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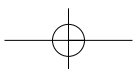
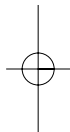
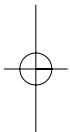
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Diasporic Identities, Media, and the Public Space



Camelia BECIU*
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 Alexandru I. CÂRLAN***

Diasporic Identities, Media, and the Public Space. Introductory Remarks

The concept of *diaspora* is enriched at present with a variety of readings in the context of globalization, transnational mobility and expansion of new communication technologies. Recent literature points to multiple meanings associated with “diaspora” and critically discusses the tendency to consider the concept and the phenomenon of “diaspora” to be interchangeable. An approach from the perspective of *diasporic identities* might therefore seem to run the risk of adding to the theoretical muddle around the notion.

How operational is, then, the concept of “diasporic identity”, taking into account, on the one hand, the continuous diversification of manifest forms of belonging that migrants and extra-territorial groups build in various transnational situations and, on the other, the increasing instability of these identity ties as regards their routines and public visibility? The new technologies and the Internet, along with the global culture of mobility, contribute to the construction of *emergent identities* (“the new diasporas”), shaping the forms of individual and public positioning that allow migrants to assume “a diasporic voice”, a way of being and acting. The “connected migrant” (Diminescu, 2007; 2010) experiences being “between” and “in” multiple socio-cultural spaces, at global and local scales, which intersect and communicate with one another in the same way that they are distinct from one another. Groups with an identity already configured through long affiliation with well-established causes coexist with other groups and individuals that engage publicly and are thus structured through the dynamics of specific, punctual events and circumstances.

Starting from these premises, we propose a thematic issue on the construction of diasporic identities in public situations and in contexts defined by different boundary-making (Culic, 2012). The studies included here highlight *visibility patterns* of migrants in the media discourse(s) in the country of origin and the host country – various ways of representing migrants and transnational communities, hence, of constructing “‘mediated’ identities and spaces” (Leeuw & Rydin, 2007). Several studies explore the socio-cultural and cognitive mechanisms by means of which diasporic communities are constituted around everyday practices and forms of reflexivity, projects of interpretation and public action, or the logic of symbolic resistance to certain categories and labels attached to migrants.

This issue is structured along several questions. First, it is concerned with the extent to which the media (along with other types of public discourse) channel the public’s ways of referring to the migrants’ *diasporic experience*, the migrants’ own positionings towards their

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ongoing experiences, and the types of reflexive engagement within *coexisting scales* of cultural and territorial distance.

Another question is whether the representation of migrants from the *diasporic experience* perspective – as part of a media discourse centred on daily experience and the individuals' public engagements – fulfils the function of mediating between diverse identities and social worlds, giving a stage to specific public problems or, on the contrary, the press are satisfied with reproducing a repertoire of "cases" and "situations". From this perspective, it is highly valuable to look into the mediation practices the media employ to make the transition from "narrations" or "cases" to public issues and to a "civic sensibility" (Chouliaraki, 2008).

In what manner does *the coexistence* of forms of belonging and public action influence the construction of diasporic identities? As Sheller and Urry state, the culture of mobility, including transnational mobility, stands out by "concomitant patterns of concentration that create zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases" (2006, p. 210).

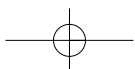
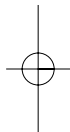
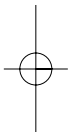
What is the relationship between certain community particularities and "the diasporic project" as a form of public engagement? The analysis of the ways in which migrants make use of community significances in situations of public engagement and, consequently, create "diasporic spaces" or "diasporic arenas", can contribute to foregrounding *the coexistence* of various identity layers ("stable", "fluid" or "multidimensional" – Georgiou, 2006) as well as to *reconfiguring* them.

On the other hand, how could we explain *emergent* projects, which redefine certain claims, practices and their corresponding rhetoric already instituted in a field of action? The analysis of the diaspora "as a category of practice" (Brubaker, 2005) presupposes, among others, the correlation of the "diasporic project" with a type of social situation, structured symbolically and normatively so as to allow the examination of both *identification processes* and the *symbolic dimension* thereof. It is then of relevance how migrants build images of themselves and others, redefine and dislocate "identities" and mediated meanings. The authors propose complementary theoretical analyses and interrogations of the diaspora and transnational experiences, focusing on their multiple interpretations and public uses.

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Identities and Diasporic Experience



Camelia BECIU*

Qui fait la diaspora? Le problème de l'identité dans les recherches sur les diasporas**

Résumé

Cet article ouvre un débat sur le rapport analytique entre «identité» et «diaspora». On discute notamment si la notion d'identité est une ressource pour la compréhension conceptuelle et empirique de la diaspora. Quelle pertinence donc pour *l'identité diasporique*? Analysant les différentes manières d'appréhender la diaspora, l'article met en évidence certaines limites analytiques dans la compréhension du rapport entre le *concept* (définitions de la diaspora), les *pratiques* (formes de réflexivité individuelle et collective, pratiques d'appartenance et d'engagement, pratiques de solidarité et de résistance, etc.) et le problème de *l'identité diasporique*.

Mots-clefs: identité, diaspora, expérience diasporique, transnationalisme, discours

Abstract

This article opens up a debate on the analytical relationship between “identity” and “the diaspora”. We discuss whether approaching the diaspora from an identitarian perspective constitutively generates an essentialist view of the diaspora or, contrariwise, allows the analysis of socio-cultural and cognitive processes of diaspora configuration. Is an analysis of the *diasporic identity* operational? Starting from various approaches to the diaspora, this article highlights certain analytic limits in understanding the relationship between *concept* (definitions of the diaspora), *practices* (forms of individual and collective reflexivity, belonging, solidarity or resistance practices) and the problem of *diasporic identity*.

Key words: identity, diaspora, diasporic experience, transnationalism, discourse

Rezumat

Articolul propune o discuție privind raportul analitic „identitate”/„diaspora”. Analizăm dacă înțelegerea diasporei din perspectiva identității generează în mod constitutiv o abordare *esențialistă* a diasporei, sau dimpotrivă, face posibilă analiza proceselor socio-culturale și cognitive prin care se configurează diaspora. În ce măsură este, așadar, operațională o analiză în termeni de *identitate diasporică*? Pornind de la o serie de abordări în literatura consacrată diasporei, articolul evidențiază anumite limite analitice în înțelegerea raportului

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dintre *concept* (diverse moduri de a defini diaspora), *practici* (forme de reflexivitate individuală și colectivă, practici de apartenență, solidaritate sau rezistență) și problema *identității diasporice*.

Cuvinte-cheie: identitate, diaspora, experiență diasporică, transnaționalism, discours

1. Visages de la diaspora. Contextes et perspectives théoriques

Nous lançons par cette étude une discussion analytique sur le concept de «diaspora». Prenant comme point de départ la théorie de Brubaker (2004; 2005), nous focalisons la discussion sur la possibilité de conceptualiser *l'identité diasporique*. Plusieurs types d'approches sont analysés afin de mettre en évidence la manière dont chacun des auteurs concernés problématise le rapport entre la diaspora-concept et la diaspora-phénomène social, catégorie de la pratique. L'enjeu serait celui de voir si la compréhension de la diaspora du point de vue de l'identité engendre de manière constitutive une approche *essentialiste*, ou bien au contraire, rend possible l'analyse des processus socio-culturels et cognitifs par lesquels se configure la diaspora. Quels rapports y-a-t-il alors entre le concept de diaspora et les pratiques de «nommer et revendiquer la diaspora» (Ho, 2011)?

La littérature scientifique récente constate les significations multiples associées au concept de diaspora, d'où la tendance de considérer la diaspora un concept / un phénomène de manière interchangeable.

Selon le modèle consacré, la diaspora est appréhendée en tant que groupe ethnique qui se réfugie / se disperse dans un autre espace que celui d'origine, participe à des actions de résistance et reproduit un imaginaire symbolique du *homeland*. Cohen fait référence à cette égard aux «diasporas victimes d'une expérience historique vitale» (Cohen, 2008, p. 4).

Même si cette acception ne peut pas être exclue, durant les dernières décennies, le registre conceptuel s'est diversifié dans le contexte de la globalisation et du transnationalisme: de définitions à grande généralité (par exemple un groupe qui partage certaines caractéristiques ou activités se trouvant en dehors du territoire national) à d'autres, plus spécifiques, qui incluent des critères comme: 1) la participation à une forme de mobilité (différentes formes de délocalisation, dispersion, migration), 2) dans un horizon temporel variable, 3) dans la perspective d'un projet identitaire dans le pays d'accueil, 4) par la reproduction de liens symboliques avec des «*milieux d'appartenance*» (pays d'origine, pays d'accueil, réseaux divers, formes d'affiliation, etc.), y compris par des positionnement publics et projets publics.

Les travaux sur la diaspora incluent des *acteurs sociaux* («communautés diasporiques», «populations diasporiques»), des *processus identitaires* («identités diasporiques», «participation diasporique», «groupes diasporiques», «diaspora et ethnicité»), des *politiques* («politiques diasporiques», «stratégies diasporiques», «citoyenneté diasporique»), des *pratiques* («communication diasporique», «diaspora et médias», «diaspora et Internet») ou des *situations* et des *types d'interactions* («contextes diasporiques»).

D'une manière ou d'une autre, les différentes conceptualisations et terrains empiriques de recherche ont un point de départ semblable: la diversification des formes de mobilité transnationale dans le contexte de la globalisation économique et culturelle. D'où l'acception selon laquelle la diaspora signifie des groupes extraterritoriaux qui développent non seulement «des projets» et des pratiques identitaires par rapport au pays d'origine et d'accueil, mais aussi des «liens latéraux» («lateral ties», Faist, 2010, p. 12). Les actions de la «diaspora» s'articulent en fonction d'événements ponctuels, conjonctures spécifiques, différentes types d'affiliation

et d'appartenance et, dans certains cas, effets des politiques lancées dans le pays d'origine, dans le pays d'accueil ou au sein de certaines structures transnationales telles que l'UE.

L'un des éléments structurants dans la formation de la diaspora est ce qu'on pourrait appeler la *manifestation de la citoyenneté* dans le contexte extra-territorial: différents modes de positionnement public par rapport aux événements, agendas et problèmes qui visent le pays d'origine ou, dans certains cas, problèmes qui impliquent les deux pays, d'origine et d'accueil.

Un autre élément pour la compréhension et l'analyse de la diaspora se réfère à son *caractère non-homogène*. Les nouvelles technologies et l'Internet, tout comme la culture globale de la mobilité, contribuent à la formation des *identités émergentes* («les nouvelles diasporas»), à la *visibilité publique* des problèmes, communautés et pratiques, mais aussi, selon Faist (2010), à la coagulation des *formes d'intégration et de distinction culturelles* par rapport à la culture du pays d'accueil. Ce contexte socio-technologique influe sur les positionnements individuels et collectifs par lesquels les migrants assument une «voix diasporique», une manière d'être et d'agir (Aksoy, 2000; Volkmer, 2008; Diminescu & Pasquier, 2010). «Le migrant connecté» (Diminescu, 2007; 2010) vit l'expérience d'être «entre» et «dans» plusieurs espaces socio-culturels, à l'échelle globale et locale, mais qui communiquent entre eux et se croisent tout comme ils se distinguent les uns par rapport aux autres. Des groupes avec une identité relativement configurée (par l'assumption de certaines causes consacrées) coexistent avec des groupes qui s'engagent publiquement et se structurent dans la dynamique des événements et conjonctures spécifiques. Néanmoins, la diversification des identités diasporiques présuppose aussi leur *instabilité* croissante du point de vue de l'organisation et de la visibilité publique.

2. Les acteurs diasporiques. Cadres d'analyse

L'un des plus débattus aspects de la littérature récente se réfère aux acteurs sociaux qui incarnent la diaspora. «Qui fait la diaspora?» Les groupes extra-territoriaux ou bien les communautés transnationales sont-elles «la diaspora»? Les migrants représentent-ils la diaspora ou doit-on distinguer du point de vue analytique entre les deux? La diaspora renvoie-t-elle seulement à des actions collectives, structurées, ou bien aussi à des actions individuelles? Inclue-t-elle aussi des actions collectives des acteurs non-institutionnels (Bauböck, 2010)? Ou des acteurs qui n'ont pas nécessairement d'«histoire diasporique» accumulée dans le temps? Par exemple, en analysant la manière dont les documents européens définissent la diaspora, Weinar (2010) démontre que ceux-ci ne distinguent pas clairement entre migrants et diaspora, même si la tendance est de comprendre la diaspora dans la perspective de l'activisme et d'une forme d'organisation.

Un premier problème y émerge: à quel point serait pertinente l'approche de la diaspora en termes d'identités individuelles ou collectives vu la diversité et le rythme des formes de manifestation des liens symboliques que les migrants et les différents groupes extra-territoriaux construisent en dehors du pays d'origine.

R. Brubaker (2004; 2005) a initié ce débat soulignant que la diaspora ne peut être réduite 1) à des groupes définis d'habitude selon des critères ethniques et non pas exclusivement; 2) à leur relation avec le pays d'origine. Selon l'auteur, comprendre la diaspora en fonction d'un groupe / entité considérés comme distinctes (puisque l'on peut les quantifier, ils ont certaines caractéristiques générales, etc.) serait une démarche substantialiste qui institue l'image d'un

groupe unitaire. Or, la relation avec le pays d'origine ne se décline pas seulement sous la forme de liens émotionnels-symboliques ou de pratiques de résistance politique, tout d'abord puisque le pays d'origine, tout en demeurant le référentiel principal, n'est plus le seul; la culture de la globalisation et des nouvelles technologies diversifie les possibilités d'interaction pour l'individu et les communautés. De même, le critère de la mobilité / dispersion extra-territoriales ne clarifie pas non plus la définition de la diaspora puisque cela signifierait que «tout» groupe situé en dehors des frontières nationales pourrait être considéré comme diaspora.

Considérant ces prémisses, Brubaker définit la diaspora «not in substantialist terms as a bounded entity, but rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim. We should think of diaspora in the first instance as a category of practice, and only then ask whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis» (Brubaker, 2005, p. 12). Il s'en suit que le critère analytique principal vise un type de projet public, suivi, dans une étape postérieure, de l'investigation des particularités identitaires de ceux qui adhèrent au projet en cause. L'argument avancé par Brubaker se réfère au fait que dans les discours publics, tout comme la diaspora dans la littérature académique, est une catégorie appliquée à un groupe qui assume certaines revendications ou initie des projets et des événements à caractère normatif qui définissent des changements. Par conséquent, il faudrait analyser *le type de projet*, son contenu spécifique, les pratiques d'argumentation et de communication des sollicitations, revendications, objectifs et énoncés identitaires. La définition de Brubaker est opérationnelle puisque, appliquée au contexte des sociétés globalisées, elle étend l'aire conceptuelle et empirique du modèle classique axé sur la relation linéaire entre le migrant et le pays d'origine.

À notre avis, «le complexe des pratiques» (critère de définition de la diaspora) doit être corrélé avec le type de *situation sociale* – acteurs, pratiques et contextes symboliques. D'ailleurs, «a stance, a claim, a complex of practices» peuvent être appliqués aussi pour définir d'autres phénomènes sociaux (mouvement sociaux, organisations, politiques, etc.). La diaspora ne peut être réduite ni à des «entités», ni à un «projet» ou à des «pratiques» déconnectées de la situation sociale – d'un univers de normes, symboles et relations spécifiques. Si «les projets» sont traités de manière autonome, sans une dimension contextuelle, alors il est difficile de comparer «des projets» ou d'identifier des stratégies de recontextualisation dans la construction du projet.

On peut trouver une autre manière d'aborder l'identité diasporique dans les recherches intéressées par les *pratiques de vie quotidienne* des migrants (Diminescu & Pasquier, 2010; Boccagni, 2010). Ces recherches traitent de façon critique l'approche de la diaspora sous la forme de collectivités données, constituées, typiques pour un soit-disant mode d'action diasporique. On constate un point commun avec la discussion initiée par Brubaker, à savoir la critique des analyses qui approchent la diaspora sous la forme des «entités» (Brubaker) et des «comportements diasporiques». «Diasporique» devient ainsi une étiquette conceptuelle pour une vision schématique sur la diaspora, appuyée sur des généralisations et des discours dominants. L'essentialisme / le substantialisme, comme type d'analyse et de raisonnement analytique, construit le *caractère naturel* de certains phénomènes, situations et acteurs. L'opération principale sur laquelle s'appuie l'approche essentialiste consiste en l'utilisation d'un langage et de catégories holistes (du type «les Roumains de l'étranger») par lesquels on introduit et on légitime des actions, des acteurs et des groupes, tout comme le rôle causal de certains phénomènes sans tenir compte du spécifique des situations (du contexte de pouvoir, de l'univers normatif, etc.). Autrement dit, une «réalité» (acteurs sociaux, phénomènes, situations,

etc.) est redéfinie comme *instance* ou *entité* qui agit et se manifeste conformément à une certaine intentionnalité, fonction ou rôle¹. Cette approche élude les particularités contextuelles de la réalité qu'on veut expliquer, ainsi que les processus socio-cognitifs et culturels par lesquels les acteurs sociaux interprètent la réalité.

Robins et Askoy (2000) discutent de manière critique cette approche dans le contexte des études sur la consommation des médias transnationaux par les migrants. De telles recherches, la majorité de facture ethnographique, devraient être pertinentes pour la culture et les contextes transnationaux et non seulement pour une perspective de l'appartenance à une société nationale. Les auteurs soulignent que le transnationalisme représente «une nouvelle situation culturelle» qui s'articule dans l'interaction entre «national» et «transnational» (Robins & Askoy, 2000, p. 44). Les recherches ne devraient pas être limitées à une soit-disant «agenda culturel diasporique» (Robins & Askoy, 2000, p. 45) axé plus sur des «catégories» et des «groupes» de migrants et moins sur la manière dont les individus développent une certaine réflexivité dans des situations transnationales diverses. Selon Robins et Askoy, les situations transnationales représentent plus que la dispersion des acteurs sociaux dans l'espace, elles se configurent sous la forme de styles de vie et de pratiques socio-culturelles émergentes: «We shall be concerned with the cultural potential that may be inherent in these transnational developments as they occur at the level of everyday experience. And we shall be particularly attentive to the possibilities that these new connections may be creating for moving beyond the agenda of national identity and the frame of imagined community» (Robins & Askoy, 2000, p. 45). Ces styles de vie incorporent également la relation avec le *homeland*, configurée non seulement sous la forme de projets collectifs, mais aussi de significations, de pratiques partagées et d'habitus. Weinar (2010) souligne à cette égard que «transnational community can be seen as a migrant community whose members engage freely in real networks linking them to their home country. This relationship is neither mythical nor visionary; it is lived through practices of everyday life» (Weinar, 2010, p. 76).

En ce qui concerne le «potentiel culturel intrinsèque» du transnationalisme, il faudrait ajouter que les pratiques et les formes de réflexivité développées par les migrants dans les situations transnationales peuvent être abordées également comme des *positionnements* par rapport à différents contextes de pouvoir, y compris par rapport à des logiques d'appartenance et à des «communautés imaginées». Il est significatif en ce sens le concept de «la dialectique mobilité – fermeture» (*mobility – enclosure dialectic*) introduit par O'Reilly (2007) pour mettre en évidence, d'une part, les contradictions générées par les politiques spécifiques à la mobilité globalisée et, de l'autre, par une série de conditions structurelles politiques, réglementations) qui rendent difficile l'intégration des migrants dans les champs sociaux du lieu d'accueil. Ces contradictions structurent les représentations sur l'appartenance des migrants qui se confrontent à la fois aux «processus de la mobilité et à ceux qui renforcent les frontières et les liens avec les lieux d'origine» (O'Reilly, 2007, p. 277).

Or, l'analyse de la manière dont les migrants assument «l'expérience diasporique» en réinterprétant les formes d'appartenance est une dimension des situations transnationales. On peut mettre ainsi en évidence les pratiques de résistance symbolique ou de reconstruction identitaire – de multiples logiques d'interaction (individuelles, collectives, locales, nationales, virtuelles, etc.). Les situations transnationales ont aussi un caractère normatif, dans le sens où elles génèrent des contextes symboliques (valeurs, symboles, normes, pratiques, etc.) et des types de discours (culturel-philosophique, politique, institutionnel, académique, etc.). L'analyse des situations transnationales suppose la mise en exergue non seulement de l'ex-

périence individuelle et collective, mais aussi des mécanismes institutionaux et symboliques par lesquels on institue des «contrats de communication» divers sur le transnationalisme. La réflexivité des migrants comme acteurs sociaux, le repérage des manières individuelles et collectives dont ils construisent des significations et des pratiques peuvent être une dimension essentielle de la recherche actuelle. Les processus par lesquels se structurent «les rhéoriques transnationales» deviennent également pertinents: pratiques rituelles et mécanismes symboliques tant «top down» que «bottom up», dans la sphère institutionnelle, dans des communautés et des groupes.

3. La diaspora – une catégorie socio-culturelle

Les approches culturalistes analysent la manière dont les migrants construisent des actions collectives et des logiques de résistance dans le rapport à l'état-nation du pays d'origine, mais aussi vis-à-vis des problèmes spécifiques de la globalisation, comme les processus d'homogénéisation ou la naturalisation des discours hégémoniques (Morales & Jorba, 2010; de Fina & King, 2011; Bonini, 2011). Ce qui intéresse est l'agentivité (*the agency*) d'un acteur social, sa capacité de redéfinir les rapports de pouvoir, y compris les rapports inter-ethniques dans le pays d'accueil (Prieto-Flores & Sordé-Martí, 2011). Du point de vue descriptif, la diaspora est associée aux communautés ethniques ou groupes sociaux qui partagent des valeurs et des comportements, mais du point de vue analytique il s'impose l'idée d'un acteur social générique pour différentes formes d'activisme social dans des contextes transnationaux. D'ailleurs, les modalités de dénomination dans la littérature académique varient de «mouvements diasporiques», «communautés diasporiques», «populations diasporiques» à «la télévision diasporique», «projet diasporique» ou «sujets diasporiques», chacun mettant en évidence une manière d'action collective par rapport à des problèmes comme la discrimination, l'appartenance à la nation ou formes d'exclusion diverses.

Le rôle de la diaspora comme agent social de changement et catégorie socio-culturelle doit être nuancé en fonction de la spécificité de la conjoncture sociale, d'une part, et des effets structurants de la globalisation et du transnationalisme, en ce qui concerne la formation des identités collectives, de l'autre.

À ce point, sont mises en évidence les théories post-modernes et socio-constructivistes sur l'identité selon lesquelles les identités ne sont pas «données» et ne s'appuient pas nécessairement sur un «noyau dur» de traits («le soi») qui impliquerait de la stabilité, de la continuité, de l'homogénéité et un certain déterminisme social. L'identité se relève par la façon dont les acteurs sociaux construisent des discours sur soi, le positionnement par rapport à des événements, thèmes et problèmes. Toute une littérature développe en ce sens le concept d'identité «fluide», «liquide», «complexe» et émergente dans le contexte (Grad & Martín Rojo, 2008, p. 4).

Brubaker (2004) considère que les deux modèles de conceptualisation de l'identité, le modèle essentialiste (ledit modèle «fort»), mais aussi le post-moderne (la version «faible») engendre en fait la *réification* de l'identité sous la forme de groupes ou d'acteurs collectifs qui auraient des buts semblables et présenteraient une ressemblance interne, d'où l'effet idéologique appelé par l'auteur «groupisme». Brubaker nous propose d'utiliser à la place du concept d'«identité», «l'identification» et, de manière complémentaire, les concepts d'«auto-identification» et de «compréhension de soi» («self-understanding»). Ces concepts alter-

natifs renvoient, selon l'auteur, à une série de schémas socio-cognitifs «intrinsèques à la vie sociale» de l'individu, indiquant comment et quand les individus construisent des significations et des interprétations sur soi, sur les autres et sur le monde (Brubaker, 2004, p. 18). Autrement dit, l'analyse des manières dont les individus et les institutions utilisent des divers schémas narratifs ou des types de catégories pour interpréter des expériences, des actions ou des événements permet d'éviter: 1) la réification de l'identité, 2) la compréhension non-instrumentale de l'action des acteurs sociaux et 3) la légitimation *a priori* de certaines «identités» par différents types de discours ou par des typologies définies ad hoc («identificateurs»).

L'analyse critique développée par Brubaker sur ce qu'il appelle «la politique de l'identité», à savoir la tentative de légitimer de façon stratégique des «identités», des «groupes» et des «catégories» comme s'ils étaient «naturels», s'inscrit dans la ligne des recherches intéressées par la construction hégémonique des discours publics (la même tendance se retrouve également dans la sphère de la vie quotidienne où les acteurs sociaux s'identifient, eux-mêmes, et désignent les autres en «naturalisant» une série de catégories – Brubaker considère ces pratiques comme une «micropolitique des catégories» (2004, p. 13). Or, cette perspective – la politique de l'identité – peut justifier par elle-même le concept d'«identité».

Premièrement, l'approche de l'«identité» dans l'analyse critique des discours institutionnels et de ceux de la sphère privée attire l'attention sur les pratiques par lesquelles les acteurs sociaux légitiment les catégories, les problèmes et les états de fait – donc on y facilite la déconstruction des discours (avec l'observation que, dans la sphère de la vie quotidienne, la tendance des gens à mobiliser des «identités» n'est pas toujours l'expression d'une stratégie, mais indique plutôt un habitus). Deuxièmement, l'«identité» peut être utilisée comme une catégorie analytique de la théorie sociale pour mettre en évidence certains patterns d'une sphère sociale partant des analyses empiriques. Dans ce cadre, comment pourrait-on expliquer les *identités émergentes*? C'est en analysant les *processus d'identification* des acteurs sociaux, mais aussi la *dimension symbolique* de ces processus dans un contexte, dans une situation, par rapport à un imaginaire social. L'identification suppose la mobilisation des images sur soi et sur les autres, de certaines «identités» et significations médiatisées par des «identificateurs» divers (médias, politiques, organisations, leaders, etc.), mais qui sont redéfinies et constamment «disloquées»². Les acteurs sociaux eux-mêmes opèrent avec «des identités» dans les processus d'identification.

Une solution raisonnable serait l'utilisation des deux concepts: l'*identification* indique de manière plus prégnante, la *construction* de l'identité et l'*activité* par des processus socio-cognitifs; l'*identité* peut attirer l'attention sur la dynamique de la redéfinition d'un contexte symbolique dans la société, une institution ou un groupe. En fait, l'utilisation des «identités», sans le risque d'expliquer de manière «universelle» les actions des gens ou les styles de vie, dépend d'abord du rapport entre les discours analytiques et la construction du corpus empirique; deuxièmement, souligne El Sghiar (2011), cela dépend d'un type de recherche qui rend possible l'analyse des différenciations et de la diversité: «The current society has changed from a migration into a diasporic society in which diversification will continue to increase. This confronts us with a scientific challenge, as the concepts we used in the past decades can no longer describe this reality accurately. What is often being analysed is the world we create, rather than the world that exists» (El Sghiar, 2011, p. 451). Troisièmement, selon Billig (2008), sont également importants les *choix* du chercheur / communicateur concernant les constructions linguistiques et conceptuelles de telle sorte que le langage utilisé n'institue pas d'effets idéologiques comme la *réification* ou la suppression de l'*agentivité*: «On occasions

speakers/writers may find it easier not to consider the range of options that are available to them, but to go along with familiar, linguistic habits» (Billig, 2008, p. 797).

Dans cette étude nous abordons les identités «fluides» comme une dimension des communautés diasporiques, ce qui n'exclue pas en revanche l'analyse de la construction identitaire à travers des éléments de continuité ou relativement stables. Il est important, par contre, que la mise en évidence des identités sociales, des identités «fluides» ou des *processus d'identification* ne se transforme pas, à son tour, dans un discours essentialiste. En paraphrasant de nouveau Billig, dans l'analyse des acteurs sociaux, des institutions ou des pratiques «we must use language in order to make our investigations» (Billig, 2008, p. 783).

D'ailleurs, certains auteurs étudient la coexistence de la diversité et de la continuité dans les processus de construction identitaire: «It remains widely taken for granted that some sense of continuity of self, the anticipation of a future and a memory of the past, is intrinsic to the human condition and this is often implicit, if not openly acknowledged in much social theory. A combination of diversity and fluidity on the one hand and of core and continuity on the other is not a paradox for traditions that discuss the social construction of 'the self'» (Grad & Martín Rojo, 2008, p. 9).

L'aspect de la *continuité* dans la construction identitaire des communautés diasporiques connaît un développement spécifique dans la littérature sur le transnationalisme. Cette approche opère avec une série de distinctions conceptuelles comme celle entre la globalisation et le transnationalisme (Georgiou, 2006) ou entre le transnationalisme et la diaspora (Bauböck, 2010). Ainsi, si la globalisation supposerait des *logiques unificatrices* au niveau culturel et économique et, corrélativement, des manières de *résistance symbolique* articulées à l'échelle locale, le transnationalisme suppose la *coexistence* et, à la fois, l'interconnexion de logiques diverses d'appartenance, de communication et de mobilité. L'appartenance à de multiples espaces socio-culturels et la construction de pratiques et de réseaux de connectivité et de médiation entre ces espaces sont des éléments de base pour comprendre le transnationalisme. Appliqué à la diaspora, le transnationalisme indique des pratiques et des positionnements identitaires qui se configurent par la «co-présence» des espaces géographiques et socio-culturels à différentes échelles de la vie quotidienne et publique. Myria Georgiou met en évidence en ce sens le caractère multidimensionnel des identités diasporiques: «The diversity and different levels of intensity of spatial belongings reflect the multidimensionality of identities, that coexist, codepend and which cannot be holistic or framed within a single place any more. Even a single identity, like the diasporic, is not singular and remains viable only through the multiple interweaving of different spaces and relations of belonging» (Georgiou, 2006, p. 10). De ce point de vue, la diaspora est comprise plutôt comme une catégorie socio-culturelle significative pour la globalisation, le transnationalisme et leurs effets structurants.

La littérature dans ce domaine traite du transnationalisme comme une catégorie analytique et méthodologique qui structure les différentes manières de recherche de la migration et de la diaspora (Georgiu, 2007, p. 28), mais ayant une prémisse commune, à savoir: la co-présence de multiples relations d'appartenance qui mettent en forme les pratiques de la vie quotidienne, projets politiques y compris.

4. La diaspora – une pratique du discours

Comme nous l'avons vu, les recherches consacrées à la diaspora discutent la tendance de considérer la diaspora comme un concept et un phénomène, de manière interchangeable (par exemple, migration et diaspora, diaspora et communautés transnationales). Bauböck (2010) soulève le même problème par le constat de la superposition de la diaspora avec le transnationalisme et Faist (2010) souligne que toute communauté transnationale n'est pas diaspora. Pour clarifier ce problème, Bauböck considère que le transnationalisme ne doit pas nécessairement être opposé au nationalisme méthodologique, comme on le constate souvent, mais il ne doit pas non plus être intégré dans la même sphère explicative que le cosmopolitisme ou le multiculturalisme (2010, p. 310). Selon l'auteur, *le transnationalisme* est «une perspective analytique», un cadre d'analyse pour des réalités sociales globalisées diverses et des phénomènes transfrontaliers de la communauté politique nationale. En revanche, la diaspora est considérée «comme un cas de figure du transnationalisme» (Bauböck, 2010, p. 317) se référant tout d'abord à des acteurs collectifs, non-institutionnels, ayant une identité diasporique formée par dispersion territoriale, une certaine continuité d'une génération à l'autre, participant à différents réseaux d'interaction transnationale (critères normatifs dans la définition de la diaspora). Sous l'étiquette «Diaspora» peuvent agir aussi des acteurs qui ne font qu'utiliser «le langage de la diaspora» pour légitimer des projets politiques, engendrant des identités collectives diasporiques.

L'auteur limite l'acception de la diaspora à un «projet politique», à savoir un type de *discours* sur l'appartenance à une communauté politique (tout d'abord en contexte transnational) et, de ce point de vue, les deux concepts, «transnationalisme» et «diaspora», ne sont plus interchangeables, mais deviennent complémentaires: «We therefore need to trace as well the public discourses that construct transnational citizenship not merely as legal statuses and rights, but also as a significant way of belonging to a political community. Bringing practice and discourse dimensions into the analysis of transnational citizenship creates a bridge to the study of diaspora» (Bauböck, 2010, p. 299). L'auteur développe la ligne de Brubaker, mais, par opposition à celui-ci, il prend en considération les particularités contextuelles du «projet» diasporique, acteurs, intérêts, élites et «current conditions», divers mécanismes symboliques par lesquels les formes d'engagement dans un projet diasporique se structurent tant «top down» que «bottom up».

Le potentiel de cette approche est qu'elle rend possible l'analyse à la fois de certaines formes d'activisme et du positionnement ou de la réflexivité d'un acteur individuel ou de groupes qui n'ont pas nécessairement de visibilité publique. La diaspora comme discours met en évidence les *répertoires* de la mobilisation politique tout comme *l'expérience diasporique* ou ce que O'Reilly appelle «*experiences of belonging and the nature of concrete ties*» (O'Reilly, 2007, p. 277). En ce sens, nous considérons que «l'expérience diasporique», à savoir les positionnements des migrants sur leurs expériences en cours, peut révéler des formes d'engagement réflexif, voire, l'appropriation *des échelles coexistantes* de distance culturelle et territoriale. De ce point de vue, la question est si *le positionnement* par rapport à des espaces d'appartenance, problème ou événement dans un contexte public ou semi-public doit nécessairement engendrer un projet collectivement assumé (condition que Bauböck considère nécessaire) ou bien si la *réflexivité* et la *compétence critique* de l'individu et des groupes peuvent aussi être rélevantes pour un «projet diasporique».

5. La diaspora et le capital symbolique de la nation

L'approche de la diaspora dans la perspective du transnationalisme met en évidence, entre autres, la *constitution* des communautés diasporiques. Ces approches s'intéressent aux conditions de production d'une *communauté d'interprétation et d'action* (dans le sens de la notion utilisée par Brubaker, «groupness») par rapport à un problème ou événement. Essentiellement cette perspective explique la variété des processus qui mènent à des *formes émergentes* de la diaspora, évitant ainsi une approche déterministe-essentialiste de la diaspora comme «groupe institué» ou «communauté imaginée».

Le transnationalisme couvre aussi des approches axées sur la manière de construction de politiques par les Etats-nation, y compris des interprétations de la diaspora. Ainsi, le transnationalisme politique (Bauböck, Gamlen) prend en considération les mécanismes politiques et symboliques par lesquels l'Etat-nation incorpore la diaspora dans les systèmes étatiques et dans «la société nationale» (Gamlen, 2008). Toute une série d'études sur ce thème discutent si et comment les Etats devraient s'engager à mobiliser la diaspora sans affecter de quelque manière que ce soit la souveraineté de l'Etat d'accueil, les libertés individuelles des migrants et le rapport symbolique des citoyens du pays d'origine avec ceux de l'extérieur du pays (Gamlen, 2008).

Le transnationalisme politique soulève aussi le problème de l'identité diasporique. L'un des aspects les plus débatus se réfère au fait que les politiques consacrées à la diaspora instituent des identités «top-down» ou des groupes qui ne seraient pas en fait significatifs pour l'expérience quotidienne individuelle et communautaire des migrants dans le pays d'accueil et dans différents contextes d'interaction transnationale. D'ailleurs, pour ces auteurs, les politiques qui ont comme objectif la mobilisation de la diaspora s'adressent plutôt aux leaders ou aux cercles visibles des migrants (mais seraient-ils vraiment représentatifs pour la diaspora «authentique»?). Pour le poser dans les termes de Brubaker, par ces politiques les états agissent comme des «identificateurs», produisant des «bounded groups» définis à travers des arguments «universalistes».

Bien évidemment, pour répondre à la question «qui fait la diaspora?» nous devons tenir compte du niveau analytique avec lequel nous opérons. La fonction d'«*identificateur*» est constitutive pour l'Etat, mais elle peut être déconstruite en mettant en évidence les processus et les mécanismes par lesquels l'Etat arrive à «définir» de manière symbolique la diaspora. Ho (2011) introduit en ce sens le syntagme «stratégies de la nouvelle citoyenneté extraterritoriale» (*new extraterritorial citizenship strategies*) pour marquer les stratégies de production de la diaspora, mais aussi pour rendre possible une analyse critique de leurs effets – par exemple la mise en visibilité de certaines catégories des migrants, y compris des identités symboliques.

L'identité diasporiques, comme expression de certaines politiques, doit être mise en rapport également avec le problème de la citoyenneté. En quelle mesure la citoyenneté est-elle toujours rélevante dans la formation de l'identité diasporique? Hansen (2009) analyse de manière critique lesdites approches «post-nationalistes» qui soutiennent que la citoyenneté nationale ne serait plus si importante dans la constitution des identités diasporiques, vu la variété des formes d'appartenance, mais aussi la réglementation des droits individuels par leur subordination à la «résidence permanente». L'auteur considère que la citoyenneté est celle qui assure aux individus, en tant que membres d'une communauté politique, des droits politiques appuyés sur des valeurs politiques libérales. Minimiser la citoyenneté ne ferait qu'amplifier des problèmes comme la violation des valeurs politiques libérales, le chômage

et, en général, la marginalisation économique au sein des minorités ethniques de l'Europe. De ce point de vue, les politiques relatives à la diaspora contribuent à l'exercice et à la consolidation de la citoyenneté en contexte extraterritorial. La citoyenneté est considérée comme une «structure d'opportunité», y compris pour la «mobilité au-delà des frontières internationales» (*mobility across international borders*) (Bauböck, 2010).

La construction étatique de politiques et d'acteurs diasporiques met en évidence différentes *logiques d'instrumentalisation* de la diaspora (Weinar, 2010). La diaspora devient un thème de l'agenda politique mobilisée dans les arènes des discours politiques-électoraux (La Commission européenne a élaboré également des politiques concernant des diasporas engagées). Ainsi, les discours politiques s'appuient souvent sur le cadrage de la diaspora en tant qu'«acteur émergent de politiques» (*an emerging policy actor*) ou «agent de politique de développement» (*agent of development policy*) (Weinar, 2010, p. 74).

Un exemple en ce sens est la construction de l'agenda politique dans le contexte de la migration de la main d'œuvre au sein de l'UE, phénomène qui s'est accéléré avec l'élargissement de l'UE et avec la libéralisation de la circulation de la main d'œuvre. Ainsi, dans les pays qui sont devenus récemment membres de l'UE, à savoir les pays de l'ancien bloc communiste comme la Roumanie, la Bulgarie ou la Pologne, la migration de la main d'œuvre est devenue un thème de l'agenda permanent. Pour ces pays, la libéralisation de la circulation de la main d'œuvre dans l'espace européen a signifié, parmi d'autres, l'apparition de la migration temporaire comme phénomène de société – des catégories sociales qui vont dans des pays de l'UE pour travailler pendant une période déterminée et qui commencent ainsi à construire des trajectoires différentes entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'accueil (par exemple le retour dans le pays d'origine pendant les vacances, le contract de travail pour un intervalle de six mois dans le pays d'accueil suivi de six mois dans le pays d'origine, un calendrier aléatoire en ce qui concerne la navette entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'accueil, etc.).

En Roumanie, le thème de la migration de la main d'œuvre s'impose au fur et à mesure dans le débat public et dans la communication politique, instituant un imaginaire des «Roumains partis pour travailler à l'étranger». Dans la presse apparaissent des désignations comme «les Roumains d'Espagne», «les Roumains d'Italie» «la nouvelle diaspora» ou «la diaspora» et certaines d'entre elles constitueront des rubriques quotidiennes, marquant ainsi la valorisation de ce thème pour le savoir public. Les références aux migrants deviennent fréquentes dans le discours politique – le phénomène de la migration est utilisé comme un argument institutionnel ou électoral pour légitimer des politiques et initier un processus d'institutionnalisation (la création d'agences gouvernementales, l'initiation de campagnes de communication, débats publics sur «le vote de la diaspora»).

Cependant, la migration de la main d'œuvre devient un *cadrage* pour d'autres thèmes intensément débattus au sein de la société roumaine. Après la chute du régime communiste en 1990, les médias, la société civile et la classe politique évoquent fréquemment dans le débat public le problème de l'image internationale du pays. Le débat s'intensifie dans la période des négociations qui ont précédé l'adhésion à l'UE et surtout après ce que la Roumanie devienne membre de facto de l'UE en 2007. Dans ce contexte, le thème de la migration de la main d'œuvre est progressivement incorporé dans le débat plus vaste sur la capacité des systèmes politiques-institutionnels du pays, d'une part, et sur la construction symbolique de la communauté imaginée, de l'autre. Bref, dans ces débats politiques-médiatiques ou civiques l'interpellation du politique coexiste avec une série d'interrogations identitaires-ethniques

sur la crise des valeurs de la période communiste et les évolutions contradictoires dans la reconfiguration des solidarités collectives et des valeurs sociétales.

Pour comprendre l'approche de la main d'œuvre dans les débats politiques-identitaires il faut tenir compte des *patterns* dominants de visibilité publique de la migration. La presse et la télévision ont consacré certaines représentations des migrants, focalisées sur les migrants comme héros positifs (anonymes, auteurs d'événements considérés méritoires dans les pays d'accueil) et comme héros négatifs (des anonymes qui commettent des infractions dans les pays d'accueil) (Beciu, 2012). La construction médiatique de la migration sous la forme de catégories génériques comme les héros, coupables ou victimes, ont généré des arguments pour le débat public en cours concernant l'image internationale de la Roumanie. Autrement dit, dans la sphère politique-médiatique la migration de la main d'œuvre est traitée comme une *ressource* pour le *capital symbolique de la nation*. D'ailleurs, les médias et la sphère politique utilisent le terme de «diaspora» surtout dans des contextes de pouvoir, dans lesquels la diaspora compte comme entité (se référant au «vote de la diaspora», «les Roumains de la diaspora», «les représentants de la diaspora», les filiales des partis politiques dans «la diaspora» du type «le président de la diaspora», «la réaction de la diaspora» face à un événement, etc.).

La visibilité et la signification du phénomène de la migration sont réduites en grande partie à un répertoire limité de faits qui contribuent au ou bien au contraire diminuent le capital symbolique de la nation. Les pratiques de médiatisation de la migration récente constituent une dimension d'un *problème public* – la construction de l'image de la nation comme politique et action publique.

Autour du concept de «nation branding» s'est articulée une catégorie émergente de travaux sur la manière dont «nation branding operates as a new site upon which national identities and globalization come into contact and are reconfigured in the post-communist environment» (Kaneva, 2011, p. 5). La littérature dans ce domaine considère «nation branding» un concept spécifique au marketing transféré dans la sphère de la politique gouvernementale, tout en restant cantonné plus au niveau d'un discours institutionnel tactique, dans «le back stage». Par comparaison, dans les pays post-communistes «nation branding» est non seulement un concept mais aussi un type de *problème public*. «Nation branding» passe du discours institutionnel et expert dans la sphère médiatique et dans des discours publics divers, y compris dans la vie quotidienne. Les actions des gouvernements en matière de *nation branding* (l'initiation d'une campagne de construction de l'image du pays) acquièrent de la visibilité publique tout en étant débattues et contestées. Ce contexte explique partiellement le positionnement normatif-éthique de la classe politique, des médias et des différents milieux sociaux par rapport au «rôle» de la diaspora. Le discours public attribue une responsabilité morale à la diaspora tant en ce qui concerne «l'image du pays» que par rapport à «ceux qui sont restés à la maison». De ce point de vue, la migration de la main d'œuvre est mentionnée comme une circonstance subsidiaire, incorporée dans un discours factuel sur les Roumains de l'étranger et leurs actions considérées exemplaires ou, bien au contraire, négatives en termes d'image nationale.

6. La diaspora – représentations médiatiques

Les médias comme «texte» mettent en circulation des représentations sur des individus, des groupes, des communautés ou des nations, légitimant des identités et des conceptions di-

verses sur «des problèmes» qui nous préoccupent. De ce point de vue les médias sont l'un des plus puissants «identificateurs», construisant des catégories, des groupes, des caractères ou des images que l'on considère homogènes ou, selon le cas, globaux. La qualité délibérative du discours médiatique dépend de la mesure dans laquelle on évite les stéréotypes, les formes de généralisation et les interprétations *prises pour acquises* sur les migrants, la migration et la diaspora.

Les représentations médiatiques diffusent un type de «proximité sociale et culturelle» entre le consommateur et «l'autre», ainsi que des «connexions» culturelles et «des contextes d'imagination» (Bailey & al., 2007). Chouliaraki (2006, 2011) analyse le discours médiatique dans la perspective d'une «éthique de la médiation», mettant en évidence la manière dont une construction discursive du «texte médiatique» oriente le public vers une forme de solidarité, responsabilité sociale et action publique par rapport à la souffrance de l'«autre distant» – un public qui ne demeure pas pour autant cantonné dans un régime de la compassion ou d'un intérêt de façade.

À partir de cette *dimension performative* des médias, les représentations sur les migrants médiatisent-elles pour le public un sens de l'engagement de sorte que «leurs» actions soient perçues comme pertinentes et sensibles pour le «nous» de la proximité? En quelle mesure les médias orientent-ils le public à se rapporter à l'expérience diasporique des migrants par des perceptions de soi et des positionnements formés dans des contextes définis par différentes productions de frontières (Culic, 2012) ou bien au contraire, les médias se limitent à la légitimation de catégories, «cas», «identités»? (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2012).

Le discours médiatique est aussi une ressource de médiation de la situation transnationale. L'une des lignes d'exploration du discours médiatique porte sur le cadrage de certains positionnements et identités, vu la *coprésence* d'espaces socio-culturels nationaux et transnationaux. Il faut voir d'abord si les médias mettent en forme des représentations et des savoirs prenant en compte à la fois la perspective nationale, ainsi que des pratiques socio-culturelles rélevantes pour la culture de la mobilité, de la globalisation et du transnationalisme. Ou bien si l'agenda médiatique, le langage et les types de cadrage, les dispositifs médiatiques abordent la migration, la diaspora et le transnationalisme comme étant constitutifs des sociétés nationales et en même temps globalisées. Un *continuum* entre des espaces d'appartenance au pays d'origine et les espaces transnationaux. Pour des auteurs comme Georgiou, la communication transnationale s'appuie sur une relation «between shared communal consumption and the construction of the communal (mediated) symbols and meanings» (Georgiou, 2006, p. 73). Autrement dit, agir et communiquer en perspective transnationale suppose des formes de médiation entre différentes échelles et frontières spatiales ou temporelles, entre des publics, entre des genres de discours et des pratiques de consommation.

Par exemple, la migration de la main d'œuvre dans l'UE représente un phénomène qui est apparu dans le contexte de l'extension de l'UE et de l'*européanisation* des politiques nationales et des cultures publiques. Or, du point de vue de la recherche il est important d'analyser si la diaspora continue d'être comprise et problématisée comme une réalité plutôt «extérieure» à la société, un phénomène «à distance» (le cas échéant récupéré par l'agenda politique-médiatique) ou bien, au contraire, si la presse propose des images diverses et nuancées sur l'*expérience diasporique*. Un discours médiatique qui introduit *des catégories génériques* du type «les Roumains de l'étranger» ou «la diaspora» indique l'*instrumentalisation* de ce thème – une stratégie d'argumentation dans le contexte de l'interaction entre médias et différentes structures politiques (leaders, partis, gouvernement, politiques, etc.). La visibilité des migrants en

situations variées, relevant des expériences et des postures réflexives institue en échange la signification d'une *réalité constitutive* de la société.

7. Conclusions

Cet article propose l'ouverture d'un débat sur le rapport entre la diaspora-concept et la diaspora-phénomène et pratique. Nous avons étudié notamment si la notion d'identité est une ressource analytique pour la compréhension conceptuelle et empirique de la diaspora. Quelle pertinence pour *l'identité diasporique*?

L'article dégage différentes manières d'appréhender la diaspora: *diaspora comme catégorie socio-culturelle*, *diaspora – pratique du discours*, *diaspora – ressource institutionnelle* et *diaspora – représentation médiatique*. Chacune de ces approches met en évidence des problèmes analytiques spécifiques sur le potentiel explicatif de la notion d'identité, plus précisément d'identité diasporique.

Ainsi, «la diaspora comme catégorie socio-culturelle» est une approche en termes d'acteurs et de types de pratiques relevant pour la globalisation et le transnationalisme: s'agit-il d'actions collectives de résistance, de projets politiques ou de pratiques de la vie quotidienne, l'idée d'un acteur social générique pour les situations transnationales s'y impose.

«La diaspora comme pratique du discours» vise les mécanismes discursifs de production d'un «projet politique» collectivement assumé – un type de *discours* sur l'appartenance à une communauté politique en situations spécifiques.

«La diaspora comme ressource institutionnelle» et «la diaspora comme représentation médiatique» font valoir la construction symbolique de la diaspora par l'intermédiaire d'«identificateurs» (au sens de Brubaker). La première indique une *logique d'instrumentalisation* de la diaspora (Weinar, 2010) gérée par des structures politiques-gouvernementales. La diaspora devient un thème de l'agenda politique, étant utilisée comme argument dans l'élaboration des politiques. L'enjeu est de légitimer la diaspora comme acteur significatif dans la construction des politiques de l'Etat du pays d'origine. «La diaspora comme représentation médiatique» accentue la dimension performative du discours médiatique, capable d'instituer des catégories, «des cas» et «des identités» diasporiques et ainsi de médiatiser pour le public une certaine forme de compréhension et de distance-proximité face à la situation transnationale.

Analysant ces modèles théoriques, l'article discute certaines limites analytiques dans la compréhension du rapport entre *le concept* (définitions de la diaspora), les *pratiques* (formes de réflexivité individuelle et collective, pratiques d'appartenance et d'engagement, pratiques de solidarité et de résistance, etc.) et le problème de *l'identité diasporique*.

Comme nous l'avons vu, les recherches sur la diaspora varient des études focalisées sur «le projet diasporique» comme mode d'action (et sur ses conditions de production) à des études qui mettent au coeur de l'attention différentes formes d'agentivité, activées par des acteurs collectifs plus ou moins stables du point de vue de l'identité (comme les communautés transnationales); des études qui discutent les identités collectives par rapport à la vie quotidienne aux études qui portent sur la construction (médiatique, politique) des identités diasporiques.

On peut dégager d'abord une *limite contextuelle*. Comment pourrait-on expliquer par exemple les projets diasporiques *émergents*, ceux qui redéfinissent certaines revendications, pratiques, un éthos avec ses rhétoriques propres déjà instituées dans un champ d'action si

nous ne corrélons pas «le projet» respectif avec un type de situation sociale, symboliquement et normativement structurée?

Deuxièmement, est-ce que «le projet diasporique» se réfère uniquement à des actions collectives et à des revendications socio-politiques, ou bien aussi à *l'expérience* diasporique de l'individu et des groupes? Autrement dit, de quelle manière les migrants assument ou performent une identité? Quels types de positionnement par rapport aux «catégories» que les médias ou la classe politique leur appliquent? Relever donc la *compétence critique des acteurs sociaux* s'avère un enjeu de ces recherches.

Finalement, quels rapports se génèrent entre les particularités communautaires et «le projet diasporique» en tant que forme d'engagement public? En quelle mesure la *coexistence* d'échelles d'action publique et d'appartenance devient-elle une condition de production de l'identité diasporique? L'analyse des manières dont les migrants mobilisent des significations et des pratiques communautaires en situation d'engagement public et donc l'analyse de la formation des «espaces diasporiques» ou «arènes diasporiques» peut contribuer à la mise en évidence de la *coexistence* des formes identitaires diverses, «stables» et «fluides», tout comme à leur *reconfiguration*.

Notes

¹ Par exemple, en parlant des mérites d'un pianiste, certains commentateurs ont l'habitude de dire qu'il a été formé dans une école allemande de piano ou française, roumaine, etc. On fait référence de cette façon à une certaine tradition ou style pédagogique comme si c'étaient des instances par lesquelles s'expliquent différents phénomènes, événements, etc.

² «identifiants» (R. Brubaker, 2004).

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Irina CULIC*

Immigrating Ethnicity: Configuring Romanianness in North America at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Abstract

This article gives a social-historical account of Romanian immigration to North America at the turn of the twentieth century. The story is traced through the notion of ethnicity, which is conceived as a discursive, representational, and practical repertory emergent in social relationships, at the confluence of specific historical social structures and institutions. The scrutiny of the experience of migration objectifies Romanian ethnicity's variable internal organisation, functioning, and manifestation, as it is produced in other territories, within other states, and articulated in specific ethnic and racial hierarchies.

Key words: Immigration; ethnicity; Romanian immigrants; Canada; United States

Rezumat

Articolul propune o narațiune social-istorică a imigrației românești în America de Nord la începutul secolului al XX-lea. Aceasta este scrisă prin mobilizarea noțiunii de etnicitate, concepută ca repertoriu discursiv, reprezentational și practic, rezultat al relațiilor sociale formate la confluența unor structuri sociale și istorice particulare. Experiența migrației relevă analistului organizarea internă variabilă a etnicității, funcționarea și manifestările sale, așa cum sunt produse în alte teritorii, ale altor state, articulate de ierarhii etnice și rasiale specifice.

Cuvinte-cheie: imigrație; etnicitate; imigranți români; Canada; Statele Unite

1. Introduction

Public language designating historical communities of immigrants has a social history of its own. It mirrors contexts of departure and contexts of reception. It reflects changing political relations between immigrants and their country of origin. It expresses stages of adaptation, integration, acculturation, and assimilation, or of *mestizaje*, *hybridity*, and marginalisation. Shaped by global power relations and labour regimes, it has often been part of national identity politics. Academic language has borrowed, and, at its turn, has provided terms and meanings for immigrants' description of the self and inscriptions by the other, making sense of their experience, as well as creating it throughout.

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Using the metaphor of the “‘diaspora’ diaspora”, Brubaker for instance noticed the proliferation of diasporas, and alongside, of diaspora talk (Brubaker, 2005). The original sense depicted the Jewish expulsion from the Land of Israel. To this “paradigmatic” case were added the Armenian and the Greek cases. The term was then gradually extended to the African diaspora created by the trans-Atlantic slave trade; to the Asian diaspora resulted from the Coolie Trade; to the various labour migrant communities maintaining ties with their homeland; to groups of emigrants practicing long-distance nationalism; and to almost “any and every nameable population category that is to some extent dispersed in space” (Brubaker, 2005, p. 3).

For the case of Romania, the word “diaspora” initially distinguished immigrants who had left for European, North American, and other states to flee the communist regime. The word captured a classical diasporic stance (Brubaker, 2005, pp. 10-13), related to the experience of exile: forced emigration, dispersion, commitment to homeland’s welfare sustained by the promise of return, and boundary maintenance predicated on the need to identify with the country and the people left behind. With the massive post-communist international labour migration of Romanians, the term “diaspora” now refers at once to this particular group of Romanians whose efforts were counted to have contributed to the fall of the communist regime, and to all cases of Romanian emigration.

This restricted and broad use of the term also encompasses a novel situation occasioned by the freedom of movement gained after the fall of the communist regime: the encounters between the “new Romanian immigrants,” the “old ‘new’ Romanian immigrants” of the communist era, and the descendents of historical, “old” immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century. They reveal experiential differences determined by historically specific regimes of exit from Romania, access in the destination countries, and international mobility. They also uncover deeper differences, pointing to distinct notions of ethnicity and their workings through complex social structures.

This study focuses on the wave of migration from Romanian lands at the turn of the twentieth century to Canada and the United States. It shows the way Romanian ethnicity configured in North America out of the interplay of migration policies, genealogical links of solidarity, and locally constituted hierarchies. Starting from a relational approach to ethnicity, it traces the distinct paths of the making of Romanianness in Canada and the United States. Admitted to Canada as non-preferred nationals through an immigration policy conceived as a population-making device and aimed to domesticize the prairies, immigrants formed a sense of self, built a Romanian genealogy, and constructed a narrative of Romanianness out of their arduous life on the homestead. For the immigrants to the United States, coming massively from Transylvania with the experience of interethnic living and occupational diversification, the accommodation to the urban life, and the use of advancement opportunities presented by the American capitalist system, Romanian ethnicity became a secondary identification alongside the American one, a function of class that required progressive assimilation.

The study is based on empirical work done between 2008-2012 in Canada (Windsor and Toronto) and the United States (New York). It comprised examination of primary sources such as legislation, legal records, white and green papers, memoirs, immigrant publications, mass media reports, official statistics, census data, archival documents; study of secondary literature, including accounts of immigration from other regions in Central and Eastern Europe; interviewing and participant observation.¹ The first section discusses the notion of ethnicity. The second section writes the narrative of Romanians in Canada. The third section gives the account of immigration to the United States. The concluding section points out the

contingency of ethnicity, configured at the confluence between distinct state governmentalities, and dependent on local regimes of property, class, and race.

2. Ethnicity in and through the social-historical account

Analytically, ethnicity is commonly paired with *nationhood* and thus theorised through (or theorized out of) various social-historical, political, and cultural approaches to *modernity* and *the state* (for classical accounts see Gellner, 1983; Greenfeld, 1992; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992; Hroch, 1985; Smith, 1986; Weber, 1976). It is conceived either as a primary principle of solidarity and commonality of feeling – a subjective belief in the common descent upon which or against which political organisation is made possible and indeed sometimes necessary; or as an outcome of political struggles in which it is instrumentalized, forged, or forced upon a group, no matter how artificial or fictional it is.

When the first aspect is emphasized, ethnicity comes to epitomize “traditional” (not modern) or localized forms of being socially, as metaphorical kinship or symbolic family. The difference upon which it is predicated is essentialized, becoming a “cultural” difference in language, phenotype, and artefacts. When the second aspect is emphasized, and this is usually the case in situations of migration and mass migration, the analytical focus on ethnicity changes perspective, becoming more involved with borders, boundary-making, difference, and hybridity (Anderson, 1983; Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994). The “cultural stuff” of ethnicity dwindles, and the relational and the political emerge, re-producing ethnicity through operations of inclusion and exclusion, marking on and marking off, organisation of internal and intergroup difference, and spatial re-configuration. In situations of migration, the association with nationhood gets de-centred and ethnicity is recast as *ethnic minority*, an object on which acts of assimilation, integration, accommodation, and positive action may be done. It can also be viewed as the *colonial*, the *subaltern*, the *racial*, the *illegible*, or the *primitive other*, a condition that explains phenomena commonly portrayed as alien to Western societies, though threatening to take them over.

The typical way to investigate ethnicity empirically from the first perspective is by determining a set of necessary or sufficient elements to be found in groups with a particular organisation, and to inventory its change in time (Smith, 1986). Conceived like this, ethnicity is a categorical identity, which links individuals through abstract equivalents, rather than through interaction (Calhoun, 1997, p. 46). Taking this route, Chandra (2006) sets off to appraise the definitions and uses of ethnic identity in comparative political science. She then advances her own, amounting to the greatest common denominator of the surveyed literature. Ethnicity is an identity category in which membership is determined by objective or subjective descent-based attributes, whose salient intrinsic properties are *stickiness* (difficult to change in the short term) and *visibility* (can be ascertained through superficial data sources). She suggests that ethnicity either does not matter or has not been shown to matter in explaining most outcomes researchers had attributed it. She then proposes that this concept should be replaced by empirically more appropriate ones, such as descent-based identities and identities based on sticky or visible attributes; and that the body of theories and datasets on ethnicity should be discarded and rebuilt anew on different foundations (Chandra, 2006, p. 422).

From the second standpoint, Brubaker expresses similar discontent with the concepts of ethnicity and identity (Brubaker, 2004). He warns against the mistake of taking categories of

practice as analytical categories, an error that bears the risk of unintentionally reproducing or reinforcing reification, rather than accounting for it. Brubaker calls “groupism” the tendency to take homogeneous and bounded groups as units of analysis of social life, and charges academics’ groupism on their own political practice of identity. His theoretical revision, very much like Chandra’s, concludes that questioning the unit of analysis, the ethnic group, may lead to contesting the domain of analysis, ethnicity itself. In the alternative epistemological routes he embarks in order to capture the multifaceted and fluid forms of ethnicity, and reacting against “complacent and clichéd constructionism,” Brubaker (2004, p. 3) proposes to break up these concepts into smaller analytical units like “identification” and “categorisation,” “self-understanding” and “social location,” “commonality” and “connectedness,” and to depict social reality in relational, processual, and eventful language.

The logical or empirical examinations of abstract representations of ethnic groups, conceived as bearers of categorical identities, and micro-dynamics rendered by relational studies, focused on boundary-making and internal signification of difference, are both useful steps into understanding how ethnicity works, but they either suspend its temporality completely, or place the study of ethnicity in a presentist temporality, leaving us short of explaining why ethnicity actually “happens” and how it matters. Events are not simply ethnicized, ethnically framed, or contingent. People are not just doing things with categories or “doing being ethnic” (Brubaker, 2004, p. 13). Ways of seeing ethnically are produced in specific historical and social conditions, and reflect a commonality of culture (see also Calhoun, 2003, p. 559) and a recognition or imposition of that commonality.² Eventfulness occurs as the instantiation of a particular articulation of “social structures” just as countless “ethnic” events stabilize practices and understandings, and transform them. Ethnicity *hails* the actors variably in the relational situations they find themselves at any moment, and it also hails the researcher.

A more comprehensive understanding of ethnicity requires to unravel the specific “mechanisms” (Steinmetz, 1998, pp. 177-178) active in a given conjuncture – the structuring structures and the power-producing interactions that make ethnicity relevant relationally, to which the empirical analysis of ethnic things that “happen” provides access (see Steinmetz, 2004 for the relationship between single social events and explanation).³ If people can do various things with ethnic categories, it is because categories too do various things with people in particular contexts. Their ethnically fluid everyday existence takes place on specific social bases, and their particular degree of ethnic groupness or thing-in-the-world-ness depends on those social bases, and on the conjunctures they enable.

This article provides a historically informed account of how ethnic categories are produced within complex configurations of class, racial hierarchies, and perceived cultural differences. It is conceived as a discursive, representational, and practical repertory emergent in social relationships, at the confluence of specific historical social structures and institutions.

3. “Stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats”: Romanian immigrants to Canada at the turn of twentieth century

The first immigrants from Romanian lands who came to stay in Canada left in 1898 from the village of Boian in Bukovina. They were Ichim Yurko (Ichim Jurcă) and Elie Ravliuk (Il-iiuță Rauliuc) with his wife and four year old daughter. They were soon joined by other thirtysome families from the same village, and by Bukovinians from other villages. By January

1901, in the district of Boian, named after their origin place, in what is now the province of Alberta around one hundred Romanian families were settled (Popescu, 1986; Zawadiuk et al., 1998). Small communities of Romanians formed in the surrounding area, about 100 kilometers North-East of Edmonton, in Saskatchewan, North-East and South-West of Regina, and along the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border. Most of them came from Bukovina, but there were also handfuls who came from Transylvania and Banat, part of Austria-Hungary at the time, and from Dobrudja, in the Kingdom of Romania (Patterson, 1977; 1999; Popescu, 1986).

The lands that lured Romanians from their homes had belonged to Metis and First Nation peoples, and had been transferred to Canada in 1870, through negotiations conducted by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Over two hundred million acres of land were surveyed by the *Dominion Lands Act* of 14 April 1872, which stated that:

Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section [160 acres] or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof. [...] At the expiration of three years the settler [...] upon proof, to the satisfaction of the Local Agent that he [...] resided upon or cultivated the land for the three years next after the filing of the affidavit for entry [...] shall be entitled to a patent for this land, provided such claimant is then a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalisation.

Proving up the homestead meant improving the claimed land by constructing a home, breaking at least thirty acres of land, cultivating some crops, and actual residence on the homestead for a set period of time. In 1874, the new version of the law, the *Homestead Act*, reduced the age of claimants to eighteen or more.

Despite energetic actions from the Canadian federal government, which targeted farmers with capital and agricultural labourers, preferably from Great Britain, the United States, and Northern Europe (Troper, 1972), settling the vast Dominion Lands proved a hard task to accomplish. Only 8.8 per cent of the total homestead holdings had been recorded in the Dominion township registers by the Land Branch agents by 1885, and 20 per cent by 1900. (Norrie, 1979, pp. 239-240).

In 1897, Minister of Interior Clifford Sifton visited Bukovina and Galicia in a campaign intended to encourage peasants to migrate to Canada. Member of the recently formed Liberal government (1896) which had pledged to populate Canada's West and transform it into the country's granary, this remarkable man had a clear depiction of the required immigrants:

When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of Immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality. A Trades Union artisan who will not work more than eight hours a day and will not work that long if he can help it, will not work on a farm at all and has to be fed by the public when his work is slack is, in my judgment, quantity and very bad quantity. I am indifferent as to whether or not he is British born. It matters not what his nationality is; such men are not wanted in Canada, and the more of them we get the more trouble we shall have. (Sifton, 1922, p. 32)

Exactly such were the first immigrants from historical Romanian lands. Most of them came from Bukovina, and together with Transylvania, the two provinces accounted for 85% of Romanian immigration to Canada up until the 1920 (Patterson, 1999). The typical passage

of the peasants and their families had them set off in carts to borderland stations, from where they took the train to Hamburg or Bremen. Embarked on passenger steamships or cattle boats, they arrived in Halifax, and then crossed Canada by train to Winnipeg whose Immigration Hall functioned as the gateway to the West. From there they travelled to their destination by whatever means available: trains, wagons, horses, or by foot.

While national legislation and police regulations generally made it difficult to advertise and recruit immigrants from most continental European countries, booking agents, motivated by the commissions from steamship companies and bonuses from the Canadian government, developed knowledge and skills to evade them (Petryshyn & Dzubak, 1985, pp. 50-53; Petryshyn, 1997). State officials and their private enterprising associates in the origin lands used vigorous advertising, propaganda, and networking to organize groups of families for the passage. (See Petryshyn, 1997 for a critical assessment of Canada's Ministry of Interior contract with and functioning of the North Atlantic Trading Company, a rather clandestine syndicate of selected European shipping agents which obtained exclusive claim to government bonuses in return for recruiting agricultural settlers. See also Woodsworth, 1972, pp. 173-178). The Austrian administration helped through liberally issuing one-year temporary passports to young people, while entertaining hopes that the peasants would engage on a round-trip. Bankers deemed subsidizing immigrants more lucrative for the return of their investments through cash flows and remittances, than borrowing money for farm-improvement (Rasporich, 1982, p. 36). Through its agents operating in many European locations, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) offered packages of passage over sea, work, and land at relatively low prices. Fellow villagers already landed in Canada were the most efficient device of this complex assemblage in convincing peasants to embark on this adventure, whose reward was extensive land of their own.

Their historically specific experience of living in an imperial borderland made peasants from Bukovina, rather than from other regions of what was to become Greater Romania, embark to Canada. The changes in political administration, multiethnic cohabitation, complex class, ethnic, and political relationships, and intense contact between village and town shaped their availability for huge, life-changing projects (Barton, 1975, pp. 1-90; Bobango, 1979, pp. 3-4). The names of the first recorded Romanian immigrants to Canada, mentioned at the beginning of this section, are not Romanian, but Ukrainian. Many of the family names of those first pioneers from Bukovina, whose tombstones rest in the prairie cemeteries, sound Ukrainian: Hlopina, Holovaci, Moscaliuc, Porojnic, Petruniuk, Romanko, Săvăliuc, Semi-niuk, Soprovici, Zaharichuk. Yet, their third and fourth generation descendants declare themselves of Romanian origin at present day Canadian census surveys, and work to promote their version of Romanianness through enactments of a collective memory of migration (Popescu, 1986, and according to various publications and online forums of the descendants of first Romanian immigrants).

Ukrainians were the most numerous ethnic group in Bukovina at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1910, those who declared themselves Ukrainian represented 38.4 per cent of the population, followed by Romanians with 34.4 per cent, 12 per cent Jews, 9 per cent Germans, and others, including Poles and Hungarians (Livezeanu, 1995, p. 49). Moved to Bukovina from Galicia in great numbers in the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of them were peasants, and were not recognized politically. By contrast, Romanians displayed a complex social structure, and had historically enjoyed representation in the government of the duchy and cultural rights. But those who settled in the same districts and

regions intermarried, whether Romanian or Ukrainian, and used the Romanian language to communicate. They experienced the same tough conditions of grim weather, arduous work in the fields, loneliness, and isolation. The need for cash and food forced them into schemes where the man worked at the CPR or in the cities for several months a year, while the wife lived in the homestead with the children, off a household – garden and sod house – strenuous to manage. The shortage of Orthodox priests, and the bad quality of the monks sent to Canada by the Metropolitanate of Moldova, in Romania, made Romanians turn to the help of Ukrainians to build their churches and serve in them as priests (Bobango, 1979).

Alongside “Romanians” and “Ukrainians”, other fellow adventurers arrived around the same period from Bukovinian lands. In 1882, a group of Volga Germans, relocated to Bukovina after 1871 for fear of drafting and dwindling privileges, came to work for the CPR and build their farms (Patterson, 1977, pp. 8-17). A report to the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada from 1891 (House of Commons Canada, 1891, pp. 97-98) describing several German colonies in the West, around McLean, north of Balgonie Station, refers to Romanian speaking Germans, and to Russian or Romanian types of dwelling built by these pioneers. A number of Szeklers, a Hungarian people that lives overwhelmingly in three counties of present-day Romania at the South-East border of Transylvania, came from Bukovina to settle in the same areas of the prairie. Bukovinian Ashkenazi Jews have started to migrate to Canada’s West in the 1870s and continued to come, joined by fellow Romanian Jews from Basarabia and the province of Moldova. Many of them spoke Romanian, and Romanian functioned as *lingua franca* in places like the Dysart region in Saskatchewan, where they all settled (Patterson, 1977, pp. 18-19).

This global context represents the basic matrix of force within which immigrant populations emerged and took particular routes. It comprises two state jurisdictions, between which an exchange of population took place, and a vast entanglement of actors, interests, locations, ideas, and rationales, which enabled the mobility of these people. The commonality of practices and arrangements entailed by the terms of their cohabitation in Canada, and the commonality of political and economic regimes experienced in the country of origin, partly account for their formation into an ethnic group self-denominated as Romanian. It was initially prompted by their struggles with the Canadian authorities over the allocation of land sections, as they strived to settle in compact areas.⁴ The solidarity grown out of cooperation and dependence needed for sheer survival, and the shared language and memory of native land were the matter of the Romanian ethnicity formed on Canadian soil. This becoming as Romanians was also mediated by World War One, as a few men joined the Canadian Forces and celebrated postwar Greater Romania, enlarged with Bukovina, Bessarabia, Transylvania, Partium, and the Romanian Banat, as their homeland (see accounts in Popescu, 1986). The experience of the war and Romanian nationalism ignited through parts of North America by diplomats and Orthodox clerics triggered the transformation of “home”, which for most immigrants meant their street, village, or region, into the “homeland” or “vechea țară” (the Old Country).⁵ The narratives of Romanian identity, homeland, and ethnic origin, and the works that edify them, whether internal, such as the building of Romanian Orthodox churches, or external, through state-generated categories of ethnic origin, document Romanian ethnicity in Canada.

Most of the descendants of the first pioneers from Bukovina, while collecting the stories of their parents and grandparents, and while recollecting their own experiences as sons and daughters of tapers of Canada’s West, ground their narrative construction on a foundational error. They claim that the village of Boian, the hearth of the original Romanian immigration

to Canada, now in Ukraine, belonged, at the genetic time of their arrival, to Romania. This slip of memory stands as an act of collective baptism. It aligns a specific awareness of cultural distinction historically contoured in the space of their origin, where they claimed social and economic superiority, while politically dominated by a foreign centre in a multinational empire; with a national project-in-the-making at the time of their departure, materialized in a “state of Romanians” – Greater Romania – which would incorporate their land as its own historical land;⁶ and with an identity that had to be settled in the new country, to clear the lasting confusion of officials at entry points which had been recording them alternatively as Austrians, Germans, Romanians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, or Russian (Popescu, 1986; Woodsworth, 1972).

This identity supported the life chances and the sense of self of migrants and their descendants by reflecting their increasingly well-placed position in a hierarchy of racialized ethnicities and nations. Until 1962, Canada practiced various immigration politics of exclusion based on racial, national, and cultural grounds (customs, habits, and modes of life), geographical area of origin, unsuitability with regard to the climate (euphemistic formulation for “race”), potential for assimilation, and others. The Immigration Act of 1906 aimed to prevent “undesirable immigrants” by adding restrictions and expanding categories of the “prohibited”, and by giving the government legal authority to deport immigrants within two (subsequently three, respectively five) years of landing (for reasons including disease, becoming a public charge, or “moral turpitude”). The 1910 Immigration Act gave huge discretion to the government to regulate immigration through Orders in Council, and furthermore increased restrictions and grounds of deportation. Immigration fell dramatically during World War One. When in 1923, after the post-war period of economic low, Canada started again to encourage immigration, Romanians, as nationals of non-preferred countries, were admitted only as agriculturalists, farm labourers, domestics, and sponsored family members. From the few accounts of the early migration of Romanians to Canada, no hostility from the locals’ part or from “Canadians” themselves was shown toward them. In contrast, the more numerous histories, memoirs, and studies of the Ukrainian first immigration to Canada (mostly from Galicia and Bukovina) are marked by traumatic reports of negative reception as “non-preferred continentals” – dirty, garlic-smelling, filthy, drunken, penniless, ignorant, holding unintelligent methods of farming (e.g. Czumer, 1981; Woodworth, 1972). Romanians distinguished themselves expanding the boundary of whiteness and locality through hard work, industriousness, and self-improvement. These peasants which were “of exceptionally fine physique” and “good quality” as fodder for the great prairie domestication stayed peasants, and many of their children became farmers, on increasingly larger holdings of land. Other of their children, and almost all of the following generations moved to the cities into liberal professions, business, services, or administration.

The narrative about an earlier Romanian ethnicity in Canada is built on the stories of adversity of the first pioneers.

When my father arrived there [to his allotted land section, in Southern Saskatchewan] there was nothing, nothing. Only the sky and the ground [...] They were all given a square mile for ten dollars. But the weeds were this deep [she shows the length of her arm], the rocks were this big [she shows the height of her thigh], the mothers all went to pick the rocks, put them on the stone boat, and dug the weeds, and plough was two oxen.⁷

During the great depression, and in the following years, hardships multiplied, as various natural disasters stroke parts of the prairie inhabited by Romanians. Storm, dust and wind, Russian thistle, and grasshoppers are mentioned by this interviewee for successive years between 1932 and 1937. Many Romanians from Alberta and Saskatchewan moved to Montréal, Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, or Windsor to survive economic bankruptcy and draught. The Canadian government paid relief to those who remained on the land (\$32 per month for a family of twelve, and piles of flour and beans). World War II however produced greatest dislocations. Most Romanian men joined the army, while women took employment in factories in the cities. Very few returned to the farms, and when they did, they went back as university graduates, utilizing modern means of agriculture.

The narrative was thus fixed by a final departure from an early experience of farming in the prairie. In the late 1980s and 1990s the third and fourth generation Romanians have started to collect, talk, write, and perform accounts of a Romanian identity and ethnicity in Canada. While the (otherwise antiquated and dialectal) language was lost to English, and Romanians assimilated to an urban Canadian society, the narrative became separated from their actual ongoing experiences, cemented into a myth, and started an autonomous existence of its own. Memories of Greater Romania, to which Bukovina belonged between the wars, and of communist Romania never visited, grew on a Romanian identity sported on particular occasions, linked mostly with the Canadian state and the associational forms generated by its multiculturalism policy since early 1970s. It was activated when now hyphenated Romanian-Canadians went to church, where the service, for convenience, was held in English. It was also activated in lucrative commercial ventures (opening an ethnic restaurant), or social gatherings (balls, social clubs, local events celebrating the Canadian mosaic). The myth and its narrative went hand in hand with the census administrative category of ethnic origin – one of the peculiar pillars of the evolving Canadian multiculturalism policy.⁸ It contributed to preserve the name of “Romanian” relevant in various contexts of identification, and to invest it with the positive impressions of these people’s social achievement.

Romanian ethnicity in Canada evolved at the junction of Canada and Romania’s state-building projects. Confederation Canada aimed to populate the vast extents of land recently acquired with “able-bodied men who are willing to work and can work” (Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier in Parliament, House of Commons Canada 1900, 10187). This was part of a larger National Policy, whereby agriculture established by farmer immigrants would support and complement industry in the rest of country, helped by the newly completed Atlantic-Pacific railway and the tariffs policy. It consolidated a transcontinental nation, threatened by an ever-expanding United States of America. In Austria-Hungary and Romania, national struggles were shaped by modernisation forces acting in contradictory way. Many immigrants who left for Canada were not poor and destitute, as the story would tell it, but rather socially mobile, in possession of land and implements, open to commercial ventures with the city, and holding multiple cultural ties. Their passage was part of larger plans made possible by the transformations in social and economic relations, citizenship regimes, and types of subjectivity. Unable to return due to costs of travel, the start of WWI, and the definitive establishment on Canadian soil through the toils of the first years on their granted land, their relationship with Greater Romania remained mythical and emotional.

“Since it is not ‘objective culture’ that shapes ethnicity”, writes Eriksen (1993, p. 73), “it makes sense to state that ethnic identities can be maintained despite cultural change. However, such an identity maintenance may seem paradoxical, since ethnic ideologies stress the

continuity of that very cultural content as a justification for the continued existence and cohesion of the group". In the situation of migration this may appear even more paradoxical. Ethnic identities reconfigure in specific, contingent forms, while the principle that has linked people variously through kin, land, genetic memory, language, and shared fate remains active and manifests in a form of recognition by co-ethnics, grounded in the legitimacy accorded to ethnic belonging as one of the primary sources of self.

4. Peasants and the urban middle class: Romanian immigrants to the United States before World War Two

Immigration of Romanians to Canada was closely linked to its counterpart in the United States, and the case of Romanian immigrants to North America reveals how the immigration policies of the two states interacted. While the former produced peasants-farmers working to break the vast expanses of land in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, the latter concentrated in the industrial cities of the East coast and the Midwest (New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and smaller industrial centers) and made a prosperous urban middle class whose most important investment was education.

Before 1895 the great majority of immigrants from the Kingdom of Romania were Jews. Data collected by Galitzi (1929, p. 31) from the Annual Reports of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration indicate that between 1899-1928 arrived from the territories of Greater Romania a total of 263,227 persons, of which 47.5% (124,637) were declared Romanians from former Austria-Hungary; 39.9% (105,214) were Romanian Jews; 6.8% (18,079) belonged to other ethnic groups; and only 5.8 (15,304) were Romanians from the Old Kingdom. Anti-Semite prohibitions, restrictions, and repression in Romania had increasingly afflicted the Jewish population's economic and social endeavours at the turn of the twentieth century. By then, the figure of the "American uncle", ostentatiously dressed and liberally spending money during his visits to the native homeland, started to ignite the popular imagination (see the formidable account of his experience by Ravage, 1917 and 2009).

Immigration to the U.S., similarly to immigration to Canada, emerged at a critical juncture of modernity. Combined interests of states and capital, supported by local communal and transnational solidarity associations, and backed up by family strategic plans, generated the huge wave of European Jewish emigration to the United States.⁹ Set to succeed at a fast pace in the new country, they engaged in all petty jobs and activities that the Lower Eastside of New York allowed: peddlers, workshop labourers, shop-keepers.

And in the mean time the East Side Ghetto *was* my America, a theater within a theater, as it were. No, it was even more circumscribed than that. The outsider may imagine that the Ghetto is a unified, homogeneous country, but a little more intimate acquaintance will rectify that mistake. There are in it strata and substrata, each with a culture, a tradition, and a method of life peculiar to itself. The East Side is not a colony; it is a miniature federation of semi-independent, allied states. To be sure, it is a highly compact union, territorially. One traverses a square, and lo! he finds himself in a new polity. The leap in civilization from Ridge Street to Madison Street is a much wider one than that between Philadelphia and Seattle. The line of demarcation is drawn sharply even to the point of language—the most obvious of national distinctions. Though both speak Yiddish, the Jew from Austrian Poland will at first hardly understand his coreligionist from Lithuania. Their dialects differ enormously in accent and intonation and very appreciably in vocabulary. And each separate group entertains a humorous, kindly contempt for the speech and the manners and the foibles of all the others. (Ravage, 2009, p. 63)

In this world of worlds, the most populous area on the planet at the time, individuals struggled on their own, while relying on webs of family relations and hometown ties. Mixing Romanian and English, they started their intricate journey into the American society-in-the-making looking for work and self-employment around the streets of their tenements and lodgings, taking English lessons, joining religious and educational societies, and planning their savings in order to pay for their parents or siblings' passage tickets. "Little Rumania" formed as close a society as other homeland groups, like "Little Galicia" or "Little Russia". Ravage tells us (2009, p. 64) that the Romanian side had nevertheless taken a character of its own. It had more restaurants than the Russian quarter, more confectionaries, and more coffee-houses. The hasty entrance into the vibrant economic and social activity of the Lower East Side thus produced immigrants as self-made Americans, with cleft emotional ties to their home country,¹⁰ and complicated links with the national community of immigrants (here Romanian). These were, in their words, "Romanian and Jewish Americans".

After 1900, the Romanians who came to the U.S. were mostly peasants from Transylvania, and also from Bukovina and the Banat. Three regions from Transylvania – the Carpathians, the Transylvanian Plain, and the Bihor Massif – produced about 85 percent of the Romanian migration (Barton 1975, p. 57).¹¹ They usually came from villages with property rights broadly distributed within the peasant sector, yet with a dwindling share of land, and engaged in small agricultural operations. In these regions, peasant agriculture had been supported by the appearance of intermediate forms of tenure, the growth of communal credit agencies, and the possibility of non-agricultural employment (artisan manufacturing, household industry). With the decline of all these, limiting peasant household's resources, many young men and women abandoned the land and looked for work on a globalizing labour market.

These villagers used to be geographically mobile, keeping inter-village relations through frequent outside village marriages, and good contact with the small neighbouring towns through artisans and their ware. Many of them spoke some German or Hungarian, as a result of interacting with German or Hungarian/ Szekler fellow villagers. This helped them get along with Austrian and German officials during their passage to America, and also follow the trail of Germans or Hungarians already left, in their search for work in the U.S. (Barton, 1975, p. 50, for the case of Romanians in Cleveland. See also Romanians' accounts in Galitzi, 1929). They tended to stick together initially and shared lodging in Romanian boarding houses – associational cum entrepreneurial forms organized along ethnic lines, where for a reasonable amount of money immigrants received accommodation, meals, care, and companionship. Boarding houses offered a survival environment to these peasants turned into workers, on which the toil in plants and mines, the loneliness, and the continuous challenge of a completely foreign place left deep traces. Romanians soon started mutual benefit and cultural societies, to help each other and their families in the too common occurrence of industrial accidents. Out of these, other organizations were born: family societies, parishes with confessional and instructional institutions; credit unions; cultural associations maintaining reading rooms and libraries. These formed the core infrastructure of Romanian ethnicity in the U.S. at the beginning of twentieth century, and still are, one hundred years later, the backbone of Romanianness for the third and fourth generations of Romanians descendant from the immigrant pioneers.

Like in the case of Romanian immigration to Canada, the basic context provided by two state jurisdictions and two local property, labour, ethno-racial, and class regimes set the field of forces which allowed international migration and coagulation of ethnic groups of Romanians in the United States. Romanian ethnicity was shaped out of togetherness based on com-

monality of language, the condition of immigrating alone without the family, comradeship based on the share of long, gruesome, daily labour routines, and the positioning within an ethnic scheme formed in the previous century of internal and international migration. The fluidity of the American class system gave the most important mark to the earlier formation of Romanian ethnicity on the new continent – that of class.

The early organizations of Romanians were formed by self-made mobile men, who had moved about the Old Kingdom and Austro-Hungary looking for chance. They seized the spaces of opportunity of their new country and entered with full forces into its society. While reproducing social forms of their villages, they adjusted rapidly to city life and to a society whose tenor was achievement. Besides functioning as beneficial and insurance societies, Romanian associations formed leaders and offered support for the education of youth. They pooled resources at “national” level and shaped the ascending mobility of the immigrants. Societies were the place where Romanians learnt about the American institutions, practiced co-operation and democratic decision-making, and started reading and writing.¹²

Romanians tended to give limited significance to property ownership, since buying a house also meant residential fixity in a working class settlement in the proximity of the factory; but they gave their children, boys and girls, a high education, passing unto them their achieved status of American middle class. Barton (1975, p. 131) notes: “The Rumanians present a fascinating picture of rural immigrants adopting urban norms of small families and restricted commitments. Italians and Slovaks, however, did not sacrifice traditional family values through the limitation of births. Rather, upwardly mobile parents in these ethnic groups seem to have had enough confidence to rear large families than those who remained in the same class.”

The Romanianness enacted by and through Romanian societies took class-based forms. Education gave Romanians a means to preserve notions about their native lands and their language, and such aims were articulated and realized by the elites. Illiterate, unskilled workers frequenting Romanian boarding houses, bars, parishes, and societies maintained the Romanian ethnicity through the accommodating environment offered by these institutions (see also Bobango, 1978). Romanians who managed to learn English so that this gave them a palpable advantage, allowing them to move into skilled labour or lower white collar jobs, and those who accumulated enough capital to open small businesses, became more exposed to the whole society, admitted non-Romanian “social” members in their societies while reducing “cultural” programs, and moved to the suburbs (Bobango, 1979, p. 13). For them Romanianness dwindled as a relevant component of everyday interaction and sense of self, and assimilation into the American, white group followed.

Many of these Romanians returned to their homeland after World War One, the “nation state” of Greater Romania.¹³ For them, the goal of the travel had been to obtain enough money to conserve their small property, upkeep their family, and maintain social status in the village, a strategy reflected in the phrase common among Romanian immigrants to the U.S., “Mia și drumul” (“One thousand dollars and take the road back.”). In the fiscal year of 1921, out of 6,206 Romanians who left the U.S. (excluding women and children without a definite occupation), 5,731 were unskilled workers. The second largest occupational group recorded by the American authorities was that of landowners with 254, followed by servants with 69. The number of Romanian workers to enter U.S. in the same year was 2,217, of which 780 were unskilled workers; 74 belonged to the liberal professions; 767 were skilled workers, craftsmen, and artisans; 252 were tradesmen; 666 servants and waiters; 216 agricultural work-

ers (all figures are from Drutzu, 1922, p. 42.) During this period, the American government initiated restrictionist immigration policy, culminating with the 1924 Immigration Act.¹⁴

While it is not clear how many of these Romanians actually came back to the U.S., the many obituaries of members of the Union and League's component societies, published since the 1950s to the 1990s in the newspaper *America*, indicate that a significant number of Romanian Americans who had returned to Romania between 1910-1939 came back to the U.S. They seem to have belonged to families who had several members left in the U.S. while they lived and worked in Romania; some had arrived as immigrants at very young ages or had been born in the U.S., and were sent to school in the mother country; others returned to get married in Romania and stayed. Their Romanianness was thus played on a more substantial transnational existence, and their emotional involvement, as well as economic interest, had more nuances. The recurrent visits to Romania nevertheless also objectified their attachment to the new country, and to the fact that it was there that they wanted to live their life.

Romanians followed closely the events in the Second World War. Quite a few of them fought in the U.S. Army, and many got killed. As mentioned before, a lively diplomatic activity in North America has been carried during the last years of the war, exposing Romanian government's position on the state's moves. In all American cities, Romanians showed at public meetings in great numbers and enthusiastically supported the Romanian government's mission. The end of the war, the drought and famine of the late 1940s, and the communist take-over in Romania were seriously engaged and responded with declarations, interpellations, and fund-raising to help the afflicted. After the declaration of the Popular Republic, the first and second generation of Romanian Americans pondered on the rift it brought and defined belonging to the nation by alignment to the doxic Romanian organizations in America:

On the occasion of one year after the set up of the so called 'republic' of the Romanian people, one could see what our national group thinks and feels.

On the one hand there is the organized Romanian group: The Union and the League with the newspaper 'America,' the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America, and the Association of Romanian Catholics in America. These three institutions genuinely represent the Romanian people in the United States. [...]

Who remain outside these three organisations are neither Church people nor people from societies. Among these there are several communist agents gathered around the communist front IWO [...] and supporters of a communist newspaper to poison Romanian souls, 'Românul American.' [...] Here are the defenders of the Groza-Pauker government in Romania: unprincipled, with no responsibility and who only represent themselves, a handful of traitors of the Adoptive Country (țara adoptivă) and the Birth Country (țara de naștere). (Cine-s slugile Moscovei, 1949, p. 3)

Romanianness was now defined clearly with reference to the new country – at this point the first wave of Romanian immigration to the U.S. matured into a self-conscious ethnic group, holding its own institutions within the local institutional landscape. They related to the country of origin through American values, and clearly distinguished themselves from their former fellow-nationals by assuming an American identity. At the same time, the country needed to remain as an abstract reference, which offered a genetic source and documented their worth as an ethnic group. This is how the motivating announcement to participate in the fund-raising to help Romania was formulated in the newspaper *America*: "Our Birth Country, Romania, has been through fire and disaster. She went through disruption and unimaginable pain, and we, those privileged by faith, which had not been touched by anything because

we had the luck to be on this paradise on earth, America, we each did all we could, some with means beyond their possibility, but many did very, very little, or nothing at all, to help our brothers at home. This because race interests, beliefs, politics had been placed by most of us before the biggest duty, *charity*. [...] How would it be for you to show to the people that you indeed are the ones that keep the light and all the nation of Romanian origin in the U.S. to do their duty, to give generously, and send food to the hungry in Romania [...]. Support the initiative of the *Alliance* and *all unite*, at least once in 40 years!" (În ajutorul României, 1947, p. 1, Emphasis in original.)

5. Conclusion: ethnicity reconfigured

Heavily criticized as analytical concepts, ethnicity, ethnic group, and ethnic identity were deemed lacking explanatory power while perniciously reproducing reification. The alternative epistemological strategies employed to account for the reality of ethnicity and to disentangle its workings empirically did not however cleanse the analytical language of these terms, or offered satisfactory ways to depict their empirical referents. Following Hall (1996, pp. 1-2), rather than submit them "under erasure", I questioned in relation with what set of problems does their irreducibility emerge. This report aimed to scrutinize how ethnicity reshapes in contexts of international migration. Using the case of Romanian immigrants to North America at the turn of the twentieth century, it shows how ethnicity was reconfigured by their experience in the new lands, at the confluence of different state governmentalities, and local regimes of property, class, and race.

Romanians in Canada came as agricultural labour force, unloaded in the vast expanses of the West. Their original status was that of a non-preferred category of nationals in a formalized hierarchy of labour "quality", admitted to Canada when the traditional, desired, sources of immigration had started to dry out. The forms of cooperation, solidarity, and sociability determined by the harsh conditions of life on a homestead, in the prairie, contoured a new Romanian ethnic identity of assorted components: a common spoken Romanian language in an area where several foreign languages were spoken; memories of the homeland sublimated in the image of Greater Romania as external identity reference; solid material achievements and the recognition for their hard work, making and keeping them "white".

Romanians who went for fortune in the United States followed a path opened and thoroughly beaten by Jews from Romania at the turn of the twentieth century. Coming massively from Transylvania, they shared the experience of interethnic living, occupational diversification, and sustained relation with the town through commerce and work mobility. Confronting difficulties and hardships, their successful accommodation to American urban life involved strategic investment in education, and fruitful use of the advancement opportunities presented by the American capitalist system. Romanian ethnicity morphed into a secondary identification alongside the American one, object of an intimate link with several essentials: the Romanian orthodox faith, the romantic stance towards the heroic characters of Romania's unification and independence, and the strong allegiance to the values of democracy, entrepreneurship, and freedom. The relationship to interwar Romania was maintained through a certain type of transnationalism, comprising family arrangements that separated members between the two countries, and stakes built in their country of origin by Romanians in America. The persist-

ence of Romanianness was a function of class, where the rising middle class of Romanian immigrants and their descendants assimilated progressively into Americans.

The study depicted the social-historical and relational polymorphism of ethnicity, pointing to its spatialization, and to the central role played by the states of origin and settlement. Ethno-national politics of a state, even if a state afar, may trigger claims of ethnic belonging and practices of ethnic identification through categories and symbols thereby provided. The existence of Greater Romania as a state, in conjunction with the solidarity formed on foreign land, the ethnic organisational infrastructure, and the salience of the Romanian language, produced Romanians out of immigrants with multiple social allegiances. The Canadian and American states, at their turn, have significantly contributed to this process, through their immigration policies, the specific ethno-racial hierarchies they supported, and the principles governing economic relations and class formation.

Notes

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² 'But culture is not simply always already there as though external, but produced and reproduced in a shared process of practical action. Moreover, common culture not only contributes to 'groupness', it contributes to the extent to which groups appear to their members (and sometimes others) as natural and necessary rather than arbitrary and optional. And this is not merely a folk understanding to be supplanted by an academic one.' (Calhoun, 2003b, p. 559)

³ This is also the point made by Calhoun when emphasizing "the constitutive role of culture and the ways in which the general phenomenon of human embeddedness in social relations also necessarily, but unequally, takes the specific form of embeddedness in particular collectivities" (2003b, p. 559). Ethnicity is produced and produces effects in social spaces in which options and needs for solidarities are unequally distributed (Calhoun, 2003a, p. 537).

⁴ See the ethnic distribution on the quarter sections of the Dominion Lands Survey, e.g. in Luciuk & Hryniuk, 1991; Popescu, 1986; Rasporich, 1982. "Galicians" were mentioned most often in discussions concerning the quality of immigrants and the location of their land entries. See for example House of Commons Canada, 1900, p. 10186-7.

⁵ See the successful political tour of Reverend and President of the "League for the Political Unity of all Romanians" as reflected, for example, in the newspaper *America*, issues of July-September 1917 and March 1918.

⁶ The fact that the Greater Romania was a multinational state itself with almost one third of the population belonging to national minorities is effaced by Romanian nationalist ideology and by Romanian becoming unmarked for ethnic Romanians. The proportion of ethnic Romanians at the 1930 Census was 71.9. See *Populația pe Neamuri*, 1930, pp.XXIV.

⁷ Filmed interview from 2005 with Dorothy Nicholson, born in Canada in 1915 to a father who immigrated in 1907. Courtesy Cristina Stamate from YMCA/ Immigration services, Windsor, Ontario. See also the tens of accounts collected by Ion Longin Popescu in 1983 from survivors of the first Romanian immigrants to Canada (Popescu, 1986).

⁸ For the use and consequences of census ethnic categories, single and hyphenated, see Howard-Hassmann (1999); Boyd and Norris (2001). For criticism of Canada's multiculturalism policy see Bibby (1990); Bissoondath (1994). For a critical analysis of Canada's politics of citizenship, nationhood and multiculturalism see Thobani (2007).

⁹ See for example Ravage's account of the Walking to America movement (2009, pp. 31-43). He joined the local walking group in Vaslui, and travelled to Galați. There he embarked a steamer to reach Vienna on the River Danube. Outside Romania, his group was taken charge of by the Jüdische Allianz zu Wien. They continued from Vienna by rail, through Germany to Rotterdam, at the expense and under the guidance of the Verband der Deutschen Juden and the Alliance Israélite. From Rotterdam they sailed to New York.

¹⁰ I think here of the notion of 'cleft habitus' used by Bourdieu to capture his ambivalent relationship with the academic field, grown out of a trajectory that combined high academic consecration with low social origin, thus providing the self-certainty of recognition and the radical uncertainty towards its institutional source at the same time. Romania was both the source of all things good missing in America, and the source of all things bad, that made America a possibility. In his memoir, Ravage (2009, p. 150) talks about his difficulty in adapting to the American cuisine as slowing his becoming an American, since 'nationality is principally a matter of diet'.

¹¹ The following account is largely based on Barton, 1975, especially pp. 27-63.

¹² A divide that has been constant in the first decades of Romanian immigration to the United States was that between peasants-workers and "intellectuals". This class rift manifested in the new country at the level of labour strategies and associational patterns. It had subsequently been compounded by the religious conflict between Romanian Orthodox religious authorities, which mirrored the struggles between economic-liberal minded Romanian Americans and communists, as well as the communist take-over in Romania. See Bobango, 1978 and 1979; Diamond, 1988; Galitzi; 1929; and the issues of *America*, the newspaper of the Union and League of Romanian Societies of America, Inc. across 1949.

¹³ Barton (1975, p. 55) notes that "The records of the Union of Rumanian Societies indicate that in 1916, the union's tenth anniversary, 10 percent of the members had moved between American cities at least once, while another 10 percent had returned to Rumania. Return migration reached such proportions that by 1920 only about 15 percent of the union's prewar membership remained in the United States." Bobango (1978, p. 90) mentions that between 1910-1939 around 43,000 Romanians returned home. See also Wertsman, n.d.

¹⁴ President Warren G. Harding signed a temporary act in May 1921, after President Woodrow Wilson had pocket-vetoed it three months earlier, introducing a quota system for any given country in a single year, to 3 per cent of the people from that nation already living in the US, as reported in the Census of 1910. The total number of immigrants allowed for Romania for 1922 was 7,419. The Immigration Act of 1924 lowered the quota to 2 per cent, and the standard used for national origins was the census of 1890. This limited the number of immigrants allocated to Romania to 603. See Tiff, 1990, pp. 116-122.

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The Kosovar Diaspora in Switzerland: Construction of Identities between Media Use and Diasporic Traits

Abstract

This paper, drawing on experience collected from a research project, describes the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland, and it presents a research model which can be applied when studying processes of social and cultural construction of identities, in particular with a focus on media consumption. The paper discusses the role of media in the processes of construction of social and cultural identities and how migrants' media use influences on the one side identification processes and multiple senses of belonging, and on the other side how the exposure to different cultural media products affects the cultural identities of individuals.

After a definition of the theoretical framework, the paper presents the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland and the central issues its members must face. It then presents some practical examples of the modalities of operationalization of the central concepts in our empirical research. Finally, it discusses the research model adopted.

Key words: social identity, cultural identity, media use, diaspora, Kosovo, Switzerland

Rezumat

Această lucrare, care are la bază un proiect de cercetare, descrie diaspora kosovară din Elveția și prezintă un model de cercetare care poate fi aplicat în studierea proceselor de construcție socială și culturală a identităților, mai ales cele de consum media. Articolul discută, pe de o parte, rolul media în procesele de construcție a identităților sociale și culturale și felul în care folosirea media de către migranți influențează procesele de identificare și sentimentele de apartenență multiplă, și, pe de altă parte, cum expunerea la diferite produse culturale media afectează identitățile culturale ale indivizilor.

După definirea cadrului teoretic, sunt analizate diaspora kosovară din Elveția și principalele probleme cu care se confruntă aceasta. Prezentăm apoi câteva exemple de operaționalizare a conceptelor centrale în cercetarea empirică, pentru ca în final să discutăm modelul de cercetare adoptat.

Cuvinte-cheie: identitate socială, identitate culturală, uzaj mediatic, diaspora, Kosovo, Elveția

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1. Introduction and theoretical background

This paper, drawing on experience collected from an ongoing research project, describes the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland, and it presents a research model which can be applied when studying processes of social and cultural construction of identities, in particular with a focus on media consumption. We need to understand whether and how media play a role in constructing and negotiating social and cultural identities, whether by maintaining the identity from a given home country or by fostering the creation of new forms of identities.

After a definition of the theoretical framework, we will present the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland and the central issues its members must face. We will then present some practical examples of the modalities of operationalization of the central concepts in our empirical research. Finally, we will present our research model.

In the last three decades, Western societies have experienced the growth of transnational migration movements, an increased connection and inter-connection between communities, and an intense territorial mobility of individuals that together have led to a reconfiguration of society and to new social formations. This has attracted the interest of politicians, of civil society in general, and of academic researchers. Several policies have been promoted, many theories elaborated and research carried out under a variety of monikers: the idea of multiculturalism, which was the paradigm adopted at policy and academic levels in the late 20th century (e.g. Vertovec, 1996; Turner, 1993; Glazer, 1997; Hall, 2001); the vaguer and depoliticizing notion of “cultural diversity” (e.g. Nikoltchev, 2008; Kerr & Titley, 2008) and “*super-diversity*”, a notion intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024); the concept of cosmopolitanism, and more in detail the idea of “methodological cosmopolitanism” where “dualities of the global and the local, the national and the international, us and them, have dissolved and merged together in new forms that require conceptual and empirical analysis” (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; 2010); the concept of transnationalism, or as Vertovec defines it, “the cross-border and homeland links maintained by migrants”, now increasingly easy to maintain thanks to developments in particular in media and information and communication technologies (ICT), as well as in lower cost travel and mobility, which allow dispersed groups to stay “in close daily contact with each other or with events in their homelands and other diasporic locations” (Vertovec, 2010, p. 89).

Regardless of the labels used, we experience the socio-cultural context in which people and groups referring to different cultures coexist in the same geographical space. We are witnessing the growth of diasporic identities (Brubaker, 2005) within national communities, and a consequence of this phenomenon is a further deterritorialization of social relations and networks (see e.g. Castells, 1996). On the whole, these evolutions disrupt the moderately stable relation between social structure, cultural configuration and geographical location that distinguishes traditional societies. As noted by Giddens (2000), we are therefore confronted with changes that involve experiencing new cultural differences which will add themselves to those previously existing within each society. Wieviorka (2004) further underlines that cultural differences are not only reproduced, but are in the constant process of being produced, which means that fragmentation and recomposition are a permanent probability.

For these reasons, it is important to focus our attention on diasporas and develop a theoretical and methodological framework to study them and to understand the challenges they must face in the contemporary society.

This paper is grounded in the context of Switzerland, which is a very specific and diverse country in the middle of Europe, and not part of the European Union. It is a federal republic divided into 26 cantons with 7.87 million permanent residents (FSO, 2011). One of Switzerland's peculiar characteristic is its multilingualism, which lends itself to cultural fragmentation as well: 63.7% of the population speaks German as a first language, 20.4% French, 6.5% Italian, 0.5% Romansh (the four are national languages but only the first three are official languages) and 8.9% of the Swiss population has "another" first language (FSO, 2011). In fact, among the permanent population, the number of non-citizens is continuously growing: In 2010, Switzerland registered 52,300 non-citizens more than in the previous year, and non-citizens reached 22.4% of the entire population. 62.4% of permanent resident non-citizens are from EU-27/EFTA countries¹. Beside two prominent groups coming from neighboring countries (Italians at 16.3% and Germans at 14.9% of the permanent non-citizen populations), there are considerable numbers of migrants from Portugal, the countries of the former Yugoslavia, France, Turkey and Spain. The reasons for migration are diverse but a prominent role is played by "work", both for EU-27/EFTA migrants and for those coming from other countries. Moreover, over the course of the last decade, more than 40,000 people per year have obtained Swiss citizenship through naturalization, and they appear in statistics as Swiss. People with a migratory background living in Switzerland thus make up more than the 22.4% of permanent residents who are non-citizens. Other data help us in picturing the context: 26.4% of permanent residents in Switzerland were born outside of the country and later migrated to Switzerland; two thirds of them have a foreign passport. Among those born in Switzerland (73.6% of the permanent residents), 6.4% have a foreign passport, which means that they are second or third-generation non-citizens. (FSO, 2011)

The transnational migration movements are now part of our society, a phenomenon persisting through time as a defining factor in social life (see D'Amato & Fibbi, 2008). When people move from one cultural context to another, many aspects of life in the new society are unfamiliar, but migrants may ultimately adjust to the norms and values of the new society. This process of adaptive transformation is commonly called *acculturation* (Gordon, 1964; Hsu, Grant & Huang, 1993). This term was first defined by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936, p. 149): "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups", and has been used in anthropology for over a century. Psychologists and social psychologists consider acculturation as the adaptation of the perceptions, attitudes, and cognitions of the individual to the new cultural settings (Berry, 1980, 1988; Taft, 1963; Weinstock, 1964).

In this context, the study of collective and social practices of immigration is necessary in order to ascertain integration policies, which can reduce inequalities and instabilities and foster social cohesion. One of the issues to form part of these practices is media consumption. We have already had evidence of the significant role played by media, the increasing importance of communication technologies and the creation of a transnational media space. Media can, in a diversity of ways, contribute to the creation of what Morley (2001) defines as simultaneously occurring processes of homogenization and fragmentation.

According to Hsu, Grant and Huang (1993), immigrants must (re-)acquire a set of social skills, ranging from language competency to work practices, which are accepted and experienced in the host society to reduce their isolation and uncertainty. These social skills are obtained through a combination of interpersonal and mass communication. As early research has

shown, immigrants depend heavily on host society's mass media, particularly television, for information about language and culture in the new society (DeFleur & Cho, 1957; Kim, 1988; Richmond, 1969; Won-Doornink, 1988, Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). As shown by De Block *et al.* (2004) the use of media from the host country may facilitate integration, help in negotiating new identities and in acquiring a new language and in the acculturation process in general. On the other hand, the existence of ethnic mass media may be viewed as evidence of the persistence and distinctiveness of ethnic groups.

According to Carøe Christiansen (2004) the development of media and ICT creates a *transnational perspective* through which the continuous use of media from host and home society can be regarded as a transnational social practice that allows valuable connections between different cultures. Depending on individual or social context the mediated cultural elements are interpreted differently and used as symbolic resources to constitute a specific identity and, in certain cases, to prepare to reside in a foreign country.

As Rydin and Sjöberg point out, media have a role in the process of cultural motion (as experienced by people in the process of migration), and "there is even support for the claim that media and communication technologies play a crucial role in the processes of cultural transformation, as media create spaces for maintaining and negotiating various identity processes" (Rydin & Sjöberg, 2008, p. 9). Without a doubt, media constitute an important element in the environment in which we live, and the development of media played a fundamental part in the rise of modern societies. At the same time, our society is now experiencing an increasing and massive development of information and communication technologies, which are broadly modifying the society itself.

Within this scenario, media use and consumption can be considered on the one hand for information, cultural enrichment, acquisition of contents, and on the other as an experience itself. As Georgiou states, media represent an element which is contributing to modify the structure of our society: "[t]he diversification of cultural and political affairs within and across countries, next to the vast growth of more varied media production and consumption, have significantly altered the roles and meanings of the nation, citizenship and media culture" (Georgiou, 2007, p. 11).

For these reasons, in the last few years, the link between diaspora and media studies has been strengthened and, as Cohen points out, today we can adopt a broader definition of diaspora. In fact, "transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination" (Cohen, 1997, p. 26). It is in this context that cultural mobility – and therefore the role of media and new technologies – has become an important element alongside physical mobility and migration.

The medial perspective on the study of processes of cultural transformation has already been adopted, not only in relation to the construction of a national sentiment but also with regard to questions of identity and belonging. Media are one of the factors responsible for the processes of formation and deconstruction of identities, which are based, in the case of immigrants, on processes of sustaining bonds with their country of origin and of engaging with their new country. Diasporas are strongly dependent on connectivity, and they find in media technologies and in mass media in general a crucial factor for their own identity, for the creation and consolidation of their own *imagined community* (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 52). Today people have access to transnational media and to media from other countries. Immigrants

have access to media from both their countries of origin and their adoptive countries, as well as to other nations' media.

Under these conditions, the role of ICT should be highlighted in linking transnational diasporic communities, in creating channels of information between home and away, and in enhancing coherent identities (Mandaville, 2001; Miller & Slater, 2000; Rai, 1995). The notion of translocality describes the multiple senses of belonging and is employed by Goldring (1998) and Smith (1998) with regard to migrants. Newer, cheaper and more efficient modes of communication enable migrants to maintain collective identities and practices (Hannerz, 1996; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Portes et al. 1999), and this has relevance for the cultural identity of immigrants. At the same time, as a specific target of the newest integration practices, these newer modes of communication enable new forms of participation in the host society through e-inclusion (see Nedelcu, 2008). Mass media and ICT have a direct, clear impact on the way identity is constructed. They provide new cultural contents fostering the development of new forms of cultural identity, whether global, local or hybrid. As Meyrowitz (1989, 1997) and Altheide (1995) claim, electronic (mass) media reorganize the sites of social interaction and social activity, weakening the connections between geographical and social space and reconfiguring the processes of community formation and the resulting collective identity.

The present text has been inspired by several studies on the role of media in identity construction among immigrants and diasporic people and by the centrality of the issue of identity in contemporary multicultural society. As de Leeuw and Rydin (2007, p. 175) have pointed out, we need to focus on the processes of cultural transformation that are taking place in our society where an "increasing number of people are negotiating their identities between continuity and change, between similarity and difference [...] with references to both the new place and to what has been left behind".

We argue in favour of the adoption of a media perspective as a compelling viewpoint. Media and new communications technologies offer increasing possibilities today. If "[b]roadcasting [...] brings us into intimate contact with events in faraway locations and makes available different identifications with its 'territories of transmission' at a regional, national or trans-national level" (Moore, 2000, p. 36), we need to understand whether and how media affect the settlement process of migrants within the adoptive community.

2. The Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland

The Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland offers an appropriate basis for understanding how social and cultural identities are historically reconfigured in the migration context and the media's role in this process. To pursue this understanding, a presentation of the historical conditions of migration to Switzerland from Kosovo needed. We will then describe the different social and cultural diasporic processes observed in connection with the country of origin. Lastly, we will observe these persons' settlement and immersion in Switzerland. These introductory elements of description allow us to present our model of the relationship between identity construction of the Kosovar diaspora and media use.

The immigration from the Balkans in Switzerland has undergone three phases. The first wave of migration of Kosovars into Switzerland started in the sixties. Composed of low-skilled laborers, immigration from Kosovo happened alongside that of Croatian and Serbian skilled workers who were employed in professional fields characterized by a lack of work-

force in Switzerland (including physicians and engineers). However, Kosovar migrants in Switzerland remained a minority among immigrants from Yugoslavia until the eighties.

Political upheavals and economic stagnation in Yugoslavia during the 1980s caused a second wave of migration from Kosovo to Switzerland. This wave consisted of low-skilled males, recruited mainly in the sectors of construction, hospitality, agriculture and industry. These workers came mostly from rural areas of Kosovo.

In the first years, Kosovars entering Switzerland received a seasonal status². This type of immigration, which considered the stay as temporary, was congruent with the objectives of the Swiss authorities (rotation of the workforce) who welcomed foreign laborers who came to work in Switzerland without their families for a period of years and were then replaced every few years by other seasonal workers (Aarburg, 2002).

The third wave of the Kosovar immigration in Switzerland took place during the 1990s. During this phase, there was a large increase in the number of Kosovars in Switzerland. This phase is characterized by a process of family reunification, made possible by the transformation of seasonal status into a residency permit (Gross, 2006), but also by the arrival of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers fleeing the political and socio-economic situation which prevailed in Kosovo at that time, and who thereby circumvented the policy of “three circles” which had prevented the Former Yugoslav citizens from emigrating to Switzerland (Leuenberger & Maillard, 1999; Burri-Sharani et al., 2010)³.

Today, 10% of the total Kosovar population lives in Switzerland. Until the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the Kosovars were registered within Swiss statistics together with other groups from the country of Yugoslavia. In 1970, 24,971 immigrants from Yugoslavia were living in Switzerland. In 1980, the number had risen to 60,916, and tripled by 1990 to a total of 172,777 people. It is currently difficult to give precise figures on the actual number of immigrants from Kosovo in Switzerland (Burri-Sharani et al. 2010). According to the Federal Office for Migration (FOM), in 2007 there were 155,000 Kosovars (the vast majority of them ethnic Albanians); and recently, Micheline Calmy-Rey, President and Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, declared in an interview for the Radio Television of Kosovo that there are 170,000 Kosovars in Switzerland. In addition, about 40,000 people of Kosovar origin are naturalized Swiss citizens.

The difficulty in knowing the exact number of Kosovars in Switzerland is due to the fact that Kosovars held Serbian nationality until 1999. In addition, changes in their current status (through the naturalization process, particularly of the second generation) and the existence of persons in irregular situations further complicate the task (FSO, 2004).⁴

The Kosovar Albanian speaking diaspora has been present in Switzerland for more than four decades. Switzerland was a major destination for the Albanian speaking immigration from the former Yugoslavia, originating mainly from villages in Kosovo, but also from Macedonia, southern Serbia and Montenegro, the most underdeveloped regions in the former Yugoslavia. This immigration was an important factor in improving living standards in Kosovo, a region that has faced high population pressure (Roux, 1992). As suggested by Aarburg (Aarburg 2002; Aarburg & Gretler, 2008), in the early stages of Kosovar migration, seasonal immigrants lived in the outskirts of the host country, which also explains the fact that prior to 1990 Swiss citizens had little awareness of the presence of Kosovars in Switzerland. For these immigrants, the vast majority of whom were men, the point of reference was Kosovo, where their family, in the broad sense of the term, stayed and relied on their economic support.

Kosovar immigrants planned to return to Kosovo in the medium term. At the beginning, they lived in modest socio-economic conditions in order to save money to reinvest in Kosovo.

vo, where they built family houses and bought land and agricultural technology, as well as funding relatives' (expensive) weddings⁵.

This link with the country of origin was also an important factor in the large Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland choosing to support political demands in Kosovo to oppose the political and military domination of Belgrade. The result was a particularly active political mobilization of the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland on the Albanian national issue in the former Yugoslavia, which in particular took the form of an active political and community life (political clubs, publications, lobbying, public demonstrations, etc.) with regard to political developments in the country of origin (Iseni, 2008).

During the 1980s, many Kosovar nationalist actors, facing persecution by the Yugoslav regime, sought asylum in Switzerland and Germany. Since then, they have conducted intensive campaigns from abroad and remotely pursued numerous nationalist activities in the Balkans. In the absence of a democratic political space and heavy persecution from the Yugoslav and later Serbian governments, the Kosovar Albanian immigrant elite has continued to struggle for the recognition of the "Republic of Kosova" from various European capitals where they enjoyed freedom of speech and could perform lobbying activities. This dynamic has led in particular to the creation of militant networks in support of independence for Kosovo and to a powerful political mobilization for the national cause, which has direct implications in the political development of the Albanian cultural area of the former Yugoslavia. This movement, targeted exclusively at the home country, has resulted in reduced integration into host societies (Torche, 1989).

During the 1990s, the nonviolent Albanian resistance in Kosovo and the internationalization of the issue of Kosovo, led by the charismatic leader Ibrahim Rugova, were in large part funded by the diaspora, through a voluntary tax (3% of income). The main creators of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) emerged from the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland. This diaspora has also strongly supported the KLA through financial contributions and enrolling as volunteer fighters in the KLA's conflict against the Serbian army from 1998 to 1999 (Hockenos, 2003). These patterns of support were similar in the conflict in Macedonia (2001) and also to some extent in the Presevo Valley in southern Serbia (2000–2001).

It should also be noted that the Kosovar diaspora has been and continues to be a major force in the socioeconomic well-being of Kosovo: in 2009, 422.7 million euro, or 11% of Kosovo's GDP, came from remissions of the Kosovar diaspora living in Western countries (USAID-UNDP, 2010). The same diaspora has also been responsible for rebuilding the country after the devastating conflict that took place in 1998 and 1999.

Human mobility, community political networks and media products seem to have a central function as part of the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland in maintaining connections with the country of origin and the political investment of the immigrants in favor of the ethnic Albanian identity. With regard to media, several magazines have been published since the 1980s, the largest one being *Zeri i Kosovës*, the organ of the Movement for the Republic of Kosovo. This journal is focused entirely on the political mobilization of the diaspora on the matter of the status of Kosovo and of ethnic Albanians in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, local radio broadcasts are periodically transmitted in Switzerland, Western Europe and the United States. The Kosovar diaspora is informed daily about the political developments in Kosovo and elsewhere through international low-frequency radio stations such as "Radio Zagreb", "Voice of America", "Deutsche Welle" and "Radio Free Europe".

During the 1990s, two Albanian newspapers were launched in Germany and Switzerland, *Rilindja* and later *Bota Sot*, and became the preferred channel of communication for the Koso-

var government in exile. In the late 1990s, other newspapers and magazines became available on newsstands throughout Switzerland and Germany. At the same time, through the emergence of satellite channels, Radio and Television of Kosovo's television programs are broadcast from outside of Serbian territory as a result of the embargo against ethnic Albanian Kosovars established by Slobodan Milosevic in Kosovo.

It appears clear that media were used in order to reinforce a Kosovar Albanian national identity within the diaspora in Switzerland. The impact of media in the construction of a de-territorialized Kosovar – and by extension ethnic Albanian – identity seems to have played a central role. Media have also influenced the political changes in the countries of origin, particularly in Kosovo and Macedonia. It seems reasonable to conclude that, well into the late 1990s, Kosovar media produced and consumed in Switzerland were produced with the objective of maintaining and strengthening ties with the country of origin.

The last element to be considered to describe the Kosovar diaspora is the process of settling in Switzerland. An early process of family reunion of Kosovar migrants in Switzerland started in the late 1980s. In spite of this, Kosovar immigrants in Switzerland continued to support the idea of returning to their country of origin until the late 1990s. The mobilization for the political cause of Kosovo also kept them in a suspended position between the country of origin and the host countries.

However, with the improvement of the political situation in Kosovo following the NATO intervention, and in particular following the arrival of a second influx of immigrants from Kosovo, the project of settling in Switzerland in a long-term perspective started to become a reality. During the war in Kosovo in 1999, IOM registered a negative attitude towards the idea of returning to Kosovo among Kosovar families in Switzerland (IOM, 1999). In parallel with the progressive sociopolitical “stabilization” of Kosovo can be observed the beginning of a process of settling in Switzerland. Most of the Kosovar population in Switzerland appear to desire to stay in Switzerland indefinitely.

Various factors appear to influence the inclination of many Kosovar immigrants to settle in Switzerland (Focus Group, 2010). The first is clearly the lack of prospects in the country of origin due to chronic underdevelopment, as well as political instability and a lack of social and professional perspectives. The second factor is related to the new dynamics of integration and acculturation in the host country which are leading to a redefinition of the relationships of the Kosovar diaspora within the host society. The integration process seems to be characterized by a renegotiation of the identity of immigrants as a meeting point between the culture of the country of origin and of the host country. The differentiation from the social and cultural identity of the country of origin and the birth of a sense of belonging in the host society are crucial factors in the choice to stay in Switzerland in the longer term.

Different concrete indicators of the process of settling in Switzerland can be observed. These include a decline in associations linked to the country of origin and the emergence of new forms of association, now addressed to the host country and the needs of the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland. The strong propensity for naturalization, the acquisition of real estate in Switzerland, and a decrease in investment in real estate in the country of origin seem to confirm this change. The abundance of small and medium-sized enterprises in Switzerland and the investment in the education of children are additional indicators in favor of the hypothesis of long-term settlement of the Kosovar community in Switzerland.

In conclusion, the old and new sociological reality of Kosovo offers an ideal case study with which to propose a model for understanding the role of Kosovar media and the media of the host country in the process of identity transformation.

3. Social identities, cultural configurations and media consumption

In this third chapter, we will present the main concepts of our research project, and define how those were operationalized in relation to the case of the Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland. Those concepts are: social (and ethnic) identity, cultural configurations, media consumption and the perception of integration.

We consider that ethnicity, social identity and culture are not one single social phenomena, but are actually three discrete and sometimes conflicting elements. In the definition of the self of individuals, different elements coexist and take on varying levels of relevance depending on the context and situation.

The concept of social identity is defined by social identity theory as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his membership to a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to this” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Essentially, it is a subjective feeling of belonging to a particular social group (e.g. the nation, the ethnic community, the company, the religious community, a sports team, etc.). Individuals have different social identities (or identifications) in relation to the different social groups to which they belong, and these have different salience in different contexts and situations.

The feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group, or in other words ethnic identity, is a specific type of social identity. The major paradigms of immigration research have considered ethnic groups as consistent communities characterized by a peculiar culture and a shared identity. This position assumes the unambiguous and given character of ethnic identities, essentializing them as given and fixed and therefore not taking into account the complexity and hybridity of contemporary social categorizations and identifications. Our definition, by contrast, following that originally laid down by Barth (1969), considers ethnicity as a subjective definition of ethnic group boundaries instead of relying on an objective culture defined by outside observers. As summarized by Wimmer (2009), the boundary-making approach considers ethnic groups as the outcome of a potentially reversible social process of interaction between majority and minority, in which the actors themselves define which indicators are the relevant markers to define their ethnic group. In other words, the members of the ethnic group themselves define the salient indicators, e.g. common history, language, phenotypic traits or cultural elements, that distinguish a member from a non-member of the ethnic group. Ethnicity is here seen as a subjective sense of belonging which, drawing on Weber (1978), is expressed in the idea (and not necessarily in the fact) of a shared culture, history or phenotypical similarity, the social relevance of which depends on the context that defines its salience. Ethnic boundaries result from the actions of actors on both sides of the “border” and therefore great weight is placed on social interactions, and in our case on mediated interactions.

In order to investigate this aspect empirically, we used non-suggestive semi-structured interviews with a top-down approach to identify aspects of identity. At first, we asked the interviewee to present herself freely. That way, the person was free to decide which elements she deemed to be the most important in order to define her identity. Among those elements that could be important for her in the definition of herself could be traits of personality, a current profession, a national or ethnic identity, etc. This was further validated through the twenty statements test. This is a simple technique commonly used in order to assess an individual’s sense of self. During the twenty statements test, the participants provide twenty self-concepts by completing the phrase “I am...”. This test is based on the assumption that each individual has multiple selves that can be detected by self-reporting.

After the phase of self-reporting, the different social identities that emerged were further analyzed in order to define their centrality and salience. Following the construct of Lalonde and Cameron (2005), we conducted our empirical analysis along three lines. At first, we analyzed the ingroup ties within the social group, in particular in terms of what the interviewees feel they share with ingroup members, including their perceived ties and sense of belonging. After that, we investigated the centrality of these ties for the interviewee. Here we observed the contexts in which the interviewee thinks about herself as a member of the group and how much this has to do with her image of the self. Finally, we explored the ingroup affect and the emotional significance attached to the sense of belonging to a specific social group.

With regard to ethnic identities, we sought to define the level of identification by investigating the seven constructs identified by Driedger (1975), Phinney (1990) and Rosenthal and Feldman (1992): self-identification, use of language, network of friendships, religious affiliation, endogamy, festivities and celebrations, and eating habits.

The cultural configuration is the patrimony of cultural elements, such as values, norms, customs, traditions, attitudes, and worldviews, which are shared by the members of a particular group. The configuration represents the average of the group. No two individuals within the group share exactly the same cultural elements; some individuals may even oppose certain cultural elements while sharing other sometimes contrasting cultural elements referring to other social groups to which they belong. The cultural elements that, according to members of the ethnic group characterize their “ethnicity”, are those the individuals within the group themselves define as subjectively relevant and may not correspond to the “objective” definition an outside observer could make of the cultural configuration of the group itself. During the interviews, we aimed on one hand at understanding what are the cultural elements that the interviewee considers as characteristic of the particular social groups she belongs to, and on the other hand at understanding whether the interviewee as an individual thinks that she herself shares these same cultural elements. In order to undertake an external observation of the cultural configurations of the interviewees, we also submitted a preliminary questionnaire in which we tried to identify the personal cultural configurations of our interviewees based on the questions of Inglehart’s World Values Survey and of Poggia’s PNR 56 project (Poggia & Galeandro, 2009).

The analysis of media consumption is a kind of glue between the elements described above. With regard to social and ethnic identity, we are interested in understanding how media foster or inhibit the attachment to certain forms of identities, as well as how people use certain types of media content to feel part of or to differentiate themselves from members of certain social groups.

More concretely, we will consider the relations between the sense of ethnic and hybrid belonging discussed by the interviewees and the media contents they consume (TV, radio, newspapers and internet), as well as the motivation in choosing such media contents and if and how the interviewees follow the news from Kosovo and Switzerland. Moreover, it is interesting to verify if there is a relation between the sense of identity and the relationships maintained through media and in particular through ICTs.

With regard to cultural configurations, we are interested in how the media allow the acquisition of certain cultural contents (knowledge – including linguistic knowledge – information on rules and norms, world views, etc.) and whether the choice of using a determined media content is in any way related to the fact that an individual shares some cultural elements with it. More concretely, we will consider the relation between the consumed media

contents (TV, radio, newspapers and internet) and the language of media use, in order to understand if there is a cultural bond between media content and the use of language, and if language is a motivation of choosing media contents. Moreover, we will explore the role of media in language acquisition and in acquiring knowledge about Switzerland. We will relate the consumption of media contents with what interviewees state about the way they acquired knowledge about the country where they live and the languages of the country.

In order to identify these aspects, we identified the media diet (Prario & Cola, 2008; Cola & Prario, 2009) through a preliminary questionnaire and identified the semantic roles attached to media consumption through our interview. Looking at the media diet means considering the consumption of media as a whole, and not each medium separately, since the set of media constitutes the environment (cultural, political, economic) within which each individual operates. In the case of a diasporic group, the media diet can be constituted not only by several media (devices), but also by media from several countries. Therefore, it is important to consider at first the media diet and secondly the semantic roles attached to the choice of any specific medium and content consumed.

Finally, concerning integration we based our analysis on the self-reports of our respondents, and did therefore only evaluate the individual perception of one's own integration. In order to do so, we operationalized the indicators identified by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003). The authors identify four levels of immigrant integration: socio-economic integration, cultural integration, legal and political integration, and attitudes of recipient societies. For the purposes of our research, the indicators presented in the following table were deemed relevant and consequently selected for our research (in particular, concerning the sub-indicators, some were selected from the formulation of Entzinger and Biezeveld, some others derived by our operationalization of the main four categories):

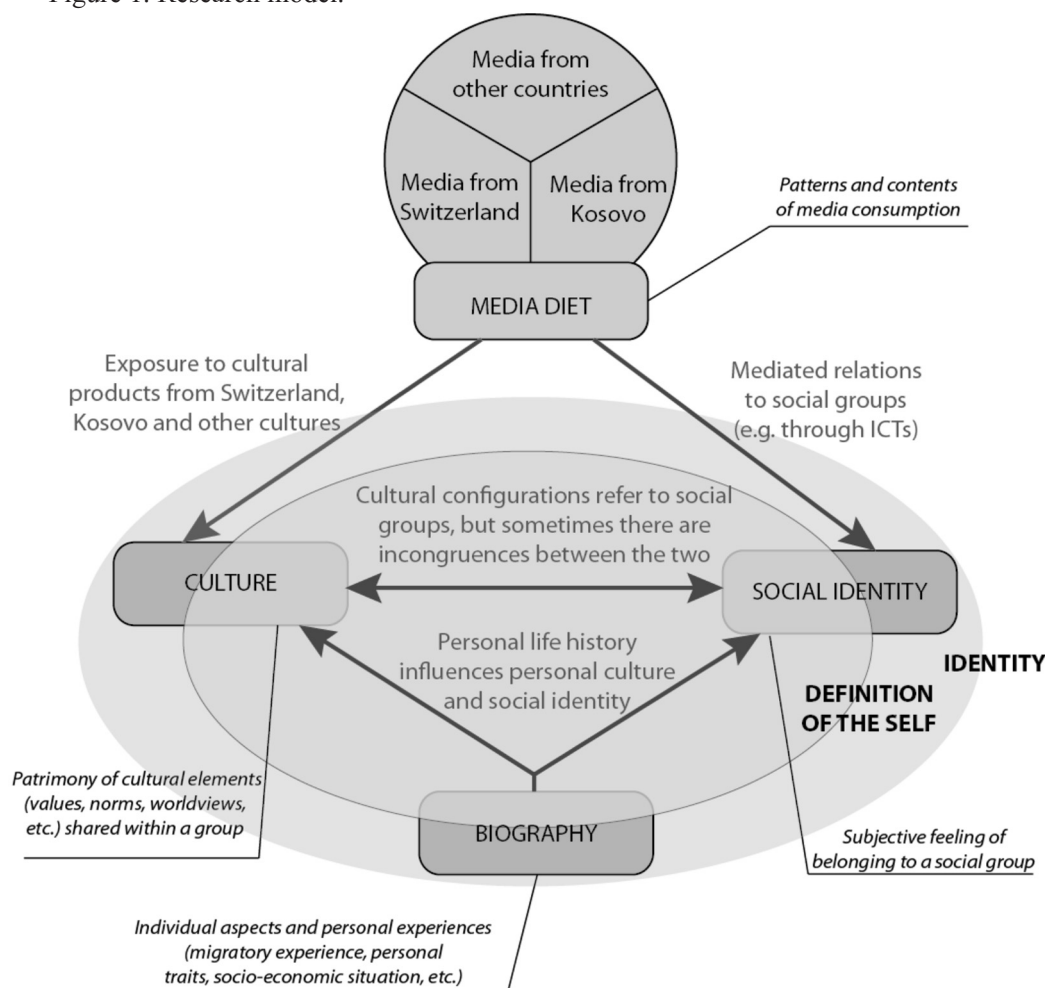
Table 1. Indicators of integration (based on Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003).

Socio-economic integration	Cultural integration	Political and legal integration	Self-perception of the level of integration
- Professional situation - Revenue - Level of education - Housing situation	Attitudes towards rules and norms of the host country, e.g.: - Family composition - Gender equality - Freedom of religion, expression, etc.	Status of residence	Feeling of being accepted by the members of the host society
	Frequency of contacts with individuals from the host and origin countries: - Ethnic associations - Participation in social activities - Meetings with autochthones - Contacts through media (media contents, virtual networks)	Participation in the political and social life	Individual feeling of being integrated in the host society
	Endogamy		
	Linguistic skills		
	Cultural practices (food and celebrations)		

The first level, i.e. socio-economic (or structural) integration, is the most widely shared and accepted. This indicator is related to the access and participation of migrants in the labor market, and to the factors that stimulate or inhibit this aspect such as education and language proficiency. Other aspects relate to access to housing and social assistance. These indicators have the advantage of being easily measurable through the use of such variables as employment, income levels and educational achievement.

The second level, i.e. cultural integration, is more problematic because of the difficulty in quantitatively measuring these aspects. At the same time, cultural integration is increasingly recognized as an important aspect of integration. Another problem is that of the level, or the intensity, of these variables required in order to actually achieve integration. It is now widely accepted that it is necessary to avoid complete assimilation of cultural differences. At the same time it is also generally agreed that a minimum sharing of cultural elements should be reached to enable dialogue and peaceful co-existence. The limits of this “minimum sharing”, however, still require more precise definition.

Figure 1. Research model.



The third level is that of legal and political integration. Various instruments exist for the measurement of integration policies and their impact (for example MIPEX, the Migration Integration Policy Index). This particular area is related to the exercise of political and social rights and duties of immigrants. Among the indicators, Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) place the ability to be naturalized and statutes of residence and participation in political and social life (although this last aspect, in the present authors' view, could also be included in socio-economic integration).

The last level concerns the attitudes of the host society. This aspect, and in part the previous one as well, are not included in our research. Integration is conceived as a two-way process involving both the host society and its migrant groups, but the present study focuses on the analysis of the individual reality of migrants experiencing integration.

4. Research model and conclusions

The complexity of diasporic phenomena requires researchers to take into consideration numerous aspects and issues, and there are of course several perspectives which allow for the study of diasporic identities. Some of these aspects are linked to a specific diaspora, whereas some others have a broader relevance and are shared by several diasporas. Our research model, presented in the diagram in Figure 1, tries to reflect the complexities of identities negotiation in diasporic contexts and proposes to investigate them in relation with patterns and contents of media consumption.

As the research model shows (Figure 1), there are some key elements to be considered and among them, *identity* is surely the central one. We conceive it, as discussed in this article, as the aggregate of cultural elements, social aspects and personal (migratory) background, with a specific attention to the individual perception of one's own identity, what we define as *definition of the self*. The combination of all these issues contributes to the creation of the identity of individuals. In addition, our research model contains another important element that, we argue, can be related to identity and in particular can contribute to shaping identities: the media. Therefore, we consider media use as a perspective from which to study identity formation in diaspora contexts. As underlined in the first section of this article, different scholars have presented at theoretical level the role played by media in the creation of different forms of identities. Our study aims at analysing how different media contents and typologies of consumption foster or inhibit different feelings of belonging, be it in relation to the country of origin, to the host country or to new, hybrid forms of identity. At the same time, the identity transformations that migrants experience are reflected in the media consumption of the group under study. When talking about media in relation to a diaspora, we refer to a broad variety of media, considering both the media of the origin country and the media of the host country. Their relative importance and role in identity formation represents, in other words, our perspective. The semantics and emotional significance attached to media use influence and at the same time are influenced by social identities, which find in media consumption a strong place where to solidify pre-existing identities or to even create new, hybrid ones. At the same time, media propose cultural products to the audience and are therefore a catalyst of the ever occurring changes in cultural configurations. Finally, those phenomena cannot be understood or explained without taking into consideration the particular life histories of individuals.

Notes

¹ EFTA – European Free Trade Association is an intergovernmental organisation set up for the promotion of free trade and economic integration to the benefit of its four member states (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland) – Source: www.efta.int.

² This consists of a permit which allows the holder to work in Switzerland for nine months in a year, while for the other three months the person is obliged to leave the country.

³ The “three-circle” model proposed by the Federal Council in its 1991 report on the policy towards foreigners and refugees sets criteria for recruitment of the foreign labor force based on considerations of geography and culture, politics and national economy. The inner circle (or the first circle: states of the EU and EFTA) allows for the free movement of persons. In the middle circle (or the second circle, currently including the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand, with the potential subsequent addition of the states of Central and Eastern Europe), a limited number of foreign persons can be recruited. In the outer circle (or third circle: the “rest of the world”), there is normally no recruitment possible, except in exceptional cases of highly qualified specialists.

⁴ See also “370’000 Ex-Yugoslaves en Suisse. Qui sont-ils vraiment?”, *L’Hebdo*, N° 37, 9 September 2004. In 2003, without subdivisions, 351,960 individuals from ex-Yugoslavia were registered. Today this number is expected to be in excess of 400,000 individuals.

⁵ Financial help and solidarity were not limited to close relatives, but included the extended family and distant cousins as well.

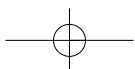
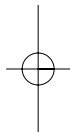
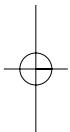
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Ivan Darias ALFONSO*

Re-reading Cuba in London: Media and Identity in the Cuban Diaspora

Abstract

This article examines issues of identity formation within Cubans in London and how news media figure in this process. It is argued that news media consumption plays a pivotal role in constructing knowledge about Cuba and how this new knowledge contributes to form notions of identity and nation amongst the emigrants. In diaspora, news media are used to validate a relationship with the emigrants' past and future. Past events are reviewed by a critical use of media, by acknowledging the potential bias of homeland media and the way Cuba was portrayed in the host country. I discuss how media influence the migrants' future, because notions of nation and culture gained from media access actively intervene in the emigrants' subject construction. The construction of knowledge through media represents an ongoing process that also influences identity formation. Accessed media reports can be internalised through renovated reading practices, especially for those who lacked the habit in the homeland, to re-define notions of belonging and claims of loyalties to Cuba. The article is based on a series of qualitative interviewing. From the data analysis, narratives of belonging and self-consciousness suggest that notions of nation and national identity are constructed differently in the Cuban diaspora than in the homeland.

Key words: Cuban diaspora, identity, media, ethnic groups, media consumption

Rezumat

Acest articol examinează problematica formării identității la cubanezii din Londra și felul în care contribuie știrile din presă la acest proces. Susținem că în procesul de construire a cunoașterii despre Cuba consumul de știri joacă un rol central; de asemenea această nouă cunoaștere contribuie la construirea noțiunilor de identitate și națiune în rândul migranților. În diaspora, presa este folosită pentru a valida relația cu trecutul și viitorul migranților. Uzajul critic al media duce la o reinterpretare a evenimentelor din trecut și, implicit, recunoașterea caracterului părintor atât al presei din țara de origine, cât și al reprezentării Cubei în țara gazdă. Discutăm faptul că noțiunile de națiune și cultură mediate de presă intervin activ în construcția subiectului de către migranți. Construirea cunoașterii prin media reprezintă un proces continuu care influențează și formarea identității. Știrile pot fi internalizate prin noi practici de lectură, mai ales la cei care nu aveau acest obicei în țara de origine, și ajung astfel să redefinească noțiunile de apartenență și loialitate față de Cuba. Articolul se bazează pe o serie de 40 de interviuri. Analizând datele, narațiunile despre apartenență și cunoaștere de sine relevă că noțiunile de națiune și identitate națională sunt construite diferit în diaspora cubaneză față de țara de origine.

Cuvinte-cheie: Diaspora cubaneză, identitate, media, grup etnic, consum mediativ

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1. Introduction

Emigration has been a regular occurrence in the history of the Cuban Revolution, but patterns changed after the crisis of the 1990s¹. Cubans emigrants increasingly favoured non-traditional destinations, for example, European countries. Academic research on these new diasporas still remains sporadic. The emergence of this specific émigré group coincided with the “globalisation of migration” (Castles & Miller, 1993, p. 8) and increasing academic interest in transnational communities. However, this group also appeared in the specific historical circumstances of the latest developments in the homeland. The Cuba they left differed from the country that many of those who left earlier for the United States experienced and knew. Their arrival in the United Kingdom took place after they had spent most of their lives in revolutionary Cuba, during critical periods when both the revolutionary model of Cuban society and ideas of nation, culture and cultural identity were questioned as part of the national discourse.

This article challenges a limited portrayal of the Cuban diaspora as a politically motivated group located in the United States². The group in London is different by nature, relatively small compared to its U.S. counterpart and not as visible or organised. To illustrate the particularities of this émigré group, I have selected the topics of media. After 1959 the Cuban media came under the control of the government: it regulated media contents following the propaganda model and limited the dissemination of foreign media. During fifty years of revolutionary rule, Cubans have become accustomed to an official version of national history and to a sense of identity that has prioritised the political nuances of the term. In diaspora, this version can be contested or even rejected.

The article is based on in-depth interviews with forty Cuban-Londoners, twenty males and twenty females, conducted in London during 2006-2007. The migration of Cubans to Britain is not an organised process, and the emigrants I interviewed arrived following different routes. The majority (28 out of 40) came after marriage to British citizens. As for the rest of my sample, some had relatives who settled in London in the early 1960s. Others came as students, academics and professionals and overstayed their visas. Two participants arrived after having initially settled in other E.U. countries. Such a varied picture makes it difficult to claim that members of the Cuban-Londoners represented a particular group of individuals in terms of status, class, gender or region of origin. It was more the case that the group appeared naturally, without a centre that promoted links to the homeland or gathered the group together. This invisibility remains a key characteristic of these expatriates, which impeded knowing the size of its population. Census data shows that there were 536 Cubans in London in 2001 (DMA, 2005), but some participants quoting lists from the Cuban Embassy, which I could not access, estimated the total number of Cubans in Britain to be 2000.

After a discussion of recent academic studies on media and identity, the article discusses how participants read and use news sources to seek information about their homeland. It then moves on to explore personal strategies of making meanings about Cuba. Participants acknowledge gaining an enhanced knowledge about the homeland, which influences their notions of identity by challenging previously learned conceptions about national history and the importance of nation in the homeland context.

2. Media and identity: theoretical approaches

Media used to produce a particular cultural identity or to promote community formation in the diasporic context become important in a world dominated by the impact of information technologies. The impact of media is analysed in this article through the concept of representation. According to Stuart Hall, representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any signifying system that deploys signs) to produce meanings (1997, p. 61).

Media in diaspora are responsible for representations of the emigrants' homeland, their space in the host country and their own way to identify themselves. Media are also part of the transnational links that are exchanged between *here* and *there* and can be used to strengthen or weaken loyalties to the homeland, the host country or allegiances that exceed geopolitical entities. New information technologies have contributed to the study of media as a transnational link. The advent of satellite television and the Internet has been particularly important. Both clearly exemplify what Arjun Appadurai (1996) calls the mediascape, one of the five dimensions he attributes to cultural flows in globalisation. He argues that mediascapes relate to the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information, as well as to the images of the world created by these electronic media (p. 35). Satellite television and the Internet in diasporic communities not only facilitate access to and consumption of homeland content but also create diasporic content either by the production of programmes and films or by the establishment of online media that may be accessed worldwide.

Diasporic media have been used to build a sense of identity within expatriate communities (Karim, 2003). As Karim H. Karim notes, diasporas re-create home by instilling vast resonance into the spaces they occupy, but the milieus that diasporas seek to form are not constrained by the borders of nation-states (2003, p. 10). Media's representation of home sometimes differs from the institutionalised version of home that the official homeland media portray.

Studies of diaspora television highlight important issues, for example, that migrants may have interests other than sustaining their identity and culture when they access homeland media and that they appear to consume more television news from their countries of origin than from their host countries (Christiansen, 2004, p. 185). However, satellite television associated with diasporic communities is not a widespread phenomenon because not all immigrants can access television broadcasts from their country of origin or have programmes made specifically for the diaspora. Perhaps this explains why the majority of diasporic media studies have focused on the Internet. Online media can be used broadly in the diasporic context when migrants overcome the technology gap. Hong Qiu's (2003) research on the online magazines created by Chinese students in the United States shows how they provide evidence for the formation of a virtual diasporic community (2003, p. 153). Lisa Tsaliki, analysing websites created by expatriate Greeks, argues that the computer-mediated community is constructed in the same way that Benedict Anderson's (1991) imagined community becomes a nation. In addition, she notes that computer-mediated communication happens to be the language of the "nation as a metaphor and cyberspace the location of the national narrative" (2003, p. 174). The nation as a virtual community favours the negotiation of national identity because emigrants tend to debate online what constitutes nation and national identity. Online diasporic communities can be seen as a suitable space to display and contest notions of similarities between the members of the diaspora. Migrants may share a common homeland but reside in

different host countries; therefore, interactions may relate to homeland, host country and virtual community.

Victoria Bernal (2006) for instance, describes the role of online media in promoting links within the Eritrean diaspora. She analyses the Internet as a transnational public sphere where Eritreans produce and debate narratives of history, culture, democracy and identity (p. 162). The diasporic online community contributes to the development of a notion of identity based on the contributions of online users, which gains particular importance, given that Eritrea emerged as an independent nation as recently as 1993.

Angel Adams Parham (2005) defines three different types of Internet-mediated publics: representational, network and vertical. The main goal of the representational public is “literally to represent the country and/or the culture of the diaspora” (p. 353). Websites and online forums are viewed as spaces that showcase the homeland culture and history. Network publics are aimed at exchanging information and communication with the purpose of creating group opinions and setting agendas (p. 356). In this group, the Internet provides the effect of interactivity. Adams Parham notes, like Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2003), that the online audience generally replicates pre-Internet media cultures, but she associates this trend with the representational public. By contrast, network publics are a novelty, facilitating diasporic citizens to make sense and act upon distant events by engaging in critical discussion and to provide a platform for representatives of the state to actively or indirectly consider what is being discussed in cyberspace (2005, p. 357). The third public is vertical because the members are organized “through a formal structure that spans the full continuum of interaction from the ‘top’ in cyberspace to the ‘bottom’ in specific geographic spaces” (p. 366). To this audience, the discussions and agenda setting are not limited to the Internet because members of this audience equally try to implement their aims off-line.

The use of online media, as that of satellite television by diasporic communities, has also been examined through ethnographic methods. As Kenneth Thompson states, such methods have revealed that the home culture of ethnic minorities has not always been “the site where cultural traditions are maintained and assimilation to national/global culture is resisted” (2002, p. 409). The picture is more complex than that and highlights the importance of examining migrants’ use of media not only as a question of access and consumption but also as a matter of social interactions.

Thompson defines the online community as the space where no one is in control, there is no ideological closure and, as a result, “no grand narratives of the nation emerge” (2002, p. 411). This argument suggests that cyberspace has a particular impact in discourses about the nation. The homeland is enhanced or limited, depending on the way diaspora has been lived, assumed, conceptualised and expressed by diasporic individuals. However, as Thompson (2002) also notes, new communication technologies such as the Internet are also employed to express and create public individuals’ sense of self, which draws attention to the concern Aksoy and Robins (2003) express regarding the use of satellite television among diasporic audiences: just because migrants use homeland media does not mean that they are connecting to their homeland culture. Hence, these media also facilitate the construction of a notion of identity that is de-centred and post-modern in Hall’s sense (1992).

3. Media and identity in revolutionary Cuba

The rules of media and cultural production in revolutionary Cuba were defined by Fidel Castro in his famous 1961 speech *Palabras a los intelectuales* (Words to Intellectuals): “What are the rights of writers and artists, whether they are revolutionary or non-revolutionary? Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, no rights at all” (Castro Ruz, 1961b, cited García Luis, 2008, p. 117). The phrase became a template for the cultural policy of the Cuban Revolution, a mandate that Cuban media was also compelled to follow. Castro’s speech was motivated ironically by a media product: the documentary *PM* by Sabá Cabrera Infante, which depicted nightlife in the vicinity of Havana’s port. After the speech it became clear that *certain* representations of Cuban society would not be tolerated.

Cuban media have been instrumental in promoting constructed versions of national identity in hand with the government view. Mass media became a vital tool for broadcasting in epic terms the re-birth of the nation, following an ideological mission commanded by the Cuban government. However, this profusion of images and texts always followed a selective approach: only what was relevant in terms of ideological purposes was transmitted and consequently incorporated. Cristina Venegas (2010) considers that through television Fidel Castro forged a strong association between himself and the party ideology. She argues that he became a constant presence in Cuban homes, instructing audiences on important matters of policy, ideology and goals (p. 82). Although this may seem exceptionally Cuban, recent research suggests that media play a decisive role in creating collective versions of national history and culture elsewhere.

Analysing the role of satellite television in Algeria, Ratiba Hadj-Moussa (2006) has argued that national television promoted a constructed version of Algerian history through a process of mythologization and fossilisation. She states that constructions of history have obliterated the multiplicity of memories, which in turn has led to the recognition solely of the role of the National Liberation Front in the anti-colonial struggle (p. 198). So, Algerians’ use of satellite television constitutes a rejection of the mediated version of national history portrayed by the official media in terms of veracity and authenticity. According to Hadj-Moussa, Algerians rejected that televised history because it neither represented the truth nor reflected what her informants called “Algerian” culture (p. 198). Following her argument, it seems plausible to claim that alternative media, such as those that appear on satellite television, easily challenges constructed notions of nationhood and culture.

In the early 1990s, with the advent of international tourism, Cubans briefly enjoyed the benefits of transnationalism in terms of mass media. Satellite television became available in tourist hotels and villas and the signal was subsequently hijacked and re-distributed illegally to some Cuban households. National television and the press remained tightly controlled by Party officials, but Cubans increasingly turned to other versions of their reality now available though illegal means, sometimes even with a homemade device: a *criolla* satellite dish. Entertainment-based programmes such as musical shows and Mexican, Colombian or Brazilian soap operas ranked high in the favourite products consumed through these new media channels. Video banks opened throughout the country, where Cubans could rent pirated copies of Hollywood films, Discovery Channel documentaries and Latin American *telenovelas*. These illegally obtained media products were not readily available because only those with access to U.S. dollars or those who lived in the vicinity of tourist areas where the signal could be re-

ceived could enjoy alternative television. In other parts of the island, official media continued to be the only option.

It has been my argument that diaspora is a good setting in which to analyse the process of confronting the multiplicity of versions of the homeland. While Cuba may be far from being a prime-time subject for British media, Cubans in London are exposed to a varied mediascape (Appadurai, 1996) from which they can choose. Online media has put in the public domain debates that otherwise would have become irrelevant or unknown (Venegas, 2010, p. 56). Nowadays, the Cuban blogosphere, for example, typifies comparisons between what is said in the official media with what is not said through those very media channels. News websites, such as *Cubaencuentro*³ and its recent spin-off *Diario de Cuba*⁴, and blogs such as *Penúltimos días*⁵ regularly dispute the official media versions of a certain event by providing other foreign media accounts or by adding their own analysis.

Despite globalisation and its influences, Cuban mass media is still characterised by the propaganda model. While commercial television and other entertainment-based media were incorporated in the 1990s, recently new channels have been launched to keep audiences relying on what they are shown on their television sets. Television displaced other media and sources of entertainment during the Special Period and in the following years, regaining its status as a source of education and political mobilisation. Programmes such as *Universidad para todos* (University for all) were broadcast to teach subjects ranging from the sciences to foreign languages. During the Elián González affair, and for some years after his return to Cuba in 2000, *Tribunas abiertas* (Open Tribunes) were regularly broadcast live on national television together with another programme of information and comment, *Mesa redonda* (Round table), both of which resulted in a saturation of the political message for a generation that decided to leave the country and settle elsewhere.

Media responses to the structural changes in Cuban society in the 1990s were largely non-existent, except for publications such as *Temas* and *La Gaceta de Cuba*, which contributed with critical views about emerging social phenomena (increasing poverty, prostitution, illegal emigration). The crisis radically changed the perception Cubans had of their country, constituting an example of what can be termed a crisis of representation. It refers not so much to the way the crisis affected the idea of the nation portrayed by the media, but to how coherent and *real* the previous notions had been. However, media policy makers were still reluctant to change, especially if those changes had ideological implications. Sujatha Fernandes (2005) used the case of *Magín*, a feminist network that emerged in the aftermath of the crisis with the aim of changing the way women were traditionally portrayed in the national media. *Magín* members tried to promote gender awareness in the media and challenge negative stereotypes (p. 441), but their activism was deemed a challenge to the authority of other organizations such as the FMC and the Cuban Journalists Union. In the end, *Magín*, like many other NGOs that appeared in the early 1990s, did not survive the government crackdown in 1996.

4. Interview design

My set of open-ended questions was designed to target the main topics of my research. The idea was to stimulate a useful discussion of the notion of identity of my participants, starting by their personal views of identity. I started with a set of general questions about London and why the city was chosen as a destination. This set was aimed mainly at identi-

ifying the reasons behind the migratory experience and the relevance of opting for Britain over other places in the world with expatriate communities (the United States, Spain, Mexico, etc.). In the same session, I included other questions to explore the main preconceptions about London and the United Kingdom my participants had before coming and if they had known about the existence of Cuban emigrants in the city.

Although I asked in more detail about identity in the follow-up session, this first set of questions allowed me to establish rapport with my interviewees. I detailed the participants' views on the city to begin with, not only because London would be the setting of the interview, but also because it was the easiest topic with which to start. I asked the participants about their willingness to identify themselves always as Cubans, as well as about whether there had been any occasions that prevented them from stating their nationality.

The next set of questions addressed the participants' notions of identity, nation and culture. The questions were formulated in a simple way to allow the interviewees to respond in their own words and to assess their understanding of these topics, as well as the importance these notions had in their everyday life. Other questions focused on their notions of belonging.

The interview continued with questions about the type of media the migrants accessed. I was interested in the differences they find between consuming what was published in the Cuban press and what was published about Cuba in the host country and/or in other global media. With these questions, I examined their pattern of news media consumption, but also their experiences in gathering news about Cuba that could be compared to previous learned reading practices they had in the homeland. These questions favoured a discussion about the way "nation" was constructed according to media discourses, which seemed vital to their notion of identity.

While exploring the issue of media, I asked about their personal strategies to access media, whether they involve reading Cuban official media, Cuban expatriate publications or exclusively international reports about the country. With this segment of the interview, I looked at the type of media accessed to construct their knowledge about the country. The theoretical assumptions relate to the discourse about the nation shaped by the media they now access and to comparisons between the interviewees' patterns of consumption while they were in Cuba and now in diaspora.

All the interviews were structured and coded using MAXQDA software. This tool helped to segment the work, explore the data and provide a "code and retrieve" functionality in the database. Using semi-structured interviews also helped in structuring the data to be used by the software, which permitted an efficient use of the coding tools and the further retrieval of codes.

In terms of coding, the deductive approach prevailed, based on the theoretical framework and the areas of the research I wanted to address during the sessions. The coding system was fairly hierarchical but could be represented as a conceptual map, which included themes, topics, concepts and ideas expressed by the participants; and a more practical map, which dealt with strategies, behaviour and practices. I used the software's colour-coding tool, which assigned different colours to selected segments of text.

Concepts such as the participants' metaphors for identity, nation and personal understandings of Cubanness and being Cuban were coded as meanings. These were both descriptive and interpretative codes that were used to explain and discuss the interviewees' notions of the main topics of the research. They were "descriptive" because at first they offered a summary description of the different concepts, but the explanation was rarely based on specific tenets. Participants' explanations of identity, nation, and national identity, generally suggested more

contextual considerations of these topics, which were crucial to discuss their understandings of identity and nation in diaspora. Other codes focused on behaviour, for example, expressions denoting the pride of identity, the incidence of humour, and idioms and words that could be classified as typically Cuban. These optimised the subsequent retrieval of transcripts outlining the display of their Cubanness, which contributed to the discussion of findings.

5. Reading about Cuba in London

When asked about the kind of news media they accessed, respondents listed a group of 37 main sources. The majority of them (18) belong to the British media, although other international media are regularly consulted, mainly through the Internet. The World Wide Web is the preferred platform when looking for information, but some of my participants revealed that they watched British television (BBC, ITV and Skynews) and listened to British radio. Although the results were divided by males and females, the gender breakdown was not particularly pronounced in the selection of media sources, except in the case of British media, whose audience and readership were largely dominated by women.

It is difficult to claim that the patterns of consumption, specifically regarding British media, fit into a predictable profile. Unlike traditional readers associated with specific media in Britain, diasporic Cubans do not rely on a single source of information. For example, *The Guardian* was the newspaper most people mentioned (12), but in some cases, this was read as part of a selection of sources that also incorporated radically different newspapers such as *The Sun*. This practice is due, in part, to the educational background the majority of my participants have. For example, only three of my interviewees did not attend university. The majority (22 out of 40) completed higher education in Cuba, while another significant group (13 participants) completed university in Cuba and undertook postgraduate education in British universities. The remaining two participants could have attended higher education in the homeland, but obtained their degrees in the United Kingdom. Overall, this highly educated sample was well equipped to analyse and choose from various news sources.

My fieldwork coincided with the emergence of the Cuban “blogosphere”. Because of its novelty it was impossible to include a detailed analysis of the impact this new form has had on Cuban-Londoners. Since 2007 blogs have become a regular source of information about the homeland for dozens of diasporic Cubans. Many of my interviewees have set up personal blogs and regularly publish their thoughts, not only about the situation on the island, but also about their experiences of living in diaspora.

Online interactions also show an interesting feature about the individual and collective engagement of Cubans abroad. If one pays attention to the number of comments and messages posted on blogs and discussion forums, one can infer the number of diasporic Cubans. However, outside cyberspace, similar numbers of Cuban emigrants are more difficult to find. For example, with the advent of the blogs and social networks online, emigrants in Europe have become more active in organizing protests against the Cuban government and its diplomatic institutions. These protests are commonly advertised online on blogs and websites, which later publish images or video clips of those events. However, the online support generally exceeds the number of real participants who have been significant only in major cities, mainly in Spain. In London, for instance, there have never been protests like these.

Accessing this broader selection of global media has also generated new reading practices for my participants.

Now I read Spanish websites, American websites, British websites; now I read everything. Since I'm here I like to read four or five versions of the same story; that is what I do, four or five versions of the same story, because we human beings think differently and of course, one can have diverse interpretations of a given event. [...] Now whenever I find a piece of news [of interest] I take the headline and Google it, so from there I can see the other news sites [reporting the same story]. (M-A-CH-04)

M-A-CH-04⁶ highlights his desire to find diverse angles for a particular story. He bases his reasoning on the idea that human beings think differently, so their understanding of a determined reality is far from fixed. In diaspora he appears more aware of the interpretations that challenge the main discourse put forward by the Cuban press. Reliance on these different interpretations of Cuban reality allows him to form his own understanding of the events that constitute everyday life in the homeland.

Instead of talking about access, my participants generally used the word “compare” to explain their strategies of media consumption. They would establish comparisons between what was read in the Cuban official media with similar information accessed through other global media. One can argue that Cuban news websites remain a source of information about the homeland, although they have lost credibility amongst respondents. These websites are mainly used to obtain confirmation about certain events happening on the island. This appears contradictory since, as the respondents acknowledged, these sites generally do not publish all the information about what is really happening for ideological reasons.

Many participants also declared they *never* read newspapers in Cuba, an obvious allusion to the main daily *Granma*. This was apparent when they describe it using words such as *muy malo* (Sp. very bad/F-E-CH-03) or phrases like *tampoco dice mucho* (it doesn't say much either/M-U-CH-15). Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that *Granma* was the *only* daily newspaper for eight years (1990-1997). Therefore, to many Cubans the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party was the only representation of what a newspaper was like. Some probably may have thought about transferring reading practices learned in Cuba to the host country. One participant told me that she used to read the entire issue of *Granma*. In London, where most newspapers exceed *Granma's* eight pages, that would be a very time-consuming practice. Therefore, for the majority of my respondents, coming to the United Kingdom also represented their first encounter with a Western newspaper, as well as with other media like the Internet, access to which was quite restricted in Cuba. Therefore, I argue that for many their current reading practice is a habit mainly developed in diaspora.

6. What the emigrants read: Topic selection

The choice of different sources of information resulted in an increased interest not only in media consumption about the homeland but also in global media and in reading practices. This can be examined through the selection of topics relating to the homeland and the comparison between news websites based on other centres of the Cuban diaspora, such as the south of Florida.

As one of my participants summarised:

BBC Mundo is my homepage, not only because I have M, my friend there [...] but also because it is a source of information I trust, more than anything else; let's say that the Cuban websites are like reading a communist newspaper in the country, those that only give you their version; and on the other hand, with the *Nuevo Herald* website or any other, these that are against the system [Cuban government] it is all the opposite; they take it to extremes. (F-I-HO-11)

With her selection of media, F-I-HO-11 aims at gaining a balanced and unbiased representation of the homeland. Because of her experience of reading Cuban media, she can point out their limitations and pitfalls, but that does not make her more sympathetic to other news sources critically reflecting the events in Cuba. For example, her choice of citing *El Nuevo Herald* implies a more serious approach towards news sources, as she can identify the presumed bias of this Miami-based newspaper.

F-I-HO-11's response was typical of answers I received when asking interviewees if they accessed Cuban official media. There was a tendency to compare it with well-known sites from the exile community, like Miami's *Nuevo Herald*. At first, it seemed an extension of the binary political debate between the Cuban press and its U.S.-based counterpart, which might suggest that migrants carried with them the dismissal of Cuban-American media that is common in the island. However, as another interviewee observed, newspapers in Miami can also function as monitors for the Cuban press:

Because you can confront what the *Miami [Nuevo] Herald* says, you can believe it or not, but when you know that some information is published in the *Miami [Nuevo] Herald*, and in Cuba there has been no mention of it, and after some time that information is published [in the Cuban media] and Cuba has to say that it's true, [then] you feel a bit cheated right? (M-A-MZ-05)

However, a different interpretation of these practices is possible: that the disregard of both sources (from Cuba and exile communities) encourages more focused reading practices and a search for unbiased information about the homeland. The question of knowledge about Cuba consists of not only the need to understand current events there or its history but also its institutions and the machinations of government.

M-D-CH-06, for example, explained to me how he investigated the structures of the island's government and society, something he was unable to do as an ordinary citizen through the official media. He describes his search in this extract:

Here I normally try *Cuba por dentro* [Inside Cuba], sometimes I look into the personal lives of politicians in Cuba, and there I found a great deal of information, very instructive, by the way, information that is not given to us in Cuba, just to keep myself up-to-date, to be informed, to know the reason why Cuba is how it is. (M-D-CH-06)

Searching for information about Cuba also becomes a multi-strand process. As many of my participants divulged, they do not surf the Web to discover only factual events, but also to contrast them with the idea of the Cuba they left behind. They arrive in London with a notion of the homeland mediated by their own personal experience, their knowledge of the country's history and their understanding of their previous everyday life shaped by the official media. In diaspora, news is sought not only to get information about the events happening in Cuba but also to support an interest in the migrant's past. In the new context, the emigrants can easily find accounts of past events that had been suppressed by the official press for ideological reasons. By gaining insight into these past events, they engage in a process of re-learn-

ing and re-discovering national history, which is a decisive factor in the process of constructing nation in diaspora.

One of my interviewees, for example, came across the tragedy of the tugboat *13 de Marzo* days before one of her trips to Cuba⁷. When it happened the event was covered in the national press through a brief official note. However, due to the highly political nature of the case, the coverage did not reveal all aspects of the story, especially the number of casualties and the apparent culpability of the Cuban maritime authorities in the disaster. My participant was shocked when she read other versions of this tragic incident and she sent me an email saying that if that was true, she didn't want to return to Cuba. This example shows how a previously held idea of the homeland is critically revised because of access to new sources of news. In my participant's previous construction of the homeland there was no place for such a story. Although she did not totally support the Cuban government, she still retained a positive perception of her country, one that could not contain the idea that security forces could be blamed for killing compatriots. Parallels can be found with similar attitudes towards homeland media related by Hadj-Moussa (2006). Consumption of new and different media disputes the version portrayed and revered by Cuban official media, so Cubans in London turn away from that particular representation of their homeland.

The question of media representation of Cuban society is intrinsically linked with the nature of the country's own media. One of the most common criticisms my participants mentioned was the evident gulf between what is published in the media and what is occurring in society. This was summarised by F-M-SS-11 as the main reason behind her apathy towards national newspapers: "When I was in Cuba I used to read newspapers to know about the outside world, what was happening outside Cuba, because there was no way to find out what was happening in Cuba."

The national media extensively covered international affairs and although other participants deem this coverage to be incomplete, F-M-SS-11 uses it as an example of the information one *can* find in the Cuban press. She was talking about a time before the 1990's crisis, when one could find a large number of publications. However, even in those times, in terms of the availability of news sources, one expected to find more exhaustive comment and reports about Latin America and the United States than about the internal problems that were facing Cubans.

My interviewees' responses reveal an assessment of the Cuban press that highlights its detachment from Cuban society, both suppressing knowledge about events that happened but were never reported and using excessive political content and indoctrination. My participants characterised the Cuban media as generally devoid of "discussion and debate" (F-J-PR-05) and as limited because of the "poor selection of topics covered" (M-U-CH-15), specifically topics relating to society and its dynamics. They also highlighted the evident decisive role played by the Cuban Communist Party in designing media content and the persistent bias found in reports originating from Cuba. The barrier between screen reality and street reality, to use Robins and Aksoy's (2006) metaphor, is also sensed and acknowledged by young Cuban journalists, as Juan Orlando Pérez González (2006) notes when discussing their routines and practices.

In interviews, respondents often used the phrase *lo mismo todos los días* (the same everyday) when alluding to Cuban media. By this they meant they would find the "same" way of reporting as well as the "same" issues daily.

In Cuba, you see only one side of the story, I mean, Cubans in my opinion, [...] and it's bad to generalise, but people there do not think, and I'm not blaming them, because there is the indoctrination; the point of view is only one; people cannot access information other than what the national press offers. So you have to believe, [...] the human being is conditioned to believe just one thing, or to interpret, I mean, not to question (M-P-MZ-09)

M-P-MZ-09 reveals a particular strategy to gain knowledge about the homeland through his news consumption. His choice of words ("think", "indoctrinate", "believe", "interpret", "question") calls for news sources that will provide the reader with more than one view. To him, the Cuban press prevents his compatriots from forming their own opinions about the society in which they live. He argues that Cubans "do not think" because of the "indoctrination" of the press; they "believe" just in what is reported in the media and consequently they do not "interpret or question" what is published. Another possible reading of his explanation could be that ordinary people interpret media messages to discover the functioning of government structures. This broadly means that his consumption of news in diaspora has made him capable of identifying the characteristics of proper press coverage. His criticism of the Cuban press also implies a questioning of power structures in the homeland and the role politics plays in Cuban society.

It is possible to argue then that the emigrants have adopted or developed a critical approach towards the Cuban media. They do not simply believe what is published, but compare it with other media reporting the event. They seem able to identify the zones of silence in the national press and how this lack of content shapes the discourse of the nation. In diaspora, they try to look for various sources to understand, and they question the official representation of the homeland given through the Cuban press. This mirrors Karim's observations about the role diasporic media plays in the re-creation of the homeland, which differs from the institutionalised version of it portrayed by the official media (2003, p. 10). In other words, media in diaspora also challenges traditionally fixed representations of the nation promoted by homeland media.

Robins and Aksoy (2006) have argued that in part the critical attitudes of migrant viewers are expressed by criticizing homeland media content because they do not always portray an accurate image of the nation left behind. They use the case of a Turkish émigré in London who contrasts the images he receives in the host country through the diasporic media with the reality he experiences when he goes back to Turkey and concludes that Turkish television exaggerates. To Robins and Aksoy this shows that diasporic citizens check media against reality when they visit the homeland, whereas those living in the homeland do that on a day-to-day basis (p. 96). Regarding this argument, one of my participants offered a different analysis:

There is something that is very funny. Before I used to see the photos [of Cuba] and I always used to say: they always show the ugliest photos, the worst dressed people [Cubans]. Then I went to Cuba in May last year and I said: it's true that everybody dresses like that in Cuba. But when I think about how I used to dress, how my university friends used to dress you kind of alienate yourself a bit, and then when I went back to Cuba I said to myself, it is true that the majority of Cuban people dress like this. (F-V-CH-05).

This quote shows a critical observation of Cuban reality portrayed by foreign media. F-V-CH-05 disputes the authenticity of those images presenting Cubans as poorly dressed, evoking images similar to people living in rampant poverty. Accessing these images in London

provokes an initial feeling of rejection. When images are compared to her memory of how people dress in Cuba, they are considered inexact, biased. Memory tells her that people she knows dress differently. However, when she travels back to Cuba, she discovers that those images were *real*: there are poorly dressed people in her country. This example differs from the situation presented by Robins and Aksoy (2006). There is no argument made against the homeland media, because when she lived in Cuba she did not question the veracity of the country portrayed by official Cuban media. It is only when her previous reality is shown through foreign media that she can appropriate those images and considers that representation valid.

My participants still search for their own version of home but without the political charge that permeates versions known in the homeland. In diaspora the official media lose their power to put across a politically charged discourse of what Cuba is, so the emigrants' critical reading of the national press constitutes one of the earliest steps in a process of de-politicizing the nation. Hence their resulting notion of cultural identity is de-centred from the homeland in Hall's sense (1992). The constructed Cuban revolutionary identity becomes useless as signifiers of themselves in the new setting. Participants recognise their Cubanness; they feel proud to identify themselves as nationals of the island. However, identification is made in opposition to a previously held idea of national identity and at the same time by acknowledging other possible identities at hand, such as a diasporic identity.

From the interviews I can state that reading practices, which take place individually, form knowledge about the homeland. Participants generally engage in personal searching routines, but that does not imply that the information is individually consumed. News and information are shared with the participants' networks and that exchange results in a construction of knowledge about the homeland and the world around emigrants. I should add that these networks become transnational because participants always refer to friends and families living in other countries, including the homeland. Here we have another example of the tensions between individual and collective experiences concerning Cuban migrants. News media consumption remains a private practice which correlates to Cuban-Londoners experiencing diaspora as an individual development. However, consumption does not end without further strategies involving sharing and spreading news content amongst personal networks promoting interactions, which suggests collective aims. So while communication technologies permit a vast number of transnational networks and the Internet presupposes the existence of a cohesive and established community, the reality contradicts this imagining. Cuban-Londoners sustain collective endeavours to keep themselves up-to-date about their homeland, but these practices take the Internet as the preferred medium instead of the physical space they inhabit, the city, London. Because of online interactions and identifiable active virtual communities one tends to think about the diasporic experience as a distinctive and spatially located human group, but in reality Cuban-Londoners remain dispersed and generally isolated in the hyper-diverse city.

7. Making meanings about Cuba

In the interview design I included some questions aimed at the interviewees' perceptions of their knowledge of the homeland before and after coming to London. I wanted to explore if they were aware of how mediated the representation of the country was and of the propaganda model that guided the Cuban press. Therefore, I assumed that access to global media in London, in addition to the regular consumption of Cuban official media and the exchange

of information through their personal networks, could result in an enhanced way to understand Cuba.

Some participants reduced the issue of “knowledge about Cuba” to knowing the daily events in the country. I was trying to discover if understanding the characteristics of the Cuban media had an impact on the emigrants’ perspectives about their homeland. When asked this question, 16 of my participants insisted that they had an enhanced knowledge of Cuba in diaspora, whereas 11 declared they knew Cuba less. Of the rest of the interviewees, some stated they had the same degree of knowledge, while others were more ambiguous or simply said that it was “different”.

Interviewees said they “knew Cuba” because they lived there. They cited their homeland experience as the main factor in measuring their understanding of their nation. In this regard, I encountered very diverse explanations, although I established three discernible patterns. For some, living in Cuba had been enough to “know” their country. For them, the diaspora experience could result only in having a lesser knowledge of Cuba since they no longer lived in the homeland. In this case, they did not regard the news about Cuba accessed through the global media as very important. This group seemed concerned about information regarding daily events happening on the island, which they cannot know in London, and about the rapid changes in Cuban society in terms of interactions, customs and ways of socializing. The group was particularly varied in terms of gender and educational background, although the majority (eight out of 11) have lived 10 years or more in diaspora.

I think that living abroad for so many years separates you, it moves you farther away from the country. It brings it nearer to the emotional side, because you miss your country, you miss your identity, your customs, your culture, but at the same time you’re distant... In my case, when I return to Cuba, I feel sometimes almost lost; it’s not that I am lost, but I feel lost. Everything has changed [...] but I feel the emotional side [being] abroad, the slightest thing you hear about Cuba, even a criticism you can accept, turns you into an indirect defender of Cuba, but total knowledge of Cuba is definitively lost. (M-R-CH-15)

The second group claimed they had an enhanced knowledge of the homeland, thanks to the media accessed in diaspora. Again, this group was diverse in terms of educational background (including those who did not go to higher education in Cuba) and time in diaspora, but male participants prevailed (10 men and six women). They valued their previous experience in Cuba but also regarded it as “natural” as opposed to extraordinary. Their reading of media in the home country was irrelevant at best or even non-existent. From my data, I could relate this feeling to the conscious understanding of being Cuban in Cuba. Uncovering particular information about Cuba for this second group implies various searching strategies. These participants were concerned not only about current events but also about important issues in the history of the nation they had not previously heard about, especially during the early years of the Cuban Revolution, when most of my interviewees were children or were not even born.

Many claimed they never read newspapers in Cuba even with sweeping statements such as “nobody of my generation read newspapers” (F-M-CH-03). However, diaspora has changed the way they access news sources. My main emphasis here is how participants consume news content about the homeland to gain knowledge about their country. This knowledge influences their subject construction in the long run, because it challenges previous preconceptions and notions about their nation, who they were and their role within Cuban society. Data from

the sample show that only 14 participants (nine men and five women) said they read newspapers in Cuba, whereas nineteen (10 men and nine women) told me that their habits of accessing news and reading newspapers developed only after migration. While the first group comprises young professionals and highly educated Cubans, many of whom acknowledged acquiring reading habits from other household members, the second group is more diverse. For those who were educated during the 1960s through the 1990s, the relationship with news and news sources was part of that education or, as some participants said, indoctrination. Since the early primary school classes, Cuban were compelled to have at least 15 minutes of *Información Política* (Political Information) before lessons. In these sessions, generally overseen by schoolteachers, everybody was expected to discuss the main news headlines of the day. Such a routine might have caused the proverbial apathy that some participants, mostly women (F-A-CH-12, F-D-CH-11, F-S-CH-05 and F-Y-HO-09), expressed towards news and the Cuban press. As F-S-CH-05 put it: they lacked the culture of being informed.

Habits appear to be different in London, where news is consumed regularly or as an everyday activity. In terms of gender, diasporic Cuban women (nine interviewees) slightly increased their habits of news consumption if compared with the number of participants who brought the habit from the homeland (five female participants). In the case of men, the difference was almost insignificant (nine read newspapers before coming, whereas 10 began reading them in diaspora). Based on the literature on Cuba from a gender perspective (Rosendahl, 1997; Holgado Fernández, 2001; Fernandes, 2005) the increase consumption hints at characterisations of domestic spaces as very divided along gender lines. It can be argued that news consumption and the “culture” of being informed pertained to men, while women remained confined to domestic affairs within the Cuban households. Fernandes’ (2005) recount of Magin’s aims highlights how Cuban female journalists and social communicators criticised the portrayal of women by national media and promoted a new perspective in terms of gender. One can argue that if women needed a better image, it was because media programmes and news content lacked a gender balance and as a result were more suitable for a male audience. Generally, Cuban men consume sports and news programmes while Cuban women prefer *telenovelas* (soap operas). I do not claim that my research offers data to challenge that perception or to characterise media consumption in terms of gender, but my findings must not be taken lightly. These findings can be used to explain the migrants’ construction of their homeland as a place of attachment to route their notions of identity.

In Karim’s (2003) words, the migrants appear to challenge the institutionalised version of the Cuba they grew up with. However, as F-J-PR-05 told me, the institutionalised versions of the world have also changed, thanks to media access in diaspora:

I think I know Cuba better because of what I have read abroad, because of what I have found out living abroad. I know it more than what I knew before leaving Cuba, but besides that my vision of the world has changed, my ideas have changed. I am more critical now than before [...] I think that because of my experience, because I have travelled, I can compare, do you understand? That has helped me a lot, my personal experience, not only what I read here... see what I mean? It is that I have experienced it myself and I can make comparisons. (F-J-PR-05)

Constructing Cuba is a question of reading about the country, but the engagement with global media in diaspora goes beyond the search for news about the homeland or the reconstruction of emigrants’ past experiences in the homeland. It also becomes a process of revising their understanding of the world and defining their personal growth. As many said, their

stay in London has coincided with a period of individual development. So, after the years in diaspora, they admit to being more informed now, more able to digest and make sense of their past experiences and more interested in knowing about the country they left behind and about the world they live in now. From the previous quotes, respondents easily classify as a representational public according to Adams Parham's taxonomy (2005, p. 352). However, I could add that although their clear aim is to represent Cuba and its culture, this is not a passive strategy, but a creative one. The information gained through media consumption is used to support the participants' construction of the homeland through a process that constantly re-configures the limits of that representation.

Accessing news about Cuba in London and living in one of the world's most hyperdiverse cities results in changing one's perspectives, not only about the homeland but also about other previously unknown realities:

No, no, no, obviously abroad... the vision one has about reality is very rich, very rich, [...] the one who lives in Cuba and has never been outside Cuba has a very limited vision, and that is not solely the case of Cuba. I have been to countries, to cities in the United States where my students have never been outside their state, and very few have been out of their city if it is a big city. [...] Cubans believe they know the world, perhaps because of their astuteness... the innate astuteness that Cubans have, the Cuban citizen, the Cuban individual, but when they arrive in these countries they bump into a reality that not everyone can bear or can overcome. (M-P-CH-26)

M-P-CH-26 highlights two important hypotheses that relate to Cubans as migrants: their need to overcome the insular perspective, the predominance of "the local"; and the challenge to previous notions of the world, the reality of "the global". Whether enhanced or limited, the question of knowledge about Cuba becomes a particular starting point for my participants' sense of self and to position themselves in their new context of London. Their idea of home (nation) is revised through the re-learning and re-discovering of national history and by incorporating other perspectives about Cuba's everyday life understood from the diversity of news channels, media and migrants to whom they are exposed in London.

Previous studies (Tsaliki, 2003; Bernal, 2006) have explained the use of the Internet as a form of communication that promotes a collective idea of the homeland. These authors claim that a collective feeling seems inevitable, that there is a tendency that media, and the Internet above all, are used to create a common, albeit seemingly "harmless", space where the differences amongst emigrants are erased for the greater good. My experience with the study of Cubans in London shows that this virtual consensus is not always achieved, no matter how efficient online media can be in reducing distances and helping users to identify and share common experiences of emigration. In addition, the "collective" is always looked upon with suspicion in the Cuban context, especially if it is associated with the homeland. Because emigrants recognise that words such as "collectivity" and "unanimity" are to a certain extent artificial, manipulated by their country's press, they become reluctant to admit that new media such as the Internet can create collective units.

Studies of media consumption by migrants tend to focus on the impact of diasporic television and films on promoting a collective idea of the homeland (Dudrah, 2002; Naficy, 2003; Aksoy & Robins, 2003; Dissanayake, 2006). These scholars carried out research with organized émigré communities that are the targets of globally broadcast channels. The story of the Cubans in London is different. There are several television stations based in the United States, and platforms such as YouTube reproduce some of their programmes, but I have little evi-

dence that they are massively consumed by Cubans in London. In the absence of an audio-visual infrastructure promoting a more perceptible idea of national identity, Cuban emigrants have had to embark individually on the creation of that image by accessing news content. They do not seem to adopt the stereotypes put forward by television channels; on the contrary, they commence by accessing multifarious sources of news about Cuba, to construct their own idea of what national identity means.

8. Conclusions

Cubans in London benefit from the availability of a selection of topics and sources of information that appear to be wider than the contents of the Cuban official media. They also describe changes in their reading practices, which lead to a particular new construction of knowledge based on the media they use. Respondents admit to greater awareness of the nature of the Cuban media (based on the propaganda model). In diaspora they acknowledge the relevance of comparing their idea of the homeland previously influenced by media representation with their understanding of Cuba shaped by the media content accessed in London. They also engage in a process of re-learning homeland history based on new knowledge about events that they were not involved in or that they had only the “official” version. As a result, previous notions of Cuba (home) are deconstructed and revised. This idea of the nation emerges from what most of them label as an improved understanding of Cuba; it will prove to be essential when discussing their sense of identity. Interviewees claimed to know their country “better”, not only because of their life experiences before London, but also because of their acquired knowledge about the homeland gained in diaspora through accessing and processing information they were unable to access when they lived in their own country. In the case of the Cuban-Londoners, the question of accessing homeland media and global media evolves into a process where the emigrants’ networks of personal contacts and family play a major role in the selection, circulation and discussion of information and news about Cuba.

I have demonstrated that news media consumption plays a pivotal role in constructing knowledge about Cuba and how this new knowledge contributes to form notions of identity and nation amongst the emigrants. In diaspora, news media are used to validate a relationship with the emigrants’ past and future. Past events are reviewed by a critical use of media, by acknowledging the potential bias of homeland media and the way Cuba was portrayed in the host country. I have shown that media influence the migrants’ future, because notions of nation and culture gained from media access actively intervene in the emigrants’ subject construction. The construction of knowledge through media represents an ongoing process that also influences identity formation. Accessed media reports can be internalised through renovated reading practices, especially for those who lacked the habit in the homeland, to re-define notions of belonging and claims of loyalties to Cuba.

Readings of media in London influence not only personal characterisations of the country left behind but also emigrants’ behaviour and their own understanding of the world. They can compare what various news sources report and develop their own versions that, if related to the homeland, the host country or to similar experiences of other emigrants in London, prove pivotal in positioning themselves vis-à-vis other signifiers of Cubanness.

Notes

¹ For a discussion of the crisis see Mesa Lago (1998), Monreal (2002), Espina Prieto (2005) and Valdés Paz (2005).

² For a history and public profile of Cuban-Americans see Torres (1995), Olson and Olson (1995), Gonzalez Pando (1997), Garcia (2007) and Pedraza (2007).

³ <http://www.cubaencuentro.com>

⁴ <http://www.diariodecuba.com>

⁵ <http://www.penultimosdias.com>

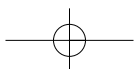
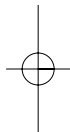
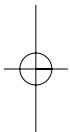
⁶ Every participant was allocated a code of hyphenated letters and numbers in which the first letter stood for gender (M for male and F for female), followed by the initial of the participant's first name, the province of origin in Cuba and the number of years in diaspora. For example, M-A-CH-04 could be deciphered as a male whose name starts with the letter A, who came from Ciudad de la Habana (Havana city) province and had spent four years in London.

⁷ On July 13, 1994, 72 Cubans attempted to leave the island for the United States in an old tugboat named *13 de Marzo* from the port of Havana. After the authorities realised the tugboat had been hijacked, they sent other boats to apprehend it. It ended tragically when the tugboat sank and many of its passengers, including children, drowned.

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La diaspora maghrébine à Montréal face aux aléas de l'interculturel: le rôle des médias locaux, transnationaux et communautaires

Résumé

Le but de cet article est d'appréhender l'impact des TIC sur la structuration et la consolidation de nouveaux espaces identitaires diasporiques, leur inscription dans un cadre transnational et leurs réverbérations sur les relations interculturelles dans les sociétés plurielles. Même si notre analyse empirique est concentrée sur la communauté maghrébine établie à Montréal, nous n'hésitons pas à élargir notre éventail de références à de nombreux niveaux et angles du phénomène migratoire; ceci afin de mieux comprendre la question diasporique dans le monde contemporain et, ainsi, contribuer de façon substantielle au débat qui l'entoure. Le texte, fruit de révision bibliographique, d'observation directe et d'entretiens approfondis avec des chercheurs locaux de la thématique, des représentants des communautés ethniques et culturelles étudiées ainsi que d'autres acteurs sociaux intéressés par le phénomène¹, débouche sur la distinction conceptuelle entre ce que nous définissons comme «interculturalité organique» et «interculturalisme instrumental».

Mots-clés: Diaspora, TIC, Espaces transnationaux, Relations interculturelles

Abstract

This article aims to investigate the impact of ICT on structuring and consolidating new diasporic spaces, their position in a transnational frame and their effects on intercultural relations in plural societies. Although our empirical analysis focuses on the Maghrebian community in Montreal, the scope of our analysis is much broader, and covers various stances and levels of migration in order to better understand the problematics of the diaspora in the contemporary world and consequently contribute to the debates it generates. The text is the result of literature review, direct observation and in-depth discussions with local researchers, representatives of ethnic and cultural communities and social actors interested in this phenomenon, and it relies on the conceptual distinction between what we define as “organic interculturality” and “instrumental interculturalism”.

Key words: diaspora, ICT, transnational spaces, intercultural relations

Rezumat

Acest articol își propune să investigheze impactul tehnologiilor de informare și comunicare asupra structurării și consolidării noilor spații diasporice, locul lor într-un cadru transnațional și efectele lor asupra relațiilor interculturale în societățile plurale. Chiar dacă analiza noastră empirică se concentrează asupra comunității magrebiene din Montreal, evantaiul referințelor noastre este unul mult mai larg, acoperind

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diverse unghiuri și nivele ale fenomenului migrației, cu scopul de a înțelege mai bine problematica diasporică în lumea contemporană și, deci, de a contribui la dezbaterile pe care le generează. Textul, rezultat al cercetărilor bibliografice, al observației directe și al discuțiilor aprofundate cu cercetători locali ai acestei tematici, cu reprezentanți ai comunităților etnice și culturale studiate, dar și cu actori sociali interesați de fenomen, se bazează pe distincția conceptuală între ceea ce noi definim drept „interculturalitate organică” și „interculturalism instrumental”.

Cuvinte-cheie: diaspora, tehnologii de informare și comunicare, spații transnaționale, relații interculturale

1. Théories de l'identité et identité des théories

Il n'est nul besoin de rappeler combien le fait identitaire, de par ses multiples acceptions et implications, est au cœur des débats qui animent l'espace public contemporain. Qu'il s'agisse de théorie de la globalisation, de discours post-colonial ou d'expérimentations esthétiques d'avant-garde, la question de l'identité s'impose bruyamment et obstinément à l'agenda social, politique et poétique de notre époque. La problématique ne doit pas, pour autant, être abordée de façon uniforme et homogène, mais plutôt mise en contexte et conjuguée aux variables humaines, sociales, culturelles, politiques et économiques qui en définissent les contours et en déterminent la pesanteur.

Aussi, faut-il préciser que notre analyse, relative au fait identitaire diasporique, part de positions théoriques qui privilégient la dimension contextuelle et la perspective géo-anthropologique de la sphère culturelle et communicationnelle locale. Son point d'ancrage est Montréal – ville cosmopolite tiraillée entre l'Europe et l'Amérique du nord, capitale culturelle d'une province francophone qui se sent assiégée, mais déterminée à résister à l'impérialisme culturel anglo-saxon et aux vicissitudes de la globalisation. Nous sommes ici en présence d'une Une minorité majoritaire ou majorité minoritaire à la recherche d'une formule innovatrice pour résoudre une équation singulière.

Nous avons, ainsi, affaire à un univers qui exige une rigueur méthodologique toute particulière pour que l'on puisse appréhender le sens véritable des rapports à l'altérité, l'intercultural, l'immigration et les diasporas. D'autant plus qu'il n'est pas difficile de constater qu'au Québec, le discours des médias de masse sur les questions identitaires et migratoires ressemble, la plupart du temps, à une sorte d'écho lointain de l'agenda politique français². Entre provincialisme, identification mythique aux «sources» culturelles de la nation et désir de s'inscrire dans les temps et géographie du Centre, les médias québécois finissent par adopter un référentiel étranger à leur univers immédiat.

Une lecture attentive du débat autour de la *burqa* (*hijab* ou foulard en vérité) et de la menace terroriste au Québec, par exemple, ne laisse pas de doute quant au poids du filtre sémantique hexagonal dans la formation et formulation du point de vue de l'intelligentsia et des médias québécois sur leur propre environnement. C'est le cas, notamment, quand il est omis qu'au contraire de l'expérience européenne, l'immigration maghrébine au Canada est majoritairement composée d'une population d'origine urbaine, hautement instruite et qualifiée; généralement beaucoup plus scolarisée que la moyenne québécoise.

De même que l'on met souvent l'accent, et avec beaucoup de sensationnalisme, sur le potentiel conflictuel et la «menace islamiste» latente dus à la présence de la diaspora arabe ou musulmane, mais l'on ne prend pas assez la peine de souligner l'extrême hétérogénéité de cette communauté et son faible taux de pratique effective de la religion – environ 07%³. Ou,

encore, quand quelques revendications à caractère religieux formel, peu nombreuses mais spectaculaires, finissent par éclipser les exigences sociales et politiques de la communauté arabo-musulmane et maghrébine montréalaise.

Les principales doléances des membres de cette communauté (ou désignés en tant que tels), selon les associations concernées, ne seraient pas d'ordre religieuses ou ethniques, mais plutôt relatives à l'égalité politique, à la citoyenneté pleine, au destin commun et à l'acceptation d'une *québécoisité* fondée sur la francophonie (traditionnelle aux pays du Maghreb) et non pas à sur l'origine biologique «de pure souche» (ou «pure laine» dans l'expression populaire locale)⁴.

La question qui se pose, donc, est d'ordre épistémologique; une dispute autour des notions, concepts et méthodes qui doivent être adoptés pour décrypter le réel. L'image obtenue de ce réel ne saura, en effet, être la même que l'on aite recours, par exemple, au paradigme anthropologique culturaliste ou sociologique matérialiste. Si le chercheur se doit de se méfier de toutes les théories, il doit redoubler de prudence encore quand celles-ci sont hégémoniques, consensuelles ou naturalisées.

Dans le cas particulier qui nous intéresse, en plus de définir la totalité d'une communauté, par ailleurs diverse et hétéroclite (aussi bien ethniquement que socialement, si l'on considère l'existence d'Arabes et Berbères, laïcs et croyants, arabophones et francophones, etc..), à partir du choix idéologique de certains de ses segments (ceux qui se reconnaissent dans une perspective islamique spécifique et s'y identifient), le fait même d'embrasser la dichotomie «minorité / majorité» pose un sérieux problème méthodologique et ne rend pas nécessairement plus intelligible la nature de la relation de la «majorité – minorité» québécoise avec ses «minorités» internes.

Ce qui nous oblige à rejoindre l'opinion d'Eagleton (Eagleton, 2005) et Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1994) quant aux risques idéologiques d'associer la notion de minorité à l'idée systématique d'oppression et de discrimination. Car, comme les deux auteurs le soulignent, il n'est pas rare que les minorités soient favorisées et reliées organiquement à l'establishment, alors que la «majorité» est opprimée et tyrannisée. Le cas de l'Afrique du Sud de l'ère de l'apartheid, de l'Inde de l'Empire britannique, des nations africaines et asiatiques de l'époque coloniale, etc.. sont autant d'exemples de cette réalité bouleversante.

Nous n'ignorons pas, bien entendu, le sens figuré de la notion et sa portée philosophique relative à la privation d'autonomie et de droit à la parole ou coercition physique, comme, d'ailleurs, nous ne contestons pas son efficacité idéologique en contextes socioculturels et politiques spécifiques. Il nous est difficile, néanmoins, de résister à la tentation matérialiste d'appréhender le terme dans sa concrétude et objectivité historique et statistique, au lieu de nous plier docilement à la métaphore poststructuraliste.

Notre réserve est plus forte encore par rapport au principe multiculturaliste, érigé en loi suprême aussi bien pour la compréhension que pour la gestion sociale et territoriale de la différence et l'altérité. Problématique que nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de soulever dans le cadre de travaux antérieurs (ElHajji, 2008) soulignant, à l'instar du mexicain Canclini (Canclini, 2004, 2005), la nécessité d'investir épistémologiquement davantage dans la notion d'interculturel, plus appropriée au contexte social global et à la réalité historique actuelle. Car, sans aller jusqu'à déqualifier complètement le concept de multiculturalisme – eu égard à ses effets révolutionnaires sur l'eurocentrisme hérité des Lumières, nous estimons qu'actuellement, ses incidences négatives sur la société et sur les individus dépassent de loin les bénéfices de ses conquêtes initiales.

Le premier reproche adressé au multiculturalisme concerne sa récupération par l'establishment et son utilisation en tant qu'antidote aux mots d'ordre de lutte de classe et d'égalité sociale contenus dans les projets de gauche d'antan. Ainsi, la prétendue nature émancipatrice du multiculturalisme, brandie par les défenseurs des différences culturelles et identitaires, se confondrait, parfois, avec une vulgaire stratégie discursive en faveur du maintien du *status quo* économique et social.

L'adoption du modèle social multiculturel représenterait, d'autre part, un danger en potentiel aux principes mêmes de laïcité et libertés individuelles, sans lesquels les démocraties occidentales n'auraient plus de sens réel. Accepter la primauté du communautaire sur l'individu, renier à l'individu son droit absolu de choisir ses appartenances et filiations sociales et affectives reviendrait à abdiquer de l'esprit même de démocratie et de modernité.

Dilemme qui ne se pose pas uniquement dans les situations de flagrante violation des droits de la personne, comme dans le cas de répression paternelle ou familiale contre les femmes par exemple, mais aussi quand les membres des communautés ethniques ou issues des différentes diasporas qui forment le paysage urbain global se voient, dans la pratique, contester ou relativiser leur droit de parole directe et obligés à se positionner à partir et en fonction de leur origine ou de leur supposée religion. N'est-ce pas là, concrètement, une négation de leur citoyenneté et autonomie pleines? N'en deviennent-ils pas, en vérité, des citoyens de seconde classe? N'est-ce pas là, parfois, une stratégie subtile de la part des détenteurs du pouvoir d'éviter d'aborder les questions de fond – à caractère idéologique, politique, économique et social?

C'est, donc, en fonction de cet ensemble de considérations théoriques que nous nous voyons appelés à préférer le concept d'interculturalité. Non que la notion soit une panacée pour tous les maux de notre époque, mais pour sa proximité des dynamiques constitutives du phénomène urbain global /transnational. Car, en effet, dans cette perspective, les relations interculturelles ne sont pas définies négativement par les conflits réels ou potentiels entre deux groupes ou communautés, mais par les possibilités de compréhension entre la totalité des groupes et communautés obligés à cohabiter dans le même espace et temps historiques; soient-ils de nature culturelle, ethnique ou sociale.

Contrairement au modèle multiculturel, l'interculturel ne se laisse pas séduire par la facilité méthodologique d'encadrer les flux humains en cellules préconçues et figées, sans tenir compte de leurs nuances, subtilités, contradictions et «indéfinitions» subjectives, sociales, culturelles et idéologiques. Loin de stratifier la société contemporaine en monolithes identitaires et culturels, il la conçoit comme un continuum de subjectivités, où la diversité, hybridation et métissage sont perçus en tant que traits inhérents à la condition humaine et, pour cela même, célébrés et mis en valeur. Il s'agit, en fait, d'un véritable paradigme philosophique capable de transformer notre regard et notre mode d'agir et interagir dans et avec le monde actuel. Surtout si l'on considère le facteur global / transnational qui ne nous permet plus d'ignorer l'Autre ou de feindre que sa présence et existence ne nous affectent pas.

De fait, en accord avec Salas Astrain (Astrain, 2003), l'idée d'interculturalité correspond à une forme sociétale originale où les communautés ethniques et/ou groupes sociaux se reconnaissent et cherchent à se comprendre dans leurs différences, ainsi mises en valeur. Le préfixe «inter» traduit, dans ce sens, la possibilité d'interaction positive à travers des instances ou espaces dialogiques qui promeuvent non seulement l'entendement mutuel (qui ne serait qu'un simple *modus vivendi*), mais les échanges et collaboration entre les différents acteurs sociaux en contact.

Prémisse qui nous rappelle l'expérience de Southall, rapportée par Baumann (Baumann, 2001), où la totalité des diasporas présentes dans cette partie de la banlieue londonienne ont fini par construire un espace identitaire particulier à la fois commun et pluriel. Un cas exemplaire de mise en pratique de la philosophie et éthique interculturelles, dont le principe organisateur n'est pas la dichotomie «groupe diasporique / société majoritaire» ou «diaspora vs diasporas», mais plutôt la convivialité dans la différence, la reconnaissance et mise en valeur de l'Altérité, l'emprunt et appropriation, sans complexe ni peur, des pratiques culturelles de l'Autre et, surtout, comme cela est minutieusement décrit par l'auteur, l'édification d'espaces physiques et symboliques (centres culturels et expériences esthétiques collectives) de nature à la fois diasporiques et transnationaux.

2. Espace transnational et manifestations diasporiques

Évidemment, Interculturel et Transnational ne sont ni synonymes ni composantes obligatoires de la même équation. Pourtant, s'il est aisé d'imaginer un nombre infini d'expressions interculturelles qui ne passent pas par le transnational, il n'en sera pas de même pour concevoir l'actuelle réalité transnationale sans son corrélat interculturel; ou, du moins, cela ne serait guère souhaitable. Car, l'idée de transnationalité doit être examinée à la lumière des récentes transformations historiques responsables de la reconfiguration de l'ensemble du paysage sociopolitique de notre époque.

Notre définition de la notion remet aux modes d'organisation et d'action des communautés diasporiques insérées dans plus d'un cadre social national étatique, ayant des références culturelles, territoriales et/ou linguistiques originelles communes et reliées entre elles à travers des réseaux sociaux transnationaux (réels ou virtuels) qui véhiculent des discours de solidarité et/ou d'identification, au-delà des frontières formelles de leurs pays d'accueil respectifs. Il s'agit, donc, d'un phénomène «post-national», inhérent à la réalité sociale et politique qui caractérise le monde contemporain, marqué par les mouvements migratoires en masse et l'inéquation, désormais structurelle, entre les plans national-étatique et culturel-identitaire; où la diversité culturelle et identitaire, appartenances multiples et autres formations diasporiques sont plutôt la règle et non une exception ou anomalie passagère.

Il s'agit aussi, selon la révision théorique de Le Bail (Le Bail, 2006), qui reprend, notamment, les travaux de Glick-Schiller, Basch et Blanc-Szanton (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992) et de Portes (Portes, 2001), d'un processus socioculturel quotidien et continu, par lequel les membres de la communauté transnationale, à travers leurs actions sociales et activités symboliques, élaborent et ré-élaborent un certain nombre de stratégies qui leur permettent de configurer leur réel et environnement sociopolitique en fonction de leurs différents niveaux d'appartenance et cadres d'identification.

Le point central de ces cadres d'identification et de reconnaissance étant, il est important de le souligner, qu'ils peuvent passer aussi bien par le territoire d'origine (historique ou mythique) que par un sentiment d'appartenance plus large qui peut, pour sa part, être ou fondé sur des actions solidaires et des réseaux de communication effective avec les communautés «sœurs» ou de nature purement symbolique, qui se nourrit de repères culturels abstraits que l'on suppose partagés par tous ou la majorité des membres de la communauté transnationale ou diaspora en question; indépendamment du pays et de la société d'accueil et de l'histoire particulière de chaque sous-groupe.

Aussi, comme on peut le constater, les concepts de communauté transnationale et diaspora convergent à plus d'un égard et, parfois, finissent même par se confondre – la plupart des auteurs les utilisent indifféremment. D'autres, pourtant, considèrent qu'il n'existe pas d'équivalence réciproque entre les deux notions. Si toute diaspora est naturellement une communauté transnationale,; toute communauté transnationale, en revanche, ne constitue pas nécessairement une diaspora, a conscience de sa nature diasporique et agit en conséquence. Il faut dire que le terme «diaspora», une fois détaché de son sens biblique originel, n'a cessé d'acquérir de nouvelles et de plus en plus amples connotations liées à l'immigration et aux déplacements transnationaux.

En plus de son association systématique aux migrations humaines – il existerait, aujourd'hui, presque autant de diasporas que d'origines nationales et ethniques dans le monde, l'on peut aussi noter une claire et évidente re-signification positive de la notion. Aussi, parallèlement aux discours théoriques et littéraires relatifs au sentiment d'exil, déchirement, déracinement et souffrance en général, on assiste, de plus en plus, à un exercice discursif et social qui reflète un certain orgueil d'être immigré, de faire partie d'une communauté diasporique et/ou jouir d'une double ou multiple appartenance.

Parfois, bien sûr, les deux sentiments se confondent ou s'alternent en fonction du contexte social et subjectif. Le même sujet immigré, par exemple, peut exprimer son sentiment d'orgueil par rapport à de son appartenance diasporique ou s'en plaindre à des moments différents de sa vie et/ou dans des situations spécifiques. Tout dépend des enjeux et buts des acteurs en interaction; rappelons-nous, à ce propos, du concept «stratégique» de «stratégies identitaires» (Camilleri & al, 1990).

La définition du phénomène diasporique engage, par ailleurs, d'autres variables et doit, pour cela même, être continuellement actualisée. Certaines conditions de base sont, toutefois, indispensables pour que l'on puisse parler de situation véritablement diasporique. Soulignons, notamment, le fait que le mouvement migratoire qui lui est associé relatif est soit numériquement significatif; que l'installation dans les pays ou régions de destination esoit permanente; qu'il existe l'existence des filières ou des réseaux (formels ou informels) d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants; qu'il existe des l'existence d'institutions associatives ou solidaires dans les pays ou régions de destination; que l'on maintient des le maintien de relations matérielles et/ou symboliques avec le groupe ou pays d'origine et les communautés de la même origine établies dans d'autres pays; qu'il y a un et l'investissement matériel et symbolique dans le maintien du sentiment d'appartenance et allégeance à la culture et/groupe ethnique d'origine.

Aussi, est-il évident qu'il existe, comme cela ressort de notre analyse, une forte corrélation entre l'espace transnational, les communautés transnationales et les diasporas. Encore que l'époque actuelle attribue un sens tout particulier à cette corrélation, il faut reconnaître que cette convergence conceptuelle et factuelle ne date pas d'aujourd'hui. Il n'y a pas de doute, en effet, qu'avant même que l'on puisse parler d'états nationaux, une certaine spatialité transnationale – vecteur et continent de formes organisationnelles diasporiques, existait déjà; la diaspora juive en est le paradigme parfait.

Ce qu'il faut retenir de l'exemple juif, toutefois, c'est justement son inscription dans le livre et sa configuration textuelle – discursive donc; forme communicationnelle s'il en est qui démontre que l'espace transnational n'existe que dans la mesure où il est communicationnel (dans le sens d'échanges matériels et/ou symboliques) et que le fait diasporique est absolument tributaire de son substrat et structure en réseau. D'ailleurs, il ne manque pas d'exemples his-

toriques de diasporas qui ont fini par être complètement assimilées par la société majoritaire à cause, justement, de la faiblesse de leurs réseaux et tissus communicationnels.

Ou bien ù doit-on inverser l'équation et affirmer que seules les diasporas dotées de forts réseaux communicationnels, capables de s'étendre au-delà de leurs sociétés d'accueil et maintenir des liens et relations continues avec leurs congénères dans d'autres parties du monde ont pu et peuvent survivre? L'assimilation aurait été et serait, dans ce sens, la règle et le destin des communautés expatriées, alors que leur survie dépendait et dépend, d'abord, de leur sa configuration en communauté transnationale – une communauté dotée de réseaux de communication qui s'inscrivent dans une temporalité et une spatialité qui dépassent leur environnement immédiat, *hic et nunc*. Ce qui nous ramène à la nécessité de situer la question diasporique dans le contexte contemporain; car, comme on le sait, la principale caractéristique de notre époque est, sans doute, sa haute vélocité sociale et historique.

L'on peut affirmer, ainsi, qu'aussi bien la constitution du nouvel espace transnational, essentiellement techno-informationnel, que l'actuelle forme sociétale diasporique sont le résultat direct de l'intensification et accélération du processus de globalisation; lui-même de nature technologique, dans la mesure où ce sont les nouvelles technologies de communication qui sont à l'origine de l'intégration du globe et du «rétrécissement de la planète» – selon la logique de la réduction vertigineuse du temps nécessaire pour atteindre n'importe quel point du globe (Harvey, 1989). Et c'est-là, à notre avis, la principale nouveauté, le principal fait historique véritablement original et inédit qui distingue l'époque contemporaine de toutes les autres.

La base concrète de la globalisation n'est, en effet, autre que la panoplie d'instruments technologiques, principalement informatiques, qui enveloppent le monde en une véritable toile communicationnelle, relie, virtuellement toute sa superficie et rendent de plus en plus accessibles la plupart de ses régions et contrées. Aussi, les moyens de transport et TIC constituent-ils, aujourd'hui, le centre névralgique et l'élément organisationnel central de notre époque, marquée, justement, par la mobilité et connectivité.

D'une part, il y a les moyens de communication traditionnels qui ont aboli les distances entre les membres des communautés migrantes, leur terre d'origine et les migrants de la même origine éparpillés de par le monde. Pensons aux efforts physiques, à l'investissement matériel et au temps nécessaires pour se déplacer d'un point du globe à un autre, il y a encore quelques décennies. Pensons surtout aux déplacements transatlantiques et transcontinentaux pour évaluer à leur juste valeur les transformations survenues de façon pratique et concrète dans la vie des diasporas et des communautés transnationales.

D'autre part, il y les TIC, qui ont rapproché de façon dramatique les communautés diasporiques et leurs membres. Pensons, alors, aux efforts, coûts et temps nécessaires pour l'échange d'informations entre ces mêmes populations à la même époque indiquée antérieurement. Pensons à la difficulté que représentaient des actions, aujourd'hui jugées banales, telles que l'accompagnement de la vie culturelle et/ou politique du pays ou groupe d'origine pour que l'on aie une idée quant au rôle des TIC dans le maintien de l'identité d'origine et dans l'observation de pratiques symboliques qui lui sont liées.

Ces TIC, en vérité, n'ont pas seulement réduit les distances entre les différentes régions de la planète et bouleversé sa géographie humaine, mais ont aussi provoqué le transfert d'un grand nombre de pratiques sociales de l'instance spatiale vers la dimension temporelle et la sphère virtuelle. Le résultat d'une opération financière, par exemple, ne dépend plus de la place où celle-ci est effectuée, mais de l'instant exact de sa réalisation. En industrie, le *just-in-time* n'est rien d'autre que la substitution des stocks spatiaux par le continu flux temporel

des pièces nécessaires pour le processus d'assemblage. En *e-learning*, c'est le temps d'accès au système qui remplace la classe traditionnelle. En amour, les salles de *chat* et *sites* spécialisés remplacent les places publiques, salons de fêtes et autres endroits traditionnels de «dragage» et recherche de l'âme sœur. En politique, les campagnes virtuelles remplacent les manifestations et occupations spatiales, etc..

En ce qui concerne notre problématique, les TIC se sont imposées en tant que précieux instruments aussi bien d'organisation sociale et politique que de maintien de l'identité d'origine du groupe. Leur usage inclut des pratiques des plus banales aux plus sophistiquées: depuis l'e-mail et téléphonie par internet jusqu'aux banques de données, moteurs de recherche spécialisés et d'autres recours de pointe.

Nous observons même l'émergence, sur la toile, de nouvelles bases combattives et organisationnelles de groupes diasporiques que l'on pensait définitivement disparus. Cela paraît trivial, mais il est possible de recomposer n'importe quelle communauté transnationale sur la face du globe, la réorganiser et la relier à son pays et/ou culture d'origine. Peu importe le nombre des ses membres, le temps passé en exil et les liens effectifs qui ont réellement existé avec le pays et/ou culture d'origine. Car, en plus de la facilité de ce genre d'entreprise, nous assistons, comme nous l'avons souligné auparavant, à une claire re-signification positive des appartenances diasporiques.

Évidemment, cela peut être dû à un large éventail de facteurs sociaux et subjectifs (frustrations économiques et politiques ou insatisfactions d'ordre purement existentielle), mais le résultat est le même: émergence et résurrection d'innombrables communautés diasporiques. Aussi, l'on peut-on «ré-inverser» l'équation vue plus haut et se demander si, aujourd'hui, le grand défi ne serait plus le maintien de la culture et de l'identité d'origine des diasporas, mais plutôt leur insertion et enracinement dans les pays et sociétés d'accueil?

3. Chaînes satellitaires et médias communautaires

Sans ignorer les cas de racisme, rejet, stigmatisation ou ghettoïsation dont ont souffert et continuent à souffrir de nombreuses communautés ethniques de par le monde, nous devons-nous aussi reconnaître que la dynamique d'intégration progressive et même d'assimilation à long terme des migrants était, de par le passé, une réalité concrète. Une fois arrivés, le contact avec le pays ou région d'origine se réduisait au minimum et dépendait des rares et plutôt lents moyens de communication d'antan (Leloux & Radice, 2008).

Alors qu'aujourd'hui, ce contact n'est jamais réellement rompu, réduit ou ralenti, mais peut-être parfois même potentialisé par les flux humains et médiatiques qui conforment l'écologie subjective et cognitive de notre époque. Car, si l'ampleur proportionnelle des distances géographiques conjuguée à la relative lenteur des moyens de communications de l'époque pré-globale permettaient encore une ré-élaboration profonde et harmonieuse de l'identité d'origine dans l'environnement local d'accueil, aujourd'hui, au fur et à mesure qu'une nouvelle sphère ethnique et culturelle transnationale se configure, le détachement de l'univers symbolique initial et l'éloignement des communautés «sœurs» éparpillées à travers le monde deviennent plus ardues.

La vie en communauté, la venue continue de nouveaux migrants, l'accessibilité matérielle aux moyens de transport, les médias transnationaux et TIC⁵ continuent à pourvoir les migrants de flux ininterrompus de leur imaginaire et univers symbolique d'origine. Ce sont, en

fait, des équipements collectifs symboliques et des technologies sociales et subjectives qui exacerbent plus encore l'actuel principe de vitesse, mobilité et médiatisation des rapports sociaux qui régule notre réel.

Ce qui, en plus de nous rappeler la question de la prédominance du substrat temporel sur le spatial et la centralité des médias dans l'organisation sociale et politique du monde global dans lequel nous évoluons, met en évidence notre réalité contemporaine constituée de flux (Appadurai, 2005). Flux humains et flux médiatiques; migrations humaines et migrations médiatiques; et le croisement des deux, qui donne forme à notre subjectivité contemporaine, irrémédiablement déterritorisée, en perpétuel mouvement, errance ou transhumance.

Les migrations deviennent, de ce fait, un phénomène subjectif où les déplacements ne sont pas seulement ou nécessairement spatiaux et physiques, mais aussi et surtout imaginaires. Avant même de quitter sa terre natale ou sans la quitter, le sujet global contemporain se trouve déjà emporté vers d'autres horizons, loin de son environnement immédiat et sa routine quotidienne. Ou en s'insérant dans les flux humains et en se déplaçant physiquement, ou en étant traversé par les flux d'images, sons et formes venus d'ailleurs; et, dans les deux cas, déraciné et déterritorisé – intégrant la sphère des «identités voyageuses», dans l'expression de Yang Mayfair, reprise par Mattelart (Mattelart, 2007).

Dans le contexte diasporique, toutefois, ces flux produisent le même effet, mais, si l'on peut dire, dans le sens inverse. Alors que les médias locaux des pays d'accueil offrent aux diasporas une interface d'interaction avec le monde qui les entoure – un espace symbolique qui, quand les conditions sociales et politiques le permettent, peut être un instrument efficace d'intégration et d'action démocratique; les médias communautaires et transnationaux, eux, contribuent, à des niveaux différents, au maintien des liens affectifs et identitaires qui les relient aux pays et cultures d'origine.

La différence entre médias diasporiques communautaires et médias transnationaux, c'est qu'en principe, les premiers reflètent la réalité locale de la communauté et peuvent servir d'espace symbolique pour son insertion dans la société d'accueil et la négociation des niveaux et modalités de la double appartenance et identification de ses membres. Les médias transnationaux, par contre, sont généralement porteurs de préoccupations et idéaux propres à la société d'origine ou, dans le meilleur des cas, des discours généraux à toutes les communautés diasporiques originaires de la dite société; sans tenir compte des spécificités locales de chacune d'elles. Aussi, serait-il intéressant de s'interroger sur le rôle de chacune des deux modalités dans la configuration d'espaces sociaux et identitaires plus ou moins interculturels.

Mais il faut observer, tout d'abord, que lorsqu'on parle de médias transnationaux dans le contexte diasporique, c'est surtout à la TV satellitaire qu'on pense. Ce sont, à ce titre, plus de 160 satellites de télécommunications envoyant le signal TV du monde et au monde entier; permettant, grâce à leurs fonctions de relais et de rediffusion par ricochet, que plus de 6.000 chaînes de TV et 3.000 de radio soient captées aux quatre coins du globe (Amezaga, 2007). Ce qui, bien sûr, ne peut que miner le pouvoir étatique de contrôle de l'espace médiatique national et remettre en cause la traditionnelle prérogative de l'État-nation de «monopole de la gestion de l'imaginaire collectif» (ElHajji, 2007a).

La diffusion par satellite permet, d'autre part, la construction d'espaces médiatiques «pan-nationaux» qui contribuent au développement de «sentiments pan-nationaux» (Amezaga, 2001) ou «nationalisme à distance» (Anderson, 1998). Autrement dit, la TV satellitaire constitue un facteur important dans la configuration médiatique de la sphère diasporique et du renforcement des liens affectifs, identitaires et culturels aussi bien entre les groupes dias-

poriques et leur pays d'origine qu'entre les différentes communautés transnationales qui se reconnaissent dans la même origine ethnique ou culturelle.

La véritable force de la TV par satellite ne réside pas, toutefois, dans le nombre de ses chaînes ou sa couverture virtuellement universelle, mais surtout dans sa vocation domestique et familiale. Sa capacité de pénétrer au plus intime et plus profond de la structure sociale diasporique – là où les questions identitaires, les multiples appartenances et la négociation des formes d'intégration dans la société majoritaire sont débattues et évaluées; de même que les stratégies de résistance aux menaces d'assimilation sont élaborées et simulées.

L'étude réalisée par Aoudia à Montréal va dans ce même sens (Aoudia, 2009). Il en ressort, notamment, que la consommation des médias transnationaux n'est ni uniforme ni homogène, mais plutôt assez créative et diversifiée. Leurs fonctions et finalités potentielles vont du ressourcement culturel et identitaire à l'accompagnement d'événements extraordinaires, en passant par le divertissement ou la mise en place d'une ambiance sonore du pays d'origine. L'étude fait allusion, d'autre part, à certaines pratiques occasionnelles et de l'ordre de l'expérimentation ou, encore, à l'usage différencié de ces médias en fonction de la tranche d'âge, genre et classe sociale de leur public.

Le plus frappant dans cette étude, toutefois, est l'utilisation de la TV satellitaire en tant que refuge psychologique – justement, par ceux qui souffrent le plus de difficultés d'intégration au sein de la société d'accueil et s'estiment représentés négativement par les médias locaux. L'auteure alerte, à ce propos, sur les risques de repli communautaire, ghettoïsation et exacerbation de la stigmatisation que ce genre de logique peut entraîner. Car, il est certain que cette situation ne peut être que le prélude au cercle vicieux de stigmatisation «renfermement sur soi» stigmatisation.

Alors qu'une autre catégorie de migrants, même en se plaignant de la sous-représentation de leur communauté ou de sa représentation négative par les médias nationaux, insistent sur l'utilité de ces médias dans le processus de leur intégration. Quelques uns, parmi ceux-ci, vont jusqu'à manifester leur position contraire à la consommation de la TV satellitaire, sous prétexte qu'elle perturberait le processus de leur intégration au sein de la société d'accueil; faisant, ainsi, un usage réflexif et stratégique (et non romantique) de ces médias.

Nous-mêmes, lors de notre séjour de recherche à Montréal, avons été frappés par des positions politiques aussi opposées parmi les migrants maghrébins que nous avons rencontrés. Ceux qui se sentaient stigmatisés par les médias locaux et la société majoritaire étaient, justement, ceux qui prêchaient le discours multiculturaliste et communautariste et étaient les plus liés à la sphère médiatique transnationale. Alors que ceux qui estimaient que leur migration était réussie prônaient l'approche interculturelle, l'intégration définitive au sein de la société québécoise et n'étaient pas de fervents usagers des médias transnationaux de leur pays d'origine.

Aussi, les médias transnationaux peuvent-ils constituer un facteur déterminant dans l'attelage des communautés diasporiques à leurs pays ou cultures d'origine. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que leur consommation représente un problème en soi; puisque leur usage peut notamment servir de source d'équilibre et de comparaison entre les différents discours reçus. Le principal inconvénient de ces médias, à notre avis, est qu'ils ne peuvent pas être véritablement à l'écoute des groupes diasporiques, refléter leur vie réelle et exprimer leurs préoccupations légitimes. Au contraire des médias communautaires locaux qui, en principe, peuvent s'imposer en une sorte d'«intellectuel organique» de la communauté.

Organicité et propension à l'interculturel qui ne sont pas dues au hasard, mais la conséquence logique de la nature même de la communication communautaire; principalement par son caractère discursif responsable de l'énonciation et du maintien de l'identité de la collec-

tivité dont elle émane. L'existence et la survie du groupe diasporique sont, en effet, tributaires de sa capacité d'élaboration de discours sociaux qui le définissent et le différencient des autres groupes et de la société majoritaire.

En s'organisant autour de leurs systèmes de classification et représentation du réel, à travers leurs propres instances d'énonciation de leur identité collective, les groupes diasporiques visent, en fait, l'institution et la perpétuation d'une marque subjective distincte, à même de consolider leurs intérêts sociaux. Car, afin d'assurer leur pérennité et de s'imposer en tant que différence par rapport à d'autres formations sociales, les communautés diasporiques sont obligées de définir leur projet existentiel et de délimiter leur champs d'action; notamment par le biais de leurs moyens de communication tant internes qu'externes.

En plus de constituer un niveau important du cadre symbolique général d'énonciation de l'identité du groupe diasporique, la communication communautaire joue un rôle cohésif crucial pour l'intégration de ses membres. L'intensité du sentiment d'appartenance de l'individu vis-à-vis du groupe et le degré d'organicité de la collectivité étant, d'autre part, proportionnels à l'efficacité des moyens de communication communautaire qui les étayent. Car, s'il n'est pas besoin de rappeler que toute identité est construite à partir de récits narratives sur soi-même et sur l'Autre, dans le cas spécifique des diasporas, c'est sur la base de cet exercice que sont élaborées leurs stratégies de légitimation de leurs projets existentiels et de conquête de consensus, tant parmi leur public que par rapport à la société majoritaire.

Parallèlement à sa fonction de production, reproduction et circulation de sens au-dedans et en dehors du groupe, le discours élaboré par les moyens de communication communautaire constitue en soi une construction idéologique réflexive dont le but est de provoquer volontairement un impact sur la cognition sociale de ses récepteurs internes et externes. Ce qui équivaut à une action politique effective dans l'expression et la légitimation de l'univers social, culturel et politique du groupe parmi ses membres et aux yeux du monde.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que les groupes diasporiques sont, généralement, dotés de médias communautaires assez efficaces qui renforcent leur cohésion sociale, culturelle et politique; ce qui démontre combien il est vital pour ces groupes de pouvoir se manifester par rapport à la réalité sociale et politique dans laquelle ils s'insèrent. Car, en plus d'exprimer leurs positions et leurs points de vue sur les questions en débat dans la société nationale, ce genre de discours formel offre aux membres du groupe un cadre et un modèle d'action et d'argumentation légitimes et cohérents.

Il existe, certes, une corrélation étroite entre les formes organisationnelles d'une communauté et les instances d'énonciation de son projet socio-historique, dans la mesure où, lors de l'élaboration de ses pratiques communicationnelles, la communauté finit par développer des stratégies discursives qui agissent comme des dispositifs symboliques dans la dispute pour l'imposition de sens (encore que pluriel et polyphonique) tant parmi ses propres membres que face à la société en général. La communication communautaire sert, ainsi, de plate-forme de revendication des marques identitaires indispensables pour la pérennité de l'*ethos* du groupe, et de champ de négociation des territoires existentiels et subjectifs nécessaires pour sa pleine intégration dans la société d'accueil.

Les modèles discursifs et l'interlocution dialogique sont, en effet, quelques unes des techniques employées par les communautés minoritaires dans leur effort de se penser en tant que projet social, politique et philosophique et, en même temps, simuler les possibilités de négociation de ce projet avec l'ensemble de la société. Car, si, comme nous le savons, les groupes et classes sont toujours impliqués dans une "bourdivine" lutte symbolique dans le

but de négocier et d'imposer une définition du monde conforme à leurs intérêts sociaux, culturels et politiques, les discours développés dans cette perspective constituant le meilleur baromètre pour comprendre et discerner les objectifs et les règles de cette lutte.

Un autre avantage considérable de la communication communautaire est d'offrir à la société d'accueil une interface de communication qui permet une plus grande accessibilité aux projets sociaux et politiques des groupes constitutifs de la société, évitant ainsi les amalgames idéologiques, les soupçons infondés et les préjugés déguisés. D'autre part, cette même pratique communicationnelle finit par encourager les groupes diasporiques à élaborer des discours cohérents et en syntonie avec les idéaux des sociétés nationales où ils s'insèrent. Car, il ne serait guère viable d'adopter des discours contradictoires ou trop ambigus à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la communauté; eu égard aux inévitables échanges et contacts sociaux, intergénérationnels, interinstitutionnels et intercommunautaires (ElHajji, 2007b).

L'analyse du bimensuel *Atlas.Mtl*, réalisée par René et Antonius confirme le rôle des médias communautaires dans l'énonciation de l'identité des groupes diasporiques et l'élaboration de stratégies de légitimation de leurs projets existentiels et de conquête de consensus, tant parmi leur public que par rapport à la société majoritaire. Les principes de cohérence discursive (inviabilité des discours contradictoires ou trop ambigus) et de double audience (les médias communautaires sont aussi et nécessairement reçus par la société majoritaire), surtout, semblent orienter la rédaction de *Atlas.Mtl* dans sa ligne éditoriale.

Décrit par les auteurs comme un journal en faveur de «la négociation des rapports de force entre les citoyens d'origine maghrébine et le groupe majoritaire» et adepte d'une «identité arabo-musulmane laïque, modérée et libérale, spécifiquement maghrébine, assumant son appartenance à une société québécoise laïque, et faisant partie de la diaspora internationale maghrébine» (René & Antonius, 2009, p. 92), *Atlas.Mtl* est un exemple concret de cette inclination des médias communautaires pour l'interculturel et l'intégration des groupes diasporiques au sein de la société majoritaire.

Analyse qui nous a été corroborée lors de nos entretiens avec les deux responsables du journal. Abdelghani Dades et Rachid Najahi ont beaucoup insisté sur le fait de compter parmi leur public des membres d'autres communautés ethniques de Montréal, comme les e-mails reçus de lecteurs italiens et grecs, notamment, pouvaient le confirmer. Aussi, nous ont-ils répété à plusieurs reprises qu'ils considèrent *Atlas.Mtl* d'abord un organe de communication montréalais, dont les préoccupations et intérêts sont ceux de tous les montréalais; ensuite un média ethnique qui examine et traite l'actualité à partir de la perspective des communautés culturelles de la ville; enfin un journal communautaire maghrébin qui fait de ce groupe ethnico-culturel sa cible centrale et principal champ d'ancrage.

Pourtant, comme nous essayons de l'expliquer plus loin, le désir d'insertion dans la société majoritaire et l'adoption de stratégies interculturelles de la part des communautés ethniques telle que la maghrébine, n'est pas une garantie en soi de son succès.

4. Interculturalisme instrumental et interculturalité organique

La question qui se pose, donc, est de savoir comment est-ce que l'interculturalité est perçue par la société majoritaire? Qu'entend-on par la notion de l'interculturel? Rappelons-nous de la définition proposée au cours de notre analyse et relative à une forme sociétale originale où les communautés ethniques et/ou groupes sociaux se reconnaissent et cherchent à se compren-

dre dans leurs différences, ainsi mises en valeur. Insistons, surtout, sur le préfixe «inter» qui traduit la possibilité d'interaction positive à travers des instances ou espaces dialogiques qui promeuvent non seulement l'entendement mutuel, mais les échanges et la collaboration entre les différents acteurs sociaux en contact.

Fait non sans importance, la notion d'interculturel est adoptée officiellement par la province du Québec; au contraire du reste du Canada qui est, pour sa part, officiellement multiculturaliste et est même le seul État au monde à disposer d'un ministère du multiculturalisme. Ce qui révèle une volonté avouée de rejeter le modèle multiculturaliste hégémonique et de dépasser ses présupposés politiques, idéologiques et organisationnels. Équation tout à fait en phase avec le discours identitaire indépendantiste qui définit l'identité québécoise, notamment, en termes de résistance au «colonialisme canadien et anglo-saxon».

De fait, si le Québec privilégie l'utilisation formelle de l'expression «société interculturelle» à la place de la nomenclature officielle du gouvernement du Canada qui a érigé le multiculturalisme en politique d'État, c'est à cause de sa condition culturelle et linguistique (minoritaire au sein de la fédération et majoritaire au niveau de la province). Intellectuels et hommes politiques nationalistes suspectent que l'imposition et la mise en place de politiques multiculturalistes par l'État fédéral ne serait, en vérité, qu'un subterfuge pour affaiblir l'identité culturelle et linguistique québécoise et la rendre minoritaire sur son propre territoire. Car, selon cette lecture, le multiculturalisme réduirait l'identité québécoise à une composante parmi les dizaines d'autres cultures issues de l'immigration.

Il s'agit, ainsi, de ce que nous définissons comme un interculturalisme «instrumental», né de positions idéologiques et décisions politiques, du haut vers le bas. Qui, selon les intellectuels engagés et représentants d'associations communautaires de la diaspora que nous avons interviewés, ne seraient qu'une stratégie discursive qui viserait la délégitimation des actions politiques et culturelles d'Ottawa. L'enjeu et but ultime du discours interculturaliste québécois ne seraient pas la recherche d'un modèle égalitaire d'insertion de tous les groupes ethniques et culturels de la province, mais plutôt, une manœuvre politique dans une bataille plus ample entre les deux entités pour asseoir leur autorité morale et conquérir l'adhésion des citoyens à leur cause.

Car, en même temps que la proposition québécoise parle de «société interculturelle», elle insiste sur l'obligation des allophones à participer au fond culturel et linguistique québécois «commun» et non sur l'ouverture de toutes les parties sur les autres ou la participation de tous à un même fond culturel commun – en continue transformation et évolution. Il s'agirait, donc, d'un «interculturalisme à voie unique», dont l'impératif de l'acceptation de la différence retomberait sur les uns et pas sur les autres; contrairement à ce que le préfixe *inter-* suggérerait. Autrement dit, le concept d'«interculturel» propagé par le Québec ne serait qu'un autre nom du même vieux projet assimilationniste républicain français – source éternelle d'inspiration de la province, mis à jour et adapté au contexte politique et social local.

Dans le cas spécifique des maghrébins (traditionnellement francophones et fiers de leur appropriation de la langue de Molière), il existe un sentiment de frustration et de révolte contre le discours «biologisant» de l'identité nationale, soutenu par les segments conservateurs de la société et de la sphère politique québécoises. Alors que leur migration au Québec serait, du point de vue nord-africain, la conséquence de leur sentiment d'appartenance à la famille francophone qui devrait être appréciée en tant que geste romantique de solidarité avec leurs «frères de langue» contre «l'Empire», ces derniers se seraient montrés ingrats, en déqualifiant l'argument linguistique et en se tournant vers le mythe de l'origine biologique et san-

guine française qui fait d'eux de véritables français – de souche (de sang) et non pas seulement des francophones ou «usagers d'une langue véhiculaire universelle».

Du côté québécois, les plaintes envers les maghrébins vont dans le sens de leur incompréhension de l'histoire de la province et de leur abus de l'hospitalité et de la bonne foi du Québec et des Québécois. On leur reproche, par exemple, d'être plus exigeants sur le plan social et politique au Québec qu'ils ne le seraient, l'ont été ou l'auraient été dans leurs pays et société d'origine. Quant à l'argument linguistique, les nationaux ripostent que si la vocation francophone des maghrébins était authentique, ils devraient être plus souples sur la question de leur identité d'origine et plus sensibles aux aspirations politiques du peuple québécois.

La principale source de mésentente entre les deux parties reste, cependant, la question religieuse. Les maghrébins se plaignent, notamment, de la tendance de l'élite sociale locale à céder aux clichés médiatiques et aux généralisations sensationnalistes, sans prendre la peine d'approfondir ses analyses pour la formation d'une opinion juste sur la culture et les pratiques religieuses des nord-africains et, surtout, sans tenir compte des spécificités sociales (niveau d'instruction, origine urbaine, culture cosmopolite, pratique religieuse modérée, etc.) de la population immigrée (Labelle, Rocher & Antonius, 2009).

En fait, il semble que le recours au référentiel religieux, de la part des segments les plus conservateurs de l'intelligentsia québécoise, trouve ses bases dans la recherche d'un terrain identitaire solide et immuable pour le nationalisme québécois. Preuve en est la revendication de plus en plus fréquente, de la part de cette même mouvance, d'imposer le catholicisme en tant que composante fondamentale de l'identité nationale québécoise (Bock-Côté, 2011). Ce qui, évidemment, fait grincer des dents les minorités culturelles et ethniques à caractère religieux et contribue à radicaliser encore plus les adeptes du communautarisme étroit.

Il serait, d'autre part, difficile de défendre le comportement paradoxal de certains groupes de la diaspora maghrébine. Alors que, souvent, ils ont dû quitter leurs pays d'origine, fuyant le carcan des traditions locales et l'intolérance des tenants d'un islam rigide, une fois installés au Québec, ils deviennent de fervents défenseurs de ces mêmes traditions et de ce même islam qui les ont fait migrer. Ce qui porte à croire que leur véritable objectif n'est pas la sauvegarde d'éléments soi-disant essentiels de leur identité d'origine, mais plutôt le détournement du religieux au profit du politique, dans le grand jeu de lutte pour le pouvoir symbolique.

Parallèlement, il faut reconnaître qu'au niveau micropolitique et subjectif, les échanges symboliques et affectifs entre maghrébins et Québécois d'origine sont assez présents, acceptés et même valorisés dans l'espace social. En plus des relations interpersonnelles dans les champs de travail, amitié, amour ou mariages, de nombreuses marques d'hybridation socio-culturelle peuvent aussi être constatées dans les manifestations artistiques de la ville et dans leur production et circulation.

Il ne semble pas y avoir, par ailleurs, de tendance excessive au cloisonnement communautaire, ghettoïsation ou discrimination généralisée. Il s'agit plutôt de zones de friction et de moments de tension qui découlent beaucoup plus de difficultés de communication intercommunautaire que l'interculturalisme instrumental n'arrive pas à dissiper;; d'une part, en fonction de son interprétation partielle par l'élite québécoise et, d'autre part, à cause de l'incompétence des institutions diasporiques maghrébines à se réapproprier de sa structure discursive pour l'utiliser en sa faveur.

Ce qui nous fait croire que, malgré les difficultés et frictions persistantes, l'on ne peut pas ignorer l'existence d'une dynamique interculturelle «organique» susceptible de parvenir, sur le long terme, à une formule solide et durable de convivialité et d'ouverture sur l'Autre. le

modèle interculturel considère, en effet, la différence en tant que donnée inexorable de la réalité globale. Pourtant, s'il n'ignore pas la possibilité de tensions latentes ou de conflits effectifs, il met en exergue les vertus du dialogue et de la négociation afin de parvenir à des formes de convivialité justes et mutuellement satisfaisantes.

Notes

¹ Entretiens réalisés lors d'un séjour à Montréal, financé par le Gouvernement du Canada dans le cadre de son Programme d'Études Canadiennes.

² Les conclusions relatives à l'alignement des médias québécois sur l'agenda hexagonal, présentées dans les paragraphes à suivre, constituent une synthèse partielle d'entretiens réalisés avec plusieurs universitaires et associatifs à Montréal en 2010.

³ «Jeûner, un tour de force au Québec?», ledevoir.com: <http://www.ledevoir.com/societe/ethique-et-religion/328870/jeuner-un-tour-de-force-au-quebec>.

⁴ «Discriminés avant l'entrevue», lejournaldemontreal.com: <http://edition-e.lejournaldemontreal.com/epaper/viewer.aspx>.

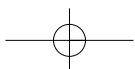
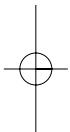
⁵ Ce sont des dizaines de logiciels gratuits de téléphonie *voip* en plus du traditionnel et mondialement connu *Skype*. Sans oublier les communications par vidéo qui joignent l'image au son – restituant, ainsi, un contact humain et une expérience sensorielles plus chaleureux et plus proches du réel.

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Diaspora, Media Representations, Public Knowledge



Irina Diana MĂDROANE*

Romanian Migrants in the British Press: a Post-EU Accession Analysis**

Abstract

The paper examines the construction of public knowledge about Romanian migrants in a selected corpus of press articles from the year 2011, within a new social and political context, different from the pre-European Union accession circumstances. This context is defined primarily by the proliferation of transnational networks in the European Union and worldwide, the constant presence of Romanian migrants in British society, and the shift in policy orientation occasioned by the replacement of the New Labour Government with the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. The research questions take into consideration three main aspects that impinge upon the media construction of migrants and the problematization of migration issues: the choice between the national and the transnational angle in the representation of migrants; the use of expert or/and lay sources of knowledge; the potential impact of the newspapers' ideological commitments upon their framing of migration topics. The research objectives are twofold: an exploratory survey of themes and patterns around Romanian migrants (content analysis), followed by a micro- and macro-discursive analysis of social actor/action representation. The findings indicate that, with some exceptions, the British mainstream press continues to abide by a top-down, national(ist), expert and elite knowledge-based approach to Romanian migrants, construed as abstract problems to be tackled at policy level, through the means and in view of the goals proposed by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition.

Key words: British print media, (critical) discourse analysis, representation/public knowledge construction, policy-making, Romanian migrants

Rezumat

Articolul analizează construcția unui anumit tip de cunoaștere publică despre migrații români într-un corpus de știri din presa scrisă din Marea Britanie în anul 2011. Noul context social și politic diferă fundamental de cel specific perioadei dinaintea aderării României la Uniunea Europeană. Acesta este caracterizat de proliferarea legăturilor transnaționale, atât în Uniunea Europeană, cât și la nivel global, de prezența neîntreruptă a migraților români în societatea britanică (post-aderare), precum și de noua orientare în politicile publice din Marea Britanie, în urma venirii la putere a coaliției dintre Conservatori și Liberal-Democrați, care a înlocuit guvernarea laburistă. Studiul de față ia în considerație trei factori cu impact diferit asupra procesului de construcție și problematizare a migraților în politicile publice: selectarea unei perspective naționale sau transnaționale în reprezentarea migraților; utilizarea în presă a opiniilor experților și/sau ale oamenilor de rând; influența orientării ideologice a ziarelor britanice asupra modalității de încadrare a subiectelor abor-

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date. Cercetarea are două obiective: o trecere în revistă a principalelor teme conturate în legătură cu migrații români (analiză de conținut), urmată de o analiză la nivel micro- și macro-discursiv a reprezentării actorilor sociali/acțiunii sociale. Rezultatele cercetării arată că, exceptând un număr mic de cazuri, presa britanică adoptă în continuare o perspectivă națională(-istă), 'de sus', bazată pe discursul experților și al elitelor politice. Migrații români sunt în general reprezentați sub forma unor probleme abstract definite, care trebuie soluționate la nivel de politici publice prin mijloacele și în vederea obiectivelor propuse de noua coaliție de la guvernare.

Cuvinte-cheie: presa scrisă din Marea Britanie, analiză (critică) de discurs, reprezentare/construcția cunoașterii publice, politici publice, migrații români

1. Introduction

In the spring-summer of 2011, the Romanian Razy Gogonea became one of the favourites to win the final of the widely broadcast *Britain's Got Talent* television show. Once it introduced him as a gifted body-popper, the British popular press moved on to frame the discussion in terms of his right to reside and work in the UK, unemployment and financial hardships, pursuit of personal dreams, British ties through his Manchester fiancée, questions about who should be allowed to participate in the show and the viewers' expectations thereof ('Britain's Got Talent Star Razy is Free to Pop In', *Daily Star*; Helmwood, 2011, *The Sun*; Kinnon, 2011, *The Sun*; McGovern, 2011, *Mirror*). 'He was awesome but why is it *Britain's Got Talent* when every year there are non-Brits allowed in it?', asks a *Sun* reader (in Kinnon, 2011), while the *Mirror* wonders, 'If a Romanian can win BGT why not get someone foreign singing our Eurovision entry? Foreigner, perhaps.' (McGovern, 2011). Even though no references are made to Razy's status as a migrant, his trajectory is traced back to Romania's accession to the European Union and the accompanying entitlement to freedom of movement ('Britain's Got Talent Star Razy is Free to Pop In', *Daily Star*).

The centrality held by the press in the construction of public knowledge and the mediation of situations to be addressed at the level of public policies has long been acknowledged (Beciu, 2007, 2011; Boswell, 2009; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Franklin, 1999a, 1999b). Though atypical because it deals with a migrant celebrity, albeit transient, the Razy Gogonea episode touches upon three major dimensions of the media-constructed knowledge of transnational migrants: the option between a national angle and a transnational approach; the sources of knowledge employed; the existing links between particular evaluations of migrant-related topics and Labour or Conservative ideologies (in the UK). Choices along these three dimensions may conjure up altogether different images of migrants, with different sets of problems to be tackled in immigration policies. In what follows, I develop each of these points in view of the main objectives of the study.

In the analysis of the migrants' situation in contemporary societies, policy-makers, journalists and scholars alike are faced with an option between the modern national(ist) approach, the prevailing paradigm across social spheres of activity, and the recently emerging transnational one, still struggling to find its own vocabulary. According to Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003, p. 582), the national angle is shaped by four different notions of 'peoplehood' that eventually merge into one single concept: sovereignty, citizenship and the rights derived thereby, solidarity (the extended family-type community), and ethnicity. Thus understood, the nation overlaps with the neatly delineated borders of a territory (see also Faist, 2008). Little

wonder, then, that within the frame of the nation-state migrants are regarded as disruptive, threatening and even inimical in matters of security, welfare, or cultural cohesion, all crucial areas of migration policies (Boswell, 2009, p. 15). The national(ist) approach, naturalized and well-entrenched in modern politics, constitutes migrants as 'foreigners' and gives currency to classic binaries such as 'origin' vs. 'destination', 'emigration' vs. 'immigration', 'in-flow' vs. 'out-flow' (Faist, 2008, p. 38ff.). The 'Us vs. Them' cultural representation, prominent in the depiction of migrants in the mainstream media (see discussions in Cottle, 2000), is deeply rooted in this approach. To return to Razy's portrayal, the 'migrant/native divide' (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 109) is the first image that strikes the readers of at least two of the newspapers quoted earlier. This tends to be the norm rather than the exception in mainstream newspapers, hence the migrants' orientation towards alternative public spheres and transnational new media networks.

A novel paradigm, transnationalism sets out to examine the grassroots interactions of social actors across nation-state borders and from within multiple, intersecting networks, sustained by new social relations and notions of social space, and advanced technologies (see Faist, 2008, 2010, among others). This approach does not completely discredit the nation-state or discard its vocabulary (indeed, many scholars point to the practical obstacles in an undertaking of this type), but transcends it whenever possible and brings into the picture a much wider array of roles fulfilled by migrants. One of the topics traditionally explored by scholars of transnationalism is migrants as an agent of *development* and their controversial participation in boosting economic growth and social solidarity through financial remittances (Faist, 2008, p. 39ff.). Another perspective that is taking hold in the field originates with Nina Glick Schiller (2010), who proposes to look at the migrants' *various* strategies of coping with and integrating into the forces of global (neoliberal) power. From their distinct, even contradictory positions within transnational networks and circuits of global power, migrants come across 'not as foreigners to be differentiated from natives, but as actors that connect local people to global processes' (Glick Schiller, 2010, p. 127). The main advantage of this approach, labelled 'transnational methodology' in the social sciences, lies in the possibility to explore 'a number of migration experiences that could not be addressed during previous periods' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003, p. 597). Applied to the European Union, the transnational view grounds European(ized) identities in porous boundaries, mobilities of people and institutions, and the constant transfers among the transnational, the national and the local-regional levels (Triandafyllidou, Gropas & Vogel, 2007, p. 12). Most importantly, it does so from a bottom-up perspective, not just an elite-driven one (see also discussions in Georgiou, 2007; Herrmann, Risse & Brewer, 2004; Triandafyllidou et al., 2007). The journalists' openness to a transnational frame of mind would most likely highlight other aspects of the status of migrant than the ones specific to the national approach and thus alter public perceptions of migration.

Moving on to the next point, the sources of knowledge the press deploys may significantly limit or expand the scope of the issues under discussion. The overreliance on expert knowledge to the detriment of lay understandings often results in a top-down, abstract approach, detached from daily social encounters and experiences. While it circumscribes matters in conformity with the ideals of the technocratic mode of thought, dominant in Western developed societies, such an approach simultaneously excludes voices and worldviews that could unravel new facets of the phenomenon analyzed or supply alternative solutions (see discussions in Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007; see also Boswell, 2009, for immigration policies). In this respect, trends are not necessarily set by the media, but by policy-makers and politicians in

general. Boswell (2009, p. 3) comments on the technocratic spin imposed by the New Labour Government in British public policies starting with 1997, which laid undue emphasis on the findings of experts and 'evidence-based policy-making'. Politicians resort to expert knowledge not only in order to tackle a crisis successfully, but also to legitimize the position of their organization or to substantiate their standpoint (Boswell, 2009) by recourse to the prestige and infallibility associated with science (this only becomes problematic when it is decoupled from sound argumentation). When the press adopts a similar strategy and quotes chiefly expert or elite, officially recognized sources, it is liable to overlook lay knowledge and hence construct groups – such as migrants – from a distance, without exploring their beliefs, identities and lives in host societies (see Beciu, 2011, p. 166). Much like politicians, the press may employ expert or elite knowledge to fallaciously gain legitimacy or to oppose political stands that do not coincide with the newspaper's editorial orientation.

Finally, by emphasizing matters of public interest and pinpointing problematic social areas, occasionally even crises (Franklin, 1999a), the press frequently tunes in to political imaginaries inspired by particular sets of values and concerns (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). These often carry ideological associations with either left-centre, liberal worldviews or right-centre, conservative ones. To give an example, the goals of New Labour immigration policies are informed by values different from those nurtured by the recently empowered Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, distinguishable primarily along the lines of strong support for economic migration versus a marked concern with the protection of British nationals (jobs, social services, welfare). The British media have been traditionally characterized by ideological commitments well-known to the target audiences (for details, see Section 3). If the journalistic ethos of objectivity may itself be considered flawed and overrated, expectations of a professional, well-functioning press point towards the need for a complex, in-depth analysis of the interests and values of every social group affected by a course of political action and of society at large. This presupposes the existence of a deliberative frame that accommodates critical questions, and of a desire to move beyond commonly accepted beliefs, sensationalistic elements, and narrowly defined political allegiances (Labour or Conservative).

The three areas outlined above underlie the research questions of the present study, introduced at the end of Section 3. The first objective is exploratory and descriptive, as it deals with establishing the main themes and patterns around Romanian migrants in a selected media corpus. Starting from these findings, a micro-discursive analysis explores the representation of migrants and the types of identities and actions put forward in the texts. Special emphasis is placed on the angle – national or transnational – and the view taken by the press – top-down, abstract, dominated by particular social classifications, or bottom-up, concerned with the migrants' experiences and correlated with public life in British society and the European Union. At a macro-level, themes are located within discourses, examined in terms of ideological orientation, (un)balanced incorporation/framing of worldviews, and sources of knowledge (expert or lay, or both). Overall, the study aims to discuss the main tendencies that shape the construction of public knowledge about Romanian migrants in the British mainstream press post-Romania's EU accession. In the next section I dwell upon the view of media discourse adopted for these purposes. I then discuss more closely the socio-political context and the British press approach to migrants and immigration policy over the years. The second part of the article presents the case study: corpus, methodology and findings.

2. Media discourse and practices

The definition commonly accepted in (critical) discourse studies regards discourse as language in use, both constituted by and constitutive of social relations, practices and structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Accordingly, media discourse is shaped by professional-organizational practices and, on a higher scale, by economic, political and cultural/ideological practices (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Media texts, as social events, are embedded in discursive practices of text production and consumption, having to do with institutional conceptualizations of audiences (their interests, beliefs, attitudes), news values, journalistic ethics and principles of objectivity (Richardson, 2007), which determine the selection of topics, genres, and registers. The wider economic, socio-political and cultural context adds new features: newspapers as businesses in a constant struggle to secure readerships and make a profit; their engagement with the political body; and their (re)production or transformation of worldviews (see the Introduction on the key points to be considered in this respect). This multilevelled view of media texts (Fairclough, 1995), the one also taken in this article, requires a complex, equally multilayered analysis and interpretation.

Theorists of media effects have encountered difficulties in demonstrating a direct causal connection between media representation and changes of attitude and opinion in the midst of audiences (see discussions in Bryant & Zillmann, 1994). There is widespread agreement among scholars, though, that journalists take the readers' beliefs and perceptions into account and politicians use the media to test the popularity and public appeal of their intended measures. Commenting on the situation in the UK, Franklin (1999a, 1999b) notes that the New Labour politicians' awareness of their public image guides their decision-making and communication with the media; similarly, Somerville (2007) points out that the press, especially tabloid, flaunts its power to mould public opinion and steer the course of political action. By repeatedly highlighting themes and subjects, the media 'generate an effect of valorization of a particular type of information, and, therefore, of a source of knowledge for the citizens' (Beciu, 2007, p. 30, *my translation*). The journalistic ideal of deliberative communication rests upon the problematization of public issues from a multiplicity of positions, not necessarily implying consensus (Beciu, 2011, p. 216ff.; see also Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). In the context of this study, such problematization would entail bringing together expert and lay worldviews, transcending strictly national symbolic classifications and giving equal weight in discussions to the policy goals of distinct political formations. It is not always the case, however, that the outcome of media practices lives up to this fundamental objective of the profession.

3. The socio-political context: past and present British immigration policies. The British press coverage of EU immigration

Following the general elections held in May, 2010, a new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government came into power in the UK, under the lead of Prime Minister David Cameron. The moment marked the end of 13 years of New Labour Government (ten under Tony Blair and three under Gordon Brown) and coincided with the worsening of the global recession and its severe societal effects. In their post-election speeches, both PM David Cameron and Immigration Minister Damian Green indicate a clear break with previous immigration policies. Under the motto 'good immigration, not mass immigration', the Prime Min-

ister spells out the coalition's priorities: 'controlling legal immigration', 'clamping down on illegal immigration', 'getting to grips with the asylum system' (Cameron, 2011, April 14, online). Their main policy target is migration from outside the European Economic Area, but 'transitional controls' are announced for future EU enlargement waves, due to the large numbers of CEE migrants after the opening of the British labour market in 2004. Concerns with community cohesion and abuse of the public services, worries about the length of stay and the exploitation of routes such as student visa and family reunion are combined with the need to reform the welfare system radically, so that Britons who have grown dependent on it are reintegrated into the labour force. These lines of policy are reaffirmed in Damian Green's speeches (2011, 2012), which reinforce the notion of 'selective immigration', put in the service of British economy (Green, 2012, online). It must be said that the Liberal Democrats do not fully support the 'selective approach' and the coalition is perceived as being dominated by Conservative views with regard to immigration (see comments in Mulholland and Watt, 2011, the *Guardian*). In keeping with this orientation, and upon the conclusions reached by the Migration Advisory Committee (2011), Britain extended the restrictions it had in place for Bulgarian and Romanian economic migrants.

Upon closer scrutiny, with the exception of a radical stance on the necessity to reduce numbers and select only 'the brightest and the best' (Green, 2011, 2012), the main directions in the present British immigration policy are also to be found in the New Labour approach, largely defined by Tony Blair's vision between 1997 and 2007 (Düvell, 2007; Geddes, 2003, 2004, 2005; Somerville, 2007). His political legacy is bound up with the liberalization of the labour market and the encouragement of international students and skilled migrants to contribute to the growth of the British economy in conditions of global competition. If in the past there was a marked opposition between Labour and Conservative politicians, starting with the mid-1960s, Labour began to fear 'being seen as soft on immigration' (Geddes, 2003, p. 36). This trend has continued and is responsible for the two sides influencing each other's positions and accepting compromises (Fomina & Frelak, 2008, pp. 33-34). As a result, Labour did not step back from 'managing' migration and introducing tough measures to compensate for any pro-economic migration decisions, for example measures against asylum seekers, fraud or 'organized immigration crime' (Somerville, 2007, p. 44; see also Düvell, 2007). Similarly, the Conservatives would not openly contest the notion of economic migration, but advocate the primacy of British workers and the stricter regulation of inflows. Geddes (2005) concludes that, under Tony Blair, Britain aligned itself with the European Union on matters of external borders and migration flows from outside Europe, but *preserved a distinctively national frame for home affairs* (see also Düvell, 2007, on Blair's 'dual' approach). This stance is not dissimilar to the line adopted by the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats at the moment.

At home, British politicians and policy-makers have constantly been confronted with an anti-immigration and Eurosceptic public, as confirmed by Eurobarometers and Ipsos MORI surveys. The negative and even hostile public attitudes towards non-white immigration have oscillated in the case of EU migrants from no concerns about the citizens of equally well-off Western states to deep concerns about CEE migrants (Fomina & Frelak, 2008; see also Somerville, 2007). The British press, both quality and tabloid, displays a right-wing – left-wing divide across the political spectrum of the intended audiences, and a diverse positioning with respect to the European Union and economic migration. The *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Observer* and *The Times* are likely to be favourable to economic migration, whereas the *Daily Telegraph* tends to be negative; the *Daily Mail* is particularly critical, and so are the *Ex-*

press newspapers and *The Sun* (see Boswell, 2009; Düvell, 2007; Somerville, 2007). Some of these newspapers may also be Eurosceptic. Geddes (2004, pp. 218-219) lists *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* among the strong anti-EU voices. It often happens that newspapers that are both anti-EU and anti-immigration register the highest circulation figures (for example, *The Sun* or the *Daily Mail*). Nevertheless, this classification of the British print media should not lead to ready-made conclusions about the biases in their coverage (Franklin, 1999a; McNair, 2003); in the autumn of 2006, for example, the campaign against Romanian and Bulgarian migrants was generalized across the British press, with the tabloid newspapers setting the tone (Somerville, 2007; see also Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b).

In 2011, the year of my study, the socio-political context in the UK was characterized by the shifts in policy-making under the new coalition and by the economic recession, together with the anxiety and insecurity it bred. Immigration ranked high among British concerns (see Eurobarometer 75, Spring 2011) and continued to remain at the top of the agenda (see Ipsos MORI surveys in 2011), even though outranked by the economy, unemployment and crime/law and order (for example, in August 2011, when the street riots swept across Britain). In view of the above, the research questions underlying my research are aimed at several interrelated areas:

- What are the major themes associated with Romanian migrants in the selected corpus? What dominant patterns emerge? What policy areas do they highlight?

- How are the identities, experiences and practices of Romanian migrants construed in the corpus? How is their involvement in and impact upon British society represented? How is the relationship between Romanian migrants and the British public mediated (national or transnational, top-down or bottom-up view, or elements of both)?

- What discourses do such themes and representations belong to? In what ways do the British mainstream newspapers draw upon them (balanced or one-sided inclusion of viewpoints; sources of knowledge)? How does the media framing of public knowledge about Romanian migrants support particular courses of action in immigration policy?

The research questions stem from the findings of past research on representations of Romanians in the British press (Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). Additionally, they reflect broader concerns in the analysis of Eastern European migrants in the British media (Fomina & Frelak, 2008), new points of interest in the media interpretation of transnational actors (Beciu, 2011) and in the role of discourse in policy-making deliberations (Beciu, 2007, 2011; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). They have been devised along the three dimensions discussed in the Introduction as having a bearing on the construction of public knowledge about migrants (sources of knowledge, (trans)national approach, political allegiances of the British press).

4. Corpus and methodology

4.1. Corpus

The time span of the corpus is January 1, 2011 – August 31, 2011, and the newspapers encompass the main British national broadsheets, mid-markets and tabloids. The corpus consists of articles retrieved from the LexisNexis database by using the keywords 'Romanian' and 'migrants' (also 'immigrants' and 'Romania' for the first search), completed with articles from the online archives of the newspapers under focus. Three searches in the LexisNexis data-

base were conducted, at different points in time and in different versions of the digital archive (LexisNexis – UK and LexisNexis Academic – US), to ensure that a comprehensive sample is obtained. Due to several inconsistencies in the resulting corpora, as well as duplicated content and concerns about false negatives (on the limits of LexisNexis, see Deacon, Pickering, Golding & Murdock, 2007, pp. 135-136), a subsequent search was performed on the online archives of the newspapers, and a small number of articles containing references to Romanian migrants were added to the final corpus, which comprises a total of 32 articles. Only the national editions of the newspapers were considered and those articles that did not include at least one important mention of ‘migrants’ in relation to Romanians were excluded. The texts that refer to the situation of Romanian migrants in other European Union states were retained, as they were deemed relevant in light of implicit comparisons with the UK. The texts that do not focus primarily on Romanians, but other Eastern European migrants, Romanians included, were also retained in the final corpus. A potential skew in the data is acknowledged, since there is a possibility that articles which do not contain the word ‘(im)migrant(s)’, but describe Romanians only as workers or unemployed, for example, fell outside the scope of the search. This should not have a significant impact upon the findings, as the chief objective of the analysis is to establish major (not all) tendencies in the construal of the group specifically identified as migrants (the post-2007 accession wave, generally made up of economic migrants).

4.2. Methodology

For the purposes of this study, I combine quantitative methodology (limited in scope) with qualitative (critical) discourse analysis. Due to space limitations, I only briefly introduce the principal notions and analytic tools I work with. At a micro-level, I employ several of Theo van Leeuwen’s categories for the representation of social actors and action (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23 ff.): categorization based on socioprofessional, ethnic, national, degree of kinship, etc. indicators (I retain only his broad category of ‘identification’, see also Reisigl & Wodak, 2001); collectivization (description of groups such as the ‘nation’, the ‘community’); appraisal (positive or negative evaluation); and, for social action, abstraction and objectivation. At the macro-level, I look at ‘discourses’, defined as perspectives on the world that are constituted in texts around themes, i.e. ‘the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129). Media texts are ‘interdiscursive’, i.e. draw upon or recontextualize a number of discourses, genres and styles, and, in a narrower sense, ‘intertextual’, i.e. they include a range of voices that weave together diverse, possibly opposing or conflicting worldviews (Fairclough, 2003). Journalists may employ genre conventions to emphasize certain viewpoints to the detriment of others or to create the illusion of objectivity and dialogicality (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Representations and discourses are also ‘*premises in[to] reasoning about what we should do*’ (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 86-87), here with regard to immigration policies in Britain.

5. Findings and discussion

5.1. A few quantitative data

Before a thorough discussion of the qualitative data, an overview of the articles and newspapers in the corpus and of the main thematic distribution is necessary in order to provide solid ground for the interpretation of the findings.

Between January 1 and August 31, 2011, the articles that contain at least one important reference to Romanian migrants are spread across the national quality newspapers as follows: the *Daily Telegraph* – 2, the *Sunday Telegraph* – 2, *The Times* – 2, the *Sunday Times* – 1, the *Guardian* – 1, and the *Independent* – 1. This gives a total of 9 articles (news stories, news features and opinion articles), of which two deal exclusively with Romanian migrants in Britain, four with issues concerning CEE migrants (including Romanians) in Britain, two with the restrictions on Romanian economic migrants introduced by Spain (the same story covered by the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*), and one with Dutch policies targeted at unemployed Eastern European migrants (mainly Poles). There is a balance in the number of articles in the conservative press (the *Daily* and *Sunday Telegraph*) and the liberal one (the *Guardian*, the *Independent*); *The Times* and *Sunday Times* have a rather mixed orientation, but have been ranked as liberal in matters of economic migration (see Section 3).

For the same period, the mid-market and tabloid newspapers disclose a larger number of articles (news stories, news features and opinion articles), with the following distribution: the *Daily Star* – 5, the *Express* (*Daily* and *Sunday Express*) – 10, the *Daily Mail* – 6, and the *Mirror* – 2. Of the 23 articles, fourteen focus on Romanians in Britain, one focuses on Romanians in France, and eight deal with Eastern European migrants, Romanians included. Several events that have a high degree of newsworthiness are covered in more than one newspaper. According to these figures, the interest of the mid-market and the popular press in Romanian (and Eastern European) migrants exceeds that of the quality press by more than two times. Surprisingly, perhaps, no article has been retrieved from the notorious British tabloid, *The Sun*. Most articles come from the Express Newspapers (the *Daily Star* is owned by the same media conglomerate) and the *Daily Mail*, which traditionally address a right-wing readership and exhibit strong anti-EU and anti-immigrant attitudes (see Section 3). In 2010-2011, the *Daily Express* also set off on a 'crusade' to 'get Britain out of Europe', i.e. the European Union (see its special edition, January 8, 2011). There is therefore an imbalance in the overall corpus between the right-wing and the liberal, centre-left publications.

5.2. Themes and patterns

A survey of the types of themes encountered in the corpus and of their general frequency sheds light on the prominent patterns developed around Romanian migrants, whether they are treated as the main subject of the articles or as part of the larger group of East Europeans. Each theme in the two outlines below has been counted only once per article; by 'major' I understand the themes that are expanded in the text and are usually specified in key positions. The counting was done manually and was not based on detailed coding, so the concept of content analysis applies only in a broad sense.

5.2.1. The major themes and sub-themes encountered in the quality press

Crime (2 occurrences):

- Migrants as criminals: a large number of crimes committed, human trafficking – 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, The Times*)

Economy and society (26 occurrences):

- Push factors for Romanian migrants: poverty – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph*)
- Migrants as competition/disadvantage to the British poor and unemployed – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Telegraph*)
- Migrants as advantage to the British economy – 1 occurrence (*Independent*)
- Work conditions for migrants are exploitative, housing is poor, and payment bad (in Britain, Holland) – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*)
- British employers hire migrants because they are hard-working, motivated and compliant with bad conditions – 1 occurrence (*Independent*)
- British workers prefer life on benefits to work/work in poor conditions – 1 occurrence (*The Times*)
- Abuse of the British benefits system/welfare state (8 occurrences): loopholes (e.g. the status of ‘self-employed’), the burden of unemployed migrants on the British taxpayer – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph, Sunday Times*); housing support/scarcie housing: 3 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Guardian, Independent*); extension of benefits to family members – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, Sunday Telegraph*)
- Community integration (9 occurrences): efforts made for and progress registered in the cultural and economic integration of migrants (Romanian Roma, seasonal workers) – 2 occurrences (*Guardian, The Times*); both good and tense relationships with British/Dutch communities – 3 occurrences (*Guardian, The Times, Sunday Telegraph*); language issues – 3 occurrences (*Sunday Telegraph, Daily Telegraph, Guardian*); cuts jeopardize efforts to integrate the Roma – 1 occurrence (*Guardian*)

Politics (EU freedom of movement – 20 occurrences; policy commitments – 4 occurrences):

- EU rules on freedom of movement: act against Britain’s best interests – 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph*); other EU states impose restrictions due to economic recession (Spain) or cases of prolonged unemployment and integration problems (Holland) – 3 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*); Schengen Agreement/Zone: 2 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, The Times*); a cap on intra-EU migration is limited to seven years (transition period) – 5 occurrences (*Daily Telegraph, Independent, The Times*; positive view in the *Independent*); EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007: 8 occurrences (*Guardian, Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, The Times*)
- Home Office commitments: deportation of ‘foreign criminals’ – 1 occurrence (*Daily Telegraph*); prioritization of British workers over migrants – 1 occurrence (*Times*); protection of the British taxpayer and the British benefits system – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Telegraph*); fighting human trafficking – 1 occurrence (*Sunday Times*)

The themes in the quality press voice concerns about Romanian and CEE migrants with respect to crime, impact on the British economy and British workers (the recession topic emerges in connection to unemployment), social and cultural integration in British communities, burden on the welfare state and the (dis)advantages of EU legislation to British polit-

ical sovereignty. It can be noticed that the *Independent* and the *Guardian* include positive appraisals of economic migrants in their coverage, in keeping with their liberal, centre-left orientation. The *Guardian* in particular discusses community issues and the progress made towards the integration of the Romanian Roma (threatened by funding cuts). The preoccupation with the constraints on state sovereignty generated by EU membership, especially by free movement legislation, is central in the quality press, providing a link with past framings of the EU expansion towards CEE countries.

5.2.2. *The major themes and sub-themes encountered in the mid-market and popular press*

Crime (14 occurrences):

- Migrants as criminals: a large number of crimes committed/increase in crime – 3 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); human trafficking and violence against victims (traffickers and victims from Romania) – 2 occurrences (*Daily Star*, *Mirror*); exploitation of women and children, especially Roma (benefit fraud) – 2 occurrences (*Daily Mail*); types of crime (begging, stealing, abusive squatting) – 5 occurrences (*Express*, *Mirror*); Romania not allowed to join Schengen Space because of crime-related fears – 2 occurrences (*Daily Mail*)

Economy and society (48 occurrences):

- Push factors for Romanian migrants: poverty, low benefits, low salaries and living standards, discrimination, economic recession – 8 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Britain as the most popular destination for Romanian migrants; increase in the number of Romanian (and Eastern European) migrants – 7 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Migrants as an advantage to the British economy – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- Migrants as competition/disadvantage to the British poor and unemployed – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- British employers hire migrants because they are hard-working and compliant with bad conditions (as opposed to young Britons)/are skilled – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- British workers prefer life on benefits to work/do not have the skills required by British employers – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*)
- Work conditions for migrants are exploitative, housing is poor, and payment bad – 1 occurrence (*Express*)
- Losses incurred by the British economy due to illegal work by CEE migrants (Romanian prostitutes in Manchester, illegal ‘Capsunari’), scams to avoid paying car insurance (Romanian drivers), the migrants’ contribution to the black market of alcohol and tobacco – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*)
- Losses incurred by the British economy due to high remittances by Polish, Romanian and other Eastern European migrants: 9 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*, *Mirror*)
- Abuse of the benefits system/welfare state: loopholes (e.g. the status of ‘self-employed’) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); the burden of the unemployed on the British taxpayer (e.g. housing support/scarce housing) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*); extension of benefits to family members – 3 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*)
- Community integration: language barriers/cost of interpreters to police: 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Star*)

Politics (EU policies – 17 occurrences; policy objectives – 7 occurrences):

– EU rules on freedom of movement: act against Britain's best interests (forces Britain to facilitate the migrants' access to full benefits, prevents Britain from deporting lawbreakers, burdens tax payers) – 4 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*); other EU states are committed to reducing immigration and imposing restrictions (France) – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*); a cap on intra-EU migration is limited to seven years (transition period)/considerations of a further extension of restrictions on A2 migrants by Britain – 4 occurrences (*Daily Mail*); EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 – 8 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*)

– Home Office commitments: deportation/'removal' of 'foreign criminals' – 2 occurrences (*Daily Star*); prioritization of British workers over migrants – 1 occurrence (*Daily Mail*); protection of the British taxpayer and benefits system/reform welfare – 2 occurrences (*Express*, *Daily Star*); fighting human trafficking – 1 (*Daily Star*); respecting national and EU legislation – 1 occurrence (*Daily Star*)

The mid-market and the tabloid press themes fall largely into the same areas delineated in the quality newspapers, with a number of differences in frequency and emphasis. The involvement of Romanian migrants in crime, both fraud against the British state and international networks of traffickers, becomes one of the chief patterns of migrant identification. Aspects of integration in British communities are quasi-absent, with the exception of language barriers and the costs incurred by the police with interpreters. Significantly more stress than in the quality press is placed upon the losses to the British economy caused by illegal migrant activities, benefit frauds, and remittances to countries of origin. The theme of EU expansion and legal impositions upon the British state attains a similar degree of prominence as in the broadsheets, but is more emphatically associated with crime, exploitation of the welfare state and invasion of the British labour market.

Overall, the frequency and the distribution of themes are a first indicator that the British mainstream press remains faithful to the old agenda for the coverage of economic migrants from the CEE countries, with its focus on immigration-related policies and EU enlargement (see Fomina & Frelak, 2008; Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). It continues to adhere to the national angle, illustrated in discussions of push and pull factors, constraints on British sovereignty and threats posed by migrants to the rights of British nationals; transnational networks are most obvious in the coverage of international trafficking, but from a top-down perspective. The themes display either a conservative or a liberal slant in spite of ideological crossovers between the two perspectives in the case of immigration policies (see Section 3).

5.3. Findings from the qualitative analysis

5.3.1. Romanian migrants as social actors

The general and neutral identification of Romanians as 'migrants' or 'immigrants' in the corpus occurs in a number of contexts that specify it further, through actions or circumstances of place, endowing it with positive or, predominantly, negative characteristics: 'economic migrants who send most of their hard-earned money back to their families at home' (Graham, 2011, *Express*) or 'illegal immigrants – often from dirt-poor villages in Romania' (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). Together with Poles and other citizens of the CEE countries, Romanians are placed in the category of 'EU migrants' or 'EU nationals', which includes only the waves of migrants from A8 and A2 countries, post their accession in 2004 and 2007. Temporal identifications can also be encountered, such as 'many new migrants' (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*) or

‘newly arrived Roma migrants’ (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*), evidence that the separation between the old EU member-states and the ones that joined the EU recently is marked in discourse. A relationship of synonymy is set up in texts between the ‘newcomers’ and ‘Eastern European immigrants’, ‘EU migrants’ or ‘EU nationals’. This contributes to a paradoxical dissociation of East Europeans from Britons (or the French and the Dutch), who, when we think of it, are themselves ‘EU nationals’. This manner of representation may simply be intended to tell Romanians and Poles apart from non-EU migrants, just as ‘foreigners’ and ‘non-British nationals’ (Nicks, 2011b, *Daily Star*) describe EU and non-EU migrants put together. In this sense, it may carry no special connotations of the British detachment from the European Union or the CEE migrants. What stands out incontestably, however, is the *national frame* preserved in the mainstream press, only exceptionally contradicted by formulations like ‘fellow members of the EU’ (Govan, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*). Even a term such as ‘immigrants’ is linked with the national angle because it lays emphasis on in-flows and opens up to other classic binaries in migration studies (see Faist, 2008).

Another category of identification is based on occupation or activity (what Van Leeuwen calls ‘functionalizations’, 2008, p. 42). It appears in combination with identifications indicating nationality or ethnicity, with collectivizations, denoting groups, with aggregations, for numbers, and with metaphors that describe the action of migration. The most neutral type is ‘workers’: ‘restrictions on the number of Romanian and Bulgarian workers’ (Hall, 2011, *Express*), ‘inflows of workers’ (Govan, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*). A special interest in low-skilled jobs is manifest, presumably in accordance with public attitudes and concerns (see the Migration Observatory Report, 2011). An *Express* news story, for example, looks at agricultural workers and their contribution to the growth of the black market. Such representations are negatively connoted and correlated with poverty and crime: ‘the army of Capsunari (strawberry pickers)’, ‘the new shabby under-class of workers’, ‘the sleazy world of many migrants’ (Graham, 2011, *Express*). Many of the identifications of Romanian migrants, especially in the tabloid press, depict occupations that are either illegal or on the fringe of social acceptability, and have negative or pejorative overtones: ‘Romanian beggars’ (Alexander & Day, 2011, *Sunday Telegraph*); ‘the worst offenders’ (about Poles and Romanians) (Whitehead, 2011, *Daily Telegraph*); ‘Romanian traffickers’ (Rayment, 2011, *The Sunday Times*); ‘migrant pimp’ (Hughes, 2011a, *Daily Star*); ‘hookers from Eastern Europe’, ‘a Romanian prostitute’ (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*); ‘Fagins’ (Giannangeli, *Express*); ‘Romanian squatters’ (Dawar, 2011c, *Express*). The line between the Romanian migrants’ occupations and crime is often very thin. Many of the references to illegal activities involve Romanian Roma, generally identified by ethnicity: ‘a gang of Romanian gypsies’ (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*).

Great importance is attached to the strain immigrants put on the benefits system and the British welfare state, either by exploiting loopholes or by committing fraud. The fact that Romanian Roma sellers of the *Big Issue*, a magazine created in order to help the British homeless, use this activity to demonstrate their ‘self-employed’ status and thus gain access to benefits, is widely covered in both the quality and the popular press. A new identification emerges, that of abusers of the British social services, many representations pointing to the migrants’ schemes to extend their stay in Britain and take advantage of benefits: ‘migrant scroungers’, ‘vendors of the Big Issue’ (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*); ‘benefit tourists’ (Nicks, 2011a, *Daily Star*); ‘[posing as] holidaymakers’ (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). This class of migrants is accompanied by numerous unemployed family members, who end up living off British benefits and depriving ‘genuinely homeless’ Brits (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*) of their

right to social housing. The distinctions between 'genuine' and 'bogus' immigrants are a constant preoccupation in the British press and the classifications are not always the result of sound research.

The public worries about the competition for jobs and losses to the British economy (see Section 3) tie in with the emphasis laid by the British press on figures and increases in migration, also conveyed as natural phenomena (metaphors of flow): '100,000 migrants free to start raking in Jobseekers' allowance' (Nicks, 2011a, *Daily Star*); '[t]he number of Romanians seeking jobs in Britain has more than trebled in a year' (Dawar, 2011b, *Express*); '[d]uring 2010, 6,777 Poles and 4,343 Romanians... were convicted in the UK' (Hall, 2011, *Express*); 'a steady stream of migrant agricultural workers' (Graham, 2011, *Express*). A pattern of continuity can be traced between these representations and the aggregations abounding in the 2006 coverage of the debate on whether restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants should be introduced (Mădroane, 2009a, 2009b). This demonstrates that the same issues – competition for jobs with 'British nationals' and the links between immigration from the CEE countries and crime – remain high on the public agenda, especially in a worsening economic environment. The actions of Romanian migrants also take the form of abstractions and objectifications, in Van Leuven's terminology (2008): 'EU migrant menace', 'the growing menace of migrant crime' (Nicks, 2011b, the *Daily Star*); 'Romanian delinquency' (Allen, 2011, *Daily Mail*); 'illegal immigrant sex' (Francis, 2011, the *Daily Star*). In other words, they acquire the status of phenomena and problems that confront British society.

The identification of Romanian immigrants in the British press is dominated by categorizations that build up a distance between the British public and the newcomers from the CEE states, whether they are depicted as 'migrants', 'workers', 'fraudsters' or 'benefit tourists'. Most categories fall within areas of activity regarded as characteristic of migrants from this EU region, such as agricultural work, begging, or human trafficking and prostitution. If in the case of Poles, Fomina and Frelak (2008) show that life stories are deployed to 'construct the complex perception of Polish migrants in the UK' (p. 41), similar attempts to do so for Romanian migrants are limited in my corpus. Glimpses into the migrants' experiences are not entirely absent, but it is rather difficult to ascertain whether they are used in order to spice up abstract descriptions and statistics or to bring in fresh perspectives on the migrants' life. Nominations may be encountered on occasion: 'Romanian Marius Nejlloveanu, 23, and dad Bogdan, 51, tricked six women into leaving their native country to work in the UK' (Hughes, 2011a, the *Daily Star*). More revealing, however, are the cases where nominations introduce direct quotations containing explanations, perceptions or attitudes (the reflexive angle) towards being a migrant in Britain:

'We all knew England was an easy place to get into, whether we had an EU passport or not,' explains Niculescu who has now returned to his native country.

'The problem was we all had the same dream and most of it was lies. We all thought life would be better for us in England and for some that was true. But for most of us it was as bad as our homeland. We came thinking we'd earn good money for our families and have a better life. The truth is, the money was OK, not as much as we expected, but the life was bad.' (Graham, 2011, *Express*)

A degree of proximity to the Romanian migrants' problems and views of life in Britain is achieved with the help of (infrequent) portrayals such as the one above. They demonstrate a journalistic intent to contextualize and explain why Romanian migrants accept less than satisfactory work conditions or even resort to crime. The representations of social actors at a mi-

cro-textual level, the construction of their identities and practices support the themes and discursive patterns visible at a macro-level, to which I now turn.

5.3.2. Interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The construction of public knowledge about Romanian immigrants in the British press

In this section, I examine the discourses that stand out in the corpus analyzed and the ways in which the press draws upon them. I refer to the prevailing discursive configurations (some exceptions will also be mentioned) and to issues of framing: diversity of viewpoints, or, on the contrary, one-sided approaches; sources of knowledge; ideological biases (New Labour or Conservative); national or transnational conceptualizations of migration. As both the themes and the micro-level analysis of social actor representation are integral components of discourses, some of the principal discursive characteristics have already been foreshadowed.

Most discourses (assessment based on frequency of themes and extent) represent Romanian migrants in problematic circumstances, which, significantly, support Conservative-Liberal Democrat political means and goals in a disproportionate and even uncritical manner. The discourse on crime brings in an array of Romanian criminals against whom immediate action is required, due to their destructive impact on British society. The ensuing social types are already familiar to the public: human traffickers, benefit scroungers, pick-pockets (see the previous subsection). Romanians are the second largest group of criminals after the Poles; nonetheless, Poles come across much better than Romanians and Bulgarians (Fomina & Frellak, 2008, p.10). A related discourse takes shape around the exploitation of social benefits and the plots to bring over all the members of extensive families (in the case of the Romanian Roma), crowd British cities and sustain the black economy. This discursive formation, dominated by an attitude of 'scroungerphobia' (Golding, 1999, p. 147) has a long history in the mainstream British press, going back to the 1970s and persisting throughout the following decades in connection with the welfare state. Remittances are a thorny issue, one strategically used to demonstrate that the British economy does not benefit from migrant work as much as New Labour policies used to imply. Interestingly enough, if scholars of transnationalism look at financial remittances as a means of development and transfer of wealth or as a cog in the global neoliberal governance (Faist, 2008; Glick Schiller, 2010), the British press looks at the topic through a national lens. The money migrants send home every year (and the numbers quoted are high) is money lost to the British economy in a zero-sum game.

A compelling construal of the opposition between 'Us', Britons, and 'Them', Romanian (Polish, Latvian etc.) migrants, cuts across each of these discourses (my emphases in the examples), increasing the 'British/foreigner divide' and overlooking any benefits of the migrants' presence in British society:

'Children as young as five are being bought and sold on *our streets* for £16,000, a shocking report reveals.' (Trafficked Children, *Mirror*, 2011)

'This would mean *British taxpayers* are being forced to pay around GBP 4.5 million in unemployment benefit for migrants.' (Sisodia, 2011, *Express*)

'Benefit Boulevard – Built in Romania – with *Your Money*' (Reid, 2011, *Daily Mail*, Headline)

'The money which the immigrants send home is foreign exchange which *the rest of us* have to earn.' (Hughes, 2011b, *Daily Star*)

'European judges are expected to pass an equality ruling tomorrow that could cost *British taxpayers* almost £1 billion.' (Slack, 2011, *Daily Mail*)

The final example above recontextualizes the familiar Eurosceptic discourse, now linked with recent transformations in British politics and EU dynamics and economy. The impositions on the British sovereign state are persistently stressed, and so are the inconveniences and disadvantages of Britain's membership in the EU. European treaties make it difficult for Britain to deport hardened criminals from Eastern Europe or to place restrictions on economic migration. This discourse is all-pervasive and incorporates comparisons with other EU states that either push the boundaries of EU legislation (France, Holland) or acquire permission from the EU to introduce transitional restrictions against Romanian workers because of the recession (Spain). The examples warn against inherent problems in the status of EU member-state and implicitly suggest that Britain could follow in the footsteps of France or Holland, or, if the situation is not properly managed (the year of 2004 remains a point of reference), face the same consequences as Spain.

As mentioned above, representations are not merely descriptive and unrelated to social action. I do not engage here with the argumentative structure of the texts, but it is important to bear in mind that all such construals back up a particular worldview and set of values. In this way, they can be seen as parts of premises in arguments that, even though not always fully developed in the articles, draw conclusions in support of a vision of British society tailored according to Conservative-Liberal Democrat immigration policies (see Section 3). Instead of a multitude of positions, voices, or answers to critical questions, most of the articles in my corpus give precedence to one-sided discursive perspectives. By constructing Romanian migrants as problems for British nationals (crime, welfare, jobs) and many of their values as anti-British way of life (Circumstantial premises in Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), they legitimize courses of action that map closely unto the major goals and imaginaries of the new government, as formulated by David Cameron and Damian Green. Several articles end by pointing to the commitments undertaken by the Home Office. The newspapers themselves may engage in campaigns, such as one led by the *Daily Express*, which attempt to push political action to new frontiers ('Get Britain out of the EU!').

The sources of knowledge framing the representation of Romanian migrants and their relationship to British society are predominantly elite, institutional, expert sources, as was the case in the coverage of the 2002-2004 debate about opening the British labour market (Boswell, 2009). They range from institutions and organizations, to leading politicians and NGO representatives, to business leaders, experts, impersonal research reports, and (more rarely) investigative journalists: Manchester Crown Court, Europol, The Association of Chief Police Officers; the Romanian Central Bank, '[a] study by a Romanian jobs website' (Hughes, 2011b, *Daily Star*); a Home Office spokesman; Sir Andrew Green, Migrationwatch, MEP Nigel Farage of UK Independence Party, Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith, 'former Labour welfare minister Frank Field', 'David Frost, director-general of the British Chambers of Commerce' (Groves, 2011, *Daily Mail*); 'an undercover reporter and photographer', 'a *Daily Star Sunday* reporter' (Francis, 2011, *Daily Star*). The migrants' voices are a marginal source of knowledge and their experiences are not fully developed (see previous section). So are the voices of ordinary British citizens. Many of the sources quoted are common presences in the British press and hold views against immigration. Of the examples listed above, Migrationwatch is one of the fiercest NGO critics of pro-immigration policies (Boswell, 2009; Somerville, 2007), Frank Field supported restriction measures in 2007 (Mădroane 2009a), and the UK Independence Party is located in the populist right-wing spectrum. This rather selective worldview of Romanian migrants shows that the deliberative function of the British

print media is only partly fulfilled. Furthermore, the channelling of the readers' critical thoughts through YES/NO 'interpellation' surveys (Beciu, 2011, p. 271) enhances the national angle and reduces deliberation to a minimum: 'Should migrants get British benefits?' (Dawar, 2011a, *Express*); 'Is Britain just a soft touch for lawless migrants?' (Riches & Russell, 2011, *Express*); 'Should we kick out migrant squatters?' (Dawar 2011b, *Express*).

Finally, a few words should be said about exceptions to this clearly marked tendency in my corpus. The discourses on economic immigration, in the *Independent* (O'Grady, 2011), and community integration of the Romanian Roma in Manchester, in the *Guardian* (Leeming, 2011), paint a multifaceted and positive, even optimistic, picture of immigration from the CEE countries. The *Independent* in particular is openly supportive of Tony Blair's pro-economic migration legacy. *The Times* follows suit with 'A village divided over fruits of migrant labour' (Whipple, 2011), where the tensions and rewards of multicultural communities are coupled with a nuanced analysis of why migrants are needed for seasonal agricultural jobs and how the poor housing and bad payment deter the unemployed Britons from this labour market. The transnational concern with global neoliberal power and the social actors' coping strategies (Glick Schiller, 2010) is partially answered in this article. *The Times* also incorporates the perspectives of immigrants and ordinary British people, which make up the bulk of the text. A reverse self-other presentation can be noticed in the example below, with the positive features ascribed to the immigrants and the negative ones to British workers, even if the barriers between groups are visible:

'Paul Gimlik is rushing to the evening meeting of Marden Parish Council. "We've never had a problem with the foreigners," he says as he passes the village shop, whose owner keeps a Romanian phrase book behind the counter.

He crosses a road, the sort of English country road where every bungalow has a name, preferably painted on a porcelain plaque. The village did have some *British workers* in once, though. "They only lasted a week. They were in our houses, nicking stuff".' (Whipple, 2011, *The Times*, my emphases)

The image of community interactions does take on some darker overtones later in the text, but, importantly, the article is open to a range of views and experiences. The positive appraisals of CEE migrants in my corpus relate almost entirely to these articles. If Fomina and Frelak (2008) conclude that the construal of Poles in the British press is ambiguous, with advantages and shortcomings being brought to the fore, the negative framing of Romanian and other CEE migrants prevails in my analysis.

6. Conclusions

The research questions undergirding this study focused on the dominant themes, patterns, and discourses around Romanian migrants in the mainstream British media, in the new economic, political, and social context of post-accession (for Romania) and Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government (for Britain). I started from the premise that the media participate in the construction of a certain type of public knowledge about migrants, which is also linked with policy-making. As such, the British press is in a position to address a variety of significant issues, analyze a social event or phenomenon from multiple perspectives, quote both expert and lay sources of knowledge, and create a deliberative frame that introduces the migrants'

identities, experiences, and attitudes from a close-up angle. It can similarly blow up the foreigners/migrants – nationals classification of groups and adjust to the transnational mode of thought and methodology. The articles in my corpus, unbalanced in favour of the right-wing, anti-migration, and Eurosceptic newspapers (which demonstrates their interest in the topic) confirm a path dependency on the already established approach: migrants are construed as Others, differentiated from and even pitted against British nationals; Romanian migrants most often represent socio-political and cultural ‘problems’, as defined in the findings of experts, to be addressed by immigration, social and crime policies which maintain ‘transitional restrictions’ and manage latent crises. A few complex discussions about work conditions and community integration are present in the quality liberal papers, opening up (but to what extent?) to the far-reaching implications of mobility in the European Union. The British national press keeps in line with public attitudes of concern about immigration and the impact of EU legislation on state sovereignty. Its representations turn away from transnational dynamics and support, for the most part, Conservative and Liberal-Democrat immigration policies.

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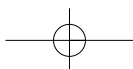
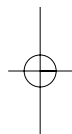
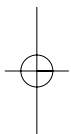
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Media Representation of Community Identity: The Romanians Working in Spain

Abstract

This paper proposes an insight into identity delineation reflected in diasporic media, within the recently born Romanian community in Spain. Our research will attempt at revealing how two print publications, *The Romanian from Spain (Românul din Spania)* and *We in Spain (Noi în Spania)*, produced and consumed by Romanian “diaspora” in Spain, stand for epitomes of stringent issues and essential identity features of a diasporic community. This article presents two approaches of quantitative and qualitative exploratory research; the former is an analysis of the semantic content of the headlines printed on front pages, while the latter is a qualitative content analysis of news frames emerging from dominant topics and themes apparent in the two publications. The two publications support the institutional project of “diasporization” to different extents; they are constructing the image of a “coherent” and engaging Romanian diasporic entity and enhance its group consciousness. Nevertheless, they rather reproduce a schematical, idealized diasporic experience than take into account the diversity of migrants’ identity positioning.

Key words: diaspora, migrants, diasporic media, frame, identity

Rezumat

Articolul de față propune analiza configurării identității comunității românești recent constituite în Spania, ca proces reflectat în media diasporică. Cercetarea evidențiază modul în care două publicații tipărite, *Românul din Spania* și *Noi în Spania*, produse și consumate de „diaspora” românească din Spania, reproduc anumite caracteristici identitare ale unei comunități diasporice. Sunt prezentate două abordări ale unei cercetări exploratorii cantitative și calitative; prima constă în analiza conținutului semantic al titlurilor de pe prima pagină, iar cea de a doua este o analiză calitativă de conținut a cadrajelor știrilor care se conturează din subiectele și temele prezente în cele două publicații. Cele două publicații menționate susțin proiectul instituțional al „diasporizării”, construind imaginea unei entități diasporice „coerente”, prin anumite caracteristici (angajament, conștiință de grup etc.). Totuși, experiența diasporică este prezentată într-o formă schematică, idealizată, fără a releva întotdeauna diversitatea practicilor identitare și poziționărilor asumate de migranți.

Cuvinte-cheie: diasporă, migranți, media diasporică, cadraj, identitate

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1. Introduction

This paper proposes an insight into identity delineation as reflected in diasporic media, within the recently born Romanian community in Spain. We have chosen identity analysis of this diasporic community for numerical and socio-cultural reasons. The statistics supplied by Romania's Embassy in Madrid (<http://madrid.mae.ro/>) show that, "at present, the displaced Romanians form the largest foreign community in Spain. According to available data, the number of the Romanians enrolled in the registry of community citizens is approximately of 900,000 people". These high numbers are explained by "geographic and linguistic accessibility" (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 141) which makes Spain one of the destinations preferred by the Romanians.

The Embassy website specifies that Romanian community is "strong, well integrated into Spanish environment" and "plays a significant role in the development of bilateral relations, being an important contributor to both Spanish and Romanian economies".

Concerning the main economic fields in which the Romanians are employed in Spain, the data provided by the National Institute of Statistics of Spain (INE) about the distribution of foreign workers, in March 2012, indicate the following hierarchy: services (153,035 persons), agriculture (78,510), independent entrepreneurs in building, restaurants, services, etc. (23,380), domestic activities (18,084) and others.

On Romania's Embassy website, there is some relevant information about Romanian community organizations. Thus, "[i]n recent years, more than 150 Romanian associations have been constituted in Spain, whose declared objective is to facilitate the Romanians' integration into Spanish society and preservation of Romanian linguistic and cultural identity". To this very end, Romanian language media have been produced in Spain, consisting in ten publications (some of them exclusively online, others, in both print and electronic versions) that offer additional electronic spaces for online communities, facebook, twitter, etc., as well as in five radio stations.

On the other hand, we have to mention the reason for choosing print media in our scientific endeavour. Print media analysis is all the more necessary as there is a gap to be filled in this research field, in the sense that most studies have so far emphasized the virtues of new media, their intimacy, interactivity and immediate reaction that boost interpersonal relationships, both at local and global levels. In exchange, there is little literature about representation of values and life experience in traditional diasporic media that have a more local than global impact.

Consequently, our research will attempt at revealing how two print publications, *The Romanian from Spain (Românul din Spania)* and *We in Spain (Noi în Spania)*, produced and consumed by Romanian "diaspora" in Spain, stand for epitomes of stringent issues and essential identity features of a numerous community. The choice of the corpus was dictated by the fact that these publications echo both community and institutional views. Moreover, *The Romanian from Spain* self-declares press market supremacy as "the most read publication of the Romanians in Spain" (according to www.romanul.eu). The selected issues cover the period between May, 10 and June, 27, 2012, corresponding to a critical situation for the host country, during which the right-wing Spanish government, led by Mariano Rajoy, was determined by the European Union and by world finance institutions to take the toughest steps of economic austerity, with severe consequences on working people's employment, a fundamental problem in Romanian community everyday life.

This article presents two approaches of quantitative and qualitative exploratory research; the former is an analysis of the semantic content of the headlines printed on front pages, while the latter is a qualitative content analysis of news frames emerging from dominant topics and themes apparent in the two publications.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Diaspora versus ethnic migrant workers – identity features

With Georgiou (2005, p. 483), the phenomenon of diaspora refers to minorities in nation-states that “have some connection (imagined or real) and share a sense of belonging within a larger community spreading beyond national boundaries (the diasporic element)”.

The concept [of diaspora] now encompasses very different realities and types of community organization (Macri, 2010, Introduction), if it is compared to traditional diaspora referring to Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion (Macri, 2010, Introduction). According to specialized literature, there is a “critical edge of the concept” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 52) of diaspora, a “general and eclectic term” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 33), since its meaning is no longer restricted to historically displaced groups that settled outside the borders of their national states. That is to say “‘ethnicity’ and ‘mobility’ or ‘displacement’ [are not] sufficient parameters” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 52) to define present day diasporic phenomena. There is a need of finding how these parameters have evolved with communities originated in the recent search for jobs that has pushed migrant workers to leave their East European countries, at the beginning of the 1990s and to settle in diasporic groups, in Western Europe. The displacement of a large number of mainly young people was possible in the context in which Eastern European states citizens won the legitimate right to circulate, live and work beyond national boundaries. This transnational movement has become a socially significant phenomenon after some former communist states, Romania included, joined the European Union, in 2004 and 2007, respectively. These new European citizens acquired the right to work legally, in destination countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany, France or Great Britain. Involving millions of people, this phenomenon has led to changes in the ethnic structures of the above-mentioned countries.

As Trandafoiu (2006, p. 132) explains, these displaced groups (of Romanians) “have been called transnational communities, returning seasonal labourers, migrant workers, temporary diasporas and over-stayers” and there is not only the name that indicates that “this is another type of diaspora – albeit differently constituted, exhibiting different patterns and claiming new needs” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 131). Unlike traditional diasporas, new “diasporic groups still maintain a strong link with their home and continue to contribute culturally and financially” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 132). These are diasporas in the making (Iordanova, quoted in Georgiou, 2002, p. 6).

Closer to our research interests, we have to mention that Marcu (2011) did some deep-going research on recent Romanian migration to Spain, outlining one of its important characteristics, the so-called “circular labour migration [...] (that) has functioned between Romania and Spain since 2002” (Marcu, 2011, p. 3). The authoress explains “that the economic crisis, as reflected in the lives of immigrants, has greatly affected their decision making” concerning “return migration”. In 2010, the rate of unemployment among immigrants to Spain reached 45%, according to Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración de España (Marcu, 2011, p. 4).

2.2. Diasporic media and community identity

According to Tsagarousianou (2004, pp. 62-63), “‘diasporic media’ is a term that refers to a considerable and highly diverse array of organizations, practices and settings where diasporic narratives are constructed. It is also beyond question that these differ considerably in terms of their degree of institutionalization, durability and accessibility as well as their popularity, and as to the degree of their involvement in the reproduction of official or plebeian/demotic discourses”.

Addressing “particular ethnic, linguistic and/or religious groups that live within broader and diverse multicultural societies” (Georgiou, 2005, pp. 482-483), “the media provide frameworks for identity and community [...] significantly available as components of the collective imaginary and resources for collective agency” (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005, p. 434).

Moreover, “diasporic media [...] can provide a sense of contemporaneity and synchronicity to the dispersed populations that make up a diaspora and to their everyday lives” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 64), through the narratives provided by the media that help them hold up together. Silverstone and Georgiou (2005, p. 434) agree that “[t]he media, both large and small, private and public, are absolutely crucial to the management of everyday life”. As Dayan (1999, p. 434) specifies, the reason for which the displaced produce diasporic media “[is] to express and reflect their daily lives as minorities”.

It is the sharing of these stories that contributes to the “construction of common experiential frames” (Dayan, 1999, p. 434), which, in their turn, foster integration into and identification with a social group. Through a dynamic exchange of information and life experience, community identity is continually constructed and reshaped. Besides referring to communication networks developed within a diasporic community, due to diasporic media, Tsagarousianou’s (2004, p. 62) concept of “connectivity” also “focuses on the dynamics of interaction between migrant groups and societies of settlement as well as erstwhile homelands”. The extent to which the narratives of the members’ everyday life, published, broadcast or posted in diasporic media, are consumed by community audiences as local, particular or universal stories (Georgiou, 2005) is a matter of analytical approach.

Another valuable idea about diasporic media is that they reflect differences of orientation experienced by heterogeneous communities producing them, and changes that inform group identity with every new generation of migrants. This important consideration is clearly expressed by Dayan (1999, p. 435): “minority media production and consumption change across the generations, as the experiences of migration and settlement themselves change over time and require consequently different orientations”.

Dayan (1999, p. 438) equally considers that “the media are crucial both at an individual as well as at a collective level as a means of self-expression and claims for status”.

3. Analytical framework

3.1. Publication headlines on the front page

We rely on specialized literature in the field of print press and start by citing Özer and Paksoy’s (2007, p. 711) consideration that: “When all the headlines are evaluated together, it is possible to claim that they reflect the main idea of the text”, assimilating newspapers as a whole to coherent macro-texts.

According to van Dijk (1991, p. 115), headlines stand for one conventional category, besides leads, main events and context, whose function is to articulate “text relevance structure”. Radu (2006, p.75) specifies that the combination of these categories results in a propitious zone for the manifestation of the journalist’s originality. Within text relevance structure, “[a]s every newspaper reader knows, [headlines] are the most conspicuous part of a news report: they are brief, printed ‘on top’, in large bold type, and often across several columns. Their main function is to summarize the most important information of the report. That is, they express its main ‘topic’” (van Dijk, 1991b, p. 49).

In addition to that, we rely on the fact that “the category of Headline in a news discourse has a fixed form and position [scheme] in news items in the press” (van Dijk, 1985, p. 69). Corroborating “theme” and “scheme”, we attempt at applying the author’s “theory of semantic microstructures” through front page “thematic and schematic structures” that involve the headlines in our corpus.

In terms of “schematic structure”, we also assume that the placement of a headline on a publication front page guarantees relevance of the theme under the headline. Headline placement is an important editorial decision, a process of subjective selection that will influence the characteristics of that media publication representation of a phenomenon or event, or group identity. Together with headline size, article length and inside position, front page position represents a salient cue about thematic significance. Concerning headline size and position on front pages, mention should be made that in visual perception theories, besides font size (bigger characters are first perceived), there have been experiments proving that, in languages where writing develops from left to right, the elements on the left side of a page are more prominent than others.

3.2. Media frames

Using a “framing” approach at textual levels (“media frames”), in keeping with the conceptual model of the “applicability” effect provided by Scheufele (1999), Scheufele and Scheufele (2009), Scheufele and Iyengar (2012), we aim at explaining how the two publications under research make visible Romanian community inclusion and participation in the life of the host society. The “applicability” model assumes that “the mode of presentation of a given piece of information (i.e., frame) makes it more or less likely for that information to be processed using a particular schema” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 13). There is an interaction effect between a framed message and the mental schemata of receivers within meaning construction.

Price, Tewksbury and Powers (quoted in Scheufele, 1999, p. 113) analysed the influence of certain characteristics of media coverage on the “knowledge activation process, in particular, effects of news frames on the applicability of ideas and feelings”. Empirical research by Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997, p. 569) showed that the “applicability” of frames (appropriateness evaluation by individuals) is likely to increase their “relevance” to the judgement process: “frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame”.

Existing research on applicability effects supports the perspective that media frames are more operative in terms of audience frames when “[they] resonate with an underlying, culturally shared audience schema” (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2009, p. 114). There are obvious

individual differences based on “people’s value systems, predispositions, and pre-existing knowledge levels” (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2009, p. 114).

Following Scheufele and Scheufele (2009), we postulate that some frames can be more “applicable” than others to the recipients’ cognitive schemata.

A frame “connects different semantic elements of the story (e.g., descriptions of an action or an actor, quotes of sources, and background information) into a coherent whole” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59). It has a structuring function directing attention as well as restricting the perspectives available to audiences (Hall, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59). “Similar to a wooden frame around an oil painting, any given news frame will draw attention to certain *objects* and *relations* while downplaying others” (Scheufele and Scheufele, 2009, p. 128).

Pan and Kosicki (1993, p. 59) classified framing devices in news discourse (i.e., the tools that “make a frame communicable” being conceptualized “into concrete elements of a discourse”) into four categories: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. The syntactical structure of news refers, on the one hand, to “macrosyntax” (in van Dijk’s view, 1988, p. 26), conveying salience through “sequential organisation of structural elements (i.e., headlines, leads, episodes, background and closure)” and also to writing conventions related to impartiality and facticity by quoting sources of authority. The characteristics of news script structure consist in describing newsworthy events and storytelling (including characters, human emotions, etc.). The thematic structure of a news story is “a multilayer hierarchy with a theme being the central core connecting various subthemes as the major nodes that, in turn, are connected to supporting elements” such as episodes, background information, examples and quotes (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61). Concerning rhetorical structure, it refers to “the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61). The frame “is constructed through comprehending and interpreting the structural relations and functions of the various signifying elements” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 63).

In this study, we focalize on collating all four structural dimensions of news discourse (i.e., structural and lexical features of news stories) in the analysis of signifying elements for frame construction, that could “set up parameters of a cognitive ‘window’ through which a news story is ‘seen’” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59).

4. Corpus and Methodology

4.1. Research corpus

Our research focuses on 31 front-page headlines of the two free of charge print publications devoted to Romanian diaspora in Spain, namely *The Romanian from Spain* (*Românul din Spania*) and *We in Spain* (*Noi în Spania*). We selected nine issues published in the period May, 10 – June, 27, 2012.

The Romanian from Spain is a by-monthly publication, both in print and online versions. Print versions contain 24 pages per issue. The first issue under research is no. 72, which concerns the lapse of time in May, 10-23, and is divided into the following sections: “Contact” (information about the institutions of the Romanian State in Spain, such as Consulates, documents for the immigrants, etc), “Current news”, “News from Romania”, “Spain”, “Advertising”, “Announcements and Services”, “Sports”, “Spanish version”.

In issue 73, covering the events of the period May, 24 – June, 6, there is a slightly different division of sections: the numbers of pages devoted to “Contact”, “Current news”, “Announcements and Services”, “Sports and Advertising” are maintained, while the other sections are one page longer or shorter than in issue 72. There is also a different section entitled “Useful information”. Issue 74, covering the newsworthy events within the June, 7-20 period, follows almost the same section pattern as issue 72, except for the absence of “Spain” section.

We in Spain is a weekly publication, both in print and online versions. Print versions contain 16 pages per issue. The 6 issues (317, 318, 319, 320, 321 and 322) under research cover the events that occurred between May, 17 and June, 27, 2012. Consequently, the issues of both publications refer, approximately, to the same time interval. Issue 317 sections bear the following titles: “Letters+” (1 page), “Useful information” (2 pages), “Madrid Community” (1 page), “In Spain” (1 page), “Advertising” (2 pages), “Current news” (1 page), “My business” (1 page), “In Romania” (1 page), “Sports” (1 page), “Health” (1 page), “Femina club” (1 page), “Announcements” (1 page), “Spanish version” (1 page). There is a slight variation of section pattern in issue 318: “Madrid Community” and “My business” are not included, while, besides common sections to issues 317 and 318, there are other sections, such as “In Romania”, a 4-page supplement entitled “A Project for a New Beginning (Productive return to Romania)” and a “Free time” section (1 page).

Issue 319 section pattern is almost the same as that of issue 317, except for a special section: “Opinion poll” (1 page). As to issue 320, its special section is entitled “My business” (1 page), like in issue 317. In issue 321, the special section is entitled “Romanians from Spain” (1 page), while in issue 322, two other sections reappear, namely “Madrid community” (1 page) and “My business” (1 page).

In terms of front page “formal structure” (Marinescu, 2010), there are layout similarities between the two publications. The most salient article of each issue is to be found on the left side of the page, under the very title of the newspaper, while other headlines are placed on the right side, in *The Romanian from Spain*, and both on the right side and the down left side of the page, in the case of *We in Spain*.

It is worth mentioning that *The Romanian from Spain* front page includes a second important headline, placed to the right of the newspaper title.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1. Quantitative and qualitative analyses

We devised an analytical instrument, a three-criterion grid, for the quantitative analysis. Some criteria were inspired by van Dijk’s (1983) and Deacon and Golding’s (1999, p. 174-183) indices of significance/relevance of text information contained by the headlines.

The first quantitative step consisted in building a hierarchy of front page headlines. To this end, we assigned points to the headlines, in keeping with the following criteria:

- 1) front page visibility, substantiated by sizes of print characters and positions as against other headlines in the economy of the page, was measured through points from 3 to 1, with a bonus of 1 point for signed articles¹;
- 2) inclusion of article texts in special or permanent sections, as unique articles within sections or alongside other articles (from 3 to 0.5 points)²;
- 3) the length of the article is compared to the length of other articles on the inside page where it is placed³. We calculated the sums of these points for each headline, in order to in-

for the articles comparative “shares”. In the calculations under 2) and 3), there were slighter levels of relevance differentiation between 3 or 4 article pages or page sections. That is why, for 4 or more items, we assigned only 0.5 points.

We calculated the sums of these points for each headline, in order to infer the comparative “shares” of the articles whose headlines were printed on the front pages.

The second step supposed summing up the points (resulted from step 1) of thematically related headlines. It implied grouping headlines along thematic areas, trying to reduce thematic diversity to a few comprehensive main themes.

A qualitative “framing” analysis was also completed, focusing on how the two publications participate in and represent the process of “diasporisation”, as Georgiou (2002) termed it, in its dual aspects: the thread of continuity in ethnicity and group identity, and a re-identification through status changing in the host society.

In terms of a “macroconstruct” and of the “applicability” effect (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), the analyzed publications address two main characteristics (“frame elements”) that are likely to influence readers’ interpretation of two topics: individual interest and group identification.

The sample consists of all the articles in the two publications (33 in total) that relate to the themes of community “inclusion” and “participation” in the diasporic context in which they live and evolve. Relying on a small sample, we identified some frames using an inductive approach that supposed investigating “choices about language, quotations, and relevant information” (Shah & al., 2002, quoted in de Vreese, 2005, p. 54), that is to say examining elements of syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structures.

In terms of syntactical structure, the frames that we found derive (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54) from both headlines and news text (i.e., lead paragraphs, authoritative sources, quotes). “A headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers’ minds; it is thus the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure. A lead is the next most important device to use. A good lead will give a story a newsworthy angle, suggesting a particular perspective to view the event reported” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, pp. 59-60). Significant devices in each of the other three structures used in the sampled articles (e.g., story grammar, vivid image, concrete case, stylistic choices, exemplars, etc.) were also interpreted as quite effective means for substantiating the frames.

Coded variables were topics, themes, meaningful sentences, and sources quoted in direct speech or paraphrased.

4.2.2. Results and discussion

The first sums obtained after step one range from 2 to 10 points; the two-point headline is published in *The Romanian from Spain*, while the ten-point one appears in *We in Spain*. Likewise, we noticed that the discrepancies between the largest and the smallest sums are slighter in the first publication (2 to 7) than in the second (4 to 10).

Step 2 calculations resulted in the following major thematic areas. Thus, in the *The Romanian from Spain*, there are two dominant themes:

- Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish administrative system practices affecting Romanian community (22.5 cumulative points)
- Economic crisis, unemployment, job opportunities (20.0 points)

At this point, we have to mention the difficulty (and the approximation) of thematic categorizations of headlines in the two publications making up our corpus, as far as some head-

lines may be thematically interpreted in various ways. For instance, the headline “Spain wants to stimulate the Romanians to go back home” (implying material incentives) was thematically grouped alongside other headlines that mention governmental measures and policies concerning the migrants, but it also has economic implications (second thematic area) that are in favour of the Romanians’ return to their homeland.

As to the main thematic areas contained by front page headlines in *We in Spain*, the hierarchy is the following:

- Successful Romanians (materially and culturally integrated) in Spain (49 points)
- Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish system practices affecting Romanian community (35.5 points)
- Economic crisis, unemployment, job opportunities (26.5 points)

The thematic area of legislation is on the first place in *The Romanian from Spain* and on the second place in *We in Spain*, which implies that both publications give a central place to information of this kind. In the latter, the sum total of the points is even higher than in the former.

Concerning the economic crisis, the second dominant area, there is a clearer distinction in *We in Spain* between economic problems (9 points) and job opportunities (17.5 points). This positive/negative distinction (economic difficulties vs. possible solutions) led to the application of a third measurement: summing up the headline points obtained in step one after regrouping the headlines in keeping with the idea of encouragement given by each publication to this community, in terms of staying or not staying in Spain, at the peak of the economic crisis.

The results of the last measurements are the following:

- *The Romanian from Spain* gives reasons (through headline significance) to the Romanians to leave Spain and to come back to Romania (31 points accumulated by articles in favour of their coming back, as against 6.5 points accumulated by headlines suggesting that the Romanians should remain in Spain)
- *We in Spain* headlines/articles recommend that the Romanians should remain in Spain (62 points in favour of staying as against 38.5, in favour of leaving)

There is a quantitatively demonstrated difference between the approaches of the economic crisis by the two publications: *The Romanian from Spain* insists on/reflects a trend of re-orientation (new movement), at a score of 31 to 6.5 points, while *We in Spain* reflects/constructs a more optimistic perspective on staying in Spain and struggling for community strengthening: 62 vs. 38.5 (see *supra*).

When comparing the media coverage of the selected themes of “community inclusion” and “participation” in the diasporic context, no significant differences appear between the two publications in the way each frames these topics.

Found at the intersection between the individual and the communal, the 27 topics listed under these themes (6 of which being common to articles in both publications) and included in the sections of “Current news”, “Letters+”, “Useful information”, “My business”, “Testimony”, “Romanians from Spain”, “Opinion poll”, and “Spain”, build the image of an active community that generally manages to adapt to the host society, maintains its roots and cultivates convergence values and associative practices. The identified categories of sources were: Romanian officials in Spain (Romanian Embassy, Romanian Ambassador), Spanish authorities (Presidents of autonomous regions, Vice-counsellor on immigration of the Government of Madrid Community), guests from Romania taking part in cultural events (artists, philatelists), Romanians belonging to their Community in Spain (a politician, a writer, a parish priest,

a nurse, a transportation worker, a construction worker, a female caregiver, a restaurant owner, a shop owner, a house cleaning maid, a businessman), and associations (through press releases). The sources' opinions about the selected themes were mapped from both personal and community perspectives.

Analyzing the above-mentioned variables (topics, themes, meaningful sentences, and sources quoted or paraphrased) through the four structural dimensions of news discourse (i.e., structural and lexical features of the news stories), we identified five frames that we labelled "cultural empowerment", "associative commitment", "political involvement", "ethnic identity revival" and "personal achievement".

One frame (e.g., "associative commitment") is to be found in several topics, and conversely, several frames (e.g., "cultural empowerment" and "associative commitment") may shape the same topic.

"Cultural empowerment" is the dominant frame located in 18 articles selected in the sample (6 in *The Romanian from Spain* and 12 in *We in Spain*). The most powerful framing devices used by the two publications, in this case, stem from the thematic and rhetorical structures. The theme and subthemes of Romanian community "positive participation" and "visibility" in cultural events, derived from meaningful sentences and sources quotations, underline the journalists' view that community cultural production is likely to empower its members while bridging its cohesion and its interaction with the host society. The sense of belonging to a diasporic community is growing with participation in cultural events, religious ceremonies, cross-cultural meetings, etc.

*Several Romanian writers and artists founded the 'Lucian Blaga' Union on Saturday, May 26. "The event that took place in the town of Camarma de Esteruelas, Madrid Community, was attended by Romanian writers and artists from provinces of this country where we all live and work", states a press release. ("The Union of Romanian artists and writers 'Lucian Blaga' has just been created", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news)*

Awareness of community identity is strengthened by numerous community groups and associations (based on national identification – "associations of Romanians") and their cultural, economic and civic projects. The two publications have a special focus on the associations that mobilize members to organize various events. Enumeration of a variety of associations appears in the lead of most articles. The "associative commitment" frame underpins the previous dominant topic.

*On the occasion of Children's Day, on June 1, the Association of Romanian Women from Europe (AMARÉ), the Romanian House in Getafe, the Association of Romanians from Mostoles, the IBERDACIA Association, the ROINTEGRA Association, the Association of Romanians from Villanueva de la Cañada and the Association for Violence Prevention and Assistance (APAV), in collaboration with the City Hall of Getafe, are organizing a great concert... In the opening, Romanian children will give a performance of poetry, music and folk dance. ("Children's Day Concert at Getafe", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 73, p. 9, Spain)*

Through their syntactical structure (i.e., headline, lead, background and closure, providing newsworthiness), the articles in both publications highlight the role of the community professional associations "in promoting an image of unity and cohesion of Romanian com-

munity in relation to Spanish authorities” (“The Ambassador of Romania met with Romanian associations”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news). The good image of an active involvement of the associative sector, outlined by the publications citing authoritative sources, is likely to generate political capital for Romanian community in relation to Spanish authorities.

*The representative of Madrid Community assured Romanian community representatives of the appreciation and support of the regional government of Madrid, and of the importance given by Spanish authorities to Romanian citizens, the largest foreign community in Spain, that they consider a priority to define regional integration policies. He also appreciated the importance of the pragmatic dialogue between the associative sector and Madrid Community and expressed interest in direct interaction and organization of joint actions that provide visibility to Romanian community in Spain. (“New meeting of the Embassy-Associations Dialogue Group; main topic, the impact of legislative reforms in Spain on the Romanians”, in *We in Spain*, no 319, p. 8, Current news)*

The “political involvement” frame, substantiated at the level of the syntactical and thematic structures of the articles, focuses on political activities motivated by the community interests of representation. Liberal politicians are mentioned to act more publicly.

*So far, 20 Liberal Clubs have been created in Spain in several regions: Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, Corredor de Henares, Roquetas de Mar, Bilbao, La Coruña, Lorca, Reus, Benidorm, Getafe, Valdemoro, Parla, Quintanar de la Orden, Coslada, Valencia, Arganda del Rey, Alcalá de Henares, Alcorcón. “Liberal clubs in Spain are intended to be a communication platform open to everybody who supports liberalism, liberal principles...”. (“Liberals have set up 20 affiliated sections of the National Liberal Party in Spain”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news).*

The quoted source speaks about fostering political participation, promoting a more politically aware Romanian representation:

*“I think it’s time to change something at the political level too, to have a real political representation made up by capable and knowledgeable people as to specific issues that face the Romanians abroad”... says Gelu Vlaşin, a Romanian writer living in Spain, coordinator of Liberal Clubs (“Liberals have set up 20 affiliated sections of the National Liberal Party in Spain”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news).*

The two publications focalize on the Romanians’ cultural heritage, values and traditions, meaning to “update” the social imaginary of a community that maintains its roots. In doing so, they stress an “ethnic identity revival” frame, conveyed by significant elements in terms of syntactical, thematic and rhetorical structures.

*The Federation of the Associations of Romanian immigrants from Spain (FEDROM) opens... the ‘Lucian Blaga’ Romanian library (...), designed as a means to improve mutual knowledge of Romanian and Spanish cultures and, above all, to maintain the Romanian language and literature identity matrix, with its configuration of cultural values. (“Romanian Library at the FEDROM”, in *We in Spain*, no 322, p. 2, Letters+).*

Community ethnic behaviour involves the use of ethnic symbols, practices (e.g. building community orthodox churches, favouring ethnic food stores and food consumption strategies, etc).

*The Union of Romanian workers from Spain started a campaign in June and July, to support Romanian retailers and to stimulate the consumption of Romanian products. ("Campaign to increase Romanian products consumption", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 4, Current news)*

These publications also emphasize events that respond to current cultural community needs of the second generation born in the host country (for which expressing ethnic identity – new ethnicity (Hall, 1991) – must be made more explicit).

*64 Romanian children, most of which are pupils attending the Romanian language, culture and civilization course in schools in Arganda del Rey, gathered in the city, accompanied by parents, grandparents or friends from Romanian community. (...) These pupils living away from homeland participated in the "Knowing Romania" contest, showing off their agile wits, their knowledge and love for Romanian history, geography, literature and traditions. ("Romanian culture and Children's Day in Arganda del Rey", in *We in Spain*, no 321, p. 2, Letters+)*

Likewise, both publications outline the endeavours of Romania's Embassy in Madrid "to increase Romanian community wish to involve its members in the efforts made by Romanian authorities in order to preserve national identity with the children of Romanian citizens in Spain" ("Finals of the 'Knowing Romania' Contest", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 3, Current news).

The "personal achievement" frame is used only by the weekly *We in Spain*. It is a particularizing frame, stemming from the Romanians' diasporic experiential stories. A script structure of the articles that present an individual case and emotional narratives is expected to influence readers' beliefs. Economic and social projects make up an essential part of community identity. Individual achievements in this respect are inspiring.

The script depicts a type of pattern route to achievement: the sources (ordinary people in most cases) talk about how protagonists started from very low, with little money, but overcame obstacles and frustrations through hard work and sacrifices, with creative ideas.

*"Besides a few personal belongings in the suitcase I had a blanket and a pillow. Seven nights I slept on a bench in a park in Villaverde Alto. I love the tree, the bank, the alley where I slept those nights... It's a memory of mine, I couldn't forget it", she confesses. ("I respect and love myself", in *We in Spain*, no 321, p. 8, Romanians from Spain).*

*"I have worked side by side with my employees, and now I dominate precast market in Spain" (...) I don't stop running. I worked on the building sites of the Universities of Seville, Elche, Vigo. I worked in Ibiza, Tenerife. I usually go where there is work to do". ("We who have worked abroad will raise Romania", in *We in Spain*, no 318, p. IV, Testimony)*

The framing devices that appear in all discourse structures aggregate the stories through headlines, leads, background, characters, quotes, exemplars, metaphors, emotions, etc. The subtheme of social interaction in the diasporic context emerges from all stories: developing relationships at the workplace or at a private, personal or family level triggers faster integration into the host society.

“We have had customers, both Romanian and Spanish, since 2008. They come only to us when they prepare a new fishing party”, says *Cristina*. (“We have customers who come only to us when preparing a new fishing party”, in *We in Spain*, no 322, p. 9, My business)

He's been living in Spain for six years. “Here I met my wife. When you raise a family here and have a personal life, you will go on”, said the young man, born in Bucharest. (“How are our compatriots?”, in *We in Spain*, no 319, p. 9, Opinion poll – Lucian Ionescu)

Through articulating the frames of “associative commitment”, “political involvement” and “personal achievement”, both publications contribute to a re-identification of the studied community owing to members’ status changing in the host society, based on mediated common positive experiences and practices of the “included”.

The “ethnic identity revival” frame is used to sustain and strengthen ethnic identification of this diasporic community, in terms of a “retold, rediscovered, reinvented” identity (Hall, 1991, p. 58). The frame of “cultural empowerment” supports “group consciousness”, seeking “visibility in public space” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 10) through “engagement” in cultural activities.

5. Conclusions

As it was demonstrated in the headline quantitative analysis, in their issues published between May, 10 and June, 27, 2012, the diasporic publications *The Romanian from Spain* and *We in Spain* submitted to public debate partially different outlooks on the community of the Romanians working in Spain. The difference consists in distinct interpretations of the economic crisis effects. Concerning variation of editorial approaches in diasporic media, Dayan (1991, p. 93) explains that “there are numberless ways of conveying the necessary knowledge for the construction of a community”.

As far as the major themes in the corpus headlines are concerned, in *The Romanian from Spain*, most headlines referred to the comprehensive thematic area that we entitled “Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish system practices affecting Romanian community”. This reflects the interest of a large category of Romanian people in official provisions that were specially designed for them. This publication fulfils its mission of informing its readership about these aspects, all the more so as legislative changes are frequent in times of crisis.

In *We in Spain*, the theme of legal provisions was on the second place, because the publication focused on “Successful Romanians (materially and culturally integrated) in Spain”. This kind of information is useful and motivating for the Romanians who are trying to open their own business.

A third major thematic area that we found in the headlines of both publications was the present day economic crisis. It was differently represented in *The Romanian from Spain* and in *We in Spain*: while in the former the emphasis is placed on unemployment, as the crisis consequence affecting mainly foreign workers, in the latter, we found more headline information on job opportunities. *The Romanian from Spain* pessimistic outlook on the economic situation (present in most headlines on this theme) shows that this publication presents to the unemployed Romanians in Spain the alternative of going back to Romania. That would correspond to Morokvasik-Müller’s idea of reactivation of human mobility during crises

(quoted in Marcu, 2011). It is not the case of *We in Spain* which conveys a more optimistic message to the largest category of Romanians in Spain, the workers that have kept their jobs, being better adjusted to the economic environment.

The framing of the themes of “community inclusion” and “participation” in the life of the host society, produced by the two publications, encourages readers to identify with an active civic community, appreciated by Spanish authorities, an evolving community that endeavours to strengthen its cohesion and its ethnic roots while striving to integrate into the host society. These publications underline the work of promoting community cultural identity and sociability in the diasporic environment, performed by numerous associations (secular and sacred), as well as by consular and embassy officials.

The readers of the weekly *We in Spain* learn about their compatriots’ life and work stories framed as successful experiences. The script of the stories, consistent with the “personal achievement” frame, draws attention on “action, characters, and human emotions” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 60). Experiential stories show hardworking persons, making sacrifices to succeed in life, using initiative and entrepreneurial skills to overcome obstacles. Concerning the stories thematic structure, (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61) consider that “very often, to appeal to human interest and to increase psychological proximity to the audiences, journalists start a story with a vivid image or a concrete case and gradually lead to a point that logically functions like an empirical generalization”. This frame produces emotional arousal (Graber, 2007) and positive affect, likely to make the frame “relevant”, “strong” (emphasizing available considerations), therefore more “applicable” to the recipients’ schemata (“perception of its relevance” according to Nelson & al., 1997). Another frame that implies increased applicability effects on readers’ schemata is “ethnic identity revival”. Readers are supposed to identify with this frame due to activated memories (availability for retrieval) grounded in their home country. The other three frames are less applicable (according to research on value models approached through framing effects, e.g., Nelson & Oxley, 1999), except that there is a strong personal motivation for readers to engage in applicability evaluations.

The two publications support the institutional project of “diasporization” to different extents; they are constructing the image of a coherent and engaging Romanian diasporic entity and enhance its group consciousness. Nevertheless, they rather reproduce a schematic, idealized diasporic experience than take into account the diversity of migrants’ identity positioning.

Notes

¹ 3 points = large-sized letters + left side position on the front page, under the publication title; 2 points = medium-sized letters + right side position on the front page; 1 point = small-sized letters + bottom of the page.

² 3 points = unique article of a section; 2 points = one of the two articles of a section; 1 point = one of the three articles of a section; 0.5 points = one of four or more articles of a section.

³ 3 points = unique article on the inside page; 2 points = one of the two articles on the inside page; 1 point = one of the three articles on the inside page; 0.5 points = one of four or more articles on the inside page.

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Irina Gabriela PLETEA*

Les visages de la migration roumaine récente dans la presse du pays d'origine et des pays de destination

Résumé

Cet article analyse la représentation de la migration roumaine récente dans la presse du pays d'origine et des pays de destination. La représentation médiatique de la migration roumaine récente s'appuie sur un traitement stéréotypé, comparable à la représentation d'autres flux migratoires. Les quotidiens, qu'il s'agisse des pays de destination ou du pays d'origine, généralistes ou tabloïds, se comportent généralement de façon semblable dans la sélection des éléments de la migration, par leur préférence pour le traitement médiatique de ce phénomène social à travers diverses formes d'infractions. Cette représentation des migrants roumains intervient comme une constante dans le traitement médiatique de ce phénomène social tout en relevant des pratiques partagées socialement par les journalistes.

Mots-clés: migration roumaine, représentation médiatique, analyse de contenu

Abstract

This article analyses the representation of recent Romanian migration in the press from sending and receiving countries. The article shows that recent Romanian migration is discussed stereotypically by the media, quite similarly to representations of other migration flows. Generalist press or tabloids in the sending and receiving countries institute similar representations of migration through reference to various criminal offences. The constant preference for such reductionist representations reveals the socially instituted practices of journalists.

Key words: Romanian migration, media representation, content analysis

Rezumat

Acest articol analizează reprezentarea migrației românești recente în presa țării de origine și a țărilor de destinație. Articolul demonstrează că migrația românească recentă este tratată stereotip de către media, comparabil cu reprezentarea altor fluxuri migratorii. Cotidienele, din țările de destinație sau din țara de origine, fie că sunt generaliste sau tabloide, instituie reprezentări similare ale migrației, reducând acest fenomen social la diverse forme de infracționalitate. Acest mod de reprezentare este o constantă a discursului mediatic, relevând practici social instituite în câmpul jurnalistic.

Cuvinte-cheie: migrație românească, reprezentare mediatică, analiză de conținut

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1. Introduction

Cet article se propose d'identifier la représentation de la migration roumaine récente dans la presse du pays d'origine et des pays de destination. La prémisse de départ considère que la migration roumaine récente bénéficie d'un traitement médiatique stéréotypé, comparable à la représentation d'autres flux migratoires.

Premièrement, cet article présente le cadre socio-historique, insistant sur les étapes spécifiques de ce phénomène, inventoriant les caractéristiques des personnes impliquées. Le terme «migrant» est préféré à des termes comme «émigré» et «immigrant», pour sa référence au phénomène en soi, et pas à la relation de la personne impliquée avec le pays d'origine ou avec le pays de destination. Les limites inférieures les plus utilisées dans la définition d'un déplacement comme migration sont de 3 ou 6 mois (Șerban, 2011, p. 790). En tenant compte des formes de la migration, comme celle de courte durée ou circulaire, cet article inclut la limite d'un mois (Sandu, 2006, p. 11). En même temps, la perception d'un déplacement comme migration impose l'existence d'un but précis. Par exemple, les cas de changement climatique oblige à une migration forcée; ou les déportations. Ces motifs sont distincts de ceux de la migration culturelle ou orientée vers la consommation qui, elles ne dépassent pas une certaine longueur et sont en général encouragées par le pays de destination. Enfin, il reste la migration économique/du travail et la migration d'études, qui peuvent passer de la courte durée à la longue durée. (Anghel & Horváth, 2009b, pp. 29-30, Șerban, 2011, pp. 791-796).

Nous nous demandons si, pour la finalité du déplacement des migrants roumains, la presse du pays de destination et du pays d'origine ne suivent pas la route rebattue des associations, par exemple à celle qui a des objectifs criminels. Face à cette prédilection du projet migratoire, nous estimons que la presse s'oriente vers des migrants roumains appartenant à certaines catégories, en fonction de leur genre social, leur âge, leur statut marital, leur occupation, leur région d'origine et leur région de destination. De plus, cette analyse montre que la presse privilégie la représentation des migrants au niveau individuel ou collectif et effectue le rapprochement avec les migrants d'autres nationalités.

La délimitation des éléments retenus par le discours médiatique impose les particularités du phénomène de la migration roumaine récente. Cette démarche, qui dirige les questions antérieures vers le phénomène en soi, ne peut pas se réaliser sans passer en revue les données officielles et les recherches sociologiques, même si nous nous rendons compte de leurs limites inhérentes, comme celles des analyses sur le trafic humain qui ne peut pas retenir que les cas effectivement repérés.

2. L'évolution de la migration roumaine récente

Pendant la période communiste, l'État roumain permet seulement des formes limitées de la migration, comme la désertion des dissidents, les échanges internationaux de la force du travail, le trafic de frontière sur des distances courtes, le tourisme organisé dans d'autres pays communistes, la migration ethnique à l'intérieur des accords intergouvernementaux et la mobilité étudiante (Lăzăroiu, 2003, p. 6). La Révolution de 1989 assure le droit constitutionnel des Roumains à la libre circulation, changement qui entraîne le développement de la migration comme phénomène socio-économique significatif pour la société roumaine en transition. Trois dates marquent encore le rapport entre la Roumanie et les autres États européens: février

2000 – l'invitation officielle de la Roumanie aux négociations d'adhésion à l'Union Européenne, le 1 janvier 2002 – l'élimination des visas pour voyager dans l'espace Schengen, le 1 janvier 2007 – l'adhésion de la Roumanie, comme membre, à l'Union Européenne (Diminescu, 2009, p. 56). Cette période des flux migratoires à partir de 1989, mise sous le signe des modifications politiques et sociales, est conçue comme «migration récente» (Diminescu, 2009, p. 45).

Les données officielles et les travaux sociologiques confirment la dimension et les formes de la migration roumaine. Ainsi, le Département pour les Roumains de Partout dans le cadre du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères estime que le nombre des migrants roumains en Europe en 2010 est d'environ 3 millions, la majorité se trouvant en Italie, Espagne et Allemagne. La Banque Mondiale propose une estimation semblable, considérant que le nombre des migrants roumains dans le monde atteint 2.769.400 en 2010, c'est-à-dire 13,1% de la population de la Roumanie, choisissant comme pays de destination premièrement l'Italie, puis l'Espagne, la Hongrie, Israël, les États-Unis, l'Allemagne, le Canada, l'Autriche, la France et l'Angleterre.

En ce qui concerne l'histoire récente de la migration roumaine, les sociologues proposent des segmentations semblables. Pour cette période, une première étape, qui va de 1990 à 1994, est caractérisée par la reprise de la circulation migratoire surtout par le commerce de «valise» dans les pays voisins, les migrations ethniques, les réseaux religieux et les échanges universitaires, suivie par la migration de travail, de l'asile politique et de la clandestinité entre 1994 et 2000, puis la migration temporaire pour la période après 2000 (Diminescu, 2009, pp. 45-62). À partir de 2002, on constate un changement de la durée de séjour et l'orientation vers la migration à long terme, majoritairement en Italie et en Espagne (Anghel & Horváth, 2009a, p. 390).

La migration économique des Roumains se distingue par une étape d'exploration primaire de l'Europe (1990-1995), suivie par une étape de continuation de l'exploration (1996-2001) et par une étape de transformation de la migration de travail en phénomène de masse (2002-2006). La première étape se caractérise par le départ prédominant des hommes (88%), adultes, en provenance du milieu urbain et ayant comme origine toutes les régions roumaines. À l'étape suivante on note une équilibration des différences de genre et de milieu de provenance et un maintien du rapport approximativement égal pour les régions d'origine. Après 2002, des modifications émergent en ce qui concerne l'âge et la région d'origine, la majorité des migrants ayant de 18 à 29 ans et étant originaire de Moldavie. (Sandu, 2006, pp. 17-39). Contrairement au caractère positif des étapes antérieures, qui entraînent «l'export de potentiels chômeurs et les remises de fonds», «la quatrième vague» de la migration roumaine récente (2007-2010) implique «un segment professionnel qui accomplit une fonction de ressource de survivance pour la société roumaine – le personnel médical qualifié» (Alexis, 2011, pp. 18-40).

3. L'analyse de la représentation médiatique de la migration

La représentation de la migration et du migrant dans le discours médiatique et politique est un sujet de prédilection pour l'analyse du discours. Développée dès années '60 en Europe, cette direction de recherche accorde une place importante aux concepts de «pouvoir» et de «domination», définis comme «les relations de la différence, et particulièrement les effets de la différence sur les structures sociales» (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 10-11) et comme «l'exercice du pouvoir social par les élites, des institutions et des groupes, qui engendre de l'inégalité sociale, inclusivement de l'inégalité politique, culturelle, de classe, ethnique, raciale et

de genre» (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249-250). Comme principes de base pour ce type de recherche, les analystes du discours assument l'orientation vers la solution des problèmes sociaux, la prise d'une position socio-politique explicite, la préoccupation pour la position cruciale du discours dans la reproduction de la domination et de l'inégalité et le développement d'une analyse pluridisciplinaire (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 252-254).

Sous l'influence de ces concepts et de ces principes, le discours est analysé par rapport aux groupes dominants et aux groupes dominés, désignés à travers les stratégies discursives comme *in-groups* et *out-groups* ou *Nous* et *Ils* (*Les Autres*). Dans la construction discursive de ces groupes et de leurs rapports dans le pays de destination interviennent différentes stratégies.

– Les stratégies utilisées par le groupe dominant au niveau de la production du discours: le contrôle de l'accès, le contrôle du contexte (la sélection des voix, des opinions), le contrôle de l'action (l'orientation du discours) et l'influence des choix opérés aux micro-niveaux du discours (intonation, style lexical, figures rhétoriques, structures sémantiques locales, politesse).

– Les stratégies qui influencent la réception et la compréhension du discours par le groupe dominé, qui réagit en même temps au texte et au contexte.

– Les stratégies qui influencent la réception et la compréhension du discours par les membres de son propre groupe, par la justification ou la légitimation de la domination (la représentation positive de son groupe et négative de l'autre groupe), la réfutation ou l'atténuation de la domination, la présentation du groupe dominé comme une menace pour le groupe dominant. (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 259-265).

La représentation négative de l'*Autre* se manifeste sous la forme de la nomination (la catégorisation des membres et l'utilisation des métaphores, des métonymies et des synecdoques), de la prédication (l'attribution stéréotypée de certains traits), de l'argumentation (l'usage de certains thèmes), de la mise en perspective ou du cadrage (la préférence pour certains événements et certains contextes) et de l'intensification ou de la diminution. (Wodak, 2001, pp. 72-73).

Les groupes minoritaires sont toujours associés aux problèmes, comme cible ou source. A l'intérieur du discours occidental (même si van Dijk se concentre sur le discours médiatique hollandais, il souligne, en invoquant les recherches antérieures, l'existence de mêmes constantes dans la presse allemande et anglaise), les migrants sont présentés comme ayant des problèmes qui tiennent de l'immigration, de la discrimination et du domaine social (travail, habitation, éducation, différences culturelles), ou comme provoquant des problèmes liés à la criminalité, à la déviance, à l'incapacité de s'adapter à la société d'accueil ou des problèmes liés à leur seule présence (habitation, travail, éducation, assistance sociale). Ces thèmes dérivés de la triade *difficultés*, *demandes* et *déviance* mettent en circulation des préjugés comme «les étrangers se plaignent toujours», «ils ne sont jamais contents» et «le gouvernement les traite trop favorablement» ou «ils sont des malfaiteurs» et «ils ne s'adaptent pas». A côté de ce traitement général semblable, la presse attribue à chaque groupe ethnique certains traits spécifiques. Un autre groupe présenté en terme de *problème*, même de *menace* renferme les squatters. Si les migrants sont représentés en train d'occuper «notre pays», les squatters occupent «nos maisons». (van Dijk, 1988a, pp. 179-180) La même représentation orientée vers «les difficultés engendrées par la présence des immigrés et le choc des cultures» caractérise aussi la presse française (Bonnaïfous, 1989, pp. 325-329).

En mettant en circulation une telle représentation, les médias participent activement à la prolifération d'un «un système de l'inégalité ethnique ou raciale qui consiste dans des séries des pratiques quotidiennes discriminatoires, parfois subtiles, soutenues par des représentations

socialement partagées, comme les stéréotypes, les préjugés et les idéologies» (van Dijk, 2000, p. 48).

La représentation médiatique de la migration roumaine dans la presse du pays de destination s'inscrit dans un cadre thématique négatif semblable. Ainsi la presse nationale française (de 1995 à 2005) s'intéresse surtout au domaine social, suivi par les domaines artistique et sportif. Pour le domaine social, la clandestinité, la prostitution et le trafic humain, les vols et la mendicité sont les sujets principaux. Dans ce contexte, à côté des Roumains sont mentionnés d'autres migrants d'Europe d'Est (des Albanais dans la présentation des vols), d'Asie et d'Afrique. Les personnalités artistiques et sportives les plus présentes au niveau du corpus sont Emil Cioran, respectivement Roxana Mărcăineanu. Cette analyse confirme l'alignement de la représentation des Roumains dans la presse centrale française aux tendances générales, identifiées pour des migrants d'autres nationalités. S'orientant vers les aspects négatifs (la clandestinité et la criminalité) et vers cette «minorité visible», les trois publications retenues, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* et *Libération*, arrivent à présenter «trois pseudo-réalités», qui pourtant «se trouvent sur un continuum, sans des fractures profondes pour les trois discours». (Mogoș, 2009, pp. 119-221)

La presse du pays d'origine ne réussit pas à dépasser une position stéréotypée envers le migrant roumain. La presse nationale roumaine (mars-juillet 2009) cible premièrement le domaine de la violence, puis le domaine de la vie quotidienne et des initiatives des Roumains pour la construction de l'image de leur communauté/pays, et cultive les mêmes «typologies sociales peu diversifiées, qui réduisent le monde diasporique aux personnages négatifs *versus* personnages positifs: d'une côté les malfaiteurs ou ceux qui violent les réglementations du pays de destination et, de l'autre côté, les «héros», ceux qui se remarquent par des faits exceptionnels, d'habitude, par un geste humanitaire (sauver la vie etc.). Entre ces deux catégories se place le monde «des vulnérables» ou «des inadaptés», des victimes de la conjoncture». (Beciu, 2012, pp. 49-68).

À côté de cette représentation habituelle, certains événements, comme le cas Mailat (un migrant roumain d'ethnie rome accusé du viol et du meurtre d'un citoyen italien), entraîne une couverture médiatique ample par rapport à l'espace accordé (Codreanu & Fotiade, 2008, pp. 4-42; Balaban, Abrudan & Magyari, 2009, pp. 20-26).

4. La construction du corpus et de la grille d'analyse

Cette analyse envisage de surprendre les similarités et les différences entre la représentation du migrant roumain dans la presse du pays d'origine (la Roumanie) et la presse des pays de destination (l'Angleterre, la France). Le choix de la presse anglaise et française dérive de la place centrale de ces États dans la prise de décision politique au niveau européen et mondial et de l'influence exercée par les agences de presse et les journaux de ces pays sur le traitement médiatique des événements.

Pour chaque type de presse, l'attention s'oriente vers les quotidiens nationaux, de qualité et tabloïds. En vérifiant leur tirage (BRAT, ABCS, OJD) et le fonctionnement des archives et des moteurs de recherche, le corpus va être construit à partir des journaux comme *Evenimentul Zilei* (presse sérieuse – populaire) et *Libertatea* (presse tabloïde de kiosque), *Daily Mail* (presse sérieuse – populaire) et *The Sun* (presse tabloïde de kiosque), *Le Monde* (presse

sérieuse) et *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* (presse populaire) (Coman, 2007, pp. 35-36; Nora, 1994, p. 7).

La comparaison entre les représentations mises en circulation par les journaux du pays d'origine et du pays de destination, de qualité et tabloïds, va s'effectuer sur deux années différentes, afin d'observer des transformations. Pour la migration roumaine récente, l'année 2005 est considérée comme «un moment-clé dans l'histoire sociale roumaine de la perspective de la migration économique à l'étranger», marquée par l'augmentation des remises de fonds des migrants roumains de plus de 35 fois par rapport à la période antérieure (1994-2004) (Sandu, 2010, p. 15). Cette analyse est complétée par l'année 2010, caractérisée par un contexte politique et économique spécifique (l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union Européenne, la crise économique). Le choix de ces périodes essaye de situer l'analyse en dehors des événements négatifs fortement médiatisés, comme le cas Mailat en 2007, pour surprendre la représentation courante des migrants roumains. En même temps, pour la deuxième partie de 2010, le discours de Grenoble du président français Nicolas Sarkozy et la position étatique française nous permettent de surprendre les changements produits au niveau de la médiatisation de la migration roumaine sous l'effet de l'apparition d'un événement largement présenté (l'évacuation et l'expulsion des migrants roumains).

Le corpus a été construit à partir du mot-clé *roumain* et ses dérivés pour les archives électroniques des publications visées, en sélectionnant les articles qui contiennent au moins une proposition sur le migrant roumain, c'est-à-dire le citoyen roumain qui a domicilié au moins un mois dans des pays comme Angleterre, France et Italie (des pays choisis en concordance avec l'origine géographique de la presse analysée et sous l'influence de la dimension de la communauté roumaine) après 1989. Suite à l'emploi de ces critères, le corpus retient 1.747 articles (431 articles pour 2005: 157 pour *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien*, 14 pour *Le Monde*, 7 pour *The Sun*, 10 pour *Daily Mail*, 95 pour *Libertatea*, 148 pour *Evenimentul Zilei*. Et pour 2010 1.316 articles: 251 pour *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien*, 85 pour *Le Monde*, 15 pour *The Sun*, 25 pour *Daily Mail*, 396 pour *Libertatea*, 544 pour *Evenimentul Zilei*).

Toutes les publications sélectionnées enregistrent un accroissement du nombre des articles qui portent sur le migrant roumain en 2010 par rapport à 2005. Ce phénomène peut être expliqué soit par la montée de l'intérêt pour la migration roumaine récente, qui a engendré des communautés importantes dans les trois pays européens, soit par l'existence en 2010 des événements largement médiatisés qui impliquent des migrants roumains. Par exemple, la position de l'État français, suivie par les réactions de l'État roumain et des institutions européennes, a orienté l'attention publique vers l'expulsion des migrants roumains en 2010. Le même sujet est présent dans les presses française et roumaine en 2005, mais dans un nombre réduit d'articles. Par rapport à ce contexte sociopolitique, seule la presse française et le quotidien roumain de qualité sélectionnés accordent plus d'espace à la migration roumaine en août 2010 (après les déclarations des officiels français fin juillet 2010).

Cette tendance peut aussi intervenir sous l'effet de l'évolution des éditions électroniques des quotidiens. Les approches diachroniques des groupes de presse amène à différencier le contenu exposé par rapport à l'édition traditionnelle et à la totalité des archives. Notamment les rédactions décident des modalités de présentation et du moment de la transmission de l'information. Les groupes de presse ont des stratégies concernant les moyens de production de l'information et le modèle économique appliqué, qui déterminent autant la publication des articles visés que l'accès du public intéressé. (Da Lage, 2001, pp. 37-48). Pour les quotidiens retenus, l'impression générale au moment de l'élaboration du corpus a été la majoration de

l'ensemble des articles publiés en format électronique en 2010 par rapport à 2005. En même temps, les six quotidiens subissent en 2010 une diminution de la dimension moyenne des articles électroniques qui portent sur la migration roumaine récente.

D'une façon générale, pour les deux années, les quotidiens roumains consacrent plus d'espace aux migrants roumains, suivis par les quotidiens français et anglais. Pour quelques mois de 2005, *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* dépasse le nombre des articles publiés par les publications roumaines.

À partir de ce corpus (1.747 articles), cette recherche se propose d'identifier la représentation du migrant roumain mise en circulation par les publications du pays de destination et du pays d'origine. Même s'il s'agit d'un phénomène social complexe, les quotidiens anglais, français et roumains, comme montrent les recherches mentionnées (Beciu, 2012; Bonnafous, 1989; Mogoş, 2009; van Dijk, 1988a, 1993; Wodak, 2001), médiatisent soit les migrants qui ont ou provoquent des problèmes, soit les migrants érigés en modèles de réussite ou d'intégration, par leur statut administratif et leur type d'occupation.

Notre analyse oppose aussi cette représentation médiatique aux constats de la recherche scientifique, surtout sociologique, par l'application d'une grille aux variables socio-démographiques. Nous estimons que les journaux visés se concentrent de manière préférentielle sur les migrants roumains ayant certains traits (genre, âge, statut marital, région d'origine, région de destination) et nous nous intéressons aux catégories rendues «visibles» suite à ce ciblage. De plus, la représentation des migrants comme *Ils* détermine une autre prémisse de recherche, qui porte sur la présentation de plusieurs migrants par article. Dans ce contexte, l'association avec d'autres migrants situés dans la contiguïté géographique et sociale des migrants roumains est possible.

Cette recherche vise le contenu manifeste du discours médiatique et se construit à partir d'une perspective quantitative, en faisant appel à l'analyse de contenu (Agabrian, 2006; Bardin, 1993; Chelcea, 2007; De Bonville, 2000; Krippendorf, 2004; Marinescu, 2005; Moscovici & Buschini, 2007; Neuendorf, 2002). La représentation des migrants dans la presse est un sujet traité depuis le début de cette méthode de recherche. Nous pouvons mentionner des études comme celle de Thomas et Znaniecki (1908-1918), qui porte sur l'intégration des immigrés polonais en Europe et en Amérique à partir des lettres, des journaux intimes, des rapports officiels et de la presse écrite (Bardin, 1993, p. 17) et celle de Wells (1891) qui concerne la présentation des lynchages des Américains d'origine africaine dans la presse (Babbie, 2010, p. 333).

L'analyse de contenu dispose des instruments capables de mettre en relief des constantes identifiées par l'analyse du discours dans la représentation médiatique des migrants à certains niveaux. L'association des migrants roumains aux thèmes de la clandestinité et de la criminalité et leur traitement systématique en tant que collectif, soulignés par les analystes du discours, peuvent être identifiés par la construction et l'utilisation des variables spécifiques dans le cadre de l'analyse de contenu. Nous pouvons citer notamment le type de migration, l'activité et le nombre des migrants mentionnés. La préférence pour ce type de sujet influence également la présentation d'autres migrants «à problèmes» à côté des roumains.

De plus, l'analyse du discours intègre des modalités de recherche présentes à l'intérieur de l'analyse de contenu. Par exemple, van Dijk adopte, pour une de ses analyses sur les minorités dans la presse, une structure quadruple: la présentation, les structures thématiques, les sens locaux, le style et la rhétorique, en faisant appel pour le premier niveau à des grilles qui rappellent l'analyse de contenu. Ainsi, pour le niveau de la présentation, l'auteur utilise

des variables comme la fréquence, la position, la dimension, la présence de photographies, le type de rubrique, le sujet des articles. (van Dijk, 1988a, pp. 163-214). Quant à l'analyse de la représentation médiatique des migrants roumains, la recherche de Mogoș rapproche le quantitatif et le qualitatif, en retenant pour l'analyse de contenu les données d'identification (le numéro, la date de la publication, la page, le type d'article, la dimension), les indicateurs de prééminence de l'article (la présence du mot-clé, l'importance de l'acteur, la relation entre l'importance de l'acteur et la longueur du matériel, la page, le nombre des mentions des mots cherchés) et les catégories thématiques (le domaine, le type d'acteur, le contexte de présentation de l'acteur) (Mogoș, 2009, pp. 119-120).

Ayant comme objectif l'analyse de la représentation des migrants roumains dans la presse par rapport à la position médiatique générale envers ce type de population minoritaire et par rapport aux constatations de la recherche sociologique, nous procédons à l'application de la grille suivante.

a) Des données d'identification (le nom de la publication, le titre de l'article, la date de publication de l'article et la dimension de l'article).

b) Des données de la représentation

– Le type de la migration: migration légale du travail, migration légale d'études, migration des ethnies (hongroise, allemande, rome), migration illégale (illégalité de la sortie du pays d'origine et de l'entrée dans le pays de destination, de la résidence, du travail et de l'habitation), trafic humain, criminalité, autres.

– Le type d'acteur (le nombre des migrants roumains mentionnés): individuel (un seul migrant), collectif (entre 2-5 migrants, plus de 5 migrants).

– L'association à d'autres migrants: est-européens, ouest-européens, africains, asiatiques, sud-américains, nord-américains, australiens.

– Le genre des migrants roumains mentionnés: masculin, féminin.

– Le groupe d'âge des migrants roumains mentionnés: 1-18 ans, 19-28 ans, 29-38 ans, 39-48 ans, 49-58 ans, plus de 59 ans.

– Le statut marital: célibataire, marié, divorcé, veuve.

– L'activité: employé travail manuel (agriculteur, constructeur, ménage, dans le système hôtelier etc.), employé travail non-manuel (soin des enfants/des vieux, assistant médical/ infirmier etc.), spécialiste études supérieures (avocat, médecin, ingénieur, spécialiste IT, chercheur etc.), artiste, sportif/entraîneur, patron/PFA/self-employed, élève/étudiant, sans emploi, occupation infractionnelle, autres.

– La région d'origine (les catégories proposées par INSSE).

– La région de destination (les catégories proposées par les instituts nationaux anglais, français et italien de statistique).

La variable «le type de migration», en tenant compte des critères utilisés par la recherche sociologique comme la période passée à la destination, le but du déplacement, le degré de liberté de la décision de migrer, le capital humain du migrant, le lien du migrant à l'endroit d'arrivée et la légalité du déplacement (Șerban, 2011, pp. 791-796), concerne le domaine ou le sujet des articles par rapport au projet migratoire des migrants présentés. Pour la variable «le type d'acteur», l'analyse s'oriente vers la vérification de l'attachement de la presse du pays d'origine et du pays de destination à un traitement médiatique collectif des migrants roumains, conformément aux différenciations opérées entre *Nous* (la population majoritaire) et *Ils* (un groupe minoritaire). La variable «l'association à d'autres migrants» examine le rapprochement des migrants roumains avec d'autres groupes minoritaires, sous l'effet d'un contexte géo-

graphique, politique et social commun. En ce qui concerne les éléments suivants, notre recherche reprend des variables socio-démographiques identifiées dans les analyses sociologiques sur la migration roumaine récente, qui s'intéressent au profil social et à l'espace de circulation des migrants (Alexis, 2010; Anghel & Horváth, 2009a, 2009b; Diminescu, 1996; Sandu, 2006, 2010). Nous estimons que le contrôle du groupe dominant détermine la visibilité de certains migrants, en fonction de leur genre, leur âge, leur statut marital, leur région d'origine et la région de destination, en générant une représentation médiatique différente de la représentation scientifique.

En tenant compte de la dimension du corpus, la fidélité a été calculée au niveau d'un échantillon représentatif (10% du corpus analyse initialement), réalisé par l'utilisation des techniques d'échantillonnage systématique ($n, n_1 = n + 10, n_2 = n_1 + 10 \dots$), qui a été soumis à un second codage. L'usage des variables manifestes détermine le choix de l'accord comme modalité d'évaluation de la fidélité entre les deux codages. En ce qui concerne le calcul du degré de fidélité, les résultats enregistrés en utilisant la formule de l'accord au niveau du pourcentage ($PA_o = A/n$) dépassent .90 pour chaque variable et arrivent à une moyenne de .97.

5. Les résultats de la recherche

5.1. Les types de la migration roumaine récente

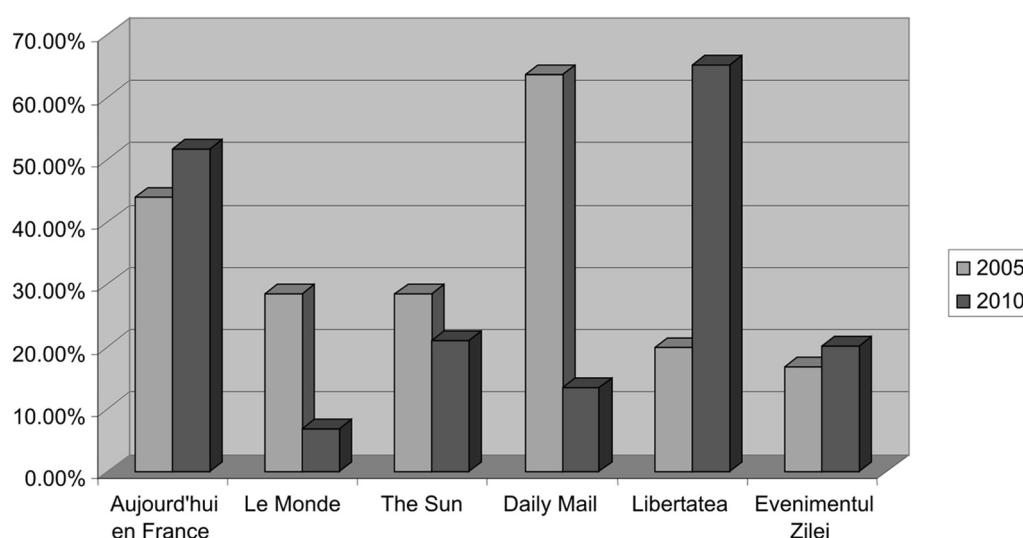
Si pour la migration des ethnies, la migration illégale, la migration criminelle ou le trafic humain les chiffres sont plus difficiles à obtenir, pour d'autres formes de la migration roumaine les sociologues proposent des estimations. Ainsi la migration de travail de courte durée détermine le fait qu'en 2006 un tiers des foyers de Roumanie (c'est-à-dire 2,5 millions de foyers) a l'expérience de la migration: au moins un de ses membres habite ou a habité au moins un mois à l'étranger après 1989 (Sandu, 2006, pp. 17-39). La migration d'études a été estimée en 2003 à moins de 20% de la migration de travail (Lăzăroiu, 2003, p. 4).

Cette analyse observe le positionnement différent du discours médiatique par rapport à la représentation scientifique des formes de migration. Les constats se situent dans la ligne des études antérieures (Beciu, 2012; Bonnafous, 1989; Mogoș, 2009; van Dijk, 1988a), les médias traitant des migrants en terme de problème, d'infraction et d'occupation illégale de lieux. Ces résultats interviennent au niveau de notre recherche par les variables «le type de la migration» et «l'activité».

La migration roumaine récente est représentée généralement par la catégorie des malfaiteurs. La criminalité des migrants roumains est le sujet principal d'*Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* en 2005 (43,85%) et en 2010 (51,71%), *Le Monde* en 2005 (28,56%), *Daily Mail* en 2005 (63,64%) et *Libertatea* en 2010 (65,25%). Le reste du corpus enregistre une orientation constante vers ce type de migration, similairement aux recherches mentionnées et à la représentation négative du migrant. Parmi les infractions présentées dominent les vols commis par les migrants roumains, à l'exception des quotidiens anglais (2005, 2010), qui insistent majoritairement sur la falsification des cartes bancaires et sur la fraude, et du quotidien *Le Monde* (2005), qui insiste sur les cas de mendicité. Les trois publications, dont la recherche a retenu un nombre réduit d'articles, font référence à un répertoire restreint d'infractions; à côté des délits déjà mentionnés, *Le Monde* indique aussi la prostitution, tandis que *Daily Mail* présente des agressions et des crimes commis par des migrants roumains. En effet, on peut

établir un rapport direct entre le nombre des articles sélectionnés et la diversité des infractions présentées. En plus des faits précédemment indiqués, *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* et les quotidiens roumains signalent aussi les agressions des forces d'ordre, les viols, la complicité de crime, le trafic des cigarettes et des drogues, les accidents routiers, la destruction des biens publics.

Parmi les publications retenues du pays de destination, seulement *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* et *Daily Mail* présentent des agressions, des viols et des crimes commis par les migrants roumains. Le corpus retient pour les deux quotidiens un article qui indique le meurtre d'un migrant roumain par un compatriote. Les publications roumaines enregistrent en 2010



une augmentation des articles qui portent sur les infractions graves des migrants roumains (premièrement des agressions, suivies par des crimes et des viols). Pour la même année, les quotidiens roumains indiquent aussi la prostitution masculine en France et en Italie, par comparaison aux publications du pays de destination qui se réfèrent exclusivement à la prostitution féminine. En général, tous les quotidiens présentent des migrants roumains impliqués dans le trafic humain pour prostitution, respectivement pour mendicité et vol. Seules les publications roumaines indiquent aussi le trafic humain pour travail.

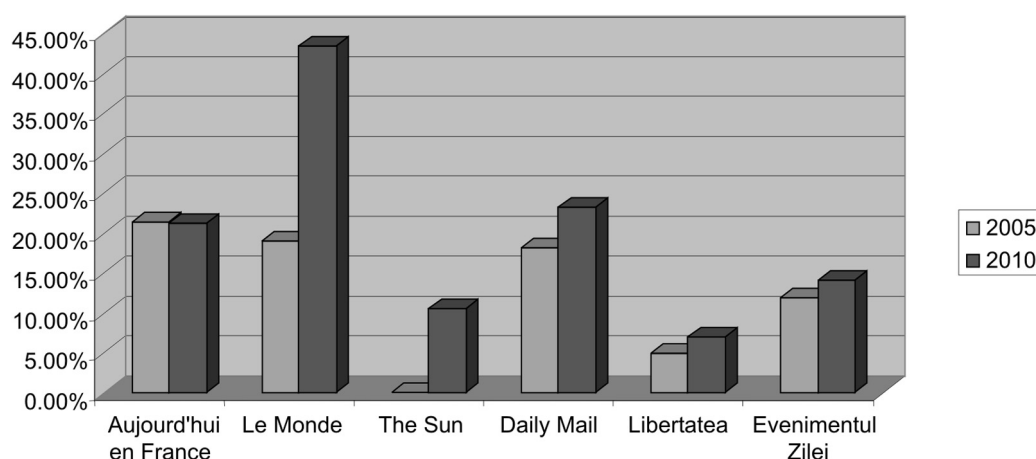
Figure 1. La migration roumaine corrélée avec la criminalité.

En ce qui concerne la délinquance des migrants roumains, *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* enregistre une amplification des articles traitant ce sujet en 2010. Une extension significative apparaît aussi dans le cas du tabloïd roumain *Libertatea* (de 19,80% à 65,25%), qui en 2010 se concentre sur les infractions des migrants roumains, au détriment d'autres sujets. Même si la criminalité des migrants roumains reste un sujet secondaire, *Evenimentul Zilei* enregistre en 2010 un faible accroissement du pourcentage de ces articles (de 16,67% à 20,13%). En échange, *Le Monde* diminue le pourcentage des articles sur la délinquance roumaine (de 28,56% à 6,83%), en accordant plus d'espace à la migration illégale, sous l'influence du contexte politique national et international. Une tendance semblable à celle de la publication de qualité française se retrouve au niveau des quotidiens anglais, autant *The Sun*

(de 28,57% à 21,05%) que *Daily Mail* (de 63,64% à 13,34%), qui enregistrent une réduction du pourcentage des articles sur la criminalité des migrants roumains.

À l'intérieur des articles associés à la criminalité, nous identifions aussi un second élément de la typologie des migrants roumains: les victimes (Beciu, 2012, pp. 49-68), particulièrement dans les quotidiens roumains, qui connaissent une augmentation de ce type de représentation en 2010, significative même pour *Libertatea* (de 5,94% à 24,90%). Ainsi, les migrants roumains apparaissent comme des victimes d'autres migrants roumains ou est-européens, des conditions de travail et d'habitation, de l'inattention et des intempéries. Les citoyens des pays de destination sont présentés comme agresseurs des migrants roumains spécialement en 2010, l'agression étant une réaction soit à une infraction, soit à la demande des droits salariaux ou d'autres types de droits par les migrants roumains. Les publications du pays de destination mentionnent très rarement les agressions commises sur les migrants roumains, soit par des compatriotes, soit par les citoyens du pays de destination comme réponse à une infraction. Le quotidien *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* connaît une tendance similaire aux publications roumaines, d'amplification de la fréquence des articles qui portent sur cette catégorie des migrants roumains comme victime (de 1,09% à 3,31%).

La migration illégale, qui présente à nouveau les migrants roumains comme des populations à problèmes, est le sujet majoritaire des articles des quotidiens *Le Monde* (43,48%) et



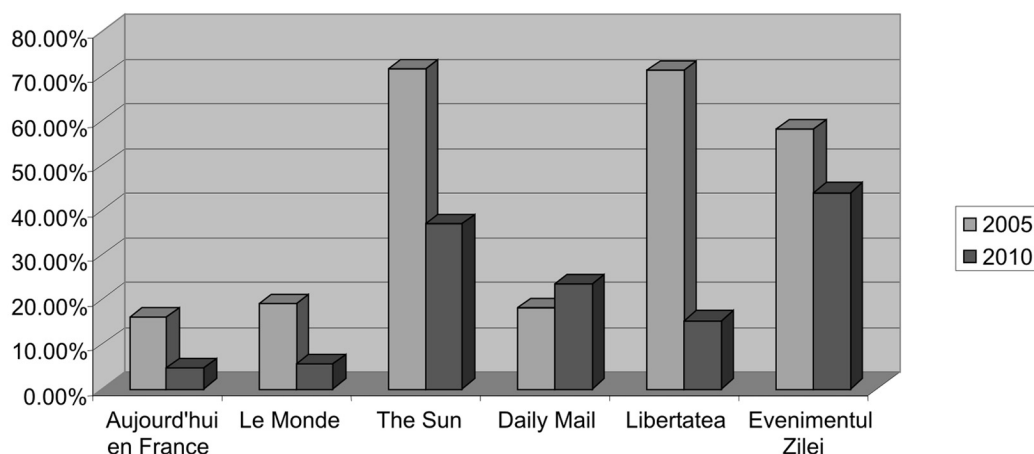
Daily Mail (23,33%) en 2010. Ce type de migration est présent dans toutes les publications, à l'exception de *The Sun* en 2005. Les publications anglaises indiquent en 2005 l'obtention du visa sur la base des documents falsifiés et en 2010 l'installation illégale des familles roumaines dans les habitations des citoyens anglais, en général pendant leur temps de travail ou leurs congés. Les quotidiens roumains et français portent en 2005 sur le travail au noir, le dépassement de la période légale de séjour et l'habitation illégale dans des espaces inadéquats (d'habitude des immeubles abandonnés) ou improvisés (camp, campement, bidonville) et en 2010 sur l'évacuation et l'expulsion des migrants roumains.

Figure 2. Migration illégale.

Si *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* accorde un pourcentage semblable pour les deux années (21,39% en 2005, respectivement 21,18% en 2010), le contexte politique influence de façon déterminante *Le Monde*, qui double les pourcentages des articles sur la migration

illégale, surtout sur l'évacuation et l'expulsion de migrants roumains par la France, de 19,05% à 43,48%. À côté d'autres formes de la migration illégale, l'installation clandestine, suivie par l'évacuation et l'expulsion des migrants est un sujet présent aussi en 2005 dans les deux publications françaises, qui se différencient par la désignation des acteurs: *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* indique les évacuations et les expulsions des migrants roumains, tandis que *Le Monde* insiste sur un sous-groupe, les migrants roumains d'ethnie rome. En 2010, ce sous-groupe est associé majoritairement par les deux quotidiens français à la politique étatique française d'expulsion. En 2005 *The Sun* ne traite pas ce sujet, pendant que *Daily Mail* lui accorde un pourcentage d'articles similaire à ceux consacrés à la migration légale (comme en 2010). En 2010 les deux publications anglaises se remarquent par la croissance du pourcentage de ces articles (*The Sun* de 0% à 10,53%, *Daily Mail* de 18,18% à 23,33%), qui visent l'installation illégale des migrants roumains dans les habitations des citoyens britanniques et les difficultés rencontrées durant leur évacuation, sous l'effet d'une législation permissive. Les articles des quotidiens anglais apparaissent avant la prise de position par le président français Nicolas Sarkozy, fin juillet 2010, et indiquent la nationalité, parfois aussi l'ethnie des acteurs. Les publications roumaines enregistrent une augmentation des pourcentages des articles sur la migration illégale (*Libertatea* de 4,95% à 6,95%, *Evenimentul Zilei* de 11,83% à 14,10%), *Evenimentul Zilei* publiant la majorité de ces articles pendant août et septembre 2010, période qui abonde en réactions autour de l'évacuation et l'expulsion des migrants roumains de France. La même publication se remarque aussi par la présence en 2005 des articles sur les actions des États français et italien d'évacuation et d'expulsion.

La migration légale de travail apparaît comme le sujet prépondérant pour *The Sun* en 2005 (71,43%) et 2010 (36,84%), *Daily Mail* en 2010 (23,33%), *Libertatea* en 2005 (71,29%) et *Evenimentul Zilei* en 2005 (58,06%) et 2010 (43,89%). Ce type de migration est représenté de façon lacunaire, en insistant surtout sur les sportifs et les entraîneurs roumains et sur les actrices, les chanteuses, les mannequins et les vedettes de télévision d'origine roumaine, c'est-



à-dire sur des modèles de réussite dans le pays de destination. Au niveau du corpus, les deux footballeurs Adrian Mutu et Cristian Chivu attirent davantage l'attention des publications, surtout roumaines, en générant un nombre élevé d'articles. Les articles sélectionnés présentent d'une façon insignifiante d'autres occupations des migrants roumains: en fonction

du genre, ils travaillent soit dans les bâtiments et travaux publics, l'agriculture et l'hôtellerie, soit comme femme de ménage, assistante médicale, infirmière, garde d'enfants ou des personnes âgées. Parmi les migrants roumains ayant fait des études supérieures, les articles mentionnent les médecins, les chercheurs, les spécialistes IT et les médiateurs.

Figure 3. Migration légale de travail.

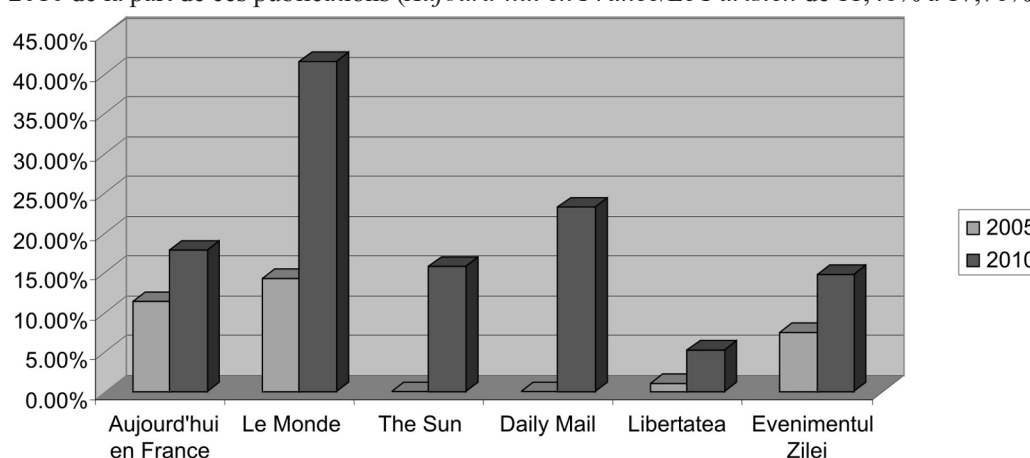
Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien connaît une diminution du pourcentage des articles qui portent sur la migration légale de travail de 16,04% à 4,67%, en maintenant majoritairement l'intérêt pour les sportifs et les entraîneurs roumains affiliés aux clubs internationaux. En même temps la publication française se caractérise par une restriction des sports associés aux migrants roumains: football, handball, rugby, volley-ball et natation en 2005, football et handball en 2010 (des articles sur Adrian Mutu et Ema Bedos apparaissent pour les deux périodes). Au niveau des pourcentages *Le Monde* enregistre une tendance similaire à la réduction (de 19,05% à 5,59%). Au niveau des activités présentées majoritairement, la publication s'oriente des travailleurs manuels en 2005 vers les spécialistes ayant fait des études supérieures et les sportifs en 2010 (sur les footballeurs Adrian Mutu et Cristian Chivu). Si pour les occupations qui supposent le travail manuel les deux publications françaises gardent constante la présentation des ouvriers roumains du bâtiment, pour les spécialistes ayant fait des études supérieures les deux quotidiens indiquent des domaines différents pour les deux années: pour 2005 des instituteurs, des psychologues et des spécialistes IT, pour 2010 des médecins.

Même si elle reste le sujet principal, la migration légale de travail apparaît dans *The Sun*, similairement aux publications françaises, dans un pourcentage plus réduit en 2010 par rapport à 2005. Pour *Daily Mail*, au contraire, on constate une évolution inverse, d'augmentation au niveau des pourcentages des articles sur la migration légale de travail de 18,18% à 23,33%), qui s'impose parmi les sujets principaux. Si pour 2005 les quotidiens anglais se réfèrent seulement aux footballeurs et aux artistes, comme Adrian Mutu et le groupe Cheeky Girls, pour 2010 les deux publications mentionnent aussi les migrants roumains qui travaillent dans les domaines de la hôtellerie et des BTP (bâtiments et travaux publics).

En 2010, les quotidiens roumains enregistrent une réduction du pourcentage des articles sur la migration légale de travail, limitée pour *Evenimentul Zilei* (qui reste le sujet principal), significative pour *Libertatea* (de 71,29% à 15,25%, qui devient un sujet mineur). En dépit de ces modifications, l'intérêt reste constant pour les sportifs et les entraîneurs, spécialement ceux du football (le plus souvent Adrian Mutu et Cristian Chivu). Quelques articles sont dédiés à d'autres sports, comme la natation, le rugby et le tennis (*Libertatea*, 2005, 2010; *Evenimentul Zilei*, 2010). À l'exception de la nageuse Roxana Mărcăneanu, établie en France, qui est mentionnée sur le fond d'une observation discriminatoire de la part d'un commentateur français, tous les autres articles s'intéressent aux sportifs et non pas aux sportives. Les deux publications roumaines gardent la même constance par rapport à la représentation des migrants roumains impliqués dans le domaine artistique. Même s'ils ont en commun la référence aux migrantes comme Kristina Cepraga, Ramona Bădescu, Alexandra Dinu et Rona Hartner, établies en Italie et en France, les deux quotidiens se différencient sur un point. *Evenimentul Zilei* présente des artistes de renom international comme Alina Cojocaru et Ruxandra Donose, tandis que *Libertatea* s'intéresse aux migrantes impliquées dans l'industrie pornographique (Sofia Gucci, Alexandra Mell, Cheri Mănescu) et dans des scandales sexuelles en Italie (Ioana Vișan et Florina Marincea sont associées soit à Silvio Berlusconi, soit à différents hommes d'affaires italiens). Bien que pour le domaine artistique domine la migration féminine, *Evenimentul Zilei* présente en 2010 dans un pourcentage très réduit des mi-

grants roumains, comme le sculpteur Giulian Octav Dumitriu ou l'acteur Eugen Jebeleanu. Ainsi les deux publications roumaines insistent sur deux modèles de réussite: le sport et le domaine artistique, fortement déterminés par la dimension de genre. Les deux quotidiens roumains ont aussi en commun l'orientation en 2005 et en 2010 vers les migrants non-qualifiés, impliqués dans l'agriculture, les BTP, le soin des enfants et des personnes âgées, le ménage et l'hôtellerie, auxquels s'ajoutent en 2010 l'intérêt pour les migrants hautement qualifiés (médecins, chercheurs).

La migration des Roumains d'ethnie rome bénéficie d'une préoccupation plus élevée en 2010 de la part de ces publications (*Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* de 11,46% à 17,76%,



Le Monde de 14,29% à 41,62, *The Sun* de 0% à 15,79%, *Daily Mail* de 0% à 23,33%, *Libertatea* de 0,99% à 5,21%, *Evenimentul Zilei* de 7,53% à 14,77%), mais ces publications l'associent majoritairement à la migration illégale (l'installation illégale et le dépassement de la période légale de séjour), à la criminalité (même à l'enlèvement des enfants) et au trafic humain. Cette tendance caractérise aussi les articles sélectionnés pour 2005, à l'exception des quotidiens anglais. Les publications roumaines et françaises présentent dans un nombre très réduit d'articles des artistes roumains d'ethnie rome (instrumentistes, artistes de cirque, figurants). Pour les autres ethnies, seule Rona Hartner est mentionnée pour l'ethnie allemande.

Figure 4. Migration des Roumains d'ethnie rome.

La migration légale d'études est mentionnée à un niveau insignifiant par les publications françaises et roumaines retenues, tendance identifiée aussi pour les adoptions internationales, les mariages mixtes et la migration pour bénéficier des services médicaux. Les quotidiens anglais présentent en 2010 le cas d'un enfant roumain adopté par un couple anglais. En général, les articles sur les adoptions internationales insistent sur les conditions inadéquates des orphelinats roumains et sur les changements positifs produits dans la vie des enfants.

5.2. Le type d'acteur

Le discours médiatique conserve l'opposition habituelle entre le groupe majoritaire (*Nous*) et les migrants (*Ils, Les Autres*) (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 263-265, pp. 279-280), en abordant une perspective collective qui facilite la présentation et la circulation des stéréotypes. En ce qui concerne le nombre des migrants roumains présentés, au niveau du corpus interviennent

plusieurs tendances. Pour *Libertatea* (62,11% en 2005, 43,18% en 2010), *Evenimentul Zilei* (49,32% en 2005, 48,90% en 2010) et *The Sun* (57,13% en 2005, 46,67% en 2010), la majorité des articles font référence à un seul migrant roumain, d'habitude une célébrité (footballeur, entraîneur, actrice, chanteuse, vedette de télévision, mannequin) ou une personne impliquée dans un événement largement médiatisé (par exemple, Maricica Hăhăianu, une assistante roumaine tuée par un citoyen italien). Les articles d'*Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* (33,75% en 2005, 38,25% en 2010) et de *Daily Mail* (60% en 2005) présentent généralement entre 2 et 5 migrants, associés à la criminalité ou à la clandestinité. En même temps, *Daily Mail* (40% en 2010) et *Le Monde* (57,15% en 2005, 51,76% en 2010) évoquent dans ces articles des groupes nombreux, comme c'est le cas de ceux qui traitent l'expulsion des migrants roumains de France.

Nous considérons que cette différenciation ne tient pas forcément au type de presse analysé: du pays d'origine et du pays de destination, mais surtout de la typologie des migrants abordée de façon préférentielle. Ainsi, les étalons de réussite dans la société d'accueil apparaissent au niveau individuel, alors que les malfaiteurs et les clandestins sont présentés collectivement.

5.3. L'association à d'autres migrants

À côté des migrants roumains, les articles mentionnent parfois d'autres migrants. Ce rapprochement implique la perception médiatique de l'existence d'un noyau de caractéristiques communes entre les migrants de différentes nationalités. Il s'agit en général d'autres migrants est-européens: bulgares, albanais, serbes (*Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* 10,19% en 2005 et 15,94% en 2010, *Le Monde* 21,43% en 2005 et 63,53% en 2010, *The Sun* 28,57% en 2005, *Daily Mail* 30% en 2005 et 4% en 2010, *Libertatea* 4,21% en 2005 et 6,57% en 2010, *Evenimentul Zilei* 8,78% en 2005 et 18,93% en 2010). Les publications françaises indiquent secondement des migrants africains. Les quotidiens roumains signalent dans un pourcentage réduit aussi des migrants sud-américains et ouest-européens. Les migrants est-européens et africains apparaissent dans des articles sur la criminalité et l'illégalité, en temps que les migrants sud-américains et ouest-européens dans des articles dédié au sport. La politique commune en 2010 de l'État français envers les migrants roumains et bulgares influence certainement les quotidiens français, qui associent les migrants de deux pays est-européens (la Roumanie et la Bulgarie) dans un pourcentage plus élevé par rapport à 2005. En même temps les deux publications françaises réduisent en 2010 la mention à côté des migrants roumains d'autres migrants non est-européens. Les publications roumaines se remarquent en 2010 par une position semblable aux quotidiens français, c'est-à-dire l'augmentation des références à d'autres migrants est-européens et la réduction des associations à d'autres migrants non est-européens. En échange, les quotidiens anglais suivent une direction inverse, de diminution pour *Daily Mail* et d'élimination pour *The Sun* des associations à d'autres migrants, inclusivement est-européens.

Nous constatons que la mention d'autres migrants place les migrants roumains à l'intérieur des groupements plus larges déterminés géographiquement (l'Europe d'Est) et socialement (les pays de tiers-monde). La co-présence des migrants roumains et des migrants ouest-européens devient possible dans le cadre du sport, surtout dans la presse du pays d'origine.

5.4. La dimension de genre

Les études sociologiques indiquent une évolution de la migration roumaine récente vers une équilibrage des proportions de genre (Miranda, 2004; Sandu, 2006, p. 18). Dans les publications analysées, la migration masculine domine. La migration féminine est limitée par rapport au nombre des migrantes roumaines mentionnées et par rapport à leur représentation stéréotypée (des auteurs d'infractions comme les vols, la mendicité et la prostitution, des victimes du trafic humain et des agressions, des viols et des crimes, des personnes ayant des préoccupations artistiques ou travaillant dans le domaine des services). Le «regard» des journalistes, comme «le regard des historiens» jusqu'à une période récents (Gillen, 2004, pp. 17-34), ne réussit pas à se détacher des migrants et à assurer «la sortie de l'ombre» des migrantes (Morokvasic, 2008).

Le Monde (2005) est la seule publication qui se réfère majoritairement à la migration féminine, sous l'influence du traitement des sujets comme la mendicité des femmes avec leurs enfants, rapport inversé en 2010 (migration masculine de 27,28% à 12%, migration féminine de 36,36% à 10%). On constate une diminution des différences de la représentation des genres: pour *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* (migration masculine de 52,47% à 46,23%, migration féminine de 21,29% à 24,53%), *The Sun* (migration masculine de 71,42% à 50%, migration féminine de 14,29% à 25%), *Daily Mail* (migration masculine de 53,33% à 45%, migration féminine de 13,33% à 22,50%) et *Libertatea* (migration masculine de 76,41% à 51,37%, migration féminine de 16,04% à 32,55%). Au contraire, *Evenimentul Zilei* accorde un pourcentage plus élevé d'articles aux hommes en 2010, par son orientation vers des sujets typiquement masculins, comme le football (migration masculine de 57,37% à 55%, migration féminine de 22,10% à 18,38%).

	Non-mentionné	1-18 ans	19-28 ans	29-38 ans	39-48 ans	49-58 ans	Plus de 58 ans
Aujourd'hui en France 2005	47.69%	18.52%	19.44%	9.72%	2.78%	1.39%	0.46%
Aujourd'hui en France 2010	43.28%	17.20%	17.74%	11.83%	7.26%	2.69%	0.00%
Le Monde 2005	50.00%	22.73%	13.64%	9.09%	4.54%	0.00%	0.00%
Le Monde 2010	78.64%	16.51%	0.97%	1.94%	0.00%	0.97%	0.97%
The Sun 2005	37.50%	0.00%	37.50%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
The Sun 2010	44.44%	22.22%	16.67%	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Daily Mail 2005	43.75%	0.00%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%	18.75%	0.00%
Daily Mail 2010	42.50%	25.00%	12.50%	17.50%	2.50%	0.00%	0.00%
Libertatea 2005	74.53%	6.60%	12.27%	4.72%	0.00%	0.94%	0.94%
Libertatea 2010	37.25%	11.56%	24.59%	15.59%	7.52%	3.12%	0.37%
Evenimentul Zilei 2005	67.52%	10.31%	11.34%	7.22%	2.06%	1.55%	0.00%
Evenimentul Zilei 2010	65.82%	8.92%	8.92%	10.40%	3.86%	1.63%	0.45%

5.5. La dimension d'âge

Dans une perspective sociologique, un pourcentage signifiant de la population active de Roumanie s'engage dans des projets migratoires, les migrants roumains appartenant en général

à l'âge de la jeunesse et de la maturité (Sandu, 2006, pp. 17-39; Étude Metro Media Transilvania, 2007). Au niveau des articles qui mentionnent l'âge des migrants roumains, les plus représentées sont les catégories de l'enfance et de l'adolescence (1-18 ans), de la jeunesse (19-28 ans) et du début de la maturité (29-38 ans).

Tableau 1. La distribution des catégories d'âge

Les publications analysées offrent une représentation partiellement analogue à celle identifiée par les recherches sociologiques, en ajoutant une forte implication de la catégorie de l'enfance et de l'adolescence dans le phénomène migratoire, dans le cadre de la famille ou du trafic humain.

5.6. Le statut marital

Nous n'avons pas trouvé de données sur cette catégorie à l'intérieur de la recherche sociologique. Les quotidiens sélectionnés procèdent de la même manière, en précisant très rarement le statut marital. Le plus souvent, cette information apparaît pour préciser la relation entre les migrants roumains présentés dans le même article (migrants mariés). Les publications roumaines indiquent aussi des migrants roumains divorcés et célibataires, en général sous l'influence de leur célébrité.

Les quotidiens français et roumains enregistrent une diminution des pourcentages des articles qui indiquent le statut marital pour les deux périodes (*Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* de 8,28% à 5,98%, *Le Monde* de 7,14% à 5,88%, *Libertatea* de 11,58% à 7,07%, *Evenimentul Zilei* de 29,05% à 10,48%). Les publications anglaises connaissent une évolution inverse, par l'augmentation de ces articles (*The Sun* de 0% à 13,33%, *Daily Mail* de 10% à 12%).

5.7. L'espace de circulation

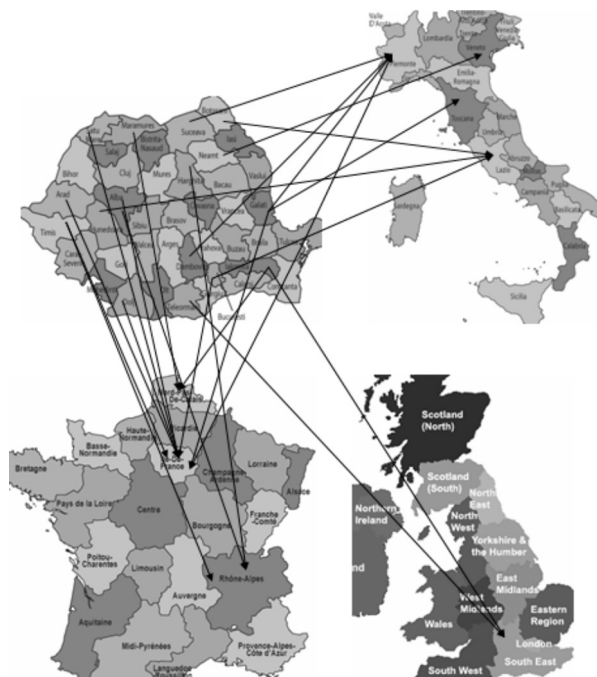
Conformément aux études sociologiques, l'Italie devient à partir des années 1996-1997 la destination principale des migrants roumains, tandis que l'Angleterre et la France représentent pour toute cette période des destinations secondaires. Les migrants roumains proviennent de toutes les régions de la Roumanie (Anghel & Horváth, 2009a, b; Diminescu, 2009; Sandu, 2006, 2010). Certaines études indiquent des trajets migratoires roumains: des familles de Dolj et Mehedinți qui passent d'Allemagne, en Serbie, en France (Nantes, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Caen, Limoges) et dès 2006 en Espagne (Maisongrande, 2008), des migrants roumains de Certeze qui vendent «le journal du pauvre» à Paris (Diminescu, 1996) et de Târgoviște qui ont une occupation similaire à Nice (Potot, 2003), des Roumains d'ethnie rome de Recaș et Timișoara qui s'établissent à Roubaix, Toulouse et Nanterre à partir de 1991 (Diminescu, Ohlinger & Rey, 2003, p. 9) et de Craiova qui migrent à Londres, à Lyon et à Rome (Jeler, 2006, pp. 99-105).

Les publications roumaines ne précisent que rarement la région d'origine des migrants roumains, pas plus que les quotidiens anglais et français. En ce qui concerne le pays de destination, les quotidiens anglais et français se concentrent de façon prépondérante sur les migrants roumains présents sur leur territoire national et dans une proportion réduite (à l'exception de *Daily Mail*) sur les migrants roumains d'Italie (en général des sportifs). Les publications roumaines se réfèrent premièrement aux migrants roumains d'Italie, puis à ceux de France et d'Angleterre. Pour la région de destination, les articles du corpus visent plutôt les migrants

roumains de trois capitales européennes et les régions correspondantes (Lazio, Île-de-France et Londres).

Un nombre réduit d'articles mentionnent autant la région d'origine que la région de destination, en permettant de repérer les trajets migratoires roumains. *Aujourd'hui en France/Le Parisien* signale en 2005 les roumains de Satu Mare qui en sont à leur deuxième expulsion à Essonne, les mineurs de Satu Mare rencontrés dans les rues parisiennes et les migrants d'ethnie rome de Timișoara organisés en fort réseau criminel ou à leur seconde expulsion en Seine-Saint-Denis. En 2010, la même publication indique les proxénètes et les prostituées de București, Buzău, Constanța et Galați qui exercent leur activité dans les régions françaises d'Alsace, Île-de-France, Lorraine, Picardie et Rhône-Alpes, le trafic humain de Timișoara vers Paris et l'expulsion des Roumains d'ethnie rome d'Alba Iulia, București, Craiova et Timișoara qui habitent dans les régions Rhône-Alpes et Île-de-France. *Le Monde* fait référence en 2010 aux mineurs roumains de Satu Mare qui se trouvent à Paris et aux migrants d'ethnie rome d'Alba Iulia, Baia Mare, Bărbulești, Galați, Tulcea et Petroșani présents dans les régions Île-de-France, Nord-Pas-de-Calais et Rhône-Alpes. *Daily Mail* révèle en 2010 que Munténie

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Țândărei et Roșiori) est la région d'origine des Roumains d'ethnie rome impliqués dans le trafic humain et dans l'occupation clandestine des habitations de Londres. Pour 2005, *Evenimentul Zilei* présente des migrants de Certeze et de Negrești Oaș qui travaillent dans les BTP de la région Île-de-France (initialement impliqués dans la vente du journal de rue), des migrants de Săbăoani et de Tulucești qui se sont orientés vers les régions italiennes de la Vénétie et de Toscana et le trafic humain organisé de Dâmbovița, Galați, Suceava, Tulcea et Timișoara vers les régions du Piémonte et de la Vénétie. Le même quotidien retient en 2010 les migrants d'ethnie rome de Timișoara, Petroșani, Arad, Alba Iulia, Bărbulești, Urziceni et Bihor

installés dans les régions françaises d'Île-de-France et de Rhône-Alpes, les réseaux de trafic humain de Țandărei qui agissent à Londres et les migrants roumains de București, Botoșani et Petroșani qui se prostituent à Rome.

Figure 5. L'espace de circulation.

6. Conclusions

Cette analyse, en utilisant une perspective quantitative, essaye de mettre en évidence la représentation médiatique du migrant roumain, soumise aux "pratiques quotidiennes discriminatoires" partagées socialement par les journalistes (van Dijk, 2000), et/ou aux valeurs de la presse, comme la négativité, la référence aux atteintes générales, l'amplitude, la continuité, la référence aux célébrités, la proximité géographique, la personnification (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, pp. 64-91; van Dijk, 1988b, pp. 120-124). Pour situer les limites de cette représentation, nous rapprochons de manière exploratoire cette image des migrants roumains proposée par les presses du pays d'origine et du pays de destination de la représentation identifiée dans le cadre des études sociologiques.

Les quotidiens, qu'il s'agisse des pays de destination ou du pays d'origine, sérieux ou tabloïds, se comportent généralement de façon semblable dans la sélection des éléments de la migration. Cette préférence des publications pour certains aspects de la migration s'explique soit par rapport aux stratégies discursives du groupe dominant envers les migrants perçus comme un groupe minoritaire (van Dijk, 1993), soit par rapport aux valeurs de la presse (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; van Dijk, 1988b). La ressemblance des quotidiens du pays d'origine avec la presse du pays de destination, de la presse de qualité avec la presse tabloïde peut intervenir par l'utilisation des sources communes, comme les agences de presse internationales. En plus, il semble que les migrants roumains ne constituent pas un public significatif ni pour la presse du pays d'origine, ni pour la presse du pays de destination.

La prémisse initiale est confirmée, la représentation des migrants roumains liée aux problèmes, de nature pénale et d'occupation illégale de lieux, intervenant comme une constante dans le traitement médiatique de ce phénomène social, en accord avec la tendance générale de représentation de la migration (van Dijk, 1988a). Parmi les spécificités de cette représentation, les migrants roumains, comme auteurs, sont associés majoritairement aux infractions moins graves, comme les vols. Les agressions graves des migrants roumains affectent d'habitude d'autres migrants roumains. Notre recherche indique aussi la présence d'une association négative double envers les Roumains: aux migrants qui «occupent» le pays de destination, aux *squatters* qui «occupent» les maisons des citoyens du pays de destination.

La typologie des migrants roumains, qui a déjà été identifiée dans la presse roumaine: malfaiteurs, victimes et héros/modèle (Beciu, 2012) est retrouvée dans les deux types de publications: du pays d'origine et du pays de destination. Comme modèle, les quotidiens proposent majoritairement deux catégories liées à la célébrité: les sportifs et les artistes. Nous constatons que le type du migrant n'influence pas seulement l'espace accordé, mais aussi le traitement collectif ou individuel et l'association à d'autres migrants.

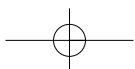
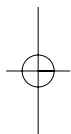
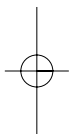
En ce qui concerne la migration roumaine récente, notre recherche observe l'existence des certains points communs entre les «pseudo-réalités» (Mogoș, 2009) de six quotidiens analysés et la représentation scientifique (les catégories d'âge, l'indication des destinations de migration etc.). Les différences interviennent au niveau du type de la migration et de la

dimension de genre. Ainsi, la migration de travail et la migration d'études apparaissent dans le discours médiatique d'une manière réductionniste par rapport à l'espace accordé et aux catégories mentionnées.

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«Luceafărul» et «Kultura», deux prémisses de modèles de pratiques diasporiques parisiennes

Résumé

Cet article compare les stratégies organisationnelles et éditoriales de deux groupes diasporiques: les Polonais réunis autour de l'Institut littéraire Kultura et les revues de l'exil roumain, principalement parisien. Le choix de la relation au pays d'origine, les positionnements par rapport aux idées européennes et l'implication dans des réseaux internationaux peuvent expliquer les durées de vie et l'influence très différentes des deux publications.

Mots-cléf: diaspora intellectuelle, revues littéraires, *Kultura*, exil parisien

Abstract

This article compares the organizational and editorial strategies of two diaspora groups: Poles gathered around the *Literary Institute Kultura* and the journals of the Romanian exile. The relation with the homeland, the position towards European ideas and the involvement in international networks could explain the very different lifetime and influences of the two papers.

Key words: intellectual diaspora, literary journals, *Kultura*, Paris exile

Rezumat

Articolul prezintă compară strategiile organizatorice și editoriale care definesc două grupuri diasporice: polonezii din jurul *Institutului Literar Kultura* și revistele exilului românesc. Relația cu țara de origine, poziționările față de ideile europene și implicarea în rețelele internaționale pot explica diferențele de longevitate și influența variabilă a celor două tipuri de publicații.

Cuvinte-cheie: diaspora intelectuală, reviste literare, *Kultura*, exilul parizian

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, des intellectuels des pays sous influence soviétique émigrent dans les pays occidentaux pour fuir les nouveaux régimes de l'Est. Cet article traitera de deux groupes diasporiques parisiens – roumain et polonais – en quête d'une identité, d'un mode de fonctionnement, de liens avec le pays ou la culture d'origine, de visibilité et d'influence. La question de départ relève du sens commun: pourquoi y a-t-il une différence entre les médias diasporiques roumain et polonais en France après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et quelle est-elle? Qu'est-ce qui fait la différence quand il s'agit de la vivacité et de la

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longévité d'une revue diasporique culturelle: l'organisation interne, le lien au pays, la participation à des réseaux, l'innovation, l'invention? Finalement, comment, chaque groupe se constitue en diaspora?

L'objectif immédiat est donc la mise en contexte et la compréhension de deux modèles de pratiques diasporiques. A un niveau plus général, nous nous interrogeons sur le rôle des revues des émigrés dans l'accompagnement au postcommuniste. Plus largement, la question porte sur les rôles des groupes diasporiques dans l'opposition au communisme est-européen et dans l'accompagnement du changement de régime. Cette question est un programme de recherche qui ne saura être élucidée en un seul article.

Dans le titre de l'article, nous employons le terme «prémisse» en tant que «point de départ, condition première d'un phénomène» (Trésor de la langue française), donc point de départ des activités des diasporas intellectuelles est-européennes en France après la guerre. Nos incursions dans l'histoire des deux phénomènes n'auront pas l'objectif de rappeler l'histoire détaillée des deux diasporas, mais d'évoquer les éléments nécessaires à l'analyse des médias diasporiques. Nous ne nous occupons pas des diasporas roumaine et polonaise dans leur ensemble, mais traitons du «cas *Kultura*» et de ce que nous appelons «le cas *Luceafărul*». La période que nous analysons ne s'arrête pas en 1989, mais continue aussi loin que les histoires des expériences médiatiques ont duré.

Au delà de la présentation monographique, qui a une importance certaine pour la compréhension des stratégies des deux groupes, l'intérêt de leur comparaison réside dans la mise en évidence ce que nous appelons des «modèles de pratiques diasporiques». L'analyse des revues des émigrés polonais et roumains permet de comparer deux types de fonctionnement des diasporas, fondés sur des valeurs très proches, mais ayant choisi des stratégies d'agir différentes. Les deux groupes diasporiques ont choisi la France pour son humanisme et son universalisme, ils ont choisi de manière naturelle de créer des revues culturelles à teinte principalement littéraire pour s'opposer au communisme qui s'installait dans les pays d'origine et pour valoriser les talents littéraires de leurs auteurs. Nous avons donc affaire à des «pratiques diasporiques parisiennes» qui se fondent sur des projets politiques, culturels, identitaires. La particularité historique de ces diasporas est qu'elles se sont mobilisées autour de leur projet tout de suite après leur installation à l'étranger. Les intellectuels dont il sera question ci-après portaient des idées et des idéaux qu'ils devaient transmettre le plus rapidement possible. Leur stratégie intellectuelle sera donc étudiée ici parallèlement à leurs stratégies organisatrices.

Nous traitons ici des médias créés par les diasporas elles-mêmes et non des participations aux projets médiatiques «majoritaires». Mais il sera inévitable d'évoquer les collaborations de leurs auteurs avec les radios (Radio Europe Libre, Radio France Internationale), les maisons d'édition, les revues culturelles, les associations, les organismes internationaux etc. Nous parlerons des diasporas parisiennes, mais les relations aux diasporas des autres capitales occidentales doivent nécessairement être prises en compte pour comprendre les phénomènes de l'émigration et des identités des exilés.

Nous éviterons, malgré une forte tentation, de parler en termes de réussite ou d'échec des pratiques ou des stratégies diasporiques. Car la question sous-jacente à la comparaison des deux modèles est pourquoi il y en a eu un qui a pu être poursuivi jusqu'en 2000 et même au-delà (le cas polonais) et l'autre non. Il s'agit de groupes similaires: les diasporas intellectuelles, des élites culturelles de deux pays qui se retrouvent en France après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et qui ont démarré la parution de revues culturelles au même moment, en 1947. *Luceafărul* ne vivra qu'une année. *Kultura* paraît jusqu'en 2000. La présentation des deux modèles sera

donc accompagnée plutôt de propositions théoriques que d'appréciations qualitatives. Nous nous appuyons sur les articles «programme» des deux revues (dans le n° 1 de *Luceafărul* et n° 2-3 de *Kultura*) qui présentent aussi les stratégies éditoriales: public cible, orientation politique, objectifs littéraires, sociaux, culturels... Nous ferons appel aussi à toutes les sources (journaux, analyses existantes) utiles à notre recherche. Notre intérêt premier porte sur la période de début des deux publications, mais nous suivrons aussi leurs évolutions dans le temps.

Nous explorons un «modèle» particulier de média diasporique qui, pour des raisons liées aux segmentations disciplinaires, a longtemps été laissé aux études littéraires, à l'histoire littéraire ou à la critique littéraire. Or, nous découvrons un vrai terrain d'étude pour les sciences de la communication, car il s'agit d'un média minoritaire au discours et aux objectifs politiques subtils. L'étude de ces revues littéraires apporte des informations précieuses à l'anthropologie culturelle de l'Europe, par les idées, les représentations, l'imaginaire véhiculé dans ses textes. Le sociologue trouve des données fertiles au sujet de l'organisation des intellectuels, de leurs réseaux, de leurs appartenances ou revendications d'appartenances. Finalement, l'histoire contemporaine ne peut ignorer le rôle de ces acteurs dans la lutte contre le communisme de type soviétique en Europe. Nous espérons ainsi ouvrir les champs disciplinaires et déplacer les notions de diaspora ou de transnationalisme de leur territoire originel qui est représenté par les théories de la migration.

La première partie de cet article posera les définitions des notions centrales de l'article: intellectuels, diasporas, transnationalisme et médias. La seconde partie contient une présentation factuelle des deux revues, de leurs ressemblances et différences. Les éléments présentés par la suite sont apparus comme révélateurs des différences entre les deux phénomènes suite à l'analyse thématique des textes étudiés. Il s'agit du débat sur le nihilisme ou l'héroïsme dans la culture européenne, du positionnement par rapport à la politique, des stratégies littéraires, des auteurs et du public. La dernière partie traitera des appartenances aux réseaux.

1. Les notions. Des diasporas au transnationalisme dans l'étude des revues littéraires

Quatre notions et un contexte historique définissent son sujet: intellectuels, diasporas, transnationalisme et médias dans le contexte de la guerre froide, de l'anticommunisme des exilés de l'Europe de l'Est et du passage au postcommunisme. Ces notions ont connu plusieurs définitions et redéfinitions au fil du temps, donc nous présenterons ci-dessous les approches suivies par notre recherche.

1.1. Intellectuels

Julien Benda définissait ainsi l'objectif de son ouvrage, *La trahison des clercs*: «[...] mon sujet est l'action que les clercs ont exercé dans le monde et non ce qu'ils ont été en eux-mêmes» (Benda, 1927, p. 60). C'est aussi notre objectif, ne pas analyser les protagonistes des histoires que nous rappellerons plus loin, mais leur action – collective avant tout. Les intellectuels formeraient «le groupe social séculaire des 'élus' avec une mission politico-morale plutôt que simple groupe de statut (*status group*)» (Bozóki, 1999, p. 2), ils seraient des «créateurs, des distributeurs et des employés de la culture: le monde symbolique de l'homme» selon S. M. Lipset (Bozóki, 1999). Nous parlerons donc des intellectuels de ce point de vue,

et nous évoquerons surtout des écrivains, qui agissent, s'impliquent dans le débat public, créent un débat (anticommunisme, antitotalitaire, d'opposition aux idées reçues en Occident).

1.2. Diasporas

Les spécialistes des études diasporiques considèrent qu'il existe quatre types de diasporas contemporaines, avec leurs exemples respectifs (Bruneau, 2010, p. 41):

1. La diaspora entrepreneuriale: Chinois, Indiens, Libanais;
2. La diaspora religieuse, associée à une langue particulière: Juifs, Grecs, Arméniens, Assyro-Caldéens;
3. La diaspora politique, quand le territoire d'origine est dominé par un pouvoir étranger et quand le souhait de la diaspora est la création d'un Etat-nation: les Palestiniens;
4. La diaspora raciale et culturelle: les noirs; les tsiganes.

Cette classification est particulièrement incomplète pour notre cas. Il s'agit peut-être du signe que les diasporas formées par les intellectuels exilés ne font plus partie des dossiers qui sur les bureaux des chercheurs. Ou bien c'est le signe d'une généralisation – erronée à notre sens – entre diasporas nationales et diasporas «thématiques». Il est vrai que, dans le même ouvrage, Rainer Bauböck parle des revendications politiques qui s'associent aux définitions identitaires collectives et individuelles des diasporas et qui seraient plus ou moins communes à toutes ces catégories (Bauböck, 2010). Néanmoins, le cas qui nous intéresse ici est très peu exploité par la bibliographie du domaine.

Les élites polonaises ou roumaines, exilées en France ou ailleurs après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, faisaient certainement partie des diasporas nationales respectives. Mais ils avaient aussi un rôle particulier, celui des meneurs, celui de passeurs et de formateurs d'idées. C'était une diaspora politique et culturelle à la fois, une diaspora de la parole, du mot, de la révolte, de l'éveil, comme une diaspora des liens avec la patrie-mère, de la préservation de l'esprit national perverti dans les pays par l'influence soviétique. Un objectif sous-jacent de cet article sera donc de prouver l'existence de cette catégorie et l'importance de sa reconnaissance pour les études des diasporas actuelles.

Pour définir un groupe diasporique, plusieurs critères et éléments entrent en jeu. Chaque groupe diasporique se définit (aussi) par rapport à sa nation d'origine. Mais la question de la continuité du rapport à la nation dans le temps et l'espace, «l'inévitable dépendance des identités diasporiques d'un *chez soi*, *la maison*, *homeland*, l'évaporation des cultures diasporiques par l'assimilation capitaliste et nationale» tendent à devenir des pistes anciennes d'étude (Bailey, Georgiou & Harindranath, 2007, p. 19). Les chercheurs se demandent si la nation n'était pas une fausse piste de recherche des diasporas, une piste biaisée, un contexte réduit, limitatif. A l'époque de la mondialisation, il serait temps de dépasser le nationalisme méthodologique, «l'imagination sociologique» de C. Wright Mills étant, somme toute, nationale. En pleine «modernité liquide» (Bauman), où même au-delà, il faudrait penser en termes de «cosmopolitisation» (Beck, 2002). La nourriture, la production, l'identité, la peur, le plaisir, le pouvoir ou la politique doivent désormais être pensés au niveau global.

Aujourd'hui les recherches se concentrent sur la ville ou le réseau, par exemple. Nous interrogeons l'environnement et les réseaux d'appartenance des diasporas qui nous intéressent ici pour comprendre leur action le rôle historique, politique, culturel des diasporas. Nous nous concentrerons beaucoup moins sur les rôles de communautés, que Bailey, Georgiou et Harindranath (2007) indiquent comme étant un autre enjeu épistémologique des recherches

actuelles sur les médias diasporiques, à côté de leur dimension cosmopolite. Nous ne sommes évidemment pas dans une logique de cartographie des mobilités non plus, ce qui nous intéresse avant tout étant le fonctionnement des médias diasporiques et les idées qu'elles véhiculent.

1.3. Transnationalisme

Souvent considérées comme synonymes, les notions de diaspora et de groupe transnational comportent des différences qui peuvent devenir des prémisses de recherche. Certains auteurs considèrent que diaspora est devenu une notion à connotation politique, pendant que les approches transnationales n'ont pas fait leur entrée dans les débats publics au même degré de politisation. Ces mêmes auteurs font remarquer que le terme de diaspora se réfère toujours à un groupe, à une communauté, et a largement été utilisé dans les études littéraires et historiques. Contrairement à eux, des concepts comme transnationalisme – et espaces, champs, formations transnationaux – se réfèrent aux «*processus* qui transcendent les frontières inter-nationales et donc décrivent des phénomènes plus abstraits dans un langage de science sociale» (Bauböck & Faist, 2010, p. 11). La distinction serait donc disciplinaire: sciences humaines d'un côté, sciences sociales de l'autre. Les «espaces transnationaux» sont définis par les liens «stables, durables et denses» qui traversent les frontières des Etats (Bauböck & Faist, 2010, p. 13). Ainsi, l'étude du transnationalisme est l'étude des réseaux qui ne sont pas toujours réduits aux limites nationales et qui sont chargés de la promotion des valeurs universelles – droits de l'homme, démocratie, égalité des genres (Faist, 2000).

Néanmoins, ce n'est pas pour autant que la difficulté du «nationalisme méthodologique», identifiée pour les études des diasporas, est plus facilement dépassée dans le cas des mobilités et des réseaux transnationaux. Cette difficulté est encore plus renforcée dans le cas des médias transnationaux, où le peu de recherches existantes tentent difficilement à dépasser les perspectives nationales.

1.4. Médias

Les médias ont le rôle le plus important dans la création et le maintien des relations sociales au sein des diasporas (nous ne parlons pas ici de relations communautaires). Les médias contribuent aussi bien à la mise en place de connexions au sein des diasporas et des sous-groupes des diasporas qu'au maintien des relations avec le pays d'origine. Les recherches actuelles pointent à juste titre le rôle des nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication dans la circulation des idées politiques, culturelles des diasporas. «Les médias deviennent de plus en plus importantes pour les diasporas car ils permettent l'accès aux images et aux sons et élargissent les possibilités pour la communication à double sens (*two-ways communication*) ou à sens multiples (*multiple-ways communications*) entre plusieurs lieux, groupes et individus» (Bailey & al., 2007, p. 17).

Plusieurs pistes de recherche des médias diasporiques semblent se dégager des diverses études de cas publiés récemment. L'analyse de leur fonctionnement *per se* apporte des informations sur le média, ses organisateurs, leurs objectifs, la communication qu'ils fournissent. L'étude des rapports entre les médias diasporiques et les médias nationaux du pays d'origine permet d'identifier les volontés d'invitation au débat, de mise en avant de valeurs ou d'interactions qui sont occultés, censurés. Les médias diasporiques sont «minoritaires» ou «alternatives» d'un double point de vue: par rapport aux médias du pays d'origine et par rapport aux

médias du pays d'accueil. Les analyser dans leur contexte environnant met en avant leur caractère de médias «identitaires», qui collaborent ou non avec les médias majoritaires.

Les perspectives nouvelles de recherche insistent sur le nouveau rôle des diasporas et de leurs médias, qui est celui de créer des identités hybrides. Dans le cas que nous analysons, il s'agit de la définition «classique» de leur rôle – maintenir les identités à distance, dans une perspective linéaire (voir en ce sens l'article de Mattelard (2009), qui indique la manière dont les disciplines ont accueilli le nouveau rôle des nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication au sein des diasporas et comment le sujet est passé des *migrations studies* aux *cultural studies*).

2. Les faits. La constitution des deux groupes diasporiques

A la fin de la guerre, des intellectuels de l'Europe centrale et orientale ont choisi de fuir les régimes soviétiques de leurs pays d'origine et se sont installés en Europe occidentale, aux Etats-Unis, en Amérique du Sud. Un nombre important de ces exilés a choisi la France, et principalement la région parisienne.

Les histoires des exils polonais et roumain au fil du temps sont différentes et ne supportent pas de comparaison factuelle. Au XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, des communautés importantes d'exilés économiques polonais se sont installées en Europe occidentale et aux Etats-Unis. Ils ont été rejoints par la vague de réfugiés politiques et de soldats vaincus qui ont fui la Pologne envahie par l'Allemagne et l'Union soviétique et divisée entre les deux pouvoirs après le pacte du 23 août 1939. Quelques 90000 militaires polonais ont trouvé refuge (officiellement internés) en Roumanie, Hongrie ou Lituanie. Plus de 32000 civils se sont échappés par la Roumanie et la Hongrie avec l'objectif de rejoindre la France ou les colonies françaises, car le gouvernement français avait promis d'accueillir les troupes évacuées. Un gouvernement en exil a été formé à Paris et déplacé à Londres après la défaite française de 1940. Dirigé par Wladyslaw Racziewicz et ensuite par Wladislaw Sikorski, le gouvernement en exil a été reconnu par Churchill et 51000 soldats formaient en 1945 le First Polish Army Corps. Des idées politiques et des démarches de projets fédéralistes ou confédéralistes ont ainsi commencé (Lane & Wolanski, 2009).

Un des régiments polonais à l'étranger était formé par les officiers et soldats libérés des camps et des prisons soviétiques, suite aux accords entre Staline et Churchill. Les fondateurs de *Kultura* en faisaient partie: Jerzy Giedroyc, avocat, ancien membre du gouvernement avant 1939, diplomate, éditeur de deux revues, Joseph Czapski, peintre et écrivain, Zofia Hertz et son époux, Zygmunt Hertz, avocats, Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski, critique littéraire. Sous le commandement du général Anders, ils avaient commencé à publier le journal du Bureau de propagande de l'armée, *Kultura*. Retrouvé en Italie et ayant quitté l'armée, Giedroyc crée à Rome l'Institut littéraire *Kultura* en 1946, qui déménagera à Maisons Laffitte fin 1946, principalement pour des raisons politiques liées aux positions du gouvernement communiste italien (Bolecki, 2009, p. 146). *Kultura* deviendra la revue la plus influente de l'exil polonais qui œuvrait pour la préservation de la culture polonaise et qui réfléchissait aux projets de l'après-communisme. La revue *Kultura* a cessé de paraître après la mort de son fondateur, en 2000, selon la volonté même de Giedroyc.

L'exil roumain ne connaît pas l'ampleur du phénomène polonais. Au XIX^e siècle, les noms des exilés les plus connus sont Iulia Hașdeu, Anna de Noailles, Elena Văcărescu, Marta

Bibescu, qui ont toutes suivi de raisons personnelles pour arriver en France (voir l'analyse de Behring, 2001). Les écrivains avant-gardistes de l'entre-deux-guerres représentent une vague d'exilés qui ne trouvaient pas en Roumanie le terrain, la liberté nécessaires à leurs créations. Il s'agit de Tristan Tzara, Gherasim Luca, Benjamin Fondane ou Eugène Ionesco, qui étaient chez eux à Paris et dans l'engouement créateur de la Ville Lumière. En cela, Behring (2001) refuse de considérer l'avant-garde littéraire comme un précurseur de l'exil de l'après 1945, motivé politiquement, socialement, culturellement, étendu sur presque 50 ans, qui «est arrivé à des traits bien définis, qui a pu créer des institutions influentes et produire une littérature originale, qui, par rapport au nouveau contexte culturel et par rapport aux évolutions littéraires du pays, a révélé, par rapport à la tradition, des spécificités qui ne peuvent être ignorées» (Behring, 2001, p. 20).

Cette chercheuse allemande identifie trois vagues d'exilés. La première, celle des années 1940-1950, a rassemblé des adeptes ou sympathisants du mouvement légionnaire et les partisans du maréchal Antonescu, les monarchistes, les opposants à l'idée d'une collaboration avec l'URSS. Plusieurs de ces exilés ont profité des postes diplomatiques externes pour rester à l'étranger, comme c'est le cas de Mircea Eliade, Virgil Gheorghiu (auteur du roman *La 25^e heure*), le romancier Vintilă Horia, Emil Cioran, le poète Horia Stamatu (passé par deux ans à Buchenwald pour son adhésion au mouvement légionnaire), George Uscătescu, essayiste. L'autre type d'émigrés de la même vague étaient les écrivains et jeunes intellectuels déçus par l'après-Antonescu et le gouvernement Sănătescu, qui ont choisi l'exil: Virgil Ierunca, Monica Lovinescu, tous les deux boursiers à Paris, en 1946 respectivement 1947, Ștefan Băciu, jeune journaliste, Alexandru et George Ciorănescu, etc.

La deuxième vague, des années 1960-1970, est celle des persécutés politiques (Nicholas Catanoy), des émigrés des années 1960 libérales (Ion Ioanid), de ceux qui ont refusé le compromis politico-culturel (Dumitru Tsepeneag, Ilie Constantin, Petru Popescu), Paul Goma, expulsé en 1978 en France, le critique littéraire Matei Călinescu, Virgil Nemoianu, Ion Negoitescu, Virgil Tănase, Ioan Petru Culianu, Sanda Golopenția, Ion Vianu, Petru Dumitriu.

La troisième vague est celle des années 1980, marquées par beaucoup de restrictions, et est constituée principalement d'écrivains qui ont choisi en nombre important l'exil. Norman Manea, critique et opposé au régime, a fui à New York, via l'Europe. Ion Caraion, poète et essayiste, s'est établi à Lausanne. Alexandru Papilian arrive à Paris et est embauché à RFI. Dorin Tudoran s'en va aux États-Unis. Matei Vișniec, dramaturge, s'est établi à Paris.

La plupart de ces écrivains, mais surtout ceux de la première vague, participent à la création de revues de l'exil. Nous avons choisi comme point de repère *Luceafărul. Revue des écrivains de l'exil*, qui est la première revue de l'exil post 1945, sans directeur officiel, mais publiée par la communauté des exilés roumains parisiens de l'époque: Mircea Eliade, Virgil Ierunca, Mihail Villara, Horia Vintilă, Alexandru Andronic, etc.

3. Les corpus. Les éditions Kultura et les revues de l'exil roumain

L'objectif premier de Giedroyc était la publication de livres, et ce projet a été largement respecté. Mais ses collaborateurs l'ont vite convaincu de la nécessité de la publication d'une revue. Finalement, *Kultura* est devenue une vraie maison d'édition, qui publiait le mensuel *Kultura* (637 numéros pendant 53 ans), la collection Bibliothèque de *Kultura* (démarrée en 1953), où l'on publiait de la littérature, de l'histoire, et du journalisme (350 titres parus), et

le périodique *Cahiers historiques*, publié à partir de 1962, avec des articles sur le XX^e siècle (Bolecki, 2009, p. 144) (170 numéros jusqu'à aujourd'hui, source *Kultura*). Les archives de l'Institut Littéraire, devenu aujourd'hui Association Institut Littéraire *Kultura*, sont en train d'être numérisées à Maisons Laffitte, par des archivistes de Varsovie. En 2009, ces archives ont été incluses dans le Registre pour la Mémoire du Monde de l'UNESCO.

Pour ce qui est des publications de l'exil roumain, il nous semble qu'il n'est pas raisonnable de considérer le titre *Luceafărul* seul. D'autres publications paraissaient à cette période: *Ori-zonturi. Bulletin mensuel pour la propre information et documentation* (Stuttgart, 1949-1953), *Destin. Revue culturelle roumaine* (Madrid, 1951-1972), *Caete de dor. Métaphysique et poésie* (Paris, 1951-1972), peut-être l'héritière en titre de *Luceafărul*, *Gânduri libere. Revue littéraire et culturelle* (1952-1953), *La Roumanie indépendante* (1945-1959), *Revue d'études roumaines* (à partir de 1953), *Semne. Revue de pensée, art et littérature* (1960-1963). Nous ferons référence à plusieurs de ces publications dans cet article, sans commettre des fautes méthodologiques trop importantes. Car, comme le fait remarquer Behring (2001), les mêmes auteurs rédigent pour la plupart de ces revues, parues dans plusieurs capitales européennes, et décident de leurs lignes éditoriales. Nous parlons ici de Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Horia Stamatu, Ștefan Baci, Basil Munteanu, Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Alexandru Busuioceanu, George Uscătescu et d'autres encore.

Albu et Anghelescu (2009) indiquent que nous sommes ici en présence d'un véritable réseau intellectuel, car les mêmes auteurs publiaient dans toutes ces revues et ils faisaient souvent des comptes rendus des œuvres littéraires publiées par les auteurs des revues. Il y avait certes des aller-retour de ce type, que nous appellerions plus volontiers communauté intellectuelle que réseau. Ces auteurs parlent aussi d'un projet commun qui amènerait au «consensus culturel»: «éparpillées sur tout la mappemonde, [ces élites] essayeront et même réussiront un consensus culturel dont les valeurs se propageront par leurs revues, leurs sociétés et leurs cercles» (Albu & Anghelescu, 2009, p. 60).

La comparaison quantitative est d'avance inégale, même si les numéros de toutes les revues roumaines assemblées pourraient approcher ceux de la *Kultura* polonaise. Pour rendre la comparaison plus palpable, nous aborderons donc principalement les programmes de revues, leurs objectifs et leurs profils. Les éléments présentés ci-dessous nous ont paru comme les plus intéressants dans la présentation des cachets des deux revues.

4. Les objectifs identitaires et éditoriaux

4.1. Nihilisme ou héroïsme dans la culture européenne

L'objectif de *Kultura* était de proposer une «position activiste, même héroïque, qui s'oppose au pessimisme et même au nihilisme» (Bolecki, 2009, p. 152). Nous touchons ici peut-être à la distinction la plus importante entre les deux publications. Car, pendant que *Kultura* se tourne vers l'avenir et s'oppose aux discussions philosophiques sur le pessimisme européen, *Luceafărul*, et surtout les revues qui lui suivent, ont développé tout un programme sur le nihilisme. Behring (2001, p. 79) recense les articles et les ouvrages des auteurs roumains à ce sujet: «De l'esprit roumain, une étude du dissident Mircea Vulcănescu», in *Caete de dor*, Paris, 1952; *Europa absenta*, George Uscătescu, Madrid, 1953; «Le destin de la culture roumaine», Mircea Eliade, *Destin*, 6-7/1953; *La tentation d'exister*, Paris, 1956 et *Histoire*

et utopie, Paris, 1960, Emil Cioran; «L'impasse des utopies», «Le déclin de la théorie», Horia Stamatu, *Fapta*, n° 7/1956 et n° 8-9/1957; «Ernst Jünger et l'essence du nihilisme», George Uscătescu, *Caete de dor*, 1960.

Ce qui ressort, c'est l'image que les exilés ont de l'Occident. En empruntant à Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Scheler ou Oswald Spengler, les auteurs roumains s'immiscent dans le débat sur le pessimisme envers le progrès. L'Occident serait en pleine chute, et seulement sa capacité à se renouveler pourrait le sauvegarder. George Uscătescu (1969) s'adresse aux Roumains du pays, dans le contexte du «nouvel accès à la liberté de la culture roumaine». Le nihilisme auquel il incite est celui qui mène à la révolte de l'artiste, pris au piège de «la Société technocratique et l'Etat technologique». «Et celui-ci fait sienne la croyance que 'ni les anges ni les humains' ne peuvent l'aider et dans son âme croit la révolte. C'est ainsi que naît l'homme révolté, le nihiliste, des milliers et des milliers de disciples de Nietzsche, Dostoïevski et Lautréamont, et des grands non-conformistes. La Révolte et la Liberté vont ensemble.» (p. 9) Toujours Uscătescu, dans un article de 1956 expliquait que l'optimisme est interdit aux exilés car il signifie le retour au pays, retour impossible à ce moment-là (Uscătescu, «Nouvel itinéraire», *Destin*, n° 10/ 1956, quoted in Behring, 2001).

Du côté de *Kultura*, la déclaration des éditeurs, publiée dans le numéro 2-3 de 1947, évoque le renouveau et un mouvement littéraire qui représente une chance pour la renaissance de la culture européenne: «La culture européenne a perdu sa consistance, son habilité de résister et de rayonner. Cette période de menaces de l'après-guerre ne durera pas longtemps. [...] *Kultura*, se retrouvant au cœur même des aspirations européennes et de la renaissance culturelle, souhaite profiter de ce privilège et renouveler les liens avec le mouvement intellectuel polonais aussi bien en Pologne que dans la diaspora.» (Bolecki, 2009, p. 152)

Illustratifs pour ces lignes éditoriales sont les sommaires des premiers numéros des deux publications diasporiques. *Kultura* (Rome, 1947) avait choisi «La crise de l'esprit» de Paul Valéry, «La chute de la civilisation» de Benedetto Croce, un extrait de «La croisade sans croisées» d'Arthur Koestler, des essais politiques sur le marxisme et l'existentialisme, une étude de l'œuvre de Lytton Strachey, des poèmes de Federico Garcia Lorca et des extraits de mémoires et travaux des Polonais en URSS (Bolecki, 2009, p. 151). *Luceafărul* (Paris, 1947) publiait l'avant-propos, l'article de Mircea Eliade sur «Deux traditions spirituelles roumaines», Mihail Villara, «Louange à la culture roumaine», le poème de Horia Vintilă «Exil», «Confluences» d'Alexandru Andronic, une chronique culturelle sur la soviétisation de la culture roumaine par Iosif Moldoveanu. Les programmes éditoriaux sont donc clairement distincts. *Kultura* deviendra un véritable laboratoire d'idées européennes (voir le mémoire de master de Jolanta Dziewit). L'exil roumain sera très concentré sur ses propres activités.

4.2. Quelle politique?

Kultura n'était liée à aucune des sociétés polonaises de l'exil. Giedroyc a toujours tenu à préserver son indépendance intellectuelle et a refusé les mainmises sur sa revue. Le programme de *Kultura* était à la fois politique et social: politique car souhaitant la chute du communisme, la libération des pays sous influence soviétique et l'indépendance entière pour la Pologne, et social car réfléchissant aux fondements de la démocratie moderne et à la société moderne en Pologne. Ne croyant à la force des partis politiques, le créateur de *Kultura* voulait que sa revue soit «une arme intellectuelle qui accomplisse des objectifs politiques» (...). «*Kultura* s'est impliquée en politique en ne prenant part à aucune action, mais en créant des idées,

des pensées, et une vision, ciselant l'imagination politique et la sensibilité des lecteurs sur des sujets liés à la vie publique en Pologne, en Europe et dans le monde.» (Bokecki, 2009, p. 153).

Une question qui ne se pose pas nécessairement pour l'exil roumain – grâce, pour une fois, à son manque d'organisation en pôles – était les conflits entre diasporas. Or, le positionnement par rapport aux autres centres de la diaspora polonaise était central pour *Kultura*. Si l'enclave de Maisons Laffitte représentait la Pologne intellectuelle hors les frontières, le groupe diasporique de Londres était avant tout politique. Les relations entre les deux étaient certes respectueuses, mais mêlées de réserves des deux côtés (Bolecki, 2009, p. 153). Giedroyc caractérisait les londoniens par «une absence totale d'imagination, un emprisonnement dans le ghetto londonien. [...] Ils me considèrent comme un imposteur, car personne n'est derrière moi. Je n'ai pas été Ministre ou Ambassadeur. Je n'ai pas appartenu à aucun parti. Je n'ai pas de passé vénérable. Je ne suis pas colonel, je n'ai été que premier lieutenant pendant la guerre et avant j'ai été fusilier» (Boleck, 2009, p. 153). *Kultura* se comparait donc principalement avec un autre groupe diasporique polonais.

En ce qui concerne *Lucașfărușul*, Eliade écrivait à Basil Munteanu, le 8 septembre 1948, que «la revue n'est pas politique et n'est pas polémique. Son seul caractère politique c'est le fait qu'elle paraît» (Albu & Anghelescu, 2009, p. 152). En cela, l'objectif déclaratif de *Lucașfărușul* se rapproche de celui de *Kultura*. Mais, naturellement, et comme dans le cas polonais, il y avait des connotations politiques dans les textes, parfois des discussions qui n'étaient pas en rapport étroit avec le caractère littéraire du texte principal. Ces revues «s'étaient constituées aussi avec le but de devenir un contrepouvoir face aux revues du pays, où les rédacteurs étaient obligés – certains – ou acceptaient volontiers – les autres – un asservissement total envers le régime contrôlé par les soviétiques.» (Albu & Anghelescu, 2009, p. 153)

Dans le préambule du premier numéro de *Lucașfărușul* (1947), les auteurs parlent de «la pire crise du peuple roumain, dans sa longue et dramatique histoire», car il ne s'agit plus de la soumission des terres, mais «de l'abus de son âme». «Jamais on n'a essayé avec tant d'acharnement la mutilation de notre tradition historique, la perversion de notre langue, de nos croyances et de notre culture, l'anéantissement de notre spiritualité authentique.» Le pays se confronterait donc avec «un nouveau système de néo-servitude [*neoiobagie*] sans pareil dans l'histoire universelle» (*Lucașfărușul*, n° 1, 4). L'objectif de la revue était donc avant tout culturel et les autres revues de l'exil gardent principalement cette même ligne. Politiquement, il était souhaité la chute des régimes communistes, principalement en Roumanie, mais sans qu'une réflexion sur l'après-communisme soit menée.

En même temps, tous les écrivains exilés «ressentent le besoin de garder vivante la langue, l'art et la culture roumaine» (*Lucașfărușul*, n° 1, 1947). La notion de patrie, de pays d'origine et ses valeurs était très présente dans la réflexion de ces émigrés. Behring propose une interprétation sociologisante de cette représentation. Selon elle, la compréhension du pays par les exilés roumains se faisait en tant que communauté ethno-psychologique – telle qu'elle fut définie par Ferdinand Tönnies, c'est-à-dire «une forte identité du 'nous', des valeurs de légalité et d'ordre, d'humanité et d'honnêteté, liées aux valeurs chrétiennes fondamentales de l'amour, de l'espoir, de la croyance, comme de la quête d'un sens transcendantal à la vie» (Behring, 2001, p. 77).

L'objectif commun des deux revues était la lutte contre le communisme, mais dans le programme de *Kultura* figurait aussi la nécessité d'une collaboration entre la Pologne et les autres nations de l'Europe centrale et orientale afin de s'entraider dans cet objectif.

4.3. Quelle littérature?

Les crises de la littérature dans les pays d'origine animaient toutes les diasporas de l'Est. Le rôle que s'étaient fixés les rédacteurs de *Kultura* était de «'créer au sein de l'émigration un mouvement de pensée et d'action dans la sphère de la culture', d'organiser la vie polonaise selon les principes de l'égalité sociale, de la justice sociale, du respect pour la loi et de la dignité de la personne humaine» (Bolecki, 2009, p. 147). Avec des idées inspirées par les Lumières, l'idéal de Giedroyc était de mener des réformes sociales par des activités éducatives, académiques, littéraires.

Le rôle de *Kultura* est immense dans le rassemblement de la «communauté littéraire invisible» des émigrés (Bolecki, 2009, p. 168). Elle a récupéré et sauvé pour la littérature polonaise des auteurs qui auraient pu rester moins connus: Gombrowicz, Milosz, Straszewicz, Bobkowski, Herling-Grudzinski. Pour Giedroyc, la littérature, contrairement aux partis politiques, pouvait créer des modèles et inspirer le travail intellectuel, forger des attitudes qui puissent être investies par la suite dans l'intérêt de la communauté (Bolecki, 2009, p. 169).

Le programme de *Luceafărul*, publié dans son premier numéro, déplore la politique d'élimination des auteurs classiques en Roumanie. Ainsi, le rôle des écrivains exilés, qui bénéficiaient de la liberté d'écrire, sera de continuer la tradition littéraire et de combler «la syncope littéraire et culturelle roumaine», dans les conditions où création littéraire dans pays n'est pas digne de ce nom à cause des contraintes auxquelles elle est soumise (*Luceafărul, Cuvânt înainte*, n°1, 1947, p. 4). Dans le préambule de la revue *Destin*, 1951, n°1, les auteurs parlent du choix des exilés de la «liberté de soumettre notre réalité et celle de notre peuple à une analyse sans ménagements et courageuse» (citée dans Behring, 2001, p. 89). Il s'agit donc aussi d'une littérature engagée, agissante, pour les deux cas.

4.4. Quels auteurs?

Luceafărul souhaitait rassembler «tous les écrivains roumains de l'étranger, aussi divers soient leurs idéaux artistiques et aussi antagonistes soient leurs perspectives spirituelles. Cette collaboration n'a pas seulement le mérite de refléter la pluralité de nos orientations littéraires. Mais ce rassemblement gagne aussi une signification d'actualité immédiate: il témoigne de leur foi en la liberté [souligné dans l'original] et en leur idéal commun d'une histoire qui avance vers la libération de l'homme et non vers son asservissement» (n°1, 1947). Les auteurs se considéraient eux-mêmes comme des «écrivains engagés» et croient en l'importance du «moment révolutionnaire» qu'ils vivent, quand les intellectuels s'opposent à la «dictature culturelle des occupants actuels» du pays. La confiance en leur mission est renforcée par «la liberté de pensée et d'expression, si difficilement gagnée par les élites européennes et roumaines» (n°1, 1947).

Pour sa part, Giedroyc ne recherchait pas nécessairement des points de vue pluralistes, mais des «gens qui puissent provoquer» (Bolecki, 2009, p. 153). Le réseau des collaborateurs était très élargi pour pouvoir toucher aux sujets intéressants la Russie, la Lituanie, l'Estonie, la Lettonie, la Biélorussie, l'Ukraine et l'URSS.

4.5. Quel public?

S'adressant aux émigrés polonais, mais aussi aux Polonais du pays, *Kultura* voulait tirer un signal d'alarme sur la crise de la civilisation européenne, sur les dangers du communisme

soviétique et du nationalisme allemand, sur la situation très inconfortable dans laquelle se trouvait l'Europe centrale. *Kultura* est parfois décrite non comme une publication des exilés, mais comme une publication nationale qui paraissait à l'étranger (Lane & Wolanski, 2009, p. 203). La revue avait quelques 10000 abonnements et 1600 exemplaires arrivaient en Pologne par des moyens illégaux, le plus souvent dissimulés dans les bagages des voyageurs (Lane & Wolanski, 2009, p. 203). Elle était considérée comme un journal de l'élite, les témoignages postcommunistes indiquant que les classes populaires connaissaient peu l'existence de *Kultura*.

Si Giedroyc souhaitait que *Kultura* touche au plus grand nombre de lecteurs parmi l'émigration polonaise, c'était pour éviter que «les émigrés s'éloignent des affaires polonaises et pour que leurs liens avec la patrie-mère [*homeland*] ne deviennent pas seulement émotionnels et nostalgiques» (Bolecki, 2009, p. 152).

Luceafărul «est écrite pour les Roumains hors les frontières» (n° 1, 1947). Mircea Eliade, dans le même premier numéro, décrit la situation de la diaspora roumaine d'après la guerre comme inédite: «Pour la première fois dans notre histoire on peut parler d'une vraie *diaspora* [souligné dans l'original], parce que cette fois-ci la masse des réfugiés représente toutes les classes sociales et toutes les professions, et elle se répand sur toute la terre.» (Eliade, 1947, p. 27) La revue leur est adressée donc. A cause de l'absence quasi totale de samizdat en Roumanie, les revues de l'exil n'ont pas circulé dans le pays, à l'échelle de *Kultura*.

5. Les réseaux. Participations et initiatives

L'appartenance à des réseaux plus ou moins répandus ou la création de réseaux fait dépasser le niveau de groupe diasporique communautaire et permet la caractérisation d'un groupe transnational. Nous évoquons brièvement ici les relations des deux médias que nous analysons avec les intellectuels français et nous présentons plus en détails l'affiliation de *Kultura* au Comité pour la liberté et la culture et l'initiative de l'exil roumain de publier les Cahiers de l'Est.

5.1. Revues et réseaux «majoritaires»

Delaperrière (2012) pointe le paradoxe qui a caractérisé les relations entre *Kultura* et l'élite intellectuelle française. Giedroyc a refusé de publier un seul numéro en français, malgré sa reconnaissance envers son accueil dans ce pays. Les auteurs de *Kultura* ne publient pas dans les revues françaises non plus. Néanmoins, comme le démontre le même auteur, les contacts avec l'intelligentsia française étaient riches. Des «interventions ponctuelles et sporadiques» (Delaperrière, 2012, p. 232) ont fait que des personnalités comme Georges Bernanos, François Mauriac, Jacques Maritain, Daniel Halévy ou André Malraux soient devenus des amis de *Kultura*.

La lecture des journaux des membres de la diaspora roumaine indique les échanges très riches à l'intérieur de cette communauté. Lovinescu, Ierunca, Cioran, Ionescu, Eliade, Tudoran, Berindei, Goma, Nedelcovici, Stolojan communiquaient très souvent et constituait sans doute un «réseau», comme le nomme aussi Crăciun (2009). Mais les traces du réseau en dehors de la communauté roumaine ne sont pas très prégnantes. Il y avait les relations avec les grandes maisons d'édition, certes. Bujor Nedelcovici était devenu en 1987 membre de la rédaction d'*Esprit*. Mihai Niculescu (*L'Homme et la terre roumaine*, à Paris), Vintilă Horia (*Poésie roumaine*, à Salamanque), Ștefan Baciș (anthologies) ou Virgil Ierunca («Littérature

roumaine», dans *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, en 1957) publient en français des anthologies ou des critiques littéraires roumaines. Leur visibilité était donc relativement assurée.

5.2. Preuves. Revue française du Comité pour la liberté et la culture

Pierre Grémion propose une analyse aussi factuelle et objective que possible du rôle du Congrès pour la liberté de la culture dans la lutte occidentale contre le communisme est-européen, en se gardant bien d'insister sur le rôle de la CIA dans le financement de ses activités (Grémion, 1995). L'organisation a été créée à Berlin en juin 1950 grâce au pilotage de cinq personnalités: Melvin Lasky, Sidney Hook, Arthur Koesler, James Burnham et Irving Brown. Cent dix-huit personnalités participent au Congrès fondateur, et leurs noms paraissent dans *Der Monat*, revue berlinoise de Lasky. Parmi les participants français au Congrès, nous mentionnons Denis de Rougemont, Raymond Aron, André Malraux, Gabriel Marcel, Claude Mauriac. Grémion (1995) identifie quatre groupes parmi ces personnalités: les intellectuels anciens communistes, la résistance européenne non-communiste, les fédéralistes européens, les intellectuels émigrés des pays communistes. De ce dernier groupe faisaient partie beaucoup de russes, deux Tchèques, un Letton, deux Polonais: Joseph Czapski et Jerzy Giedroyc. Czapski est le seul intervenant qui parle de l'Europe centrale et surtout de sa situation culturelle. On commence ainsi à faire la distinction entre la situation en URSS, largement débattue par les intervenants russes, et l'Europe centrale, soumise à la soviétisation, mais souhaitant garder son cachet. Le 29 juin, Arthur Koesler a présenté le «Manifeste aux hommes libres», qui était le programme en quatorze points du Comité pour la liberté de la culture. En 1951, le Secrétariat général du Congrès est établi à Paris.

François Bondy est nommé directeur des publications et investit Czapski du projet de création d'une université des exilés. Il établit un programme de publications proposé à la réunion de Bruxelles, en novembre 1950. Pour la région qui nous intéresse, il est question de l'URSS, de la Tchécoslovaquie, de la Bulgarie, de la Pologne, de la Yougoslavie.

En mars 1951 commence la parution de *Preuves. Cahiers mensuels du congrès pour la liberté de la culture* et publie dès le début le nom de six publications éditées en France, considérées comme «sources fiables»: *La Réalité russe*, le *Bulletin de l'Association d'études et d'informations politiques internationales*, *Masses-Information*, *Kultura*, *Contact*, *Les Cahiers critiques du communisme*. Les objectifs de preuves étaient la défense de l'Europe et l'appui des valeurs européennes dans le combat contre le stalinisme, dans la tradition entamée par Denis de Rougemont, la dissociation entre culture russe et soviétisme; l'avancement de preuves contre le soviétisme (Grémion, 1995, p. 76). Il semble qu'on ait proposé à Giedroyc de transformer *Kultura* dans l'organe officiel du Congrès, mais le directeur de Maisons Laffitte a préféré son indépendance à cette reconnaissance internationale (Delaperrière, 2012, cite les journaux de Giedroyc).

Un épisode important dans la vie du Congrès et de la revue est l'accueil à Paris de Czeslaw Milosz. Réfugié à *Kultura* en 1951 après avoir rompu son contrat d'attaché culturel à Washington de la part de la Pologne populaire, il a été reçu à Paris par Silone et Denis de Rougemont de la part du Congrès et a publié dans *Preuves* tout de suite. Dans la collection «Essais et témoignages» de *Preuves*, il a publié quelques mois plus tard *La Grande Tentation. Le drame des intellectuels dans les démocraties populaires*, qui préfigure *La Pensée captive* et donne un nouveau souffle au Congrès pour la liberté de la culture.

Constantin Jelenski, essayiste polonais, est devenu, avec le soutien de Giedroyc, le directeur de la section Europe de l'Est du secrétariat général du Congrès. Il est devenu un collaborateur fidèle de Bondy et de *Preuves*. A l'apogée de *Preuves* et du Congrès, il décide ensemble avec Bondy de la lignée éditoriale de leurs publications, qui est ouverte sur le monde russe et germanique, mais qui publie aussi bien Gombrowicz, Cioran ou Ionesco.

5.3. Cahiers de l'Est

La revue paraît de 1975 à 1980 (20 numéros) aux éditions Albatros, ensuite, de 1991 à 1992, sous le titre *Nouveaux cahiers de l'Est* (quatre numéros), aux éditions P.O.L. L'initiative appartient principalement à Dumitru Tsepeneag, son objectif étant de ne pas faire une «revue d'émigration», mais avait «l'ambition de publier une revue internationale à Paris» (Tsepeneag, 1997, note du 7 août 1974). Le directeur de la publication était Sanda Stolojan, ancienne interprète officielle des présidents français de De Gaulle à Mitterrand.

L'objectif de la revue, formulé par Tsepeneag, rédacteur en chef, dans le premier numéro était de faire connaître au public occidental la vraie littérature de l'Est, qui ne se limitait pas à la littérature de contestation ou de témoignage, du type Soljenitsyne, à laquelle il était habitué. «Faire connaître en Occident la littérature de ces pays, pas seulement celle du témoignage, mais aussi celle dans laquelle se dévoilent de nouveaux mondes d'écriture, des formes nouvelles d'expression.

Mais le but profond de notre revue serait qu'elle n'ait plus de raison de paraître: cela voudrait dire que tous ces écrivains soient lus, appréciés, jugés selon les mêmes critères que les écrivains de n'importe quel autre pays, qu'il n'y ait plus la littérature de l'Est et l'autre» (Tsepeneag, 1975, p. 2).

Le premier numéro publie Ionesco, Tibor Dery, Octavio Paz, Horia Stamatu, François Fejto, Sorin Mărculescu, etc. Le second numéro publie Mircea Eliade, Miodrag Pavlovic, Lesez Kolakowski, Janos Pilinszky, Matei Călinescu, etc. Le numéro trois publie Milosz, Michel Deguy, Lajos Kassak, Bernard Noël, György Konrad, Constantin Jelenski, Wisława Szymborska, etc. c'est-à-dire, entre autres, des textes de Milosz traduits du polonais par Jelenski pour les Cahiers de l'Est et parus dans *Kultura*, un entretien avec Constantin Jelenski sur la littérature polonaise. Ce projet éditorial est peut-être le seul qui lie les diasporas intellectuelles polonaise et roumaine. Mais peu de références mutuelles se trouvent dans les deux médias.

En 1991, le constat de Tsepeneag est qu'il n'y a pas plus de connaissance de la littérature de l'Est en Occident que 15 ans auparavant, à part la publication de quelques nouveaux écrivains. Un nouvel objectif se rajoute à celui formulé en 1975: «faire connaître en France et dans d'autres pays francophones les écrivains de l'Est, entretenir un vrai dialogue Est-Ouest et contribuer à ce que les écrivains et les lecteurs de l'Est de l'Europe approfondissent leurs relations, car, attirés comme ils le sont maintenant par la culture occidentale, ils s'ignorent davantage entre eux. La langue française devient ainsi un véhicule privilégié pour les échanges culturels est-européens, ce qui représente un fait nouveau.» (Tsepeneag, 1991, p. 10)

Les quatre numéros de la nouvelle série ont été thématiques et reflétaient les préoccupations de l'après guerre froide: «A l'Est, dans l'imaginaire populaire, on cherche le coupable: le Juif? le Tsigane? l'Intellectuel?», «L'érotisme et ses tabous», «Les écrivains: Le pouvoir des sans-pouvoir?», «A l'Est, quelle modernité?», avec des contributions des auteurs de l'Europe centrale et orientale.

Une véritable coopération ou collaboration entre *Kultura* et les Cahiers de l'Est n'a jamais existé, mais même en 1991, la nouvelle série de la publication de Tsepeneag publie des textes ou des notes critiques sur les «auteurs de *Kultura*» comme Gombrowicz ou Czapski.

6. Conclusion: quelles diasporas?

Les positions et opinions des membres de l'exil roumain ont été entendues après 1989. Il est difficile de dire quelle a été leur influence exacte, mais il est certain qu'ils ont été écoutés et respectés au moins par une partie de la population. Comprendre les sens des idées des exilés roumains ne peut se faire à la simple lecture des revues. L'analyse des livres et des journaux intimes offre davantage d'informations sur les liens au sein de cette communauté diasporique d'exilés.

La plupart des historiens se mettent d'accord pour dire que l'influence des idées véhiculées par *Kultura* parmi les intellectuels polonais était très importante. Pour les années 1980, Snyder (2003) parle d'un «consensus en faveur du programme de *Kultura* qui était évident parmi l'intelligentsia de l'opposition polonaise qui a joué un rôle important dans Solidarnosc». Des éléments du programme de *Kultura* ont été mis en application par les gouvernements post-communistes: indépendance des voisins orientaux de la Pologne, acceptation de leurs frontières existantes et renoncement à toute volonté de modification des frontières à l'Est.

Lane et Wolanski (2009) sont plutôt mitigés quant à l'influence de *Kultura* et argumentent que la revue n'était pas suffisamment connue en Pologne. Et pourtant, ces deux auteurs, comme tout Snyder (2005), s'appuient sur des entretiens et des témoignages. La divergence de leurs résultats démontre la difficulté d'une démarche en termes qualitatifs au sujet de phénomènes relativement anciens. Ils sont aussi un défi pour les chercheurs de ce terrain d'étude. Notre objectif principal n'a pas été de mesurer et de comparer l'impact de deux groupes, mais avant tout de comprendre leurs différences à travers leurs idées.

Une des distinctions principales entre les deux cas étudiés est l'autodéfinition et donc le rapport à soi et au pays d'origine. Il n'y a pas de doute, les Roumains se considéraient comme des exilés et analysaient leur propre situation depuis cette position. Les élites de l'exil qui signaient les articles des revues diasporiques roumaines «souhaitaient qu'ils puissent décider eux aussi, de l'exil, de l'identité culturelle des Roumains, être des intermédiaires entre la culture roumaine et celle du pays hôte, être pour les exilés des foyers de rencontre et d'échange d'idées» (Behring, 2001, p. 45). Seul Eliade (1947) a essayé de donner le ton d'une «diaspora». Mais les autres auteurs roumains ne l'ont pas suivi et ont continué à parler de manière unanime d'«exil».

Or, dans les textes de *Kultura*, le mot n'est quasiment pas employé. Il s'agit de l'émigration polonaise et non d'un exil. Cette distinction sensible est définitoire du groupe diasporique polonais: les liens avec le pays devaient être gardés, l'influence dans le pays devait exister, la Pologne vivait par *Kultura* en dehors de ses frontières. Paradoxalement, l'enclave de Maisons Laffitte, comme l'Institut littéraire a souvent été nommé, n'a pas échoué dans l'isolement. Bien au contraire, ils ont développé une dimension cosmopolite qui a dépassé le niveau national, leur polonité. La lucidité de Giedroyc, qui était profondément européen et admirablement lucide et actif quant à l'avenir de la Pologne, s'opposait aux vues nobles et érudits, mais peu praticables sans un vrai programme, exposées par Eliade en 1947. La «vision œcuménique du monde et de l'histoire», que ce dernier prônait, n'a pas su trouver d'application durable. Le

projet des *Cahiers de l'Est* s'approche de cet objectif, mais, contrairement à *Kultura*, reste au niveau purement littéraire et ne sait pas s'ancrer autrement dans les consciences des gens, dans l'imaginaire diasporique ou national. D'autres projets postérieurs et contemporains, comme les revues *Seine et Danube* et *Au Sud de l'Est* (cette dernière ressemble plus que la première au projet de Tsepeneag), proposent à Paris de l'information sur une région somme toute peu connue en France. Le projet de rassemblement des archives ou des réseaux des diasporas centre-européennes qui sera initié par *Kultura* est aussi un avancement vers la consolidation des moyens des diasporas intellectuelles (source Association de l'Institut littéraire *Kultura*).

Dans les pays, après 1989, les membres de l'exil roumain ont pu être publiés et ont pris part aux débats initiés par la société civile naissante. Une fois la censure disparue en Pologne, *Kultura* a cessé d'être la seule publication indépendante. Les auteurs de *Kultura* ont commencé à publier en Pologne et des auteurs du pays ont publié dans *Kultura*. Petit à petit, le monstre sacrée de Maisons Laffitte, «le mensuel littéraire-sociétal s'est transformé en un périodique politique, mais ses éditeurs n'ont jamais renoncé aux articles culturels, principalement sur des sujets littéraires» (Pomian cité par Bolecki, 2009, p. 180). Par ailleurs Giedroyc a refusé toutes les distinctions polonaises qu'on lui a offertes.

Le modèle de fonctionnement des deux groupes est très différent. *Kultura* bénéficie de l'autorité d'un directeur, d'un meneur, qui est identifié à l'ensemble. *Luceafărul* avait certes Eliade, ou Lovinescu, ou Ierunca, mais les préoccupations universitaires et ensuite le départ pour les Etats-Unis du premier et les investissements dans l'activité littéraire et radiophonique à Radio Europe Libre et ensuite RFI pour les deux autres ont fait que l'exil roumain a été finalement peu structuré. A cela s'ajoute le fameux «exil intérieur» qu'on leur a souvent reproché qui faisait que chacun se concentrait sur sa propre tâche ou œuvre sans essayer de sortir de sa tour d'ivoire.

Ce qui sépare également les deux modèles de médias diasporiques est le fait que *Kultura* est devenue petit à petit un phénomène transnational pendant que *Luceafărul* (et nous incluons ici toutes les publications de l'exil roumain) demeure une pratique diasporique communautaire, tournée par son contenu presque exclusivement vers le pays d'origine. Ils s'intègrent dans le débat théorique au sujet de la «préservation des frontières» (*boudary-maintenance*) en tant qu'élément définitoire des diasporas (Brubaker, 2005). Le cas roumain est caractérisé par des relations soutenues à l'intérieur du groupe, même à travers plusieurs pays. Il correspond donc à ce type de diaspora. Mais ses membres, pris individuellement, privilégient en quelque sorte l'intégration dans la société d'accueil. Nous serions donc dans la situation d'une «diaspora malgré elle» ou malgré les volontés individuelles de ses membres, qui s'autodéfinissent surtout en tant qu'exil. Le cas polonais est caractérisé par des relations officielles, d'ordre intellectuel et pratique, avec les autres, l'extérieur. Mais ses membres souhaitent et respectent un certain isolement géographique (le groupe est clairement identifié à sa location de Maisons Laffitte) et relationnel (les rédacteurs vivent et travaillent dans la maison de l'Institut) pour s'assurer l'indépendance intellectuelle. Ainsi, de fait, *Kultura* est un exemple parfait de diaspora qui privilégie l'«érosion des frontières» (*boudary-erosion*), tout en choisissant un modèle de vie fermé, communautaire. Il s'agit donc d'un modèle d'identité hybride (dans la logique des études transnationales rappelée par Brubaker, 2005) malgré lui.

L'activité éditoriale est définitoire du cas polonais. Sa revue est l'enjeu principal de son existence. Le mensuel *Kultura* est un média diasporique par excellence qui, peut-être, contribue à empêcher la scission du groupe et son explosion ou sa diffusion dans la logique du mouvement transnational. Les revues de l'exil roumain n'ont pas été peu fertiles, mais peut-

être que la multitude des titres a empêché la formation d'un courant à véritable impact transnational. Pour *Kultura*, le média a fait maintenir la diaspora. *Luceafărul* a été fait par la diaspora, qui s'identifiant plus volontiers à un exil.

Sans avoir la prétention de bouleverser les catégories et de dévoiler des vérités cachées, notre article aboutit à enrichir les informations théoriques au sujet des diasporas intellectuelles et à rendre (encore plus) connues deux entreprises médiatiques dont les objectifs littéraires et culturels étaient indissociables des visées politiques et qui ont marqué notre temps.

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Debating Migration as a Public Problem: Diasporic Stances in Media Discourse***

Abstract

This explorative study focuses on the construction of migration as a public problem through media discourse. Adopting Rogers Brubaker's suggestion to approach diaspora as "a idiom, stance and claim", we start from the assumption that journalists, when discussing migration, adopt diasporic stances, expressing loyalties and moral commitments and articulating them in the debate through practical arguments. Focusing on the media debates generated, in August 2010, by a declaration of Traian Băsescu, president of Romania, on the effects of migration, we identify three types of media discourse: the policy approach discourse, the professional accomplishment discourse and the citizen-as-victim discourse. We systematically relate these types of discourses with the arguments invoked for or against migration, and their subjacent loyalties. We conclude that through such diasporic stances, journalist engage diaspora in an instrumental manner, instituting a one-dimensional perspective on it, along the traditional view of the social-political victimization.

Key words: diasporic stance, migration, public problem, media debate

Rezumat

Acest studiu explorativ investighează construcția, prin discursul mediatic, a migrației ca problemă publică. Abordând, pe urmele lui Rogers Brubaker, diaspora drept „un idiom, o poziționare și o enunțare”, pornim de la asumția că jurnaliștii, atunci când discută migrația, adoptă poziționări diasporice, exprimând loialități și angajamente morale și articulându-le în dezbateri prin intermediul argumentelor practice. Concentrându-ne asupra dezbaterilor media generate, în August 2012, de declarațiile președintelui Traian Băsescu despre efectele migrației, identificăm trei tipuri de discursuri cu privire aceasta: discursul de evaluare a politicilor publice, discursul realizării profesionale și discursul cetățeanului-ca-victimă. Încercăm să stabilim conexiuni sistematice între aceste tipuri de discursuri și argumentele invocate, împreună cu loialitățile subiacente acestora, în favoarea sau împotriva migrării. Concluzionăm că prin asemenea poziționări diasporice jurnaliștii mobilizează o reprezentare a diasporei într-o logică a instrumentalizării, instituind o perspectivă unidimensională asupra acesteia, concordantă cu victimizarea socio-politică ce caracterizează viziunea tradițională asupra diasporei.

Cuvinte-cheie: poziționare diasporică, migrație, problemă publică, dezbateri mediatică

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1. Introduction

This paper approaches the role of Romanian media discourse in debating the theme of migration, in the broader context of the relation between migration and diaspora. We are interested in identifying how competing definitions of migration as a public problem lead to types of media discourses on migration and how the various arguments advanced in this debate allow journalists to adopt and make visible diasporic stances. The broader theoretical framework of our research relies on recent developments in cultural and media studies, investigating the configuration of civil sphere as a solidarity sphere, the relation between publicly expressed loyalties and moral commitments and civic engagement and political participation, and media responsibility towards their public.

The research starts from Rogers Brubaker's call to treat diaspora "not in substantialist terms, as a bounded entity, but rather as a idiom, a stance, a claim". (Brubaker 2005, p. 12). Looking at diaspora mainly as a category of practice (as opposed to treating it as an analytic category), Brubaker is interested in understanding how diasporic stances can be used to remake the world rather than merely describe it. Treating diaspora as "idiom, stance and claim" amounts to formulating identities and allegiances of a certain population in particular contexts, by making claims, articulating projects, mobilizing energies or appealing to loyalties. Those formulating such identities and allegiances might not necessarily be members of the diaspora, but this is irrelevant for the performativity of such discourses. Brubaker's remark that "those who do the formulating may themselves be part of the population in question; or they may be speaking in the name of the homeland state" (Brubaker, 2005, p. 12) opens thus a direction of investigation, adopted by this research, for cases where the constellations of allegiances are invoked in public debates and various participants (members of diaspora or not) adopt a diasporic stance (even temporary, hypothetically, provisionally) to make their discursive interventions effective. In discussing various public issues, allegiances towards an ethnic or national community might be counterbalanced by other individualistic, collectivistic or cosmopolitan loyalties. Consequently, this paper will survey and map the interaction between various types of loyalties invoked and various types of discourses generated in a media debate on professional migration in Romania, aiming at understanding how diasporic or emigrationist stances might be adopted by journalists and bloggers in evaluating various public policies.

The problem of the role of media in building a civil sphere is the broader theoretical context of our approach and, in this context we will highlight the relation between the discursive construction of public problems, which mobilizes loyalties and generates diasporic stances, and the role of civic journalism in a context of mobility and cosmopolitanism, since journalist participatory practices and interventions in the public arena cannot ignore the geo-cultural dynamics of the contemporary, globalised world. In our case, we are interested in understanding how various arguments regarding migration and diaspora emerge in the public sphere, as part of the process of defining a public problem (Gusfield, 1981). We aim to show that pointing to emigrational consequences as a strategy to evaluate and reject various policies or public initiatives on the one hand mobilizes multifarious allegiances of the journalists who thus perform a "symbolic work of division and classification" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 10), but on the other hand, as a side effect, generates a representation of the diaspora in the traditional logic of the social-political victimization.

Our analysis focuses on a media debate in August 2010, generated by a declaration of the President of Romania, Traian Băsescu, regarding the opportunities stemming from the migration of highly qualified doctors and nurses, but also from generalized forms of migration. Other events in the same month both intensified and extended the media debates on the topic of migration: France's decision to expel Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria, a tragic incident in a maternity ward in Bucharest revealing the shortcomings of the Romanian health system, and a governmental political decision regarding taxation of independent income that produced turmoil in Romanian media. The media corpus for this research follows the broader debate, being deliberately selected to include various journalistic practices and genres and thus to allow an insight into the complexity of how the problem is articulated in the public arena (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). Our aims are rather explorative than systematic, consequently the analysis aims at investigating and illustrating the consequences of certain methodological and analytical options rather than at an in-depth understanding of a single case of media debate.

In the context of Romanian media debates, understanding the diasporic phenomenon does not follow traditional approaches (such as those overviewed by Bruneau, 2010). Diaspora is seen mainly as the result of the massive migration occurring after the fall of communism, be it the migration of the unskilled labor force, benefiting preeminence both in media and public debates, or the migration of highly-skilled professionals, a phenomenon gaining more and more visibility over the last years. The theme of migration constantly features on the Romanian media agenda, albeit somehow in the background of the main discourse. It is usually brought forward by changes in host countries' policies regarding migrants or by incidents in the migrants' communities. The politicians seem to reactivate the migrants as a voting body during elections or use them as a living proof of misguided policies when they take a stand against foreign governments' decisions which affect the diaspora. The surge of profound social turmoil brought about by the economic crisis has triggered increased interest in the diaspora as a provider of money for families left behind and as a nurturing home for those who chose to emigrate in search of more felicitous living standards. While the early '90s witnessed political migration (with migrants seeking a way out of the instability of social and political life in a former Communist country) and the early 2000s, economically motivated migration, the latest wave of immigrants seems to be driven away from the country by very diverse factors, among which hope for professional improvement, disappointment in public policies and political life in general, and failure of the state to provide appropriate working environments for specialists. Following the liberalization of labour force movement in the EU, the habitual construction workers and domestic helps have been joined by highly professionalized immigrants, among which doctors and nurses cut a particularly striking figure.

It is against these recent developments that we set our analysis of the strategic use of the theme of professional migration in the Romanian media, part of a larger research project about media's discourse on diasporic identity.

2. The reconfiguration of civil society

Civil society defined as a 'solidarity sphere' implies the fact that rational, good-willed individuals trust other independent persons to build 'a particular kind of solidarity' fed by a variety of social values which are accepted as a foundation for public engagement through this

very understanding of individuals as trustworthy (Alexander, 2001, pp. 339-340). This civil society, 'exhibited and sustained by public opinion, deep cultural codes, distinctive organizations – legal, journalistic and associational – and such historically specific interactional practices as civility, criticism and mutual respect' (Alexander, 2006, p. 31) is defined in both moral and cultural terms (in opposition with the standard Habermasian approach, which tends to include cultural commitments in ethics, rather than morals). Various degrees of regulation and fragmentation characterize processes of in-group/out-group movements into the civil sphere, but they all project a vision of the dynamics of civil sphere and of the cultural and moral foundation needed for cohesion into this civil sphere (Kivisto & Faist, 2007, p. 46). Alexander also describes civil society as containing not only symbolic categories but also structures of feeling (among which, the idea of the public 'as it has inserted itself into social subjectivity' – Alexander, 2006, p. 72). The result is the pervasiveness of civil society discourse in a variety of social and political movements seeking validation ('The normative reference of the public sphere is a cultural structure, the discourse of civil society' – Alexander, 2006, p. 72). The focus on the cultural dimension of the civil sphere seems to encourage an analysis of political engagement as cultural practice and an understanding of the importance of moral commitments for community identity.

The dynamics of citizenship in nation-bound communities (caused in part by the fragmentation of public sphere and the individuals' pursuit of rights) is further complicated in transnational migrant communities, against the background of globalization. The downplay of nation-states together with the emergence of multiple actors of governance and the growing reality of cosmopolitanism are some of the factors leading to a new understanding of citizenship. If the state is no longer the single container of citizenship, we need to look at the implications of cultural citizenship as a 'crucial site of governmentality' (Miller, 2002, p. 242).

Given that identity is experienced beyond nation-based frames, we need to understand how this identity is governed and given a political expression. Understanding that virtue ethics is fundamental in the development of the citizen, it follows that 'if we are to have global rights and cosmopolitan citizenship, we need to evolve a language of obligation and virtue' to account for the moral commitments of cosmopolitan citizens (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 8). Postnational and denationalised conceptions of citizenship need to charter the particularities of citizens' rights, obligations and practices (Sassen, 2002, p. 288). Since there is no global public sphere to gather the moral aspirations of citizens of the world, would the rise of cosmopolitan citizenship imply the death of the civil sphere through lack of participation in politics? One way to charter the civic involvement of the cosmopolitan citizen would be to allow for the existence of 'the sphere of cosmopolitan duty'; yet universalistic ethical commitments are hard to map; 'the sphere of cosmopolitan rights' would be a second; yet there arises the difficulty of enforcing such rights; finally, 'the sphere of cosmopolitan democracy' poses the problem of instruments for global governance and of their effect on the global distribution of power (Linklater, 2002). Yet another way is to imagine a return of citizens' allegiances towards their communities of origin, with this added value of cosmopolitan perspective. In this context we can understand the role played by 'transnational' or 'cosmopolitan' citizens in the national imagination.

3. The performative dimension of citizenship

The communitarian argument of culturally-derived citizenship (and, more generally, the normative view on citizenship as being bound in a consensual community) is challenged by theorists who regard citizenship in its social dynamics, and community, as “a highly relational concept” (Delanty, 2002, p. 159). An understanding of community as highly cohesive (and consequently, of parochial citizenship) is a negation of moral universalism in favour of dominant culture. In opposition, in a postmodern vein, we should assume the heterogeneity of communities; moreover, once Habermas looked at community as communication community, we need to look at critical debate in the public sphere (rules of discourse and forms of argumentation) to understand discursive democracy. The focus on the relational nature of community does not rule out the importance of cultural communities in favour of, for instance, political communities; rather it recognizes their importance for shaping political communities reflexively. Delanty argues for “a reflexive, internally differentiated and communicative understanding of community and citizenship that is more in tune with contemporary developments, allowing us to speak of a cosmopolitan institutionalization of communities of dissent” (Delanty, 2002, p. 160). Consequently, we are to look at developing social practices to understand the changing nature of citizenship.

Yet we cannot equate political engagement and participation with manifestations of a live civil society; the performative dimension of political participation and of individuals' role as civic agents is important. Acquiring civic identity is as much a cultural as a social action, and civic competence is developed equally through political engagement and interaction with other citizens. It follows that “to understand the origins of civic agency and competence, we need to look beyond the public sphere itself, into the terrain of the private – or, expressed alternatively, into the experiential domain of everyday life” (Dahlgren, 2009, p. 75). Those cultural experiences and practices (in Dahlgren's terms, civic cultures – “cultural patterns in which identities of citizenship, and the foundations for civic agency, are embedded” – 2009, 103) will be relevant for political participation and, more generally, for the functioning of the public sphere. Civic cultures are the normative framework in which civic engagement develops, feeding on knowledge, values, trust, spaces and identities (Dahlgren, 2009, p. 108). Civic competence supposes the development of an understanding of civil society; civic agency involves putting this knowledge to work in the interactions with other people.

An analysis of the performative dimension of citizenship must therefore focus on culturally significant practices forming a system of meanings. In discussing cosmopolitanism as ideology, Goodman insisted on the importance of systemic practices: “An analysis of global culture (...) requires the identification of a set of practices that constitute a cultural field” (Goodman, 2007, p. 335). The distinction remains valid about cultural practices of communities in general.

Political participation involves issues of ideology, power, legitimacy, representation. Political engagement is accompanied by political deliberation, which is, differences and nuances notwithstanding, an illustration of the interactional dimension of the public sphere. In this light, the role of the media in producing and hosting political deliberation needs to be considered from the perspective of the “discursive construction and representation of politics in action” (Wodak, 2009, p. 23), namely everyday politics. From the array of media evolutions in the last decades, of interest here is the transformation of media audiences into publics that are involved in deliberation and perform their civic identities through discourse (“Media au-

diences that coalesce into publics who talk about political issues – and begin to enact their civic identities and make use of their civic competencies – (...) manifest a transition from the private realm into the public one, making use of and further developing their cultures of citizenship” – Dahlgren, 2009, p. 74). In this way, communities build narratives which are not unlike those of imagined communities (Tsaliki, 2003).

Citizenship is building on these possibilities of direct engagement. The connection long established by Habermas between discourse and democracy is confirmed by participatory journalism and the participatory culture at large. The citizen is increasingly more than a socially involved agent; she is a “communicative agent” (Coleman, 2001, p. 111).

4. The role of the media in building a civil sphere

It is now time to develop the argument that the media can offer the scene needed for the build-up of a civil sphere. Two propositions derive from here: (i) that, by inviting debate, the media help highlight mutual interests by mediating between publics and (ii) in doing so, they create the possibility of public action.

The media have long been pinpointed as instrumental in negotiating and reflecting the meanings and ideological allegiances of individuals and communities. So long, that the complex relations of power between the media and their public have become clichéd (Curran, 2006, p. 139). Understanding the exchanges between media and the publics, the configuration of the knowledge circulated among the media and the public, the fields of action opened up to the publics thus empowered and the ethical implications of this interchange is, undoubtedly, one of the most fertile grounds to explore in future years (in the words of Couldry, “a new map of media studies” should include “two crucial landmarks (knowledge, agency) that, assuming media research still wants a critical edge, imply a third (ethics)” – Couldry, 2006, p. 187).

An overview of the evolution of the idea of media influence over civil society and political activism might prove effective. From the view of the media as reflecting and serving society to its more radical counterpart of media managing society, social theory moved towards acknowledging the relevance of the interpretive schema of the public. A version of liberal functionalism still allows for the media playing a leading role in society, but seeing them rather as agencies of social integration than agencies of influence. While traditional liberal analysis emphasizes media democratic functions (watchdog role, information and debate role, representation of people to authority), the radical functionalist approach takes this argument towards the idea of media actively producing consensus (which involves the notion of ideological agency).

In the age of increasing reflexivity, the media appropriate the reflective instruments needed to turn spectators into an active, conscientious public. If, along this reality, one goes a step further towards the ideal of an ethical public space, then the media should be seen as a moral force enabling and creating such representations. The permanent negotiation of meaning and opinion (the *contrapuntal* seen by Silverstone, 2007, as the mediating logic governing the mediapolis) allows the creation of a moral public life (“our media provide the most pervasive and persuasive perceptual frameworks, in an increasingly global society, for the way in which meanings, representations and relationships to the other are offered and defined” – Sil-

verstone, 2007, p. 101). We must allow for the media (as a communicative institution) to provide interpretations and define representations of the public.

In a skeptical account of the dynamics of media power, Curran and Seaton blame the optimists for hailing rejuvenation of civil society and new forms of political activism a little too soon: their stand “extrapolates from the technological potential of the net the view that a powerful engine of change is at work, and then fastens on to a few hopeful straws of evidence to confirm the advent of a brave new world.” (Curran & Seaton, 2003, p. 264) One such “straw of evidence” encouraging future media influence is the “many-to-many” communication that is well adapted for multiple audiences. Another is the growing representativeness of the users. In Curran’s view, two more objectives should be featured in the analysis of media-democracy relationship: “to facilitate the expression of conflict and difference” and “to assist social conciliation” (Curran, 2002, p. 239). The role of media as facilitator of civil society endeavours – as alternative, rather than prescriptive direction – might prove meaningful.

Media offer a battlefield for much political struggle for domination and a propitious stage for building identities and allowing them to manifest themselves. “[C]ontemporary media culture provides forms of ideological domination that help to reproduce the current relations of power, while also providing resources for the construction of identities and for empowerment, resistance, and struggle” (Kellner, 1995, p. 2). In building hegemony (by producing and selecting representations), the media discourses are not unlike political discourses. If we allow for a broader definition of ideology beyond the obvious statements in a text, to include “discourses and figures, concepts and images, theoretical positions and symbolic forms” (Kellner, 1995, p. 59), we are justified in attempting a critique of meanings and means in the journalistic discourse.

5. Defining public interest

Who are the public that the media address in discussing professional migration? As a mediator between different cultural spaces and social actors, the journalist should give a voice to each of them. The idea of a pluralistic, ‘fractured’ public, ‘a patchwork of co-existing and overlapping communities’ (Coleman & Ross, 2010, p. 123) implies that media diversify their perspectives and cannot use moral universalism as a frame of reference and explanation for events. The diaspora itself, seen as a category of practice, a fragmented community negotiating meanings between various cultures, is hard to capture as a uniform, constant, static public.

This difficulty adds to the more problematic definition of public interest. If the public is a plurality, public interest should accommodate this plurality. If social solidarity is produced in the public space through symbolic negotiation (see Calhoun, 2002), then journalists are expected to create this common space for debate, which in the long run will help create a civic culture. While the social responsibility of the journalist might be resisted as deterministic and illiberal, it cannot be ignored that the interpretive dimension of journalistic discourse results from a certain understanding of public space and the role of the journalist. In addressing public interest, the media cannot rule out the moral stance in favour of neutrality, since the journalists themselves are citizens, in need of protecting a democratic society. Standards like ‘the political and economic establishments, the morals of the nation and the state, the citizens’ basic rights, and the conceptions of good that guide society’ (Cohen-Almagor, 2005, p. 91) im-

bue codes of ethics and performance standards and make the case for normative and ethical reporting when covering issues of vital concern for a community.

The rise of fragmented publics and the accompanying question of media accountability pose problems as regards media policies: media should then present a 'story' that is true to every public and allows various publics to understand each other and still facilitates agreement and public action (Coleman & Ross, 2010, pp. 128-129). If such conditions are not met, then the public may fail to feel responsible for the 'other' (and the diaspora is quite liable to become the other, not only because of the geographical distance, but mainly because of its susceptibility to plural cultural allegiance). Once the self-reflexive public is given such empowering tools, the media cannot just stage deliberation, but reflect deliberation that is taking place among various publics. One solution to the issue of media morality (as discussed by Chouliaraki, 2006, and Silverstone, 2007) would be to allow imagination to play its part in designing new patterns of collective life (Appadurai, 1996) that would help communities not only imagine better worlds, but construct them. Within this frame, research of social build-ups would play the part of imagination going practical (Appadurai, 2000).

By encouraging reflexivity, media take a stand on inducing social change. One of its instruments is mediation, defined by Silverstone as the "dialectical process in which institutionalised media of communication are involved in the general circulation of symbols in social life" (Silverstone, 2007, p. 109). It is shaped towards the ideal foundation of the mediapolis by proper distance (which might be seen as the sensible approach of difference), trust (in the view the media take), complicity and collusion (in accepting the mediation of the media) and responsibility (for such shaping). A further step is to see mediation as a political process insofar as its potential to define public response and cosmopolitan traits in spectators (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 18).

The dilemma is how to negotiate between the consequence of such mediation and public action. The ethical role of the media derives not only from responsibility to educate the public, but from the infinitely more difficult task of inviting public action in the name of the civic sensibility it has thus created. The moral issues involved by mediation derive from two transformations it brings about: immediacy and deterritorialization, both of which raise the issue of "rendering various moral horizons adequate" (Tomlinson, 2002, p. 252). In line with Tomlinson (who asks for taming moral issues from distant spaces, rather than require people to cover the "moral distance"), Chouliaraki tackles "the problematic of governmentality" associated with mediation, given its potential to influence the conduct of the public (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 71). The long-standing issue of media power is thus reworded as the trickier problem of media responsibility.

6. The discursive construction of public issues

It is then of interest to see how political engagement is represented in the media and how political and civic identities are constructed and recontextualized in the media. Announcing the theme to a public, allowing definitions and interpretations of the theme by various social actors, including the theme on the media and political agenda, initiating debates on the various meanings and implications of the theme are stages in building the larger dimensions of the theme. Raising a theme to a public issue is a matter of policy; for instance, "the way in

which the press builds *public issues* around the European theme signals a certain positioning on the European agenda” (Beciu & Perpelea, 2011, p. 7).

One useful thread of analysis would be to understand whether the issue of migration is constructed as a public problem through public deliberation. One of the classic approaches to the sociology of public problems, which we take as the framework of our analysis, belongs to Joseph Gusfield. He asserts that cognitive and moral dimensions are essential for turning a phenomenon into a public problem. The moral dimension of a public problem “enables the situation to be seen as painful, ignoble, immoral. It is what makes alteration or eradication desirable or continuation valuable.” (Gusfield, 1981, p. 9). Cognitive dimensions regard the facticity of the problem, but also the beliefs regarding the alterability of the phenomena. In order to solve the issue of symbolic power and authority in defining the problem, Gusfield introduces the concepts of ownership and disownership. “The concept of ownership of public problems is derived from the recognition that in the arenas of public opinion and debate all groups do not have equal power, influence and authority to define the reality of the problem. The ability to create and influence the definition of a public problem is what I refer to as ownership” (Gusfield, 1981, p. 10). The avoidance of an alleged obligation to create or solve a problem is disownership. “The question of ownership and disownership is very much a matter of the power authority groups and institutions can muster to enter the public arena, to be kept from it or to prevent having to join” (Gusfield, 1981, p. 12). Two more concepts are needed to describe the content of the problem, causal responsibility (the facticity of a situation, what generates the problem), and political responsibility, which is a matter of policy (attributing guilt, solving problems), fed by a moral understanding of the situation. “The structure of public problems is then an arena of conflict in which a set of groups and institutions (...) compete and struggle over ownership and disownership, the acceptance of causal theories, and the fixation of responsibility” (Gusfield, 1981, p. 15). A consensus over the situation as such and over moral implications is then needed to treat a phenomenon as a problem. Following such an analytic framework, defining public interest is rather a process coextensive with the public debates and not a product of such debates, once adjudicated.

7. Context, research questions, methodological choices

On August, 4, 2010, in an interview on the national TV station, TVR, president Băsescu took up a theme lately cherished by the media, the migration of doctors and its consequences on the already crippled medical system. His declarations managed to inflame spirits: “Let us not make a drama out of the fact that we are going abroad. Romania’s grand objective was the liberalization of work force market. Our right to leave where we are better off. Where our work is correctly paid. At this moment, the Romanian state cannot pay its doctors, teachers, their worth, it cannot, that is reality.” Since the interview took place in the context of an IMF visit, many opinion articles made reference to the whole declaration, which stole some of the limelight from the topic under discussion here. Furthermore, editorialists and bloggers tend to use the problem of professional migration as a sub-theme in a broader debate about the challenges and missed opportunities in Romanian society development. For instance, a tragic incident taking place in a state-owned hospital several days after the declaration triggers a rippling effect, with the majority of journalists referring back to the chronic problems of the system, which fail to be addressed by authorities.

Such discussions on the national, government-funded TV station, TVR, are an opportunity for the president to pinpoint some issues circulated in the media on a public scene, free from the constraints of official declarations. In the days to follow, the press usually take over the most important points and discuss them in detail. The press structure their discourse to highlight the confirmation effect of the president's speeches (the clear-cut position of the president confirms the type of reactions the public expect from him), the reinforcement effect (the president's declaration resonates with the politicians' lack of interest in the individuals' fate) and the cumulative effect (this is just one of the many offences from politicians a citizen must take).

Because of the format and context of the interview, the general feel is that the president is presenting a definite, absolute version of the facts; the press constantly position themselves in a different perspective and build arguments to discuss the declarations made from this position of authority. On the one hand, we have a landmark of the state of affairs, and on the other, a detailed, well-grounded, expert-based analysis of the ideas in the discourse as such and of the implications of the president's assertions.

As we mentioned previously, the debates generated by Traian Băsescu's declarations regarding migration were further fueled by France's decision to reiterate its practice of expelling illegal Roma migrants back to Romania, and by a governmental decision regarding the taxation of independent incomes which generated bureaucratic chaos, feeding journalists' distrust in the government's competence and their desire to leave the country.

The corpus covers the debates on migration in August, 2010, and is deliberately constituted to reflect the heterogeneity of journalistic genres and practices, which allow journalist both to report and investigate (adopting allegedly neuter stances, for instance in pieces of news and interviews), and to adopt an explicit evaluative position, to engage in debate and express moral commitments (i.e. in opinion articles or blog posts). Consequently we selected the opinion articles published on *Vox Publica*, the blogging platform of the important news channel RealitateaTV, where prominent editorialists and journalists debate issues stemming from political actuality. A number of ten opinion articles published in august 2010 and relevant for the topic of migration have been retained. These opinion articles are examined in relation with pieces of news and opinion articles published by the generalist daily newspaper *Adevărul*, but also in relation with the articles on the topic published by *Pagina Medicală* (The Medical Page), a portal specialized in news for doctors' community.

Our analysis is structured by two research questions:

R.Q.1. What competing definitions of the public problem of migration are made visible through the media debate?

R.Q.2. What types of loyalties are invoked in this debate and what kind of arguments do they coalesce in relation with the topic of migration?

Methodologically, our approach amounts to a systematic reconstruction of the media debate through a theoretically motivated grid of analysis. Thus, the first research question employs Joseph Gusfield's framework for the analysis of public problems and aims at identifying how competing definitions of the problem of migrations are structured and what types of media discourses on migration are articulated around these definitions. The second research question starts from Brubaker's alternative view on studying diaspora, looking at the types of arguments invoked in the media debate for justifying or rejecting migration. Such arguments, frequently expressed from the putative condition of a person considering emigration,

can be treated as instances of practical reasoning where a claim for an action is justified by various types of premises. In a recent model on practical reasoning, the values play a constitutive role – they represent a type of premise in the argument, supporting the goals of the agent committed to them but also “informing the selection and description of relevant circumstances” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 46). It is at this discursive level that Brubaker’s concept of loyalty will be operationalized, equating loyalties with expressed or implicit value commitments. Some media genres are more prone to allow engaged stances to journalists, loyalties being expressed as overt moral commitments in opinion articles and blogs, while others, of a more neuter stance, as news or life stories of immigrants, allow an indirect identification of loyalties via the presentation of the circumstances of migration. These loyalties will be groups in etic categories of analysis relying on the typology of arguments developed by Balabanova and Balch (2010) to discuss the ethical framing of intra-European migration. Through these methodological options we aim, in the second research question, at identifying the types of arguments structuring the media debate, and the corresponding constellations of loyalties in which diasporic stances are adopted.

8. Findings

R.Q.1 Three competing definitions of an ambiguous problem

In the particular debate analyzed, the ambiguous character of the problem lies in the fact that two types of migration are discussed simultaneously: the specialized / professional migration (doctors, nurses) and the general migration (unskilled labour-force, but also Roma migration). Further ambiguity is fed by the debate being triggered by three independent events. Moreover, journalists rarely approach these events in a unitary framework, even though they are discussed under the same denominator: “migration”. We will make an analytical distinction between the two types of migration as problems discussed by media. Our analytical choice is justified by the fact that they presuppose different types of causal responsibility, despite the fact that both Traian Băsescu’s declarations and the media discourses frequently tend to treat them as undifferentiated. The Roma people’s expulsion from France is a separate case with journalists and, at least in our corpus, is never discussed in relation with the migration of Romanians. While in the case of general migration, journalists assume the position of owners of the problem, sharing it with the state, in the case of professional migration ownership is shared with the medical community or professional organizations (The Romanian College of Physicians – from now on RCP), but only in specialized media (*Pagina Medicală*). Following Gusfield, to make ownership significant means to point to other possible owners of the problem that are yet absent in the public space, or, in our case, are not given a voice by journalists: the alternative private medical system, the western medical system – benefiting from professional migration, or the patients of the health system (yet, in this last case ownership is expressed through the journalist speaking in the name of the patients), etc. In the generalist media, more prominently in the opinion articles on *Vox Publica*, ownership of the problem is divided between state and journalists. It is only in the case of Roma expulsion that a wider ownership of the problem is elicited as such by journalists: European institutions, other states, European citizens.

8.1. Defining migration as a policy problem (the policy approach)

What we label as *the definition of migration as a policy problem* is in fact a definition resulting from framing the debate as a complex issue affecting the Romanian public system (public budget, public institutions and policies, large-scale consequences). It is mainly general migration that is discussed in these terms, and this definition of the problem stems from the way journalists give visibility to Traian Băsescu's declarations and reinterpret them. It is a contested definition, since journalists reject the president's view. The president's version of the problem, reconstructed by journalists, insists on the causal responsibility for migration: the job market liberalization in the European Union and the inability of the crisis-stricken Romanian State to provide enough jobs or social security for its unemployed citizens. In these circumstances, political responsibility is declined factually (the state can do nothing) and the decision to migrate, as an individual solution, is praised both for its positive effects on the public spending and for the remittances sent by the migrants back to Romania. Migration is downplayed as a public problem since it is the result of a deliberate effort of Romanian diplomacy towards liberalization of the job market and since Romania has a lot of things to win from migration in the context of the crisis. In Gusfield's terms, it is specifically the moral judgment – the condemnable state of affairs generating a public problem – that is contested by Traian Băsescu.

Within this policy framing, but running counter to the president's definition, journalists emphasize the moral judgment. Political responsibility of the problem is systematically attributed by journalists to the Romanian state, through pragmatic argumentation, in the form of cost-benefit analysis: "Even from this point of view Romania will lose, not win, as Traian Băsescu incorrectly claims. Because these migrants, as active persons, work and pay taxes that contribute to the social benefits offered by EU countries (and not Romania – *our emphasis*). And when those going abroad have higher education, Romania loses twice: first it loses the investment in their education, which will be recovered no more, secondly it loses contributors, a phenomenon which would lead to an increase in the already alarming disproportion between the active population and the assisted one in Romania." (Goțiu, 2010a). Yet the discussion doesn't move forward towards adjudication because journalists assume without arguing that remittances and the temporary benefits for the budget invoked by the president are outrun by their negative counterparts.

These conflicting definitions of the problem of migration in this policy framing, made visible in all media investigated, accommodate both the issue of general migration and professional, specialized migration. While the causal responsibilities are tacitly agreed upon by the two parties, it is the "problem" as such that is at stake. A particular case of the same conflict over the problematic character of the issue was discussed only in specialized media. Traian Băsescu's remark that, at least in the major Romanian hospitals, there is no doctors deficit (implicitly, less dramatic consequences if doctors go abroad), is countered by pointing either to the cognitive dimension of the problem or to the causal responsibility. For instance, in the first case, dr. Florin Chirculescu's declaration points out that if migration continues, patients cannot get the care they need because there won't be enough doctors in hospitals. An illustration for the second case would be a declaration of dr. Vasile Astărăstoie, president of the RCP, who points to the poor hiring policy which causes migration: "The president's message reveals a perspective of decision makers, who are not concerned with real health policies. This jeopardizes the proper functioning of the medical system within decent standards. Vacant positions cannot be filled because hiring is blocked. Actual regulations allow only one

in seven openings to be filled. This makes the functioning of the health system impossible.” (Ciornia, 2010)

Within the policy framing a separate case is represented by the older discussions of Roma migrants’ expulsion from France. This case is brought to the fore by the reiteration of this practice in France, and the subsequent reaction of a Hungarian philosopher, G. M. Tamas, interviewed by a prominent Romanian newspaper, *Evenimentul Zilei*. The case stands out because it mixes issues of migration with issues of minorities’ integration and because journalists attempt to ascribe a shared political responsibility among European countries, European Union, Romania, or even the responsibility of a cosmopolitan European citizen: “if there are no more borders, it means that this [the Roma population integration] is our problem, all Europeans’ problem, be they Romanian, French or Italian” (Cernahoschi, 2010).

8.2. Defining migration as material and professional accomplishment

A different definition of the problem of professional migration, made visible mainly in specialized media, establishes as causal responsibility of doctors’ migration their inability to achieve material and professional success in the Romanian health system. It is a definition partly agreed upon both by Traian Băsescu and the doctors interviewed by *Pagina Medicală*. The type of causal responsibility is different in this case: personal motivation rather than systemic causes or effects: “I know doctors aged 35 to 40 who don’t go abroad for material reasons, but because they don’t have career prospects, due to these ossified structures that don’t allow younger doctors to promote” (Traian Băsescu, quoted by Ciornia, 2010). Yet further causal responsibility for this state of affairs is no longer a subject of agreement. The president refers to the “ossified structures” – which in contemporary Romanian political language, is a conveniently ambiguous periphrasis pointing to the representation of a generational conflict where older members of a community or organization (doctors, professors) do not allow younger members to fill high profile positions – which linguistic option establishes political responsibilities with the community as such, not only with policies. The doctor interviewed by the specialized portal attributes further causal responsibility strictly to policies: “mid-career doctors cannot find professional fulfillment in the state system. Were there a budgetary infusion, they would reach accomplishment in their own country” (Ciornia, 2010). The tacit assimilation of the public health state-system with the opportunities for a career in the country renders this definition of the problem as a subcase of the previously labeled “policy problem”. In non-specialized media, causal responsibility of professional migration is not related only with professional accomplishment, but also with material achievement and social recognition of the status.

8.3. Defining migration as individual solution against politicians and bureaucracy

A third view of the problem emerges in opinion articles, when journalists renounce the position of policy evaluators and adopt the stance of the confessional or experiential journalists, developing an identitarian discourse on the relation between migration and community. When they focus on non-specialized migration, they ascribe causal responsibility to incompetent politicians and ineffective bureaucratic system, which leaves the citizen with no solution but migration. This type of journalist interventions was triggered by a decision of the government regarding the taxation of the income generated by independent activities of artists,

journalists, lawyers etc. Due to poor implementation of the decision, a bureaucratic nightmare broke loose, neither citizens nor public servants knowing what was to be done to accomplish the procedure. Migration is no longer discussed as a phenomenon affecting the *polity* but as the immediate solution against the absurdities of the *polity*: “I refuse to believe that it’s a matter of hate, I refuse to believe in a specially designed maneuver to harm the media, including collateral casualties such as artists, advertisers, lawyers and other professionals producing independent income. It can only be sheer imbecility. Yes, for the first time I want to emigrate. Never have I felt so bad in my own country, never have I felt so hopeless, never have I felt so crumbled, never has the rulers’ spit shriveled my cheek deeper” (Tache, 2010); ‘They [my friends] simply want to leave. As far as possible...It’s more than weariness, distrust and hopelessness altogether. Anger no longer exists. Just the wish to escape. To run away’ (Goțiu, 2010b).

To sum up, two separate migrations, the migration of the Roma and the migration of Romanians, are discussed as two different problems, the latter involving referring indiscriminately to either professional or general migration. Roma migration as a problem relies on different cognitive and moral judgments (they prejudice the image of Romanians abroad) and the causal responsibility for this migration, if discussed, is never articulated in relation with the causal responsibility of the other forms of migration. Competing definitions of the problem of migration emerging through the media debate generate complex, interconnected interpretations and representations which articulate three types of discourse. *Policy evaluation discourses* on migration discuss migration in relation with expedient institutional choices and consequences; *professional accomplishment discourses* discuss migration in relation with individual motivations for career and status and *citizen as victim discourses* discuss migration as a solution to citizen versus system confrontation.

R.Q. 2 Cosmopolitan vs. communitarian arguments on migration and subjacent loyalties

Having systematised the types of discourses on migration as a public problem, we want to see how loyalties are employed in the media debate, in what types of arguments they coalesce and how various media genres and journalistic stances allow for different types of arguments, loyalties and ethical framings. The typology of arguments that we devise to map loyalties invoked in this debate relies on the work of Balabanova and Balch (2010), who discuss communitarian and cosmopolitan arguments employed in the media debates on migration. Communitarian arguments will describe the problem of general and professional migration as catastrophic for the community, as a lessening of community strength and development potential. A frequently occurring subtype of the communitarian argument is the “domestic social justice” argument, employing considerations on “the best social and welfare conditions for citizens” (Balabanova & Balchs, 2010, p. 384). Cosmopolitan arguments will invoke the right of professionals to emigrate and be treated fairly from the perspective of the rights and privileges derived from the European citizenship. As a subcategory of the cosmopolitan arguments, universalist arguments will appeal to human rights imagery to discuss the individuals’ right to free movement; due to strong focus on individuals’ right to ‘pursue happiness’ and prosperity, we have coined these arguments as universalist-individualistic. Another prevalent subcategory is that of instrumental cosmopolitanism, which regards “immigration as a means to maximise total welfare” (Balabanove & Balch, 2010, p. 384).

One difficulty arising from this classification is that it presupposes a clear delineation and consistency of arguments in the journalists’ discourses; another is the fact that the complexity of the issue itself allows for a plurality of arguments; another, that cosmopolitan and uni-

versalist arguments overlap to a certain extent, since human right imagery informs cosmopolitan ideology; finally, it does not inexorably follow that the arguments always depict a certain moral commitment. However, we maintain that the justification behind various discourses will be consistent with the type of argument used in the discourse. For instance, Balabanova and Balch claim that 'media discourse on policy issues is framed by underlying ethical positions' (2010, p. 394). If we admit that Romanians' relation to an alleged European identity relies on civic, rather than cultural foundations (Frunzaru & Corbu, 2011, p. 46), then cosmopolitan arguments should be employed quite often. Yet the subjects which are relevant to the European construction are invariably treated from national perspectives, focusing on the guilt of various political actors for shortcomings (Bârgăoanu, 2011), which would favour pervasive communitarian arguments.

We further expect the moral framework created through argumentation to be different in the two instances of discourse (given the different accents placed on the individual-community relationship), which, in turn, will represent moral agency in very different perspectives. The social contract between the community and the authority representing and governing that community implies permanent negotiation; a breach of trust in the authorities' efficacy in representing the community's interests leads to a different perspective on moral commitments toward a mutual contract and on the responsibility for its infringement.

It is, consequently, possible to discuss moral agency and ethical implications of migration in this particular case from the perspective of a community representative. It follows that neuter stances are not the singular contexts for a meditation on moral implications and that a perspective from within the community can be emancipated from particular moral commitments towards a broader ethical frame.

Since the president's declaration touched upon individual destinies and perspectives but equally referred to the systemic problems of the economy, the press discourse is expected to follow two directions: to present cases of doctors and their life-stories as migrants and to invite reflection on the consequences of professional migration on the development perspectives of Romania. In general, articles in the written press follow this approach and, while presenting individual cases, constantly discuss implications for the common good.

When the journalist's stance towards the issue is neutral, individualistic arguments are used. Yet it is the migrants themselves who provide the arguments that build a moral justification for their act, and not the journalists. It is however relevant that the migrants are given a voice, are interviewed and quoted. The articles build the identity of migrants by accumulation of details, in an attempt to typify and simplify the experience of migration. The professional migrant is either young (a graduate or a resident with high expectations), or middle-aged and firmly established in her profession. Knowledge of the language, proper qualifications, professional competence ensure success abroad.

When migrants are quoted, they present typical, exemplary life-stories. Images of success are obviously preferred to images of failure (few, if any, doctors are worse off abroad). Success stories encourage migration and a positive image of migration as a moral act, serving the individual's interest, and not the common good. In the words of one interviewee, pushing a young professional to leave the country is unpatriotic (Ofițeru & Pădurean, 2010), but the articles tie in this implication with the overt encouragement from the president: since the president's discourse was cynical and depressing and discouragingly honest about the state's inability to pay its specialists, loyalty cannot be expected from ordinary citizens. We are a far

cry from Obama's mobilizing discourses encouraging Americans to fight the economic crisis (Pop, 2010).

Individuals' stories confirm the private morals of individuals serving their own interest. The neutral stance of the journalist cannot be equated with the position of speaker for the community, which might account for the fact that individualistic, rather than communitarian arguments are used. The same neuter stance builds a catastrophic image of consequences on the Romanian medical system. The reasons presented by migrants for leaving gather in strong criticism of this very system: hospitals have poor equipment and funding, and they lack resources. Doctors are forced to make do with poor work conditions, which leads to low self-esteem, undermined dignity, poor living standards and demotivation. Salaries are at an all-time low, the spectrum of massive lay-offs and impossibility to support families and cover debts looms large. The collapsing system is a danger to patients who cannot be treated properly, situation that makes doctors very doubtful of their ability to help them. The disillusion in poor government and political system at large add up to the list of discontent. While migration is presented as a good personal option, the effects of this phenomenon are bordering disaster. Professional migration is referred to as: "the great migration", "the exodus of white robes" (Pădurean, 2010), "unprecedented" phenomenon leading to catastrophe (Ofițeru & Pădurean, 2010). The systemic effect of definitive "temporary" migration of doctors is evident in the quote from BBC News: the system sits "on the edge of a precipice" (Costin & Bechir, 2010), there will be no doctors left in eleven years if the numbers of migrants stay the same. Romania loses doctors in favour of richer countries and feeds other medical systems (Ofițeru & Pădurean, 2010).

Just like in the case of migrants taking centre stage and building moral justifications in neuter articles, the image of a crippled health system, pervasive in the same articles, is suggestive for the moral universe created, without being directly suggestive for the allegiances of the journalist. Rather than communitarian arguments, it is the catastrophic imagery employed that speaks of the effects of professional migration on community.

The double standard used by the journalists in approaching the issue (the private, legitimate interest of the individual and the general interest of citizens and the country) comes partly from faulty use of resources, on the one hand, and from choice of formats, on the other. The figures are taken from studies of professional organization, studies of European organizations, the Ministry of Health, while the migrants' life-stories are obtained through interviews. The gathering of facts, statistics, data might mark a wish for the professionalization of talk on the issue. However, texts are largely informative and no involvement of journalists is evident, apart from the selection of themes and actors. The little interpretation of the data or of the phenomenon at large comes from sources: BBC News, Newsweek, a sociologist, even interviewees. The image of the medical system, for instance, is quite vivid, yet it is so by accumulation of detail, and not by discussion or analysis. Faults are always presented, but moral responsibility for shortcomings is attributed to nobody, however this might be a consequence of the generic trait of news articles.

Editorials and blogs, genres that are closer to civic journalism, open up the possibility of engagement with the issue, of consistency of this engagement over a length of time and, finally, of meditation, from broader perspectives (be they political, economic, or moral in general). When the journalist acknowledges herself as a representative of the community, individualistic arguments predominate ("Yes, for the first time I want to emigrate. Never have I felt so bad in my own country, never have I felt so hopeless, never have I felt so crumbled, never has the rulers' spit shrivelled my cheek deeper" (Tache, 2010).

Following the problem of loyalties, when the universalist-individualistic arguments were used in articles of non-committed journalists, their moral justification was very similar to that used by the authorities (in this case, President Băsescu): everybody has a right to pursue happiness. However, while the President's declaration implied that invoking this freedom irrespective of the impact on broader societal development was not a breach of social contract, the migrants using universalist-individualistic arguments maintain that it is this infringement that sets them free and morally justifies their migration.

In editorials and blogs communitarian arguments, when employed, reveal outspoken loyalties. For instance: "I won't leave. I won't leave because, somewhere in the Hunedoara County, in the wooded countryside, on Dobra Valey, there is a church. A church built by my grand grand ... grandparents, more than five hundred years ago. In 1458. This church, the roots – I can't fit them in my luggage. And in that village, in Roșcani, there is a school. (...) A school where my aunt still teaches. And since I don't want this school to look one day as the school from Roșia Montană, I won't leave yet. A school and a church are strong enough reasons to make it worth resisting". (Goțiu, 2010c). It is, consequently, possible to discuss moral agency and ethical implications of migration (in this particular case) from the perspective of a community representative. Neuter stances are not singular contexts for a meditation on moral implications. Yet, a perspective from within the community can be emancipated from particular moral commitments towards a broader ethical frame and civic engagement: "To turn back to the point: yes, I want to emigrate (...) For two days, in my house, there have been discussions on this topic. Serious discussions. Yet, until I emigrate, I have some jobs to finish. Friday, 27th August at 11 o'clock, in front of the Ministry of Finances, people will gather to protest. I will be there. I also want a fiscal strike. And the resignation of the government. After that, I can leave in peace." (Tache, 2010)

In conclusion, except for the articles on *Vox Publica* where individualistic loyalties leading to migration are counterbalanced either by identitarian (cultural traditions, history) or civic loyalties, the issue of migration is rendered mostly as unproblematic, depicting consistent (i. e. not clashing) constellations of values and no individual remorse or loyalties towards the community. As one would expect, communitarian arguments are used against migration and two subtypes can be distinguished: those appealing to identitarian loyalties (as in Goțiu 2010c) and those appealing to "domestic social justice" arguments which mobilize civic loyalties. Cosmopolitan arguments are used to justify migration and two main subtypes are invoked: universalist-individualistic arguments are offered as justification for the individual decision to go abroad, mobilizing individualistic loyalties regarding personal happiness and professional accomplishment, and instrumental-cosmopolitan arguments, invoked by Traian Băsescu (and rejected by the journalists), depicting migration as a means to support the state budget, which arguments mobilize civic loyalties.

Trying to systematically relate these findings with those from the first research question, the policy evaluation discourse on migration opposes instrumental cosmopolitanism to communitarian considerations regarding domestic social justice, but could find a source of possible consensus in the fact that both mobilize civic loyalties; the *professional accomplishment discourse* opposes cosmopolitan universalist-individualistic arguments to communitarian arguments relying on domestic social judgements considerations – consequently also opposing individualist loyalties to civic ones; the *citizen as victim discourse* opposes communitarian arguments mobilising identitarian and civic loyalties to the cosmopolitan universalist-individualistic arguments. These systematic correlations are presented synthetically in the table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of the types of discourse on migration (RQ1) in relation with types of diasporic stances, arguments and loyalties (RQ2).

Descriptors of diasporic stance	Type of discourse		
	Policy approach	Professional accomplishment	Citizen as victim discourse
1. Argument for migration	Cosmopolitan: instrumental	Cosmopolitan: universalist-individualistic	Cosmopolitan: universalist-individualistic
1.1. Subjacent loyalty	Civic loyalty (the benefits for the social system)	Individual pursuit of professional accomplishment and social status	The individual pursuit of happiness
1.2. Genre, journalistic stance	Traian Băsescu's declaration, neuter stance	Generalist daily newspaper, Specialized media, neuter stances	Morally committed civic journalism: blogs & opinion articles
2. Argument against migration	Communitarian: domestic social justice	Individual cases discusses as exceptions	Communitarian: cultural protectionist
2.1. Subjacent loyalty	Civic loyalty (the benefits for the social system)	Individual maintenance of professional status	Identitarian loyalty: history, family
2.2. Genre, journalistic stance	Civic journalism: opinion articles	Specialized media, neuter stances	Morally committed civic journalism: blogs and opinion articles

The image thus resulted has to be treated with certain caution, since the research is explorative, the dimension of the corpus does not allow extrapolations or generalisations and in some type of discourses more than one type of arguments might occur, the table retaining the most prominent one. Moreover, the analytic distinction between the general and the professional migration is not rendered in the table, although we can roughly equate the citizen-as-victim discourse with the general migration, the professional accomplishment discourse with the professional one, while the policy discourse reflects both types of migrations. Finally, the media separation between Roma migration and Romanian's migration replicates in the absence of this form of migration in our analytic categories.

9. Conclusions

Throughout our analysis, it has become apparent that emigrationist and diasporic stances are made visible (in informative articles) and even appropriated (in opinion articles). They perform various functions, which are structured around multiple symbolic divisions and categorizations by the media discourse.

A first division is that between deficient policies and politicians, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the citizen as victim, who is constrained to go abroad because of these faulty policies. A second, less explicit division is between Romanians' migration and Roma people's migration. Although both groups benefit from the same social security system, it is only in

relation with Romanians that this system is depicted as inefficient and leading to migration. A third symbolic division, equally downplayed, is between journalists who decide to stay in Romania and speak for those remaining behind, and the citizens opting for migration – but this division is bridged by empathic attitude towards the potential migrant (as she is a potential reader of the article). Finally, the most significant symbolic division is that between the journalist and politicians. At this level either the migrant is given a voice, or the journalist adopts a (provisional) migration stance in order to evaluate the public policies and the politicians and thus reinforce her position. But the management of these symbolic divisions leads to engaging diaspora in an instrumental manner, and as a side effect, institutes and reinforces a one-dimensional representation of diaspora, along the traditional view of the social-political victimization, ignoring the dynamics of the “new diaspora” (Beciu, 2012a, 2012b).

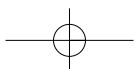
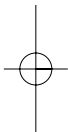
While the identity of the intending migrants is clearly outlined, the journalists’ reflection on the identity of the changing *community* of migrants and especially the reflection on media’s identity as the locus of debate are very pale. There are slight attempts at expert discourses through data gathering; yet the refinement of research instruments or of the quality of the argumentative discourse, or the approval for a certain type of engagement for that matter (preserving objectivity throughout or emotional approach for rhetoric effects, generalization – integrating resulting ideas in a larger image of society and its development) are practically non-existent. Consequently, although we might allow for the efficacy of informative discourses as long as they endow the public with instruments for civic action, it is too early to discuss about the capacity of journalists in this particular media setting to raise issues. This also sheds some light on the importance of clearly defining public interest, of media’s positioning themselves in respect of this public interest and, more broadly, on the current state of affairs as regards media conscience of civic duties and moral implications of their choices.

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Nicolae PERPELEA*

Media Diasporactivism and Diasporapathy in the News Community**

Abstract

The present study focuses on the thematization of *the new Romanian diaspora's* experiences through the spectacular mechanisms of the media and on the subsequent production of active moral feelings, which intensify critical expressions and justificatory demands within various audiences – designated by the concept of “news community”. Generically, the term “diasporapathy” is used to characterize putative members of a diaspora who do not respond to the appeals of “diasporactivists”. This study is based on an anti-essentialist methodology (S. Fish, R. Brubaker, B. Anderson) and on L. Boltanski, L. Thevenot and L. Chouliaraki's model of analyzing “distant” moral interpellations and the transfer of moral causes into “news speech”.

In speech interactions – in the sample drawn from internet discussion forums – we observe how this diasporic experience is used as a category of practice in order to articulate new claims and projects, apart from activating the “ideal diaspora” *versus* “diasporapathetic” behaviors in order to remake an ideal Romanian-ness within the new European area.

Key words: Romanian diaspora, media rhetoric, moral emotions, news community, distant suffering

Rezumat

Cercetarea abordează modul în care tematizarea experiențelor *noii diasporă românești*, prin mecanismele spectaculare specifice media, produce sentimente active din punct de vedere moral, intensificând astfel expresiile critice și cerințele justificative ale diverselor publicuri – desemnate prin conceptul de „comunitate de știri”. Într-un sens generic, termenul „diasporapatie” este utilizat pentru a caracteriza comportamentul acelor membri ai diasporăi care „nu răspund” chemărilor „diasporactiviștilor”. Cercetarea este realizată pe baza unei metodologii antiesențialiste (S. Fish, R. Brubaker, B. Anderson,) și a modelului lui L. Boltanski, L. Thevenot și L. Chouliaraki de analiză a interpelărilor morale „la distanță” și transpunerea în „discursul știrilor” a cauzelor morale.

În cadrul interacțiunilor discursive – vizibile în eșantionul extras din forumurile de discuții de pe internet – se observă cum această experiență diasporică este utilizată ca o categorie a practicii pentru a articula noi poziționări și proiecte, și nu doar pentru a activa comportamentul „diasporic ideal” *versus* „diasporapatic” în tentativa de a realiza un *remake* al unei românități ideale în noul spațiu european.

Cuvinte-cheie: diaspora românească; retorica mediatică; comunitate de știri; emoții morale; distanță morală

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1. Diasporic public and moral rhetoric

The present study focuses on the thematization of “the new Romanian diaspora’s” experiences through the spectacular mechanisms of the media and on the subsequent production of active moral feelings, which intensify critical expressions and justificatory demands within various audiences – designated by the concept of “news community”. The publicized waves of dismay and compassion regarding the *diaspora experience* of the “new European citizens” resonate in a moral panic whose inflated pathos urges sociological research to analyze how media frames manage to convert this new kind of intra-European emigration into “political messages”. Before reaching this stage (the alert regarding the existence of power structures; the claim of certain status competences), the information regarding the social situation – the joys and sorrows of these people – passes through a proto-political form, such as *ethical interpellations*. Thus, a pragmatic analysis on the construction and the exposure of active publics within the *ethical grammar* of the public scene becomes necessary.

As an introductory example of what we understand by “interpellation” and “ethical grammar”, we will take the case of two moral emotions: mercy and compassion. In order to become both moral and political feelings, they must be discursively “stimulated” – they must support the identification with the suffering one by eliminating the distance between the stage and the viewer. An interesting argument, that justifies such spectacularizations of the news in various media receptor communities, is to be found in Boltanski’s studies. In *Distant Suffering* (Boltanski, 1999) he proves that, if such a show is not articulated in a discourse about the “causes” – of the suffering endured by a person, a group or a community, for example – then the sympathy can easily dissolve either into a feeling of terror (therefore of rejection) or into selfishness (“What about us? Who takes care of us?”) and indifference (the receptor of the news might think “Well, they kind of deserve it.”) In his later studies, he denounces the use of humanitarian arguments as a “façade for dissimulating political actions” – for instance referring to suffering as a universal moral cause (Boltanski, 2000).

This research aims at the theoretical clarification of the conceptual framework employed in a previous study (Perpelea, 2012) where we have analyzed how media act as a “symbolic power agent” in order to create a stage for the manifestation of a “public shaped around a series of diasporic interrogations”. Unlike the previous research, where we have used the term “diasporic”, we will employ here a clear anti-essentialist approach, considering the suggestions of R. Brubaker’s analyses. The American sociologist criticizes “groupism”¹ – the substantial approach of “national identity” – and applies a similar function to the term “diaspora”. Following an analytical reconstruction through diaspora’s lexical field, we reach the following meanings: “abstract nouns designating a condition (diasporicity or diasporism), a process (diasporization, de-diasporization and re-diasporization), even a field of inquiry (diasporology or diasporistics). There is the adjective ‘diasporist’, designating a stance or position in a field of debate or struggle” (Brubaker, 2004, p. 4).

The terminology used in the title of this article is also inspired by Brubaker’s study, but the terms have a much more generic meaning: “diasporapathy – to characterize putative members of a diaspora who do not respond to the appeals of diasporactivists” (Brubaker, 2005, p. 14).

In this context, we will study the concept of “news community” and expand the categories that concern the construction of media information. Therefore, we must mention that, from an empirical point of view, different exemplifications were chosen. They cover a triple function: of supporting the cumulative capacity of the theoretical model; of offering “empirical

coverage” for a wider range of moral emotions; of refining the illustration of how the three moral topics (denunciative, sentimental and aesthetic) balance each other out. The examples will be offered in a corpus of media information about the Romanian diaspora. The term “media” was broadened through a conventional process; thus, we have included print and TV, as well as websites, forums and web 2.0 social networks where various audiences interpret the information passed to them through media formats.

We have to mention that the use of the term “corpus” does not imply the methodological intention of conducting a content analysis – this perspective would be somehow inappropriate for a study regarding the presence/absence of certain moral categories in the communicational space. Thus, the design of this corpus does not require a “subsampling” similar to a biunivocal network of mini-maps in a hypothetical real phenomenon, but a set of “news” typical for a specific reception situation: that in which the related phenomena are assigned meaning not after having been seen, but *by the act* of being seen.

Any form of *moral interpellation* figure (sheer emphasis, feeling, ‘taking to heart’, daily shared indignation, publicly expressed denunciation, alerting the authorities and the civic organizations, instigation to boycott, resorting to supererogatory actions etc.) transcends geographic and cultural boundaries insofar as it points out moral deficiencies and global inequalities. From this assumption we can draw the research questions:

How do the media *accelerate the dissemination of ethical interpellations*? Which media devices contribute to the creation of a *community of glances* (based on a silent public agreement translated in “I see what you see”) where a ritual of (mis)interpretations may take place?

2. “Proper distance”. Moral engagement systems in mediapolis

The proponents of media austerity find by the minute new examples to demonize mass-media. We have the right, though, to be outmoded and ask ourselves in a Kantian manner if the media might not contribute to the achievement of an “open mentality”. In *Media and Morality*, Roger Silverstone proves that the crucial moral challenge of the new media landscape – that he calls “mediapolis” – is if this is capable to change the way we conceive social relations to what is different from us, to *the Other*. Silverstone coined the ethical policy by which “otherness” is seen in its own terms by the term of “proper distance”.²

Print, television and internet features are all part of the public space mechanisms that manage the visibility of people and communities who, in their turn, receive a benefit or live a physical or moral discomfort caused by explicitly assuming a risk situation. To which extent is this management guided by an ethics of care?

The Romanian *diasporic community* – or “the new Romanian diaspora”, in the terms used by C. Beciu (2012) – is a relevant example to analyze this issue. The behavior of Romanian citizens, who left to work abroad, in the EU, has a unsettling representation in the media. A somehow cynical assumption is that this collective emotion holds the function of legitimizing a certain “moral distance”, that is the proto-political form generating political indifference. Along the exemplifications offered in this text, we will find arguments to show that invoking moral difference is a strategy to justify passivity. Could this be their moment of “slight” responsibility?

Silverstone’s hypothesis – the “proper distance” – implies a *European panculturalism* where the prescription of *accepting the other without effort* is deeply rooted and allows us to

employ the expression “eyes shut, eyes open” – a structural metaphor defining the field of tolerance – not as a skillful handling of ethical distance (*improper distance*, in Silverstone’s terms), but as an opening of those identity borders allowing individuals and communities to become aware of the moral joy and suffering of others. This rather optimistic view is also reflected in the methodological approach, which implies giving up the epistemic delights of a ritual lament regarding the media culture’s tendency to “mine” the paths that would allow the public space to develop a healthy democracy. Due to the complexity of this debate, we will only choose to present it synthetically, by selecting a couple of representative authors.

According to P. Dahlgren, the new televisual genres and *new media* create the circumstances for a *jump-start political participation*, as they have built in a model of civic culture where six subtle dimensions – values, affinities, knowledge, practices, identity and discussion – interact in a “dynamic circuit” (Dahlgren, 2003, p. 156). Dahlgren’s model is adopted by J. Jones (2005, p. 192) who shows how *New Political Television* (NPTV) and various forms of engagement through interactive technologies play the role of instigating to discursive activities, as they “supply” the audience with values such as honesty or responsibility overseen in a way that can lead to a healthy rumination (*mulled over*). Nevertheless, as Jones mentions, the question that remains is whether such “textual commitments” are isomorphic with a “political commitment”. Certainly, contemporary politics is “ruminated” in the everyday imaginary under a textual form, but it would constitute a great misstep to neglect the identification of electioneering politics and law-making process with political participation through passionate TV engagement.

Yet, how can we avoid understanding active viewing as a simple substitute for a non-contextual political behavior? One solution is conceptual complexification. In the present example, we can employ the term “mediation”. We will define *mediation* as the process of unifying the frame of a happy or unhappy action (risk condition, suffering) with the debate setting, thus the two originally different states becoming a unique situation. In order to clearly perceive the methodological purpose of this concept, we will take a step back in order to review a certain aspect of the *public* (audience).

The classical meaning of the terms “public” or “publicity” exclude from the area of possible exemplifications certain groups, forms of communication or participation channels. Most sociologists consider the main dimension of the ideal-type of “public” to be the effort of searching for a common, integrative discourse. However, there are authors who wonder whether certain “publics” can prove to be irrational or even hateful (Dayan, 2006).

This definition of the *concept of mediation* allows us to classify as “publics” even those social groups that represent the others as permanent “strangers” or act in the spirit of an irrational bias. Hence Sonia Livingstone’s call to consider the “public” as an adjective rather than a noun: “to say or to do things in public, to do public things, to display relations in public – elements that distinguish “public” from “private”, but that impose, however, less stringent requirements when it comes to identify the “public” (Livingstone, 2004, p. 33).

In these terms, we can build an analytical framework in which the coordination of public opinion “voices” can be analyzed starting with the requirements of action and engagement practices. In this context, we will lay out an analysis based on the distinction between dispute and social peace.³ Public operationalization of vigilante figures (public denunciations, indignation transferred into public interpellations) is achieved in the frame of *dispute practice*.

Romanian armchair viewers watch, from their homes, “news about the diaspora” as if these were a show where some do good, others do bad, some suffer, other are happy. The dis-

tance from those people compels us to passivity... and yet, a curious inner reflexivity stirs us in an acceptable moral frame, where we show a particular interest towards misfortune. In order to see how these inner “voices” articulate in a speech, we will introduce two dimensions of “data” collection.

The first one concerns the *emotional* stance: from benevolent attention and empathy, to compassion and “pitying” – as public policy.⁴ The second one concerns especially the *argumentative* stance: the “data”. It refers to the ways of establishing common conventions for the “measurement” of merits, guilt, reparation injunctions etc.

The conceptual cladding of this study is based on the distinction between three types of media “caption” of moral-emotional alerts conjured by the diasporic experience: *the sentimental (emotional) topics*, *the topics of denunciation* (denunciative) and *the aesthetic (expressional) topics*. In the previous study (Perpelea, 2012) we have exemplified the various engagement practices in each of these *topics* and which of these “news” types is most used in the associated scenic features. Accumulating new observations suggests that the “news” types that we are going to further discuss are used in all these *topics* in order to rhetorically impose a “hierarchy of distant suffering”.

3. A model of information analysis

In our analysis we use these models, not in contrast, but to describe in a *topologic space* various media frames that aim to build a “hierarchy of distant suffering” starting with the different spreading of *moral-emotional figuration* (moral blindness, moral fatigue, compassion, mercy, indignation, denunciation, sublime narrative etc.) of various events and phenomena generically described by the concept of *diasporic experience*.

As in the previous analysis, we will use here the three news categories from L. Chouliaraki’s model (2006; 2008, pp. 371-391). We will only proceed with a brief didactic summarization. Certainly, its justification (why this one and no other) would require a separate study – especially since many meta-theoretical queries occurred. We will only mention that most of the critics draw from the fact that their originators have remained stranded to the idea of “ethically neutral news”. But Chouliaraki’s model rests upon the narrative theory of Bahtin (1982), thus preserving the implicit ethical meaning of any kind of media formatting of information. Among the truly constructive critics of Chouliaraki’s model we retained the one belonging to Stijn Joye and we showed the circumstances for the emergence – through informational regression – of the “neglected news” category.

Adventure news

The term “adventure” is borrowed by L. Chouliaraki from Bahtin’s narrative model.⁵ ‘Adventure news’ claim a maximal distance from the audience, to whom they suggest an ethical apathy. In journalistic terms, these information are called “breaking news”. More rarely, they are called “dispatch” and, more emphatically, *news alert*. How can we explain the increasingly used term of “news alert”? Certainly, in the professional field of journalists the following explanation would create some annoyance: this term would smoothen the meaning of “news that stir moral curiosity” (*funny occurrence; ...he made a mistake, but confessed it*)

implied by the “adventure news”. Here is an example drawn from the daily newspaper *Adevărul*, June 25th 2012:

Aged 34, Alexandru Dan Dumitru was today, in Leeds (England), among those who carried the Olympic torch. Downtown, an Italian woman approached him, while he was running, and she was detained by the Metropolitan Police.

The woman *admitted to have made a mistake, but she confessed* that she tried to touch the Olympic torch out of superstition... Of Italian roots, owner of a peninsular restaurant, Gilda Porcelli confessed that she was hoping for her gesture to bring luck to “Squadra Azzura” in their semifinal match against Germany.

Alexandru Dumitru Dan, the one who was – unwillingly – involved in this *funny incident*, was taking part in the carrying of the Olympic torch, today, on the streets of Leeds. Aged 34, he is involved in charity actions that aim to support underprivileged children.

(SOURCE: http://www.adevarul.ro/sport/antifotbal/sport-Jocurile_Olimpice_2012-flacara_olimpica-Alexandru_Dan_Dumitru-incident-italianca-Leeds-fan-Euro_2012_0_725327746.html).

The key words used by the editors are expressive for the definition of this information genre: *sport, 2012 Olympic Games, Olympic torch, Alexandru Dan Dumitru, incident, Italian, Leeds, fan, Euro 2012*.

Emergency news

They are achieved through complex narratives where multiple connections are exposed, as well as new possibilities of action for the “participants” in the scene of suffering and for the “audience” called to manifest various forms of moral feelings, meant to fuse emergency actions. The function of these news is to build, on the TV screen, an “internal hierarchy of suffering people and actors of a potential charity”. We recognize here the wide theme developed in L. Boltanski’s studies.

Ecstatic news

In this case, the media construction of the relationship between “viewer” and “related scene” stimulates a reflexive identification where the viewer engages in a *continuum mode* with the diasporic experience. The term *ecstatic* is of Heideggerian descent and signifies a temporality that breaks with the hitherto narrative order. This experience is also somewhat narrated in order for it to be felt with the same astonishment depicted through *mass-media events* such as “the tsunami catastrophe” or “the 9/11 terrorist attacks”.

Through media formatting, a radical opening of these extraordinary events takes place: those *moments when a minute lasts for a lifetime* or when *a week slips away unnoticed*. It is a relationship of identification that, subsequently, allows the commitment to a “universal moral position”, such as the one towards the 9/11 events. This type of positions is used in the attempt to legitimize political projects, such as “the war on terrorism”.

For the *diasporic experience*, a comparison with the “moral crusades” might be more adequate, as J. Gusfield suggests.⁶ Thus, from simple “daily routines”, by various strategies of media enhancement, they become public issues.

Neglected news

Romanian media context suggests that we shouldn't reduce the news categories to the three types established by Chouliaraki. It is interesting to "help" this model by adding a fourth category, discussed by Stijn Joye: *neglected news* (2010, pp. 586-601).

The concept of *mediation* (the unification of the action frame with the debate setting, so that the two originally different states become a *unique situation*) requires a special analysis of the information mechanisms used to achieve "the public condition". We notice that the definition is based on a theory of action between speakers placed in a circumstance that makes it possible to define the meaning as "an action brought to bear upon possible actions" (Foucault's expression). The category of "neglected news", though, refers to the irony of "an action brought to bear upon possible actions"!

If we translated the term based on the meaning assigned by Stijn Joye, we should name it, in Romanian, "știri neglijate" (*untended news*). However, we have opted for the translation "știri părăginite" (*fallow news*) in order to underline the idea that their initial effect has a moral relevance that is lost through public oblivion, inducing a particular kind of *moral fatigue*.

4. News Community. An example

The theoretical model of this study outlines three moral-emotional topics that constitute the core of news community, gather novel audiences and fuse debates through media framing. Unlike Chouliaraki's stand, of identifying a hierarchy of these pieces of "news" based on their contribution to form an ideal-type of diasporic public, in the present study this classification has only a heuristic purpose. Thus, two main consequences unfold, relevant for the methodological aspect.

First of all, this implies to see a news item, an instrument, a media frame as a space of attributes where certain virtual characteristics prevail: *adventurous*, *emergency-incentive*, *ecstatic*, *omissive* (the virtual character of being forgotten by the "public attention"). Then, the "public" will not be investigated through generalizations of certain "reception situations" predefined by Eco's model of "ideal reader" inscribed in the "text". Namely, rather than a sort of group predefined by a certain consumption of "news about diaspora", through "diasporic public" we mean to understand a type of *self-definition* behavior: that of explicitly seeking to "be among the public", of risking to publicly expose (a private conversation, an internet forum etc.) the personal way of morally and emotionally receiving the *diasporic experience* from the news repertory, be it adventure, emergency, ecstatic or neglected news.

The main dimensions of this concept are:

1. *The simultaneous consumption* of the same "media images"
2. The intangibility systems publicly available (ad-hoc conventions; moral, social and legal standards; interests and motivations; reading competencies) that mobilize "the real reader" to become a "learned reader", or in other words, able to observe and analyze his own reactions along the process of *updating* the text.

The first dimension of the "news community" refers, obviously, to the research of Benedict Anderson, who analyzes the ethnic community as an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2000).⁷ The second one derives from hypotheses retrieved in the concept of *interpretive community*, drawn up by Stanley Fish (1980).

For B. Anderson, the term "imagined" is not a construct of fantasy (lacking any real basis), but must be understood in the sense of belonging to a "represented community". Thus:

...the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (...) In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.⁸

The second dimension of the concept says more about the constancy of the idea of simultaneity. Through *interpretive community*, Stanley Fish (1980, p. 48) designates reading conventions that urge the “real reader” to do everything in his power to become informed (*informed reader*). This “informed reader” is “literate” in three ways:

- he is competent in reconstructing textual symbols (“the reader inscribed in the text”);
- he takes into account the evolution of textual meaning – his actions are “regarded not as leading to meaning but as having meaning” (Fish, 1980, p. 158);
- but most importantly, he takes into account his own consciousness transformation because of the text.

Finally, nowadays there is a jungle of opposed models, from one methodological end – that looks for arguments regarding how important the significance of the media text can be – to the other end, more radical maybe – where observations regarding what the media text does to us are being gathered. The concept of “news community” is not designed to join one side or the other. It seems to be closer to Fish’s model, but only to underline the function of interpretive communities to offer “the reader” the possibility of a receptive activity (“simultaneous reading contexts”) during which *something is happening within himself*.

For this reason, it is important to underline that the main dimension of this concept is not the one related with identity traits (author’s prescriptions, specific conditions of media production, social attributes of the “sender” and “receiver”), but the one that stresses on the way the information is designed in a *cognitive-affective cut* that connects the news show to a type of discourse by which “viewers” are encouraged to identify with the related persons or actions.

An interesting conceptualization in this sense is the one developed by Stanley Cohen (2001), starting from his critics against hypocritical humanitarian activism. According to him, in the mindset of the “viewers” belonging to such a “news community” there is an active imaginary ‘container model’ which authorizes the idea that irrationality or mere “consciousness flaws” are to be understood as the fruit of an existence *outside of our righteous spirit*. It is clear, according to Cohen, that sentimentalism has to be criticized: behind these tender-hearted charity bodies also reside a certain self-satisfaction, courtesy, hypocrisy and... vanity. But without the spread of vulnerability and dependency patterns, altruism and social justice would not exist as political needs (Cohen, 2001, p. 183).

Here is an excerpt from a conversation that we consider typical for the meaning of *news community* as a dialogue space for *diasporactivism*.

1. [...] Whether or not you feel threatened by people is totally irrelevant to their race/background/origin. It’s the way they make you feel at the time. There are some Romanian people who would “stab you as soon as look at you”, there are also English (and French, German, African...) people who would do the same thing. And I walk down Humberstone gate frequently, I live in the city centre. – KH, Leicester commented on 10-Sep-2009 12:04

2. Love all you politically correct mainstream idiots, maybe if everyone could talk frankly and openly about whatever differences they may have then there wouldn’t be so much hate in this world. By the way, Romanians are not a race, they are from Romania, in the same way the English are from

England so stop playing the boring race card where it isn't relevant. – *Frank, Leicester*, commented on 10-Sep-2009 12:13

3. Does anybody actually realise why people from other countries (not just Romania) come to England? The answer is simple England started it and what goes around comes around. – *A Romanian, Humberstone Gate*, commented on 10-Sep-2009 12:23

4. Mr Romanian, yes thats (*sic*) the real reason right? They just come becasue (*sic*) we went there, like an exchange student right? Gimme a break, you have no idea what racism is, me & my people we know the racism! – *Ahmed Ashed, Leicester*, commented on 10-Sep-2009 12:36

Note: It is the case of a local British counselor, Robert Fraser, who was accused of instigation to racial hatred after declaring, in a public meeting, that Romanians would stab somebody as soon as they see them; his remarks were posted on YouTube. For further details, see http://www.rea.litatea.net/un-oficial-britanic-spune-ca-cine-intalnest-romani-risca-sa-fie-injunghiat-intr-o-clipa_472687.html, and <http://www.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/Race-rant-Leicestershire-councillor-suspende-d/story-12033721-detail/story.html>

We can observe how discussants (3) and (4) prove themselves to be “informed (“actual”) readers” of the same *news community*, but invoke a different communitarian reference. By telling the Romanian discussant that he sees this (the diasporic experience, the immigrant condition) as a “student exchange”, Ahmed not only accuses him of banter – *The answer is simple England started it and what goes around comes around* – but also of tacitly introducing the assumptions of a “Western” *interpretive community*. In other words, Ahmed’s *definition of the situation* aims to radically differentiate between the representational field of racial discrimination (*Gimme a break, you have no idea what racism is, me & my people we know the racism!*) and conjunctural representations of “marginal” practices of English, Irish (“amateurs”, comparing them to “Easterners”) and Romanians.

5. New media publics activation through moral rhetorics processes

5.1. Sentimental topics

As L. Boltanski (2000, p. 81) analyzes this moral rhetoric figure, “in this case the internal state is treated as the internal inscription of an exteriority, as testifies the possibility allowed the inspired subject to report on his own states as if they were foreign to him”.

a. Affection and sympathy

Through “adventure news” media framing, the simplest informative emotion is activated; we will call it *affection*. We will give it the meaning that M. Nussbaum (2001, p. 302) attributes to empathy: “Empathy is simply an imaginative reconstruction of another person’s experience.”

On a scale of moral-emotional feelings, affection is at the bottom, compared to feelings such as compassion or mercy. Information is passed in a random and isolated chain of “curiosities” that do not impose any explicit emotional demand on the “viewer”. Short descriptive narrative, classifiable as so-called “daily news” or “daily risks” where space and time are particular: this process restricts the approach of the “moral viewer” to scenes of suffering or similar dramas.

But is there not involved a sort of moral mechanism of any kind? In the following example (Fig. 1) we notice, over the picture of the Eiffel Tower, a warning: *The process of repainting the tower is very dangerous*.

Figure 1. Title of article: *Many Romanian painters are repainting the Eiffel Tower.*

Caption of picture: *The process of repainting the tower is very dangerous.*

Text: 25 Greek and Romanian painters, equipped with paints and climbing ropes, have started the work for changing the look of the Eiffel Tower, the trademark of Paris, the French capital. For accomplishing this mission, the workers will use 66 tons of “Eiffel Tower brown” paint and 50 km of climbing rope. The cost of the entire work is 4 million Euros. The painters will need 18 months of work for finalizing the project. Repainting the tower became a tradition, after the builder of the monument, Gustave Eiffel, explained that it must be painted every seven years.

(Source: <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/mai-multi-zugravii-romani-revopsesc-turnul-eiffel-235159.html>).

Through this explicit “care”, the accusation of spineless information speech is avoided.⁹ At the same time, in order not to escape the voracious boundaries of the news (“news as novelty”), readers must not put too much moral effort, as they are only required to show dispersed proofs of their “competency” of having a “daily curiosity” for the potential unfortunate condition of the other, as we can observe in the neurotic pamphlet style of these two “receivers comments”:

Ion+ | 2009.04.02 | 15.57 *Ce mândrie națională pe capul romanilor, o victorie mai mare decât alea de la Călugăreni sau Mărășești! Micul Paris mulțumește din inima marelui Paris, pt. onoarea ce ni s-a acordat Patria veșnic recunoscătoare!*

psyhedelic trance | 2009.04.02 | 12.48 *să vină și zugravii din Franța să „vopsească” cel mai important simbol românesc, care este...*

Translation:

Ion+: *What a national pride for Romanians, a greater victory than the ones at Călugăreni or Mărășești! Little Paris thanks from the bottom of its heart to great Paris for the honor that was given to us. The ever-so-grateful Homeland!*

psychedelic trance: *let the French painters come as well to „paint” the most important Romanian symbol, which is...*

This is often seen as a reaction to the inflation of rhetorical narratives about the conditions of “the Romanian diaspora world”.

To conclude, recalling what we named, for analytical purposes, “news community” and the moral state of the *informed reader*, we cannot state that “the transformation of his consciousness” is the fruit of an *ethical choice*. Let us lean on a line from the above conversation: *let the French painters come as well to “paint” the most important Romanian symbol...* We notice that the reference by which a diasporic experience is being shaped (“the Romanian painters in France”) contributes to the process of substantialization and essentialization of a reified community (*the painters in France*) with its own will and specific interests. We can talk about a discursive interactivity motivated by *ethical choice* only from another perspective, when – opposed to an implicit “evil” – there is an *explicit moral request* that engages (or frees, when talking about an unfriendly community) towards the Other found in an unfortunate situation. Only then can it be called “sympathy”.

b. *Compassion and mercy*

Both feelings attract the audience on the public stage to expose the way they observe “the Other’s suffering”. The function of news is to achieve an “imaginary transfer”, but the generalization criteria are different. According to M. Nussbaum (2001, p. 301), we understand by compassion “a painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person’s undeserved misfortune.” Compassion is a complex emotional construct that includes a significant cognitive dimension: “...such cognitive beliefs as that the suffering of the other is serious, and that the suffering person does not deserve the pain” (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 306).

Unlike mercy “policies” – that use means of “imaginary transfer” of the “unfortunates” condition (statistics, life stories and hyper-publicized pictures) in order to “touch” the public able to launch a collective deliberation that would affect administrative procedures – compassionate policies are not generalized according to explicit criteria. Hannah Arendt (1967, p. 123)¹⁰ noticed a curious muteness of compassion, which does not require “verbosity” or too much eloquence in order to transpose individuals, natural groups or audiences into an engaging state.

Compassionate policies are “co-sufferings”, but addressed in singular form, locally and with a “practical” aim: they are updated when particular situations of media devices (for example, the campaign “No invisible child” – Fig. 2) achieve a certain type of *presence* between “those who do not suffer” and “those who suffer”. In this campaign, star figure Andreea Bănică tells us that in Romania there are 3.9 million children and that she supposedly identified – through her own effort – 12.000 children in difficult situations: a form of abuse, neglect or exploitation.

“In Romania there are 3.9 million children. 70.000 boys and girls are separated from their parents. 12.000 children are subjects of a certain form of abuse, neglect or exploitation. The project is run in: 8 counties, 64 communes, 110.000 children, 12.000 children in difficult situations. First priority: No invisible child. Beneficiaries: 100 teenage mothers, 200 children and families with no ID, 1.500 children from single-parent families, 2.000 families without social security/medical insurance, 3.000 children from poor families, 5.000 children with migrant parents. Save them now!”

(Source: http://www.prokid.ro/stiri/societate/andreea_marin_banica_si_povestile_copiilor_invizibili).

Figure 2. Infographic of UNICEF campaign “No invisible child”.



Here is a short storytelling, part of the same campaign, of the generic Popescu family, having three of the 5.000 neglected children, as a result of the parent's emigration:

(...) Three very beautiful and playful children. Their mother left them two years ago and has never contacted them since. Meanwhile, the father left abroad in order to offer them a better living. Who knows, without their grandparents' care and without the community's support, they might have ended up in the streets or in a child care facility. They miss their father very much and they enjoy every few moments when they get to talk to him, on the phone or on Internet. They don't talk much about their mother... but they nostalgically remember those times when their family was reunited. Now that vacation has started, Anghel is helping his grandfather at the sheepfold. Although thin and weak, he takes the sheep to be milked. They receive social assistance, but a cold and absent institution cannot replace family love. Children have to stay at home. Family love is invaluable.

Compassion is an amalgamation of feeling, evaluating and believing, but certainly it is dependent on what Nussbaum calls *eudeamonistic* judgment: "...the recognition of one's own vulnerabilities in the suffering of another. One sees in another's woe a potential for similar distress in one's own life. The terror of such vulnerability is essential to the experience of compassion." (2001, p. 319) Probably the most general "eudaemonistic factor", that achieves the "imaginary transfer", is the telephone/Internet. But how many of the Romanian viewers of this campaign realize that, although they do not have to let their children work in the sheepfold, they confide them to virtual affectivity?

c. *Mercy and sympathy*

We will present a variation of what H. Arendt calls "a crisis of the politics of pity" that occurs when the excessive distance between "happy" and "unfortunate" is invoked as a pretext for the exemption from moral obligation. The connection between "these here" and "those there" is minimal and abstract (potentially substituted by the activity of some NGO, religious group or media channel). Here is an account of Realitatea TV that invites us to enter a certain interpretative context of "long distance suffering".

Situație absurdă și dramatică pentru doi români în estul Franței. Cotidianul regional *Le Progrès* din Lyon scrie în ediția de joi că, de sâmbătă dimineața, o dubă înmatriculată în România stă blocată, în urma unui accident, într-un sens giratoriu. De cinci zile, fără bani de reparații, cei doi români dorm în autoutilitară, iar autoritățile nu au făcut, deocamdată, decât să constate accidentul. Nu vorbesc franceza și, scrie sursa citată, par să fi fost abandonați de angajatorul lor. În apropierea locului accidentului se află un service auto, însă angajații acestuia refuză să efectueze reparații gratis. Locuitorii din împrejurimi, intervievați de ziarul citat, spun că au crezut, inițial, că în dubă s-ar afla prostituate. Culmea cinismului, chelnerița unui bar din apropiere declară aceleași publicații: „Toată lumea îi lasă să moară de foame, e normal, doar sunt români”.

Translation:

Absurd and dramatic situation for two Romanians in Eastern France. Regional newspaper *Le Progrès* from Lyon writes in its Thursday edition that, since Saturday morning, a Romanian matriculated van has been stuck, following an accident, in a roundabout. For five days, lacking the money for repairing the vehicle, the two Romanians sleep in the utility van and the authorities haven't done anything up to this date, except for acknowledging the accident. They do not speak French and, the quoted source states, they seem to have been abandoned by their employer. Near the spot of the accident there is a repair shop, but its employees refuse to repair the car free of charge. The locals, interviewed by the newspaper, say that initially they believed there were prostitutes in the van. The epitome of cynicism: the waitress of a nearby bar states to the same newspaper: "Everyone is letting them starve, it's natural, they are Romanians".

(Source: Realitatea TV, September 10th 2009, Two Romanians are waiting for five days now in a utility van, in Eastern France.)

5.2. The topics of denunciation

Faced with certain situations, the reader of "diasporic news" can be overwhelmed with mercy. But, according to his moral disposition, he can channel his attention from the excessively suffering or victimized person to the prosecutor. If we are to employ the vocabulary used in the sociology of emotions, we may talk about the mechanism of *converting mercy into public indignation*. Certainly, before reaching indignation, we must first pass through mercy. Otherwise, we would defend hysterically or – in political terms – like some characters hyp-

ocritically sunken in a murderous humor, thus becoming permanently “indisposed” to identify culprits and to ask for justifications.

As we have seen in the introduction, we can analyze the moral-emotional phenomenology of each topic within multiple engagement systems. In the present text, we will exemplify a few cases of *denunciative rhetoric* regarding the following dimensions: actions, relations and non-relations; “public good” bound (usurped) by action¹¹; the way of appreciation (the value of proof); “the figure” of the agent (victim/prosecutor/benefactor; meta-descriptor: journalist, neutral eyewitness, proxy witness, “painter”).

Here is a case where the good is described through “the satisfaction of an accomplished action”, “the capacity to protect” and the *relevant proof* consists in the ability to evaluate the functionality of the environment. The publication quoted (AFP, quoted by NewsIn) offers the example of a Romanian doctor, recruited from the financial contribution of the local community, who quit his position after only two months: “*Doctors’ Order declared to be unsatisfied by the tendency of Romanian doctors to leave their jobs in rural areas, since these areas are deeply affected by the lack of medical care.*” In this news item provided by Realitatea TV, the French syndicate doctor denounces the excessive ability of some Romanian doctors who have turned the benevolence of the French system (“the benefactor”) into a business. Apparently, this is a simple and neutral dispatch, but in reality, it contains explicit denunciative characteristics. Thus, the French syndicate “denounces” the breach of *the moral promise* made by Romanian doctors: they came to fill a gap (private practice in difficult areas, underpaid, “in the countryside”) but “almost 89% among the Romanian doctors in France are employees”. The tacit meaning passed to the Romanian “news community” is that Romanian doctors occupy the positions that, according to unwritten and communitarian law (of Salic and Gallic origin, not of European descent) would belong only to French citizen-doctors.

A “denunciation” can, however, aim at the very person of the “painter”. We will use only one example, but on the news forums we notice an increasing number of protests against this kind of fade and stereotyped interpretations: “beyond”, “outside (n.r. of the country)”, “a little Romanian (*românaș*, pejorative), “well integrated”, “misunderstood”, “victim of”...

Olteancă la Paris. În cel mai mare cartier de firme al Parisului, o româncă lucrează cot la cot cu francezii și știe ce înseamnă succesul.

Adriana a plecat din România în 2003 la studii, iar acum conduce un departament la o importantă bancă franceză. A reușit pe propriile ei forțe și nu i-a fost rușine, niciodată, să spună că e româncă! Are 28 de ani și a plecat din Târgu Jiu când era în clasa a 12-a și a lăsat în urmă familie, casă și prieteni. Adriana spune că a fost destul de greu, a venit în 2003 în Franța cu o bursă, a muncit destul de mult, și-a continuat studiile și a făcut și un master. Ca să se poată întreține, Adriana lucra seara la un fast-food. Își amintește că atunci francezii o priveau cu reținere. Între timp însă lucrurile s-au mai schimbat și în Franța.

Translation:

Woman from Oltenia in Paris. In the largest business neighborhood of Paris, a Romanian woman works hand in hand with the French and has learned the meaning of success.

Adriana Popescu left Romania in 2003 to study abroad and now runs a department in a large French bank. She gained everything with her own work and she was never ashamed to say that she is Romanian! She is 28 years old and left Târgu Jiu when she was in her 12th grade of high school, leaving behind her family, home and friends. Adriana says it was quite difficult; she came to France in 2003 with a scholarship, worked hard enough, pursued her studies and graduated from a Master program as well. In order to support herself, Adriana took night shifts in a fast-food shop. She recalls

that the French were looking at her with reluctance, back then. Meanwhile, things have changed in France too.]

(Source: Jurnal TV, Kanal D, 4th June, 2009.)

5.3. Expressional topics

As we have seen, these pieces of news belong to the value field of humanitarian communication and have an expressional value in the measure that they incite the public to remain in an acceptable moral frame or, at least, to show an active attitude towards mediation. But a public manifestation of this disposition (of course, we exclude the cynic, as well as “the amorphous citizen” – E. Fromm) requires conducting a symmetrical action: to describe, at the same time, what is to be seen in the public space, as well as what is to be felt.

In the first rhetorical topics – *emotional mediation* – we have seen that public mentioning of the active disposition is made through manifesting an emotional feeling. Otherwise there would be no way to justify why we are “spiritually touched” by a symbol, why we show compassion or why we are merciful. In the *topics of denunciation* we struggle to weight situations, characters, and processes in order to define them as just or unjust and to get outraged about them. In the case of *expressional topics*, the justification of the effort to describe in the same way a situation of somebody’s suffering and the way in which this is felt (by the audience) is done through the *category of the sublime*. We will start with the following definition of the narrator agent given by L. Boltanski (2000, p. 116): “A painter or, more generally, an exhibitor who is able to get us to see suffering in its sublime aspect. The painter sees the unfortunate suffer and depicts his suffering”.

But is the public – and its media homologue – capable of such a *quality of viewing*? Do the media and its public not yield in front of a sympathetic interactionism? Let us re-analyze now the *adventure news* of June 25th 2012 as it is – reformatted according to expressional topics:

EXCLUSIVE: The Romanian who carried the Olympic torch: “In August, I will bring it home!”

The Romanian immigrant who carried, on Monday, this summer’s Olympic torch declared, for EVZ, why he was chosen and what this event means to him. The images have captured Dan running relaxed with the torch in his hand, assaulted by best wishers, on the streets of Leeds, where he lives. He is surrounded by Romanians carrying the national flag since dawn. An Italian woman tried to touch his torch. But Dan is amused when thinking about this. There were no incidents and – he jokes – maybe the woman’s gesture did bring the Italians some luck in their football match. When he is not carrying the Olympic flame, Dan Alexandru Dumitru is an engineer at a biscuits factory in Leeds; he runs in marathons and works for charity. Dan says he is hoping that his gesture will inspire other immigrants to “do good deeds”.

EVZ: How is it like to carry the Olympic torch?

Dan Alexandru Dumitru: (...) There is too little room to describe how I felt. But the experience was unique, given my nervousness at the time. Especially since I saw a lot of Romanians around. It was something to be proud of; I did it first and foremost for the Romanians in UK. (...) I’m bringing the torch to Romania, in August.

EVZ: What was the atmosphere like on the road, when you passed with the flame?

Dan Alexandru Dumitru: There was an Italian woman who wanted to touch it. But the lady didn’t harm me, she just touched the torch for a bit, that’s all. But maybe this brought her some luck because Italy won the match with Germany last night! If the torch, which is now with me, does bring luck, you must know that I will bring it to Romania in August and I will leave it there until the crisis passes! (he laughs) The item remained in my possession and I will bring it to Romania. It is my motivation and my inspiration. (...)

(Source: <http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/romanul-care-a-purtat-flacara-olimpica-in-august-o-aduc-in-tara.html>)

We can easily notice how journalists, as well as audience initially bond to a formal sublime (*How is it like to carry the Olympic torch? (...) It was something to be proud of (...) I'm bringing the torch to Romania, in August*) but they do not have the ability to maintain this *quality of viewing*. Eventually, this too becomes a piece of *neglected news* through the interpretative stereotypes of the forum users (the Romanian gypsies who steal the torch, the corruption at the customs, necklace with a "huge" cross).

Finally, let us pursue some generalizations, starting from the following news item that invokes the merits/flaws of the "painter" (*Romania has talents. Romania has plenty of wonderful people. Too bad that the Romanian mass-media, tributary to old values, not to say, even more seriously, serving other interests than...*) very often commented in Romanian media.

Stefan Atirgovitoe, un baiat de 11 ani din Iasi, a castigat concursul italian "Ti lascio una canzone"

Stefan Atirgovitoe, in varsta de 11 ani, a castigat emisiunea-concurs "Ti lascio una canzone", difuzata de Rai Uno, cu piesa "Profeta non sarò". (...) Tanarul se calificase deja in finala dupa cea de a doua etapa cand a primit trofeul juriului tehnic pentru interpretarea unei piese considerate deosebit de dificila "Una canzone per te". Un alt membru al juriului, Francesco Facchinetti, l-a felicitat pe roman si a declarat ca in spatele fiecarei piese pe care o interpreteaza se poate observa munca titanica "stakanovista" depusa pentru a executa perfect fiecare nota, dar l-a sfatuit pe roman sa nu uite ca muzica este si o "distractie".

Translation:

Stefan Atirgovitoe, an 11 year-old boy from Iasi, won the Italian contest "Ti lascio una canzone"

Stefan Atirgovitoe, aged 11, won the contest-show "Ti lascio una canzone" aired by Rai Uno, with the song "Profeta non sarò". (...) The young man had already qualified in the finals after the second round when he received the technical jury's trophy for his interpretation a song considered to be very difficult, "Una canzone per te". Another member of the jury, Francesco Facchinetti, congratulated the Romanian and stated that, behind every song he sings, one can notice the titanic, "stachanovist" amount of work put in in order to perfectly express every note, but advised the Romanian not to forget that music is also "fun".

(Source: <http://life.hotnews.ro/stiri-muzica-10785004-video-baiat-11-ani-din-iasi-finala-concursul-ui-italian-lascio-una-canzone-dupa-castigat-doua-etape-premiul-juriului.htm>.)

We can observe that most media reports (and the related comments of the audience) are building this type of sublime that reveals "the quality of viewing" through a *ridicule aesthetization* (*Bravo, kids, here you would have lost in front of a "Tzutzu" at 'Romania's got talent' ... I am Romanian and I am proud of it and I do it mainly because I know that this nation is the descendant of a really great one: the Dacic nation.*) At the same time, from an interpretative point of view, a problematic coordination of "voices" (Bahtin, 1982) takes place and gives the global sense the meaning of a "reincarnated" feeling of indignation. We are therefore talking about an emotional conversion by switching to a protest registry specific to denunciative topics (*The contest-show aims to promote Italian and international music of the past 50 years. What do we promote? The Wonder kid? Guta? Salam? Let my enemy die? Wow, how cool is my woman? ... you're free to add whatever you want if you know what I mean*).

6. Conclusion

Using an analytical framework belonging to expressivity pragmatics, we have examined the way some Romanian citizens' happiness, success or misfortune and suffering in their *diasporic experiences* were expressed in the media. The core question was if there is a specific media expression of these phenomena manifested by Romanian diaspora. And the exemplifications of this study bring up the arguments for a paradoxical conclusion.

On the one hand, in what we have defined as "news community" (an interactive system of frameworks for the mutual surveillance of interpretations) a *mediation* process takes place – that is, two originally different states of affairs appear as a unique situation – and "instigates" the publics to "supply" themselves with values such as honesty or responsibility that may lead to a healthy rumination ("*mulled over*"). This implies an optimistic vision, that of overcoming communication distance through mediation, that is "putting an end" to this moral distance. Through sensibility to suffering, *causes* are built in the favor of those people who get engaged, associate and dispute. On the other hand, from the same examples, we can see how, as soon as they are incarnated in interpretative frames through interactive features such as discussion forums, the same pieces of "news" generate a viewer position (in Boltanski's terms) or "improper distance" (Silverstone) where moral difference can be invoked as a strategy to justify passivity.

Through the collective redistribution of the function of information, media frames and storyboarding create the conditions for a cosmopolitan solidarity – by expanding, for instance, the limits of compassion. At the same time, though, as "audience shares" are needed, these *cuts* play the role of sensibility traps that enable a promiscuity of voyeuristic attention – a form of *media addiction*. From here derives the justification for lamenting used by media austerity proponents, who can ask themselves – not just rhetorically – whether this spectacularization of "shock news" delegitimizes humanitarian communication.

One can answer them that an authentic "humanitarian communication" can take the form of an "extended hand" – and not only the abstract clothing of "universal fraternity" that inevitably ends up in a "globalization of emotions" – only if it reincarnates into a "singular friendship". And in the form of media sublime, "the news spectacle" can conceive a good "exteriorization of interiors" – psycho-moral mechanism that helps conceive this special form of humanity that we call *singular friendship*.

Media sublime does not signify, though, a universal hedonism and we must recall, in this sense, Kant's position when talking about sublime as a quasi-political exigency towards building a "possible universal community". This kind of exigency requires from the "viewer" to sympathize with "misfortunes", as they allow themselves *to be seen by the public eye*. Certainly, we do not have to lose sight of the perverse media effect of marketing the public speech in expressional topics.

Unlike media formats specific to the *topics of denunciation* – where journalists express a preference for protest situations – in news reports belonging to *expressional topics* they tend to incarnate the sublime by presenting the suffering people or groups as having a sort of "moral capacity to be affected" (See the case of media genre called reality-show). In the *topics of sentiments*, media reports tend to ignore the "prosecutor" in order to focus on the "benefactor". In *expressional topics*, what we have defined as *ecstatic news* captures the attention of the "news community" through the aesthetics of frames and "the painter's" capacity (the journalist, the communicator etc.) to depict the general picture of "misfortunes". Frequently, though, those "dysfunctional cases" occur – excessive lamentation from Romanian journal-

ists, readers and internet users regarding the facts and the condition of the “new Romanian diaspora” – that induce a perverted effect: *the regression of public indignation* from the protest registry into a *mundane and voyeuristic affection*.

With obstinate drifts and regressions, within what we have called “news community” individuals show a strong interpretative appetite, which is nothing else than a sort of welcoming media coverage of the interrogations regarding the diasporic experience as a category of practice that engages energies and articulates new claims and projects, apart from rummaging the “ideal diaspora” *versus* “diasporaphetic” behaviors in order to remake an ideal Romanianship within the new European area.

Notes

¹ „I mean the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations, and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed” (Brubaker, 2004, p. 8).

² Silverstone says that the term *proper distance* is nothing else than a way to translate the Kantian concept of “open mentality” (Silverstone, 2006, p. 44).

³ Regarding the concept of “engagement practice” as a way of channeling “ethical unrest” within the grammar of public debates, see Perpelea (2012).

⁴ As, even from a virtual point of view, the result of these acts of coordination targets a future action based on conventional public processes, some authors call them “policies”. For example, Hannah Arendt talks about the emergence, in the logic of the implications brought in by the French Revolution, of a *pitying policy*, whereas L. Boltanski analyzes “compassionate policies” as opposed to “vigilante policies”.

⁵ The main assumptions of Bahtin’s theory (1982) can be used to operationalize the act of communication through media devices: semiotic pluralism, issues polyphony, heterogeneity of linguistic and non-linguistic elements; all acts of speech are social acts, not just the performatives; all utterances are discursive social acts that impose a „social obligation”. Through utterance discursiveness (the carnivalesque speech) – friendliness and animosity, agreements and disagreements, sympathy and repugnance – dialogism opens up to create possibilities, to organize the relationship of cooperation or, on the contrary, of domination.

⁶ He shows how this “analysis frame” is used by some sociologists who avoid the monocausal explanation (“group interests”, such as the way of life that includes protestant ethics values) of a deviant phenomenon (alcoholism, sexual libertinism etc.) by considering the dramatic stigmatization of alcohol use as element of a symbolic struggle for protecting universal values (Gusfield, 1986).

⁷ For a detailed approach of this issue, see Perpelea (2002).

⁸ For the English quote, we used Anderson (1991, pp. 5-7).

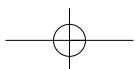
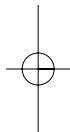
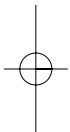
⁹ Saint Augustin was mentioning, in this sense, *concupiscentia oculorum*; cf. *Confesuni* (X, 35).

¹⁰ H. Arendt starts from a difference made by J. J. Rousseau between natural mercy and self-conceit in order to identify in the public space a specific type of emotional policy: abstract mercy, “principled” – a sort of sadness of the “political body” without being “physically” affected. In an archetype sense, this mercy is incarnated by The Grand Inquisitor who, transforming it into a public virtue mechanism, confers it a “potential of cruelty superior to the one of cruelty itself” (1967, p. 129).

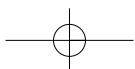
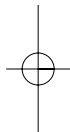
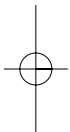
¹¹ Sometimes this can get the aspect of “affair”: Dreyfuss affair, Galați cigarette affair, “Smart boys” affair, Green leaf affair (the touristic brand of Romania), Strauss Kahn affair, “The wife and the parish” affair, Năstase affair etc.

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Book Review



Florina CREȚU*¹

**Review of *Popularization & Personalization
A Historical and Cultural Analysis of 50 Years
of Dutch Political Television Journalism* by R. Van Santen.
Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Almanakker, Oosterhout,
2012, 196 pages**

In the last couple of decades various scholars have signaled the occurrence and development of important processes in political communication. If some have broadly coined these transformations as “Americanization” (Negrine & Papathanassopoulos, 1996; Scammel, 1998), “professionalization” (Blumler & Kavanaugh, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008; Stamper & Brants, 2011), “tabloidization” (Barnett, 1998; Connell, 1998; Klein, 1996) or “infotainment”, (Street, 2000; 2001), others have associated them with terms such as “video malaise” (Robinson, 1976) or “spectatorship democracy” (De Beus, 2011). According to these views, political journalism nowadays has stepped into a new era, in which the coverage of political events and television programming itself are heading towards an entertainment logic.

Rosa Van Santen’s work addresses all of these issues and represents a very valuable contribution to assessing these hypotheses. The book represents her PhD thesis and is structured into seven chapters, one of which illustrates a literature review on the concepts of popularization and personalization; and five represent separate empirical studies addressing them.

The second chapter of this study introduces a thorough and highly structured theoretical undertaking on the abovementioned concepts. By synthesizing the meanings attributed to popularization and personalization in the established literature, the author offers an insightful perspective on them: while the two notions are closely connected, they illustrate distinct processes. The plea that bases this view is the following: popularization is characterized by a combination of popular topics, narrative means, audiovisual means and forms of audience participation; while personalization is a product of individualization (focus on private professional qualities), privatization (highlights the private *persona*) and/ or emotionalization (stresses on personal emotions). Furthermore, as Van Santen shows, popularization concerns the entire message and style of a TV program, whilst personalization relates to “a specific media coverage of individual politicians” (2012, p. 19) Thus, although conceptually they may overlap, one can exist without the other.

Chapter three, “TV programming in times of changing political communication”, presents an analysis of television genres in the Dutch media. Here, the author takes a historical approach on the content and proportion of entertainment and information-based programs.

The fourth part of this book explores the popularization hypothesis by focusing on the analysis of Dutch current affairs program, *Brandpunt*. Thence, the study treats the evolution

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¹ Beneficiary of the „Doctoral Scholarships for a Sustainable Society”, project co-financed by the European Union through the European Social Fund, Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources and Development 2007–2013.

of entertainment elements in this broadcast, from 1960 to 1996. A similar approach is presented in chapter five, where the analysis turns to the presence of personalization elements in the televised portraits of Dutch politicians, between 1961 and 2006. Finally, the last empirical study illustrates a collection of interviews with practitioners from the local political and media environment on the abovementioned concepts.

While the book represents a very ambitious, compelling analysis of Dutch television programming, genres, media and political environment, the magnitude of such empirical approach being equaled only by Brants' "Who's Afraid of Infotainment" (1998), it keeps silent on a number of issues.

First of all, the theoretical part of this study offers a definition of the "video malaise" hypothesis which is not fully explained. While the author highlights its frequent association with trends like negative, sensationalist coverage, "infotainment" (a mixture of classical political genres and popular culture elements), she invests more energy in the thorough literature review than in developing a personal, clearly-outlined understanding of the concept. Moreover, the increasing visuality in political communication implied by the video malaise hypothesis does not make the object of her analytical discussion. But, obviously, approaching all the above mentioned processes in only one book takes its toll on the depth of each approach.

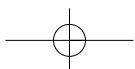
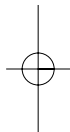
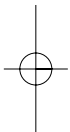
As for the book's conclusion, it shows that popularization and personalization trends have not evolved significantly in the Dutch landscape. One explanation for this assessment of phenomena is that the empirical analyses are mostly based on public broadcasting data. Nevertheless, this conclusion raises a number of questions. For instance: what is specific to the Dutch political communication? Van Santen's work seems to focus extensively on exploring different hypotheses forwarded by the established literature, but tends to leave out how the local media discourses have built a certain identity. Also, if the results can be considered generalizable for the Dutch media, what are their implications? From the book, we find out that personalization has somehow always been there, it has just not developed. Thus, what does this aspect tell us about the mass-media evolution and democratization in the Netherlands?

Van Santen's work represents an insightful tool for doctoral students and researchers wishing to understand and learn how trends in political communication can be analyzed. It represents an example of thorough academic work in assessing the aforementioned phenomena and a necessary citation for scholars who are approaching them.

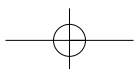
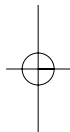
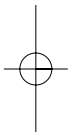
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International Research Project on Diaspora



Diana DUMITRIU*¹

E-diasporas Atlas. Exploration and Cartography of Diasporas in the Digital Network

1. *E-diaspora*: the homeland of the *connected migrant*

The symbolic imperialism of internet, which ended up covering every aspect of our life, whether public or private, meant also a redefining process in terms of social space, social time and social relationships. Moreover, it contributed as a significant platform and amplifier resort to the consolidation of the 'network society' (Castelles, 1996) and its expansion to the virtual level. Each component of the social dynamics found its corollary and, in many cases, its substitute in the 'e'-reality generated by the new technologies and, therefore, we now speak of e-democracy, e-learning, e-culture etc. In this context, *e-diaspora*, which constitutes the conceptual anchor of the 'E-diasporas Atlas' project reflects 'a migrant collective that organises itself and is active first and foremost on the Web'(1). Principles of mobility and connectivity are sped up by the internet nature itself, as it provides both the platform, as well as the channel for time and space contraction, making social relations surpass the pressure and constraints of physical distance. As a heterogeneous entity, *e-diaspora* covers practices of a "community whose interactions are 'enhanced' by digital exchange"(1) and is subject to a permanent process of renegotiating its boundaries.

Part of a global *culture of mobility*, migration is one of the defining dimensions of the recent political and economic dynamics. Therefore it has risen up as a central topic for the deliberative performances staged in the public sphere, becoming a constant of the media's agenda, as well as a resourceful direction for researchers. The reconfiguration of diasporas on the web platform as a social field per se provides a research area that needed a solid path breaker on both conceptual and methodological aspects. The emergent social practices of the *connected migrant* (Diminescu, 2008) are closely linked to the overall sedimentation of new forms of proximity and social connectivity generated by the virtual platform of interaction and integration. Due to its consistency in terms of corpus and to its value in terms of insights, the 'E-diasporas Atlas' project can be given this 'path breaker' role as an unique experiment in approaching the hybridisation between 'e'-social space and diasporic communities.

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¹ Beneficiary of the „Doctoral Scholarships for a Sustainable Society” project, co-financed by the European Union through the European Social Fund, Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources and Development 2007-2013, project initiated and coordinated by Dana Diminescu, developed in the framework of the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme ICT Migrations program.

2. Mapping the drifting sands of migrant sites

The 'E-diasporas Atlas' project covers both descriptive and explicative aspects, as it is structured on a sequence of research steps that starts with selecting and archiving a consistent corpus of *migrant sites* and then exploring and analyzing their content, but, moreover, the way they connect to each other. A *migrant site* was defined as 'a website created or managed by migrants and/or that deals with them', whether personal or institutional site, blog or forum (1). An interdisciplinary team of more than 80 researchers coordinated their efforts in covering 8,000 migrant websites and providing an important data base for further research on this theme. The role of researchers in discriminating the relevant resources for a given diaspora was significant, as their expertise and high familiarity with this area of research worked as the main criterion in this symbolic gate-keeping process of corpus configuration. So, although the project presents a standardization in terms of research instruments, this is prefaced by high involvement of the researcher in the selective process of corpus building.

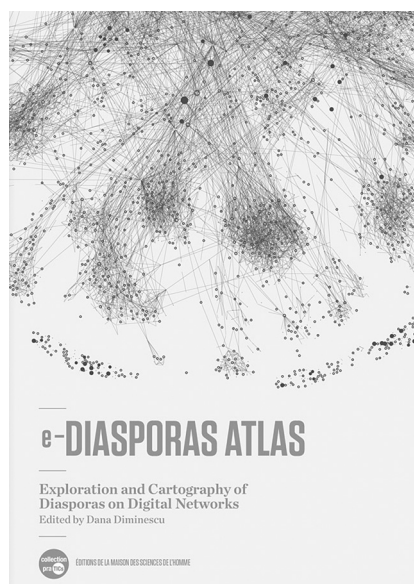
On the methodological level, the mapping and analyzing of diasporas' presence on the web was structured into four 'intertwined steps: 1) equipped web exploration and corpus building; 2) data enrichment (location, languages, text-mining); 3) network visualization, manipulation and graph interpretation; 4) collaborative sharing of (raw) data and findings' (1). If the researchers' high degree of involvement in the selection of migrant websites can act as a possible source of vulnerability and contestation on methodological grounds, the *network visualization (Gephi)* can be seen as the most valuable methodological contribution of this project. Developed by Matthieu Bastian, Matthieu Jacomy and Sébastien Heymann, *Gephi* is a software of graph visualization and provides two types of visual representation: one based on the physical principle of attraction/repulsion (related to the presence or absence of a link between two nodes of the network) and the other one based on a geographical spatialization, which involves 'geocoded data' such as location of websites' owner, websites' addressees, language of the websites etc. What this approach manages to fulfill is a correlation between the tools of research, the nature of data collection and the overall thematic focus of the project. The e-diasporas' maps outline the dynamics of connectivity and the network structure of these communities on virtual level. The final outcome of the project, *maps.e-diasporas.fr collaborative platform*, was developed for hosting the e-Diasporas Atlas and its *chapters*, which act as structural units, corresponding to the e-diasporas that made the subject of the researchers' interest. As a collection of e-diasporas study cases, this platform covers different types of data, from graphs and statistics, to texts, interviews and videos, providing both a wide set of elaborated materials to be consulted, as well as an important corpus that can be the object of further analyses.

As for the findings of the e-Diasporas Atlas project, they are not the mere product of the network analysis of migrant websites configuration, but rather an integrated analysis which combines these elements with researchers' previous studies developed around diasporas' dynamics, whether on online or offline social contexts. However, if we were to identify some general coordinates, as the research team itself admits, the e-Diasporas Atlas proposes at least two keys of interpretation: a topological one and a triangulation of quanti-qualitative approaches. If the first one is focused on the connectivity and the network structure of e-diasporas' actors, outlining the visual representation of e-diasporas' spatiality and relational dynamics, the second one is centered on an in-depth approach of the migrant websites' content itself. Although they are all circumscribed to the general framework of the project, integrating the mapping process and the network visual representation, each component of this

project is, in the end, a consistent and autonomous research unity. Therefore, different aspects of e-diasporas' ethos are stressed out by the individual working papers gathered on the project's platform.

3. The *E-Diasporas Atlas*' path breaker share

All in all, what 'E-Diasporas Atlas project' manages to outline are the new forms of co-presence and community multilayered integration of migrants. Spatiality is inherent to diaspora, as migration is all about distance and connectivity between people and social contexts. The conceptualization of e-diaspora, but, moreover, the operationalization and the visual representation of its dynamics make this project a valuable path breaker towards a resourceful, yet underexplored research area. The e-diaspora is not just an instrumental means of creating and maintaining social connections; it gains also an ontological dimension, as it becomes a significant level of migrants' existence and social performances, helping them surpass the physical and emotional gap between two worlds that they are simultaneously part of: the host state and the home state referent. As the inhabitant of this e-diaspora, the *connected migrant* is the representative figure of this culture of bonds and of the hyperconnectivity that defines the nature of today's network society. The 'E-Diasporas Atlas project' not only describes and explores these migrant e-communities, but rather attest their existence as an institutionalized social phenomenon and, moreover, as a social field per se which, in turn, justifies the legitimacy of its analysis for and beyond a mere scientific purpose. Besides the undisputable value attached to the conceptual and the methodological aspects brought by this project, there is this gateway that it provides to a resourceful field of research, along with some useful tools and data collection for those who want to discover and further analyse the e-diasporas dynamics. On both connotative and denotative sense, 'E-Diasporas Atlas project' can be seen as a pioneer research expedition towards the first collection of e-diasporas maps, which integrate the spatial and the social cartography of the connected migrants' e-lands.



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