

Narrative activity within an institutional framework:
how a rehabilitation team constructs problems that can
be solved

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Submitted to the
Faculty of Communication Sciences
University of Lugano

for the degree of
Ph.D. in Communication Sciences

March 2005

Board

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The work described in this thesis has been carried out at the University of Lugano, Switzerland, and at the University of Los Angeles, California.

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**Narrative activity within an institutional framework:
how a rehabilitation team constructs problems that can be solved**
Chiara Piccini, Ph.D. dissertation, abstract

This is a study about discursive practices of problem solving within a team of professionals who rehabilitate people with psycho-social problems. The study community is the team of Centro a.D., an organization located in the South of Switzerland. The research combines an ethnographic study of Centro a.D. with a qualitative analysis of recorded talk during team meetings. In particular the study examines the relationship between the communicative activity during team meetings and the fragment of social reality represented by the institution in which the team operates.

The analysis of social reality illustrates how team members concretely implement their rehabilitation paradigm. The most important social reality's component is the set of workplaces that Centro a.D. creates and manages as rehabilitation instruments. Ordinary workplaces can be viewed as contexts for activities, placed in the second-order context (Bateson, 1973) of society. Centro a.D.'s workplaces are built by borrowing workplace contexts and by placing them in a different second order context, i.e. rehabilitation, in which goals are different. Since elements are moved in a different second-order context, they build a different social reality fragment for activities that take place within their framework.

Team members who play the role of employers in Centro a.D.'s workplaces have a complex deontology. By deontology I mean the set of authorizations, obligations, and prohibitions that the institution imposes on team members.

The description of social reality helps in understanding how rehabilitation is conceived of at Centro a.D. and how it is realized in day-to-day practice. This includes the understanding of team meetings' function within rehabilitation.

The analysis of team meetings encompasses both activity's macrostructure and its local accomplishment in interaction. The aim is uncovering minute work through which team members at meetings realize a meaningful segment of the broader rehabilitative activity to which they are committed.

The focus is on problem solving. In talking work team members strive to describe problems by selecting, reporting and evaluating episodes occurring during their daily life with clients: the main issue is to assess the significance of episodes in relation to the rehabilitation program that the client is following. This attempt is pursued in the form of

a narrative activity that is at the same time the locus to enforce and develop the institutional framework in which they operate and the understanding of their own deontology in rehabilitation.

The dimensional approach to narrative (Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps, 1997) is used to study problem solving during team meetings. Narratives of problem solving have been studied by Ochs in conversation within scientific labs: scientists were constantly engaged in a quest to establish the significance of events in order to decide what experiment to do next (Gonzales, 1996; Ochs, Gonzales, and Jacobi, 1997; Ochs, Jacobi, and Gonzales, 1994). The reporting of events in problem solving is always linked to questions of whether events represent a problem or not and which kind of problems they represent. Attribution of significance to events is accomplished within an evaluative framework that is displayed and developed during the construction of narratives.

Problem solving occurs within a fragment of social reality that shapes activity by imposing a deontology on agents: planned solutions necessarily belong to a set of possible actions enabled by the institution. Problem description must enable the planning of those kind of solutions that can be implemented within the institution. Therefore we can speak in terms of institutional narratives and non-institutional narratives: institutional narratives construct problems that open possibilities for action within a specific fragment of social reality.

The close examination of talk-in-interaction follows the approach of C.A.

We observe, for example:

- How interlocutors use the accounts provided by another member of the group and then reframe it in a different perspective;
- How they display their understanding of their upcoming contributions as contrasting with what had been said up to that point;
- What the team members rely on to express their ongoing evaluations.

The joint accomplishment of discursive actions above is crucial in the development of institutional narratives.

An extensive history of team meetings has been considered; it was possible to recognize that some operations systematically occur in problem solving. The set of these operations is the corpus of Centro a.D's working practices in relation to problem solving activity, i.e. layered narratives, old narratives as resources, contextualization, discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project, centralization of interaction. These practices enable meeting participants to construct an institutional narrative in which solvable problems are identified.

Acknowledgments

The dissertation presented here would have not been possible without the competent guidance and the persistent support of my supervisors, Antonella Carassa and Marco Colombetti. They spent time working with me and they taught me to never allow impatience to prevail over the concern about truth.

I'm thankful to Christin Meier and Giorgio Rezzonico, who have asked me to make a survey within the rehabilitation centre they have founded. Moreover, I'm thankful to every member of the team operating in that centre. They have always been ready to give me their time; they were trustful and curious toward my study. The estimation I have for their work and for the service they provide has been an important drive during the research.

I'm indebted with Marjorie Goodwin for the great support she gave me during my stay at UCLA. I owe my gratitude also to Elinor Ochs and to Merav, who have been a great source of inspiration.

I want to mention Lorenzo Cantoni, Alessandro Duranti, John Heritage, and Susan Dean, who have played a significant role during my doctoral studies.

I'm grateful to Katia Passarin and Ettore Codevilla, Barbara and Alberto Toti, Nicoletta Fornara, my mother and many close friends with whom I have shared every trouble and every joy of my doctoral journey.

Finally, the effort of writing the dissertation has been a fascinating experience of personal growth, thanks to the love, the encouragement (and the patience) of Gabriele Viganò.

A special acknowledgment is due to Mrs. Cele Daccò, who materially made possible this study by providing me with a grant over three years.

1. Introduction: talk as social action.....	8
1.1. Sequential organization of talk.....	9
1.2. The ethnographic approach and the importance of the context.....	11
1.3. The study of talk in institutional settings	12
1.4. The activity as analytic unit.....	13
1.5. The study.....	14
Methodological orientation.....	14
Knowledge base.....	15
1.6. Overview of the dissertation	16
Conventions.....	17
2. Theoretical framework.....	19
2.1. Social and institutional reality	19
Collective Intentionality.....	19
Agentive functions.....	20
Interlocking systems of social reality.....	21
Powers.....	22
Authorizations and permissions.....	23
2.2. Narrative activity	25
Tellership.....	27
Tellability.....	28
Embeddedness.....	29
Moral stance.....	29
Linearity.....	30
3. The health care institution: Centro a.D.....	32
An overview of Centro a.D.....	32
3.1. Rehabilitation paradigm at Centro a.D.....	36
3.2. Analysis of institutional reality	41
Ontology of a workplace.....	42
Deontology of a client as an employee at Centro a.D.....	45
Deontology of an employer at Centro a.D.....	46
Free time.....	49
Housing solutions.....	52
Counselling and Case-management	52
3.3. Organization of work.....	53
The seat.....	54
Interrelationships between workplaces.....	56
Restaurant.....	57

The office.....	58
3.4. Team meetings.....	60
Function of the meetings at Centro a.D.	60
Deontology for team members during the meetings.....	61
4. Analysis of problem solving.....	64
4.1. Analytical foci.....	69
Temporal organization.....	69
Forms of evaluation.....	71
Participation framework.....	72
References to the institutional framework.....	73
4.2. Analysis of three problem solving sequences.....	77
The example of Lucia: the enrollment in an informatics course.....	77
Notes on the example of Lucia.....	93
The example of Teo: the sponge episode.....	98
Notes on the example of Teo.....	108
The example of Ida: role misunderstanding.....	111
Notes on the example of Ida.....	128
4.3. Practices.....	136
Layered narratives.....	136
Old narratives as resources.....	140
Contextualization.....	143
Discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project.....	147
Centralization of interaction.....	149
4.4. The macro practice of problem construction.....	151
First axis: problem domain.....	152
Second axis: hierarchy.....	152
5. Conclusions.....	164
6. References.....	170

1. Introduction: talk as social action

This is a study about work and in particular work accomplished through talk within a team of professionals who rehabilitate people with psycho-social problems. In particular the study examines the relationship between the communicative activity during team meetings and the fragment of social reality represented by the institution in which the team operates. The focus is on situated practices of problem solving that team members develop and implement while they discuss the situation of their clients with the aim to plan future developments of rehabilitation projects. The dissertation sheds light on discursive practices through which team members jointly achieve an institutional problem construction. Problem construction is institutional when it is functional to the planning of viable solutions, i.e. solutions that team members can implement within the organization in which they work. In talking work team members strive to describe problems by selecting, reporting and evaluating episodes occurring during their daily life with clients: the main issue is to assess the significance of episodes in relation to the rehabilitation program that the client is following. This attempt is pursued in the form of a narrative activity that is at the same time the locus to enforce and develop the institutional framework in which they operate and the understanding of their own deontology in rehabilitation. By deontology I mean the set of authorizations, obligations and prohibitions that the institution imposes on team members. The analysis encompasses both activity's macrostructure and its local accomplishment in interaction. The aim is uncovering minute work through which team members at meetings realize a meaningful segment of the broader rehabilitative activity to which they are committed.

At the core of this research is a view of talk as social action whose analysis requires an interdisciplinary approach.

As M.H. Goodwin points out in relation to social sciences

“the scope of human behavior was segmented in such a way that the integrated character of the phenomena constituted through interaction fell between the cracks, while simultaneously each discipline treated actual interactive practices as epiphenomena, or formulated basic theory in such a way as to entirely exclude interaction from the realm of what could legitimately be studied. Thus sociology left the study of language to linguistics. However, the processes of interaction within which talk is characteristically embedded were systematically excluded from study *within* linguistics. Sociologists were interested in developing their own formal models of encompassing social systems, and in these models the details of what happened in face-to-face interaction were typically assigned little importance.” (Goodwin 1990:2)

The interpersonal level is not captured by models of social systems from the macro perspective, and it escapes also from psychological models traditionally centered on the individual (cfr. Hutchins, 1993; Lave, 1988).

Early call for systematic investigation on the comprehensive phenomenon of talk across traditional boundaries is in the work of Erving Goffman (1964, 1967, 1971, 1974, 1981, 1983).

The manifesto expressed in the work of Goffman originated many research traditions that share a common focus on talk as a form of social action. I include in this introductory chapter an overview on those traditions that have influenced my work. After this overview I present the study and the structure of the dissertation.

1.1. Sequential organization of talk

The focus on talk-in-interaction implies a shift from the study of isolated sentences typical in both traditional psychology and linguistics to the study of sentences embedded in ongoing sequences of speech. A body of research that stresses the importance of sequential dimension in the analysis of linguistic behavior is Conversation Analysis (henceforth C.A.).

C.A. was born within Ethnomethodology, a subfield in Sociology founded by Harold Garfinkel (1967). The ethnomethodological tradition investigates situated practices of interaction that construct social order. Its research program is based on the recognition that social actors have a commonsense knowledge about what they do in interaction. This knowledge is made explicit by the ethnomethodologists, who studies the link between what social actors visibly do and what they know about their interaction practices. Conversation has been acknowledged as one body of social practice, on the basis of Harvey Sacks' intuition that talk is not only an important element in the establishment of social order, but is also itself structured and orderly (Sacks 1967, 1970). From this intuition, researchers study "the competencies that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984:1). Early works in C.A. are documented in Jefferson (1972), Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977).

According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998:14):

"C.A. is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. (...) Principally it is to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus being on how sequences of interaction are generated. To put it another way, the objective of C.A. is to uncover the tacit reasoning

procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction.”

C.A. has focused on a wide range of phenomena, including:

- different orders of talk organization, i.e.:
- membership categorization
- sequence
- turn taking
- repair
- person reference
- interaction features that constitute orderliness of talk, including:
 - principle of preference
 - adjacency pairs
 - agreement display
- practices related to discursive activities, such as:
 - bad news delivery and realization
 - interactional accomplishment of assessment, complaint, and blaming
 - categorization

As C.A. studies display, speakers tend to react to interlocutors utterances with certain moves more likely than with other moves. The display of orderliness is a central task in conversation:

“We have proceeded under the assumption (an assumption borne out by our research) that insofar as the materials we worked with exhibited orderliness, they did not only for us, indeed not in the first place for us, but for the co-participants who had produced them. If the materials (records of natural conversations) were orderly, they were so because they had been methodically produced by members of the society for one another, and it was a feature of the conversation that we treated as data that they were produced as so to allow the display by the co-participants to each other of their orderliness, and to allow the participants to display to each other their analysis, appreciation, and use of that orderliness.” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:290).

Each next turn therefore embeds the interpretation that the speaker gave to the conversation up to that point and speakers are constantly engaged in the work of displaying their understanding. The display of understanding is relevant for interlocutors to the construction of their next turn at any next point in the activity at hand.

Resources that display interlocutors’ interpretation of utterances are also available for the researcher. The sequence of talk-in-interaction displays to the researcher how an individual utterance has been interpreted:

“Participants in conversation have the job of providing next moves to ongoing talk which demonstrate what sense they make of that talk. It therefore is possible to see how group members themselves interpret the interaction they are engaged in (...) this indigenous process of interpretation links cultural and social phenomena; the analysis participants are engaged in is itself a constitutive element of the social organization achieved and manifested through interactive talk.” (M.H. Goodwin, 1990: 6)

1.2. The ethnographic approach and the importance of the context

What is found in interaction is one important source of knowledge to understand communicative exchange. Sequential organization of talk cannot be omitted in inferring the meaning of a single utterance. However, interpretative resources inside conversation are not the only legitimate source of knowledge. The notion of context is a critical point within which the C.A. paradigm is contested. The disregard for larger context of conversational exchanges is at the core of critiques against C.A. from the ethnographic perspective of linguistic anthropology: “adjacency pairs (or any other unit proposed by conversation analysts) do not happen in a vacuum. Hence, their study must include the “context” in which they occur.” (Duranti, 1997:267)

The ethnographic approach stresses the importance of both cultural and historical context of interaction. The ethnographic method relies both upon what the researcher observes by participating in the life of the community and upon what researcher elicits by interviewing community members who explain their understanding of their own social practices. An ethnographic analysis of speech events takes into consideration various dimensions of context that the researcher triangulates on the basis of multiple sources of knowledge. In the model of Dell Hymes (Hymes 1964, 1972a, 1972b) a speech event is modeled according to eight components:

- situation (physical, temporal, psychological setting defining the speech event);
- participants (e.g. speaker, addressee, audience);
- ends (outcomes and goals);
- act sequence (form and content)
- key (manner or spirit of speaking)
- instrumentalities (channels and forms of speech)
- norms of interaction (e.g. organization of turn taking and norm of interpretation)
- genres (e.g. casual speech, commercial messages, poems, proverbs)

The eight component model is an overt simplification of context that nevertheless played an important role in drawing attention to the relationship between speech and culture in particular events. This relationship is the focus of studies that - within multiple disciplines such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology - aim to examine speech events in unfamiliar cultures by identifying communicative practices from an insider point of view. These studies constitute the research trend named Ethnography of Communication¹.

1.3. The study of talk in institutional settings

One branch of C.A. (e.g. Atkinson, Cuff & Lee, 1978; Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Maynard, 1984; Heritage, 1985; Clayman, 1988; Whalen, Zimmerman & Whalen, 1988; Clayman & Whalen, 1988/1989; Schegloff, 1988/1989; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Maynard, 1991; Clayman, 1992; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Schegloff, 1992; Boden, 1995; Gonzales, 1996; Drew & Sorjonen, 1997) focuses on conversation in 'institutional' settings, as for example pre-trial conferences, court hearings, business meetings, news interviews, medical encounters, classroom interactions, and political rallies. Findings in everyday conversation are compared with those that occur in institutional settings where, for example, the turn-taking mechanism may be ruled by standard procedures or may reflect interlocutors' roles.

The research question for C.A. scholars who look at institutional settings concerns the enabling property of talk-in-interaction mechanisms, through which speakers accomplish institutionally oriented activities and construct social formations (including roles and identities). In this sense, there is a difference between the study of talk as social action in institutional settings and the study of language use – i.e., variation in linguistic features – as a consequence of pre-given features of society (e.g. Labov, 1972a; Labov & Fansel, 1977; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975)

From the point of view of C.A. it is not legitimate to speak about contextual features (i.e. features of institutions) without referring to their local procedural relevance displayed by interlocutors in conversation.

“it is within these local sequences of talk, and only there, that these institutions are ultimately and accountably talked into being. (..) the details of little, local sequences which at first seemed narrow, insignificant and contextually uninteresting, turn out to be the crucial resources by which larger institutionalized activity frameworks are evoked. Such institutional contexts are created as visible states of affairs on a turn-by-turn basis.

¹ this term has been introduced by Hymes and Gumperz in 1964.

It is ultimately through such means that 'institutions' exist as accountable organizations of social actions. (Heritage 1984: 290)

C.A. stresses the importance of looking at the dynamic nature of institutional reality that can be analyzed in its local construction. In this way, it represents a different perspective on the study of work than mainstream sociology informed by the work of Michel Foucault (Foucault 1963, 1975). Although the traditional separation, the two research trends can be blended in the pursuit of “an integrative approach to workplace study which brings together the interaction order and the institutional order” (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999: 10)

1.4. The activity as analytic unit

The analysis of talk-in-interaction in its local organization can be blended with awareness for the extra-linguistic context. To this purpose an appropriate unit of analysis must be chosen. Activity is the privileged unit to study talk and culture, where activities taken into consideration are discursive ones. This claim is asserted by many authors.

Goffman (1961b:96) introduces the concept of situated activity system, defined as “a somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-terminating circuit of interdependent actions”.

Similarly, Gumperz and Hymes (1972:16-17) invite to consider the speech event, i.e. “the interactive unit above the level of speech acts which is to the analysis of verbal interaction what the sentence is to the grammar”.

As Marjorie H. Goodwin points out, both the concept of situated activity system and the one of speech event outline a unit of analysis which “emphasizes the interactive meshing of the actions of separate participants into joint social projects” (Goodwin, 1990:8).

Furthermore, Alessandro Duranti remarks that the notion of speech event, as it is formulated in Hymes and Gumperz, introduces a unit for the analysis of speech which is social instead of linguistic: speech events are “(i) ways for people to belong to a community; (ii) they are ways of constituting communities.” (Duranti, 1997:290)

Notions of speech event and situated activities imply a new focus in the study of language; they also identify the proper locus for the study of culture. One reason for this claim is that in every activity competent members of a community use those practices, structures and procedures made available by the culture that are appropriate for that activity (Goodenough, 1981; M. Goodwin 1990). Culture emerges in activities through the situated use of practices².

² The relationship between culture, activity and social practices is deeply investigated by research on learning that has been developed from the works of Vigotski and Leontiev. Within this tradition, workplace activities are a preferred object of study.

In the study of how discursive activities are socially constructed, the analysis of local accomplishments through talk-in-interaction is combined with an account for the activity macrostructure, culturally specified. Activity frameworks that must be taken into consideration in the analysis of talk are joint activities.

1.5. The study

The study community is a team of professionals who provide psycho-social rehabilitation within Centro al Dragonato (henceforth Centro a.D.), an organization located in the South of Switzerland. The research started in February 2002, and since that time has developed into an individual, doctoral research project.

Methodological orientation

The research combines an ethnographic study of Centro a.D. with a qualitative analysis of recorded talk during team meetings. Ethnographic analysis results in a model of Centro a.D. built on a theory that elaborates how human beings construct social reality. The description of social reality helps in understanding how rehabilitation is conceived of at Centro a.D. and how it is realized in day-to-day practice. This includes team members' understandings of the meetings in which they participate. In fact, meeting activity has meaning as part of the entire rehabilitation work. In other words, what team members discursively do is meaningful as functional component of rehabilitation.

Thus, for example, if team members use common words as “stage”, “contract”, or “project”, they refer to something that has a precise meaning in the context of their work. Furthermore, the way in which they describe and evaluate an episode during the meeting will have important impact in the rehabilitation course of the client who is the main character in the recounted episode. And finally, the norms that team members follow during meetings are part of a broader set of norms that organize the entire rehabilitation work.

The work accomplished through talk during meetings is a joint activity. In every joint activity participants make their contributions on the basis of their mental representation of the activity as a whole and of their specific tasks within it (Clancey, 1995, 1997). The institutional framework of goals and norms partially shapes the representations that participants have about the joint activity in which they are engaged and about their own individual tasks. Representation, in this sense, works as a situated plan for participation in the ongoing activity.

I analyze discursive activity in relation to the problem solving, which is the most important concern during the meetings. The close examination of talk-in-interaction follows

the approach of C.A. By this I mean that I look at the local construction of the activity through the joint accomplishment of specific discursive actions, e.g. assessment, categorization, and topic management.

This approach is insightful for the analysis of team meetings. In fact problem solving is not primarily the exploration of solutions in relation to pre-given problems. Team members are primarily concerned with the identification of problems. Therefore it is crucial to see, for example:

- how interlocutors use the accounts provided by another member of the group and then reframe it in a different perspective;
- how they display their understanding of their upcoming contributions as contrasting with what had been said up to that point;
- what the team members rely on to express their ongoing evaluations.

I describe problem solving as a joint construction of institutional narratives, i.e. narratives that are consistent with institutional constraints and that open the possibility to plan educational interventions among a set of possible interventions available in the rehabilitation paradigm followed by Centro a.D.

By looking at conversation through this schema I can see how team members, step by step, locally construct problem solving as the outcome of properly integrated turns at talk.

The observation of talk-in-interaction often shows a gap between speakers' projection about how their turn contributes to the problem solving activity and the way in which that turn actually contributes to it. The integration of the turn in the story is an interactional accomplishment.

Analysis of meeting activity results in the identification of discursive practices, i.e. recurrent sequential and structural features found in discourse that play a strategic role in the accomplishment of problem solving according to Centro a.D. rehabilitation paradigm.

At Centro a.D, similar to other communities, people implement peculiar ways of working that they have historically developed in order to satisfy a heterogeneous set of conditions (e.g. goals, roles and individual tasks, norms, resources, aspirations and private agenda). Practices are maintained within the community as a shared repertoire of resources ready to be used in unplanned new ways.

Knowledge base

My knowledge base refers to a period of time between February and November 2002. It includes:

- Corpus of recorded meetings (20 hours audio recorded meetings, 14 hours video recorded meetings)

- Corpus of recorded interviews (7 interviews to team members)
- Field notes
- Centro a.D.'s archive of recorded counselling appointments + 1 recorded meeting between one client and her employer at Centro a.D.
- Documents authored by Centro a.D.'s team members.

1.6. Overview of the dissertation

In chapter 2, I discuss the theories I refer to in the analysis of Centro a.D. that I illustrate in chapters 3, 4, and 5. The theory of John Searle (Searle, 1995), in section 2.1, is employed to describe an important component of Centro a.D. as social system, i.e. the institutional aspects. Key concepts in this theory are:

- social and institutional facts
- ontology
- deontology

The theory of Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (Ochs & Capps, 2001), in section 2.2, is used to build a model of problem solving during team meetings. Relevant dimensions that this theory makes available to the analysis are:

- linearity
- moral stance
- tellership

Moreover, the concept of explanatory setting stressed by Ochs and Capps is extremely important in the examination of the meetings activity.

The chapter 3 describes how social facts shape working practices at Centro a.D. The analysis of social reality illustrates how team members concretely implement their rehabilitation paradigm. In particular, the analysis dwells on the description of one social reality's component, i.e. the workplaces that Centro a.D. creates and manages as rehabilitation instruments. Workplaces are analyzed in terms of their ontology and the deontology imposed on team members who play the role of employers in Centro a.D. workplaces.

Then, the event of the meeting is addressed in chapter 4. The meetings are regarded with reference to their function within rehabilitation and to their own features as a fragment of social reality. Deontology of team members during the meetings is highlighted.

Finally, the chapter 5 illustrates the analysis of discursive practices. Analytical foci are described, i.e. temporal organization, participation framework, forms of evaluation, and references to the institutional framework. Then, the analysis is exemplified by looking at

three problem solving sequences. After that, several discursive practices are identified and contextually exemplified by referring to the three sequences analyzed and to other excerpts. Those practices – layered narratives, old narratives as resources, contextualization, discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project, and centralization of interaction – are historically developed resources that team members implement as a way to be consistent with the rehabilitation paradigm to reach meeting goals and to work with parsimony. The study of discursive practices sheds light on the problem construction process that team members follow. This process is synthetically reconstructed in section 5.4.

Conclusions, in chapter 6, summarize research achievements and open the discussion to further developments of it.

Conventions

In the transcription of original speech I use the following transcription conventions:

[talk	point of overlap
[talk	
talk=	point of concatenation
=talk	
>talk<	the talk between them is compressed or rushed
< talk >	the talk between them is markedly slow or drawn out
° talk°	the talk between them is markedly softer than the talk around it.
(0.2), (0.5),	silence, represented in tenths of a second
(0.8), (1)	
(.)	micro pause, a silence less than 2/10 of a second
hh	aspiration (breathing)
(hh)	aspiration inside the boundaries of a word
.hh	inhalation
TALK	stress or emphasis
-	self-interruption
::	prolongation or stretching of the sound
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
.	final intonation
()	uncertainty on the transcriber's part in relation to speech between parentheses
(())	transcriber's description of events

Each turn is numbered. Numeration is relative to each speech excerpt. Every name – clients, team members and other persons mentioned in the discussion – is a pseudonym. Gender of clients has been occasionally modified. Speakers are indicated with codes that mean their role within the team:

OFFICE is the manager of the office workplace

TYPOG. is the manager of the office workplace

WAITR. is the manager of the office workplace

PSYCH. is the psychotherapist

PSYCH*. is the director/psychotherapist

COOK. is the manager of the cookery workplace

FREET. is the manager of the Free Time activities service

COORD. is the meeting coordinator

English translation has been included below each Italian turn. Indication of pauses, overlapping and concatenation are included in the translation.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. *Social and institutional reality*

Reference is made to John Searle's definition of social reality (Searle, 1995); followed by a presentation of his theory, in which he gives an explanation of how human beings create social reality and how social reality shapes human activity. As part of the presentation, two elaborations are inserted that are useful in applying the theory describing a real fragment of social reality.

Collective Intentionality

In his theory, Searle's use of the term, *social fact*, is synonymous with collective facts, belonging to the domain of mental intentional facts and implying a *collective intentionality*. Collective intentionality is the capability of human beings to share intentional states such as beliefs, desires and intentions. Some of our intentional states assume a "we" form: We want, we believe. This kind of intentionality is primitive: We do not obtain an intention through this form, the sum of "I" form intentions. It means that an intentional state as "we are having a meeting" is something different from the sum of intentional states as "I am having a meeting and I believe that other participants in the meeting believe that they are having a meeting".³

Collective intentionality is the basis for every social (or collective) activity: Participants in social activities derive part of their "I" form intentional states involved in the activity from their "we" form intentional states. For example, "I am playing the part of Antigone in a production that we are presenting in the theater." "I give my report as part of the problem-solving session that we are conducting at work." It is important to note that collective intentionality does not identify the intentionality of a metaphorical collective subject (the intentionality of the couple, of the group or of the organization): Collective mental states cannot exist anywhere else but in the mind of an individual.

The assignment of function

Collective intentionality, according to Searle's theory, is critical to the explanation of social facts. The *assignment of function* is a type of social fact that is particularly productive in the construction of social reality.

³ for further readings on individual and collective intentionality see Tomasello (1999, 2003)

Human beings take advantage of natural features of physical reality to reach their goals; they assign functions that are not intrinsic to objects. Searle mentions that even our perception of objects captures the level at which physical reality has a function in our lives.⁴

The difference between the concept of causation and the concept of function is that causation refers to phenomena that do not depend on observers: causation is intrinsic to objects. On the contrary, the concept of function introduces the observer's point of view: cause-effect relationships are perceived and assigned on the base of a presupposed set of values and goals. Searle uses the heart as an example: It is intrinsic to nature that heart causes the blood to flow through the body and it is intrinsic to nature that the blood flow causes many other phenomena related to the survival of the organism. But the statement, "the function of the heart is to pump blood" indicates causal relationships into a teleology, that is the framework of values and goals sustained by the observer. The assignment of function results into the distinction between "good" and "bad" functioning: "This heart functions perfectly", "this is a heart disease". We can even refer to "good stones" and "bad stones" since we assign them a function. For example, stones are used as weapons and also as construction material to build a roof.

Agentive functions

The heart example represents the category of *non-agentive functions*, while a sub-group of functions we assign to physical facts are *agentive functions*. Agentive functions are related to the use of objects that agents employ in their intentional behavior. When we build an artifact, we create a physical object with the intention of using it for something specific: we model physical reality in a way that enables specific behavior. We can recognize agentive functions in natural facts. An example of an agentive function, "That kind of bean is used to make coffee" and a non-agentive function would be "Canola oil creates revenue for the food industry", but those kinds of expressions imply more sophisticated causal relationships. Simple statements that express the assignment of function concern agentive functions in the case of artifacts and non-agentive functions in the case of natural facts.

Status functions and constitutive rules

I have shown examples of objects that provide a function in terms of their causal (and other physical) features. But the human capability that is most productive in the creation of social

⁴ this feature of human cognition is captured by the concept of affordance introduced by Gibson (1977) and by the concept of basic objects introduced by Berlin and Rosch (1976); the social nature of perceived affordances is explored in Tomasello (1999). On this topic see also Carassa, Tirassa, and Morganti (2005).

reality is the assignment of a particular kind of function that Searle refers to as, *status function*, which is not at all related to the physical features of objects. Status functions assign to physical facts functions that they can accomplish only through collective agreement.

Searle models this process by introducing the concept of *constitutive rule*. Constitutive rules have the structure “X counts as Y in C” where X is the physical fact, C is the context, and Y is the fragment of social reality produced by using X. The formula “X counts as Y in C” represents the collective acceptance of a function that is assigned to X. Constitutive rules differ from *regulative rules*: Regulative rules control and provide the norm for pre-existing forms of behavior, whereas constitutive rules create the reality that they control and for which they establish the norm. The driving code exemplifies a set of regulative rules, whereas the rules of a chess game are constitutive rules. Searle employs the concept of status function to define a kind of social facts that he refers to as, *institutional facts*. Institutional facts exist only within human institutions that are inherent in systems of constitutive rules.

Language is an institution and any other institution that human beings can create requires language. There are facts that exist independent from any human institution, as when we utilize language to state facts. “Today is sunny and the temperature is 25 Celsius degrees”, refers to a specialized institution to express (and to understand) temperature measurement; however, the described fact does not change, regardless of who describes it. Similarly, social facts such as a group of hyenas that are hunting a lion require language to describe the activity, but not to affirm its reality. This is not the case of with statements such as “Rome is the seat of Italian government” or “A football match is won by the team that scores the highest number of goals”: The existence of the described facts depends on human agreement. Language and other institutions are constitutive of those phenomena⁵.

Interlocking systems of social reality

In Searle’s theory the complexity of social reality can be explained by applying three building blocks: collective intentionality, the assignment of function and constitutive rules. The structure “X counts as Y in C” can be recursively applied and there are interlocking systems of such structures operating through time and creating the possibility of highly complex institutional facts: Institutional facts do not exist in isolation but in a set of systematic relations to other facts.

⁵ The function of language as constitutive of social reality is related to institutional facts. It is different from the function that language has in the coordination of collective facts, either institutional or just collective.

When using this theory to describe an existing fragment of social reality it is useful to have a simplified model of possible relationships between interlocking systems⁶.

In the complex ontology of social reality we can recognize three layers:

- The higher layer (upper ontology) is domain and application independent and includes a relatively small number of categories such as events, objects, actions, etc.
- The middle ontology is domain dependent and application independent. It has the potential of being expanded, though it is actually quite stable. At this level abstract kind of institutions are located. Every kind of institution inherits categories from upper ontology. On the basis of them it defines those elements that belong to the middle layer.
- The lower ontology is domain and application dependent; it is always changing and growing. This level hosts concrete institutions.

The construction of a concrete institution is a process in which ideas and inherited categories meet and adapt to a context of pre-existing social reality: It is the space for creativity, where lower (local) ontology is always expanded.

Ethnography of an institution should identify which fragment of social reality the institution brings about. In fact, such analysis allows for understanding specific features of activities within the institution and set of meanings made available for members.

Powers

Institutional facts involve physical objects, events and agents. Contracts, bills, and birth certificates are an example of when a status Y is imposed on an object. When a status is imposed on an event, it might result in hiring, firings, weddings, elections, whereas a status imposed on a person might result in the creation of employers, employees, teachers, wives, presidents. The imposition of status functions on objects and events can always be reformulated in relation to persons: Institutional facts always imply a change in action possibilities of persons⁷. Agentive functions concern the possibilities of behavior that are made available to the owner of the object. Objects are placeholders for activities; therefore Searle speaks about social facts instead of social objects. An object, like money, is the continuous possibility of paying for something. The payment, enabled by the bill, is an institutional fact.

⁶ The three layers model is not included in Searle's theory.

⁷ Searle mentions honorific status as an exception to this statement, since there is no action enabled and the status has value per se rather than for its consequences.

Searle speaks about action possibilities, enabled by status functions, in terms of powers. Status functions can be grouped into different categories in relation to the kind of power that they grant.

Symbolic powers enable us to represent reality, as in the case of language: We impose the power to represent a fragment of reality on sounds and written signs. Those powers enable agents to create meaning.

Deontic powers create rights and obligations. They regulate relations between people. Within this category, agents can be assigned positive or negative powers. Positive powers concern what agents can do (enabling a form behavior). Negative powers concern what agents must do (requiring a form of behavior or preventing the opposite one). Positive powers include every form of qualification that enables the invested person to achieve something that could not otherwise be done.

Honors are a particular kind of powers. In this case, the value of the status is the status itself, rather than its consequences, such as when a person becomes the winner of an award or when a singer is voted least-talented in a vocal contest.

Procedural powers are when the status assigned corresponds to a step toward the (conditioned) achievement of deontic powers or honors.

Authorizations and permissions

Among the variety of positive powers that can be assigned to people there is a substantial difference between authorizations and permissions⁸.

Permissions rule the performance of acts that agents have the possibility of performing. Agents do not need permission in order to be able to accomplish an act. Nevertheless, if the act is performed without permission, it would be considered a violation and it would be stopped and/or punished in some way. Conversely, an authorization does more than simply rule the performance of acts. It is an important component of our ability to create social reality through the “counts as” construct. In fact, authorization is constitutive of the act; it enables something to occur that could not be done without authorization. A person may have permission to enter a room, but even without permission, that person could still enter the room and be subjected to the consequences of this violation.

The assignment of permission is an institutional fact, but the action enabled by permission, is not an institutional one. When there is an expression of permission it usually indicates the cancellation of a negative power. Institutional acts must be authorized, rather than just

⁸ This distinction is not included in Searle’s theory.

allowed. If a person fires someone from a job without having the authority to do so, the dismissal has no reality and absolutely no consequences for the “fired” one.

In defining my object of study, I claimed that an insightful guide for the analysis of talking work is derived from the analysis of the relevant fragment of social reality in which the discursive activity takes place. Social reality, combined with theories and practice, is an important component of culture. Following Searle’s theory I will provide a description of the organization in which I conduct my study as it relates to:

- Local ontology, shedding light on new pieces of social reality (social and institutional facts) that the organization is apt to create;
- Local deontology, identifying the set of authorizations, obligations, permissions and prohibitions to perform institutional actions.

The analysis of social reality will be completed by the presentation of theories and practices that play a key role in social reality’s development.

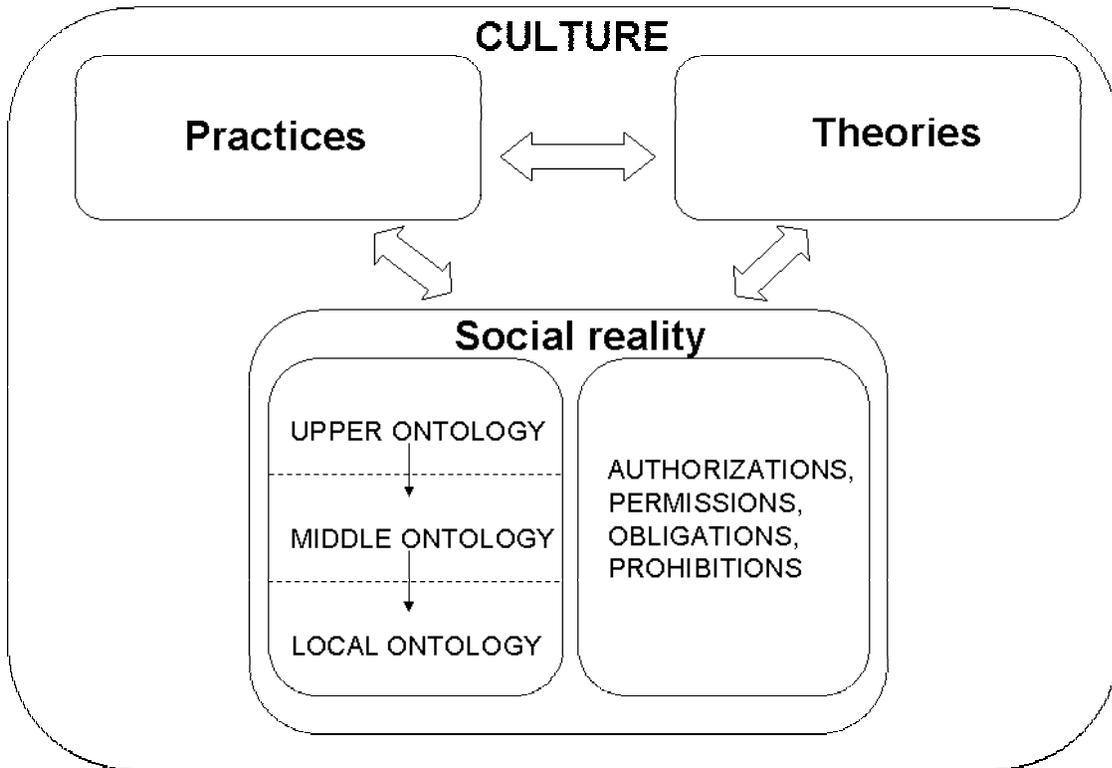


Figure 2-1 Social reality is one aspect of culture

Since my study of team meetings integrates knowledge about context with a close examination of talk-in-interaction, I complete this chapter about my theoretical framework presenting the dimensional approach to narrative (Ochs&Capps, 2001) I draw on to analyze team meetings discursive activity.

2.2. Narrative activity

According to Jerome Bruner (1986), human beings have two modes of thought. The two modes are complementary and irreducible to one another. Both of them concern the conversion of statements of fact into statements implying causality. One mode is that of paradigmatic thought which looks for logical causality of universal truth conditions, the other one is that of narrative thought which attends to the likelihood of connections between events. The first mode deals with the epistemological question of how we know truth, the second deals with the question of how we endow experience with meaning.

The paradigmatic or logical-scientific mode of thought seeks to transcend the particular by reaching for abstraction: it establishes and applies categories and relationships among them; it makes reference to general causes and to procedures to test for empirical truth.

The narrative mode employs rhetorical devices and deals with particular events in human or human-like vicissitudes, trying to order intentions, actions and consequences.

This narrative mode of thought is displayed *par excellence* in literary and oral storytelling, through which researchers can study distinctive features of its textual form (Bruner, 1986; Labov, 1972b). However, it is pervasive in everyday cognitive activity where it is intertwined with the paradigmatic form of thought that conversely has a privileged expression in mathematics and science.

Ochs, Jacoby and Gonzales (Jacoby, S., P. Gonzales, 1991; Ochs, E., S. Jacoby, P. Gonzales, 1994; Gonzales, P., 1996; Jacobi, Ochs, E., P. Gonzales, S. Jacoby, 1996; Jacobi, S., 1998) studied discourse among physicists in the laboratory. Their work shows the interrelation between rhetorical constraints and scientific reasoning: physicists had to achieve consensus in the way of presenting the research in a coauthored talk; the analysis on their discourse highlighted how they were working on attributing meaning to data within a scientific paradigm, while dealing with rhetorical issues.

In everyday storytelling about personal experience human beings engage in the uninterrupted activity of attributing meaning to their experience. Recent developments in narrative studies (M. Goodwin, 1990; Ochs, 1994) explore the relationship between the rehearsal and organization of past events and a concern for the future in personal narratives.

Collective problem solving is talking work that has two important features:

- it is mainly constituted by the activities of reporting and planning

- Its product is a conversational achievement.

To describe this particular kind of discursive activity I will build on recent developments in research on narrative and in particular on conversational narratives.

Narrative is both a textual genre and an activity. As a textual form it is characterized by the temporal sequencing of two or more events. Discourse components that are most typically included in a narrative are: chronology, description, evaluation and explanation. I argue for the dimensional approach to narrative developed by E. Ochs. Their theory of narrative is the product of research conducted on everyday conversational narratives of personal experience over many years and it is useful to examine narrative both as collective activity and as text. It proposes 5 analytical dimensions that are always relevant to a narrative: tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance.

Ochs and Capps define narrative as “a host genre that draws upon commonly used text structures” (Ochs and Capps, 2001:18). In conversational narrative in particular, the typical discourse components of a narrative are penetrated by questions, clarifications, challenges and speculations.

I model problem solving as the construction of narratives that create the possibility of making commitments and I view the emerging sequence of interrelated turns as composed of units that represent components of a conversational narrative. Commitment making is the apex of planning and represents a departure from the narrative flow along with other acts through which problem solving is maneuvered. The most important activities in problem solving are reporting and planning. Reporting embeds both a descriptive activity and an evaluative activity. In describing everyday storytelling, Ochs and colleagues (Ochs et al. 1992; Ochs & Taylor, 1992a; Ochs & Capps, 2001) claim that people are constantly engaged in the evaluation of reported events. This way of representing narrative activity challenges the traditional view informed by Labov’s work, according to which evaluation is located in delimited segments of narrative sequence.

Narratives of problem solving have been studied by Ochs in conversation within scientific labs: scientists were constantly engaged in a quest to establish the significance of events in order to decide what experiment to do next (Gonzales, 1996; Ochs, Gonzales, and Jacobi, 1997; Ochs, Jacobi, and Gonzales, 1994). The reporting of events in problem solving is always linked to questions of whether events represent a problem or not and which kind of problems they represent. Attribution of significance to events is accomplished within an evaluative framework that is displayed and developed during the construction of narratives.

Problem solving occurs within a fragment of social reality that shapes activity by imposing a deontology on agents: planned solutions necessarily belong to a set of possible

actions enabled by the institution. Problem description must enable the planning of those kinds of solutions that can be implemented within the institution. Therefore we can speak in terms of institutional narratives and non-institutional narratives: institutional narratives construct problems that open possibilities for action within a specific fragment of social reality. The expertise required for problem solving can be described as the ability to build institutional narratives. The features that an institutional narrative should include can be described as a situated plan that guides team members in identifying and integrating individual acts. Relations among narrative components represent the glue for problem solving: the main sequence of the narrative is the schema that allows participants to coordinate their contributions and to realize the joint activity. The outcoming sequence of interaction represents a text that is jointly built and that is the result of integration possibilities afforded by each turn.

When we observe conversation through the lens of narrative construction problem solving emerges in its local construction through properly integrated turns.

I will now review the 5 analytical dimensions relevant to a narrative.

Tellership

Ervin Goffman proposes a typology of forms of talk and participation. In his 1979 paper, *Footing*, he discusses the speaker-hearer model of communicative acts and shows that there is an organization of roles both on the speaker's side and on the hearer's side. Speech is physically produced by a person that Goffman calls the animator. The author of the speech, then, can be someone else, as is the case with direct or indirect reported speech. Besides the animator and the author, Goffman identifies a third role: the principal, who is responsible for what is said.

On hearer side, Goffman differentiates among three kinds of hearers: addressed party, bystander, and eavesdropper. Focusing on the author role reveals that hearers participate in the authorship because their presence influences the speaker who is constantly oriented toward the interlocutor(s) and reshapes his speech while interpreting the multimodal communicative actions of recipient(s) (C. Goodwin, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1995; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, 2004; M. Goodwin, 1999).

The concept of tellership focuses on the animator role and is used in narrative analysis to point out the extent to which there is active collaboration between participants in the conversation in the construction of the story. The main teller may drag new voices into the story by requesting, in more or less direct ways, others' contributions. Co-tellership in conversational narratives ranges from low involvement – in which interlocutors maintain a

relatively passive role and one teller prevails – to a high involvement in which there is a significant level of cooperation in the telling of the story, which is constructed with substantive contributions from more than one teller. The interlocutors' voice(s) can be dragged into the story by the first teller or they may spontaneously intervene. Possible contributions are to offer a psychological reaction, to request elaboration, to request clarification, to elaborate, to disagree or to deny. A particular form of contribution is launching a second story, a form of interaction noted by Harvey Sacks. Second stories are thematically and structurally bounded to the first and they contribute to the first “by providing either comparable or contrasting experiences and perspectives” (Ochs and Capps, 2001:32).

As Ochs and Capps note about personal narratives, sharing a personal experience makes it the object of a social process of interpretation and “highly collaborative tellings facilitate status quo interpretation of a narrated experience, as interlocutors offer familiar scenarios and conventional wisdom” (Ochs and Capps, 2001:55).

The degree of cooperation in the construction of a narrative is a relevant dimension to the analysis of discursive practices through which multiple tellers jointly construct institutional narratives.

Tellability

This dimension concerns the rhetorical rendering of the relevance of an episode. Tellers depict an episode as something that they perceive as relevant to their life or as something that they expect to be relevant for interlocutors. A highly tellable oral narrative assumes the form of a display text: the teller sequences events in a rhetorically effective way and provides a self-standing story that can be easily told again and used in future exchanges. In conversational narratives tellability is sometimes an achievement of the interaction: the initial teller does not know the point of relevance which it will become clear during the narration through the participation of interlocutors. However, a low ranking on tellability dimension can be displayed by narratives that nevertheless retain the function of “forum for discovering what transpired and/or piecing together an evaluative perspective on an incident, including its implications for the future”. In problem solving reported episodes are relevant if they can be acknowledged as problems that need to be solved or integrated into the elaboration of a broader problem under construction.

Embeddedness

Narratives vary in their degree of embeddedness: the extent to which they are distinct vs. embedded in the ongoing discursive activity. Distinction and embeddedness of a narrative sequence can be evaluated at multiple levels: turn organization, thematic content, and rhetorical structure. A low degree of embeddedness is displayed by narratives that have a rhetoric structure that contrasts with previous or ongoing discursive activity and are introduced without a topical bounding. They are typically produced in one long turn that interrupts the conversational turn taking rhythm in which turns are much shorter. Highly embedded narratives do not interrupt the flow of conversation. Their topic is relevant to the ongoing discursive activity, for example by exemplifying, a comparing, or supporting the point that interlocutors are making. Embedded narratives are also assimilated to the surrounding text through similar turn taking structure and rhetorical features. In problem solving narratives are functionally embedded in a specific form of talking work. Problem solving is a discursive activity with its own features and the reporting of events plays a role in the context of that activity. Therefore, the analysis of problem solving narratives needs to be integrated with the analysis of problem solving activity as it is conceived in the institution in which it occurs.

Moral stance

In personal narratives the selection of events reflects a moral stance: the rehearsal of events in narrative is the venue for challenging and reinforcing values and beliefs. Many among the narratives analyzed by Ochs and Capps concern events perceived as violating social expectations. The recounting of these events is colored by the affirmation of a moral stance towards them. As they participate in conversational narratives interlocutors engage in a negotiation of a moral stance within a culturally specific framework of values. Along the moral stance dimension, some narratives display a certain moral stance that remains constant through the telling; while other narratives display an uncertain moral stance that is challenged and modified through the telling. Narratives may be uncertain because main tellers present multiple perspectives or because co-tellers question their perspectives by adducing contradictory information or by using different points of view. Ochs (Ochs et al. 1992; Ochs & Taylor, 1992a, 1992b; Ochs & Capps, 2001) observed this process of theory building in family narratives: the interaction, centered on the authority of parents, is a venue for the socialization of children into a moral stance and at the same time it is a venue for the construction of that moral stance. The sociocultural system in which problem solving occurs provides interlocutors with a shared framework of values and beliefs, reified in the

ontology and deontology of the institution. The construction of a problem through narrative activity is a privileged locus in which to explore this dimension.

Linearity

In the multidimensional approach to narrative developed by Elinor Ochs (Ochs&Capps, 2001)the dimension of linearity addresses the temporal and causal order given to reported events by the narrator. Narrative is built by selecting specific events out of a huge number of them and concatenating them into one linear sequence out of many possible sequences. This linearization process reflects the search for coherence through which human beings make sense of experience.

Looking at a narrative as a whole it is possible to recognize such a linear structure. Narratives vary in relation to this dimension because in the search for coherence the narrator can leave more or less space open to alternative interpretations, so that some narratives are more linear than others. Foreshadowing and back-shadowing are common devices in narratives in which narrators organize events along a single path. Alternatively, narrators can suggest open-ended temporal and causal relations between events. Side-shadowing is a rhetorical device typical of fragmented narratives, where tellers trace a branched, blurred or broken line among reported events.

The sequencing of events is an aspect of narratives that can be viewed in terms of setting construction. In every narrative unit it is possible to distinguish between the unexpected events (into which tellers project their perceptions about the tellability of the narrative) and their explicatory setting. The explicatory setting may precede the introduction of an unexpected event or can be slowly disclosed after it.

In collective problem solving the events to be integrated into a sequence are adduced by multiple participants. The modality in which they construct explicatory settings in narrative determines the extent to which problem solving is jointly accomplished. Components of the setting can be provided by multiple speakers. This is usual among people who habitually share the recounting of their experience, because interlocutors “often have considerable background about protagonists, even if they did not participate in the events being recounted” (Ochs and Capps, 2001:137). The situation of colleagues who meet to do problem solving is probably similar.

I will provide a model of problem solving at Centro a.D. in the framework of narrative theory presented above and I will render discursive practices developed, maintained and implemented by the team to accomplish the talking work.

3. The health care institution: Centro a.D.

On the base of an ethnographic study I analyze the fragment of social reality – reified by the institution in which the team operates – that shapes activity by imposing on team members a complex set of authorizations, obligations and prohibitions. Talking work is a segment of such activity, therefore discursive practices can be identified only if the researcher deeply knows institutional context. I intend to highlight elements that are relevant for the development of discursive practices in talking work. I will describe:

- The rehabilitation paradigm, i.e. a set of theories about psycho-social problems and their solutions;
- Institutional elements that concretely implement the rehabilitation paradigm;
- Working practices that team members have developed by working within the institutional framework and that in turn lead to a slow institutional change. Discursive practices of talking work are a subset of working practices but they will not be reported here because they will be deeply analyzed later.

An overview of Centro a.D.

Before presenting a systematic analysis of rehabilitation at Centro a.D., I provide an introduction in the form of a narrative. Names and reported events are fictitious, but the narrative is representative of real life at Centro a.D.

It's Monday morning. Sara is in her office, on the third floor of a small building on a long street, just a few minutes walking distance from the center of Bellinzona, a main city in the southern part of Switzerland. The phone on her desk rings: It is Maria from the first floor of the same building: Maria has just received a call: "Someone is calling for a new referral; I will connect you to him." While speaking on the phone Sara takes notes on a yellow sheet, writing on the form: Anna Verdi, 22 years old, was studying to become a nurse, but after the first quarter she gave up. She has been at home for two years, doing nothing, and her parents are tired and have been pressuring her to do something. She had a breakdown, and they bring her to the hospital, at which time Dr. Rossi referred her to us. Her father calls Sara who gives him an appointment on Thursday for a first interview with the young woman, her parents and an older sister. Let's wait for Thursday: Sara already has enough information so that before the interview she will be able to find out about

available positions in workplaces, speaking with the team on Tuesday during the weekly meeting.

Sara is a social assistant and works as a case manager for The Centre Al Dragonato. Dragonato is the name of a river running near the building where the Centre has been built. The Centre provides services for those who, for a variety of reasons, have problems integrating themselves into society, and in particular, the workplace.

Anna is an example of such a person. When faced with adversity, she has never elected to tackle the problem, but instead gives up on everything and withdraws from school, and friends, while assuming behavior that finally compelled her parents to ask for psycho-social assistance.

On Tuesday afternoon Sara tells her colleagues about the call she received on Monday, anticipating that she is going to meet the young woman together with her family, in order to create a plan for Anna and help her in effecting change in her condition.

Sara collects information from her colleagues: Integration is possible in all of the individual workplaces at Centro a.D., with the exception of the typography lab in which the relational situation is unstable and admitting a new person would be risky.

At 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, Maria tells Sara that her last scheduled appointment of the day has just arrived for a first interview. Sara seats the family in her office: Mr. Verdi, Anna, the mother, Tina, and the sister, Lara. After a short hesitation, Mr. Verdi glances at his wife and then starts talking: "Well, as I told you on Monday, Dr. Rossi suggested that we contact you. We are here for her, Anna, who is the second of our six children. Lara is the oldest, Anna is next, then two boys and two more girls. The youngest is just two years old. Anna and Lara have always been a big help to us. My wife works part-time and I'm away from home most of the time. Without Anna and Lara we could not have done what we have done. We educated them to be very strong and very serious. Now we cannot recognize Anna. She has completely changed. She is another person. We don't know what went wrong with her. But something has broken down within her. The change started when Anna moved to Zurich in order to study at the nursery school. I think life there was too stressful for her. Zurich is a big city and perhaps she was too young and too busy with her studies to live on her own and care for herself. When faced with exams, she gave up. We let her know that we would not be angry with her if she chose to drop out and reassured her that we knew she was clever enough to meet the challenge of school if that is what she chose. It became clear her life and the entire situation had become too difficult for her. Living with other students, who were more inclined to party and engage in other social activities, perhaps presented too

much of a threat. She is used to a more serious way of life. But now she is at home doing absolutely nothing, unable to help us. Finally we have realized that she is suffering from depression. She started taking anti-depression medication but is allergic to it. Consequently, she had a breakdown. Her behavior is out of control. Once she was missing for two days and we finally found her completely drunk in the center of the city. We don't know the people with whom she spends time. But these people must be criminals because they do not care at all that she is ill. Out of concern for her welfare, we brought her to the hospital, and now she is quiet, but she is almost a vegetable. Dr. Rossi suggested that we come here..."

Now is the time for Sara to present the services offered by Centro a.D.: "We are a training center where we educate and assist people who need to re-enter life, both professionally and personally. We provide counselling and the possibilities of work experience here in our workplace, managed by professionals. Moreover, we offer free time activities and housing alternatives for those interested in living autonomously.

If you are interested in our offer, together we can decide on a project. If Anna is interested in starting a training program with us, we can agree on an objective for this project and we will support her in achieving her objectives."

Sara explains the services, the conditions and basic rules of Centro a.D, and then she addresses Anna, who until now has been silent. Sara asks Anna what she feels about the program, her expectation prior to the visit, and whether she thinks that Centro a.D. can offer her what she needs.

Anna does not show any feeling, appearing quite detached from the situation. Nevertheless, she clearly states that she is very interested, really wants to be productive, and to invest in her future. She would be happy to start a project with Centro a.D.

The interview has taken almost an hour. Sara proposes to Anna a project in the cooking field, advising her that the next day she can meet her employer, Gino, who is the director of the restaurant at Centro a.D.

Sara is very satisfied with the interview. She feels that the discussion with Anna and her family was very clear and the project has a good chance to work. She knows that Anna faces many challenges and will be seeing her again soon. Sara is curious to see how Anna will react to the context of her new situation and when she will be ready to discuss her goals again.

The story captures a segment of the working life of a person, intersecting the personal story of a family and in particular, of their 22 year old daughter. It gives a cross-section of Centro a.D.'s specific answer to psychic and relational suffering.

Centro a.D. offers specialized services to chronic mental patients with a diagnosis of borderline psychiatric disorder, severe depression, or a schizophrenic condition. The patients lead a life in and out of psychiatric hospitals, and they are dependent on their relationship with their psychiatrist or psychologist.

A smaller portion of people who can take advantage of Centro a.D. services are those who are in recovery from an accident, have been convicted of a crime, or have a drug history. For those clients with a drug history, they cannot begin a project within Centro a.D. without first committing to giving up alcohol and/or drugs.

The age span of clients at Centro a.D.'s ranges from 18 to 60 years old, however most are under 30.

Centro a.D. offers five kinds of services:

- **Professional activities and training** addresses people who have, for a variety of reasons, difficulty in positioning themselves in the workplace, in maintaining a job, and in planning their own career path. For these people, the service provides training in several fields such as printing, silk-screen, cooking, and office work.
- **Free time activities** include sports, recreational and cultural activities, which all contribute to a richer and more satisfying social life.
- **Housing solutions** provide an opportunity to gradually experiment with independent living by taking advantage of the availability of hostels, shared apartments, and/or supervised private accommodations.
- **Case-management and Network Project elaboration** provides social and professional planning for clients, their families and significant members of the social network, and helps build customized projects aimed at improving the client's quality of life, both personally and socially/professionally. A first interview may be requested from the client, from the family or other closely involved parties. The interview process embraces everyone's needs and expectations.
- **Individual and familial counselling** provides individuals, families and couples with the opportunity to receive consultations aimed at helping them to clarify and to solve problems within a brief period of time.

“To be a client at Centro a.D.” means engaging in a rehabilitation project that takes advantage of one or more of these services.

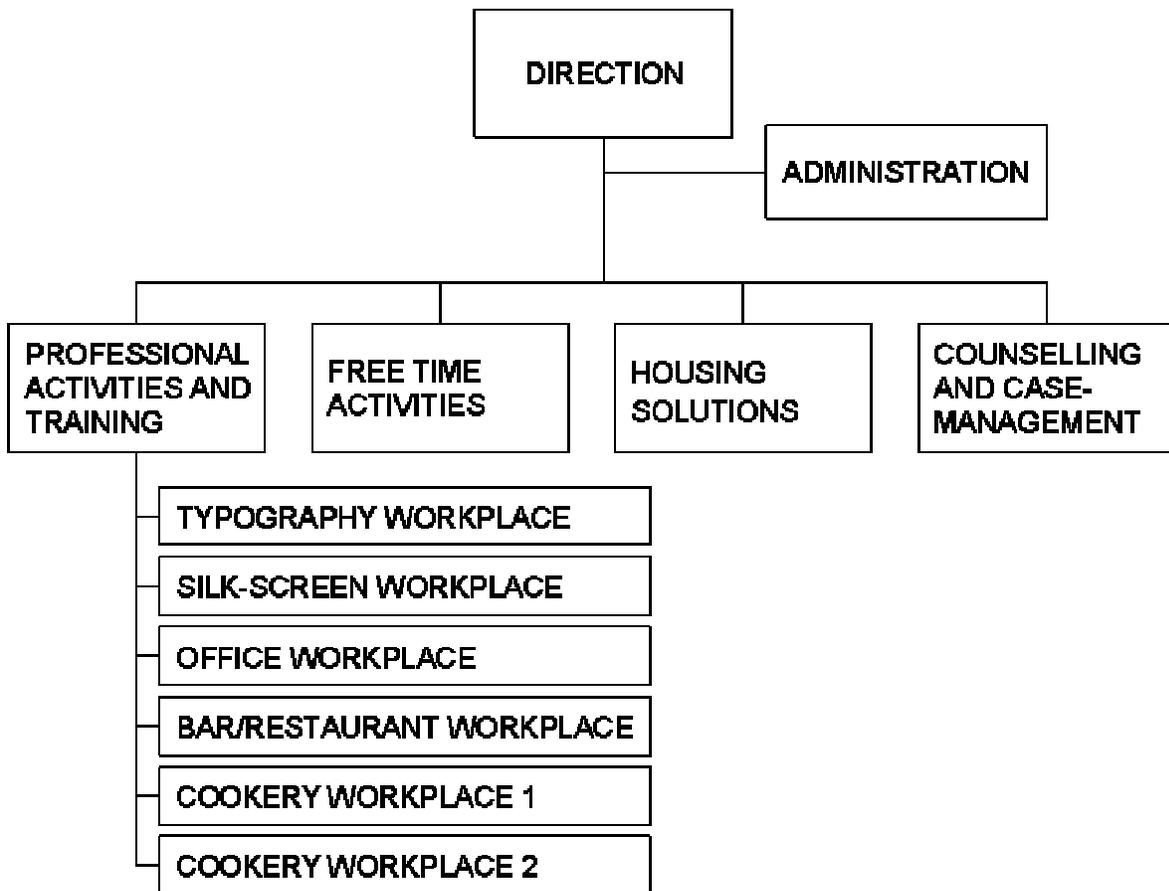


Figure 3-1: Services provided by Centro a.D.

3.1. Rehabilitation paradigm at Centro a.D.

The set of services provided by Centro a.D. reflects a rehabilitation paradigm toward people who experience psycho-relational difficulties. Centro a.D.'s rehabilitation paradigm is different from a clinical approach to psycho-relational problems.

I will discuss the basic assumptions and the methods of Centro a.D.'s rehabilitation paradigm: how the problem is described within the paradigm, and what Centro a.D. offers as a solution to the problem.

The difference between clinical paradigms and the paradigm followed by Centro a.D. is based on a new problem description; Centro a.D. sets a goal for intervention that is dictated by the problem that is described.

Centro a.D. describes problems of those people who are suffering from loss of autonomy and seek help from social services. Having lost social and professional autonomy, these people face situations by assuming the role of a patient. This role is a social construct that belongs to health care institutions ontology. It is predicated on a natural fact, such as a disease, that is socially related to a number of consequences. For example, clients need assistance, as they are unable to solve problems on their own, and they can receive help by a more knowledgeable and qualified person.

A well-known analysis of patient's role has been made by Talcott Parsons (1951).

Persons who have been defined as mental patients tend to maintain that role, extending beyond just the hospital and psychiatrist office environment. Relationships with these persons (e.g. in the family, with friends, and at school) seem to be governed by the role that has been assigned to them in a health-care context. Language used in speaking with them and about them reveals such an attitude.

Hospitals and health-care institutions provide several services to meet the many and differing needs of the patient. The consequence of this kind of care is that the patient lives in a controlled hospital setting, replacing a normal living environment. This is also true of recreational activities organized within hospitals for patients who are not expected to have a working life.

The loss of autonomy is often a circular process: People develop and always reinforce an identity of the mental ill, the disabled, and those dependent on outside assistance. Dependence on many levels permeates every aspect of life: Economical, professional, psychological and social. Centro a.D. speaks about the quality of life of a person and how it deteriorates due to a reduction of individual decision-making, which ultimately leads to feelings of degradation.

As an answer to such a situation, Centro a.D. strives to rehabilitate people suffering from psycho-relational difficulties who are no longer able to function in any role other than that of a patient, regardless of their environment. The goal of Centro a.D. is to assist people in acquiring or recovering the ability to assume roles in accordance with various situations.

The focal point of rehabilitation is training: The person is trained to leave the role of a client and to assume other roles. Centro a.D. uses a training method that consists of removing, to some degree when possible, settings which induce people to activate the role of a client by introducing learning settings. Implementing learning settings is rooted in the belief that identity's development is driven by interaction between context, relation and

language (Gergen & Gergen, 1984; Gergen, 1994). Centro a. D. recognizes that in every context agents have to follow a number of rules in order to participate in activities. This is a fundamental feature of “outside” settings. A learning setting reproduces norms that rule behavior in “outside” social and professional settings, representing the target of the rehabilitation. Reproduction of outside settings aims to guide patients in confronting and coping with those norms. In learning settings people are free to make mistakes as they are not expected to be able to follow every norm. They are just expected to show a willingness and intention to learn. Deviant behavior is managed in a training perspective: It is corrected until people finally are able to follow the setting’s norms. Specific learning settings are created for three aspects of the life: Working life, social life and home life. These three learning settings are managed by as independent services within Centro a.D.:

One service provides professional training and team members create and utilize workplaces as learning settings;

Another service offers activities for free time and represents a learning setting where people can experience themselves in social relationships, in leisure time and enjoying themselves with peers;

A third service provides clients with housing solutions: Living accommodations at Centro a.D. provide settings in which clients learn how to manage their life at home, how to organize housework and how to share space and responsibilities with others.

Centro a.D. also provides a counselling service: The dialogue with people who provide counselling (social planning, psychotherapy and medical assistance) is the only setting in which the client can play the role of a person in need of assistance to overcome personal problems. However, the paradigm followed in psychotherapy and in delivering medical assistance at Centro a.D., aims to build a cooperative relationship between the counselor and the client. When a professional provides help to someone else who has been defined mentally ill, the relationship often tends to be symmetrical. At Centro a.D. team members are invited to consider clients as completely responsible for themselves. Even in a counselling setting clients are asked to make decisions and to interact with others in a totally responsible way.

Centro a.D.’s learning settings are effective only if each setting remains independent from each other. The social world to which people must be rehabilitated is made of a collection of settings: Each of them has its own norms. Therefore, when Centro a.D. reproduces outside settings, it has to make certain that each setting has its own set of norms and are not combined with other settings. Above all, it is important that workplaces, free time settings and living solutions are not combined with any “psych-” setting: Psychotherapy and medical assistance (psychiatric consultations) represent just one

particular segment of life. In every other setting any reference to a healthcare environment is avoided. Separation of settings enables patients to learn flexibility: The skill to adapt and to develop many different identities within a changing environment is essential to a successful outcome.

The work accomplished in each setting is integral to the successful rehabilitation that involves all the settings: Persons are rehabilitated if they are successfully able to take on the role of an employee in workplace, of a roommate in a living situation, of a tourist when traveling, the role of a patient in the psychiatrist's office. Services are all separate, but coordinated: Rehabilitative work at Centro a.D. is based on teamwork.

Rehabilitation is pursued through personalized projects which all have goals. In general terms, rehabilitation has always the goal of leading the client to a higher level of autonomy. This translates into concrete goals specified in relation to individual particular limits. For example, clients may experience difficulties in social interaction because they engage in social relationships that are not working within the context (above all in relation to the workplace context but also to home and free time settings). Other problems may concern specific skills (professional, as well as other practical skills such as the capability to manage a living place, to manage money, to take care of personal health).

When team members recognize that one client has a problem, they have to plan an educational intervention in order to help the client in solving the problem. The choice of which educational intervention to apply depends on interpretation given by team members to the problematic behavior. Rehabilitation paradigm includes prescriptions about which interpretations are allowed: when team members describe a problem they are allowed to ascribe it to certain causes but not to others. Causes that cannot be modified by team members, such as cognitive impairments or permanent personality features, do not allow for possibilities to plan educational interventions. It is not legitimate to formulate hypotheses that ascribe problematic behavior to those causes. Thus, it would not be allowed during team meetings to speak about one client who has difficulties in social interaction and ascribe this problem to the client's schizophrenic condition. On the contrary, causes that can be modified are legitimate and can be used to describe clients' problems. For example, the reason for a client's inability in performing job tasks can be sought in the lack of professional skills. Another key point of the rehabilitation paradigm is the prescription to adopt a circular point of view. In fact, the paradigm distinguished between *circular* hypothesis and *linear* ones. The concept of circularity was introduced by Bateson, who applies a cybernetic paradigm to interpret human behaviour (Bateson, 1972). The cybernetic paradigm suggests that within a relationship, a behaviour that is problematic produces a feedback from the partner, and the feedback amplifies the behaviour that results in an endless loop that magnifies the

problematic behaviour. The therapist must interrupt action and feedback loop that would otherwise be protracted forever. Watzlavick, Beavin, and Jackson, who have investigated the pragmatic of communication in clinical field, acknowledge amplification phenomena in verbal interaction among persons who are connected by close relationships (Watzlavick, P., J.H. Beavin, D.D. Jackson, 1967). According to their observations, contrasting descriptions of the same situation may entrap family members into pathological forms of communication. The contribution of Watzlavick and his colleagues has introduced the idea that different ways to describe a situation have different relational effects.

The rehabilitation paradigm followed by Centro a.D.'s team members is grounded on theories mentioned above⁹. The director explains with an example how concepts of circularity and amplification must be adopted in rehabilitation work¹⁰.

One client, who works in the kitchen workplace, does not subscribe to any hygiene rules. One linear description provided by a client's employer would be: "I give thousands of explanations about hygiene rules but the client, like an animal, does not seem to understand the importance of hygiene."

When a team member attempts to describe problematic behavior to the client and there is little to no comprehension, this leaves the team member with feelings of frustration, helplessness, desperation and anger toward the client. In order to intercept the loop, a third element of causation must be introduced. If the causation can be modified, the interruption can be achieved. Therefore, hypotheses must include causation for problematic behavior that can be modified.

This linear description can be changed in a more useful circular one: The client wants to appear disabled because now he/she is experiencing difficulty in a particular job function and by abandoning the profile of mental-illness, the patient would have to bear a greater responsibility.

This hypothesis gives more dignity to the client and opens possibilities for the action: In similar cases, for example, such a hypothesis will lead operators to plan interventions with clients in which they will ask the persons whether they are interested in the project, showing them that behavior they are displaying works against project objectives and showing them what kind of reaction such behavior elicits.

As the example displays, the concept of circular hypothesis suggests that it is necessary to pay attention to the amplification processes and to ascribe cause to a third element that

⁹ Bateson, Watzlavick and colleagues are not the only theoretical points of reference. Among other important references, the rehabilitation paradigm is also rooted on Gergen's theory of interactional self, as I mentioned at pg. 32.

¹⁰ I refer to the content of a personal communication, in form of interview. The explanation offered by the director is reported here with my words.

has to be included in the relationship (unlike previously just between cause and effect): The goals that people are trying to reach, for which they are behaving in a way that causes a problem.

A premise of the operational paradigm ensures that every person has resources and it is essential to start working with them. All resources and skills must be utilized in the rehabilitation project.

3.2. Analysis of institutional reality

If a judge in a court of law, at the end of a trial, pronounces the sentence “the defendant is guilty of ...” the person on trial becomes a culprit and there are several consequences as a result of assuming that status. It is presumed that a court of law identifies culprits and innocents. In fact, someone does not assume the status of culprit just as a natural occurrence. A set of conventions and authorizations is needed. Likewise a school creates pupils, teachers, and passed and failed students. Companies and other kinds of workplaces create holidays, employees, dismissed persons, bosses and subordinates. Some companies create clerks, while others create laborers. A hospital creates patients.

In this section I model the rehabilitation activity, implemented by Centro a.D., by analyzing the social reality that it creates. Following the framework presented at section. 2.1, I present Centro a.D.’s institutional elements that concretely implement the rehabilitation paradigm. In particular, I describe the structure of Centro a.D.’s local ontology – the set of social and institutional facts that Centro a.D. is apt to create – and its local deontology – authorizations, obligations, permissions and prohibitions to perform institutional actions.

Through the analysis of local ontology I want to highlight aspects of uniqueness in Centro a.D. institution¹¹.

Each concrete organization has a local ontology that includes elements that are inherited from a kind of template available in the mid-level ontology: Mid-level includes sets of abstract categories that partially refer to upper ontology categories; concrete institutions borrow those elements, customize them and fill them with content.

The field in which Centro a.D. operates is full of institutions whose ontology’s include difficult patients, diagnoses and treatments, nurses and assisted people. That means,

¹¹ The process leading to the construction of Centro a.D. institution is largely driven by the director of the center. However, we cannot ascribe this process to one agent’s project. Social reality construction is a sophisticated process that is not the focus of my work. For this reason I will use a metaphor and I will refer to Centro a.D. as agent in institutional reality development.

institutions providing rehabilitation for psychiatric patients usually construct their local ontology by borrowing elements from health care domain. On the contrary, Centro a.D. has employers, workplace managers, interns, and apprentices. Centro a.D. creates provisional contracts with the understanding that if the clients are able to perform the duties assigned to them, they will then receive non-provisional contracts. They hire and fire people, create holidays and issue apprenticeship certificates.

Centro a.D. utilizes building blocks to create its ontology from many domains. When Centro a.D. selects certain ontology elements, it separates them from the framework of goals that exist in the source domain and reconfigures them into its own framework of goals. Centro a.D. has been conceived on the basis of a rehabilitation paradigm: Selection, combination and modification of building blocks is a process driven by theories. In particular, it is the concept of “learning setting” that Centro a.D. developed that is the core point of the rehabilitation paradigm.

Centro a.D. provides learning settings for leisure time, home and work. Rehabilitation relies on leading client participation in activities that occur in each of those settings with the intention of teaching them professional and relational skills. Activities that are planned for client rehabilitation occur within a fragment of social reality, employing elements from outside settings, thus, preparing clients how to function effectively in each of those settings.

Above all, Centro a.D. employs elements from the business world and uses them to build a critical part of its program: Rehabilitation to work outside of an institution. I will analyze in greater depth the fragment of Centro a.D. ontology that enables clients to be rehabilitated to work on the outside.

Ontology of a workplace

Rehabilitation at work involves teaching both relational and professional skills. This is extremely important because in western society "mental illness" is often characterized by a person's inability to work. Therefore, the concept of workplace is a critical element of Centro a.D.'s ontology.

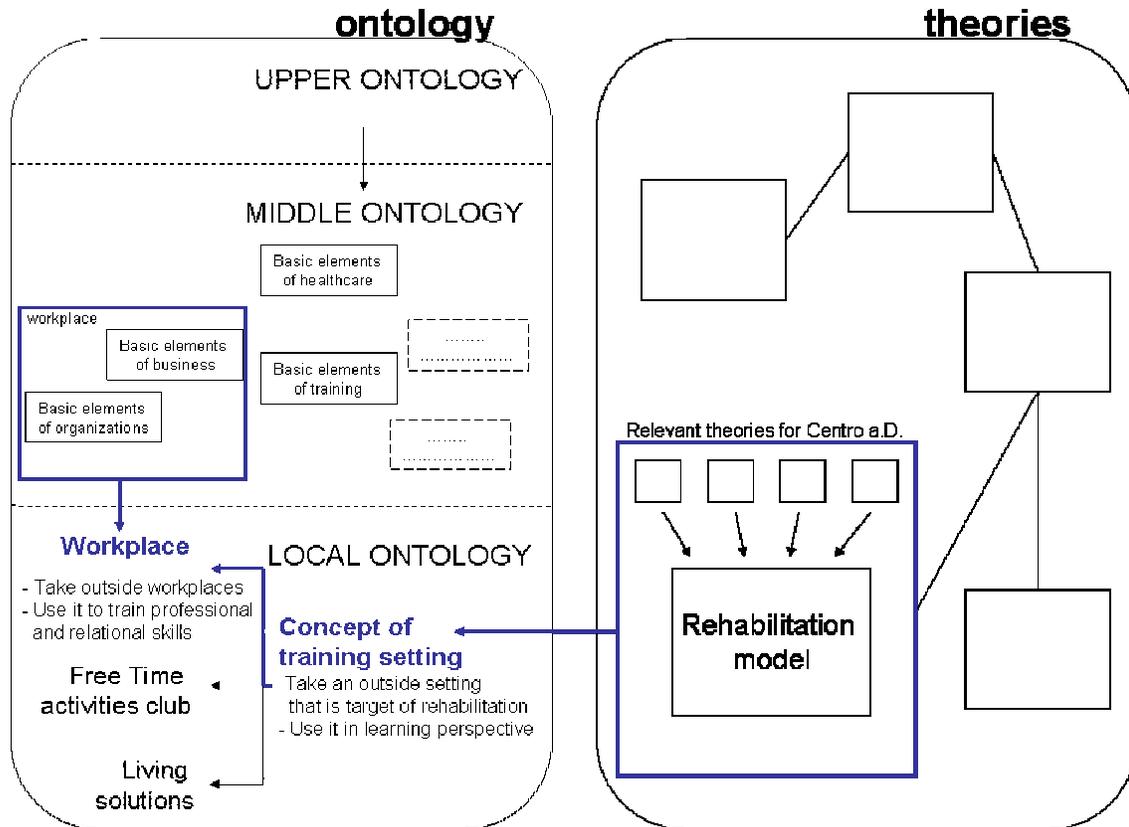


Figure 3-2: The ontology of a workplace

Ordinary workplaces can be viewed as contexts for activities, placed in the second-order context (Bateson, 1972) of society. Centro a.D.'s workplaces are built by borrowing workplace contexts and by placing them in a different second-order context rehabilitation, in which goals are different. Since elements are moved in a different second-order context, they build a different social reality fragment for activities that take place within their framework.

Borrowing ontological elements from outside workplaces to build the ontology of Centro a.D.'s workplaces requires a process in which we can observe two different forms of personalization.

A first form of personalization is the same process that occurs whenever a concrete workplace is implemented and workplaces' ontology, defined at mid-level, is locally

adapted. The minimal level of personalization for this process is the customization at the local level of elements that at mid-level is deemed necessary for institutions of that kind.

Every workplace has a regulation: A set of norms that each employer is authorized to state and every employee is obligated to follow in order to maintain employee status. The local level specifies which norms are valid in each workplace.

Holidays are institutional facts defined at mid-level, as a day on which one is exempt from work; at mid-level it is defined that employers, following a given procedure, can take holidays as it is defined in the contract. Local level specifies the procedure and the amount of holidays per year.

Confidential information is another example: At mid-level it is stated that employers cannot spread confidential information; local level specifies which kind of information is confidential in relation to specific workplace interests.

A second form of personalization is more sophisticated and implies a real inventive process. Centro a.D.'s workplaces are not an example of the mid-level concept of workplace. They use workplaces ontology: A cluster of elements that every workplace possesses and that are represented in the mid-level. However, the individual workplaces represent the concept of a training setting, which can be reproduced infinitely by other institutions. The concept of training setting refers to an original element in social reality. When construction of the institution first started, its founders did not refer to any category of training setting among mid-level elements. The concept of training setting is the product of an inventive process: The ontology of Centro a.D.'s workplace is the result of selecting and combining existing pieces of social reality through theory mediation. If we imagine opening a center similar to Centro a.D., we could refer to its concept of workplace as mid-level category, and build the local ontology of the new center through a specification process.

There is a difference between employer and employee work times, scheduling and holidays, norms and contracts created by Centro a.D. and those created by outside workplaces. To better understand this difference I have conducted interviews with team members and read papers written by the director. I'm going now to analyze which deontology is derived from the creation of an employee at Centro a.D. To avoid misunderstanding I will refer to Centro a.D. clients who are employed in workplaces as *clients* and employees of Centro a.D. as *employee* or *outside employee* to address people working in workplaces outside Centro a.D.

Deontology of a client as an employee at Centro a.D.

Outside workplaces have regulations that dictate certain norms and obligations for all employees. Violations of these regulations result in loss of employee status. Some norms are job independent (e.g.: to be punctual, to follow employer directives, to execute the job carefully, to be cooperative with colleagues), some others are job dependent (e.g.: in a kitchen there are hygiene rules).

The existence of a regulation is ascribed to business goals: Since we have to reach business goals and someone has selected a set of rules that are functional to this achievement, if you do not follow those norms you are not considered a good worker and you incur a punishment. Punishments range from a warning to dismissal.

Centro a.D. creates clients. Clients are persons who engage in social and professional rehabilitation projects that lead them to perform activities in specific settings. Among those settings there are workplaces, where clients act as employees. There is a kind of meta-rule that transforms every norm belonging to the ontology of an outside employee into the deontology of a Centro a.D.'s employee: "act as you were in a mainstream workplace".

Someone employed in a workplace at Centro ad is not an employee in the strict sense of being bound by all the rules found in an external workplace. But neither are they simply role-playing. They are still subject to some of the specific rules and guidelines associated with that business.

Centro a.D.'s workplaces enforce regulation norms that clients must follow that are equivalent to the norms appropriated by outside workplaces. These are used as a barometer to discern their readiness to work at an outside workplace.

Following the regulations at Centro a.D. is ascribed to rehabilitation intent: Since clients must prepare for outside work, they must demonstrate that they are able to follow workplace norms.

Norms of behaviour found in outside workplaces are actually in use at Centro ad's workplaces. For example, clients enrolled in workplaces must be punctual, follow defined procedures for taking a day off and accomplishing tasks assigned by the employer.

While there are consequences for disrespecting the rules, they're based on the business existing for the rehabilitation of employees and not profit. For example, employees can't get fired but their rehabilitation project could be rearranged (making a comparison between project goals and behavior, changing project goals) or suspended.

The same institutional action (violating a norm) performed in the same first order context (a workplace) has different consequences. Centro a.D. specifies these consequences in relation to rehabilitation that is a specific second order context.

Workplace norms are used to create Centro a.D.'s deontology. But as long as those norms are inserted in the new framework they are integrated with new rules, ad hoc for the specific situation. For example, the rule "do not use your employer as your psychiatrist" would not be part of an outside employee's code. But at Centro a.D. adding such a rule is necessary, otherwise observance of other rules would be compromised (i.e. the observance of rules that are borrowed from outside workplaces). According to what team member say, this is a consequence of the kind of environment in which Centro a.D. operates. Centro a.D. does not just create clients. It creates clients rather than patients. Centro a.D. does not just teach people to be good employees. It teaches people to be good employers instead of good mental patients.

Ontology of Centro a.D. imposes a deontology on employees in the same way as it does for employers.

Deontology of an employer at Centro a.D.

It is the function of team members who manage Centro a.D. workplaces to rehabilitate clients by playing the role of an employer. In order for the rehabilitation paradigm to be effective, the workplace must mirror that of an outside workplace. Therefore, Centro a.D. does not ask social operators to play the role of an employer. Instead, outside professionals implement a specific area of expertise at each workplace. When aspiring employers are hired by Centro a.D., they are already expert in their own job and in most of the cases have been working somewhere in roles with responsibility (e.g. as an employer or team leader, etc.).

The professional background of an employer is usually built upon a practical training (none of them has a university degree).

When new employers join Centro a.D.'s team, they go through a training program to learn the rehabilitation paradigm. The training is only one channel through which they become socialized into the paradigm. Team meetings and informal interactions are learning opportunities, as well.

Socialization into the paradigm is needed in order to act as *Centro a.D.'s employer*, rather than just as employer. Centro a.D. employers have an educational responsibility toward their employees: In any other workplace, employees must be "good workers" because of business demands; At Centro a.D., employees must be "good workers" as part of their rehabilitation project.¹²

¹² Dragonato's employers have a clear awareness of that, as documented in interviews (I asked them which is the most important issue in their working activity).

Powers of Centro a.D.'s employers, viewed from the inside of the workplace, are analogous to those of an ordinary employer. However, institutional actions performed in the first-order context have different second-order effects. For example, if clients violate norms, employers are not just authorized to enact a punishment; they have an obligation to do so. Even in cases when an outside workplace employer would have the possibility to choose whether to react or not to an incident, Centro a.D.'s employers have the obligation to react, due to their educational responsibilities. The range of punishment is specified by the institution: A certain behavior that in an outside workplace might result in the firing of an employee, at Centro a.D. negative behavior results in a rearrangement of his or her rehabilitation project. It is a consequence of the fact that workplaces are framed in a second-order context that is different from the context in which ordinary workplaces are inserted.

Prohibitions then are an interesting concept, as they are not expressed in relation to authorizations that may be denied. Rather, they prevent agents from taking action that they otherwise might be able to execute. A free time activities manager is not authorized to fire someone from a rehabilitation project. However, Centro a.D. does not specify any restrictions regarding dismissing workers. A psychotherapist is not authorized to cancel a free time activity and again, Centro a.D. does not specify a restriction in this case either. If someone performs an act without authorization, the institutional fact does not exist. Prohibitions are the negation of permissions. An employer may not comment on a personal narrative that a client might share during work activities. Such a prohibition is explicit in the rehabilitation paradigm¹³. The rationale for this prohibition is whether or not any authorization or permission is given, or if an employer would evaluate a psychological problem. In either case, the pragmatic effect would occur.

Table 3-1 presents a synthesis of deontology that is imposed on team members who play the role of an employer and for clients who are employed in Centro a.D.'s workplaces.

¹³ I refer to the handbook and to their claims during interviews.

Team member in the role of an employer	Client in the role of an employee
has the obligation to manage the organization of tasks in the workplace, to reach working goals enough to maintain the workplace setting as a context for rehabilitation, to assign job tasks to employees in relation to their rehabilitation projects	has the obligation to work toward reaching work goals, to be cooperative with colleagues in the workplace, to accomplish tasks assigned by the employer
has the authority to set and modify norms and procedures – Job independent norms and procedures concern punctuality, holidays, contract constraints, etc. – job dependent norms and procedures concern kitchen hygiene, manners with restaurant guests, maintenance of machines in typography, etc.	has the obligation to follow norms and to respect agreements
has the obligation to accept employee's requests that are consistent with employees' rights and that follow internal procedures	has the authorization to honor requests according to employees' rights and to internal procedures
has the obligation to monitor that employees' behavior is consistent with goals <i>in their rehabilitation projects</i> , <i>has the obligation to</i> enact consequences when norms or agreements are violated – set of possible consequences: Monitoring the employer, suspending the employer from work, referring the employer to the case manager – Has the obligation to have, on a regular basis, meetings with employees for purposes of evaluation.	
Is prohibited to act as a psychotherapist, to interfere with the work of colleagues who run different specialized services within Centro a.D. (counselling, free time activities, housing solutions), to reveal outside of Centro a.D. information about Centro a.D. clients who work in the workplace has the obligation to monitor employees who do not speak with each other about personal problems	Is prohibited to speak about personal problems with the employer and with other employees.

Table 3-1: Deontology for employers and for clients within Centro a.D.'s workplaces

Two other settings are created as contexts for other kind of activities with a process similar to the one I analyzed for workplaces:

- A setting for leisure activities (Free Time)
- A setting for home activities (Housing Solutions)

Their ontology results in deontological aspects for team members and for clients.

Free time

Centro a.D. workplaces are training centers where clients learn how to behave in outside workplaces; likewise Free Time is a training center where clients learn how to have fun and how to behave in social life. The training of relational attitudes is crucial to rehabilitation and social life is seen as a specific context, with its own rules that clients have to follow in order for their behavior to be recognized as adequate within the context. Therefore, Free Time must reproduce rules and features of any setting (e.g. clubs or travel agencies) where people go to enjoy themselves.

One member of Centro a.D.'s team, whose profile is as complex as an employer's profile, manages free time activities.

Team members who play this role have the task of planning a creative entertainment program, to promote it among people who possibly have an interest in it and to manage the realization of activities. This person has to be dynamic and extroverted, must have good managerial skills, and be able to practice sports and cultivate many interests.

However, Centro a.D. runs a free time service as an instrument in client rehabilitation projects. The coordinator of those activities must be to some extent also an educator, just as workplace managers must be both employers and educators. Free time managers must help clients in improving their relational skills in accordance with rehabilitation project goals and implement educational interventions in conjunction with the work of colleagues within other specialized services.

The process is intrinsically delicate since free time settings are informal by definition. The set of norms that rule behavior in those settings are less codified than norms ruling the behavior in workplaces. Free time settings are fragments of social reality in which people's behavior is spontaneous, rather than learned, as a result of the culture to which they belong. Within free time settings there are very few institutional facts.

It is different than the case of workplaces. Rehabilitation at work is very specific and requires abandoning improper behavior to which people with psychiatric problems have become accustomed. However, learning a job and learning how to follow rules in a workplace is an educational path that everybody, with varying degrees of difficulty, experience.

Building a setting for free time within a center that rehabilitates people with psychiatric and relational suffering presents the paradox that if people are asked to behave as if they were outside, they are automatically reminded that they are inside. The meta-rule does not work as well in this case as in the workplace case. However the intrinsic difficulty of the enterprise can be managed.

In order to replicate mainstream free time activity, Centro a.D. runs a service that is open to outside clients. External clients are people who participate in free time activities because they are interested in those activities themselves, but who are not Centro a.D. clients, in any other capacity. The natural process of socialization into a set of uncodified norms is promoted.

Moreover, free time as a service belongs to a category of objects in social reality with their own institutional aspects that result in a deontology for clients. For example, norms concern payment, subscription modality, punctuality. Free time setting specifies those kinds of norms that every service implies, and respecting them is essential: It is not allowed (though totally common) for clients to use their role of patient to justify improper behavior (for example, delay in payments or lack of dismissal notice when they sign up for an activity and they do not participate).

Finally, many activities organized by Free Time impose by themselves a deontology to participants: Football matches have their constitutive rules and participating into a trekking requires following a particular behavior to avoid inconvenience for oneself and for others.

Table 3-2 provides a synthesis of deontology that is imposed on the manager of free time and for clients who participate in Free Time activities as part of their rehabilitation project.

Team member as Free time manager	Clients as participants into Free Time activities
<p>Has the obligation to plan, promote and coordinate Free Time activities.</p> <p>has the obligation to attract <i>external</i> users, so to maintain an environment <i>functional to rehabilitation</i></p> <p>has the authorization to create an activity proposal (e.g. to create a football team) or to cancel a planned activity</p>	<p>Have the authorization or the obligation (in relation to project goals) to join Free Time activities.</p>
<p>has the authorization to set conditions of enrollment into activities (e.g. to set the participation to an easy trekking as pre-requirement for enrolling in a two-day trekking)</p> <p>has the authorization to set norms and procedures of the service (e.g. how many days before an activity participants can give the dismissal and be refunded)</p> <p>has the authorization to accept enrollment into activities</p>	<p>have the obligation to follow norms, rules and procedures</p>
<p>has the obligation to monitor that participants' behavior is <i>adequate to social norms</i> and to deontology aspects implied by specific activities (e.g. rules of football game, norms of behavior during a trekking)</p> <p><i>has the obligation to</i> do an educational intervention in case of improper behavior (e.g. monitoring the client or refusing the enrollment in other activities)</p>	<p>have the obligation to hold a behavior <i>coherent with common social norms</i> of behavior</p>
<p>Is prohibited to act as a psychotherapist, to interfere with the work of colleagues that run different specialized services within Centro a.D. (counselling, free time activities, housing solutions),</p> <p>to spread out of Centro a.D. information about Centro a.D. clients who work in the workplace</p> <p>has the obligation to monitoring that employees do not speak with each other about personal problems</p>	<p>Is prohibited to speak with free time manager and with other participants about personal problems related to psychotherapy and in particular to adduce justifications typical of a patient for not following norms and procedures stated by the service.</p>

Table 3-2: Deontology for Free Time activities' manager and clients

Housing solutions

An important aspect of Centro a.D. clients is their home life. Sometimes they live in a setting that is not functional to the rehabilitation intent because they are allowed to play the role of a patient or because of specific problems that represent a limit to the achievement of rehabilitation project goals. Therefore changing residential context is sometimes included in the project and the clients are helped in improving their autonomy and their skills in managing their place of residence. Since Centro a.D. does not have its own structure for housing solutions, it takes advantage of existing structures. I will not analyze in details the ontology of those settings. They were created by other institutions according to different approaches to psychiatric and relational problems, although Centro a.D. cooperates with institutions whose approach is similar to its own approach.

The cooperation is intensive with one structure in particular, where Centro a.D. was able to integrate a member of its own team as educator in the residence. The function of this team member is to supervise the client's behavior within the residence and to keep colleagues updated about improvements or possible problems that the client displays in relation to living autonomously. This service was in the process of development at the time of participant observation: Deontology of the housing solution's manager does not play a key role in the analysis of discursive practices.

Workplaces, Free Time and Housing solutions are services that give the clients an opportunity to learn how to behave in a specific context that in which everyone is part of the daily life. Clients learn to adapt themselves to the context from a relational point of view and from the point of view of specific skills required by the context.

The fourth service provided by Centro a.D. is a counselling service. The original aspect of counselling at Centro a.D. is related to the psychotherapy paradigm and to its relationship with the other services. My focus is on the function of counselling within the institution.

Counselling and Case-management

Counselling and case-management requires inclusion in Centro a.D.'s team of professionals specializing in psychotherapy and in social and professional planning.

Their role is more traditional, though the specific work that they do is part of a rehabilitation that can be implemented because of the non-traditional nature of the institution. Implicit in the work of a psychotherapist at Centro a.D. is following a precise paradigm of psychotherapy. Moreover, counselling at Centro a.D. provides opportunities to take action that could not occur in other counselling facilities. A good example of this is seen in social and professional planning. Being a counselor or a case manager is tailored to

services provided by Centro a.D. The case manager is the supervisor of rehabilitation projects, the one who builds it together with the client and follows its development: case manager coordinates educational interventions that occur in workplaces, free time activities, living accommodation and psychotherapy. The person who plays this role is also a point of reference for other team members, who provide specialized services.

Table 3-3 provides a synthesis of obligations, authorizations and restrictions imposed on team members working in counselling service. The person who offers psychotherapy is the co-founder of Centro a.D. and also assumes the role of Director of Centro a.D. The role of Director is not necessarily confined to counselling services, but the psychotherapist is *de facto* the director.

	obligations	authorizations	restrictions
psychotherapist	Conducting personal and family counselling.	---	---
Case manager	Coordinating different aspects of rehabilitation projects, making sure that every educational intervention is functional to project's goals.	Creating a rehabilitation project. Dismissing someone from the project. Updating a rehabilitation project. (e.g. ratifying the end of provisional enrollment)	Doing psychotherapy.
Director	Training team members. Guiding the development of Centro a.D. services.	Hiring and firing team members. Creating a new service. Stipulating partnerships. Changing Centro a.D. statute.	

Table 3-3: Deontology for counselors

3.3. Organization of work

Each institution has a concrete existence in time and space: Abstract roles are played by specific persons, daily activities are executed in physical buildings, and people who utilize the provided services are real persons with idiosyncratic histories.

Work practices developed by Centro a.D. can be traced back both to ontology and deontology of the institution and to other features of the institution that depend on contingencies. There are at least two kinds of contingencies that determine concrete institution's features that may not directly concern its ontology and deontology: Physical spaces and client's idiosyncrasies. Therefore, I need to describe some features of the seat of

Centro a.D. in order to elaborate on working practices that will be relevant to the analysis of problem solving.

The seat

The seat of Centro a.D consists of a three-floor house and of a low pre-fabricated building.

All of the workplaces that Centro a.D.'s manages when participant observation was conducted are in this seat:

- typography
- silk-screen printing lab
- kitchen to accommodate the restaurant
- restaurant
- kitchen for a catering service
- office

The counselling service also takes place in this seat and the manager of free time activities has an office. The administration of Centro a.D. as an organization takes place in the office workplace.

On the first floor of the house there is the restaurant where six Centro a.D.'s clients are employed and where they receive training under the tutelage of a professional waitress. Behind the restaurant there is a kitchen where the food served in the restaurant is prepared. The kitchen is managed by a professional cook.

The entrance to the restaurant, preceded by a small garden, overlooks the main street. Entering the same house from the side door, there is a set of stairs. At the ground floor level there are offices (secretary and administration) and a lateral access to the restaurant. Offices are managed by Centro a.D.'s team members who are responsible for administration and for training Centro a.D. clients interested in learning office work. Downstairs in the basement there is a cellar used by the restaurant and by the catering service. The catering service is managed by a second professional cook who employees about six clients. The basement also houses the laundry room. The laundry is used for washing tablecloths and other kitchen linen. The basement is used as storage by clients working in the kitchen and those working in the restaurant who have the task of doing the laundry.

On the second floor are the free time activities office and an additional administration office. The third floor is devoted to counselling and to therapeutic activities, including medical assistance which is available once a week. The other small, pre-fabricated building

is the seat of two workplaces: The silk-screen printing lab (ground floor) and the typography (upstairs).

As the description indicates, services are located closed to each other, but separation of space expresses the need to distinguish work, free time and therapeutic activity. Space organization influences the development of life inside it.

At 7:30 a.m., life has already begun in these buildings and at 8:00 o'clock everyone (both clients and team members) are at their own workplace, ready to start their work day. While using a ladder in the pre-fabricated building it is often possible to observe clients through the windows as they walk from the silk-screen printing workplace to typography and vice-versa. Many young people, dressed in white overalls are frequently seen in the main house. They run up and down from the kitchen to the basement, carrying big trays of *gnocchi*, *lasagne* or *melanzane alla parmigiana*. Cooks in white overalls may be seen moving in and out of the therapeutic seat (this is the name they use in addressing the third floor of the house) as well as the free time activities office. Clients of Centro a.D. and workplace employers in uniform frequently enter the secretary office. This office manages every administrative procedure of the organization (payments, contracts, and holidays) and attends to minor office work that is required by the various workplaces (for example writing the *menu* of the day of the restaurant).

Break times are usually spent within the restaurant of Centro a.D, but some people prefer to smoke in the small courtyard between the main house and the pre-fabricated building or in the garden at the entrance to the restaurant. From the courtyard it is possible to observe a large flow of cars and vans, from which men travel to and from the buildings to bring food or equipment to the kitchen or to another workplace. To access Centro a.D it is necessary to walk through the courtyard and enter through the small side door: Individuals, as well as families, who are seeking counselling services, go to the upper floor. They do not pay attention to the movement around them as they are more intent on their own problems.

By noon the restaurant is crowded with people either dressed in jackets and ties or work dungarees, depending on whether they are daily customers or occasional customers. Every Tuesday, at 2:30 p.m. no employer can be seen in their workplaces. All of them are on the third floor of the main house, devoting their time to counselling and psychotherapy, and attending team meetings which occur every Tuesday. The therapeutic seat includes four offices and a large room for counselling activity. This room is divided into two parts by a mirror that hides a smaller part of the room. In the hidden area there is a video-recording system, connected to cameras placed in the bigger part of the room. There is also a large table with many chairs for colleagues who attend interviews as observers. These offices are

used by psychotherapists and social workers. There is also an office for the psychiatrist, generally occupied only on Thursdays: Medical assistance is provided once a week. Offices are often used for extemporaneous meetings among people working on this floor or with workplace employers. Moreover, third floor rooms house bibliographic resources needed by Dragonato's team: Books, papers, handouts, course readings and videos. Therefore, the therapeutic seat represents the breeding ground of research, case discussion and ongoing learning.

A prominent feature of work organization that will be relevant in the analysis of talking work is the network of relationships among employers and employees of different workplaces. There are two workplaces that play a key role in work organization of the institution as a whole: The restaurant because it is the place where everyone takes their breaks or to have lunch, and the office because it serves as the administration center for all of the workplaces and for Centro a.D. as an organization.

Interrelationships between workplaces

The rehabilitation paradigm provides norms concerning the relationship between employer and employees within the same workplace. Interrelations among different workplaces are not mentioned, although they are not in conflict with the paradigm: Different workplaces belong to the same kind of setting and in each of them clients are trained to play the role of an employee. The most systematic interrelationships among workplaces that are established in the practice:

- Typography and silk-screen printing lab: These two workplaces are located in the same two-story building and they are connected by a staircase. The kind of work is similar though the work in the typography is simpler than the work in silk-screen printing lab. Clients working in the typography are often moved to the silk-screen printing lab: Working in both of the two workplaces provides clients the opportunity to learn complementary skills to develop their expertise. Employers of these two workplaces often share the supervision of the employees and sometimes one of them will participate in evaluation meetings between the other employer and employees. There is also some cooperation in the management of the workplaces and in the organization of activities.
- Catering kitchen and restaurant kitchen: Although the working activities in these two workplaces are usually managed on their own, opportunities to interact and to provide mutual support are many. Each of the two cooks often has the chance to interact with clients who work with the other one. Additionally, there are special events for which personnel of the two workplaces work jointly. As in the case of the typography and silk-

- screen printing lab, sometimes one of them participates in evaluation meetings between the other cook and employees.
- Restaurant and restaurant kitchen: The two workplaces are near each other and they share an open space where people are equally visible. The training of clients, however, does not overlap because the expertise of a cook is very different from the expertise of a waitress. Employers and employees of the two workplaces interact to jointly answer to the same need; the service in the restaurant. Therefore each employer knows the clients working with the other one, but the relationships are not as strong as in the two cases previously mentioned.

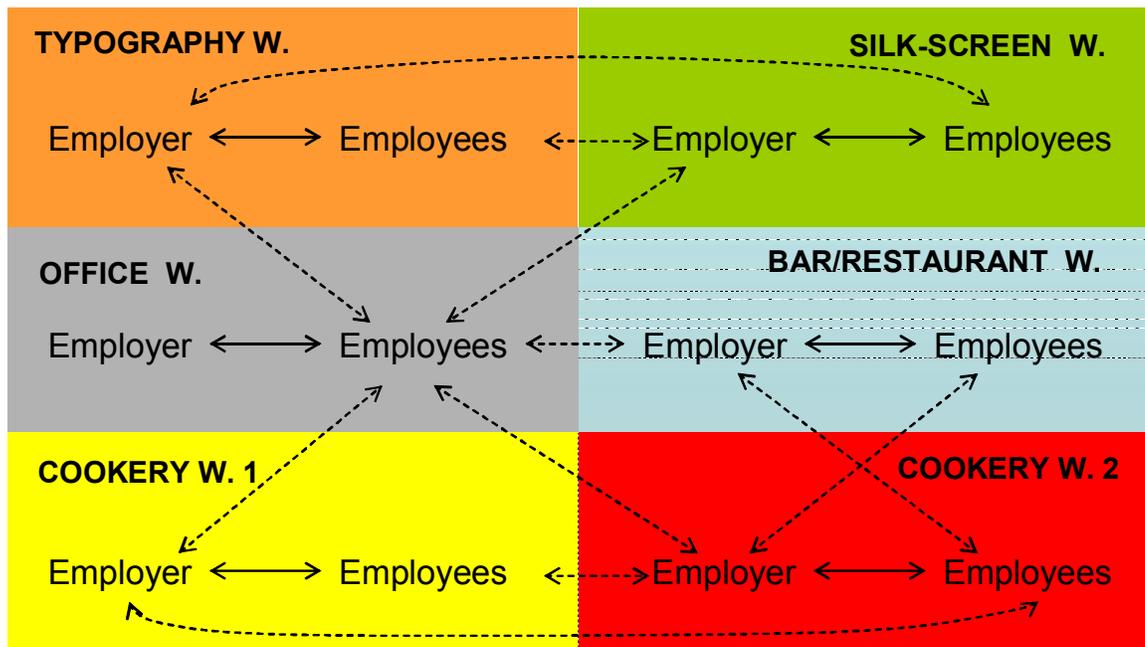


Table 3-4: Interrelationships among workplaces

Restaurant

A client is an employer in the workplace, a patient in the psychiatrist office, a mentee in the counselor office, and a patron of the restaurant. The restaurant functions not only as a workplace for those who are learning a skill, but it is also a place to dine for anyone who wants eat or drink there. Possible clients of the restaurant can be outside clients, Centro a.D.

clients, and team members. Team members are team members even when their professional role is in the background and they play their role of a restaurant client while eating their lunch. Therefore the restaurant becomes an additional place to observe Centro a.D. clients:

- It is a place where clients are observed even by team members that are not supposed to interact with them
- It is a place where Centro a.D. clients can be observed while they play an additional role more than roles that are target of the rehabilitation in the three kinds of learning settings (workplaces, free time activities and housing solutions)

Role at Centro a.D	Role at Restaurant	What they do in the restaurant
Manager of restaurant workplace	Waitress	Manages clients that are employees; provides service (restaurant and bar) for others
Other team members	Restaurant's client	Observe clients (both clients enrolled in the workplaces and clients dining at the restaurant)
Centro a.D. clients enrolled in restaurant workplace	Waitress	They display professional and relational skills required to be rehabilitated to workplaces
Other clients	Restaurant's client	They display their skills and attitude in the context of a restaurant

Table 3-5: Team members at the restaurant

The office

The office workplace oversees contracts of every client who is employed in a workplace at Centro a.D. Workplace employers, therefore, refer to the personnel of the office to ratify any decision in relation to hiring, firing, pay increase or decrease, holidays, and suspension of contracts. The office manages the administration of Centro a.D. as an organization: Team member's contracts, quality assessment, regulations, and relationships with other institutions and with the legal context in which Centro a.D is integrated. Finally, the office is the call center of Centro a.D. and the place where any editing work is done to accommodate the director and other team members. Clients who work in the office have the opportunity to interact with every team member and with outside people. Their work is governed not just

by their direct employers (the two managers of the office), but also by other team members who demand their precision and efficiency.

The analysis of the institution shows how Centro a.D. develops its unique rehabilitation paradigm by constructing new fragments of social reality that are functional to the rehabilitation project.

In the analysis of problem solving discursive practices, I will take into consideration meanings disclosed by the analysis of the institution and I will analyze how institutional framework plays out in the interaction. Discursive activity will be analyzed in the framework of rehabilitative activity that team members develop within Centro a.D.'s institutional reality.

3.4. Team meetings

Function of the meetings at Centro a.D.

The team meetings occur once a week. All team members participate in them; they sit down around a table and discuss problems related to Centro a.D.'s clients and their rehabilitation projects, and plan rehabilitative intervention to solve problems. Clients do not participate at the meetings. The meeting is coordinated by one of the team members, in most of the cases it is the case manager who plays the role of meeting coordinator. Each meeting usually takes two hours.

Team members are expected to use the meetings as an opportunity to collaborate with their colleagues to find viable solutions to the problems they encounter during their work with clients.

On a routine basis they deal with difficult people. They have an important responsibility and a stressful life. The interruption of their ordinary working day by a two hour meeting is not without consequences for team members. It is sometimes difficult for workplace managers to leave the workplace, since clients, who are employed there, are not always able to work a couple of hours without supervision. Yet team members perceive taking this break to get together with their colleagues as worthwhile in spite of these troubles. According to what team members said me in interviews, the meetings "are useful to feel that someone understands you, that someone had the same problems as you and to think about what happened, find new solutions together" (the Cook). Working as a team allows individuals to "overcome impasse situations", to "ask for help if we are in a tunnel and we are not able to get out from it" (the Cook). Listening to others' experience is useful to "have an example" (the Waitress).

Peers' support seems to be an important condition for everyone to carry on with their own job and to play out their own expertise.

Having "their point of view on your activity" is a source of confidence: "it is good that we can do that: it is not to destroy the work; it is to build it up. It is a learning chance for everybody" (the Cook). Moreover, team members are aware of the value added to rehabilitation by working as a team: "[team meetings] add tremendous value to clients' projects because this is when we can, as employers, talk about client behavior in the workplace; [we can tell] whether s/he improved and discuss how to move on" (the Typographer). In particular, team work is crucial in challenging individual interpretations: "if we keep in mind that our work is based on hypothesis, we know that our hypothesis may be wrong: the team can help you in modifying your hypothesis, in creating a new intervention based on a new hypothesis when you are in an impasse" (the manager of Free Time activities). "[Colleagues] who are not directly involved with the client allow you to bypass a linear hypothesis and to come to a circular hypothesis. In this way they [allow] you to better help the client in pursuing his goals" (the Secretary).

“Team members work with clients in the framework of a whole rehabilitation project that includes different kinds of interventions. Awareness of this is not automatic all the time for individuals: during team meetings we check out whether our interventions are consistent with each other and whether they help us to follow the established direction: one could even forget that we spoke about something and made a decision.(...) There are many things to keep in mind!” (the Silk Screen Printer).

During meetings team members discuss and solve problems related to the projects, and plan future work.

Problem solving is just one among multiple concurrent activities going on during Centro a.D. team meetings. At least two other activities are going on: the learning activity and the construction of the institution.

Each activity could be thoroughly analyzed in its local construction. When I describe the joint construction of narratives I do not provide a mirror of meeting activity as a whole: I rather model problem solving activity.

Deontology for team members during the meetings

Team meetings are a social activity in which participants apparently are enabled to act simply because they share a common language and they belong to a common culture. At a first glance the informal discussion that takes place every Tuesday on the third floor of Centro a.D.'s headquarters could take place anywhere else in the south of Switzerland or in the north of Italy where the spoken Italian is similar.

To use John Searle's terminology, the meeting is a fragment of social reality in which institutional facts are few other than the fundamental institution of language.

However, team meetings are ruled by norms that the rehabilitation paradigm establishes in relation to the meeting.

For example there is a standard procedure. Team members speak about each individual project of every client: whoever is responsible for the workplace in which the client is enrolled presents the situation (what happened during the week); then team members jointly try to solve any problems that may have arisen. In this way they plan future activities that will help clients in achieving their rehabilitation goals.

Team members are supposed to have a two phase discussion:

- Presentation of the problem: a client's employer (the manager of the workplace in which the client is enrolled) describes current developments in the client's project, identifies problems and reports tentative/planned solutions.
- A problem solving activity that involves the entire team: the coordinator facilitates this phase by asking questions.

The rehabilitation paradigm includes two other specifications in relation to the meetings:

- A client's behavior cannot be explained in terms of stable features of his/her personality.
- Hypothesis formulated by team members during the meetings must be circular¹⁴.

The Table 3-6 provides a synthesis of norms that team members follow during team meetings. I have filled this table on the base of interviews, written documents and field notes during my ethnographic study.

	Obligations	Prohibitions
Client's employer	Reporting problems in client's situation. Providing tentative solutions (tried solutions and planned solutions)	Describing client's situation in terms of "client is ..." Ascribing behavior to causes that cannot be changed and reasoning about limits that cannot be removed (as. features of clients' temp, as laziness, or biological limits, as dementia)
Other team members (other employers, Free Time activity manager, housing solutions manager, case manager, psychotherapist)	Suggesting viable hypothesis and interventions.	
Case manager as meeting coordinator	Asking questions in order to induce other team members to formulate hypothesis and solutions. Ratifying commitments.	
Psychotherapist as director	Training other team members on the rehabilitation paradigm.	

Table 3-6: Deontology for team members during the meetings

Moreover, team meetings are a fragment of the social system represented by Centro a.D. The meanings of common words such as project, workplace, employer, contract, etc. depend on what a project, a workplace, an employer, a contract, etc. actually are at Centro a.D. They are functional components of Centro a.D.'s local ontology, which is created using building blocks borrowed from many domains and recontextualizing them into the framework of goals provided by the rehabilitation paradigm.

I briefly recall what is a rehabilitation project. The rehabilitation project utilizes the specialized services provided by Centro a.D. to train clients in professional and relational skills. Essential components of a client's rehabilitation project are:

- Goals that clients are expected to pursue by making productive use of training settings and counselling services.
- Problems that need to be solved in order to reach the established rehabilitation goals;

¹⁴ for an explanation of this term see section 3-1.

- Educational interventions that are planned and implemented as solutions to those problems.

Rehabilitation is aimed at enabling clients to play roles other than the role of a patient. The assumption underlying training settings such as Centro a.D.'s workplaces is that the development of identity is driven by interaction between context, relation and language. Team members who train Centro a.D.'s clients (for example by teaching them a job) must pay attention to the amplification processes that clients' problematic behavior triggers and keep in mind the goal that these people are trying to attain through such behavior.

4. Analysis of problem solving

A central issue in problem solving is the participants' ability to view the problem through the joint accomplishment of an institutional description of the situation: a description coherent with the rehabilitation paradigm. In this analysis of the problem solving process I am interested in the joint construction of narratives that are functional to the planning of new rehabilitative interventions.

Team members are supposed to have a two stage discussion: joint problem presentation and joint problem solving. A prominent feature of Centro a.D. team meetings is that team members spend most of the meeting time engaged in constructing the problem.

Team members are expected to present problems they faced during their interaction with clients. Everything that represents an obstacle to rehabilitation is a problem and needs to be discussed during the meeting.

It is not always easy to recognize a problem. Employers are able to present a problem during the meeting as long as they have observed his employee with an awareness of the rehabilitation project in which they are engaged. It means that the cook, for example, needs to pay attention that an employee get 50 salad plates ready before noon, yet he should also pay attention to the attitude that the employee has toward their colleagues since this relational dimension is relevant to their rehabilitation project. Awareness of the project does not guarantee that the employer is capable of determining the significance of observed behavior in relation to the rehabilitation project. Do employees avoid speaking with their colleagues because they are concentrating on their job or because they are afraid to be teased?

Problem presentation starts with an opening statement of a client situation, usually provided by client's employer (the team member who manages the workplace in which client works).

I use the term opening statement to identify a single turn of the client's employer that provides the first account about the client: an opening statement begins when the workplace manager starts speaking about the client and goes on until

- he speaks without being interrupted (if nobody interrupts his discourse with something different from continuers or alignment expressions) or
- he integrates interruptions that may occur (for example by embedding the answer to a question, without abandoning the projected narration).

Sometimes the opening statement answers to a specific question asked by the meeting coordinator, as in:

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 1]

COORD.: well, about Teo. Tell us: we agreed upon an intervention during the last week

COOK: the intervention, yes, that he would keep going, it is [the intervention about] the cleaning, isn't it? what were you telling?

COORD.: we agreed that you would make him do the cleaning instead of working as a cook, because he did those acts

In other cases, the employer starts his description of the situation as an answer to a generic question (what is the client's situation?). In this example and in similar cases, the conversational topic initially is the client's situation as a whole:

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 2]

COORD.: who is the next [client/employee] that you have [to speak about]?

OFFICE: then Betta, that I, the other day I gave her some assignments with a deadline, because she was a little bit [slow], and she did them.

This example shows that the employer, who presents the opening statement, formulates a minimal description and leaves the floor open to the joint construction of a more complete problem presentation. In this case the joint construction is begun by the coordinator in her next turn:

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 3]

OFFICE: then Betta, that I, the other day I gave her some assignments with a deadline, because she was a little bit [slow] and she did them.

COORD.: what was her goal?

In other cases opening statements are more extended and complex, as in the following three examples:

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 4]

COOK: Luca is doing well, he accepted the remarks in a good way

COORD.: good

COOK: today I sent him again, I sent him I sent him four times to the grocery shop

COORD.: ((she laughs and says something))

COOK: the entire morning to the grocery shop and then he has understood. We must accept him in this way. That's it. Then, an episode happened before your arrival. A kind of, in relation to the tomato-mill. He called me because this is a kind of his way of doing, to say look, I'm not able. Do it yourself. But I, no no, observe how it is made carefully tac tac then he was able to assemble it and I said you are not stupid I said you should explain me why you want to act as a stupid when you are not, isn't it? I mean, it is evident that you are tat you are smart, that you can understand things by yourself, isn't it? and [that you can] do them. It is enough that you think about them just for a moment, and so on, and then he turned red he said yes yes, I said think about it.

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 5]

TYPOG.: well I was really happy because she started speaking herself and I asked her what she thinks she needs to improve on or how she is doing in the workplace she is doing well and basically she said what I would have told her myself then she needs to improve in relation to consistency and concentration, anyway I am happy

OFFICE: she realized

TYPOG.: I said I see that you understand you have to improve in this but you understand that you have a goal and you have to improve in this now the goal for the next three months is to improve in this. Moreover she asked to work a little bit with the computer and I said I will let you do that I will see how things go next week and she understands by herself but I told her again she moves from the working desk too often to go

to the bathroom and last time she sometimes did not show up for work in the morning and she said well she basically said that she will put effort in it and I also explained to her that if she goes- she is preparing herself to do an internship outside in the future- those aspects need to be fixed

COORD.: and about her job tasks? Does she do that more often when she works with the computer that she stands up and gets lost in thought?

[OPENING STATEMENT, EXAMPLE 5]

05.01.OFFICE: no, e:m (0.7) we had [to discuss] Lucia (0.5) ~(Well I begin with the ones who)~ - with Lucia, Maria now has to find out whether she has enrolled in that informatics' course e::m if she has enrolled in that accounting course, it's fine .h we'll go ahead with her project here, we will organize a possible internship for her, probably at the library, now-tomorrow, ehm, on Wednesday, we have an appointment, with her, Dr. Rossi from? the library and myself. Let's see how it goes. If she has not, if she has not enrolled for this informatics' course (0.2) e:m we have already decided that Maria will lay her off and refer her to you, because her project, that is the agreed project, was that she would ha:

05.02.COORD.: have taken steps to

05.03.OFFICE: have taken steps to: (0.4) to do this course. I don't know, not yet. I guess she is going to see her tomorrow.

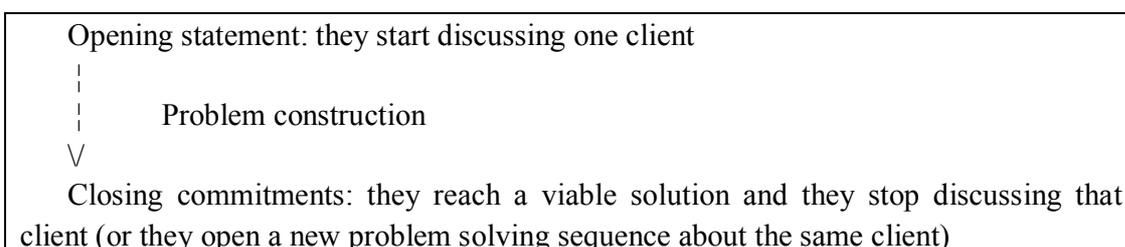
Opening statements, either minimal or elaborated, typically report an event, an act or a stance of the client that the employer recounts without making explicit its meaning within the rehabilitation project.

The opening statement introduces an issue that will be developed in the subsequent discussion during which the problem will be progressively defined, by elaborating the initial recount and by constructing explicatory settings.

The whole activity of problem solving involves an ongoing redefinition of the problem until a commitment can be made; problem solving activity requires team

expertise in developing rehabilitation projects through the identification of a solvable problem.

The identification of a solvable problem is accomplished as a form of conversational reasoning through a narrative activity: they narrate a problematic yet solvable situation through intertwined activities of describing and evaluating. Problems apt to be solved are identified through a joint narrative activity that enables institutional reasoning.



As long as discussion goes on, events are cast on the conversation stage progressively by multiple narrators, turn by turn, and they are integrated into a plot. In order to plan the work with clients, team members are constantly engaged in evaluating what is reported. Their evaluation takes place within the rehabilitation paradigm. The rehabilitation paradigm (reified in the rehabilitation work enabled by the institution) represents the moral stance that team members are supposed to share.

Narratives produced in Centro a.D. team meetings reflect the linear sequence that results from a joint activity: events are cast in the conversation stage step by step by multiple narrators. As the discussion goes on events are selected and integrated in a plot that progressively depicts a problem.

The opening description introduces an issue. Then the problem to be solved is built up along with the development of a conversational narrative. Someone has a problem in relation to something: who has the problem and what is the problem about? Problems have causes (or systems of causes) and consequences (or systems of consequences). There are problematic episodes (contingent actions or events that represent limits) or ongoing conditions (personal features that represent limits). Problems have a temporality: when did the problem begin? how long has it been going on? Both contingencies and personal features can be changeable or not changeable. How are they changeable? A problematic nucleus can be elaborated or modified by changing any among its attributes. Is it really a changeable problem? Did it really start up at that moment in time?

In narrative activity those attributes are introduced by multiple tellers. In the analysis I'm going to present I try to identify steps through which team members elaborate the

problem definition and to understand which kind of contribution each team member gives to this process.

I'll describe in detail discursive practices, keeping in mind 3 key questions:

- What do meeting participants define as a problem?
- How do they refer to the rehabilitation paradigm?
- In relation to their role, how does each team member contribute to the problem construction?

In order to identify discursive practices I apply four analytical foci to team members discourse. In the following section I present the foci, then – in section 4.2 – I will apply them to three case studies.

4.1. Analytical foci

I intend to analyse the problem solving discourse by using the following four analytical foci:

- Temporal organization of the narrative;
- Forms of evaluation;
- Participation framework;
- References to the institutional framework;

Temporal organization, forms of evaluation, and participation framework are analytical dimensions included in Ochs&Capps' approach to conversational narratives (Ochs&Capps, 2001). In addition to these foci, I pay attention to references made by team members to the institutional framework, relating narrative analysis to the ethnographic study of the institutional framework.

In this section I shall briefly introduce each focus.

Temporal organization

Elaborating on narratives of personal experience, Labov characterize them as interpretive construals of past personal experience (Labov, 1972b). Also Polanyi describes storytelling as an activity which has the main function of making some point about a world belonging to the past (Polanyi, 1989). Other scholars (Goodwin, 1990; Ochs, 1994) have stressed narratives' orientation to the future, illustrating how past events' recollection may lead interlocutors to "anticipate ramification of those events in the future" (Ochs, 1994:107).

From a temporal point of view, narratives imply a constant double tension: on one hand it is oriented to the past; on the other it is oriented to the future. In addition to that, some stories are expressly functional to the future. Stories are defined by the

point they have (Labov&Waletzky, 1967; Polanyi, 1989; Ricoeur, 1988). Sometimes, the point is the relevance of recounted events for future events (Ochs, 1994).

It is the case of team meetings, where interlocutors have the aim of evaluating already implemented interventions and past events concerning clients in order to determine future rehabilitation.

An analysis of the time, to which meetings participants refer, provides information about the span of a client's history that is taken into consideration by the speaker. When speakers report an event (e.g. when they report an intervention carried out during the past week), they can relate it to previously occurred eventy (e.g. they can refer to previous developments of the rehabilitation project) or to the future (e.g. they can imagine a future integration of the client within a workplace outside Centro a.D.). Alternatively, they can report the same event without making reference to the past or to the future. In this way, speakers can display more or less awareness about the relationship between what they say and the development of the rehabilitation project.

In my analysis, I distinguish between:

- present time, that is the time of the meeting (e.g.: *Michela sta dicendo qualcosa di diverso/ Michela is telling something different*)
- future time, that is the time of planned interventions (e.g.: *allora facciamo così, Cristina prende e si informa su quelle cose lì e io lo prendo e facciamo quel tipo di intervento, ok?/so, let's do that, Cristina will collect information about that, and I will take him and we do that kind of intervention, do you agree?*)
- past, that is the past week, preceding the meeting (e.g.: *l'ho sospesa, se non mi sbaglio l'ho mandata a casa venerdì, e una volta anche mercoledì/ I have suspended her, if I remember I have sent her at home on Fryday, and once also on Wednesday*)
- history, that is the history of the client since he started the rehabilitation project at Centro a.D. (e.g.: *lì gli aveva fatto bene, quando aveva fatto lì lo stage, uno shock/ that place had a good effect on him, when he did his internship there*)
- and background, that is the time that precedes the beginning of the project (e.g. : *lei ha 26 anni, ha una storia difficile a scuola, per presunto ritardo nell'apprendimento, poi è stato fatto il passaggio alla scuola peciale, vissuto male dai genitori/she is 26, a difficult history at school, due to a possible mental retardation, then she has been moved to the school for impaired children, and her parents reacted to this fact in a bad way*)

Moreover, it is useful to distinguish between the time of reality and the time of possibility, since the construction of possible scenarios is a practice that shows how narrative is not just reporting events but implies evaluation of them. During the meetings

at Centro a.D., interlocutors sometimes depict past events about which they are not completely sure; moreover, they often depict alternative future situations that will realize under specified conditions (e.g. team members do not know whether the client has completed a training or not, and they decide to modify rehabilitation goals in case she has not completed it). The distinction between the time of reality and the time of possibility guides in the identification of conversation sequences with evaluative content, which is the scope of my second analytical focus.

Forms of evaluation

Narrative is a sense-making activity in which interlocutors build perspectives on events through the configurational structure of the story (Ricoeur, 1981). A story is not just a report of events, since it focuses on a central event and has a problem solving orientation (Ochs et al., 1992). Reporting and evaluating are intertwined on the background of a framework of values that supports such activity, so that sensemaking reveals a moral stance. While some stories establish a certain and constant moral stance, others display a fluid and uncertain one, because interlocutors present alternative perspectives about the same event (Ochs & Capps, 2001).

Evaluative activity is distributed along the whole narrative and many linguistic devices are available for expressing moral stance:

“Unlike the other components of narrative structure, the linguistic forms that express evaluative structure cannot be specified simply, since evaluation can be indicated by a wide range of linguistic structures and linguistic choices” (Linde, 1993:72).

The discourse of team meetings is made up of reporting and planning. Description and evaluation are intertwined in an uninterrupted attempt at attributing significance to events. The framework of values for evaluation is supposed to be shared, and is the content of team members’ training. Through the ethnographic study I have reconstructed such a framework, included in the rehabilitation paradigm. Therefore, the analysis of evaluative activity must be integrated with the analysis of references to the institutional framework.

The expression of direct assessments through adjectives and adverbs is the simplest indicator of evaluation activity (e.g. *lei è molto competente/she is really skilled; parla troppo poco/ he does not socialize enough*) Since I deal with conversational narratives, also linguistic expressions of alignment (i.e. when someone aligns or misaligns with the evaluation given by someone else) are relevant indicators of evaluative activity.

Moreover, assessments need to be observed along with:

- those real or possible scenarios in relation to which they are expressed (*per quello che fa qui è perfetta, le mancano competenze per lavorare fuori/ she is perfect in relation to what she does here, but she lacks some skills in order to work outside*)

- the evidentials that are used in introducing evaluation (*mi sembra motivato/he looks like motivated; so che non sta bene/I know he's not doing well*).

Evaluative activity is an important dimension of analysis in research about storytelling in health care (Clark&Mishler, 1992; Findlay, 1997; Griffiths&Huges, 1994; Johnson&Webb, 1995). The description of a client case plays a huge role in determining a rehabilitation program and case evolution (Crepeau, 2000), although the social construction of the client during team meetings may go unrecognized by team members (Buckholdt&Gubrium, 1979). Stories about clients are achieved through team members interaction and many teams do not follow a shared framework for describing problems. Even when a framework is supposed to be shared, practice may be far away from theory and the talking work at the meetings is driven by several elements including personal background of each team members, roles' definition, interpersonal relationships, institutional, financial, and law related constraints.

Participation framework

I use the term participation framework with reference to Goffman's work (1979) that has been elaborated by Charles and Marjorie Goodwin (C. Goodwin, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1995; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, 2004; M. Goodwin, 1999). For its application to conversational narratives I mainly refer to Ochs' category of tellership (Ochs&Capps, 2001).

While every narratives are co-authored at some extents, since readers and interlocutors influence the direction of the narrative (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986; Bauman, 1986; Goodwin, 1981), some of them are jointly constructed by differing interlocutors who actively participate to the telling, by asking questions, providing explanations or comment, integrating information. In this case, the analysis of the participation framework can show differing social organization of the joint narrative activity. In team meetings literature attention has been paid to issues of hierarchy connected with role related differences in kinds of contribution given by each interlocutor to the story. Among others, Griffiths (1997) has compared two community mental health teams, examining the role of team psychiatrists during the meetings. Both social organizations analyzed by Griffiths reveal the distance between the psychiatrist and the rest of the team, and the lack of a proper cooperation among differing professionals. Moreover, the study displays that differences in social organization have deep consequences on patients' categorization.

In my analysis I have examined how individual turns afford possibilities for other team members to present their own contributions. Turns include a representation of subjects who are speaking, people who are addressed and characters that are involved

and/or animated in the speech, and each turn sustains or proposes a participation framework.

Questions explicitly invite someone to intervene, but other linguistic devices are suitable to change the participation framework. I highlight simple linguistic features, such as:

- The use of I-form vs. we-form in reporting rehabilitative intervention toward the client: when a we-form is used the whole team or part of it is invoked as responsible for what is told (e.g. the use of expressions like *we have asked him to participate in our activities*, even when the request has been materially made just by one team members)
- The animation of team members as agents in recounted episodes which changes the status of hearers, who may become legitimate co-tellers (e.g. one member is telling about a conversation she had with a client to which also another team member participated)
- The use of direct reported speech in telling episodes about clients (e.g.: *lei ha un modo di fare che quando c'è uno lì lei fa così allora le ho detto "ma stai morendo"? e lei "no no"/she has such an attitude, that when someone is there, she does in this way, therefore I said her "but, are you dying? And she said "no, no, I'm not".)*
- The addressing of specific interlocutors which shows a speaker's point of view about who is the actual recipient, though everybody during the meeting is supposed to be an interlocutor (e.g. *sapevamo che la vedevi tu/ we were aware that you were going to see her*, said by an employer who address his talk to the meeting coordinator)

References to the institutional framework

Centro a.D. has an institutional framework that implements a rehabilitation paradigm. Through the ethnographic study I became aware of norms, roles and tasks' descriptions, procedures, and values, which are supposed to shape working activities of team members. I'm going to use this knowledge to integrate narrative analysis with an analysis of fragments indexing key aspects of team members' common ground and institutional framework.

For example words and fragments like *progetto / project, progetto concordato / agreed project; obiettivo / goal* index a shared knowledge team members have about their method of working.

The Table 3-1 illustrates a set of meanings that – according to the interviews I have conducted and to the documents I have read – are shared among team members. I give a synthetic definition for each of them, however I refer to the chapter 3 (in particular to the section 3.1 – Rehabilitation paradigm at Centro a.D.) where the reader can find a coherent explanation of them.

Autonomia	Authonomy	The main problem of Centro a.D.'s
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		clients due to their inability to play different roles than the patient role.
Adeguato	Adequate	Positive evaluation, used when the behaviour respects the norms of a setting
Differenziazione di ruoli e di contesti	Roles and contexts separation	In every context agents have to follow a number of norms in order to participate in activities. Differing contexts of our societies have differing norms and each of us plays differing roles in differing contexts.
Comportamento da malato, segnale da malato, sintomo	Behaviour of a mental patient, signals of being mental patients, symptoms	Something that the client intentionally does in order to give an image of himself (or herself) as a mental patient
Intenzione	Intention	What the client wants to achieve
Significato/funzione relazionale	Relational meaning/function	The kind of relationship the client wants to establish through his or her behaviour
Fuori (lavorare fuori, andare fuori)	Outside (to work outside, to go outside)	The target of rehabilitation
Progetto, progetto concordato	Project, agreed project	The program of a client within the center is agreed between the client and the case manager. It usually includes client integration into a workplace of the center.
Ipotesi	Hypothesis	How team members explain a behaviour they observe
Colloquio di progettazione	Planning interview	Interview between the client and the case manager. Significant others for the client may be present.
Obiettivo	Goal	For every client the goal is achieving autonomy and being re-integrated into the society. However, concrete goals are specified in relation to individual particular limits.
(Ri)valutare, colloquio di valutazione	Evaluate, evaluation interview	Evaluating the project during an interview between the client and the case manager, or between the client and the workplace

		employer
Intervento	Intervention	Two kinds of educational interventions are available for team members: communication and work
Metacomunicare	Meta-communicate	To make a comment to the client about his or her behavior explaining what is the reaction provoked by such behaviour
Verbalizzare, verbalizzazione	To verbalize, verbalization	To make reasons explicit

Table 4-1

In addition to considering words and fragments I analyze how team members invoke an aspect of their deontology, by making reference to norms and procedures. For example, in the excerpt that follows the meeting coordinator makes reference to the obligation to assign job tasks to employees in relation to their rehabilitation projects:

per rimanere ancora qui, visto che lei su quello che fa è perfetta, il centralino e tutto quanto, potrebbe andare fuori, (0.2) lei ci teneva a stare ancora qui abbiamo detto ti possiamo dare l'occasione di stare ancora qui se usi QUESTO per (0.2) acquisire le competenze che ti mAncano, se no si cambia il progetto perché:

if you remember, it was part of the goal we gave to Lucia. from the moment that her goal is to be ready for working in offices, she lacks some skills, etc, we have sad, it's fine, in order for her to stay here, from the moment she is perfect in what she is doing the call center and everything else, and she could go [working] outside [here], (0.2) she prefers to stay here another while, we told her we give you the opportunity to stay here if you take advantage of IT by (0.2) acquiring skills you lack, otherwise let's change your project because,

This other excerpt invokes a well known value – the contexts separation – and the responsibility team members have in helping clients to respect it.

se no rischia di diventare subito il solito discorso no lei era a mendrisio e quindi con i soliti operatori no eccetera eccetera se facesse l bar no se lei va fuori a mangiare no non le viene in mente parlare con il ristorante che e Daniel le fa fare i cartoncini cioè no? non le passerebbe neanche

otherwise it tends to become the same old discussion you know like when she was in Mendrisio and so with typical social workers you know etcetera etcetera she would you know if she goes outside to eat she would never think to tell the barman that Daniel ((her employer)) makes her do the cards I mean - isn't it? she wouldn't think about it

The complete list of norms I have identified through the ethnographic study can be found in section 3 (Tables 3-1, 3-2, 3-3). Those norms are supposed to shape both the behavior of team members and clients. In particular, some norms define what team members are expected to do and not to do during the meetings (Table 3-6).

4.2. Analysis of three problem solving sequences

The example of Lucia: the enrollment in an informatics course

In the first excerpt, team members debate the situation of Lucia, a client who works in the Office. Lucia is a 40 years old woman, who was depressed and recovered in a hospital. When she came out of the hospital, she was unable to work again and she was scared to be with people. Her mother asked Centro a.D. for a help. Her rehabilitation project mainly focused on acquiring professional skills and she recently agreed with her employers (the Office manager) to enroll into a computer course¹⁵.

The discussion I'm going to analyze can be summarized in 11 points:

1. An issue is introduced by the client's employer (Office manager): the client is supposed to be enrolled in a computer course and the employer is going to check the enrollment.
2. The relevance of enrollment is claimed by the coordinator in relation to client's deficiency in professional skills.
3. Client's competence as an office employee is evaluated: the evaluation is uncertain.
4. An issue is introduced by the Free Time manager: client does not participate in Free Time activities.
5. Professional competence is investigated by the coordinator.
6. Client is assessed as competent by multiple team members.
7. The client's social life is explored by the coordinator by asking team members.
8. Background information is provided by the coordinator: in client's history there is a fear to be with people.
9. Project goals are reconsidered: improvement in social skills must be considered among client's goals.
10. The relevance of enrollment is claimed by the employer in relation to the opportunity of being with people.
11. An intentionality in avoiding the enrollment is postulated by the employer and by the meeting coordinator.

¹⁵ Information about Lucia has been reconstructed by the researcher on the base of recorded conversation at team meetings. No interviews have been conducted with team members about Lucia. However the story reconstruction written by the researcher (Piccini, 2005) has been reviewed by the team director.

[LUCIA, EXCERPT 01]

01.01.OFFICE: no, e:m (0.7) avevamo la Lucia (0.5) >bom prima faccio quelli che< la Lucia che la Maria deve:: adesso informarsi se si è iscritta a questo corso di computer e::m se si è iscritta al co- questo corso di contabilità BENE .h si va avanti col progetto qua e: le organizzeremo un eventuale STAGE, pensavamo in biblioteca. adesso mercoledì abbia- domani abbiamo appuntamento io lei e il Rossi della biblioteca vediamo come: come va. se nel CASO che lei non avess- non si fosse iscritta al- a: a questo corso di computer, (0.2) e:m abbiamo già concordato che la Maria la:: la s- la sospenderà e la invierà da te, perché il progetto, cioè il progetto concordATO era che lei, si ea::-

no, em (0.7) we had [to discuss] Lucia (0.5) >Well I'll begin with the ones who< Maria now has to find out whether Lucia has enrolled for that informatics course em if she has enrolled for that accounting course, it's FINE .h we'll continue with her project here, we will eventually organize an INTERNSHIP for her, probably in the library, now- tomorrow, ehm, on Wednesday, we have an appointment, with her, Rossi from the library and myself. Let's see the outcome. In CASE she has not, if she has not enrolled for this informatics course (0.2) em we have already decided that Maria will lay her off and refer her to you, because her project, that is the agreed project, was that she would ha-

01.02.COORD.: attiva[va
have taken necessary steps

01.03.OFFICE: [attivava nel e: (0.4) nel fare questo corso. Non so, non so ancora, penso che la vedrà domani.
have taken necessary steps to: (0.4) to take this course. I don't know, not yet I guess she is going to see her tomorrow.

The opening statement concerns an action that the office manager expects Lucia to have completed – enrolling for an informatics course. Lucia’s fulfillment of this condition is described as determining subsequent developments in her relationship to the office. The narrative is heavily evaluative in character. The office manager makes use of the rethorical strategy of contrast, as she compares two hypothetical scenarios and assesses one of them as positive (*bene / it’s fine*).

The office manager describes the situation quite locally; she addresses future developments in relation to a specific event that possibly occurred in the immediate past. The link established between Lucia’s enrollment in the course and her ensuing participation at the office is to be found in the context of the overall rehabilitation project (*il progetto concordato era che lei, si ea::- / because her project, that is the agreed project, was that she would ha-*). The Office manager does not mention the content of the project, namely the set of goals for which enrollment in an informatics course is helpful. Such an allusive reference to the project does not fully address the relevance of Lucia’s enrollment in the informatics course. However, it indexes shared knowledge; the reference to Lucia’s project is elliptical, but the participants – as no question for clarification is asked – are able to correctly interpret it due to their prior knowledge of the goals included in Lucia’s project and Lucia’s history as a client at Centro a.D.

The narrative structure does not foster audience participation: in spite of the opening formula *we have now* and the epithetical use of *agreed* to describe *project*, the office manager’s storytelling references two specific team members who play an active role in the story:

- Maria, who is not present during the meeting, appears in the very beginning of the narrative. She is also invoked as a third party, or co-principal of the story throughout the narrative. Every time the office manager addresses her own actions and responsibilities, she uses the first person plural to refer to herself and her colleague Maria, the co-manager of the office;
- The meeting coordinator appears as a character in the story when she is contextually addressed in the conversation (*la Maria la:: la s- la sospenderà e la invierà da te / Maria will lay off and refer her to you*). Moreover, the Meeting Coordinator actively participates by suggesting to the Office manager how to close her sentence (*attivava / have taken necessary steps*). The Office manager picks up the Coordinator’s suggestion to complete her turn.

Immediately after the office manager’s description, the reported episode is contextualized and developed by the meeting coordinator:

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 01]

01.04.COORD.: faceva parte se vi ricordate, dell'obiettivo che avevamo posto a Lucia. che siccome l'obiettivo posto è quello di prepararla per entrare nel mondo dell'ufficio, le mancano le competenze, di contabilità eccetera, avevamo detto, va bene, per rimanere ancora qui, visto che lei su quello che fa è perfetta, il centralino e tutto quanto, potrebbe andare fuori, (0.2) lei ci teneva a stare ancora qui abbiamo detto ti possiamo dare l'occasione di stare ancora qui se usi QUESTO per (0.2) acquisire le competenze che ti mancano, se no si cambia il progetto perché:

if you remember, it was part of the goal we gave to Lucia. from the moment that her goal is to be ready for working in offices, she lacks some skills, etc, we have said, it's fine, in order for her to stay here, from the moment she is perfect in what she is doing the call center and everything else, and she could go [working] outside [here], (0.2) she prefers to stay here another while, we told her we give you the opportunity to stay here if you take advantage of IT by (0.2) acquiring skills you lack, otherwise let's change your project because,

The meeting coordinator (01.04) unpacks the shared knowledge invoked by the office manager about the agreed project. She addresses team members and invites them to recall the history of Lucia as a client at Centro a.D.; this history provides resources to interpret the issue addressed by the office manager about Lucia's enrollment in the informatics' course.

The history of Lucia's project at Centro a.D. is told by recovering what the team said about it, and decisions that have been taken.

- *faceva parte se vi ricordate dell'obiettivo che avevamo posto / it was part of the goal we gave her*
- *avevamo detto / we have said*
- *abbiamo detto / we told her*

The history is recovered on the basis of how the team has experienced it. The broader framework of the rehabilitation project that the meeting coordinator brings to the narrative stage enables a more sophisticated evaluation. The meeting coordinator enriches the evaluative structure constructed by the office manager: she distinguishes between professional skills the client needs in her current work at Centro a.D. and professional skills that client needs to work outside. The coordinator produces a positive

assessment in relation to the first set of skills (*su quello che fa è perfetta / she is perfect for what she does*) and a negative assessment in relation to the second (*per entrare nel mondo dell'ufficio le mancano le competenze / for working in offices she lacks some skills*). Through the new formulation of the story, listeners are provided with more interpretive resources and are selected as sharing a responsibility in the story.

The coordinator's turn both

- modifies the participation framework established by the story and
- broadens the perspective on Lucia's situation, by moving back in time.

The office manager (01.05) takes the floor on the causal clause that the coordinator leaves unfinished (*se no si cambia il progetto perché / otherwise let's change your project because*). Office manager gives a positive assessment (*comunque lei è molto in gamba / anyway she is really good*) using an absolute measure for judgment: While the coordinator is considering Lucia's expertise in relation to employer's responsibility to help her in making progress, the Office manager focuses on the high level of expertise reached till now and gives her positive assessment after a bottom line *comunque / anyway*.

The office manager invokes a third party to validate her judgment, as she did in her first turn: by using the plural subject (*l'abbiamo vista / we have listened to her*) she replicates a participation framework in which her colleague Maria is co-principal of the speech, along with her.

The positive assessment is supported by reporting an example of good behavior, observed in the immediate past.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 01]

01.05.OFFICE: comunque lei è molto in gamba .h l'abbiamo sentita adesso in questi giorni anche con telefonate un po':: che bisogna gestire perché son telefonate maga- e lei è:: °cioè professionalissi[ma°.

anyway, she is really good .h we have listened to her during these past days while she was on the phone even with telephone calls that need more management, because they are telephone calls a little bit °I would say completely professional°.

The description (01.05) acquires a higher level of granularity: reference is made to specific episodes rather than to a client's situation as a whole as in (01.04): the narrative moves down on the timeline (from client history to *questi giorni / these past days*). The participation framework doesn't seem to change by effect of the office manager's account. But the reference to the phone call episode affects the way in which some team

members present their contributions when the meeting coordinator (01.06) addresses them immediately after the office manager's turn.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 01]

01.06.COORD.: [.h qualcuno di voi ha avuto
occasione:: di vedere la Lucia, o di sentire, ci sono
delle[: informazioni?
*[.h someone of you guys had
the opportunity to see Lucia, to hear something, are
there other pieces [of information?*

The coordinator is the one who actually poses the questions which prompt other team members to present their contributions, but the office manager's intervention has an anchoring effect that determines the way in which participation actually occurs in reaction to the coordinator's question. The coordinator's question is extremely general. The way in which it is formulated opens the door to any kind of story extension. If we observe participants' answers, the office manager's previous turn (1.5) seems to provide a guide to operate the selection.

When the office manager talks about Lucia's competence handling phone calls, she depicts a situation in which other team members could easily imagine themselves. The office manager's story generates second stories (Sacks, 1974) similar to the first in relation to the situation, but different in relation to characters. Through topic similarity of second stories (all the stories are about Lucia at the phone) various team members enforce the relevance of what the office manager has selected to evaluate Lucia, i.e. her skills to use the phone.

The office manager sees Lucia everyday all day long. She is in charge of monitoring work activities related to Lucia's rehabilitation project. Other team members have the possibility to interact with Lucia only occasionally. The phone call scenario seems to guide them in recovering information to enrich the picture.

The typographer (01.07 and 01.10) presents his own experience regarding Lucia's mastery of the phone and introduces it to undermine the evaluation embedded in the office manager's storytelling (*no io posso dire una cosa un po' meno positiva / well, I have something less positive to say*).

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 01]

01.07.TYPOG.: [no io posso dire una cosa, un po',
un po' meno positIva (.) che quando chiAMANO per
esempio per noi: fa un po' casino ogni tanto

- [well, I have something less positive to say (.) that for example when someone CALLS looking for us, sometimes she creates confusion*
- 01.08.COORD.: tipo?
for example?
- 01.09.OFFICE: tipo?
for example?
- 01.10.TYPOG.: e tipo che:: o o che no- o che non ti chiama o se ti chiama non si ricorda chi ha chiamato e:: maga- non marca il numero°.
for example that she does not inform us or maybe she calls to inform us but then she realizes she does not remember the name and maybe she does not write the phone number°.

The cook (02.01) and the free time manager (03.01) align with the office manager's evaluation referring to their own phone experiences, although they weakly resist the coordinator's request to take a stance, since their experience is quite limited.

[LUCIA, EXCERPT 02]

- 02.01.COOK: no: io la trovo molto cordiale al telefono però a me non è mai capitato (°per il mio atelier per cui°)
no, I see that she is very polite on the phone but it never happened to me for my workplace, therefore

The office manager's story functions as a productive template for information retrieval. At the same time it has the effect of anchoring the topic of discussion and limiting the horizon of query. Even when the coordinator broadens the query by soliciting a general evaluation of Lucia's relational attitude (*sulla modalità relazionale e tutto? / what about relational attitude and so on?*), the cook goes back to the domain of phone-calls (*sulla modalità relazionale. io la trovo molto educata, al telefono / about relational attitude I see she is very polite, on the phone*). The free time manager (03.06) does the same when the coordinator further investigates Lucia's behavior in dealing with errands that team members had previously set for her.

[LUCIA, EXCERPT 03]

- 03.01.COORD.: se le avete dato delle commissioni [voi,
if you gave her some errands to do

- 03.02.COOK: [niente
nothing
- 03.03.COORD.: (le ha f[atte:)
did she do them
- 03.04.COOK: [dato niente
gave nothing
- 03.05.COORD.: Natan?=
Natan
- 03.06.FREET.: =col why not le telefonate che mi prende ogni tanto le
prende. (per il momento) le prende sempre
correttamente
*with why not, telephone calls that she sometimes takes
for me she gets them. (till now) she always manages
them in the right way*

Free Time manager limits his answer to the scope of phone calls, although he actually has more information to add to Lucia's evaluation. He will share this additional information (41) when the conversation reaches the point of closure (04.01).

[LUCIA, EXCERPT 04]

- 04.01.COORD.: quindi magari: possiamo ricordare a Maria, lo scrivi
per favore che: (.) Olga (così se non lo fa è colpa
sua) Olga ricorda a Maria=
*so we can maybe remind Maria, write it down please
Olga, so that it is her fault if she does not do it,
Olga reminds Maria*
- 04.02.FREET.: =bom di Lucia è da segnalare che lei non è mai venuta
a niente del why not. non è obbligata, ma mi chiedo se
ha veramente una vita così attiva fuori o:: o ogni
tanto l'impressione iniziale era che un po' sapeva ch-
che centro era, quindi: (0.5) non so, magari
vergognarsi di didi girare con °non lo so°
*well, about Lucia, I have to say she never came to why
not activities. She doesn't have to do it, but I
wonder whether she really has such a busy social life
or well, the initial feeling was that she knew what
kind of center this was : (0.5) I don't know, and so*

maybe she was embarrassed to hang out with-I don't know-

The coordinator (04.01) orients herself toward the meeting activity and speaks at a meta level (she requests that it be written down in the minutes of the meeting that the office co-manager has to check Lucia's enrollment for the course).

The coordinator's turn expands the scope of the discussion, which had focussed for awhile only on Lucia's ability to handle phone calls.

The free time manager (04.02) starts his account with *bom di Lucia è da segnalare / well, about Lucia, I have to say*, projecting the construction of a completely new story about Lucia, in which he is the main teller. The coordinator places the free time manager's story on hold however, and returns to the problematic episode told by the typographer. The coordinator (05.01 and 05.03) selects the typographer's contribution as relevant: while the typographer (05.02) tries to nullify the negative assessment conveyed by his contribution, she ratifies it as something that they can use to push Lucia's rehabilitation project forward (*usiamolo / let's use it*). She is weaving a story within the plot of a more complex story, which is customized for a problem solving activity. The coordinator makes the reason for her selection explicit by formulating (05.04) the explicatory setting that she had already presented once more (01.04).

[LUCIA, EXCERPT 05]

05.01.COORD.: era su quella questione che dice il Daniel, no, da da
(°ricordare:°)

coming back to what Daniel pointed out

05.02.TYPOG.: sì bom era solo è successo due o tre vo[lte no allora
lo dico pe

*well it just happened a couple of times so I tell it
in order to*

05.03.COORD.: [no: nono ma
usiamolo lei

no no but let

us use it

05.04.COORD.: siccome lei, come centralinista sembra abbastanza
perfetta, noi dobbiamo fare in modo che lei esce di
qua (.) che (.) tutto quello che può acquisire l'ha
acquisito. Se no [è inutile che sta qua

*she, since she looks almost perfect as switchboard
operator, we need to find a way for her to have*

05.14.OFFICE: *yes*
dico chi è che mi ha chiamato, e non mi ricordavo più
(.) capita (.) non è:: poi c'è il momento dove c'è più
stress
*I thought who was it that called me and I could not
remember anymore (.) it happens (.) and then sometimes
the stress is higher*

05.15.COORD.: sì
yes

05.16.OFFICE: e il momento dove c'è meno stress però::=
and sometimes the stress is lower

05.17.COORD.: =.h e tu scusate P- Natan stavi dicendo:=
and you Natan what were you going to say?

05.18.FREET.: =.h nie[nte
.h nothing

05.19.COORD.: [Il Why Not tu le hai fatto delle proposte?=
*With the Free Time activities did you propose
her something?*

The office manager casts a story similar to Lucia's problematic episode on the stage. But the office manager is now the actor of the story. This move has a normalizing effect, amplified by adducing an external variable that may cause an apparent lack of mastery in dealing with phone calls.

Framed in this way, the client's lack of mastery in dealing with phone calls is no longer useful to problem solving: it depicts a situation that does not require any rehabilitative or educational intervention; moreover it points to external contingencies which are beyond the team's control.

At this point the coordinator (05.17) resumes the story offered by the free time manager (04.02).

The free time manager (04.02) had told the team that Lucia has never joined in Free Time activities. The free time manager's storytelling embraces the time in which Lucia has been client at Centro a.D. in its entirety. Evaluation is constructed through an implied contrast. The free time manager hypothesizes two alternative scenarios that may explain the fact:

- mi chiedo se ha veramente una vita così attiva fuori / I wonder whether she really has such a busy social life
- o ogni tanto l'impressione iniziale era che un po' sapeva che centro era / or actually sometimes the initial feeling was that she knew the kind of center

The free time manager displays an inclination toward the second hypothesis: The first scenario is exaggerated (*veramente...così / really such a*) and it is introduced by an

evidential which implies a doubt (*mi chiedo se / I wonder whether*); the second is introduced by an experience-based evidential that objectivizes the point of view (*ogni tanto l'impressione iniziale era che / sometimes the initial feeling was that*). Moreover the second scenario is more complex and makes explicit a probable causal explanation (*quindi magari di vergognarsi di girare con / and so maybe she was embarrassed to hang out with*); the first is elliptic of the consequence clause.

The attribution of a cause to the fact that the client does not join in free time activities is relevant to casting the situation in a rehabilitation framework. In his reasoning about possible causes the free time manager indirectly mentions the project (*non e' obbligata / she doesn't have to do it*): project goals do not include an agreement to take advantage of free time services. Reference to the project is minimal and expressed with general (*vs* technical) terms. Project agreements concerning social relations will be explored later by the coordinator in detail.

When solicited to do so by the coordinator (05.17 and 05.19), the free time manager presents a second formulation of his point (05.20) that expands on the first one: the Free Time manager animates a scene in which he invites Lucia to join Free Time activities and Lucia is described as answering enthusiastically (*ah bello qui bello li' / that's interesting*, animated direct speech), inducing him to expect that she would come. In this formulation the free time manager uses the word *utenti / clients*, indexing a shared knowledge of the bad connotations that a center for free time activities could assume if it were joined exclusively by *utenti / clients*. In fact, when team members – in interviews but also in public presentations of their services such as on the web site and in various liflets – describe the Free Time activity service, they point out as a positive aspect the fact that the service is open and actually enjoyed by people who are not clients at Centro a.D. This aspect contributes to create a learning setting, where clients can face the norms on any recreational setting in mainstream society.

From a participation framework point of view, the free time manager does not request any feedback and his formulation does not project any uptake by any team member. He does not display any hypothesis about how to integrate his account in the narrative flow.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 05]

05.20.FREET.: =sì o: le ho fatto la presentazione e ogni tanto le butto là le cose (.) e: le dò il programma, legge ah bello qui bello là, però non è mai venuta a niente no .h ee la mia im- o è veramente impegnatissima oppure la mia idea (0.7) c- che ho cercato di parlarne così in generale, facendo- che ha l'idea che al why not vengono proprio solo utenti e quindi lei vuole forse

mettere un attimino di distanza (0.5) dico solo quello poi magari-

yes, I gave her a broad presentation and sometimes I invite her, I show her the calendar. She says that's interesting but she never came. Well, I have the feeling, either she is really too busy or my idea, and I tried to speak about that in general terms, is that she believes that Why Not is exclusively for Centro a.D.'s clients and maybe she wants to keep a distance. I just mention it, but maybe

The coordinator (05.21) uses the story offered by the free time manager to change the scope of inquiry: she asks about the client's social attitudes. The office manager (05.22) does not have elements to evaluate whether the client has a good social life or not. She demonstrates her lack of information by depicting a scenario that commonly happens in the office: employers and employees speak about what they did during the weekend. In those circumstances the client does not intervene; she is used to speaking only about her work. The office manager depicts the scenario without drawing any conclusion about the client's social life: the fact that the client does not say anything could be interpreted in a normalizing way, i.e. she simply does not want to speak about her private life; it could also possibly be interpreted as a sign that she does not have any social life.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 05]

05.21.COORD.: tu Michela, hai avuto qualche impressione? visto che magari chiaccherate in ufficio, sulla sua vita sociale?

and you Michela, did you come to any idea? may be in the office you have the chance to speak about her social life

05.22.OFFICE: sulla sua vita sociale niente. lei è molto: (0.4) cioè non ha mai detto perché a noi ci capita di parlare non so, cosa hai fatto al weeke:nd, o così, però lei nonn (.) cioè non ha mai detto niente al di fuori di quello °che è il suo lavo[ro ()°

nothing about her social life. I don't know, I mean: she has never told, because sometimes we speak about weekend, but she has never told something that does not concern her own job

Two other team members intervene, without being asked, to complete the evaluation offered by the office manager's turn.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 05]

05.23.FREET.: sembra che non [che non sta male
it seems like she is doing well

05.24.COORD.: [perché non- [nel colloquio di
progettazione:

because in the planning interview

05.25.COOK: [sì io la vedrei una ragazza che non ha
proprio problemi. a livello relazionale, anche come
uscite, così

*yes I would say I see her like a girl
that does not have any relational difficulty, also in
relation to go out*

05.26.OFFICE: m no mm
m no m

05.27.COOK: anche come pers- come si vede, no?
also in the way she looks like

The free time manager (05.23) provides a normalizing interpretation. The same normalizing interpretation is embedded in the evaluation given by the cook (05.25 and 05.27) who based his evaluation on his own observations unlike the FTM who based his evaluation on the office manager's discourse.

In spite of the impersonal form used by the FTM (*It seems*), the cook uses the first person and the verb *to see*, indexing personal experience as the basis for the evaluation.

Since the office provides services to every workplace, clients enrolled in in the office workplace are particularly exposed to the evaluation of every team member. Therefore it is legitimate for the cook to give an evaluation on the basis of his own experience. At this point the coordinator (05.28) provides her own contribution as case manager, by recalling Lucia's history. The coordinator's account embraces the background history of the client, before her arrival at Centro a.D. Lucia was depressed and she was in a hospital for a while; when she came out of the hospital she was isolated.

[LUCIA, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 05]

05.28.COORD.: nel colloquio che avevamo fatto di progettazione che c'era anche sua mamma, quello che era uscito è che lei però quando è venuta qua usciva (da Locarno) perché aveva avuto quel momento di depressione, dove non vedeva più niente per il suo futuro, ha un po' perso colpi da tutte le parti e lì pare, lei era tornata a vivere con la mamma e diceva no appunto la mamma era preoccupata anche perché lei si era isolata più che altro per il fatto che lei ha questa sorella, e avevano un giro di loro amici qua di Bellinzona che di solito frequentava, usciva eccetera .h e quando era tornata dalla clinica, abbastanza ancora comprensibilmente era appena uscita da quella situazione lì, c'era questo problema che sembrava che uscisse poco eccetera,

during the planning meeting, when her mother was there, it came out that when she arrived here she had just come out of the hospital, because she had a time in which she was depressed and she no longer saw anything good in her future. It seems she sank in every aspect of her life: she went back to living with her mom the mother said she was worried seeing her so lonely, because she has a sister and together they had many friends in town, with whom they used to hang out and when she came back from the hospital, it was quite understandable, because she was out from that condition, there was this problem that she didn't hang out

05.29.OFFICE: [aveva un po' la fobia no di uscire?

she was a little bit phobic of going outside, isn't it?

05.30.COORD.: [.h io poi non sono più::=

then I never

05.31.OFFICE: =°non c'era anche un problema ()°

wasn't it that there was a problem of

05.32.COORD.: perché aveva questo problema: di paura della gente, di uscire di casa da sola che aveva l'ansia, insomma, questo era uno dei problemi per cui era venuta qua e non è andata fuori. Però la richiesta che noi avevamo era soprattutto sul lavoro an- .h e:: diciamo che: sse

io la vedo glielo posso anche chiedere se:: se mi capita di fare un collo[quio

because she had this problem of being scared of people, of going out alone, she was anxious, she had insomnia, this was one of the problems because of which she came here instead of looking for a job outside. But they asked us most of all about professional skills. Well, if I see her I can eventually ask her

As a case manager, the coordinator is more aware of clients' histories than other team members. Lucia is now represented on the narrative stage in a different light. The office manager exhibits a change in perspective. In her previous discursive intervention she had made evident that during working life she was not concerned about Lucia's social relationships (05.22). Now (05.29) she focuses on that issue and even fosters a more precise categorization of the problem than that which the coordinator was depicting. The office manager uses the word *fobia / phobia* which identifies a problem more serious than the plain acknowledgment that Lucia was apparently hanging out with friends too seldom. The coordinator and the office manager jointly construct a representation of Lucia as someone who has the fear of being with other people. The identification of this problem becomes a new interpretive resource to evaluate Lucia's current behavior . The office manager (05.33, 05.35, and 05.37) immediately uses the new resource to give a completely new formulation of her initial report.

05.33.OFFICE: [adesso vediamo un attimino
com'è=

let us see now how is it

05.34.COORD.: mm
mm

05.35.OFFICE: =con questo corso di contabilità perché io ho pensato,
bene o male se va al corso cioè: ci sarà anche altra
gente quindi, magari,
*with this accounting course, because I thought that if
she goes to the course in any case she will meet
people.*

05.36.FREET.: sì:

05.37.OFFICE: se invece lei non si è iscritta al corso un'ipotesi
può essere che magari il motivo è che non si è
iscritta al corso perché lei là si ritrova in mezzo
ad altra gente=

On the contrary, if she didn't enroll for the course, the reason may be that she didn't enroll because she would be among people there

05.38.COORD.: =allora restiamo così che se e:: lei, non si è iscritta al corso quindi deve fare un colloquio di progettazione con me e io entro in merito anche di questo

so, let's do that: if she didn't enroll for the course we tell her that she has to come to me to discuss her project and I will speak also about this point.

The office manager discursively represents herself as being aware of the problem (05.37): she claims to have already given meaning to the enrollment issue within a framework of social relationships and introduces the hypothesis that the fear of being with other people could be the reason why the client may not have enrolled in the course. The coordinator (05.38) recalls the agreement to check on the enrollment and ratifies the decision that if the client did not enroll, the project will be suspended and employers will refer the client to her for an evaluation of the situation. She commits herself to evaluating the situation also in relation to the problem of social relationships.

Notes on the example of Lucia

In this case the commitment that team members agree on at the end of the discussion is achieved using a decision reported by the client's employer in her opening statement as a starting point. Team members work around the reported decision: they progressively select episodes from the client's history and background that slowly constitute an interpretive framework to establish the significance of the decision in relation to the client's rehabilitation project.

Joint storytelling re-contextualizes the opening statement by moving back in time: there is an expansion of the time span included in narration. Moreover, as long as events are selected to be included in the narration, they are ordered on a timeline that is a causality line as well (Table 4-2). The time span taken into account ranges from the client's background, before her arrival at Centro a.D. to the future of her rehabilitation project, aimed at integrating her to an office workplace outside Centro a.D. Most of it falls into an undefined time between the previous week and the time she has spent at Centro a.D. as a whole.

TIME	EPISODES		
Background	<p>The client was depressed. She was in a hospital for a while. When the client came out of the hospital, she was unable to work again and she was scared to be with people.</p>		
History at Centro a.D.	The client asked Centro a.D. for help		
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>a) The client improved from a professional point of view (although she sometimes makes mistakes)</td> <td>b) The client has always avoided social activity.</td> </tr> </table>	a) The client improved from a professional point of view (although she sometimes makes mistakes)	b) The client has always avoided social activity.
	a) The client improved from a professional point of view (although she sometimes makes mistakes)	b) The client has always avoided social activity.	
<p>The client agreed with her employers to enroll in a computer course. The client may not have enrolled. Fear of being with people could be a possible reason why she did not enroll.</p>			
Past week	<p>Her employers decided to check the enrollment. They also decide they would refer her to the case manager and suspend her project if she had not enrolled</p>		
Present	<p>The office employer commits herself to check whether the reason why the client possibly did not enroll is related to her fear of being with people.</p>		
Future	<p>The office employer will check If she has not enrolled because of fear with people Coordinator will have a meeting with her to modify the rehabilitation project.</p>		

Table 4-2: The story of Lucia reconstructed during the meeting

Episodes are added by many participants but the coordinator plays the most important role in weaving causal relationships and in integrating everything into one story.

Positive and negative assessments of professional skills and relational attitudes are provided by multiple team members (see Table 4-3).

SPEAKER	POSITIVE ASSESSMENT	NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT
Office manager (01.01)	bene / it is fine	
Coordinator (01.04)	su quello che fa è perfetta / she is perfect at what she does	per entrare nel mondo dell'ufficio le mancano le competenze / for working in office settings she lacks some skills
Office manager (01.05)	molto in gamba / really good; professionalissima / completely professional	
Typographer (01.07)		una cosa un po' meno positiva / something less positive; fa un po' di casino ogni tanto
Cook (02.01)	molto cordiale al telefono / very kind at the phone	
Free time manager (03.06)	prende sempre correttamente [le telefonate] / always manages [the phone calls] in the right way	
Coordinator (05.04)	abbastanza perfetta / almost perfect	
Free time manager (05.23)	non sta male / she is doing well	
Cook (05.25)	non ha proprio problemi a livello relazionale / she doesn't have any relational difficulties	

Table 4-3: Assessments in the discussion about Lucia

Evaluation is supported by reporting direct experience: in the office manager's intervention (01.05), as well as the typographer's (01.07), the cook's (02.01), and the free time manager's (03.06).

The discussion exemplifies the use of alternative scenarios that the speakers build and compare through narrative reasoning (see Table 4-4).

SPEAKER	KINDS OF SCENARIOS	SCENARIOS
Office manager (01.01)	two possible past events	The client enrolled in the computer course
		The client did not enroll in the computer course
Meeting coordinator (01.04)	a real present situation <i>versus</i> a possible future situation	what the client does now at Centro a.D.
		the job that the client will possibly do outside in the future
Office manager (05.08, 05.10, 05.12, 05.14)	recurrent episodes in the client's life <i>versus</i> recurrent episodes in the speaker's life	The client was found to create confusion about phone calls
		she sometimes generates confusion in relation to phone calls
Office manager (05.14, 05.16)	two possible common situations	stress time
		slow down time
Free time manager (04.02) and again free time manager (05.20)	two possible situations	The client does not join free time activities because she already has a busy social life
		The client does not join free time activities because she consider has a bad consideration of it
Office (05.35, 05.37)	a possible future situation versus a possible past event	The client will go to the computer course
		The client did not enroll in the computer course because of her fear of being with people

Table 4-4: Scenarios in the discussion about Lucia

The meeting coordinator leads evaluative work:

- She distinguishes between evaluation related to the work that the client is currently doing and evaluation related to her prospective job;
- she leads team members back to thinking in terms of training within the framework of the rehabilitation project;
- she inquires on the client's competence concerning both professional skills and relational attitudes;
- she provides resources that help in giving meaning to episodes that are cast on the narrative stage; in particular for:
- Exploring different interpretations of the fact that the client is not joining free time activities;
- Understanding the relevance of the client's enrollment in a computer course.

Looking at how the discussion is closed, we can point out that the evaluation embedded in the institutional story is on-going, since the decisions that team members make are conditioned to a further evaluation on client's behaviour.

The example of Teo: the sponge episode

Team members discuss the situation of Teo, a client who works in the cookery workplace. Teo is a difficult client and team members have often expressed their frustration with him.

The discussion I'm going to analyze can be summarized in 3 points:

1. A past interpretation is reported by the employer and the coordinator: in the past they had acknowledged the client's lack of basic skills to work in the kitchen and an intervention was made to correct his behavior. They report that the client was warned that if he did not learn he would be demonstrating that he was not interested in working with Centro a.D.
2. An example of the client's bad behavior is reported and the episode is interpreted as a sign of low interest by the employer and the coordinator.
3. The report about how the lack of interest is read by the case manager as caused by something that can be fixed at the relational level through psychotherapy.

The meeting coordinator (01.01) asks the client's employer (the cook) to report about an intervention that team members had planned during their last meeting.

The coordinator's turn includes mention of a decision jointly taken by team members and the question she addresses to the cook sets the co-orientation of every participant toward a shared knowledge.

[TEO, EXCERPT 1]

01.01.COORD.: il Teo allora (0.2) ci spieghi un po'? avevamo concordato appunto:: un intervento, l'altra riunione?
so, Teo (0.2) can you explain to us a little bit? we just agreed on an intervention during the last meeting

In the subsequent turn the cook (01.02) labels the intervention as "the cleaning intervention" but he immediately gives the floor back to the coordinator without further elaboration.

[TEO, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 1]

01.02.COOK: e:: l'intervento sì che continuava ad andare e` quello della pulizia, no? (0.2) è quello che stai di[cendo?
the intervention, yes, that was going on, it is the cleaning one, isn't it? are you talking about that?

The coordinator then clarifies what the cleaning intervention is. It consists of giving the client cleaning tasks instead of cookery tasks. The coordinator explains the reason for the cleaning intervention: i.e., that the client had performed unhygienic acts during his duty in the kitchen.

The coordinator repeats this explanation twice (01.03 and 01.05) in a formula that indexes the content of the rehabilitation paradigm.

By using the imperfective tense and a cause-effect structure the coordinator implicitly represents the intervention as driven by a norm (*che se aveva un problema di igiene tu non lo potevi far lavorare come cuoco / that if there was a problem with hygiene you could not let him work as a cook – sentence underlined by a change in prosody*). One rationale for invoking a norm is that clients have to learn how to behave in workplaces. When clients behave in some way that is not adequate to the setting (e.g. to a workplace), team members have the obligation to give them feedback because clients need to be made aware of setting-specific consequences of their behavior.

01.03.COORD.: [avevamo
concorda:to che LUI e: lo faceva lavorare non come CUOCO
ma sulle pulizie perché aveva fatto questi gesti,
we had agreed on the decision that he would make him work not as a cook but on cleaning tasks because he had done these things before,

01.04.PSYCH*: poco igieniche
unhygienic

01.05.COORD.: e avevamo concordato che l'avrei chiamato su IO °e l'abbiamo fatto io e Fabian assieme perché è uno di quei casi che sto passando a Fabian° avevAMO concordATO che l'avremmo chiamato a livello di progetto per capire al di là del problema di igiene che c'era stato il tuo

intervento che era stato perfetto °che se aveva un problema di igiene tu non lo potevi far lavorare come cuoco e chiedevi di dimostrarti un impegno°, per CAPIRE se era motivato, se era ancora interessato a un futuro di cuoco o no.

and we had agreed on the fact that I would call him we had agreed on the decision to call him in order to get him to understand about the hygiene problem aside from your intervention which had been perfect that if there was a problem with hygiene you could not let him work as a cook and that he needed to show commitment, so you could understand whether he was interested or not, whether he was still interested in a future as a cook or not.

In (01.05) the coordinator contextually recalls another decision made by the team members during the last meeting: they had decided to organize a planning interview with the client in order to inquire about the client's interest in and commitment to the rehabilitation project. By recalling this second decision, the meeting coordinator makes reference to the rehabilitation project as a whole; in the context of which the cleaning intervention acquires a more critical meaning.

The meeting coordinator engages in a detailed report of the planning interview (that I do not include here) in which she reviews the entire history of Teo as a client at Centro a.D, from initial goals to projected future developments. By reporting the dialogue with Teo, the meeting coordinator activates the client's history in the memory of team members and makes it available on the narrative stage. The significant facts that the coordinator mentions are:

- Before coming to Centro a.D. the client had some experience working in restaurants.
- When the client arrived at Centro a.D, he was not sure about the kind of job he was interested in.
- However he started a project to be trained as a cook.
- The client proved to be completely unable to follow hygiene rules at work.
- Moreover, he was unable to establish an appropriate relationship with the employer or any social contact.

The coordinator reports that during the planning interview, the client had verbalized the intention to work in the kitchen. The planning intervention had ended with an agreement:

i.e., the client would demonstrate this intention in practice; he would put effort into the job, into social relationships and into personal hygiene. The client was made aware of the fact that he was under evaluation and that the cleaning tasks that the employer would assign him would be the opportunity to demonstrate his commitment to his project through diligent work. The alternative would be to give up the project: *gli abbiamo spiegato che l'alternativa, se lui non vuole fare questa cosa qua, sono i laboratori protetti / we had explained to him that the alternative, if he doesn't want to do this, is a sheltered workplace.*

Sheltered workplaces are a completely different proposal than Centro a.D. workplaces. In both cases, clients accomplish professional activities in a context that is different from mainstream workplaces. In both cases, clients are “inside” (inside a social institution) instead of “outside” (in a normal workplace). But the inside of Centro a.D. is designed as a transition for the client to an outside workplace. On the contrary, being inside a sheltered workplace means suspending any plan to attain autonomy and accepting to play the role of a mental patient. The client displays awareness of this: *lui dice no no perché io penso che posso tornare nel mercato del lavoro/he says no, no because I think I can go back into the labor market.*

Given the content of the dialogue with the client that the coordinator reports, the rehabilitation project is depicted as being at a critical point. After the dialogue with the coordinator, the client was supposed to be aware of the fact that his behavior had led to a suspension of cookery activities and that he had the choice to modify that behavior if his aim was to work as a cook. If he did not modify his behavior however, that would be interpreted as a sign of his loss of interest in the project.

The coordinator's report works as a preface to the upcoming storytelling. As a preface, it makes available to the team the interpretation previously given by team members to the client's unhygienic acts and the function of the cleaning intervention. This constitutes a background which is ready to be used in the interpretation of events that will be presented in the upcoming storytelling since it provides an explicatory setting to interpret the episode.

[TEO, EXCERPT 2]

02.01.COORD.: esatto, gli abbiamo spiegato questa cosa qui, che l'alternativa, se lui aveva questo atteggiamento QUA, sono i laboratori protetti e lui dice no no perché io penso che °posso tornare nel mercato del lavoro e allora cambia atteggiamento° perché l'alternativa sono i laboratori protetti della Diamante e COMUNQUE se non ti

attivi su quelle cose un foyer è un posto dove almeno ti aiutano a socializzare per forza visto che mangia dorme e basta quando è a casa, no? (0.5) eravamo d'accordo su questo, almeno lui sembrAVA (.) d'accOrdo (.) su questo tipo di atteggiamento qui, e in realtà giorni dopo: =

exactly and we had explained to him that the alternative, if he doesn't want to do this, is a sheltered workplace and he says no no because I think that I can go back into the labor market so now change your attitude because the alternative is a sheltered workplace at Diamante or in any case a foyer where they at least help you in socializing whether you like it or not since at home he just eats and sleeps, isn't it? we had agreed on this, or at least he looked like he agreed to this kind of approach but actually in the following days

02.02.COOK: =sì dopo è successo, quello lì appunto: pe[rché
yes after that it happened

02.03.COORD.: [il giorno dopo
the day after

02.04.COOK: perché io tentavo di mandar lì la rag(h)azza, proprio per beccarlo qua, eh, ho messo giù la rete, e dico quando entra °proprio per dire° che cosa mi stai dimostrANDO, se non mi lavi bene le cose, che cosa vuoi DIRMI? °come devo leggere questo comportamento°. Ed è arrivato tutto da solo, è bastato che ho lasciato tutta la rete lì. E infATTI unna una:: una mattINA gli di[co
the day after- because I tried to send the intern girl there, I say look here, eh, I set a trap, and just when he comes in to tell him, what are you showing me, if you don't do things properly, what do you want to tell me, how shall I read your behavior? And everything happened spontaneously, it was enough to leave the trap there. In fact one morning

02.05.INTERN: [ieri
yesterday

The cook (02.02 and 02.04) begins telling about an episode (“the sponge episode”) that had happened in the kitchen during the last week. A young woman working with him in the cookery workplace as an intern is going to be the co-teller.

In her previous turn the coordinator provides the cook with words to begin his storytelling (*e in realtà giorni dopo* / but actually in the following days). By using the adversative adverb *in realtà* / *but actually*, the coordinator makes it explicit that the following turn represents a contrasting addition to what had been said until now. The narrative that has been developed up to this point builds a scenario in which the client seems to have the intention to prepare himself to work outside (*lui dice no no perché io penso che posso tornare nel mercato del lavoro* / *he says no no because I think that I can go back into the labor market*). The following story is cast as evidence to conclude the contrary: the client has no intention of preparing himself to work outside. The cook even says that he had already formulated this hypothesis. He expected the client to do something contrasting with his expressed determination to engage in the rehabilitation project (*ho messo giù la rete...proprio per dire che cosa mi stai dimostrando* / *I set a trap...exactly to say what are you showing me*)

In the coordinator’s long report, the narrative embraced the whole history of the client. Now the discourse focuses on facts that occurred in the real time of the past week. The cook and the intern are legitimate co-tellers in the story and they alternate their voices to complete the report of events. have the function of third party to each other: each of them gives more authority to the speech of the other one.

[TEO, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 2]

02.06.COOK: ieri. (.) gli dico di cambiare i:l, abbiamo delle spugnette speciali in cuicina, che era un po’ nera, per l’usura no? dico CAmbiala. e::: bom dopo c’era la pausa vanno, io prendo questa e la butto via, così dopo la cambia prima di °tornar su° (0.2) C’era LE:I (0.2) Dai racconta un po’
yesterday I tell him to change the, one of the special sponges we have in the kitchen that was kind of black from wear and tear and I tell him change it. well then during the lunch break they go, I take this sponge and I throw it away, so that he will change it before coming

back upstairs. She was there. Come on tell some of the story

(0.2)

02.07.INTERN: no niente stavo entrando in cucina, e vedo che c'è: sto Teo che sta strusando nel e: e: nel cesto della::

well I was going into the kitchen and I see that Teo is looking into the bin

02.08.COOK: della bouvet

the trash bin

((risate))

((laughers))

02.09.INTERN: eh: sì: nel e: nella spazzatura, sì. io ero lì, guardavo cercando di non farmi troppo calar via: e cioè ero lì a guardare che cosa stava face:ndo, (.) vedo che tira fuori dalla spazzatura questo straccio pieno di roba sporca e:: comincia a lavare i piatti.

the trash yes. I was there, I was watching trying to go unnoticed and I see him pick this sponge covered with dirty stuff out of the trash and start to wash the dishes

02.10.PSYCH*: orco cane

oh hell!

02.11.TYPOG.: ma lo fa apposta, o::

but does he do it on purpose or

((ovazione di scandalo))

((chorus of scandal))

The story provokes a choral reaction of indignation.

The cook (02.12) hints at his evaluation of the sponge episode: he interprets it in the anticipated context of testing the client's commitment to the project. (*e infatti questo per me e' un messaggio chiaro / and in fact that sounded like a clear message to me*). Then he reports the words that he had used with the client to evaluate the event.

[TEO, CONTINUED FROM EXCERPT 2]

02.12.COOK: cioè sì per me questo è un messaggio chiaro (.) e infatti io l'ho PRESO e prima di tutto gli ho fatto sentire la

sua indignazIONE guarda, una persona che ha osservATO, che non è del lavoro quindi non ha osservato in uno spirito critico come il mio che sono un professionista, no. dico che cosa vuoi dirci qui? non funziona, a me dispiace ma io non posso che: e: rimandarti:

and in fact that sounded like a clear message to me, and so I called him and first of all I made him see her indignation: look, someone who observed, who is not part of this work and therefore did not observe from the critical point of view that I have, I who am a professional, I say what do you want to tell us? it doesn't work, I'm sorry but I'm compelled to refer you back to

The sponge episode acquires significance in light of the rehabilitation project. The meeting coordinator had just summarized recent developments in the rehabilitation project: it was part of agreements that the client would pay attention to hygienic rules in the kitchen in order to show his interest in working as a cook. When presenting the episode after the introduction of this framework, the only possible consequence projected is a suspension of the project. The inevitability of this consequence is uttered in the reported speech of the cook to the client (*mi dispiace ma io non posso che rimandarti / I'm sorry but I'm compelled to refer you back to.*) As the significance of the episode is already clear, team members do not need to explore it in the meeting.

The problem that is constructed in the narrative is configured as a lack of minimal skills to work in a kitchen. This lack seems to be incredibly serious (client is not able to follow even the most simple hygiene norms). But the lack of skills is aggravated by another element: i.e., the client demonstrated his complete inability to behave acceptably during a period of time that had been defined as a test time when the client was aware of that (*gli abbiamo spiegato che l'alternativa sono I laboratori protetti, lui sembrava d'accordo su questo / exactly and we had explained to him that the alternative, if he doesn't want to do this, is a sheltered workplace*). The cook's account of what transpired in the kitchen implicitly discharges him from the responsibility of rehabilitating the client.

An important aspect of the rehabilitation paradigm is that team members are confident with the clients' level of commitment and consider them rational. When team members evaluate clients, they cannot depict immovable limits such as mental deficits and the way the cook comments on the sponge episode, fulfils these requirements

In fact the situation is described as a lack of commitment to the rehabilitation project and the language is rich in terms that refer to the domain of intentionality (*che cosa mi stai dimostrando / what are you showing me, eravamo d'accordo / we agreed on, and so on*).

The necessary consequence depicted by the cook is an interruption of the client's participation at the workplace, so that the cook would no longer be involved and the case manager would be responsible for making a decision about the future of the rehabilitation project.

At this point the case manager takes a turn¹⁶ and makes an extended description (not included here) of his meeting with the client. The case manager reports to team members what he said to the client. In this way he shares with them his interpretation of the client's situation, which reinforces the moral that the narrative had been claiming up to this point. That is, the client's behavior provides evidence that he is not committed to working in the kitchen because any normal person can follow minimal rules – and the case manager clearly states that the team considers the client to be normally talented – unless one intentionally does not want to do so. And in the context of a test, an intentional violation of norms indicates that the client is not committed to the project.

[TEO, EXCERPT 3]

03.01.PSYCH.: E: in fondo: pensavo che: non era così GRAVE. (0.8.) Bom al che ho insistito giusto un attimino, ma mi scusi, cioè lei mi sta dicendo che proprio non se ne è reso conto, che era completamente fuori dal mondo oppure (che ha pensato mentre lo stava facendo?) si no no ci ho pensato. E secondo lei in quel momento lì se Giordano fosse stato lì sarebbe stato contento? no no no. Quindi . gli ho chiesto . quindi allora adesso che cosa pensa di fare? perché avevamo appena fatto un colloquio di valutazione settimana scorsa, gli ho: un po' RIDETTO un po' tutto quello di cui avevamo discusso, quindi anche se veramente quello era il suo obiettivo, di andare a fare un lavoro fuori, se ci teneva al progetto qui, se quello era il suo atteggiamento, quindi gli ho chiesto, Teo, ma mi faccia capire, perché io non posso pensare che lei sia COSÌ

¹⁶ in this case the case manager is not the meeting coordinator but one of the two psychotherapists.

Well, really I didn't think that it was serious. At that point I insisted a little bit. But sorry, you are telling me that you really did not realize that it was something completely wrong or that you (thought about it while you were doing it.) Yes no I didn't think about it. And do you think that Giordano would have been happy if he had been there? no no no. And so, I asked him, so now what do you think you are going to do? Because we just had had an evaluation talk the week before and I quickly repeated to him everything we had discussed and so was that really his goal, to go work outside, was he interested in a project with us, was that his attitude, and then I asked him Teo let me understand because I cannot think that you are so

03.02.PSYCH*: deficiente

stupid

03.03.PSYCH.: MALATO, fuori di testa: da non rendersi conto che quello che stava facendo non andava bene. Che cosa mi sta dicendo? Mi sta dicendo allora che quello che stiamo chiedendo qui non le interessa così TANTO, che stare in questo momento a tutte queste regole lei non ci sta BENE, anche perché l'altra volta mi ha detto che lei si sente già pronto per andare fuori. Lui mi ha detto questo sì, mi pesa un po' tutto questo. no? ok? allora cosa sente di, quali sono le alternative che ci sono? allora:: non lo so.

sick, so mad as to not even realize that what you were doing was not ok. What are you telling me? Are you telling me that you are not really interested in what we ask you to do here, that you are not comfortable at the moment with following all these rules, also because another time he told me that he feels that he is already ready to go outside. And he said to me yes, all this is too much for me. no ok but so what do you want which alternatives do you have? at that point I don't know

The dialogue, from this point until the end, is strictly between the coordinator and the two psychotherapists¹⁷ In reporting the meeting with the client, the case manager inspects the entire history of the client at Centro a.D. The client's history is coupled with an interaction history, in which team members have been discussing and interpreting the client's progress or deterioration over time. This entire interaction history is employed to reach the conclusion that the client does not want to be rehabilitated.

The narrative that had been developed until the cook's last turn did not afford any possibility of intervention., but after that, the case manager attempts a further elaboration. He repeats the evaluation presented by the cook and then he reports the development of his dialogue with the client, in which he inquired as to the reason why the client did not want to be rehabilitated.

The case manager's discourse elaborates the problem construction by suggesting the hypothesis that the client had "something to fix" in his life. This hypothesis opens a new possibility of intervention within Centro a.D, i.e. psychotherapy. The team members jointly formulate a plan and the coordinator finally closes the discussion. She ratifies a commitment for the case manager. That is, he will invite the client to take advantage of psychotherapy services at Centro a.D.

Notes on the example of Teo

As anticipated before to analyze the discussion about Theo, this sequence can be summarized in three points:

1. A past interpretation is reported by the employer and the coordinator: in the past they had acknowledged the client's lack of basic skills to work in the kitchen and an intervention was made to correct his behavior. They report that the client was warned that if he did not learn he would be demonstrating that he was not interested in working with Centro a.D.
2. An example of the client's bad behavior is reported and the episode is interpreted as a sign of low interest by the employer and the coordinator.
3. The report about how the lack of interest is read by the case manager as caused by something that can be fixed at the relational level through psychotherapy.

¹⁷ the one who is also director and the one who plays the role of a case manager.

TIME	EPISODES
Background	The client works as a cook
History at Centro a.D.	During the first meeting, when he comes to Centro a.D. he is not sure about his personal goals: he doesn't know which kind of job he wants to do.
	He does some "unhygienic" acts.
	During the meeting team members decide to let him work on cleaning instead of working as a cook and to have a meeting with him.
Past week	During the meeting he says that he wants to be a cook and that he does not want to lose his invalid pension completely. They decide that the rehabilitative project will go ahead only if the client shows that he is putting effort into working, taking care of his body and having social relationships.
	The client does an unhygienic act again.
	The client's employer has another meeting with the client.
	The case manager (psychotherapist) has another meeting with the client.
Present	Team members decide what to do with the client
Future	The case manager will ask the client to request psychotherapy. The project will be in stand by. The client will spend some time in an external workplace

Table 4-5: The story of Teo reconstructed during the meeting

The discussion focuses on three episodes that have occurred in the immediate past preceding the meeting: The three episodes are recounted in the order in which they occurred and constitute a long linear story made up of three segments, each of them voiced by a main teller:

- the planning intervention
- the cook recounting about the sponge episode
- the meeting between the client and the case manager

The two meetings (before and after the sponge episode) are venues for an evaluation of the client's project through the reviewing of his history. By reporting the dialogue with the client, the coordinator and the psychotherapist (both of them in the role of a case manager) bring onto the narrative stage events belonging to the past: the client's background as a

cook, his arrival at Centro a.D. and the difficult development of the rehabilitation project. The sequence of events depicts a situation that seems to be without any future from a rehabilitation point of view: the client demonstrated that he does not want to pursue the project. The sequence that leads from the planning interview to the hypothesis of suspending the project is linear. Integration between different turns is very high (speakers complete each other's sentences and mutually suggest words: e.g., 01.03/01.04; 02.05/02.06; 02.07/02.08; 3.01/03.02.03.03). As a result, the narrative does not include uncertain points that would leave the door open to joint exploration and construction of a solvable problem.

The example of Lucia displays a different structure. Events are recounted without any or with uncertain projection about their significance: during narration conjectures are made about relationships among recounted episodes; the explicatory setting is explored and slowly disclosed while weaving the plot of the story.

On the contrary in this example the events sequentially recounted have close relationships with each other: events that come first constitute an explicatory setting for the ones that come after, so that each piece of the story is added when team members already have resources to attribute a meaning to it. The recounting of goals gives meaning to the sponge episode and the meeting in which the case manager evaluates the possibility of suspending the project appears as a logical consequence. The last point of the joint narrative introduces an element of uncertainty since an alternative interpretation of Theo's condition is explored. The recounting of the sponge episode does not contain assessments: events do not need to be commented upon. When the storytelling comes to the end there is a choral reaction of indignation.

This reaction is mirrored in the report of the meeting between the client and the case manager; the case manager wants to make the client aware of the message that he sends when he behaves in such an unprofessional way by retrieving a sponge from the trash.

Throughout the sequence there are numerous references to the features that a rehabilitation project at Centro a.D. is supposed to have: every speaker in different ways repeats (and reports that they have repeated to the client) that in order to go on there must be evidence of intention. It is the norm that shapes both the discussion and the way in which they manage the project.

The example of Ida: role misunderstanding

The third example is an excerpt from a discussion about Ida who is a client working in the typography workplace. As usual, the discussion of the client's situation begins with the opening description provided by the client's employer (in this case the typography manager). He reports the client's behavior during an appointment that employers and employees are supposed to hold periodically in order to evaluate client's progress in working activity.

[IDA, EXCERPT 1]

01.01.TYPOG.: no sono stato molto contento perché: ha cominciato a parlare fuori lei le ho domandato un po': secondo lei cosa pensava, che doveva migliorare o come si trova in atelier si trova bene, e praticamente ha detto quello che le avrei poi detto io dopo deve migliorare la sua:: la sua- la sua: costanza e:: la sua concentrazione (1.5) comunque:: (0.2) sono contento (0.2) vedo che real[IZZI
well I was really happy because she started speaking herself and I asked her what she thinks she needs to improve on or how she is doing in the workplace she is doing well and basically she said what I would have told her myself then she needs to improve in relation to consistency and concentration, anyway I am happy

01.02.OFFICE: [si è
resa conto
she realized

01.03.TYPOG.: [cioè hai u- hai un obiettivo hai l'obiettivo (.)
ma realizzi che:: (.) devi migliorare in questo adesso
appunto l'obiettivo per questi tre mesi (0.2) è proprio
quello no? (0.2) in più ha chiesto se poteva fare anche
un po': di computer e così, le ho detto che glielo
lascierò fare, vedrò ancora in questa settimana (.) un po'
come: come come va (.) perché (.) l- lo vede anche lei
però gliel'ho detto ancora, no, si alza ancora un po'
troppo ad andare: al gabinetto, e ultimamente: al mattino
appunto: è mancata, un po' di volte e: mi ha de- cioè lei

praticamente lei ha detto che farà uno sforzo (.) per riuscire a:: (.) e le ho anche spiegato: (0.2) appunto che se va:: si sta preparando adesso maga- anche per per fare qualche stage in futuro per andare fuori, le dico queste cose qua dobbiamo metterle a posto QUANDO vai fuori °cioè°

I said I see that you understand you have to improve in this but you understand that you have a goal and you have to improve in this now the goal for the next three months is to improve in this. Moreover she asked to work a little bit with the computer and I said I will let you do that I will see how things go next week. and she understands by herself but I told her again she moves from the working desk too often to go to the bathroom and last time she sometimes did not show up for work in the morning and she said well she basically said that she will put effort in it and I also explained to her that if she goes- she is preparing herself to do an internship outside in the future- those aspects need to be fixed

The presentation of the client's situation begins with a positive assessment (*sono stato molto contento / I was really happy*) about what came out during the summit that the employer and the client held during the past week. By reporting the dialogue between the client and himself, the typographer notifies team members that the client has a problem - i.e. a lack of concentration and consistency - and that he agreed with her to work on concentration skills (*deve migliorare la sua costanza, la sua concentrazione / she needs to improve in relation to consistency and concentration; l'obiettivo per questi tre mesi è di migliorare in questo / the goal for the next three months is to improve this*). After that, the employer lays out another issue that he discussed with the client: i.e., the client wants to work with the computer. The typographer's answer to this request was that he could not satisfy it until the client ceased to exhibit concentration problems. In this second mention of the problem with concentration (*gliel'ho detto ancora / I said her again*) the employer touches on two specific aspects of the client's behavior:

- She moves from the working desk too often to go to the bathroom;
- She sometimes does not come to work. in the morning

- Moreover, the problem is evaluated in relation to project goals for the immediate future (i.e. an internship in an outside workplace).

One rationale for this answer would be that the employer fears the possibility that working with the computer would complicate the concentration problem. This rationale is made explicit in the hypothesis formulated by the coordinator in her next two turns. By exploring the relationship between computer and concentration, the coordinator ascribes the cause of the problematic behavior to features of the job task. This hypothesis affords intervention possibilities because the choice of job tasks is absolutely changeable by team members.

(0.8)

01.04.COORD.: e sui lavori? lo fa di più mentre fa i lavori del computer, °che si alza e si perde via°

and what about her job tasks? Does she do that more often when she works with the computer that she stands up and gets lost in thought?

01.05.TYPOG.: cioè (0.2) LEI me l'ha me l'ha confermato che lo faceva di più QUA °quando faceva il computer (0.2) che là°

I mean, she told me that she was doing that more often when she was working on the computer than away from it

01.06.OFFICE: da noi la se alzava TANTO, cioè: [tipo

when she was with us she was standing up so much, like

01.07.TYPOG.: [da me: e:: non così

tanto, però bom io non sono sempre lì in atelier (.)
però: (0.2) forse un caso però: l'altro giorno sono arrivato lì tre volte che sono arrivato in atelier e tre volte che non c'era (0.2) °comunque:°

with me not so much, but well I am not there all the time but maybe it is a coincidence but the other day I went there I went to the workplace three times and the three times she was not there

01.08.COORD.: no dicevo se hai notato se:: ha ricominciato a farlo di più perché ha ricominciato a fare i lavori al computer perché lì magari si sconce[ntra

no I was asking whether she started to do that more often again because she started working at the computer again because there she possibly loses concentration

01.09.TYPOG.: [no adesso intanto non ha ancora
fa[ttò

no till now she has not

01.10.COORD.: [ah: perfe:-- (0.2)

ah that's perfect

The client's employer (01.09) clarifies that at the current moment the client is not working with the computer. He shows that he based his judgment - i.e., that working with the computer would not be helpful - on past episodes in the client's history. The history reveals that the client had already been working with the computer; in that circumstance she used to experience even more concentration problems than now. Reference to the client's history affords the participation of the office manager who had previously been the employer of Ida and who had been giving her computer tasks.

The coordinator (01.12) underscores the importance of making the client aware of the reason why the typographer denies the computer request. The coordinator directs the employer to give a clear explanation to the client and she reformulates the rationale of the employer's choice in more explicit terms.

The coordinator's directive act (at 01.12, *glielo dici bene / can you explain it to her clearly?*) is consistent with an important aspect of employers' deontology which is the importance ascribed by the rehabilitation paradigm to verbalization. In other words, it is not enough for employers to organize workplace activities in function of goals, resources and limits of each employee. Training is effective if employees can understand the functionality of their duties.

01.11.TYPOG.: le ho detto ti lascerò, farai anche il computer però: (.)
cioè (.) non gliel'ho detto proprio però v- voglio vedere
che si metta a posto un po' queste co:[se

*I told her I will let you, you will also do computer jobs
but- well I did not really tell her- but I want to see
that these aspects are fixed*

01.12.COORD.: [eh glielo dici bene? perché secondo me è importante che
lei VUOLE fare quei lavori lì allora PRIMA mantiene la
costanza, perché là è veramente a rischio

can you explain it to her clearly? because I think that it is important that she wants to do such jobs so she first becomes constant because there really is a risk there

01.13.TYPOG.: no (.) gliel'ho detto nel senso non del computer nel senso (.) magari, di- gliel'ho detto l'ultimo mese se riusciamo a mettere a posto queste cose possiamo anche proprio provare a fare una settimana di stage da qualche parte (0.2) per vedere un po'::

no I told her not in relation to the computer but in relation to- maybe- I told her if we manage to fix those aspects we can also try the last month to do a one week internship somewhere, just to see kind of

01.14.COORD.: diglielo proprio anche da un punto di vista pratico, se lei ti fa quando lei ti fa di nuovo la richiesta prima voglio vedere che sei concentrata e non ti alzi (.) perché LÀ: è ancora più a rischio, perché l: è da sola così:: °è anche una cosa pratica° (0.8) e::=

tell her also from a practical point of view if she asks- when she asks you again, I want to see you concentrated first, and that you don't stand up because there she risks even more because she is alone. And in this way it becomes something practical as well

Since the employer (01.13) does not seem to understand the coordinator's directive act (01.12), the coordinator rephrases the request. She utters a complete direct-speech sentence as a model for what the employer is solicited to say. The coordinator asks for a communicative intervention that she labels as "practical point of view". Immediately after that, the coordinator introduces a different element: she holds the turn and changes topic of conversation.

01.15.COORD: =la Ida appunto da ieri è entrata a GerraPIANO¹⁸ (0.2)
(???)

well Ida has been living inside Gerrapiano since yesterday

¹⁸ Gerrapiano is a residence where Centro a.D. locates clients who need a living accommodation.

The coordinator tells team members that the client just moved to the residence that Centro a.D. offers as part of the housing solutions service. Until this point, the typographer had been the main teller of client's situation. The coordinator introduces a piece of information here that she has because she works with the client as a case manager. As a case manager, she monitors every aspect of the client's project and she is aware of facts that other team members possibly ignore. However, the coordinator does not complete her turn because she is interrupted by the typographer who reports another aspect of his dialogue with the client in which the client had made reference to the new living accommodation. She will come back to the topic of living accommodation further along in the discussion.

01.16.TYPOG: [ah ecco poi m'ha m'ha chie(h)sto he (0.2) e: volevo chiederle una cosa mi fa (.) se mi potrebbe dare qualcosa in più di: (.) paga.

ah, yes, then she asked me, ehm, I want to ask you something - she says - if you could pay me more

((The coordinator laughs))

(0.2)

01.17.TYPOG.: però mi ha detto anche il perché perché adesso vado a gerrapiano e: devo spendere 500 franchi al mese (0.2) gli ho detto che era già previsto, siccome che inizia (.) il nuovo contratto, adesso è un contratto di preparazione al lavoro e visto che lavora anche bene di paga gli ho dato un franco in più, sei franchi (0.2) e gli ho detto che se poi ha altri problemi finanziari di parlarne con te=

ah and now she asked me I wanted to ask you something - she said - if you can give me a little bit more money as salary but she also told me why - because - she said - now I moved to Gerrapiano and I'll pay 500 franks every month. And I said that it had been already decided since she started the new contract - and now it is a contract of preparation to work - and since she works well I added one frank to the salary, six franks and I told her that if she has other financial problems then, she has to speak with you

01.18.COORD.: =sì (.) anche perché non ce li ha m'ha detto anche la mamma nel senso che lei sta per arrivarle la rendita e quando avrà la rendita avrà un sacco di arretrati (.) e la mamma: °ha continuato a dire che qualunque cosa:, in questo periodo:, dà lei°. (0.8) [positivo che:
yes, also because we - also the mother said the invalidity pension is going to start and when it starts she will have a lot of back pay and the mother kept saying that anything - for the moment she can cover it.

The client asked the employer for a salary increase, adducing housing expenses as a reason for the request. The typographer reports to the team that he accorded a little increase and that he justified the increase by making reference to an upgrade in employment status (*inizia il nuovo contratto, il contratto di preparazione al lavoro / she started the new contract and now it is a contract of preparation to work*). The typographer demonstrates that he did not pay attention to the financial situation to which the client made reference when she asked for a salary increase. The typographer referred her to the case manager, who would be the right person to discuss financial problems. The choice to draw the attention to the type of contract – and to disregard economical problems - reflects his deontology. In particular, the typographer approach is consistent with the norm to maintain each context distinct from the others. Team members who play the role of an employer must avoid interfering with the work of team members who play the role of a counselor. And vice versa, counselors have the prohibition to interfere with employers' work.

The coordinator ratifies the decision and arguments for it. Her arguments are based on information she has as a case manager. She knows that the client's mother is eager to cover every expense in the immediate future because her daughter is going to receive an invalid pension soon.

The employer and the coordinator have different points of view on the same situation in relation to their roles. The employer looks at work constraints and efficiency issues. The coordinator as a case manager looks at the whole life situation of clients. The employer and the case manager carry out different aspects of rehabilitation that complement each other. Multiple points of view are integrated during meetings.

After that, the employer takes the floor and calls his interlocutors' attention to the topic of drugs (01.19-01.23). He does not express his thought completely. However, his sentence hints at a possible relationship between drugs and concentration problems and it prompts the

coordinator to give information about the client's situation concerning pharmacological treatment.

- 01.19.TYPOG.: e::[volevo
and I want
- 01.20.COORD.: [positivo che:
good that
- 01.21.TYPOG.: dire anche un'altra cosa, che per la concentrazione che
avevamo parlato:
*I want to say something else, that for the concentration
that we spoke about (.) about drugs*
- 01.22.COORD.: sì(.)
yes
- 01.23.TYPOG.: dei farmaci
about drugs
- 01.24.COORD.: sì
yes
(0.5)
- 01.25.TYPOG.: e::
ehm
- 01.26.COORD.: dei farmaci >si era detto< (.)è un altro- sono questi
casi che ci sta mandando il Muller dove loro hanno avuto
un sacco di: ANNI di farmaci, per cui noi prima di
toccare di preciso quello dobbiamo potergli dimostrare
che stanno facendo delle cose in ordine (.) tra l'altro
>adesso< penso che sarà una fase delicata il primo mese
che è lì a: Gerrapiano quindi: sicuramente quando
supererà quello magari che migliora possiamo chiederlo.
*in relation to drugs yes it was said (.) it is another-
this is one of the cases that Muller is referring to us
in which people had many years of treatment so before
changing that we must show that they are doing really
well (.) moreover I guess that it will be a critical
phase the first month that she is there in Gerrapiano and
so of course when she improves we can ask about that*

The coordinator recovers elements of the client's history related to her treatments. She speaks about the client's background and she classifies the case into a broader set of cases in which clients had begun their project at Centro a.D. after a long history of pharmacological treatment. The coordinator assumes the point of view of the doctor who manages the client's treatment. She imagines that the doctor would be skeptical and opposed to a modification of the treatment. Moreover, the coordinator mentions the new living accommodation as another deterrent for the idea of modifying the therapy.

At this point the typographer extends his report. He mentions the problem of the client missing work in the morning although she seems to be interested in the job. His report alludes to the possible effect of her medication contributing to the problem. The coordinator solicits him to be explicit. He evades any explicit claim about drugs but continues to state that the client is highly committed to the project. He strengthens his claim by pointing out that the client verbally confirmed her appreciation for the job and for the workplace environment in general. The employer also invokes a third party to enforce his statement, i.e. the researcher who was present as participant observer during the evaluation summit.

01.27.TYPOG.: ma io mi chiedevo più: per il mattino quelle volte che non viene a lavorare (.) perché mi sembra molto motivata e non mi sembra che stia a casa così solo perché dorme mi son chiesto mà (.) cioè no:n

but I was wondering above all in relation to mornings those times she does not come to work because it seems to me she really is interested in the work and it does not seem to me that she could stay at home just because she sleeps I thought maybe-

01.28.COORD.: la tua impressione è per i farmaci? (0.2)

and your feeling is that it is a matter of drugs?

01.29.TYPOG.: non lo so perché, cioè: (.) ha fatto un discorso: anche: anche riguardo la motivazione proprio MOLTO motivata (0.2) °puoi chiedere anche a lei° (0.2) e: una così motivata, le piace anche dove lavora, le piace l'ambiente e:: ogni tanto alla mattina non mi arriva a lavor[ARE

I don't know because well (.) she talked also about motivation and interest, you can also ask her, and

someone so interested, she likes the place where she works, she likes the environment (.) and sometimes in the morning she does not show up at work

The psychotherapist takes the floor.

01.30.PSYCH.: [sì no quello: (.) cioè- sicuramente, il fatto è che diceva anche la mamma che ogni tanto a casa dà ancora segnali, comportamenti da malATA (0.2) e quindi la madre è MOLTO spaventata da tutto questo discorso della malattia che potrebbe ricadere da un momento all'altro etcetera (.) che probabilmente proporre in questo momento di cambiare la terapia, non lo capisce la madre, non lo capisce il medico e: quindi anche per lei forse cioè è prematuro (0.2) NON perché non ce la fa, perché forse non è ancora in CHIARO su tutti i vari contesti come deve: quale atteggiamento deve mantenere

that (.) I mean- of course the issue is that also her mom was saying that she still has symptoms sometimes, she behaves as a mental patient and therefore the mother is very scared about all this idea of the illness that could suddenly show up again etcetera so that asking to change the therapy now is something that the mother does not understand, the doctor does not understand and therefore also for her it is maybe too early not because she cannot but because she possibly doesn't yet have a clear understanding of appropriate behavior in different kinds of settings

The psychotherapist portrays the client's mother as worried since her daughter sometimes still manifests insane behaviour around family members. The psychotherapist explains that the client's mother is worried, since her daughter occasionally still manifests insane behaviour around family members. Based on the mother's comments, the psychotherapist makes a hypothesis matching the mother's description of the problem with the rehabilitation paradigm. This is summed up by explaining that the client doesn't yet have an understanding of appropriate behaviour in situational context.

01.31.COORD.: può darsi che adesso che è a Gerrapiano quella cosa lì la faccia anche meno, eh, anche il fatto che lei magari si può permettere di stare a casa al mattino °lì no° (.) quindi vediamo com'è, se però: continua ad esserci quella sensazione lì ricordamelo perché io comunque posso poi sentire Muller dicendogli al di là che tu tieni la stessa terapia se può controllare: ad esempio gli orari, se magari può fare qualche:: di controllare se:=

It may happen that now she is at Gerrapiano she will do that thing more seldom also the fact that maybe she could take the liberty of staying at home in the morning she cannot do that there. So let's see how it goes. But in case you still have that feeling remind me about this because in any case I can speak with Muller and tell him even if you maintain the same treatment if he can check for example the timetables, if he can do maybe something

At this point the coordinator does not take any position to align or misalign with client evaluations given by the employer and the psychotherapist.

The coordinator refers to information that she contributed to the team herself. She had previously used it to build a hypothetical causal relationship in which the change in living accommodation would have been the cause of negative effects. Now the same situation is seen as a possible cause of positive effects. This hypothetical scenario is alternative to another one: it could happen that no positive effect will occur. In relation to this scenario, the coordinator takes up the hypothesis that an inappropriate drug prescription causes the bad behavior. She depicts the possibility of making changes in relation to the schedule of drug consumption. The coordinator is able to use the hypothesis because she foregrounds the aspect of timing in the treatment. In this way the typographer's hypothesis becomes viable for planning an intervention.

The discussion reaches a point of closure here, with the ratification of a commitment.

Then the waitress takes the floor and launches a new story about Ida that challenges the established evaluation that the client is interested in and is satisfied with her job.

01.32.WAITR.: =Posso dire qualcosa di Ida? oggi mezzogiorno quando è arrivata (.) appunto mi dice ciao come stai, bene, grazie e te? e:: sono un po' stanca, è martedì e sei già stanca?

e: un po' così, però lei appunto mi dicEva, e sai sono là a fare i cartoncini

May I say something about Ida? when she came today - right - at lunchtime she tells me hi how are you? I'm fine thank you and what about you? well I'm a little bit tired (.) it is Tuesday and you are already tired? and so on but she was just telling me you know I'm just doing the cards.

01.33.TYPOG.: e abbiamo parlato anche di quello gliel'ho detto anch'io
yes we spoke also about that also I told her

01.34.WAITR.: e:: lei mi ha detto cartoncino oggi cartoncino domani e io dopo mi stufo, ((someone laughs)) ho detto ma VAI dal Daniel e diglielo no se c'è qualcosa: ma lei appunto non vorREBBE (.) e: perdere il computer perché non vorrebbe perdere=

she told me a card today a card tomorrow and then I get tired, I said well, go and tell Daniel if there is something wrong, but she would not let go of the computer, right, because she would not loose

01.35.TYPOG.: =io gliel'ho spiegato non sta solo facendo cartoncini questa set- cioè in questi tre giorni ha già fatto: quattro lavori diversi per esempio. perchè lei ha detto anche quello perché i cartoncini al limite son da fare anche quelli, però dico e:: proprio per per entrare nel- per via del computer,

I explained it to her but she is not doing only cards this week, I mean, in these three days she already did three different jobs for example. because she said also that, because also cards may need to be done, but I say, right to get into, because of the computer,

01.36.COORD.: no no ma teniamo

no no but let's stay on

01.37.WAITR.: cioè ma come la metti

I mean as you put her

01.38.TYPOG.: io gli ho fatto l'ESEMPIO

I gave her the example

01.39.WAITR.: sì

yes

01.40.TYPOG.: l'esempio guarda che se vai in- fuori a lavorAre, no? ci sarà (.) i- il lavoro che ti piace e quello che non ti piace

the example you have to know that if you go work outside there will be work that you like and work that you don't like

The waitress reports a conversation with the client at the bar. The client's employer reacts to the waitress' turn. He provides information that minimizes the importance of the dialogue between the client and the waitress. The psychotherapist reacts in another way to the same turn: he foregrounds and evaluates relational attitudes of the client displayed in the episode. The psychotherapist changes the interpretive framework in discussing the significance of the event.

01.41.PSYCH.: ma Daniel cioè:: °secondo me appunto è chiaro° è un po': >lo stesso discorso come il Davide< è che ogni tanto: prende un po' chi è che: passa ee::

but Daniel in my opinion it is plain I mean this is the same discussion as in the case of Davide it is that sometimes he picks up whoever is around and

The psychotherapist focuses on the kind of conversation held by the client and questions its appropriateness in relation to the kind of interlocutor, i.e. a workplace manager. Evaluation is mediated by a scenario: the speaker refers to a real episode that occurred in the past, in which the situation is the same but characters change. He uses this episode to highlight the client's lack of understanding with whom personal problems can be told.

01.42.TYPOG.: no ma lo dice anche a me eh

no but she says that also to me

01.43.WAITR.: [ma io l'ho vista

but I saw her

01.44.TYPOG.: [faccio l'esempio come come lavora io ho cominciato l'apprendista di tipografo le ho fatto l'esempio sono

stato una settimana con la scopa in mano (.) per dire eheh

I set the example for the way in which she works when I started the apprenticeship as typographer I set the example I had the broom in my hands for a week so to speak

01.45.OFFICE: mi sun stada (un mes) col stracc in man

I had been (a month) with the sponge in my hands

01.46.COORD.: no quindi è importantissimo che teniamo fermo su quello, l'ALTRA COSA che sta dicendo Rob, e che probabilmEnte lei e: lo faceva già prima e adesso È in un momento critico perché:: >deve iniziare a Gerrapiano quelle cose lì< può essere di nuovo che incomincia a girollare tra di noi, portando lì delle < cose > che non c'entrano niente con le persone

no well it is really important that we maintain that position, the other issue that Rob is mentioning, and she probably was doing that also before and now that she is in a critical phase because she is starting in Gerrapiano those things, it can be that she starts going around among us again speaking about things that have nothing to do with people

01.47.WAITR.: no lei l'ha < fatto > in un discorso, non è che voleva

no it was within a discussion, she did not intend

01.48.COORD.: si si

yes yes

The workplace managers resist the psychotherapist's move. They focus on the question of the client's interest and commitment to her work, approaching it in a normalizing way. They narrate second stories in which the typographer and the office manager take the place of the client as main character. They pass over the issue of "telling what to whom" seeing it as casual. They emphasize the importance for a young employee to accept tedious tasks as part of being a novice in a profession.

The coordinator (01.46) quickly ratifies the typographer's position and focuses on the topic foregrounded by the psychotherapist.

During this turn the coordinator makes reference again to the recent change in living accommodation as a variable that will possibly influence the project's development.

The coordinator's next turn (01.62) will include a brief reference to that, when she ratifies and develops the suggestion of one workplace employer (01.49 and 01.52) to avoid "how are you" questions being addressed to clients. The coordinator points out that such questions lead clients to forget how to distinguish among different life settings and how to follow the norms specified by each individual setting.

- 01.49.TYPOG.: una cosa che NOI non dovremmo f-
something that we should avo-
- 01.50.WAITR.: non è che l'ha fatto per una lamentela
she does not mean it as a complaint
- 01.51.COORD.: sì sì
yes yes
- 01.52.TYPOG.: una cosa che noi non dovremmo fare è che quando ti per
esempio ti domanda come stai e tu n non chiedergli come
sta
*something that we should avoid is when she asks you for
example how are you just don't ask her how are you doing*
- 01.53.COOK: lei è esperta ((probably referring to Olga))
her? She's an expert
((laughters))
- 01.54.PSYCH.: cioè
I mean
- 01.55.OFFICE: però è giusto chiedergli, possiamo informarci sul lavoro
but it is right to ask, we can ask about the work
- 01.56.COOK: come va il lavoro?
how is the work going?
- 01.57.PSYCH.: se no rischia di diventare subito il solito discorso no
lei era a mendrisio e quindi con i soliti operatori no
eccetera eccetera se facesse l bar no se lei va fuori a
mangiare no non le viene in mente parlare con il
ristoratore che e Daniel le fa fare i cartoncini cioè no?
non le passerebbe neanche

otherwise it tends to become the same old discussion you know like when she was in Mendrisio and so with typical social workers you know etcetera etcetera she would do you know if she goes outside to eat she would never think to tell the barman that Daniel makes her do the cards I mean - isn't it? she wouldn't think about it

01.58.WAITR.: si no ma io ho detto ma lei non ha detto come lamentele
yes no but she did not mean it as a complaint

01.59.PSYCH.: ma faniente, cioè l'obiettivo è quello di stoppare subito perché se no è un attimo, lei sa che quando vuole tirare fuori il cartoncino, viene da te, viene da me, no, come l'altro giorno a pranzo cominciava, ma [se
yes but that doesn't matter, I mean, the goal is to stop it immediatly because otherwise it is just a moment and she knows that when she wants to point out the issue of the card she can look for you or look for me, isn't it, like that day during lunch when she was starting

01.60.COORD.: [si
yes

01.61.OFFICE: ma a parte che io l'ho vista bene, eh
well but she looks fine, anyway

01.62.COORD.: no no ma (va) bene eh, stiamo attenti su quello perché può essere un momento più di- critico. l'altra cosa che era l'accorgimento che era saltato fuori l'altra volta dalla sua <drammatica esperienza> che forse non ci conviene tu non c'eri forse quella riunione lì e infatti- che ci avevamo riflettuto, che non conviene MAI coi nostri UTENTI e: chiedere come stai >che ci viene a tutti normale< no perché tra di noi, perché per i tipi di rapporti che si hanno qui, che avete voi come °con i-° datori di lavoro, fare quella domanda lì sei la persona con cui, GIUSTAMENTE lei te o dice, e poi te lo dice e tu la blocchi, dici no, non me lo devi dire, è il problema che aveva avuto lei, °con la° la Betta no che era sempre giù così, lei (.) non poteva comunicare su quelle cose lì, lei entrava no, quella come stai Tina, di solito

tanto lei non diceva niente bom un giorno ha cominciato ad aprire il libro >e chiaramente poi è difficile dire< non ti sto a sentire perché poi (0.2) più che altro sono piccoli accorgimenti, che è difficile perché è più NORMALE (.) dire (.) come STAI, però è vero che per quello che facciamo noi qua rischiano di diven di essere domande che che ci cacciamo nei guai da soli

No well but let's pay attention to that because it is possibly quite a critical phase. The other thing is the strategy that came out last time on the base of her dramatic experience that maybe it is not a good idea with our clients - you were not here during the meeting in which we had thought about that - it is never wise with our clients to ask them "how are you" that is pretty natural for everybody because it is normal in relationships among us for the kind of relationship you have with them as employees, you are the one with whom- and of course she tells you and you stop her you say no you must avoid telling me about that. It is the problem that she had had with Betta who was always sad, she could not speak about those things, she would come you know and she was like how are you Betta and usually there was no problem because she was silent in anycase, well one day she started opening the book and of course then it is difficult to say I cannot listen to you because then etc. these are just little strategies, that it is difficult to use because it is more normal to say how are you but it is true that because of the kind of job that we do here those questions risk becoming questions that lead us into danger

In this last turn, the coordinator ratifies the usefulness of the suggested strategy. In order to do the ratification, she makes reference to a past incident that she labels as “dramatic experience”. The coordinator recovers a story that team members already discussed during another meeting. In doing that, she activates the memory of an episode that triggered discussion, laughter and behavior suggestions.

When a similar case was discussed in a past meeting, the discussion involved references to working prescriptions and practices that constitute the specificity of Centro ADs rehabilitation methods.

By referring to the previous case, the co-ordinator makes available the knowledge generated by that discussion to help tackle a new problem in the current meeting.

Notes on the example of Ida

The sequence shows a problem construction process that can be summarized in the following thirteen steps:

- A problem is introduced by the client's employer in relation to the goal of doing an internship in outside workplaces: the client is not yet able to concentrate and to regularly attend for work.
- The hypothesis implied by the typographer's turn is formulated by the coordinator: there could be a relationship between the kind of job and the concentration problem.
- Information is provided by the coordinator: the client has recently changed her living accommodation.
- The concentration problem is taken up by the client's employer and there is an implicit postulation of a new hypothesis: drugs may have caused the problem
- Additional information is provided by the coordinator to contextualize problems under discussion: the client has a long treatment history and is now in a critical phase due to her new living arrangement.
- The concentration problem and the client's interest in the project are stressed by the employer.
- The hypothesis that drugs may have caused the problem is made explicit by the typographer, solicited by the coordinator.
- Problematic behaviour at home is reported by the psychotherapist as explication of the client's lack of concentration and consistency and as deterrent for changing the treatment.
- Reference is made to the client's living accommodation as a possible resource to solve the problem.
- A commitment is made to monitor developments during and after the change of living arrangement and to possibly ask the doctor for a change in treatment.
- The evaluation of the client as motivated is implicitly challenged by the waitress: she portrays the client as unhappy with job tasks.

- A failure to distinguish among different life settings and to follow appropriate rules of interaction is inferred by the psychotherapist.
- The problem inferred by the psychotherapist is further highlighted by the co-ordinator.

The discussion's narrative has a low level of linearity as revealed by the following 3 aspects. First, in several cases tellers launch the recounting of an episode without showing awareness of the relationship with the narrative developed until that point, as is the case in the following three transitions:

- Coordinator keeps the turn between 01.14 and 01.15 and changes the topic of the discussion. There is a conversational display of topic continuity through the use of *appunto / just*. In spite of that, the Coordinator closes the planning of a communicative intervention (expected to be helpful in client's concentration problem) and projects launching a new story (about client's new living arrangement)
- When the Typographer (01.16) reports that the client had asked him a salary increase, he says that the request had been justified by referring to expenses of the new living accomodation. It can be postulated that the typographer's reference to this request was stimulated by the co-ordinator's previous discourse. In fact the co-ordinator's mention of the living arrangements (01.15) has possibly provoked the typographer's sudden recollection of the conversation (ah adesso poi / ah then now). However there is no discursive demonstration of this connection and the Typographer *de facto* shifts the conversation topic.
- At 01.32, the Waitress initiates the recounting of a dialogue she has had with the client. The recounted dialogue represents a possible challenge for the Typographer's claim that the client is interested in her job. However, in the Waitress' account there is no display of awareness or intentionality in that.

Other considerations concern a more macroscopic organization of the sequence:

- The first segment of the sequence elaborates the concentration and consistency problem that had been introduced by client's employer since the beginning. At a certain point (01.19-01.23) this issue is raised again by the employer who is not satisfied with the understanding reached in the discourse. He seeks for a further elaboration of its explicatory setting by suggesting a causal relationship between the problem and client's pharmacological treatment.
- Team members agree about the importance of the change in living arrangements to the client's life, and feel that they need to evaluate the client's progress after the change. However, they are uncertain about the overall outcome of this change. On one hand, they

see it as a possible source of problems while on the other hand, they see it is a having a beneficial effect on the client's problem of non-attendance at work.

- The dialogue between the Waitress and the client reported at (01.32) is used to acknowledge that the client fails to distinguish among different life settings and to follow appropriate rules of interaction. Thus, the waitress' report becomes an integral contribution to the institutional narrative. The construction of this problem is a joint achievement. The outcome goes beyond the intention of the first teller (the Waitress) and it is even opposed by some team members (the Employer, the Office manager).

The range of time embraced in the narrative is wide: from the background to the future. Much of the narrative focuses on client's history at Centro a.D. The enacting of the history is embedded in the report of dialogues which occurred in the immediate past, i.e. during the week that preceded the meeting.

TIME	EPISODES
Background	Ida has a long treatment history. She was in the hospital for a while.
History at Centro a.D.	She worked in the Office where she displayed big concentration problems especially in working with the computer. She was transferred to the Typography where she works on simple practical tasks. She has few concentration problems and sometimes does not turn up for work in the morning. She still consumes drugs. She sometimes has mental patient behavior at home.
Past week	She had a Meeting with the Employer and an informal dialogue with the Waitress. In the meeting with the employer she expresses interest at work, the desire to work with the computer and the request to receive a salary increase. She moved to live in Gerrapiano.
Future	In the future she will work with the computer and she will do an internship if she will fix the concentration problem. If she will still have concentration problems, the coordinator will ask the doctor for a change in the pharmacological treatment.

Table 4-6: The story of Ida reconstructed during the meeting

The degree of collaboration among meeting participants in the discussion of this case is higher in comparison to the discussion about Teo. Similarly to the case of Lucia, the narrative is constructed with the contribution of many tellers. Participants add relevant information on the basis of different source of knowledge: the Typographer and the Office manager as current and former employer of the client base their knowledge on working activities; the Psychotherapist refers to his experience in familial counselling; the Coordinator uses information about living arrangement that she has as a case manager, the Waitress has had the opportunity to interact with the client at the restaurant)

Apart from the source of knowledge, every team member displays to rely on what the client says in addition to what they observe.

Positive and negative assessments are given by multiple team members in relation to professional skills and relational attitudes (see Table 4-7).

SPEAKER	POSITIVE ASSESSMENT	NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT
Typographer (01.01)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sono stato molto contento / I was really happy - comunque sono contento / anyway I am happy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deve migliorare la sua costanza e la sua concentrazione / she has to improve in relation to her concentration and her consistency
Typographer (01.03)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - devi migliorare in questo / she has to improve in relation to this (3 times within the same turn) - si alza ancora un po' troppo / she move away from her desk too much - queste cose qui bisogna metterle a posto / these aspects need to be fixed
Typographer (01.17)	lavora anche bene / she works properly though	
Typographer (01.27)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - molto motivata / really committed to - così motivata / so much committed to 	
Psychotherapist (01.30)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - diceva anche la mamma che ogni tanto a casa dà ancora segnali, comportamenti da malata / her mom was saying that she still has symptoms sometimes, she behaves as a mental patient - forse non è ancora in chiaro su tutti i vari contesti / she possibly has not yet a clear mind about every kind of setting
Coordinator (01.46)		è in un momento critico / she is in a critical phase
Waitress (01.50)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non ha detto come lamentele - l'ho vista bene/ she did not say that to complain 	
Coordinator (01.62)	va bene / she is fine	può essere un momento più di critico / this phase possibly is more critical

Table 4-7: Assessments in the discussion about Ida

Multiple voices carry multiple perspectives. In discussing the dialogue between the Waitress and the client a normalizing perspective is fostered by the Typographer, the Office manager and the Waitress; they highlight job related issues and the question about client's interest at work. The same episode affords to the Psychotherapist a different interpretation; he is interested in assessing client's understanding of different kinds of relationships.

As in the case of Lucia, the sequence displays the use of alternative scenarios in evaluation (see Table 4-8).

SPEAKER	KIND OF SCENARIOS	SCENARIOS
Coordinator (01.04) (01.08) (01.14) Typographer (01.05-01.09) (01.11)	a real past situation <i>versus</i> a real present situation <i>versus</i> a possible future situation	client worked with the computer
		client works on different kinds of duties
		client will work with the computer
Coordinator (01.26) (01.31) (01.46)	current situation <i>versus</i> past situation	client lives in the residence
		client lived at home with the mother
Typographer (01.44)	current situation of client <i>versus</i> real past situation of the speaker	client is assigned to repetitive jobs
		Typographer as young apprentice was assigned to repetitive tasks
Office Manager (01.45)	current situation of client <i>versus</i> real past situation of the speaker	client is assigned to repetitive jobs
		Office manager as young apprentice was assigned to repetitive tasks
Psychotherapist (01.41) Coordinator (01.62)	recent episode involving the client <i>versus</i> past episode involving another client	client speak with the Waitress about her problems
		another client spoke with a team member about personal problems
Psychotherapist (01.57)	real past situation <i>versus</i> a possible present (and future) situation	client lived in the hospital and was used to interact with social workers
		client goes to outside restaurants

Table 4-8: Scenarios in the discussion about Ida

Making some general observations about the discussion about Ida, it seems that the meeting co-ordinator plays an important role in maintaining the rehabilitation paradigm

structure along the joint narrative activity. Each team member does not contribute to the same extent to the construction of an institutional story; hence the meeting co-ordinator plays a key role in leading evaluative activities.

In the discussion about Ida, we have seen how the co-ordinator makes hypothesis and how she asks others to make their causal hypothesis explicit (01.08).

In another passage (01.12), she takes care to make explicit what the typographer needs to say to the client in order to be sure that the client will clearly understand the rehabilitative value of daily activities imposed by the typographer.

Later (01.46), she ratifies the problem description given by the psychotherapist even if the other team members didn't seem to recognise the problem as the psychotherapist was describing it.

In particular when the co-ordinator ratifies and emphasises the description given by the psychotherapist, she enforces the wisdom derived from the past experience. In general terms, we can observe how she always insists on aspects of the client's condition that can be modified through rehabilitation. She always assumes a problem solving orientation. When team members leave the rehabilitation paradigm guidelines and start going round in circles, she is quick to re-focus them to think in terms of training.

She provides contextual information that helps team members give meaning to the episodes that are cast on the narrative stage, as is the case exploring the concentration problem when she links it with the change in living arrangements.

With such discursive work the meeting co-ordinator facilitates the making of decisions about Ida's treatment. Looking at the decisions that team members make, it's interesting to point out how those decisions imply further client behaviour evaluation. As in the case of Lucia we could say that the evaluation embedded in the institutional story is on-going which may be a distinctive feature of rehabilitation discourse.

4.3. Practices

Layered narratives

Team members jointly construct problems that enable them to plan future interventions in rehabilitation projects. This work results in narratives of clients' situations that commonly embed what team members are going to tell the clients. Commitments they make with each other have the form of narratives that team members will offer to clients: As a team they produce narratives embedding other narratives that are ready to use in dialogues outside the team. Narratives to use with clients are prepared in the form of indirect speech or more commonly in the form of direct speech.

On closing the evaluation of Teo's project, team members summarize discussion achievements and agree on what to propose to him:

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 1; CONTINUED FROM THE EXAMPLE OF TEO]

COORD.: So we can make the hypothesis that the next meeting with Rob it will be clarified that if he wants to fix this, in anyc-

PSYCH*: he comes to me

COORD.: before starting again to think about working

PSYCH.: exactly

COORD.: he comes once or twice to you, he does not accept him again immediately in the kitchen, in my opinion

And in the sequence about Ida the coordinator suggests to the typographer how she should word her explanation to the client, in order to be sure that the message will be communicated clearly to the client:

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 2; FROM THE EXAMPLE OF IDA, 01.14]

COORD.: tell her also from a practical point of view if she asks- when she asks you again, I want to see you concentrated first, and that you don't stand up because there she risks even more because she is alone and in this way it becomes something practical as well

This practice is in tune with the key role of verbalization in the rehabilitation paradigm: it is important to make clients aware of the consequences of their behaviour in order to interrupt the amplification loop (see paragraph 3.1). Therefore, it is not enough for employers or other team members to perform the appropriate educational intervention (for example suspending a project); it is necessary also to tell the client the reason why they perform that intervention. What to do with clients and what to tell them are both important tasks in which the help and correction of other team members are acknowledged as useful.

In the sequence below the team members are planning an intervention in relation to a problem that they are not able to categorize with certainty. It is difficult to get the client to work possibly because she has problem with standing on her feet, but it seems that the client exaggerates this difficulty and that she tends to lie. The sequence displays an intertwined process of problem categorization and planning which also includes the formulation of phrases team members can use in the future with clients.

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 3]

TYPOG.: [about] Silvia I don't know whether she has fear to go to other workplaces or she is not completely healthy. The last goal that I gave her was to spend some time working in other workplaces, because until July she was- she went outside without saying anything. But now Carlo needs [some workforce for] few days in his workplace, I have sent her to him on Monday or Tuesday and she worked that day, but the day after she immediately complained that she was not able. What did she tell you, Carlo?

COOK: Well, I asked her to prepare some cookies and she immediately started telling I'm not able and so on. I said to her I explain to you. After four working hours she said that she could not [work] because she had stomachache for standing up.

[...]

PSYCH*: How can you exclude the possibility that she really has problems in standing up? It is not part of our approach to make the hypothesis that someone lies.

TYPOG.: I do not exclude it, but it seems that she could exaggerate the problem

[...]

TYPOG.: I can send her there [to the Inter-Rol], where she can
[work] sitting down
COORD.: But what happens if we sent her to the Inter-Rol and then
she says that she wants to quit?
TYPOG.: I would tell her sorry but you have done your trial and
if you say that you cannot work even if you sit down that
means that you don't want to go out. And so I suspend her
and I refer her to you

The practice of deciding together which phrases to be used seems to be widespread among team members. Moreover, the reporting of past episodes and the rehearsal of old stories is also imbued with phrases and words that they used with clients. The three sequences analyzed in 4.2 are representative of this proclivity in team members' discourse.

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 4; FROM THE EXAMPLE OF TEO, FROM 01.03
INCLUDING EXCERPTS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN USED IN PAR.5.2]

COORD.: we had agreed on the decision that he would make him work
not as a cook but on cleaning tasks because he had done
these things,
PSYCH*: unhygienic
COORD.: and we had agreed on the fact that I would call him we
had agreed on the decision to call him in order to get
him to understand about the hygiene problem aside from
your intervention which had been perfect that if there
was a problem with hygiene you could not let him work as
a cook and that he needed to show commitment, so you
could understand whether he was interested or not,
whether he was still interested in a future as a cook or
not. We did the planning meeting with Rob, he spoke out a
little bit more than usually and he says - it was the
first tim for him to tell that explicitly with me - that
he dreams sto be a cook again. Because in the first
interview he was not sure, whether to be a cook or a
cowboy.
COOK: waiter

COORD.: that he would like it, but he would not completely lose the invalidity pension, and [he would like to] find a job in an old people's home for example, because the working-hours there are better than in a hotel. It came out that there was a goal like that. And so, we asked him why he is not using knowledge he had. And he says that he forgets and therefore he does not remind for example hygienic norms. And we spoke about that, but that's strange that you don't remember that there are hygienic norms. And we tried to investigate.

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 5; FROM THE EXAMPLE OF LUCIA, 01.04]

OFFICE: if you remember, it was part of the goal we gave to Lucia: from the moment that her goal was to be ready for working in offices, she lacks some skills, etc, we have said it's fine, in order for her to stay here, from the moment she is perfect in what she is doing etc. and she could go [working] outside [here], (0.2) she prefers to stay here another while, we told her we give you the opportunity to stay here if you take advantage of it by (0.2) acquiring skills you lack; otherwise let's change your project because use.

[LAYERED NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 6; FROM THE EXAMPLE OF IDA, 01.01-01.03]

TYPOG.: well I was really happy because she started speaking herself and I asked her what she thinks she needs to improve on or how she is doing in the workplace she is doing well and basically she said what I would have told her myself then she needs to improve in relation to consistency and concentration, anyway I am happy

OFFICE: she realized

TYPOG.: I said I see that you understand you have to improve in this but you understand that you have a goal and you have to improve in this now the goal for the next three months is to improve in this. Moreover she asked to work a

little bit with the computer and I said I will let you do that I will see how things go next week and she understands by herself but I told her again she moves from the working desk too often to go to the bathroom and last time she sometimes did not show up for work in the morning and she said well she basically said that she will put effort in it and I also explained to her that if she goes- she is preparing herself to do an internship outside in the future- those aspects need to be fixed

Old narratives as resources

The history of problem solving interactions is maintained in the memory of the team: team members use old narratives as resources for constructing and solving present problems. At the same time old narratives, as they are dragged into the conversation, undergo new interpretations. As old stories are used for new problem solving activities, they present new affordances. As Ochs and Capps (2001) point out, a story always embeds an emotional answer to the event: answer of the time of the event, answer in the time of the telling, *answer in the time of re-telling*.

Old stories reify sequences of interaction in which recounted episodes have been categorized as problems. Recalling old stories fosters the foregrounding of certain aspects of the recounting instead of others.

In the case of Ida, reference to the story of another client determines how team members categorize the episode under discussion (example of Ida, 01.41). One aspect of client behavior (to whom a client speaks) is foregrounded and that determines the framing of the episode as a problem caused by a misunderstanding of roles. So the episode ends up being read as a relational problem. Old stories are shortcuts for categorization processes that infuse team members with confidence to formulate hypothesis.

Moreover, every story that is created and maintained is the result of an interaction, in which team members jointly discuss, challenge interpretations and find solutions. And every time that reference is made to a story, the story becomes a vehicle for the wisdom that team members have developed in the history of their interactions.

When team members discuss and reason around a recounted episode, they make reference to working prescriptions and practices that constitute the specificity of Centro a.D.'s way of doing rehabilitation. Making reference to a past discussion, through the

enacting of an old story, helps in remaining within the guidelines of the rehabilitation paradigm.

In the example of Ida, the team members draw upon the history of their interactions to compare episodes that involve two different clients and they use the experience gained with the first case to evaluate the second case.

The memory of old stories accomplishes an emphasis on specific aspects of the problem under construction. This general function is used in a number of different ways. For example, recalling the situation of a person who had been a client at Centro a.D. may be used to clarify the distinction among two kinds of situations and thus find similarities between the situation under discussion. This function is displayed by the example below (example 1) in which team members are engaged in the evaluation of a client who has been found smoking a joint outside Centro a.D. In the discussion they elaborate a criterion according to which smoking is not a problem as long as it does not interfere with client's behaviour within Centro a.D. The Office manager enforces such a distinction by recalling the case of another client whose professional behaviour was compromised by his smoking.

[OLD NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 1]

OFFICE: It was the case of Dino, isn't it? Dino was going crazy because he smoked.

Another task that the use of an old story can accomplish is making interlocutors aware of possible negative consequences of a situation.

[OLD NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 2]

COOK: but what I'm worried about is the opposite problem, I don't want that the colleagues start making her speak without paying any attention, as in the case of Luca, and then she becomes a laughingstock

Finally, a successful intervention in the past may serve as exhortation to do a similar one with another client. In the example below, the coordinator argues for referring a client to one specific dietitian she knows. She contrasts the skeptical position of the Waitress by bringing the example of other clients that had been helped by the same physician.

[OLD NARRATIVES, EXAMPLE 3]

WAITR.: you know, also in relation to that, the last day he was telling that he has pain at the legs, but, I guess you must lose a little bit of weight, it looks like that your belly is growing. And he says yes I spoke with Sara, she wants to send me to the dietician, the one located in Arbedo

COORD.: yes

WAITR.: but don't send him to Verga

COORD.: but we had send two or three clients who, as for example Sandro who had lost a lot of weight. But Berti, because his doctor is Berti, and so I had already told to Berti - already some time ago - I had told to send him to the dietician, I guess six moths ago

WAITR.: but I tell you do not send him. Because I went myself and I know that he does not give any detailed diet to follow. Maybe I'm completely wrong. He just says eat carbs in the morning and so on

COORD.: but that [dietician] with some clients worked well, because Sandro for example it was the first time that he had lost a lot of weight

Old stories are potentially persuasive because they embody decisions that team members have already accepted; and those decisions had consequences that team members have already experienced.

However, the recalling of past decisions is mainly embedded in another practice: team members evaluate recounted episodes by relating them to past episodes that involve the same client. Through the practice of contextualization team members recover a sequence of past episodes that involve the client they are discussing. This practice sometimes leads to the reconstruction of the entire client's history at Centro a.D.

Contextualization

The flow of the temporal dimension is a heuristic device that helps team members in constructing problems: recent events in a client's life are steps in a rehabilitation path in relation to preceding steps and in function of further steps.

In the example of Lucia, the coordinator contextualizes the issue of enrollment in the computer course addressed by the office manager and broad segments of the client's history are then reconstructed in joint storytelling. In the example of Teo, first the coordinator recovers the client's history, then a new episode is recounted within the previously defined context.

Contextualization is a key practice in the team's narrative activity: recounted episodes acquire meaning within the history of the client at Centro a.D.

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 1]

OFFICE: this issue had already been brought up because there was a time in which Edo was working in the office and so these problems were brought up that he was apparently not motivated and so his project had been rediscussed and it had been radically changed. It is no more the project of working in an office but it is [the project] of going in to an institute, something like a delivery-operator

and within the background history that precedes clients' arrival at Centro a.D.:

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 2]

COORD.: I would ask about this if you have an appointment with her. Because if the goal is to lead her to do an internship outside, even if it will take months, at least we check her skills. Because she was a secretary in the council house. Consequently, the skills - then, if she acts like a stupid

Client history is upheld in the memory of Centro a.D. team members as a history of interactions in which clients' lives have been discussed, and evaluated in light of their

rehabilitation projects. Therefore contextualization helps team members to reason in terms of rehabilitation and to build institutional narratives.

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 3]

COORD.: if she has always had such an intention, those become goals that then will be verified. Otherwise, if no improvement occurred, the project is questioned. Because we lacked a little bit in that. At the beginning she was fine, then she fell and there was the break, the suspension etc. it is a kind of now there is no more a path of goals and sub-goals

OFFICE: I don't know whether you have noticed it, he is absent now because he works with the- he is driver for people who need help. We were thinking about a placement like this, more than in an office. So, the issue about the computer has been set aside. This is the reason why you may see him going out

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 4]

PSYCH*: in fact, the problem was that the work was not motivating, it was trivial, we gave him (?not) trivial projects, he spoke with Rob about ambitious projects, as for example coming back to the social field, maybe not as director, but he can come back. He can even come back as a mature student in the university. Berti told me that now universities have changed, it is more difficult, he will get some information, but limits will come from Italian laws about admission, therefore it is not something unrealistic. The important thing is that we changed those things, he is happier, he doesn't complain about himself, he likes the job, he works with enthusiasm. He has real difficulties with his memory...

Client history is constructed meeting after meeting and it is the product of a sequence of discussions in which multiple perspectives are integrated. Those perspectives reflect multiple interventions undertaken at Centro a.D.

Contextualization can radically change the initial evaluation of an episode. In the example below, a client's employer opens the discussion about one client with a negative assessment.

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 5]

TYPOG.: Well, I see her really

PSYCH*: schizophrenic

TYPOG.: No, really far away, no not schizophrenic, but really

PSYCH*: distant?

TYPOG.: really distant, also at relational level, I don't know, she is more distant, lost in thoughts, I don't know what she's thinking about. She still works quite well. But at relational level, I see her almost

PSYCH*: she doesn't joke, doesn't laugh, but also in the past

During the interaction, the evaluation horizon is broadened by looking at the client's life situation as a whole and to its recent changes.

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 6]

TYPOG.: I just know that in the workplace sometimes creates relationships but she had improved so much that now she seems to me worse than before. But then, I already discussed with Sara about that the last week, isn't it?

PSYCH*: which hypothesis do you have?

TYPOG.: I've the hypothesis of Sara, for me- I don't have any hypothesis. Sara said me pay attention that she has just moved to Gerrapiano and so this one may be the change

PSYCH*: good exactly

TYPOG.: moving out from home, she was used to be at home, she is in a new environment

PSYCH*: it is definitely a miracle, isn't it?

PSYCH.: moreover, the mother is in the hospital, she's going to undergo an operation

TYPOG.: even, Sara told me also about that

PSYCH.: actually, there are many things together

TYPOG.: I try to incite her on that, you know

PSYCH.: I mean, actually, it is a miracle that she is stationary

TYPOG.: no no

PSYCH.: because if we just imagine in the past, the idea of going away, to Gerrapiano, and not to be close to her mom. And now, on the contrary

The typographer mentions the client's new living accommodations as the possible cause for the problematic behaviour. The two psychotherapists give importance to this aspect, comparing the situation of living in the mother's house with the new living accommodation that requires much more autonomy from the client. From this perspective, the significance of the client's behavior is understood under a different light and the team members begin to construct a different evaluation. The team members select different elements of the current situation that strengthen the new positive assessment.

[CONTEXTUALIZATION, EXAMPLE 7]

TYPOG.: no I just tell it because it happens but I must say also a positive thing and I also said it to her, about punctuality for example now

PSYCH.: perfect

PSYCH*.: and she does no more such strange things as rotating eyes

TYPOG.: no she does no more those things

[...]

PSYCH.: it's a big change in life, because during the weekend she is almost alone

TYPOG.: mm

PSYCH.: and in relation to the past that she was all the time sticky to her mom

Starting off with a scenario in which her behaviour declines (*she improved so much that now I see her worse than before*) they end with a scenario in which she improves: she was

completely dependent on the mother and now she can live alone, she is punctual at work and she does not behave as a mad woman anymore.

The history of the client is the history of a rehabilitation project: a client's background is read in terms of resources and limits; the arrival at Centro a.D. sets goals; team members help the client in pursuing rehabilitation goals; in the framework of rehabilitation goals, some problems arise and need to be solved. Contextualization allows team members to anchor the discussion in the framework of client's rehabilitation goals. In implementing the contextualization practice team members develop a ritualized way of recovering a client's rehabilitation history. They become used to following a path: the discursive reconstruction of client's history becomes a routine and narratives reflect a simplified representation of what a rehabilitation project is at Centro a.D.

Discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project

The language used by team members to describe events, acts, behavior and stances relating to clients – who generally are chronic mental patients with a diagnosis of borderline psychiatric disorder, severe depression, or a schizophrenic condition - is devoid in technical terms of the psychiatric domain. Nevertheless, there are terms that team members constantly use in describing clients' situations. These terms belong to everyday language but they have vernacular meanings since they refer to components of a rehabilitation project or to institutional actions that team members can perform on the project:

- progetto, progettazione, colloquio di progettazione, concordare un progetto
- (ri)valutare, (ri)valutazione, colloquio di valutazione
- ipotesi
- obiettivo
- verbalizzare, verbalizzazione
- intervento
- intenzione, motivazione, utilizzare (in funzione di un obiettivo), funzionale (a un obiettivo) e tutti i termini che descrivono l'intenzione del cliente
- relazione, relazionare

Team members' discourse displays standard features and mirrors their understanding of the rehabilitation paradigm. I observed the use of some of these terms in contrast to the meanings they have in the rehabilitation paradigm. A simplification of the rehabilitation paradigm in team members' discourse transpires by:

- the use of terms related to relation and to motivation
- the content of what they define as hypothesis in discourse

The main idea behind the rehabilitation paradigm is that chronic mental patients (with a diagnosis of borderline psychiatric disorder, severe depression, or a schizophrenic condition) are dependent on the relationship with their psychiatrist, psychologist, etc. and are not able to play identities other than the role of patient. Their behaviour in settings like home, workplaces and peer groups is perceived as inadequate and causes reactions that amplify the problem and confirm them in the role of a psychiatric patient. This role brings with it secondary advantages and people are not motivated to discard it, since this requires a great effort and they sometimes really lack (or have lost) skills that are usually required to play a role adequately in those settings (e.g. professional skills to be an employee in an office or self-organization practices to manage life at home or socializing attitudes to get in touch with peers).

Rehabilitators can help these people (clients of the service) in two complementary ways.

First of all, rehabilitators can recognize and lead the client to acknowledge the relational aspects behind behaviour. Which kind of relationship does this behaviour attempt to reach? And what is the function it plays in the life of the person? The establishment of assistance relationships through behaviour that is not adequate to a context (for example by disrespecting workplaces rules) is seen as intentional (though possibly unconscious) behaviour of someone who lacks self-determination. Team members always try to identify the goals that clients are attempting to reach. In this way they can formulate functional hypothesis that help them in avoiding the amplification effect.

Second, rehabilitators help clients who are motivated to discard the patient role and want to establish adequate relationships with family members, employers and peers to learn practical skills that they actually need to take the risk of trying alternative roles to the role of patient. If they try to do this while they lack basic skills, they may receive feedback that leads them back to the role of patient.

Such complexity underlies team members' use of words like motivation and relation. These words are used in their common sense meaning. "Relational" and related words mainly refer to attitudes of socialization such as how clients speak with each other, how they answer employer's requests, whether they hang out with peers during the weekend or not, etc. "Motivation" and related words mostly refer to affective stances and in particular to interest displayed toward working (or free time) activities.

A simplification transpires also in hypothesis formulation. In practice team members ascribe the causes of clients' behaviour to a wide range of elements;

The use of the term *circular hypothesis* – as synonym of *legitimate hypothesis* – is extended to cases that do not directly concern amplification problems: In those cases the link to the original meaning of the term is very weak. There is a broad range of causes that are considered legitimate and that can be used to build hypotheses. Circularity is not

necessarily captured by hypotheses that are used in problem construction; linear hypothesis are also used and ratified as legitimate by the meeting coordinator. The condition for a hypothesis to be ratified as legitimate seems to be that problematic behaviour is ascribed to something that can be changed: The cause of a problem must be something modifiable by team members in order to find its solution.

Centralization of interaction

Most of the meeting interaction shows a coordinator-centered structure.

The coordinator's work during team meetings follows a standard protocol that she has developed through practice. According to the role's deontology, a coordinator addresses questions, solicits everybody's contributions and ratifies commitments.

Common questions that organize problem solving are: what about professional aspects? what about relational aspects? what about project goals? what do you plan to do? does anybody have more information? does anybody have any suggestion in relation to possible solutions?

Everyone can contribute to problem definition and suggest solutions. Then, solutions are transformed into new commitments for team members by the coordinator.

Questions and commitment ratifications are complemented by other kinds of maneuvers that the coordinator operates in problem solving activity. An example of a maneuver, in the sequence about Lucia, is the exhortation to go back to something that was previously reported (Lucia, 05. *no, but let's use it*).

Team members' participation in discussion is facilitated by the coordinator's questions. Moreover, team members tend to spontaneously add pieces of information and also to express judgments when they are not directly addressed.

Team members other than a client's employer have the opportunity to interact with the client directly. They have many sources of knowledge about clients. This is a consequence of the way in which working activities are organized inside Centro a.D.

Narratives that eventuate from the interaction display a joint problem construction. However, team members often present their contributions without projecting the function that they will have in problem construction. The role that an individual contribution has in narrative development is an interactional outcome and the meeting coordinator plays a key role. This process is displayed in the sequence about Ida, when the waitress (Ida, 01.32) tells about her dialogue with the client at the restaurant. In the joint construction of the narrative the episode recounted by the waitress affords the construction of a problem concerning misunderstanding of roles. The waitress had no intention of doing that and she even resists this interpretation of her account fostered by the meeting coordinator.

The same dynamic is replicated in the sequence about Lucia, when the manager of free time activities (Lucia, 04.02) mentions that Lucia never joins the Center's free time activities. He adds this information without providing any specific relation to the ongoing discourse and his contribution will be used later by the meeting coordinator to set the relevance of relational dimensions in the client's rehabilitation history.

The person who plays the role of a coordinator during the meetings also plays the role of case manager for the rehabilitation project as a whole. This is a key aspect of meeting interaction.

The coordinator's role as case manager is discursively foregrounded every time that someone reports an episode that involves her outside the meeting. In the sequence about Lucia there is an example of this in the first turn, when the office manager mentions a meeting that the coordinator will have with the client in case employers discover that she did not enroll in the computer course. At that point the coordinator is contextually addressed in conversation.

[CENTRALIZATION OF THE INTERACTION, EXAMPLE 1]

OFFICE: If she has not, if she has not enrolled for this computer course (0.2) e:m we have already decided that Maria will lay her off and refer her to you, because her project, that is the agreed project, was that she would ha:

Interaction is centered in the person of the coordinator, and the reason for this is beyond the conversational level.

Team members make reference to agreements between the case manager and clients, to planning interviews, to evaluations and to private conversations they had with her outside the meeting.

The work of weaving together individual contributions in the plot of a narrative that the coordinator accomplishes would not be possible without the overall knowledge of the multilevel rehabilitation project that only a case manager has.

The case manager has the task of projecting the rehabilitation project along with the client and of coordinating specialized interventions carried out by team members toward the client. In particular the case manager is responsible for assuring that the multiple interventions are consistent with each other and with project goals. Mediation does not occur only at the conversational level: conversation is coordinated by someone who coordinates

the remainder of work activities as well and who is more aware than others of how individual work is part of the whole rehabilitative work. In evaluating a reported episode she has sometimes more elements than the teller, who may be directly involved. The coordinator provides a specific contribution: the kind of knowledge that is based on her work with clients and that typically concerns overarching project goals, resources and limitations.

The coordinator's contributions display peculiar linguistic features that make them particularly suitable to afford team members' participation. The coordinator's turns display a participation framework in which all of a meeting's participants are represented as responsible of the situation under discussion: she commonly uses the *we-form* and animates team members in the narrative both when her interlocutors are actual agents in the narrated episode and when they are not. Moreover, she makes intensive use of contextualization practices. The coordinator's discourse is also rich in references to other cases, to past decisions jointly taken by the team and to old stories in which team members played an active role. The coordinator's interventions carry the memory of client history and make it available for discussion during the meeting.

In this way the coordinator provides interpretive resources and at the same time performs a rhetorical move that leads the audience towards a more participative attitude: team members are invited to evaluate the situation under discussion by using their own memory along with information made available in the current conversation.

4.4. The macro practice of problem construction

Team members implement various discursive practices, including those I analyzed: layered narratives, old narratives as resources, contextualization, discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project, centralization of interaction. These practices enable them to construct an institutional narrative in which solvable problems are identified.

I want to clarify the problem construction process as a macro-practice in work accomplished through talk.

Two axes of categorization can be used to classify problems that team members discursively construct.

First axis: problem domain

The first axis distinguishes problems in relation to their scope. By this I mean that team members' discussion of every client's situation covers two domains of investigation. One of them is the scope of a client's practical skills, the other one is the scope of a client's social relationships.

- **Practical-professional domain.** Given the importance of rehabilitation at work, client's practical skills include primarily professional skills. Other kinds of practical skills are also discussed. For example, any skills required for participating in a several day mountaineering trek to do a trekking could be discussed as a problem within a rehabilitation project. Another example of this type may be: the inability to manage personal finances can be seen as an obstacle for clients who have the goal of improving their living autonomy.
- **Social interaction domain.** Relational skills include generally acceptable manners of social interaction and the capability to develop culturally specified good manners and the capability to develop positive relationships in everyday social encounters. When team members say "relazionale / relational" and related words, it is these skills to which they refer. For example, team members discuss the way in which clients talk with colleagues or answer to the phone. Information about clients' social life outside Centro a.D. is reported by the client's employer or by other team members who occasionally have the opportunity to chat with clients in informal situation (e.g. at the bar).

Second axis: hierarchy

The second axis distributes problems on a hierarchy. Some problems are more trivial and - in theory – more easily solved than others that are more profound and require more sophisticated interventions.

- **Problem of skills.** The easiest type of problems are a mere lack of skills when the client's behaviour is recognized as inadequate and is ascribed to a lack of competence. This kind of problem concerns both practical and relational skills that people need in order to behave properly in the context of a workplace, in free time, or at home. For example, team members may see the lack of computer skills as a problem because computer skills are required to work in an office. The waitress may report that a client is impolite with the restaurant's customers. Similarly, the Free Time manager may discuss the opportunity to enroll subscriptions for a two week holiday for clients who have never

been separated from their parents for more than one night. Any skill can be acquired with training. For example, if clients are not able to work with a computer, they must take a class. And if clients are not able to have good relational skills they can participate in activities in which they are compelled to communicate and to have contact with peers. Even the ability to travel without parents can be trained by starting with one-day excursions, for example.

- **Problem of commitment.** A second level of problems involves a client's commitment to the project. When a problematic behaviour cannot be ascribed to a mere lack of skills, it may be taken as a signal that the client does not want to pursue project goals. Problems of this kind cannot be solved simply by training; in this case a clarification about project agreements is necessary. Goals must be negotiated before any skills are taught. Otherwise training would be ineffective. In reviewing project goals, clients may even decide to quit; nobody has the obligation to pursue the project.
- **Relational problems.** The third form of problem concerns the function that problematic behaviour has within the life of the client. This kind of problem addresses what the rehabilitation paradigm calls the relational level. The problematic behavior in this case permits the person to establish certain kinds of relationships – i.e. of dependency - with others and to develop a certain identity, i.e. that of a mental patient. Psychotherapy is the way to intervene at this level because it is aimed at modifying clients' ideas about which types of relationships they are able to establish with other people. Problems of the last kind are seldom postulated in meeting discussions. Team members often identify and develop problems either at the skills or commitment level of analysis.

These two axes of categorization – scope and hierarchy – create a bi-dimensional space in which team members metaphorically map their construction of the emerging problem.

When employers make their opening statement, they usually start from the skills level in the scope of professional or relational competence. The first move in problem construction is the identification (or the attempted identification) of deficient skills in one of the two scope domains. Later, the discussion is systematically extended to the other scope. The two examples below display such a movement. In the first example Kate's employer encompasses both relational and practical scopes in his account. In the second example the coordinator guides the discourse to focus on practical competence and then moves to relational skills.

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 1]

COORD.: About Kate?

SILK-S: Kate as usually. Well, we didn't have time, Daniel and myself, to do the meeting with her, not yet

COORD.: can you just recall the goal?

SILK-S: since the both of us had noticed the same thing, that she didn't ask, she has not any initiative, we decided to do an intervention together

COORD.: she didn't ask, you mean that when she finishes a task she didn't ask whether there were other things to do?

SILK-S: yes. I checked other things in relation to that. She didn't do, she didn't volunteer, she didn't ask. And she still needs [help], I mean, because this week, with the chase she worked so-so

COORD.: what do you mean?

SILK-S: I mean that the chase was not completely tight. It was still possible to use it, but

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 2]

COOK: yes she said everything and we said that above all we will work on that. Well, one thing that she still does is that it seems that she cheats a little bit. I mean, [when] I go away for lunch, she does not go out anymore with the cell phone, but, well, if she can she takes a break somewhere in the kitchen. She does not go out, then. It is already an improvement, also in that, with time

COORD.: and what about practical aspects of working?

COOK: about operational aspects of working it's fine. She, when she commits herself in what she is doing, she is able to do that really well. There, she always try to find some shortcuts, ehm I didn't understand, I didn't do, but after the intervention we made it seems that this [behaviour]

COORD.: good

COOK: she has set it aside, she accepts remarks and she doesn't say anymore but and so on

COORD.: and with others? how is she in relationships?

COOK: when I'm there she doesn't speak
(Coordinator laughs)

COOK: as soon as I go out bla-bla-bla-bla with Teo, who

The coordinator takes care that both sides of the clients' competence is explored in conversation and she moves the focus from one scope to the other one with respect to perceived possibilities for intervention. She looks for something that can and ought to be improved in the client's competence either at the professional or the relational levels. The identification of deficiency in skills allows planning of appropriate training. In the example of Lucia who is assessed as thoroughly competent at work, the coordinator expands the scrutiny of the relational level since the discussion on professional skills does not suggest any opportunities for effective intervention (example of Lucia, 05.17). The psychotherapist and the coordinator reframe the waitress' report about her conversation with Ida as a problem related to role interpretation. In this way it can be used to plan an educational intervention. In the example of Teo, relational and professional skills are tied together in the picture of a complete lack of competence.

Professional and relational skills need to be assessed in the framework of the rehabilitation project. The coordinator inquires about skills and systematically ensures focus is maintained on project goals by asking team members to mention them (macro-practice, example 3) and by providing contextualization *excursa* (macro-practice, example 4).

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 3]

OFFICE: and then Betta, to whom I had given, the last day I gave her some tasks, with a time limit because she was a kind of, and she did them

COORD.: what was her goal?

OFFICE: the goal for her is to increase the working peace because she is slow slow. I don't know. Once Natan was waiting something due for- 3 p.m.?

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 4]

COORD.: and what about accounting? is she able to do such tasks?

OFFICE: accounting, till now I never assigned her anything to do. I never asked her neither

COORD.: whether she was used to do [that] there

OFFICE: I can ask. Anyway, I can have a meeting with her to do an evaluation ((and she takes note of this commitment))

COORD.: I would ask about this if you have a meeting with her. Because if the goal is to lead her to do an internship outside, even if it will take months, at least we check her skills. Because she was secretary in the council house. Consequently the skills - then, if she acts like a stupid.

In the example of Teo, contextualization is given at the beginning of the discussion and works as an explanatory setting to interpret the meaning of the sponge episode in relation to his rehabilitation. Context also plays an important function on the example of Lucia. Lucia's goals are challenged during the discussion; as a result team members give a complete new

meaning to Lucia's obligation to enroll into a computer course. Team members make reference to the history and to project goals throughout the entire discussion about Ida. Current behaviour is compared to past behaviour and the level of efficiency at work is evaluated in relation to the client's goal, i.e. to work in outside offices.

The coordinator's questions about skills and about project goals and her constant recovery of clients' histories help to build an institutional narrative in which the complexities of clients' situations are reduced to three main elements: project goals, deficiencies of relational skills, and deficiencies of professional skills.

Efforts to train clients are worthwhile if clients are committed to project goals. Unless presented with evidence to the contrary, clients' commitment is taken for granted since every rehabilitation project starts with an agreement on project goals between the client and the case manager. The assumption of commitment is sometimes foregrounded in discourse by referring to client's verbal confirmation of their commitment to those shared goals. Explicit reference to clients' commitment is used to justify educational interventions and worthwhile efforts to teach skills.

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 5]

COOK.: but I was wondering whether it is reasonable to make him working with the computer, because restaurant menu that he write are always wrong or unordered, an awful mess

OFFICE: I asked him whether he wanted to insist on this, whether he was really interested. Otherwise we would set it aside. I thought, in case it is possible to keep him in such a workplace as the typography with the tasks of a driver, going back and forth, rather than being there and hitting the nail on the computer and asking him to do such little jobs that he considers as insignificant. And he still told me that he wants to keep doing this, he even bought his own computer at home, he wants to learn.

Self-determination of clients is constantly represented in discourse. Team members often exhibit reliance on what clients say. Moreover, team members jointly plan communicative interventions that are implemented concurrently with training. Communicative interventions make clients aware of the function that practical activities have in relation to the rehabilitation. This effort is reflected in the layered structure of narratives.

Team members' doubt about commitments arises when every viable solution has been tried without obtaining any result; team members may infer that the client does not want to be rehabilitated. This is demonstrated in the example below (macro-practice, example 6). The Office manager describes the situation of a client employed in the workplace she directs. She depicts a situation of absolute incompetence and she describes her ineffective efforts. The Waitress intervenes and recovers information from client's history. The waitress presents her turn with a contrastive value (ma / but) and in the content of her turn she challenges the image of the client figured by the office manager's turn. After several interventions by other speakers, the Waitress stages her interpretation of the client's situation. The Office manager immediately aligns with the Waitress' evaluation invoking a third party, the Free Time manager, to support her point. Other team members align with this evaluation, as well.

[MACRO-PRACTICE, EXAMPLE 6]

- OFFICE: Well, I gave him some assignments, among which the typing with word, and excel, excel application, and came out that there are really many things that he is not able to do. He really doesn't know anything about what is a computer, the hard-disk, how does it work [...]Yesterday I spent almost one hour in explaining him the folder of documents with all the subfolders [...] this morning I realized that he didn't learn anything [...] I asked him Edo tell me what is that you don't understand [...]
- WAITR.: but didn't he use the computer when he was working at the newspaper?
[...]
- WAITR.: but, I'm sorry, wait a moment, don't you have the feeling that he really doesn't care about anything?
- OFFICE: let's say, I stop you immediately because I already spoke with Natan and the hypothesis of Natan is that, also [Natan] said it seems to me that Edo keeps staying there, a kind of, I mean, the hypothesis that comes out, the same that came out with me
- TYPOG.: even times ago, already when he was with me
- WAITR.: he keeps staying there, isn't it, going to thermal baths

COOK: that he doesn't want to invest in it

By claiming the client is disinterested in the project, team members relinquish their own responsibility. In this last example, evaluation is jointly upgraded by multiple speakers who share similar exasperating experience of ineffective efforts with the client. The Typographer refers to his own experience with the client and supports the waitress' evaluation by expanding its temporal value. The Cook rephrases the evaluation in a more institutional formulation: expression used by the Waitress seems to address a general attitude of the person, while the Cook's formulation is allusive of the rehabilitation project, in which clients can or cannot invest.

Assuming a lack of motivation implies a different hierarchical position of problems that obstruct the path toward rehabilitation; no skills training (either relational or professional) can be helpful. This is the situation depicted at the beginning of discussion about Teo. On the contrary, evidence for motivation encourages the Typographer in looking for a solution to Ida's concentration problem by postulating a causation that can be changed (i.e. drugs' dosage).

When the problem is at the commitment level, possible solutions range from changing client's goals (e.g. setting lower expectations) to a termination of the client's rehabilitation project. The last scenario figures in the example of Teo. The client's behaviour signals resistance to pursue rehabilitation. In fact, he had performed unacceptable acts in the context of an activity overtly intended to evaluate his commitment. Teo's employer predicts a termination of the project at Centro a.D. and a future integration of the client into another institution where lower autonomy would be required.

While they acknowledge that the client is not committed to the project, the team begins to question why the client doesn't want to be rehabilitated and would prefer to maintain his role as a patient.

The description of the client's behaviour becomes more complex when the psychotherapist starts speaking about the relational function of improper behaviour. According to the team members' paradigm, any behaviour such as cooking or greeting people who come into the office, can be used to construct a personal identity of mental patients who have developed and maintained a dependant relationship with interlocutors.

A relational interpretation can be applied to both the behaviour in the practical, professional domain and to the behaviour in the social interaction domain.

However, this kind of interpretation is almost never investigated when describing the clients' situation, as the 3 examples – Lucia, Ida and Teo – show. Team members seem to explore this aspect only when they have no other ideas for the planning of rehabilitation.

In the three charts below I provide a graphic representation of the problem construction sequences analyzed in the examples of Lucia, Teo and Ida. I order the discursive moves belonging to these sequences on the bi-dimensional space constituted by the axes of the problems' domain (horizontal axis) and hierarchy (vertical).

In the example of Lucia (see Table 4-9) the discussion initially focuses on the computer course issue that is framed as a problem at the skills level in the scope of professional competence. The coordinator uses information provided by Free Time manager to extend the inquiry to the scope of social relationships. Finally, the coordinator moves up on the hierarchy level when she reconsiders the goals in Lucia's project, i.e. goals related to social relationships must be included in the project that is currently focused on professional improvement. The discussion closes with a reformulation of the computer course issue: what is foregrounded at the close of the discussion is the opportunity of peer-to-peer relationships offered by the course; conversely, the functionality of the course in learning computer skills is in the background. The office manager postulates the client's intentionality in avoiding the course.

relational level		
commitment level		<p>11. The client's intentionality in avoiding enrollment is postulated by the employer and by the meeting coordinator</p> <p>10. The opportunity of being with other people is reported by the employer as one reason for enrollment.</p> <p>9. Project goals are reconsidered: improvement in social skills must be included among client's goals.</p>
skills level	<p>6. The client is assessed as professionally competent by multiple team members</p> <p>5. Professional competence is investigated by the coordinator</p> <p>3. The client's competence as an office employed is evaluated: the evaluation is uncertain.</p> <p>2. The enrollment's relevance is claimed by the coordinator in relation to client's deficiency in professional skills.</p> <p>1. An issue is introduced by the office manager: the client is supposed to be enrolled in a computer course and the employer is going to check the enrollment.</p>	<p>8. A contextualization excursus is provided by the coordinator: the client has a history of fear of being with other people.</p> <p>7. The client's social life is explored by the coordinator by asking team members.</p> <p>4. Another issue is introduced by the Free Time manager: the client does not participate in Free Time activities.</p>
	practical/professional domain	relational domain

Table 4-9: The process of problem construction in the example of Lucia

In the example of Teo (see Table 4-10) the client is immediately assessed as totally incompetent both at professional-practical level and at social-relational level. When the cook recounts the episode in which the client failed to follow basic hygiene rules, the initial assessment of total incompetence is confirmed. The situation is depicted in such a negative way that the team members are forced to attribute a lack of commitment by the client as the cause, and as a consequence, they discuss the option of terminating the rehabilitation project.

Just as the situation seems completely hopeless, the psychotherapist intervenes. In his intervention he moves up on the hierarchic order of the problem: he asks the reason why the client does not want to be rehabilitated. This is a question that can be approached with counselling.

relational level	3) The report about the lack of interest is read by the case manager as something that can be fixed at the relational level through psychotherapy.	
commitment level	2) An example of the client's bad behavior is reported and the episode is interpreted as a sign of low interest by the employer and the coordinator.	
skills level	1) A past interpretation is reported by the employer and the coordinator. In the past they had acknowledged the client's lack of basic skills to work in the kitchen both at professional-practical and social-relational levels. An intervention had been made to correct his behavior. They report that the client was warned that if he did not learn he would demonstrate that he was not interested in working with Centro a.D.	
	practical/professional domain	relational domain

Table 4-10: The process of problem construction in the example of Teo

In the example of Ida (see Table 4-11) the employer introduces the issue of concentration and consistency at work. This is framed as an issue in the scope of professional competence and as a skills problem by the employer. The speaker excludes any doubt in regard to client's commitment to the project and the problem is jointly explored and elaborated by team members. This judgment is nevertheless indirectly challenged by the report of the Waitress. The waitress' report is used by the psychotherapist and by the coordinator to to define a specific type of problem, ie that the client fails to follow appropriate rules of interaction with different

interlocutors. This kind of problem is the typical relational problem described by the rehabilitation paradigm.

relational level		<p>5. The problem of role misunderstanding is foregrounded by the coordinator.</p> <p>4. A problem of role misunderstanding is inferred by the psychotherapist.</p>
commitment level	<p>3. The evaluation of the client as motivated is implicitly challenged by the waitress: she portrays the client as unhappy with job tasks.</p>	
skills level	<p>2. The problem is elaborated by looking for causation: medications.</p> <p>1. A problem is introduced by the client's employer in relation to the goal of doing an internship in outside workplaces: the client is not yet able to concentrate and to be constant at work.</p>	
	practical/professional domain	relational domain

Table 4-11: The process of problem construction in the example of Ida

5. Conclusions

The dissertation has illustrated discursive practices through which a team of professionals jointly accomplishes a segment of rehabilitative work. Central to the analysis was the relationship between the communicative activity during team meetings and the fragment of social reality created by the institution in which the team operates.

Activities that are almost entirely constituted by speech acts – such as team meetings – cannot be understood by looking just at the local conversational order. It is necessary to look at the activity macro-structure that discloses local meanings. This claim has been undertaken in many different ways (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999), all of them requiring an ethnographic approach. In my work I argue for the usefulness of a systematic analysis of social and institutional reality, that is, the relevant set of facts created by human beings who collectively assign functions to objects, events or to previously created social facts. Such an analysis is critical to the analysis of work accomplished through talk because social facts shape working activity that in turn frames communicative activity.

I built on John Searle's theory about the construction of social reality. On this base, a systematic analysis has been conducted. Such analysis illuminates social and institutional facts that shape the activity of rehabilitation at Centro a.D. Rehabilitation is shaped through the set of authorizations, permissions, obligations and prohibitions imposed on team members. In particular, the analysis has dwelled on the description of one component of social reality, i.e. the workplaces that the institution creates and manages as a rehabilitation instrument.

Knowledge about the rehabilitation paradigm and its concrete implementation through institutional facts has been used to uncover what team members locally accomplish in the joint narrative activity during team meetings. The qualitative examination of recorded talk has focused on problem solving activity that is the main function of team meetings in relation to the whole rehabilitative work. Discursive operations through which the activity of problem solving is locally sustained have been singled out.

Meeting participants are mainly engaged in reporting occurred episodes. For this reason, the choice of analytical foci was grounded on a theory about narratives, namely Ochs & Capps' dimensional approach to conversational narratives.

An extensive history of team meetings has been considered; it was possible to recognize that some operations systematically occur in problem solving. The set of these operations is the corpus of Centro a.D's working practices in relation to problem solving activity. Working practices are peculiar ways of working that members of a community have

historically developed to satisfy a heterogeneous set of conditions. Enormous emphasis has been given to the importance of practices in the life of groups, and in particular at work. Social practices address activities in their historical and cultural dimensions and capture the creation of individual and collective meanings (Engeström & Middleton, 1996; Wenger, 1998; Zuccheromaglio, 2002). The concept of practice addresses a mid-level approach to the study of human activity (Engeström & Middleton, 1996) between the micro-level of local action and the macro-level of social change. The choice of a mid-level approach is fascinating because it is the level at which persons experience agency in social world. As a consequence, the identification of practices is valuable also for the research community, because it provides self-awareness and points of view which may open new ways of conceiving and doing things.

On the researcher's side, the choice of a midlevel approach implies the requirement to account for both the macro and the micro structure of activities. This is the reason why it is not easy to find studies that empirically survey practices – and in particular discursive practices – within a community.

My analysis of discursive practices of problem solving at Centro a.D. has revealed that the core of problem solving is problem construction. Problem construction must allow the planning of educational interventions within the range of possibilities offered by the institution. The minute examination of talk-in-interaction has identified five discursive practices that enable team members to accomplish problem construction efficiently and to be consistent with the institutional framework.

The first practice I have pointed out is related to the persistent use of reported speech:

- reports of episodes incorporate reported dialogues between team members and clients;
- planning results in narratives of clients' situations that commonly incorporate what team members will tell clients.

Partially due to this practice, meeting discussions seem very informal. However, the use of reported speech accomplishes meaningful operations in the context of rehabilitation at Centro a.D.

When team members report a client's words, they often exhibit reliance on them. In problem solving activity, as well, team members make reference to these reported words to evaluate the client's situation and to plan educational interventions. Self-determination of clients is a basic assumption of the rehabilitation paradigm. The practice of reporting the client's speech fosters a way of working in conformity with this assumption. Also the practice of formulating sentences that team members are expected to use with clients is meaningful in relation to the rehabilitation paradigm. In particular, it reflects the idea that

interventions are effective as long as clients are made aware of their educational value. In both cases, the use of reported speech is not just a signal of informal register. It is an important working tool.

The second practice concerns the repetition of old stories in the discussion. In discussing an episode, the comparison with an old story helps in determining the significance of it. Old stories embody decisions that team members had already accepted; those decisions had consequences that team members already experienced. Therefore this practice helps team members apply the same past criteria when evaluating the new episode.

A similar thing happens when team members apply the third practice, namely the practice of contextualisation.

Recounted episodes are contextualized by relating it to past episodes in a client's history; the purpose is to understand their significance in client's situation. Past episodes are reported in terms of evaluations and decisions jointly taken by team members during past meetings. Both the practice of contextualization and the use of old stories enforce previously given evaluations and can radically change the initial evaluation of an episode.

The fourth practice has been identified as discursive simplification of the rehabilitation project. Team members use a very general language, and also when they use words of the rehabilitation paradigm – such as “relational” and “motivation” – they use them with a commonsense meaning. Moreover, they generally describe problems of their clients without formulating any circular hypothesis, as they are supposed to do according to the paradigm.

Such a simplification does not weaken the value of team meetings in relation to rehabilitation projects. Every discussion ends with the planning of activities designed to promote clients' rehabilitation. Successful planning is achieved due to the efforts of the meeting coordinator.

The fifth practice I have documented concerns the role played by the coordinator, who centralizes the interaction. The meeting coordinator fosters the participation of team members through various linguistic resources. Moreover, she weaves together individual contributions in the plot of a narrative. However, her responsibility goes beyond discursive activity. The role of a meeting coordinator is accomplished by a team member who plays also the role of a case manager. This person has the responsibility to integrate multiple interventions into a joint rehabilitation activity. Moreover, the coordinator can use her knowledge about the rehabilitation project as a whole. She does not rely just upon conversational resources.

The process enabled by the five discursive practices has been mapped as a macro-practice of problem construction. The macro-practice synthesizes the journey from the

opening statement till the completion of an institutional narrative. I want to point out two remarks about this process:

- The practice of problem construction is in tune with ideas asserted by Centro a.D.’s rehabilitation paradigm.
- Such a practice is enabled by features of the institution, i.e. the fragment of social reality that reifies the paradigm.

According to their deontology, team members are supposed to formulate circular hypothesis, in which problematic behavior is ascribed to a relational causation (see discussion about the method of rehabilitation, in paragraph 0). However, the team members usually discuss problems at the level of skills. In their discourse, client’s rehabilitation is directly linked to the development of new skills. Team members avoid most of the time inquiring problems at a more complex level. Since there is an agreement between the client and the institution, they assume that the client is committed to the rehabilitation project. Questioning the agreement would imply a discursive representation of the client as unreliable. Moreover, psychotherapy is mentioned extremely seldomly. Team members are not inclined to postulate that problems are related with the need of counseling, even if there is no prohibition to speak about that; this is true also when clients actually avail themselves of the psychotherapy service at Centro a.D.

Problems are often discussed – especially by workplace managers – without any reference to causes. This practice complies with an important goal in the rehabilitation paradigm, that the relationship with workplace managers must have a normalising effect on clients. It’s important that relationships within the workplace induce clients to play other roles rather than maintaining the patient role.

The attitude of workplace managers seems to indicate their disinterest in anything other than practical and professional problems. It’s safe to assume that workplace managers are reluctant to compensate for the mental health issues of their employees.

At the same time, the workplace managers attitude doesn’t seem to inhibit the discussion and planning of educational interventions during the team meetings.

Successful planning is enabled by the institutional framework in which individual team members play their role during daily activities with clients and during meeting discussion.

Workplace managers constantly need to be helped by the coordinator to relate what they say to the rehabilitation project. Primarily, team members discuss issues related to work (typography work, office work, and similarly for other workplaces).

Discourse about a client’s difficulties in cleaning up the kitchen is blended, during team meetings, with discourse about attitudes in social relationships during free time activities. Also, it is blended with discourse about the client’s commitment with the rehabilitation. And, rarely, it is blended with discourse about psychological problems. In this way,

discourse of rehabilitation is constructed. Discourse of rehabilitation – through which the institutional problem construction is achieved – is an interactional achievement.

The case of Centro a.D. illustrates how conversational integration and efficiency in discursive activity is the result of a design that is embodied in a fragment of social reality.

Such a relationship – between the institutional framework and discursive activity – becomes visible only if the minute study of local conversational accomplishments is integrated with a systematic analysis of social reality. Moreover, since the local conversational accomplishments have been considered over a long history of interactions, it is possible to identify discursive practices. In this way, researchers can see – out of the conversational flow – the employment of specific professional practices through which team members work during the meetings. The development of this research method is, I believe, the main theoretical contribution of my work.

Aside from academic reflections, the results of the dissertation may prove useful for those who direct teams similar to the one of Centro a.D. or more generally who deal with problems of communication within teams. Communication problems may need solutions through interventions that are not - at least not directly - oriented to communicative practice. It may be necessary to intervene on the institution and on the organization of work inside it.

This study may suggest something to the research community itself. Discussing results with the director of Centro a.D., she came to design a change within the team. The macro-practice of problem construction reveals that workplace managers generally discuss problems at the lowest hierarchical level, that means, in terms of skills.

The discursive practices identified are a way for team members to describe problems that can be solved. Moreover, those practices seem to be compliant with the rehabilitation paradigm. Therefore, it's my view that discursive practices allow team members to construct institutional narratives.

However, the director declared to see such a practice as not completely compliant with a goal that she considers achievable. The goal is the full socialization of every team member into the rehabilitation paradigm and a truly shared responsibility on rehabilitation projects among team members.

Considering the practice that I have labeled as centralization of the interaction, she decided to change an organizational feature. In fact, the director will ask every team members to play in turn the role of a meeting coordinator. She wants to separate the function of case manager, who provides general information about the rehabilitation projects, from the function of coordinator who maintains the discursive work within the boundaries of the rehabilitation paradigm. My hypothesis is that this change will bring a perturbation in problem solving practices that may initially have negative effects. However, as long as team members are trained over a period of time at working with this new condition, they will

develop a new set of practices functional to the construction of institutional stories. Probably, each of them will become able to move up on the hierarchical axis during the description and evaluation of episodes.

6. References

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