did was because she was able to secure tenure. I guess I was not surprised. In any case, I would not trade any second of the bad for normalcy and conformity because to do that would be to constrict my will and suffocate my soul—my own divine feminine. I would rather be persecuted and marginalized than become co-opted. Instead, I read and I ensure that I am in community with other like-minded persons in order to armor and maintain my passion.

One of my friends says: "A true feminist is radical." Being a radical feminist for me requires keeping my flame alive but also requires tendering the flame. This does not mean to suppress it, but it means that I have to dodge and weave. I have to have maneuverability in order to subvert and infiltrate patriarchal pollution. As a radical feminist, I believe that patriarchy or heteronormativity is evil. These systems perpetuate racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, fascism—all the classic isms. Being a feminist means for me understanding and taking into consideration the intersection of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation—not just gender.

Methodology

I would say there are three different methodologies for doing feminism. The first is to not to walk the tight rope but instead to be a thorn in people's sides. The second methodology requires being more cooperative and more "reasonable." It involves trying to work to bring about change from within. The third consists of men who are apart of the system but work for the underdog so to speak. I tend to utilize the first method the most, but it is always situation dependent. Finally, my approach to feminism involves finding the middle path between essentialist leanings and social constructivism. I recognize the dangers of extreme essentialism and extreme social constructivism as

viewpoints. The next part of my feminist journey will involve finding a way to articulate this middle path and place it into meaningful praxis in the day-to-day.

Matthew:

Since my work with the female cadets is viewed as an effort towards establishing gender equality at the Academy, I am most often hailed a "pro-feminist." While working for social equality is definitely one of my desires, it is not the only reason for my engagement in the directed studies with female cadets. Thus, this title is does capture the complexity of my motivations to engage in my work with the female cadets.

On a general level, I have always been fascinated with social equality and social justice movements. This came from reading about people like Martin Luther King, Gandhi, Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela. I have an interest in understanding the lived-experience of 'Others'. Not just to understand their experience, but through dialogue with 'Others', to construct an understanding of my self (Bahktin, 1981); actually, I think these two understandings cannot be separated. Through dialogue with the female cadets, I have come to know my self. For example, I have come to know my sexism and my social privilege as a [white] male. Engaging in dialogue with the female cadets and officers made me begin to watch my self in my daily interactions at the Academy. For example, one morning I was working out in the gym at the Academy. After the workout, I went to get a towel for my shower and for two male officers that were finishing up their workout. As I was handing the towels to these two officers, I exclaimed "here you go ladies." As the words were coming out of my mouth, I realized I was playfully insulting these officers by referring to them as women. I was being sexist.

Some other reasons for my engagement with the female cadets in these directed studies were that it would help my performance evaluation and academic

career because teaching the directed was going beyond my required teaching load, I would be able to generate some research out of it, and it made me feel good about myself since I was engaging in behavior that was attempting "to make the world a better place." As a side note, I was always upfront with the cadets about what I thought would gain from our interactions. This was as much for my self, as it was for them.

By doing this, I was able to suppress any feelings of "using" them.

The "costs" emanated from the suspicion of some of the military officers of my intentions and that their behavior or the culture of the Academy might be exposed through cadets' and my work. Although true for more male officers, it was also true for a number of female officers. If the sexist culture was articulated and acknowledged, these officers would have to admit to themselves what they knew it existed, at least subconsciously and struggle with what it meant to their self conception. This affected my day-to-day interactions with certain officers and led to a lack of support for me obtaining a tenure-track position at the Academy and personal criticisms and attacks. Because of this, I had to be meticulous in my interactions with the female cadets and my behavior in general. I was worried that officers would attempt to sexualize the nature of my interactions with the female cadets and use this against me and to attack the legitimacy of our work. For example, I had to make sure that when our conversation was of a sensitive nature, that I would ask the cadets if they wanted me to close the door and to make sure the shade over the window on my door was up so that people could see into my office. I had to be transparent.

My suspicions were justified. In conversations with a number of male officers, they did sexualize my interactions with cadets. I had to make sure that I did not let any desires of wanting to fit in at the Academy influence me to engage in such discourse. Of course, the reality was that I

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could never truly fit in. I did not go to the Academy, and I was not in the military. I was and would always be an outsider. But being an outsider allowed me to see certain things and engage in certain endeavors that an officer could not without greater pressure from his or her fellow officers to cease and desist.

As it turns out, my suspicions of these officers were justified, as were their's of me. As an outsider, I did not operate by their guideline of, "What happens on the ship stays on the ship." The cadets and I exposed aspects of the sexist culture and many of the behaviors that were enacted within that culture. Although, we did so in a format that I thought would be constructive, there were both negative and positive consequences to our actions. Unfortunately, individual and organizational growth and truth do not happen without pain and suffering.

As I was receiving much praise for my work and feeling good about my self, there is one incident of my engagement in our change effort that has recently hit me like a brick in the head and made me realize the consequences of breaking someone's trust, for what I believed to be a higher purpose, and that any organizational change effort is ultimately played out in the day-to-day lives of individual members of the organization.

During my last year at the Academy, a female officer had confided in me how she had been sexually harassed. A number of months later, trying to help him understand the present sexist culture and climate at the Academy, in the hope that he might be able to persuade someone at headquarters to seriously address and take actions to improve the lives of females at the Academy, I mentioned these incidents to a commander that was working at headquarters in Washington DC. About six months after that, with a government investigation pending of the Coast Guard Academy and a ongoing Coast Guard investigation of the Academy because of

the court martial of a male cadet on sexual assault charges and other sexual harassment issues at the Academy, based on the information I had provided him, the commander confronted a lieutenant commander that worked with him at headquarters that he knew that had been at Academy when the above incidents occurred. He asked the lieutenant commander if he knew anything about the incidents and mentioned it was best that if something had happened that it be brought to the surface now rather than it being uncovered as part of the upcoming government investigation. The lieutenant commander admitted to witnessing at least one of the sexual harassment incidents and then reported his knowledge to the Coast Guard Admiral who was leading the investigative team of the Academy. Within a few days of this, the female officer was contacted by the Coast Guard investigative committee about the charges.

The female officer called me a few days after that and asked me if I had reported the incident. I said yes and explained to her how it had all unfolded. She was and still is very upset with me. I had violated her trust. I had taken away her agency.

At first, I rationalized that although I had violated her trust, it was for the best. Actions would finally be taken to improve the sexist culture and climate of the Academy. My actions would lead to an improvement of the day-to-day experience of female cadets, so the means justified the actions. And besides that, she had a legal responsibility as an officer of the Coast Guard to report such incidents. I also rationalized that she had a moral obligation to other females in the Coast Guard to report such an incident. It is known that sexual harasser don't just stop harassing.

But even after these rationalizations, I still felt horrible about my self. I could not justify away her feelings that she expressed and that I had violated her trust. But it was not until further reflection and

discussion with my wife, a retired female Army officer, and a male friend of mine who was a minority working at the Academy, that I understood and accepted that I had also taken away her agency and that she would inevitably suffer some negative experiences because of her having to report the incidents. The Coast Guard would not be able to protect her from suffering retribution - whether it wanted to or not.

I now know/admit that my actions were paternalistic in their outcome, if not it intent. I also know I do not fit the definition of a pro-feminist - "...a school of thought developed by men that supports the feminist analysis of patriarchy as a system that privileges men over women, and also men over other men. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patriarchy#Pro-feminism_and_patriarchy, January 18, 2007)." My actions were paternalistic; they were part of the underlying problem. Rather than violating her trust, I should have put more effort towards expressing my thoughts as to why I believed that it was important for her to report such an incident. But I should have left that decision to her. I thought that I knew what was best for her than she did for herself. I took her agency away. If she did not want to report what had happened to her, I was determined to find some oblique way to do it. I wanted justice to be done.

Most often, not only "good" comes from speaking the truth, especially for the victim of sexual harassment. In a hegemonic masculine system/culture such as the Academy, even if its official regulations do not permit sexual harassment, the system does not adequately protect the victims of sexual harassment after the perpetrator has been justly prosecuted.

This experience has been very painful in that I had to face my self, and who I saw was not to my liking. I had betrayed the trust of a friend and took her agency away. I probably lost her as a friend.

Thus, my understanding of my relationship to feminism is constantly changing based on my actions as they unfold through time and space. After this incident, I don't feel like doing any more gender research. I feel as if I can't tell when I am doing "good" or "bad," whether I am doing something based on my self-interest or to help others. I am emotionally drained from over the years fighting with the institutions that I have been a part, especially after my certainty about doing "good" has been shaken.

I was not a scientist objectively researching the topic of feminism. I researched the topic for personal reasons, some of which I am probably still not aware. I subjectively inquired into gender issues at the academy. What I realize now is that my research activities and engagement with feminism scholarship and the female cadets have profoundly affected who I am and how I understand my self. My self affected/determined my feminist scholarship and my engagement in feminist scholarship has profoundly affected my sense of self

Wanda:

My conversations with Matthew on the feminism theme for the Sc'Moi's conference encouraged me to reflect on my own motivations for working within the fields of diversity, cross-cultural management, and leadership in both university and professional environments. My work as a university professor and consultant in the corporate world has been deeply influenced by my rich and complex experiences growing up as a female on a small island with a traditional Hispanic environment and culture and as the daughter of a very independent, professional, and intelligent woman in this milieu.

Because of my mother's strong influence, I learned to question from an early age the traditional expectations that are placed on women in many Latin countries and to desire to do and see much more than I could ever see within the borders of our

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small island. Because of her courage, I had the opportunity to move to the United States for high school and go on to obtain a Ph.D., travel to many countries around the world, work across a wide variety of industries, and teach at the university level, all by the age of 28. Through all of this and through my interactions with similar others, I have gained a profound appreciation for and strong commitment to helping people from diverse backgrounds and walks of life who have a very strong potential but are limited by the environments in which they live and/or work. This focus is at the heart of my passion and my work.

As a child, I was surrounded by many women who were intelligent and talented, but who were unable to pursue their own goals and dreams due to strong cultural and social norms and pressures. I watched them focus all their time and energy on helping others (i.e. their husbands, children, and other extended family members) achieve their goals as they neglected their own desires and dreams day after day while they tried to convince themselves that they were truly happy. I was constantly told by my grandmother and other older women in my family and community that I needed to learn how to cook, iron, and gain some weight, if I wanted to find a man who would want me for a wife and love me. I experienced many moments of anger and frustration, even at my young age, as I repeatedly heard comments like this and observed the double standards that prevailed and were allowed to continue by the women in our culture. I often felt like I did not belong. I kept dreaming of all the things I wanted to do with my life and all the places I would go in the world. I wanted to attend a high school in the U.S. with a real football team!, study French and Italian, take art and dance classes, meet and help people from around the world, and become a teacher, maybe even a university professor! All this, I shared with my amazing mother who dreamed right along with me and who told me that everything I wanted to do and see was possible.

When I was 15, my mother decided that she needed to move my sister and I to the U.S. To this day, I still thank my mother for doing so. I would not be the person and woman I am today if my mother had not had the courage to leave everything behind to move us to the U.S. That short two and a half hour flight ended up opening the world and countless possibilities up for me.

Even once I had moved to the U.S., however, prior to my earning my Ph.D., I encountered others who were trying to be "helpful" in helping me to set realistic expectations for myself. I once had the chair of one of the departments in which I took courses for my Ph.D. tell me that I needed to be prepared for how tough life would be since I was "too pretty, a woman, Hispanic, and so young looking". A few years later, I also had a well meaning manager advise me that I should hire an image consultant to make me look ten years older if I wanted to succeed in the professional world. I sadly wondered how many other people had been held back by these two individuals and by the many others who are like them out there. At the time, I was outraged and angered. But then I decided to turn my anger into action, and I made it my goal to educate and inspire others to help people to grow and live up to their potential.

I guess I would call my approach a quiet revolution. I have never chosen to engage the feminist literature directly. The reasons for my decision are two-fold. Firstly, having experienced the complex dynamics of being a woman as well as Hispanic, I wanted to help others from many different backgrounds not focus solely on gender; therefore, I chose to focus on diversity more broadly. And secondly, I had watched many women over the years lose credibility and their voice after being labeled a 'feminist'. I did not want to take that risk and hinder the impact that I wanted to make. I wanted to make a statement and a difference via the way I lived my life. And I wanted to help others from all backgrounds, not just

women, who are held back by their culture, societal expectations, or their own beliefs and fears. This continues to be one of my main purposes in life... to help individuals to see that the world is out there waiting and to not allow "well meaning" others to define how much they are capable of achieving. I do so in my work as a mentor with students and with leaders in the business world who are in a position to recognize and develop the potential in others and help them to grow and succeed.

Today, my grandmother calls and says to me "I guess it is too late. You will never get married at your age". Little does she know, that internally I laugh inside, unaffected, thirty something years later, as I plan my next university course or professional project and pack for my next exciting trip to India, Israel, or Turkey.

Sanjiv:

The Lion Hearted: Samson and Sanjiv

I was reading the myth of Samson (Grossman, David, 2006) and found how his betrayal by all the women in his life, from his mother to Delilah, is inherently a framing of a moral journey that transpires upon his body; the site of his felt experience, where he finally brings the house down on himself.

As I narrate my "I" in terms of Samson, I re-enact the self I'm trying to describe. I act out, in real time and space, the story of Samson and within this set of norms, I self-craft the story of Sanjiv and his Other (Dugal & Eriksen).

I re-enact my story with the Other every time. It is the performative and non-narrative act that is essential to the narrative itself.

The concept of 'girlfriend' was new to me, just as the concept of 'gentleman' was a bit of an anachronism over here. I found myself operating in a situation where the signs and symbols were unknown to me and I was at a loss in the mating game.

And here may be found something of an

answer to the question I posed earlier-How ought I treat you, the Other, when I re-enact, again and again, precisely the same feelings I have ever experienced from the start? Or in other words, why do we compulsively repeat experiences, re-creating in the course of our lives, the relationships and situations that arouse those feelings? Is it because it is precisely here at the very center of our framing that we feel the most 'self' as we 'really are,' in other words, as we were at the origin of our lives, at the very beginning?

In 1980, I arrived in New England from the old country's commonwealth territory, the jewel in its crown, British-Colonial India. I was recently divorced and my wife and had left the 'administrative system' that I'd belonged to: a Brown Sahib in the shoes of the white English Man, Ralph Lauren style. It was all that I knew.

As I narrate my "I," I form myself in relation to a set of codes, prescriptions or norms and, I do so in ways that reveal self-constitution to be a kind of poiesis. Martin Heidegger refers to poiesis as a 'bringing-forth', using this term in its widest sense. He explained poiesis as the blooming of the blossom, the coming-out of a butterfly from a cocoon, the plummeting of a waterfall when the snow begins to melt. The last two analogies underline Heidegger's example of a threshold occasion: a moment of ecstasis when something moves away from its standing as one thing to become another.

In other words, my relationship with the Other is brought forth within the context of a set of norms that precede and exceed me. There is no making of oneself (poiesis) outside of a mode of subjectivation and, hence, no self-making outside of the norms that orchestrate the possible forms that a subject may take.

To understand my experience of betrayal by Woman, it became compelling to go back to the beginning...with the death of my mother, so early in my life that her

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memory is a non- happening.

My purpose in writing in such a fashion is to expose those limits and in this way to engage in an aesthetics of the self that maintains a critical relation to the existing norms operating upon me. According to Foucault (UP, 28) this requires us to act upon ourselves, to monitor, test, improve, and transform ourselves.

Our Response to Each Other

From Wanda:

My Response, Reactions to You...

To Angela:

I must start by saying you inspire me. Reading your account of self made me question and reflect on my own path and experiences in my life. Have I not been courageous enough to step out and voice my thoughts and anger more openly? Have I been hiding behind the "diversity" word instead of more honestly admitting to myself and others how I often feel as a woman? Could I be making more of an impact on others if I were to wrestle with and clarify some of my feelings and focus more on the experience of women specifically, versus that of the broader group? Could I live an even more fulfilling life, personally and professionally?

Questions I have for you:

Do you express yourself as openly with others in the military as you have in your account of self? In many ways, the male dominated business world is much like the military, and many women, including myself, struggle with expressing, as you so beautifully state it, their "own divine feminine" and instead conform and "constrict (their) will and suffocate (their) soul(s)" in order to survive and be accepted. *What advice would you give them?*

Were you purposely not addressing how you felt prior to taking the Feminist

Theology course in graduate school because of your position in the military and your wish to succeed? Was this a conscious decision on your part?

How exactly do you "subvert and infiltrate patriarchal pollution"? And how do you maintain the "maneuverability" to do so?

We share very similar backgrounds in terms of our Catholic background and the parallels between the Greek and Hispanic cultures so I highly relate to your account and value learning about your experiences and your journey. You have given me much to think about and have encouraged me to honestly and openly revisit some tough questions I have asked myself only privately in the past.

To Sanjiv:

Your account of self, and its title, is poetic and beautifully written. But you discuss your experiences and feelings primarily in the third person from a removed position, in an impersonal, academic way. *Why is this?*

My questions for you:

Are you saying that, as Samson, you have been betrayed by all the women in your life?

What has caused you to not understand the concept of "girlfriend" or "gentleman"? Is it yourself that you are referring to when you write of this lack of understanding?

What exactly have you done or are you doing "to act upon (yourself), to monitor, test, improve, and transform (yourself)"? Are you personally at a threshold "moment of ecstasies" in your life? Or are you simply writing about the "coming-out of a butterfly from a cocoon" occasions for the purpose of analyzing such occasions?

Why do you do this work? What has been your own personal journey that has brought you here?

To Matthew:

I appreciate the honesty and level of insight that you share in your account of self. I was impressed by your ability to be vulnerable in sharing your journey, particularly the difficult parts of it, with us.

After reading through your account several times, I find myself still struggling with the question "What would I have done in a similar situation?" As a woman, I am outraged by the thought of not being given a choice, of having, as you say, my "agency" away. I would want to be shown the high level of respect that I deserve to make my own decision about how to handle the difficult situations in my life. It is my right to decide how I want to proceed or not proceed.

However, as an outsider, I ask myself "Where do we draw the line?" If we are a witness to injustices of any kind, should we stay quiet and allow them to continue? Is it not our responsibility to bring these injustices to light and to put a stop to them?

I agree that the best approach would have been to speak directly with her and to encourage her to step forward and report the incident, for her own sake as well as for all women, and others, in the military and elsewhere who have dealt with similar harassment.

But what if she did not want to step forward? Should we stay quiet and respect her wishes, although it would allow many others to be exposed to the same potential abuse? Where do we draw the line? Could there have been another way to bring the situation to light without violating her trust and confidentiality?

I see this as a critical question to personally address. Where do I draw the line between what would be best for me, as one woman (either as the insider or as the outside witness) and what would be best for all women (or for that matter, all

individuals who are not treated fairly or justly)?

I also wonder:

Have your experiences at the Academy changed how you interact with the women in your personal and professional life?

From Angela:

Sanjiv: Two statements caught my attention loud and clear in your piece. The part when you talk about the poesies (which I had to look up on dictionary.com at first). This is a good way for me to make sense of how I became transformed after taking feminist theology at BU. I changed from the caterpillar into the butterfly because I transformed myself in the sense that I was able to acknowledge and even embrace my own misogyny, racism, heterosexism etc. Everyday I make a concerted effort to unlearn and uncreate the social norms which perpetuate social injustice. I accepted my own complicity and evil-making...then I took Action. I think this is essential to transformation. To give an example... I identify as a heterosexual. I took a Queer theology class to learn more about my own heterosexism and try to un-heterosexize myself. It was an amazing experience that allowed me to become aware of my own privilege.

The second was when you make the statement: "I find that I am caught up in a struggle with norms. But could it also be true that I would not be in this struggle with norms if it were not for a desire to offer recognition to you? How do we understand this desire?" This statement and these questions were very though provoking for me in relation to my understanding of the Subject and the Other and where I fit in when dealing with practical feminism.

Normativity is nihilistic, constricting, and antithetical to that which is (pro)creative and life-giving. By using the term (pro)creative, I am not alluding to an evolutionary understanding of the word but I am referring to anything which brings forth creativity,

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imagination, life, zest, love. Anyone who struggles with normativity or another name for this which I will use from here on-heteronormativity-is actualizing their will to power. Heteronormativity pertains to systems and structures which denounce fluidity, alternatives to reason and rationality, and Others' bodies-specifically the movement of them in space and time. I use the concept "will to power" in the sense of how Nietzsche uses it. He argues that the will to power inherent in "man" is also his desire to dominate (nihilism) and to attain his highest value. It is a drive to reject nihilism or that which happens when the highest value starts to lose its value. Despite the fact that he was a raging misogynist, something can be taken from this. The Subject and the Other are both striving to reach their "highest values"-whatever that term means. Heteronormativity benefits the Subject in this regard...or does it really? Is this a phallacy? Is the Subject truly actualizing his will to power when he internalizes and subscribes to the white-male system? I ask you what does it mean to reach our highest values whether as a white male or a nonwhite male or a (non-white) woman?

The Subject and the Other are caught in a complicated pretzel of power relations. When I met Matthew, right away, we both said no to normalcy and we transcended the norms. Still, we are constantly engaging these norms and saying no to them. This is our will to power. This struggle and constant saying NO is constantly changing and evolving because it involves finding new and different ways to say NO. As a theologian, I wonder if it is possible to redeem systems and institutions so that there can be a time when we do not have to say NO? Or is this inherent struggle necessary in order to have hope and a zest for life. Without a struggle...our will to power becomes a mute point. Do we write to each other about these things just to feel like we are alive?

The inherent struggle with

heteronormativity is predicated upon our will-our drive to become "infinite" in the way Irigaray uses the term "infinite" in *Divine Women*. In my experience I have come to the realization that my desire to recognize the Other-and the Other for me is the translesbigay person or the African American woman or the working class Arab male--comes from a desire to know myself and to seek the "highest value" of myself. I realize this: I am the African American woman, the FTM, the Arab male. They are me. We are interconnected in ways that are impossible to explain through reason and rationality. The theological writings of feminist theologians and theologians who write on the topic of nonviolence such as Marjorie Suchocki, Walter Wink, and Yoder have informed my understanding of humanity as interrelated. To make this more aesthetic-I imagine a puzzle in which each piece makes up the whole.... The puzzle is made up of pieces that fit perfectly with Other pieces because it is part of the same picture.

Matthew: To you I say I wish I had been born your sister. You are more amazing than you give yourself credit for. About your problem with your friend...: The man who sexually harassed her took her agency away. The system which favors predators over women regardless of whether you said anything or not took her agency away. Yes you may have made it harder for her to reclaim this agency but her grave was dug long before you came along. This is coming from me-a survivor of military sexual trauma.

I also say to you: Accept your complicity and your own evil-making. It is in us all. Embrace it. Embrace the brokenness you are feeling now so that you can let it go. At the same time, know that you have made such a difference in the lives of many young women....a difference that not even other women can evoke from women. I am as sexist as you are and as patriarchal as you are. You and I both say NO to the system all the time but sometimes it is not possible because it is also part of who we are. Don't

hate that part of yourself. If you had not come in my life, I would not be on the path I am now on. I never would have found Heather and Albert and Jean Mills. I have been steered in a direction through your entrance into my life. I am grateful for this. If we take a seesaw, I am quite sure that your sexist behaviors and evil doings cannot bring down the other side.

If you are burnt out from working on gender issues, then don't do it anymore. Or better yet...focus on them with your beautiful girls. However, in another sense, you will always be working on gender issues by the "little things" you do and say or don't say on a day to day basis. Ok I will stop my preaching now.

Your narrative made me think of how different it is for me as the Other working on issues on behalf of the Other than for you as the Subject working on issues for the Other. It reminds me of a conversation I once had with a dear friend. He raised the point of how it is one thing for a woman to work on women's issues. In a sense, this is self-motivated. It is another when a man is working for the advancement of women. This is in my words seeking our highest value. It is not a selfish motivation because it simultaneously involves seeking the highest value of Other.

The profeminist thing...

It is interesting how people "name" you. What would you call yourself? Do you agree with this assessment? Is pro-feminism another name for men who are feminist inclined? I have mixed reactions with the term. The idea of a feminist is someone who believes in the rights in women...to call yourself a feminist implies you are including yourself in a group. It is not necessarily for the rights of women but for the rights of feminists. So okay I can understand and appreciate that. However, it is a very abstracted and disembodied term as well as theory-based. This is where my disconnect is because words are remarkably powerful

and political. In my experience, I would not call myself a feminist for fear of persecution...the first few times I uttered the word in social gatherings...it was very difficult. Now naming myself a feminist has been very powerful for me. While it is good not to get too stuck in the "words", the word feminist and BEING one are powerful. I guess I might be projecting my experience onto those who call themselves profeminists. Why can't they just call themselves feminists? I know you say you would not name yourself as a profeminist ...as people hail you. I wonder if why you don't has anything to do with what I have said. I am curious what you're thoughts are.

Wanda: I am happy to be dialoging with you. I am excited to meet you in person. Your account makes me think of my own personal experiences in a male dominated world. I too have been made to feel inadequate or not white-male enough in many of my jobs and experiences. Now I just take the insults as compliments. I appreciate your quiet revolution. Your quiet approach makes me reflect and contemplate my approach. As I mentioned my approach is more of a loud revolution. Matthew has referred to me as on fire before. Perhaps it is a phase and maybe when I join the academic world I will alter my methods and approach. Secretly I hope not...and I hope to find a way to call myself a feminist openly....I want to be out of the closet completely.

I guess I may see myself as someone who keeps feminists motivated within the academic world and probably perceived as a "crazy" woman by non-feminists. Outside of academia, in the day-to-day, I think I can be good at engaging people to discover non-sexist lifestyles. There is still much for me to figure out and experience.

I am actually going to attend a PhD program in Management that is outside the US precisely because in the US I will not be encouraged to do research using post-

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positivist methods and feminist methods for the most part. I am doing this because I need to rebuild my soul. My time in the military and even at Boston University School of Theology have been filled with constant struggles and headaches. I want to be in a place where I can be appreciated for my alternative viewpoints and understandings.

When you mention how you laugh to yourself when your grandmother looks down on you because you are not married...this gives me strength. My friend who is also a theology student with me has this particular quote on her website:

“. . . deep and irreplaceable knowledge of my capacity for joy comes to demand from all of my life that it be lived within the knowledge that such satisfaction is possible, and does not have to be called marriage, nor god, nor an afterlife.”

~ Audre Lorde

Does this speak to you at all?

From Sanjiv:

Dear Angela,

I read your text and found it powerful because it resonates with my experience. I found Wanda and Matthew's text equally powerful. I have yet to present my text that represents my image of myself in movement (see Deleuze). My previous email to you was clearly patriarchal towards you, even when the literature one is citing and the site one is carving is jumping into the feminist debate.

I want to problematize our relationship so that we can talk about it some more, indeed, so that we can talk about it in a never-ending kind of way...

A couple of things I need to clarify, particularly because we barely know each

other.

(1) I'm positioned in my writing along the works of Deleuze and others of his ilk. Thus, I'm in the habit of generating text in the same way that you did, that is, by presenting moving images. So, it is a question of generating by presenting moving images. Personally, though, I've never used celluloid as my medium. Nonetheless, both Eriksen and I understand the 'moving image' part of ourselves. (Please see our presentation to the Research Methods Division of the Academy of Management in Lyon, France in 2005)

Eriksen's image as Dad is in movement; and what's more,

he gets to write the script and, I get the front row seat.

We're all an audience unto each other, in this way. And, it's a win-win situation.

Actor and Audience are One. This translates into "looking at you looking at me looking at you." This was the cornerstone of Eriksen's dissertation and subsequently, the fishbowl.

So, without the use of celluloid you've generated an image of:

"It marks my transformation from a patriarchal woman into a woman self-defining."

And, you embellish this image by:

"I took the jump off the cliff. I remember one particular day very clearly."

And, you do this by presenting (in one swift and bold movement)

the moving image of your present/past trajectory:

"My feminist journey was and continues to be an embodied, spiritual endeavor, and healing my feminine wound is a never-ending process."

(2) In general, I've taken an ethical stance of transparency in my writing where the goal is always to show where one is

'coming from.' Consequently, my sharing is done in a fishbowl consisting of people who I perceive as professional friends. Our exchange, which may be seen as an 'episode fragment' in a larger design, is:

of you and me, by you and me and, of you and me.

'Looking at oneself looking at oneself' requires being wary of the tendency of 'over-interpretation' and narcissism. I see your statement as caring-ness when you eloquently say: "The next part of my feminist journey will involve finding a way to articulate this middle path and place it into meaningful praxis in the day-to-day."

Finally, I hope you will excuse my patriarchal nature of my response. But then, we're getting there, so long as we are true to creating value and not just scoring points.

Sanjiv:

Ps: I have yet to respond to Wanda and Matthew's and write my own autobiographical journey. I have been very sick with cold and I've lost my voice because of dryness in the bitter cold. But by tomorrow I will be all caught up.

From Matthew:

Thank you everyone for sharing. Reading everyone's writing was quite illuminating. Below are the ideas that moved through my head as I read and contemplated your writings.

I could see a part of my self through reading everyone's writing. What struck me was the similarity and uniqueness of each of our narratives. The accounts of ourselves are a form of self-expression that represents each of us. An aspect of each of our narratives is concerned with being an outsider and of wanting to change the world within which we live. All our narratives are purposeful, as I feel we all want our lives to be. I felt that at least part of that purpose comes from trying to help people "like us." I use "like us" in a broad sense to capture individuals that share a similar defining

experience of being the Other. Each of these experiences is different in its manifestation, but each of us has been profoundly impacted by being an outsider at some point in our lives, and for whatever reason, this experience has become a defining experience in our lives and has greatly influenced our professional work. Our profession has become part of our self-expression. I believe because of this our work is authentic; it is who we are: the good and bad, the pretty and the ugly, and best and the worst. We bring our selves to the table.

From Angela's writing about being a self-defining woman, it made me wonder whether this is actually possible. I imagine self-determination as a quest and constant struggle with Others to define our self. Since we are social creations, I believe that we can never fully escape the power of Others' influence on our self understanding. It seems that in our quests to be authentic, we are all in a struggle for self-determination in the wake of some powerful social Other that is always trying to wash over us, to define us, and who has been successful at doing so at times throughout our lives. Yet we continually struggle to keep from drowning in the interpellations of these social Others, discourses or ideologies - whatever one wants to call them. It is through interacting with each other and others like us that we find the strength to keep swimming and at times, merely treading water. What is so difficult is that we can never fully escape the power of these social Others because we live within these ideologies through our relationships with those that enact them. This influence is strong, powerful, and pervasive, and we struggle to grasp its influence on us and then to fight it off in an attempt to define who we want to be within the chaotic flux of our lived experience and actually be this person in our day-to-day lives.

The difference in our narratives helps me understand myself, as well as each one of you. Reading our narratives as a group

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creates additional meaning to reading each of them individually. It is through our differences that meaning is created: man/woman, American/Puerto Rican/Indian, different families, ethnicities, and cultural influences, etc.

In Sanjiv and Angela, I see the influence of your academic studies in your narratives and the employment of metaphor. Angela expresses her emotions and utilizes metaphor in describing her transformation when she became conscious in her Feminist Theology course. Wanda gives a personal chronological narrative. Angela and Wanda talk of the fight for self-determination against the force of paternalistic institutions. Sanjiv's writing seems to be, and my writing now that I look back at it, a struggle to make sense of him self and his reality in general and within a particular context - America for Sanjiv and the military for me.

I see how our relationships with people influence us: Sanjiv with his wife, Angela with her father, Wanda with her mother, and me with a female officer. Both Wanda and Angela were influenced by individuals enacting patriarchal cultures. But for Angela it was through men like her father, and Wanda through women like her grandmother and other women in her local community. We do not make sense of our selves based on theories alone but rather primarily through our lived experience with Others. Thus, our understanding of our selves is not so much an academic exercise but the consequence of our embodied experiences.

I realize that each of our positions with respect to feminism is unique, contingent, and in constant formation. We are not scientists doing objective research but embodied individuals expressing our selves through our scholarship.

Conclusion

Through engaging in our community of critically reflexive feminist scholars, it

became clear to us that our engagement in [feminist] scholarship is not about finding some Truth that exist outside of us, but rather is about creating a particular truth between us. A truth that is dependent upon who we are and how we understand the topic that we are researching. The scholar is part of his or her scholarship, not something separate of it. Because of this, who the scholar is always affects his or her scholarship and research and its conclusion, and he or she is always changed by engaging in scholarship.

Within this process, as we explored and developed our selves, we also explored and developed our understanding of feminism. In creating an account of our self, we each deliberately wrestled with the fundamental question of why we engage in feminist scholarship by taking an honest look at our past, often painful and uncomfortable, experiences that have led us to our present feminist scholarship. Sharing our accounts with each other then allowed us to make further strides in our self understanding and development through reflecting on each other's paths and experiences and considering how they mirror or diverge from on our own. This enlarged the arena of possibilities for gaining deeper insights far beyond the insights we could have gained by engaging in the self-reflection in solitude. In sharing and responding to our accounts, we considered each other's, and then consequently our own, courage, fears, and alternative, expanded paths for our work and personal growth moving forward.

The benefit of our reflexivity within our community of inquiry is that it has allowed us to understand our subjectivity beyond our epistemological and ontological assumption. It made us realize our humanity as researchers and its effect on our research. Our research is not a scientific endeavor for Truth but rather a personal pursuit of meaning and self understanding and development. Also, our process points to the limitations of our research. This does not discredit the meaningfulness of our

research, but rather puts it in perspective.

By giving an account of our selves, reading each other's account, responding to each other's account and sharing these responses, we consciously grappled with how we conceive of our selves. This created a shared space, a community, within which to imagine new possibilities of becoming and topics an approach to our feminist scholarship. Of course, these presentations of our selves are not the complete self that exists at a particular moment in time. Some parts we have consciously chosen not to expose, others lay hidden below our consciousness and others have yet to emerge. We engage with and honor each others humanity. Through this process, we have become more critically reflexive scholars and have been transformed by one another.

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What is TAMARA?

As a tag for the journal - TAMARA, is the "stories we chase from room to room in the mansion of organization science." In the play TAMARA a dozen characters unfold their stories before a walking, sometimes running, audience. The spectators are expected to choose which characters to follow from room to room. The play by John Krizanc was first performed in Canada in 1981. The audience fragments into small groups that chase characters from one room to the next, from one floor to the next, even going into bedrooms, kitchens, and other chambers to chase and co-create the stories that interest them the most. If there are a dozen stages and a dozen storytellers, the number of story lines an audience could trace as it chases the wandering discourses of Tamara is 12 factorial (479,001,600). Each character in Krizanc's play changes their mask from scene to scene, making it more impossible to make sense of the plot. And the spectators become "informers" and "spies" and therefore part of the multiple pathway stories networked across the interconnected stages of this play. One theme of the play is fascism and how the ethics of each individual, especially the audience, is complicit in the plot. No one is an innocent by-stander in Tamara. We pay tribute to Krizanc's (1989) play and note its more critical theory and postmodern implications.

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