An Overview of Self and Identity Transformation in Work Life: Reflections of Pre-Modern, Modern and Postmodern Processes

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Abstract

In the historical process, it is seen that the changes experienced by societies have transformed the self and identity. Working life has been an area where this transformation has taken place and is generally studied in the pre and post industrial revolution periods. In this study, the periods will be discussed as pre-modern, modern and post-modern. The reflections of these three periods on employees' identity and self-concept will be investigated. The existence of the individual with a collective identity in the pre-modern period, the existence of knowing and the known self distinction in the process of modernism, and the emergence of fluid identities and self with postmodernism will be examined.

Keywords: Working Life, Identity, Self, Modernism, Postmodernism

Çalışma Hayatında Benlik ve Kimlik Dönüşümüne Bir Bakış: Modern Öncesi, Modern ve Postmodern süreçlerin yansımaları

Özet


Anahtar Kelimeler: Çalışma Hayatı, Kimlik, Benlik, Modernizm, Postmodernizm

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1. Introduction
The self is extremely complex (Jung, 1997). It is related to the mind of the person, but it is also a social process (Ritzer, 2013: 220-221). Identity places the person in a certain position or positions in the society (Hortaçsu, 2007: 11). Accordingly, self and identity reveal the individual himself and his connection with society. Social changes over time cause changes in self and identity. That is to say, in the pre-modern period, modernism and postmodernism, it is seen that different characteristics on the self and identity come to the fore. The traces of the changes on self and identity are also seen in working life. In this study, changes in working life in terms of periodical framework will be examined through the concepts of self and identity. In this direction, it is looked to contribute to the literature by evaluating the working life and identity and self transformation of employees in pre-modern, modern and post-modern periods.

2. Self and Identity Concepts
The self is the sum of man's views on his own personality, the way he knows and evaluates himself. In other words, the self gives the basic characteristics of personality (Köknal, 1985). It is our beliefs about our personality and the way we see and think about ourselves. In this respect, the self can be defined as the subjective side of personality. The self, which represents the whole of our inner being and is a complex concept, contains the answers of these questions: “Who am I? What can I do? Which skills do I have? What is important for me? What should I do or not? What do I want from life?” (Baymur, 1993).

The self-concept is a complex structure that is easily affected by changes such as new roles, situations and life transitions, and therefore has both continuous and unchangeable and dynamic characteristics. It has a versatile structure that interacts with biological, developmental and social processes. W. James, who was the first person to deal with the subject of self in psychology, stated that the self should be considered in two dimensions as "knowing self" and "known self". According to him, the self consists of material, social, spiritual and pure ego (Yiğit, 2010).

The material self is the person's identification with other persons and material things. For example, material self may result in a businessman attempting suicide after going bankrupt. The spiritual self is very subjective. It includes how the person perceives himself (Bruno, 1996: 100-101). Social self is related to the image in the minds of those who know the person. Hence, it is as diverse as different individuals or groups that the person cares about their thoughts. Usually the person shows a different side of himself to each of these various groups. For example, the person does not show himself to his customers or subordinates in his working life as he shows himself to his children or friends (Bacanlı, 2004: 15).

When self-definitions are examined, it is seen that during the pre-modern period, the psychological internal structure and unobservable features including intrinsic value, morality, inspiration, passion, spirit are emphasized. In the 1900s, the reconceptualization of the self was in question. Along with modernism, the definition of self has transformed into the one that follows the rules of science, which is continuous, unshakable, principled and real (Gergen & Gergen, 1991; Vitz & Felch, 2006).

The word identity is derived from the Latin root "idem", which includes sameness and continuity. Many definitions have been made for the concept of identity. Despite the multidimensionality and diversity in identity definition, being a “subject” is at the center of all definitions. (Aydınoğlu, 2004: 116-117). The concept of identity has been used extensively in
social sciences in the 1950s. Basically, it is about the relationship between the individual and society. It is connected with questions "Who am I?" and “Where do I belong? (Gleason, 2006: 194).

At this point, it actually determines whether the person has a problem of belonging in the context of the same or different points among others. According to this point of view, identity and self relationship emerges. Identity refers to how the "self" is defined and classified in relation to others (Li et al., 1995: 342). Here, society comes to mind first.

According to Bauman (2011) who has important works on identity, it is the name of the escape from uncertainty. Whenever a person doubts where he belongs to, then he thinks about identity. More clearly, the person thinks about identity when he is not sure where he stands within behavior patterns and that the people around him will accept his position as correct and appropriate.

According to Karaduman (2010: 2887-2888), identity can be examined in two ways, individual and collective. Individual identity is many-sided (in terms of family, gender, class, region, religion, ethnicity) and may change depending on the circumstances at different times and is formed by the person himself. Collective identity, on the other hand, is identity that tries to reveal the differences from other groups, it is the expression of social identities at the community level.

According to Connolly (1995: 92), identity is more about what we are and how we are recognized rather than what we choose or consent to. However, identity requires difference in order to exist and transforms difference into otherness to ensure its own certainty.

3. Transformation of "Self and Identity" Concepts According to Periods
Regarding identity, it can be accepted that the most general assessment is the answer given by the individual to the question of "Who am I?" As Türkbağ (2003: 214) explains, this question requires the definition and recognition of "I". When the identity is analyzed from the psychic to the social, the concept of "self" comes to the fore. That is to say, the self is a self-consciousness, that is, the awareness of its own conscious existence. The person also needs to be defined as a self-conscious being. This self-consciousness explained is the basis of human identity.

The self is a field where social factors are constantly processed and behavior patterns are formed. The process is as follows: The person sees himself through other people's eyes and perceives himself with the result he deduces from their reactions, attitudes and behaviors to him. A certain identity is created by interpreting these by the person through self-perception. In this sense, the self is the most important structure that shapes the individual's perception of his identity (Ertürk, 2010: 94).

It is seen that the concept of self and identity is often confused. According to what Hortaçsu (2007: 12) summarizes about this situation, self-concept is about how an individual is a person, and identity is more about who that person is or what something is. In other words, the self is effective in the formation of identity in terms of quality. For example, if a person mentions that he is a woman, wife, son, environmentalist or feminist, he/she reveals his/her identity. The identities puts a person into a category as well as making them part of a group. However, if the person talks about personality traits such as being honest or being realistic, it means that he expresses his self-perception.
There were no cultural encounters in the pre-modern period due to the existence of closed societies. Therefore, identity was determined by religion, custom and traditions (Güvenç, 1995: 5). According to Bauman (2000: 102), the pre-modern period includes stability and immutability, just like children's toy trains traveling in a circle. In this period, collective identity came to the fore and the identities of individuals had a quality that should be protected and the model to be imitated was in the past (Kellner, 2001). Accordingly, it can be said that the logic of that period was to live in harmony with the tradition and to continue the tradition.

In the pre-modern period, it is seen that the self is considered as a whole in every culture. Ong (2013: 72) explains this point as follows: In a field study conducted with the people of the traditional society, namely oral culture, illiterate villagers were asked about the self, such as what kind of personality they have and what kind of person they are. The answers were about the concrete world, but not about the self, such as where they migrated from, how many fields and how many children they have. When the question was explained with an example and asked again, the answers given were generally "We are decent people, nobody would respect us if we were bad" and "How should I describe my own heart? How can I tell you how I am? Ask me to others." That is, the assessment remained a group review in the form of "we ", again not at the level of self-perception. It has been observed that there is no "knowing and known" self duality.

In many pre-modern trends, such as Socrates in Ancient Greece, Confucius in China, Buddha in India, the self was seen as a way of reaching God (Foucault et al., 2001: 64). Since religion affected all the codes of life at that time, institutions were organized according to it. Kahraman (2015) expressed that before modern times, the human mind could not figure out the order of the universe, which has a supernatural quality, without the help of divine power. In the modern world imagination, the human mind believed that it would grasp the order of the universe with mental faculties. Regarding the pre-modern process, it can be said that religious discourses that influence human behavior have motivated their members to choose a passive attitude against the change in the world, as they have absolute principles.

The modern period has emerged as an opposition to the normalizing functions of the tradition with the formation of the concepts of capitalism, industrialization, urbanism, bureaucracy, rationalism, democracy, specialization, differentiation, scientific knowledge and technology (Kızılçelik, 1994: 88). In the thought of modernism, the mind is blessed, the absolute acceptance of divine-based knowledge has been abandoned, and knowledge has been brought to the position of being an experimental or positivism-based human action (Faulkner, 1990: 60).

Scientific knowledge based on positivism has established itself on freedom and autonomy. In modernity, individuality has been sanctified and the individual himself has been placed at the center of social life. Therefore, identity has become a concept that must be created by the individual. Economic development and urban life have brought the increase in social roles and responsibilities and identity problems. Rapid social change and social differences made it difficult for individuals to have a consistent identity. Modernism has removed people from their communities firmly bound by the past and traditions, but has changed the socialization processes that are important for people's identity development. The social conditions of modern life have left the individual in a difficult situation regarding his choices. The modern individual has had to adapt to different social roles, and those who cannot adapt are seen as other and foreign by the dominant identities who have adopted to the system. The individual
is divided between his social roles and responsibilities, and this situation has caused the individual to experience internal tensions and conflicts (Bauman, 2000: 32).

The individual is now dominated by scientific rigidity, with positivism and rationalism to ensure the future (Giddens, 1994: 48-49). This situation had reflections on social life, institutions and business life. According to Giddens (2010: 105-114), the concept of community emerged simultaneously with the domination of the mind and the rise of the industrial society. This concept points to the network of social relations in which division of labor and organic relations are determinative, and mind rather than emotion is forefront. In society trust relationships are transformed, and it might be said that an effect of this is on the self because self-building and personal trust relationships are closely linked.

In the modern period, the public sphere has become too institutionalized. This situation has caused the private sphere to gradually decrease and as a result, the person escapes towards subjectivity and searches for meaning in his inner self. Strengthening modern institutions replaced large living spaces and emptied the meaning that was formed before (Giddens, 2010: 106). As a result of the imbalance of the boundaries of the public and private spheres, the individual's ego has become his concern. Because of the impersonal and insincere public space of the modern city, the individual is inclined to his own self and experiences. In this process, the family has become the ideal safe place where high morality exists, away from all evil, and has become one of the areas of self-protection of the individual (Sennett, 2011: 45).

With the transition from industrial production to knowledge and service production, it is accepted that there has been a transition from modern societies to post-modern societies. In the postmodern period, the concept of identity is more fragile, variable and multi-layered as a result of the differentiation and complexity of social life. With the development of information and communication technologies, the definitions of place and time have transformed. Since place and time are important concepts in identity definitions, the transformation in them has affected the identity. Thus cultural environment has emerged in which people cannot locate themselves in a certain place (Karaduman, 2007: 50). This environment is widely known as consumption culture.

Rosenau (1998: 97-98) defines the postmodern identity formation as a process in which the meaning of identity and self is destabilized by technological processes, reconstructed and reshaped through consumption form. The postmodern individual is a person who does not claim to be self. This person is interested in the temporary, unplanned, extraordinary. He cares gratification of instant desires. Therefore, he does not care about familial, religious and national loyalties that operate within general and mandatory rules. At the same time, according to Funk (2007: 62-63), the person assumes different identities at different times. These identities do not unite around a harmonious self, so there are multiple identities in a person that are in conflict with each other and taken in different directions.

Psychologist Cushman called the self in modern society the "empty self." This means unsatisfied and pathological self in the rising prosperity society created in the United States after World War II. It is the result of tradition and the absence of shared meaning. Since the individual lost value-laden ties such as family, society and tradition, he fell emotional deprivation. In the following process, along with postmodernity, the ego continued its quest in a fragile and fluid, uncertain, limitless, virtual form (Şentürk, 2017: 43).

The effect of technology is more intense in postmodernity. Individuals who form their self in line with face-to-face relationships have now begun to build their selves in digital environments (Çakır: 2014; Armağan: 2013). The online reflection of the self can be called the digital self. The difference between self and digital self is becoming more and more
ambiguous (Morva, 2016: 43). According to Bauman and Raud (2018: 75), the digital self (online) becoming important has started to put pressure on the offline self. This situation often damages one's self-esteem and relationships with others. As a result, both the person himself and his perception by society are damaged.

3.1. Self and Identity in Working Life in the Pre-Modern Period: Individual Self or Collective Identity?

The "going to work" behavior may seem natural today, like breathing. However, there is no such thing as "going to work" in its present sense before the industrial revolution. Conditions are decisive. In order for a phenomenon to be accepted as a job or work, it is necessary to look at the conditions first. The time, place and social conditions of the phenomenon should be taken into consideration.

Before the industrial revolution, there are societies where the separation of home and workplace did not develop and there was simply no market. In these societies, production has been based on need and the work has been carried out for the private sphere rather than the public sphere. The self of the individual is shaped by religious authority. While the work was coded as an inferior activity, the majority of the workers were slaves and captives; nobles, aristocrats and feudal lords were exempted from employment (Yıldız, 2010).

According to Hegel, the self is constructed through the process of mutual recognition because man will reach his own consciousness only by being recognized by someone else. Identity is collective. As Gorz (2007: 140-190) explains, being recognized by the other confirms one's self-worth, identity, even humanity, which can explain the slave and master approach in the pre-modern period. The human self has been seen in the consciousness of belonging completely to the creator. The religious authority and the bourgeoisie have been influential, the person only aimed to meet his needs. For example, households produced their own food, wool, and heating materials. It has been lived according to two realities: "Everything takes as much time as necessary" and "Sufficient is enough". In this way, in a society that is far from the concepts of economic efficiency, profit rate, export and specialization, time has not been calculated, there is no competition with neighbors, working life has occupied all life but is never completed. Concepts such as wage, working time and vacation were not encountered in that period.

3.2. Self and Identity in Working Life in the Modern Period: Knowing and Known Self and Identity Dilemma?

People who used to live as slaves continued their lives by settling in villages after the abolition of slavery. With the migration to these cities that emerged in the beginning phase of the Industrial Revolution, according to Ashton (1997: 29), the change in agriculture and livestock, the emergence of the working class and new technological searches began. Mechanical products and technologies that use water and steam energy were needed. As a result of these requirements, Industry 1.0 first appeared in England.

With the intensive execution of colonial activities, England effectively utilized the raw materials it obtained in the production processes and had a vivid image in commercial life with the financial adequacy it gained (Blinder, 2006). Increasing urban density, mass production, factory working conditions and methods have changed the identity.

The "Scientific Management Approach", which was developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the 1900s to increase productivity in mass production, and later adapted to every private-public business field, radically changed the life of the industrial society people. According to Taylor, the tendency to act according to traditions and habits in production and business
environment has reduced productivity as a source of uncertainty (Rice, 2004: 153). The work to be done by each worker should be designed with all the details by the management and should be given to him in writing. It should be clearly stated not only what is to be done, but also how it will be done and how long it will take (Taylor, 1911). In this direction, scientific methods were developed, tables and experiments were made to standardize production. The criticism of this process is that the modern individual is mechanized for the sake of increasing efficiency and the process creates a robotized individual. In the words of Rae (2001: 166), it is the mechanization and centralization predicted in the organization. Engineers are centralized as managers. Putting the workers directly opposite the engineers has made the class distinction clear.

Transformations in the process have caused individuals to change their perception of working. Previously, employees tried to find meaning in their work by determining the purpose of the work and controlling the flow. However, in modernity, this determination and control is done by the management and the duties do not mean anything anymore for those who do it (Bauman, 1999: 16). Foucault et al. (2001) criticizes modern institutional orders by stating that they have an observer role and therefore supervisory role over the general society. He states that modern institutions are generally built in accordance with the panopticon prison model Bentham designed in 1785. The model is in the form of architectural planning based on a ring of single-chamber cells. This construction has an effective oversight mechanism because inmates do not see managers but are seen by them. Inmates always feel they are being watched. This causes them to be limited in their attitudes and behaviors and to develop self-suppression and neurosis.

This period is a period of engagement, strengthened by the mutual dependencies between labor and capital. Workers have dependency on hiring for their own livelihood, while capital have dependency on hiring them to grow itself. The fixed address for this meeting was the factory. Here, in the working environment, the individual is usually limited to a specific work and has to repeat that job every day in similar styles. This routine and monotony is now becoming a phenomenon that characterizes work. In addition, the employee has to focus on only a small part of the work, alienating the overall meaning of the work. Boss pays employees, so doing what he deems useful becomes one of the things that employees have to do in order to become a respectable individual. In conclusion, business and working life have an effect on the identity formation of the modern individual. For instance, in response to the question 'who are you?' asked to know the other person, people identify themselves by showing the workplace and the title in this workplace (Bauman, 1999), and it is seen that there is a "knowing and known" self duality (Ong, 2013). In such a duality, these status or titles that constitute the social identity of the individual can produce a perception of foreignness. The title transforms his personality and identity by putting distance between the individual and his colleagues and other social segments. While the title forces the individual to behave in accordance with the professional context, the society also expects the person with that title to exhibit certain attitudes and behaviors in accordance with the value of it (Bauman, 1998).

According to Morgan (1986), in case of bureaucratic rigid rationality, self and identities produce irrational expression practices. Since modern organizations focus on rationality and impersonalism, employees cannot establish friendship and primary relationships with colleagues in the work environment. Organizational measures such as instrumental production, formalism, discipline, and authority, which cause the individual not to need other people, and the working order also cause his private and social life to continue in a
mechanical dimension. This situation can bring along self-splitting and lack of sense of belonging.

3.3. Self and Identity in Postmodern Working Life: Fluid Self and Identities?

Some consider the beginning of postmodernism as the industrial revolution, the age of enlightenment, or the second world war. Also some state that postmodernism is determined by the emergence of informatics and that the media constitutes the dynamics at the center of postmodernism (Babacan and Onat, 2002: 12). Emphasizing the importance of information technologies in the development of postmodernism, Conlon (2002: 272) summarized the functions of information technologies as follows: The electronic communication network supports the globalization of capital. Robots provide automation. Databases and expert systems create the knowledge economy, and the production of computers and by-products creates new jobs.

The rapid and continuous developments in technology and the changing needs and expectations of the employees make it necessary to change the way of doing business in postmodernity. Organizations are making changes in the working life in order to meet the demands of these employees, benefit from technology and ensure efficiency in aggravated competitive conditions. Organizations are now changing the terms of employment and working conditions. They have become important to flexibility in issues such as employment patterns and regulation of working hours (Doğan et al., 2015: 376). Similarly, Yüksel (2010: 98) mentions the changes in organizational structures and business life in the new economy period, which is known with different names such as knowledge economy, post-Fordist economy and post-modern economy. According to him, the transformation that has been experienced brings about changes in working styles, professions and perception of occupation. While new professions have emerged based on flexibility and knowledge, existing professions have gained new forms in which knowledge is used more intensively.

Describing this reorganization in production processes, Hardt and Negri (2012) stated that individual autonomy comes to the fore both inside and outside the enterprise, and the boundaries of "inside" and "outside" are gradually blurred. Here, personal participation, the appreciation of individuals' identity and powers in projects, the replacement of vertical hierarchical organizations by organizations in the horizontal hierarchy, and the existence of positions around mobility and nomadism are signs of individualization. In a sense, postmodernism has a strengthening effect on the western individualization process (Corcuff, 2007: 32). The society after the industrial revolution is, in Beck's (1985) words, "risk society". Postmodernism has increased the place of individualization. In all of the industrialized western countries, an unprecedented intensity of social individualization took place during the modernization process. Individualization has emancipatory effects compared to tradition, but the other side has the opposite look. With individualization, employees gradually experience difficulties and failures in individual relationships. The person is literally dragged into the “pain of self-esteem” (as cited in Corcuff, 2007: 33).

According to Sennett (2002: 48-61), in the postmodern world, together with electronic media and common communication media, cultural formations such as people's perception of the world, developing attitudes, having fun are now formed in front of a screen at home. This process facilitates both individualization and control of the individual. For example, in flexible working life, employers worry about losing control over employees who are not in the office and think that employees who work at home will abuse this freedom. A set of controls is developed to regulate the work of people who are not in the office. Some businesses require the person to call the office regularly, monitor the employee over the
intranet, or supervisors check emails more often. Similarly, according to Artun (1999: 26), through "web style work" employees have been included in the information, management and control network, "digital nervous system" of the company. In this way, electronic or digital control monitors all movements of the employee.

Postmodernism is also explained as new capitalism. As in modernism, the company tends to increase its profits, but transforms familiar concepts such as labor, society, and morality. It produces employment relationship through flexibility. The absence of a particular employer or being invisible causes the job not to be perceived as lifelong. It increases uncertainty and instability, that is, the perception of risk. Employees' being subject to competition is also a source of insecurity and concern for employees. Work anxiety reduces the self-esteem of the individual, it affects the lives of the employees in terms of family and community, for example, the division of families is in question (Sennett, 2002: 101-102).

In summary, the known understanding of employment changes completely through flexibility. With the flexibility brought by the new capitalism, undefined jobs become widespread, work discipline weakens, the concept of overtime becomes uncertain, job security almost disappears (İlhan, 2007). With these features, postmodernism erodes identity structures and puts them into a formless, variable and reproducible dimension. However, the commodification of identity and its becoming the object of instant use is a matter of question (Bauman, 2001: 121). Identities become exchanged or discarded just like consumer goods. In this process, the uncertainty of an individual's identity destroys his reliability and makes his behavior impossible to predict. In the old business culture, the employee adapts to his company, his behavior is predictable, and how he will react is known. Whereas predictability and reliability are less sought after in today's flexible image and information culture (Sennett, 2002: 114).

4. Conclusion

Identity is accepted as the person's own answer to the question "Who am I?" Self, on the other hand, is about seeing oneself with the eyes of other people and forming his perception according to the results of their attitudes and behaviors. With the effect of historical periods, various transformations are observed in these concepts. Periods that affect the individual and social life in various ways cause changes on the way institutions work and on the individual's business life.

The periods before and after the industrial revolution left significant marks on social life and therefore on working life. In this study, historical traces are discussed in terms of reflections on the self and identities of employees in working life in three periods. The effects of the pre-industrial period, that is, the "pre-modern period (traditional period)", the post-industrial "modern period" and the "postmodern period", on the self and identities of the employees were examined.

In the pre-modern period, a religion-centered social structure that includes stasis and stability is observed. The self is shaped by religious authority and is considered as a whole in every culture. The person did not reach the level of self-perception while making an assessment about himself. The self appears as a group evaluation in the form of "we" and the identity has not been individual. In this period before the industrial revolution, the separation between home and workplace did not develop. Work is coded as an inferior activity such that the majority of the workers are slaves and serfs. In the group of persons exempted from work were nobles, aristocrats and feudal lords.
Modernity was initially seen as a new order that aimed to free people from the "old order that enslaved" them and into the "order of mind" believed to be "liberating". Knowledge has been transformed into a human action based on positivism rather than a divine based. The individual is placed at the center of social life. In this sense, it has been necessary for the identity to be formed by the individual. However, the increase in social roles and responsibilities brought about identity problems and internal tensions. Individual has had to adapt to different social roles. Those who failed to do this were perceived as foreign by dominant identities. Bureaucratic strict rationality and impersonalism prevail in modern organizations and working relations. The system has been standardized with surveillance tools to do more work in less time. This mechanical situation can also lead to personal and social life of employees to continue in a mechanical dimension and result as individualization, loneliness, indifference to identities, self-division and lack of sense of belonging.

With the beginning of the information, communication and technology age, the concept of postmodernity has come to the fore. The claim of postmodernity is that the mechanical modern man will become more free. Accordingly, the postmodern individual is able to create self and identities for himself through fictions thanks to technology and digitalization, and can appropriate existing self and identities. In this point, fluid self and identities that are rapidly produced and consumed are in question. Hence, working life is flexible, hours and wages are changeable. In the working environment, there are teams that are completely separated from each other when a job is finished, and there are networks of control and employees must constantly form new groups, so that. On the one hand, these situations mean the loss of lifelong job security, changing jobs and cities, temporary projects instead of permanent work and a sense of insecurity.

In postmodernism, while giving importance to creativity, individual initiative and job satisfaction, effective digital surveillance and control networks are developed and corporate self and identity is substituted by creating a team consciousness. In this way, organizations try to control and direct their employees. Thus, flexible organizations in postmodernity construct a self and identity in accordance with their rationality.

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