

VELIKA GRUPA: SVIJET BAZIČNIH PRETPOSTAVKI

/ THE LARGE GROUP: A WORLD OF BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Sanja Janović

SAŽETAK/ABSTRACT

Tekst se bavi razmatranjem suvremenih teorija velike grupe uz kliničke implikacije aktualnog trenutka ljudske povijesti u kojem se nalazimo, pri tome suočeni životom u disociranome svijetu, svijetu razarajućih ratova i dimenzija nasilja koje nisu viđene dosada. Sintezom teorijskih koncepata nastojala sam razumjeti aktualni trenutak u teoriji grupne analize uz anticipaciju promjena u postmodernom društvu kao i utjecaja na praksu grupne analize. U članku su razmatrane teorijske pretpostavke W. Biona, E. Hoppera i A. Bain i L. J. Goulda te se pokušala prikazati evolucija teorija o velikim grupama.

/ This text explores the contemporary large group theories along with the clinical implications of the current moment in human history, one marked by life in a dissociated world, a world of devastating wars and unprecedented forms of violence. Through a synthesis of theoretical concepts, I attempted to understand the present moment within the group analytic theory, while also anticipating the shifts in the postmodern society and their impact on the practice of group analysis. The article discusses the theoretical premises of W. Bion, E. Hopper and A. Bain, and L. J. Gould, with the aim to present the evolution of large group theories.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI / KEYWORDS

velika grupa / large group, bazične pretpostavke / basic assumptions, koinonija / koinonia

Sanja Janović, Dom zdravlja Primorsko goranske županije, sanja.janovic@yahoo.com

/ Sanja Janović, Community Health Centre of the Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, sanja.janovic@yahoo.com

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UVOD

Experiences in Groups (1), ključni je rad Wilfreda Biona i predstavlja jedan od temelja psihoanalitičke misli o gru-

INTRODUCTION

Experiences in Groups (1) is the key work of Alfred Bion, and represents one of the foundations of psychoanalytic thought



pama. Može se reći da je sve napisano do tada „b.B.“ (before Bion), a sve nakon je „a.B.“ (after Bion). Priznavajući utjecaj S.Freuda, M.Klein i J.Rickmana, Bion nam je osigurao prvu koherentnu psihoanalitičku teoriju o tri ubikvitarna fenomena u grupnim procesima koje je nazvao „bazičnim pretpostavkama“. Na rad W. Biona značajno su utjecali HJ Patton, teoretičar, profesor filozofije na Oxfordu, specijalist za Kanta, kao i W. Trotter koji je 1916. objavio, prije Freuda, članak o biološkom instinktu krda.(1)

KORIJENI I RAZVOJ BIONOVE MISLI

Posljednje poglavlje u navedenoj knjizi posvećeno je M. Klein (1) i Bion u njemu otvoreno naglašava utjecaj njene teorije o izmjeni shizoparanoide i depresivne pozicije kao i teoriji projektivne identifikacije na njegova promišljanja. Njegova teorija o grupama narasta je na kleinijanskoj ideji da psihotična anksioznost individue koja se generira u kontekstu prvih kontakata sa majkom/dojkom bude reaktivirana u trenutku kada individua pokušava uspostaviti odnose s članovima grupe. Nadalje razvija koncept projektivne identifikacije kao intrapsihičkog mehanizma obrane koji prerasta u psihološki/interpersonalni proces pomoću kojega dvije individue zajedno misle/promišljaju (2). Iako,

with regard to groups. One might even refer to everything written before it as “b.B.” (before Bion), and everything after it as “a.B.” (after Bion). While acknowledging the influence of S. Freud, M. Klein and J. Rickman, Bion provided us with the first coherent psychoanalytic theory of three ubiquitous phenomena in group processes, which he called the “basic assumptions”. His work was significantly influenced by H. J. Patton, a theorist, professor of philosophy at Oxford and Kant scholar, as well as by W. Trotter, who published a paper on the biological instinct of the herd in 1916, before Freud. (1)

THE ROOTS AND DEVELOPMENT OF BION'S THOUGHT

The final chapter of the above-mentioned book is dedicated to M. Klein (1), and in it Bion openly emphasises the influence of her theory on the oscillation between the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, as well as her theory on projective identification, on his own ideas. His theory of groups was based on the Kleinian idea that the psychotic anxiety of the individual, which is generated in the earliest interactions with the mother/breast, is reactivated in the moment when the individual attempts to establish relationships with group members. Further on, he develops the concept of projective identification as an intrapsychic defence mechanism, which evolves into a psychological/interpersonal process through which two individuals engage in

svoju teoriju bazičnih pretpostavki u nesvjesnom životu grupa nije smatrao teorijom društvene kohezije, ona može biti shvaćena i tako, budući da su grupe koje funkcioniraju u okvirima bazičnih pretpostavki, uglavnom nekohezivne.

Bion izvodi svoj teorijski okvir iz niza pretpostavki.

Kada se bilo koja grupa ljudi nađe sa svrhom nekog projekta ili zadatka, možemo razlikovati dvije različite varijante grupe, tj dvije različite konfiguracije mentalnih aktivnosti: W grupa (*working group* ili radna grupa) te grupa pod utjecajem bazičnih pretpostavki-BA grupa (*basic assumption group*).

Grupe koje djeluju u konstantno racionalnom modusu su rijetke i predstavljaju idealizirani konstrukt. U stvarnosti, ljudi se povremeno u grupama ponašaju na psihotičan način, tj grupni mentalitet vrlo često je onaj privremene psihoze.

Psihotični mentalitet grupe opisuje se i analizira u terminima tri bazične pretpostavke: Ovisnosti, Borba/Bijeg i Parovi.

Bazična pretpostavka Ovisnost

U Ovisnoj grupi članovi vide voditelja omnipotentnim, sveznajućim, a sebe neadekvatnim, nezrelim i nekompetentnim. Njihova idealizacija uparena je s naporima da iz voditelja izvuku znanje, moć i dobrotu. Članovi

shared thought/reflection (2). Although Bion did not consider his theory of basic assumptions in the unconscious life of groups to be a theory of social cohesion, it can nevertheless be interpreted as such, since groups that function within the framework of basic assumptions are, for the most part, incohesive.

Bion's theoretical framework is derived from several key premises. When any group of people gathers together with the purpose of carrying out a project or task, two distinct groups, i.e. configurations of mental activity can be distinguished: the W group (work group) and the basic assumption group – the BA group. Groups that function in a consistently rational mode are rare and represent an idealised construct. In reality, people within groups often behave in psychotic ways, i.e. the group mentality is frequently characterised by temporary psychosis. This psychotic group mentality is described and analysed through the lens of three basic assumptions: Dependency, Fight/Flight, and Pairing.

The basic assumption of dependency

In the Dependency group, the members perceive the leader as omnipotent and all-knowing, while viewing themselves as inadequate, immature and incompetent. Their idealisation of the leader is accompanied by efforts to extract knowledge, power, and goodness from the leader. The members of such a group are perpetually greedy and unsatisfied.



takve grupe zauvijek su pohlepni i nezadovoljeni.

Kada voditelj iznevjeri njihov ideal, ispočetka reaguju s poricanjem, potom ubrzanom i cjelovitom devaluacijom voditelja uz potragu za zamjenskim. Primitivna idealizacija, projekcija omnipotencije, poricanje, zavist i pohlepa, zajedno s pripadajućim obranama postaju karakterističnima za Ovisnu grupu.

Bazična pretpostavka Borba/bijeg

Splitting, projekcija agresije i projektivna identifikacija dominiraju u grupi Borba/Bijeg. Potraga za njegovom i ovisnosti koja karakterizira Ovisnu grupu, zamijenjena je konfliktima za agresivnom kontrolom, sumnjičavosti, sukobima i strahu od anihilacije.

Bazična pretpostavka Parovi

U grupi Parovi članovi se fokusiraju na par, koji nije nužno heteroseksualan. Taj par simbolizira grupno očekivanje da će se reproducirati i sačuvati ugroženi grupni identitet i opstanak. Prethodne dvije grupe smatraju se pregenitalnima, dok je potonja ipak, edipalnoga karaktera.

Bionov stil prezentacije koncepta je kriptičan i kompleksan. S vremenom, stil postaje sve više kleinianski, može

When the leader fails to meet their ideal, the group initially responds with denial, followed by a rapid and complete devaluation of the leader, often accompanied by the search for a replacement. Primitive idealisation, projections of omnipotence, denial, envy, and greed, along with their associated defence mechanisms, are characteristic of the Dependency group.

The basic assumption of fight/flight

Splitting, projection of aggression and projective identification dominate in the Fight/Flight group. The desire for care and dependence seen in the Dependency group is replaced by struggles for aggressive control, suspicion, conflict, and fear of annihilation.

The basic assumption of pairing

In the Pairing group, members focus on a pair, which is not necessarily heterosexual. This pair symbolises the group's shared expectation that it will reproduce and preserve the threatened group identity and ensure its survival.

The first two groups are considered pregenital, while the Pairing group is seen as having an Oedipal character.

Bion's style of presenting concepts is cryptic and complex. Over time, his style became increasingly Kleinian, and it could be said that it evolved into what we now refer to as post-Kleinian concepts and a style of understanding (3). Bion

se reći da je evoluirao u ono što danas nazivamo post-kleinianskim konceptima i stilom razumjevanja (3). Bion navodi da ljudi u grupnim situacijama regresiraju na razine psihičkog života djeteta u odnosu s majčinim tijelom i dojkom, tj ranih preedipalnih, triangulacijskih fenomena (usta, dojka, bradavica, uho, anus) to jest parcijalnim objektima puno više nego u razine odnosa među osobama-majkom i ocem. Radost i želja za znanjem potaknuta je fantazijom primalne scene uz anksioznosti koja proizlazi iz toga i pripadajuće obrane. Sam Bion je to formulirao na način da je priča o grupama više zagonetka Sfinge nego priča o Edipu (4).

Prema njemu sve tri bazične pretpostavke su u osnovi međugra shizoparanoidne i depresivne pozicije te je, iako ne baš jasno, implicirao je da je instinktu smrti podliježeća patološka zavist kao izvor iracionalnog i destruktivnog bijesa. Pri tome primarni procesi *splittinga*, poricanja i projekcije facilitiraju procese idealizacije i denigracije sa svrhom da se ego rastereti od osjećaja bolnog bijesa i da se važni objekti sačuvaju. Ovisnost u grupi razvija se iz idealizacije udružene sa shizoidnom komponentom iz paranoidno-shizoidne pozicije.

Bazična pretpostavka ovisnosti štiti ljude od iskustva bespomoćnosti i straha od neuspjeha u ispunjavanju temeljnih zadataka za preživljavanje.

stated that people in group situations regress to levels of psychic life akin to that of a child in relation to the mother's body and breast, i.e. to early pre-Oedipal, triangulated phenomena (mouth, breast, nipple, ear, anus) or partial objects, much more than to the levels of interpersonal relations with persons – the mother and father. Curiosity and desire for knowledge are driven by fantasies of the primal scene, along with the anxiety that this evokes and its associated defences. Bion himself formulated this by saying that the story of groups was more a riddle of the Sphinx than the story of Oedipus (4).

According to Bion, all three basic assumptions are fundamentally an interplay between the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, and even though it was not explicit, he implied that pathological envy, subordinate to the death instinct, is the source of irrational and destructive rage. In this context, the primary processes of splitting, denial and projection facilitate the mechanisms of idealisation and denigration, with the purpose of relieving the ego from painful feelings of rage and preserving important objects. Dependency within the group develops from idealisation paired with the schizoid component of the paranoid-schizoid position.

The basic assumption of dependency protects individuals from the experience of helplessness and fear of failure in fulfilling essential survival tasks. In childhood, this means access to food. In groups, it refers to access to emotional



U djetinjstvu je to dostupnost hrane. U grupi je to dostupnost emocionalne hrane. Osjećaji nesigurnosti i neizvjesnosti su također u to uključeni.

Bazična pretpostavka borba/bijeg razvija se iz denigracije koja je udružena s paranoidnom komponentom shizo-paranoidne pozicije.

Stvaranje parova temelji se na seksualizaciji i erotizaciji kao maničnoj obrani od anksioznosti koja je povezana s depresivnom pozicijom, uključujući i temeljno uvjerenje da dobrote i savršenosti nema niti iznutra niti izvana.

Drugim riječima stvaranje parova nema veze s genitalnom seksualnosti.

Svi fenomeni bazičnih pretpostavki predstavljaju zapravo kontejnere psihotične anksioznosti. Sam proces bazičnih pretpostavki često je groteskan i u distorziji, te interferira sa zadacima Radne grupe. Način je analogan neurozi i psihozi u odraslih kao grotesknim verzijama duševnog života novorođenčeta i djeteta. Također može biti analogan postojanju nesvjesnog emocionalnog i mentalnog života koji je karakteriziran primarnim procesom usporedno sa nesvjesnim, racionalnim sekundarnim procesom ega.

U svim grupama sve tri bazične pretpostavke se kaleidoskopski izmjenjuju, uz korelate svih triju pozicija, shizoparanoidne i depresivne. Naročito kada

nourishment. The feelings of insecurity and uncertainty are also involved.

The basic assumption of fight/flight develops from denigration, coupled with the paranoid component of the paranoid-schizoid position.

The pairing assumption is based on sexualisation and eroticisation as a manic defence against the anxiety associated with the depressive position, including the fundamental belief that goodness and perfection exist neither within nor outside the self.

In other words, pairing has nothing to do with genital sexuality.

All phenomena of the basic assumptions are, in fact, containers of psychotic anxiety. The very process of basic assumptions is often grotesque and distorted, and interferes with the tasks of the Work Group. The mechanism is analogous to neurosis and psychosis in adults as grotesque versions of the inner life of a newborn and child. It can also be seen as analogous to the existence of an unconscious emotional and mental life characterised by a primary process, existing parallel to the unconscious but rational secondary process of the ego.

In every group, all three basic assumptions shift kaleidoscopically, with correlates of all three positions, the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. Particularly when Dependency fails as a defence against helplessness, envy returns, followed by denigration lead-

Ovisnost ne uspije kao obrana od bespomoćnosti, povratno se javlja zavist, potom i denigracija koja vodi u Borba/Bijeg fenomene ili pak daljnju idealizaciju koja pojačava Ovisnost. Dinamika bazičnih pretpostavki predstavlja zatvoreni sustav.

Bion tvrdi da je stvarni voditelj, u osnovi voditelj radne grupe (WG) jer je u stanju upotrijebiti procese bazičnih pretpostavki sa svrhom rada u grupi, ovisno o zadanim ciljevima grupe (3). Drugim riječima, radna grupa je poput plutenog čepa u moru bazičnih pretpostavki, a voditelj grupe nalazi se u stalnoj opasnosti od prevrtanja i zamjene od strane voditelja grupe bazičnih pretpostavki. Voditelji radnih grupa i grupa bazičnih pretpostavki su stalno u međugiri, oni egzistiraju i funkcioniraju simultano.

SLABOSTI BIONOVE TEORIJE

Jedna od slabijih strana Bionovih teorijskih koncepata je neprihvatanje realiteta društvenih procesa.

Bion je smatrao je da grupa suštinski ne postoji te da ona nije ništa drugo od zajednički podijeljene fantazije grupe ljudi u istom regresivnom stanju.

Bion je zapravo u cijelosti zanemario "radnu grupu". Bio je zainteresiran za grupu bazičnih pretpostavki i za procese koji ometaju rad u radnoj grupi. Ta-

ing to the Fight/Flight phenomena, or to further idealisation, which intensifies Dependency. The dynamic of the basic assumptions constitutes a closed system.

Bion stated that the true leader is actually the leader of the Work Group (WG), since they are capable of using the processes of basic assumptions in service of the group's work, depending on the group's defined goals (3). In other words, the Work Group is like a cork floating in the sea of basic assumptions, and the group leader is constantly at risk of being overturned and replaced by the leader of The Basic Assumption Group. The leaders of the Work Group and of the Basic Assumption Group are in constant interplay, as they coexist and function simultaneously.

THE WEAKNESSES OF BION'S THEORY

One of the weaker aspects of Bion's theoretical concepts is his rejection of the reality of social processes.

Bion believed that the group essentially does not exist, and that it is nothing more than a collectively shared fantasy of people in the same regressive state.

In fact, Bion completely overlooked the "work group". He was interested in the basic assumption group and in the processes that disrupt the work of the work group. He also neglected the phenome-



kođer je zanemario fenomenologiju voditelja u grupi, naročito u radnoj grupi.

U kontekstu modela Klein/Bion nemoguće je konceptualizirati anksioznost koja je dublja i primitivnija od shizoidne, tako da gotovo nije moguće konceptualizirati bazične pretpostavke regresivnije od Borbe/bijega ili Ovisnosti. Pretpostavljao je da svugdje gdje postoji podliježeća maligna zavist, izvedena iz instinkta smrti u umu, ona nužno vodi prema denigraciji i Borbi/bijegu ili idealizaciji, što predstavlja Ovisnost (1, 4).

Klinička i empirijska iskustva govore u prilog postojanju dodatnih psihotičnih anksioznosti, a time posljedično i dodatnim bazičnim pretpostavkama. Bion je ovaj problem uočio ali ga nije mogao razriješiti. On se nije usudio ući u daljnji otklon i prilagodbu kleinian-skog modela uma, iz koje je nastala teorija bazičnih pretpostavki (1).

BAZIČNE PRETPOSTAVKE NAKON BIONA

Što se događa kada ovisnost ne uspije: četvrta bazična pretpostavka (Basic assumption Oneness-BaO/jednost?)

Ljudi osjećaju dubinski bespomoćnost i strah od anihilacije.

Drugim riječima, moguće je da zavist nije izazvana instinktom smrti, već

nology of the leader within the group, especially in the work group.

In the context of the Klein/Bion model, it is impossible to conceptualise anxiety that is deeper and more primitive than the schizoid, making it nearly impossible to conceptualise the basic assumptions more regressive than Fight/Flight or Dependency. He assumed that wherever malignant envy is present, derived from the death instinct in the mind, it inevitably leads either to denigration and Fight/Flight, or to idealisation, which constitutes Dependency (1, 4).

Clinical and empirical experience supports the existence of additional psychotic anxieties, and consequently, additional basic assumptions. Bion recognised this problem, but was unable to resolve it. He did not dare to take a further departure from, or adaptation of, the Kleinian model of the mind from which the theory of basic assumptions originally emerged (1).

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AFTER BION

What happens when dependency fails: the fourth basic assumption of Oneness – BaO

People experience profound helplessness and fear of annihilation. In other words, it is possible that envy is not caused by the death instinct, but instead arises as a defence against the fear of annihilation,

proizlazi kao obrana od straha od anihilacije, a strah od anihilacije je ujedno i četvrta bazična pretpostavka.

Iako je teorija bazičnih pretpostavki u osnovi teorija inkohezije, općenito, četvrta bazična pretpostavka odnosi se specifično na inkoheziju. Bion (4) ju je jednom spomenuo 1965. i potom 1970. kao mogućnost: prvi put kao manifestaciju iluzija fuzije i jedinstva koje se temelje na potrebi novorođenčeta da se štiti od anksioznosti koje su povezane s anksioznošću vezanoj za porod, i kasnije, preciznije usmjerene protiv anksioznosti povezane s transformacijom jedinstvenog objekta fetusa s tijelom majke prema separatnom objektu odvojenom od majke(4).

Ideju je kasnije razradio Tourquet (5) u dva rada:

Leadership: The individual in the group'; 1967. i 'Threats to identity in the large group'objavljenom 1969.

Tourquet navodi da se može opservirati četvrta bazična pretpostavka, 'Oneness' (BaO) koju možemo prevesti sa *Jednota ili Jednost*. (6).

Na krilima ove pretpostavke članovi Velike grupe traže snažno jedinstvo s onipotentnom silom, nezamislivo moćnom, s intencijom predaje selfa u svrhu pasivnog sudjelovanja, i posljedičnog osjećaja življenja, dobrobi-

while that fear of annihilation is itself the fourth basic assumption.

Although the theory of basic assumptions is fundamentally a theory of incohesion, in general, the fourth basic assumption specifically refers to incohesion. Bion (4) mentioned it as a possibility once in 1965, and then again in 1970: the first time as a manifestation of illusions of fusion and unity, based on the infant's need to protect itself from anxieties connected with birth-related anxiety, and later more precisely directed against the anxiety that stems from the transformation of the fetal-maternal unit into a separate object detached from the mother (4).

This idea was later developed by Tourquet (5) in the two following papers: "Leadership: The Individual in the Group" (1967) and "Threats to Identity in the Large Group" (1969).

Tourquet stated that a fourth basic assumption of 'Oneness' (BaO) can be observed (6).

Carried by this assumption, the members of a Large Group seek a powerful unity with an omnipotent force, unimaginably powerful, with the intention of surrendering the self for the sake of passive participation and the resulting feelings of aliveness, well-being and wholeness. The group member thus floats in oceanic feelings of fusion. If that unity is personified, then the member becomes part of a group with a mes-



ti i cjelovitosti. Član grupe, tako pluta u oceanskim osjećajima sjedinjenja. Ako je jedinstvo personificirano, tada je član postao dio grupe s mesijanskom idejom. U grupi se događa transformacija, štoviše cijeli niz transformacija zbog višestruke izloženosti.

Osoba započinje svoj "grupni život" u *singleton* stanju, no u svrhu zaštite od anihilacijskih strahova i gubitka identiteta koji slijede iz neublažene zavisti i nekontroliranog regresivnog stanja, jedinka nema druge opcije već da postane *Membership Individual*, član pojedinac ili pak *Isolat*, umjesto *Individual Member*. Članovi pojedinci nesvjesno kreiraju društvenu i kulturalnu homogenost, koja je jasno obilježena apsolutnom jednakosti, istim uvjerenjima ili vjerovanjima, bez diferencijacije uloga. Homogenizacija tako predstavlja želju za fuzijom kao obranu od zavisti.

Paralelno, postoji također alternativni obrambeni proces, pomoću kojih *izolati* kreiraju nesvjesno stanje kaosa i multiplih splittinga s karakterističnim polaritetima. Metafora tog stanja *dissaray* je stanje društvene i kulturne bezličnosti, i može se usporediti s nuklearnim fragmentima u ciklotronu, tj. granice su one od metalnog kontejnera u kojem se nediferencirana smjesa čestica nalazi (Bion, 1956, "bizarni objekti")(3)

Kvalitetna WG-work grupa (radna grupa) obilježena je heterogenošću većine

sianic idea. A transformation occurs in the group, and in fact, a whole series of transformations occur due to multiple exposures.

A person begins their "group life" in a singleton state, but in order to protect themselves against annihilation anxiety and loss of identity, both of which arise from unmitigated envy and uncontrolled regression, the individual has no other option but to become a Membership Individual or an Isolate, instead of an Individual Member.

Membership Individuals unconsciously create social and cultural homogeneity, clearly marked by absolute sameness, shared beliefs or ideologies, and the absence of role differentiation. This homogenisation thus represents a desire for fusion as a defence against envy.

In parallel, an alternative defensive process also exists in which Isolates create an unconscious state of chaos and multiple splitting, characterised by stark polarities.

The metaphor for this disarray (disorder or chaos) is a state of social and cultural facelessness, comparable to nuclear fragments in a cyclotron, i.e. bounded only by the metallic walls of the container holding the undifferentiated mix of particles (Bion, 1956, "bizarre objects") (3).

A high-functioning WG (work group) is marked by heterogeneity among most participants, who have become Membership Individuals.

sudionika, koji su postali pojedinačni individualni članovi (*Membership Individuals*).

Inkohezija se manifestira u uzorcima interakcije poput normiranja kao i u stilovima razmišljanja i osjećaja i stilovima rukovođenja i slijeđenja (slijedbeništva).

Stanja agregacije i masifikacije su povezana i izraz su osebnih uzoraka agresivnih osjećaja i otvorene agresije, kao i seksualizacije agresivnih osjećaja i agresije. Inkohezivni društveni sustavi osciliraju između agregacije i masifikacije. Učestalost i intenzitet pojavljivanja četvrte pretpostavke pitanje je raspona. Iznimno je kronično i intenzivno u grupama traumatiziranih osoba. U traumatiziranim društvima osobni identitet uvijek je ugrožen.

Razmatranje četvrte bazične pretpostavke kao i mogućih daljnjih bazičnih pretpostavki u nesvjesnom životu grupa ili grupi-sličnih društvenih sustava dovodi nas do koncepta agregata i mase kao društvenih formacija (6,7,8).

Inkohezija: Agregacija/ Masifikacija

Agregati (nakupine) i mase su najjednostavnije, primitivne društvene formacije. To nisu samo nakupine ljudi, ali nisu niti grupe. Nisu ni gužva niti

Incohesion manifests in interaction patterns such as norming, as well as in styles of thinking, feeling, leading and following.

The states of aggregation and massification are connected, and express particular patterns of aggressive feelings and open aggression, as well as the sexualisation of aggressive feelings and aggression. Incohesive social systems oscillate between aggregation and massification.

The frequency and intensity of appearance of the fourth basic assumption is a matter of range. It is exceptionally chronic and intense in groups of traumatised individuals.

In traumatised societies, personal identity is always under threat.

Considering the fourth basic assumption, as well as the possibility of further basic assumptions in the unconscious life of groups or group-like social systems, brings us to the concept of aggregates and masses as distinct social formations (6, 7, 8).

Incohesion: aggregation/ massification

Aggregates (gatherings) and **masses** are the most basic, primitive social formations. They are not merely gatherings of people, but they are not groups either. They are neither a crowd nor an audience. Aggregates are characterised by a minimal degree of mutual attraction or involvement, they are not interdepen-



publika. Agregati su obilježeni minimalnim stupnjem uzajamne privlačnosti ili involviranosti, nisu međuvisniti se nužno simpatiziraju po pitanjima vjerovanja, normi ili vrijednosti.

Kontrastno, **masa** je obilježena maksimalnim stupnjem međusobne privlačnosti i involviranosti, koji također nisu međusobno ovisni niti simpatični jedni drugima, ali dijele iluziju solidarnosti po pitanjima vjerovanja, normi ili vrijednosti, najčešće, neko kraće vrijeme.

Iako se članovi mase mogu drugačije osjećati, masa nije više grupa u odnosu na agregat. Agregati sadržavaju odviše individualnosti da bi bili grupa, dok masa toga ima premalo.

Agregat i masa su društvene formacije, s vlastitim dinamikama. Agregat je visoko inkohezivan; masa djeluje naoko kohezivno, iako je u stvarnosti inkohezivna, kao i agregat.

U stvarnosti, masa je kao agregat koji se pretvara da je grupa. Ne bismo je trebali zamijeniti za rulju ili hordu koji, iako potiču masifikacijski proces, ipak imaju vlastitu tipičnu strukturu i dinamiku.

Masa se uobičajeno sastoji od velikog broja ljudi, od 16 osoba naviše. Šesnaest je broj figura u šahu te je taj broj ujedno onaj koji prema Turquetu, definira dinamiku male grupe od velike(5).

dent and they do not necessarily sympathise with one another in terms of beliefs, norms or values.

In contrast, a **mass** is marked by a maximum degree of mutual attraction and involvement, though its members are also not interdependent nor necessarily sympathetic toward each other. However, they share an illusion of solidarity when it comes to their beliefs, norms or values, most frequently for a brief period.

Even though members of the mass might feel differently, the mass is no more a group than the aggregate is. Aggregates contain too much individuality to be considered a group, while the mass has too little.

Both the aggregate and the mass are social formations, each with their own dynamics. The aggregate is highly incohesive, while the mass appears cohesive on the surface, but in reality is just as incohesive as the aggregate.

A mass is actually an aggregate pretending to be a group. We should not confuse it with a mob or horde, which, although they fuel the process of massification, nevertheless possess their own typical structure and dynamics.

A mass typically consists of a large number of people, generally 16 or more. Sixteen is the number of pieces in a chess game, and according to Turquet, it is also the number that marks the transition in dynamics from a small group to a large group (5).

Kriterij za formiranje mase poput gustoće populacije, moguće je važniji od ukupnog broja. Drugim riječima u maloj sobi dostatno je samo par ljudi da započne proces masifikacije.

Metafore za agregate su: šaka šljunka, komad granita, set kugli za bilijar ili tanjur friganih ribica; u kontrastu, metafora za masu je nanos, bazaltna stijena, šaka vlažnih mokrih spužvi, komad fecesa, komad tijesta, nadjev punjene paprike. Metafora šake svijeća koje zajedno gore i stapaju se, najčešća je metafora koja se i etimološki povezuje s riječi *fascio* koja nas dovodi do termina fašist 1933 (7). Riječi i pojmovi povezani za "slobodno tržište kapitalizma" ili "upravljanog tržišnog socijalizma" također predstavljaju metafore za agregaciju i masifikaciju (6).

Agregati i mase imaju svoje ekvivalente u životinjskom svijetu -jata i krda. Sasvim je sigurno da navedeni oblici grupa živih bića imaju visoku vrijednost u borbi za preživljavanjem, ovisno o izazovima s kojima su suočeni. Npr. jato flamingosa (plamenci) predstavlja društveni uzorak analogan masi.

Takvo jato može naprotiv biti direktno suprotstavljeno krdu morževa, iako i ono direktno predstavlja društvenu masu.

The criterion for the formation of a mass, such as population density, may be more important than the total number of people. In other words, in a small room, just a few people are enough to initiate the process of massification.

Metaphors for aggregates include the following: a handful of gravel, a piece of granite, a set of billiard balls or a plate of fried small fish. In contrast, metaphors for a mass include a sediment deposit, a piece of basalt rock, a handful of wet sponges, a lump of faeces, a piece of dough, or the filling of a stuffed pepper.

The metaphor of a handful of candles burning together and melting into one another is the most common one, and is even etymologically linked to the word *fascio*, which brings us to the term fascist from 1933 (7). The terms and concepts associated with the "free market of capitalism" or "managed market socialism" also represent metaphors for aggregation and massification (6).

Aggregates and masses also have their equivalents in the animal kingdom – such as flocks and herds. It is quite certain that these forms of groupings among living beings have a high value in the fight for survival, depending on the challenges they face. For example, a flock of flamingos represents a social pattern analogous to a mass. Such a flock, however, can be directly contrasted with a herd of walruses, even though that represents a type of social mass as well.



Peta bazična pretpostavka Ba M (me-ness)

Alastair Bain i Laurence J. Gould u svom radu iz 1996. navode da je u industrijskim društvima i kulturama uočen je još jedan fenomen koji proizlazi iz svjesne i nesvjesne društvene anksioznosti. (7) Život u modernim društvima je turbulentan i rizičan tako da je individua sve više pritisnuta i potisnuta u vlastiti unutarnji realitet, sa svrhom izbjegavanja uznemiravajućeg realiteta iz okoline. Unutarnji svijet postaje utjeha. No u to se može samo na trenutak povjerovati jer je tako pristup eksternom realitetu zapriječen.

U nacionalnim kulturama nalaze se mnoge sličnosti, dijele se persekutorne ideje. Nalazimo se u trenutku velike promjene, praćene krizom. Kriza obuhvaća cijeli niz paradigmi te je i udružena sa gubitkom metafizičke izvjesnosti. Smjer promjena nije jasan u post-modernom društvu za koje pretpostavljamo da naslijeđuje moderno. Postajemo sve svjesniji poteškoća u povezivanju i razumijevanju promjene paradigmi sa suvremenim duhom vremena i onim što slijedi u postmodernom razdoblju koje je pred nama(9).

Mala pojednostavljena ilustracija zbivanja u današnjem svijetu može izgledati ovako: anglosaksonski svijet u sadašnjem trenutku bori se s recesijom koja

Fifth basic assumption – BaM (Me-ness)

In their 1996 paper, Alastair Bain and Laurence J. Gould noted that another phenomenon was observed in industrial societies and cultures, stemming from both conscious and unconscious societal anxiety (7).

Life in modern societies is turbulent and risky, increasingly pressuring and suppressing the individual into their own internal reality as a means of avoiding the disturbing external reality. The inner world becomes a place of comfort. However, this belief is only momentarily sustainable, as access to external reality becomes obstructed.

National cultures share many similarities, particularly in the persecutory ideas they harbour. We are finding ourselves in a moment of significant transformation, accompanied by crisis. The crisis encompasses a range of paradigms, and is linked to the loss of metaphysical certainty. The direction of change is unclear in the postmodern society, which we presume to be the successor of modernity. We are becoming increasingly aware of the difficulties in understanding and connecting the paradigm shifts to the contemporary spirit of the time, and to what lies ahead in the coming postmodern period (9).

A small, simplified illustration of events in today's world might look like this: the Anglo-Saxon world is currently struggling with a recession that has devas-

je razorila srednju klasu, učestali su bankroti, velika je nezaposlenost. Tvrdi i grubi realitet pogoduje razvoju politike mržnje: kamate rastu, bankarski sustavi kolabiraju, beskućništvo raste-usporedno ostvaruje se manijakalni rast vrijednosti dionica i privilegirani pojedinci se dodatno osiguravaju. Unutar Europske aglomeracije: istočni blok ima velike aspiracije za kapitalističkim načinom života. Rusija je u ekonomskom i političkom kolapsu, Česi i Slovaci su rastavljeni, Mađarski političar preuzima nacističku retoriku, Transilvaniju nagrizava izgledan sukob Rumunja i Mađara. Na Balkanu nije prestao II svjetski rat. Mogući je scenario rata Albanije, Bugarske, i Turske i Grčke. Efekat rata u Bosni prelijeva se na Kosovo, Makedoniju i Sandžak.

Započeo je ratni kaos u Palestini i Gazi. Jačaju fenomen društvene tribalizacije i potrebe za potvrdom i učvršćivanjem nacionalnih identiteta. Pojedinci (*Individuals*) gube vjeru i povjerenje u strukturu društva te se događa društveno uvjetovano povlačenje (društveno i političko).

Me-ness

Opcija za ljude locirane u vremenu i prostoru sa zadatkom radne grupe (Working group-WG) je da nesvjesno idu u smjeru da grupu transformiraju u ne-grupu .

tated the middle class. Bankruptcies are frequent, unemployment is high.

A harsh and brutal reality favours the development of hate-based politics: interest rates are rising, banking systems are collapsing, homelessness is increasing – and all the while the stock market shows manic growth and privileged individuals further secure themselves.

Within the European agglomeration: the Eastern Bloc harbours strong aspirations for a capitalist lifestyle.

Russia is in a political and economic collapse, the Czechs and Slovaks have separated, a Hungarian politician adopts Nazi rhetoric, and in Transylvania, a likely conflict brews between the Romanians and Hungarians. In the Balkans, World War II never really ended. A possible war scenario could unfold involving Albania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece. The war in Bosnia spills over into Kosovo, Macedonia, and Sandžak. The chaos of war erupted in Palestine and Gaza. The phenomenon of social tribalisation is intensifying, along with a growing need to affirm and solidify national identities. Individuals are losing faith and trust in the societal structures, resulting in socially driven withdrawal (social and political).

Me-ness

An option for the individuals situated in time and space, and engaged in a work group (WG) task, is to unconsciously head in the direction of transforming the group into a non-group.



Grupa postaje kontejnerom persekutor-nih iskustava, grupa je taboo i nečista, obilježena negativnim predznakom. Grupa nema realitet, jedini realitet koji postoji je onaj sebični, onaj same individue. Postajemo svjesni samo svojih granica.

Otpor prema testiranju granica i autoriteta u formaciji i kulturi bazične pretpostavke Me-ness, ima formu povlačenja i pasivne agresije. Shizoidne anksioznosti i primitivne obrane predstavljaju bazu Me-ness stanja koje se manifestira u različitim oblicima otuđenja, povlačenja i patološkog narcizma.

U svakoj grupnoj kulturi postoje jake aspiracije prema znanju. No, detektirano je na mnogim konferencijama koje se održavaju posljednjih 40-ak godina, prisustvo jakih razloga i potreba za ne-znati. Smatra se da je Me-ness specifičan otpor dizajniran kao otpor prema radnoj grupi kao i ostalim bazičnim pretpostavkama. Tako grupa postaje *individual selfcontained group*. Dominiraju individualistične preokupacije *Me-singleton* stanja i ljudi jednostavno ne žele iskustvo i članstvo u grupi.

Me/ singleton stanje kao i *me-ness* kultura smanjuje psihičku bol tako da ne uči iz povijesti, iz odnosa s autoritetom ili iz iskustva sebe i drugih.

The group becomes a container for persecutory experiences, and it is seen as taboo and impure, marked by a negative connotation. The group is stripped of any reality, and the only reality that remains is the selfish one, the reality of the individual alone. We become aware only of our own boundaries.

Resistance to testing the boundaries and authority within the formation and culture of the Me-ness basic assumption often takes the form of withdrawal and passive aggression.

Schizoid anxieties and primitive defences form the foundation of the Me-ness state, which manifests through various expressions of alienation, withdrawal and pathological narcissism.

In every group culture, strong aspirations toward knowledge are present. However, many conferences held over the past 40 years have revealed a strong presence of reasons and needs to not know. Me-ness is seen as a specific form of resistance, designed against the work group, as well as all the other basic assumptions. The group thereby becomes an individual self-contained group.

Individualistic preoccupations of the Me-singleton state dominate, and people simply do not desire the experience or membership of a group.

The Me/singleton state, as well as the Me-ness culture, reduce the psychic pain, but at the cost of failing to learn from history, from relationships with authority, or from the experience of self and others.

UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Kao što Turquet nije bio u stanju u cijelosti konceptualizirati četvrtu bazičnu pretpostavku, Lawrence, Bain and Gould nisu uspjeli još do kraja konceptualizirati petu. Razvoj ovih koncepata još je uvijek u tijeku (*work in progress*). Razlozi vjerojatno leže u tome što još uvijek nisu povezali bazične pretpostavke s bazičnim psihotičnim anksioznostima unutar konteksta specifičnog razvojnog modela ili teorije. Upravo ideja društvene uvjetovanosti moguće predstavlja eufemizam za traumatsko iskustvo ili pak traumatogeni proces koji takvim niti ne može biti opisan budući da trauma, naročito teško nalazi mjesto u Klein/Bionovom modelu psihoanalitičke misli (8).

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

Just as Turquet was unable to fully conceptualise the fourth basic assumption, Lawrence, Bain and Gould have also not yet succeeded in fully conceptualizing the fifth. The development of these concepts is still a work in progress. The likely reason for this is that they have not yet linked the basic assumptions with the basic psychotic anxieties within the context of a specific developmental model or theory. In fact, the very idea of social conditioning may be a euphemism for traumatic experience, or even a traumatogenic process which cannot easily be described as such, precisely because trauma has a particularly difficult time finding its place within the Klein/Bion model of psychoanalytic thought (8).

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