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R&D Perspectives. Creativity and Innovation

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Paul Dobrescu*

Wealth of Nations is the Wealth of Ideas. The Social Innovation Imperative

Abstract

Social innovation cannot be a purposeless endeavour. It seeks to set framework conditions for development and to create new paths for growth. That is why, social innovation is to be judged by its results. It is the aim of this article to underline the importance of social innovation and to study its presence in two different temporal and geographical settings: Great Britain in the context of the Industrial Revolution and China in the context of structural reforms initiated around 30 years ago. These two cases indicate that social innovation may provide a possible answer to Adam Smith's inquiry into how wealth is accumulated: the wealth of nations is ultimately the wealth of ideas.

Key words: innovation, social innovation, innovation in government, development mode.

1. Knowledge and Innovation – the New Sources of Economic Growth

Ever since Adam Smith's revolutionary book "The Wealth of Nations" was published, scholars and policy makers have tried to figure out what determines growth and wealth. Adam Smith himself was among the first to provide an answer to this fundamental question and highlighted specialization, the division of labor and institutional prerequisites for growth, while the neoclassical economists emphasized the investment in physical capital and infrastructure. Relatively recently, a new factor was discovered – knowledge. Its contribution to economic growth was first brought to the attention of the academic community in 1956 by Robert Solow, in his famous article „A Contribution to the Theory of Economic Growth". This explicit acknowledgement did not have immediate effects and it took the academic and scientific community about 40 years to introduce knowledge into the mechanisms and tools for assessing factors of economic growth. The milestone marking the new understanding of knowledge as a driver of of economic growth is the *1989/999 World Development Report* (done by World Bank). From that moment on, attention has been given to both tangible and intangible sources of growth; among the latter, knowledge accumulation, new organizational designs, new ways of doing business have been prominently featured.

Acting upon the realization that the new sources of economic development are no longer steel, coal mining and heavy industry, and that knowledge and innovation are the drivers of competitiveness and economic growth, many states have developed and exploited knowledge-based activities and services. „The new economy", „the post-industrial society" have become

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magic concepts stimulating the imagination of both scolars, decision-makers and practitioners especially from the developed countries. Benchmark indicators to objectify the existence of the new economy have been proposed by a series of authors: an economy qualifies for this title if the tertiary sector is dominant, accounting for 3/4 of GDP and if it is driven by intellectual capital – knowledge, ideas, talent (Mandel, 2000). This type of economy is stimulated by a synergy between technology and finance: the former is the engine, while the latter is the fuel.

The *2007 World Development Report* even put forth the idea that knowledge creation and human capital development are not merely engines of growth; they are by far the most prominent ones. This view has been extended by other famous indexes and econometric studies holding that the factors influencing economic growth are multi-dimensional and cannot be played one against the other. The *Global Competitiveness Report*, for example, groups the different components of competitiveness into 12 pillars: institutions (both public and private), infrastructure, macroeconomic stability, health and primary education, higher education and training, goods market efficiency, labor market efficiency, financial market sophistication, technological readiness, market size, business sophistication, innovation (4-7). The latest version of that report (2009) underlines the fact that "although substantial gains can be obtained by improving institutions, building infrastructure, reducing macroeconomic instability, or improving human capital, all these factors eventually seem to run into diminishing returns. The same is true for the efficiency of the labor, financial, and goods markets. In the long run, standards of living can be expanded only with innovation" (p. 7).

2. Innovation Reconsidered in the Context of the Global Economic Crisis

Placing knowledge and innovation at the heart of growth and competitiveness processes has made a lot of sense over time. Yet, the global economic crisis has forced both scholars and practitioners to reconsider fundamental questions about how a country's wealth is accumulated and preserved. The crisis is "a time for gloom and pessimism", but it may also "provide the stimulus we need to come up with answers to a question that has defeated policymakers for more than 50 years" (Rose, 2008). The crisis has brought to the fore at least two closely coupled aspects that lost part of their meaning and strength in the midst of the pre-crisis enthusiasm with high-tech revolutions, innovation-powered economies, financial over-sophistication, outsourcing, the privileged task of developed economies to come up with new ideas and the underprivileged tasks of underdeveloped or developing economies to come up with the finished product.

First, the crisis revealed the importance of diversification of the economic system, the need to strike a balance between real and virtual economy, between value-added manufacturing and services of all kinds (business, financial, market-related etc.). Talking about the situation in Great Britain, John Rose, chief executive of Rolls-Royce, stressed that "the first priority is to stop treating manufacturing as some kind of relic of the industrial revolution. High value-added manufacturing brings huge benefits. It penetrates the economy of the entire country rather than just London and the south-east; it pays well but avoids bewildering distortions of income; it drives and enables a broad range of skills; it demands and supports a wide

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supply chain and it adds value and creates wealth" (*idem*). According to the figures provided by the British top executive, the British industry lost 1 million manufacturing jobs in the past 10 years. More importantly, along with these went brands, designing and engineering capabilities, intellectual property rights and – for researchers – routes to market for their inventions and the direct connection to their customer's needs. Taking the example of a typical American car, the contribution to its manufacturing is distributed as following: 30% of the added value is accounted by the South Korean providers of subassemblies, 17.5% by Japanese specialized high tech components, 7.5% by German engineering, 4% by manufacturing of minor units done in Taiwan and Singapore, 2% by marketing and advertising performed in Great Britain, 1.5% by data processing done in Ireland and Barbados. The American manufacturer accounts only for 37% of the value-added activities (Rugman, 2009, p. 92). Would it be fair to say that the American manufacturer lost 63% of its value-added manufacturing strength and, along with these, all the strengths mentioned above, such as planning and engineering capability, or the direct contact with the customers' needs?

Second, the crisis has forced the re-discovery of the meaning of innovation as social innovation, too. The statement according to which innovations (sic!) spur growth and economic transformation had become a mantra of economic growth literature. The problem with that new orthodoxy is the over-reliance on the understanding of innovation as technological innovation, technological breakthroughs, combined with the mistaken belief that this type of (technological) innovation is the exclusive domain of the Western, developed world. The greater prominence of emerging markets multinationals, their connections to the global R&D networks, the changing structure of Chinese (and Asian) exports from low tech to high tech products "challenge the traditional notions regarding the flow of capital, technology and knowledge in the global economy from the developed economies to the emerging ones" (Ramamurty, 2009, p. 8). Exclusive emphasis of technological innovation(s) at the expense of social innovation places countries in a position to miss some of the most important ingredients of the growth and development "recipes": the quality of policies and the determination of the ruling class to implement those policies. The characteristics of the business environment, the maturity of institutions, the human capital, the technological readiness, financial sophistication, the capacity to come up with technological innovation are all important in spurring development; but they all make sense in a framework conducive to social innovation, driven by development modes that are pragmatic, ideology-free and hence able to adapt to fast-changing realities.

3. Global Landscape – a Ferocious Arms Race with Innovation as the Prime Weapon

As we have already underlined, innovation has a solid reputation in the economic growth literature up to the point where there are authors arguing that "virtually all of the economic growth that has occurred since the 18th century is ultimately attributable to innovation" (Baumol, 2004, p. 13). Joseph Schumpeter was among the first to bring innovation to the fore by postulating that dynamic disequilibrium, the "creative destruction" brought on by the innovating entrepreneur rather than equilibrium is the norm of a healthy, performing economy. He is also credited with clearly establishing the distinction between invention and

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innovation. While invention means coming up with good ideas, innovation means making those inventions work technically and commercially. Both invention and innovation has suffered dramatic transformations over time. Before 1800, invention was mysterious and was associated with "the flash of genius", "bright ideas", "muses", "inspiration", and "Eureka" exclamations. According to P. Drucker, the complexity of the WWI brought about a fundamental change: invention became research, "a systematic, purposeful activity which is planned and organized with high predictability" (Drucker, 1985/2007, p. 30-31).

Today, the even bigger complexity of globalization phenomena has changed the stakes and the structure of innovation, too. Regarding the stakes, competitive pressures are creating a genuine, ferocious arms race, with innovation, and not price, as the prime weapon (Baumol, 2004, p. IX). In structural terms, innovation itself is increasingly becoming a routinized and predictable procedure. "Business firms systematically determine the amounts they will invest in the R&D process, systematically decide on the ways in which they will interact with their rivals in this area, and even systematically determine what it is that the company's laboratories should invent" (Baumol, 2004, p. 11). Big, global companies have routinized it and broken it into smaller pieces, some of which become the object of outsourcing. As A. Gurría, OECD Secretary-General shows, initially, outsourcing was primarily in manufacturing, taking advantage of the low cost of unskilled labor. In many countries, outsourcing keeps on being about manufacturing only. Regarding China and India, soon a realization came that the salaries of highly skilled knowledge workers in these countries were equally low, 5-10 lower than in the USA. At the same time, those countries invest a lot in higher education and research, which raises the confidence in their scientists and engineers. As a result, outsourcing came to be about R&D and innovation activities, about establishing R&D centres connected to the global R&D network. These international interdependent R&D laboratories "are basic research centres, have close links with international research programmes and their reason for establishment is operation of coordinated world R&D programmes as part of global product strategies" (Dicken, 2004, p. 243).

The distinction between invention and innovation has already become a cliché in the literature. The situation is rather different with another distinction, formalized by P. Drucker, between technical and social innovation. In his view, "innovation does not have to be technical, does not indeed have to be a 'thing' altogether. Few technical innovations can compete in terms of impact with such social innovation as the newspaper or the insurance […] The hospital in its modern form as a social innovation of the Enlightenment of the eighteen century has had greater impact on health care than many advances in medicine" (Drucker, 1985/2007, p. 29). Money (as tokens that carry value), property rights, the textbook, the modern, Humboldtian university, the nation state, the standardization of production chain at McDonalds's, the global supply chain practiced by WalMart are all examples of social innovation. Excellence in social innovation may explain, as is the Japanese case, economic success, in spite of the fact that, by and large, the Japanese have not produced outstanding technical or scientific innovations. When the Japanese opened their country to the modern world in 1867, social innovation was "far more critical than steam locomotives or the telegraph. And social innovation, in terms of the development of such institutions as schools and universities, a civil service, banks and labour relations, was far more difficult to achieve than building locomotives and telegraphs. The Japanese made a deliberate decision a hundred years

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ago to concentrate their resources on social innovations, and to imitate, import and adapt technical innovations – with startling success" (*idem*).

Social innovation accounts for the differences of performance in development. Otherwise, the recipes of development, including the parts regarding technological readiness and building the capacity for technological innovation would be relatively easy to apply. Yet, companies differ in their capacity to come up with new products and services and, increasingly, in their capacity to design new processes so that the new products and services are deployed more rapidly and at lower costs. In other terms, companies – big and small – must perform in both areas: technological innovation and social innovation (organizational, institutional, process-related etc.). Just like companies, government needs innovation.

Drucker's severe conclusion that "not to innovate is the single largest reason for the decline of existing organizations" (Drucker, 2001/2007, p. 7) is in line with his distinction between technological and social innovation and it applies to both. In his view, government – not business or nonprofits – and economic theories are going to be the most important area of innovation over the coming years. Let's remember William Baumol's depiction of the global *economic* landscape: a ferocious arms race with innovation as the prime weapon. If we agree with the idea that government and economic thinking are the most important objects of (social) innovation, then the adjective "economic" is no longer needed and we have come up with a pretty accurate description of today's global landscape in general: a ferocious competition between government and economic models, between development ideas or ideas about economic recovery, survival or growth. Perhaps more than anything else, the crisis has raised questions regarding the appropriateness of the existing development model, its capacity to adapt and respond to a fast-changing reality. It has placed under a question mark the prevailing model that has guided the development of capitalist world for the last centuries: the Anglo-Saxon model. In Roger C. Altman's words, the damage brought about by the crisis "has put the American model of free market capitalism under a cloud" (Altman, 2009).

4. Two Instances of Social Innovation

In order to illustrate the importance of social innovation and its role in boosting development, we have chosen two situations in which the issue appears to be most prominent. The first refers to the situation in Great Britain and the factors that led to the Industrial Revolution and summarizes the answers to the long debated question "Why did the Industrial Revolution happen in Great Britain". The second refers to China and to its two successive historical experiments during which it has sought to innovate government and economic thinking themselves.

4.1. Why did the Industrial Revolution take place in Great Britain?

A short economic history of the world of the sort written by Gregory Clark would notice that before 1800, the average quality of material life "declined from the Stone Age to 1800" (Clark, 2007, p. 2), the income per person was rather uniform across all societies and there was no upward, no growth trend. The Industrial Revolution changed this dramatically: it inaugurated the growth economy, it increased the incomes per person in a favored group of economies to the point where "the richest modern economies are not ten to twenty times

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wealthier than the 1800 average" (idem) and it inaugurated the *Great Divergence*, the official name for the harsh contemporary reality that "the gap in incomes between countries is of the order of 50:1" (Clark, 2007, p. 3).

Almost all authors dealing with the occurrence of the Industrial Revolution agree that it marked the appearance of rapid, unparalleled economic growth fueled by increasing production efficiency which, in turn, had been made possible by advances in knowledge, by the rate of technological advance. The difference between Great Britain at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution was not given by the technological know-how. Ancient Rome and ancient and medieval China are immediate counterexamples; by the 1st century BC, Alexandria had a working steam engine, and Rome had the water mill; and the list of inventions produced in ancient China is impressive: paper, movable type, the water clocks, gunpowder, the spinning wheel, ship construction techniques, porcelain, the umbrella, matches, the toothbrush.

Some explanations as to the timing, location and nature of the Industrial Revolution underline, for example institutional aspects (changes in the legal or the political institutions, in particular the introduction of modern democracies). Others focus on the "inevitability" of the Industrial Revolution, on the internal evolution of the economic system, emphasizing the fact that it was the product of a gradual evolution of social conditions. Irrespective of the different interpretations, there is agreement that the Industrial Revolution occurred in England due to its extraordinary stability of England back to at least 1200 and to the its system of private property rights (Clark, 2007, p. 266). The institutional attributes that are usually underlined are: secured private property to encourage savings and investments, secured rights of personal liberty, enforced rights of contract and stable government (Landes, 1998; Baumol, 2004). For example, D. Landes underlines that "in despotisms, it is dangerous to be rich without power. So in [such regimes] capital accumulation proved an attractive nuisance. It aroused cupidity and invited seizure" (Landes, 1998, p. 398). Also, there is wide agreement that innovation was at the core of the Industrial Revolution.

The system of private property rights represented a powerful incentive for productive innovation rather than rent-seeking (nonproductive pursuit of economic profit) and destructive innovative activity (such as in warfare). The conditions for the flowering productive innovation emerged, according to W. J. Baumol, "out of the struggle for power between the kings and their nobility, each side seeking to ensure its unhampered ability to pursue its natural occupation – destructive warfare […] The ultimate winner was a third party, apparently not concerned in this struggle – the bourgeoisie. But the beneficiaries also included those nobles who were induced to participate in bourgeois undertakings such as commerce and production by the more restricted availability of wealth from rent-seeking and violence. From this group, whose activities were made possible by the evolving political arrangements and by the guarantees of the rule of law there rose the productive entrepreneurs who brought free enterprise economy into existence" (Baumol, 2004, p. 71).

As a result, commerce became a reputable activity, while rent-seeking and destructive innovative activities were no longer the respectable avenues to wealth. Contrary to the situation in ancient Rome or China, where technical know-how were abundant, the system of property rights and the 600-year institutional stability that was found in Great Britain created the ability and the willingness of a rising class to make use of that knowledge.

The Industrial Revolution – driven as it was by technological advances – inaugurated the type of economy where innovation is not a casual but a constant, life-and-death endeavor.

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Why is that so? Figures show that even in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the world was not globalized and the speed of travel of information was not so high, the diffusion of innovations took place rather rapidly. For example, it took the cotton mill 7 years to reach France, 13 to reach Germany, 22 to reach Russia, 23 to reach Switzerland, 24 to reach the Netherlands, 28 to reach Belgium, and 30 years to reach Austria (Clark, 2007, p. 304). There is a diffusion lag, but the originators of such innovations could not wait for 7 to 30 years to come up with a new invention that could preserve their advantage and such technological breakthroughs could not be maintained as secrets. Besides, soon the speed of information would make the diffusion gaps drop rapidly. In this way, innovation feedback became very important and a distinctive feature of growth economies: innovation stimulates further innovative endeavors. Second, it inaugurated the type of growth in which knowledge, including knowledge about how to implement innovation, market it successfully and utilize it profitably, would be a decisive factor and made possible the emergence of a global superpower – the US – whose main business is export of technology. Growth would start to be generated by investments channeled towards expanding the stock of knowledge in societies. Technological knowledge and knowledge about how to organize for creating, reproducing and exploiting that type of knowledge would become in time equally important.

4.2. China – two historical experiments

After the dramatic events taking place in the former socialist area during the 1960s – the most important being the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, China chose to undertake a deep reform of its crumbling, underperforming system. That came after the Cultural Revolution and after the exhausting draught scorching the country for several years. So, reform was undertaken under both political and social pressures caused by famine. Until then, the unity between the socialist system and common property had been current orthodoxy and no other type of property was accepted. The Chinese Communist authorities changed the orthodoxy itself, agreed that private property could coexist with socialism and implemented policies in order to stimulate it. This major change – a genuine instance of social innovation – caused a boom in China's development and was the starting point of a true historical experiment. The results of this social innovation are clear. China has been growing at an impressive rate and has managed to maintain this even under the crisis situation. Developed countries stagnate or have negative growth rates, while China has an 8% growth, which narrows the gap separating it from those countries. According to C.F. Bergsten, "China's current surplus has reached 11-12 percent of its GDP. By next year, its annual global surplus could approach $ 500 billion, approximating the value of the US current account deficit. Its hoard of foreign currency exceeds $ 1.6 trillion and is by far the world's largest" (Bergsten, 2008, p. 61-62). Maybe the most convincing indicator of the success of this recent social innovation is the fact that China managed to lift nearly 400 million individuals out of abject poverty within one generation, "an unprecedented success in human history" (Zhang, 2009).

The second experiment is related to China's attempt to build capitalism with a socialist superstructure. Will it be equally successful? Most authors agree that, in the long run, the tension between the socialist superstructure and the capitalist economy will eventually be solved in favor of the latter. That, in turn, could favor the conclusion that China will inevitably become a capitalist country. Yet, we consider that the traditional categories and dichotomies

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– capitalism *versus* socialism, private *versus* public property, right *versus* left etc. – do not fully grasp China's recent experience in the field of development and economic growth. This experience defies preexisting categories that were conceived in different historical, cultural and geographical settings. Interpreting this experience in such dichotomist terms has a strong ideological bias and presents major theoretical weaknesses. China's mode has been neither capitalist nor socialist, but has been development-driven. It refutes pre-established labels, categories or theoretical models. After saying no to the socialist model and to its rigidity and unilateralism, China said an equally determined no to capitalism. It is less concerned with ideology than with results. In general, analysis devoted to China often has a strong ideological bias and questions around its recent history of development are ideology-led: is China socialist or capitalist?, is it more rightist than leftist, or the other way round?, how will China's political future look like?. There are arguments in favor of either of the two perspectives, but this is irrelevant. China's ultimate goals are development and are modernization-driven. This approach has not been bred by the recent socialist experience solely. China has retained the coordinating function of the state out of a rich and long historical experience and has embraced the market system thus exploiting one of the most outstanding acquisitions of modern world. This marriage between the state and the market system – although paradoxical and incomprehensible for those ideologically biased – appears to be a happy one.

Economically speaking, China is liberal, more liberal than many other Asian countries. It has attracted multinationals, opened trade, and stimulated international cooperation. The fact that this strategy is downright modern has not been questioned by anybody, not even by Western analysts. China allowed for the implementation of typically capitalist mechanisms: private property and competition, while retaining the role of the state and its involvement in economy. The ratio between the state and private enterprise is utterly different. China's path of reform has been extremely difficult, the change process entailed uncertainty which, in turn, could have caused social turmoil. Giving up the coordination and control function of the state would have been risky under such severe social circumstances. Apart from the social reasons, the decision to retain the power of the state was favored by the experience of other Asian countries in the 1990s. Back then, governments played an important role in re-launching the economies of these countries, albeit in different ways. Besides, China is huge and has a huge population, which calls for a different role of government. What is important is that, leaving ideological labels behind, the combination between the state and the free market mechanisms has been working successfully in China.

5. Conclusion

We have underlined the fact that the crisis has reinforced the meaning of innovation as social innovation, too. The crisis is challenging conventional wisdom about growth and development, showing that past success – or a good departure point – cannot guarantee future success. Great companies have failed for various reasons, one of the most frequent one being that they have taken their success for granted. This may happen to great societies, too. Great societies and great economic theories need to reinvent themselves. As one author (Erstin, 2009) expressively put it, innovation – including social innovation, innovation in government and in economic thinking included – is not optional.

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We have emphasized the importance of social innovation and its presence in two different temporal and geographical settings. They indicate that social innovation may provide a possible answer to Adam Smith's inquiry into how wealth is accumulated: the wealth of nations is ultimately the wealth of ideas.

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Coming Home: First and Second Order Effects of Returning Migrants on Romanian Economic Development through the Changing Dynamics of Social Capital

Abstract

A growing body of evidence suggests there is a positive relationship between social capital and economic development. Elements of social capital, such as generalized trust, provide a basis for reciprocity necessary for a market-based economic system. In this article, we evaluate components of social capital and other political culture attributes among Romanian migrant workers who have returned to their country, as well as labor migrant household members. Using pooled data from an eight-year period, we find that migrant workers and members of their households tend to have less pro-democratic values than the general population although they tend to be more participatory citizens. The exception to this is among émigrés who returned in the 1990's suggesting that negative attitudes turn positive after resettlement in the community. We conclude that returning migrants do not offer a significant source of social capital to Romania. The finding tempers those who optimistically await the return of the many Romanian migrants. However, the long-term impact of returning migrants might show more desirable results.

Key words: social capital, trust, economic development, migration, political culture.

1. Introduction

Social capital refers to a collective resource of social relations and networks resulting from aggregated, organized human behavior. Exploration of the various outcomes associated with social capital has generated insight into the creation and maintenance of public goods (e.g. Coleman 1988, S116-8). In this stream of the literature, one of the more provocative causal assertions has been the positive relationship between social capital and economic development (Fukuyama, 1995; Knack ,2002; Woolcock, 1998). Social capital correlates with improvements in efficiency of public administration and the quality of public policy, especially in the sphere of development policies (Easterly and Levine, 1997; Putnam, 1993). Social capital also contributes to overcoming collective action problems and lowering transaction costs.

Generalized trust, a key component of social capital, is defined as the extent to which individuals place faith in their fellow citizens, especially when the assumption of shared norms, which is the foundation of trust, transcends social differences such as ethnic, racial or religious differences (Uslaner, 2002, 21-6). Such trust is associated with optimism and a willingness to set aside short-term, narrow interests for the greater welfare of the community. This component of social capital also facilitates the smooth functioning of market relations,

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and thus, contributes to economic growth and development (Knack and Keefer 1997; Putnam 1993). In the absence of generalized trust, economic development may occur in spurts but income inequalities and entrenched patterns of corruption will likely erase these gains (Uslaner 2008). Thus, attitudinal aspects of social capital, such as generalized trust, have a positive influence on economic growth (Almond and Verba 1963, 29-30; Putnam 1993, 177).

The case of Romania offers an excellent opportunity to study the impact of temporary migration on shaping, and reshaping, political attitudes. The 1989 Romanian Revolution revealed the effects of the brutal communist dictatorship of Nicolae Ceauşescu that atomized and impoverished society, crushing all manifestations of a civic culture to maintain its dominance (Ratesh, 1991; Siani-Davies 2005). Against this backdrop we see a different yet related phenomenon: large-scale labor migration. The Romanian revolution brought freedom but also intensified hardships (Gallagher 2005; Linz and Stepan 1996, 356). Most Romanians endured the economic struggle and political wrangling but a significant number migrated in search of a better life. The case of Romania offers an excellent opportunity to study the impact of temporary migration on shaping, and reshaping, political attitudes and the potential for returning émigrés to alter Romanian political culture.

Various studies have indicated a significant potential for social learning, suggesting the malleability of attitudes and behaviors (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991; Converse, 1976; Jennings and Niemni, 1981). When compared to other instances of re-socialization, migration could be seen as an important source (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller, 2003). For example, the decision of a temporary migrant to seek permanent residence in the destination country involves a learning process (Khoo, Hugo, and McDonald, 2008). In addition to interaction with people and institutions from the receiving countries, group interaction with other migrants and change in the relationships with family and acquaintances from the country of origin can have equally important social learning effects. This perspective, coming from social identity theory, asserts that group experience enhances the common traits of group members (Hooghe, 2003; Tajfel, 1981).

Most studies that have focused upon returned migrants verify that transnational experiences impact attitudes and identity (Anghel, 2008; Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller, 2003). Consistently, migrants of all ages to democratic-capitalist countries adopt compatible profiles of citizenship and entrepreneurial spirit (Bilodeau and Kanji, 2006; Black, 1987; Black, Niemi, and Powell, 1987; Cho, 1999; Wong, 2000). If the same processes apply to returning migrants, then we should find that the overall effects of working abroad on political learning are positive for sustainable democracy and economic growth.

Studies that address the effects of exposure to cultural diversity also guide our expectations. Despite some ethnic insulation in Romanian communities abroad, migrants typically operate as minorities within their work and social environments. Theoretical and empirical work predicts that exposure to cultural diversity may alter attitudes such as generalized trust; however, the direction of change is unclear. *Contact* theory suggests that diversity erodes in-group/out-group distinctions and enhances out-group solidarity, thus lowering ethnocentrism. Alternatively, *conflict* theory asserts that diversity enhances in-group/out-group distinctions and strengthens in-group solidarity or bonding social capital, thus increasing ethnocentrism (Blalock, 1967; Bobo and Tuan, 2006; Taylor, 1998). Putnam (2007) proposed and found empirical support for another hypothesis that he labels "*constrict* theory." He asserts that in-group

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and out-group attitudes need not be reciprocally related but can vary independently, and that exposure to diversity actually might result in lower levels of both in-group and out-group solidarity. Thus, both conflict and constrict theories depart from contact theory by predicting negative effects of migration on out-group solidarity (or bridging social capital). Which of the three approaches find empirical support for the case of returned migrants and their families? Do outcomes hold evenly across the migrant population or do outcomes vary according to migrant demographic characteristics, such as age, education, or ethnicity?

We contend that studying the effects of temporary migration on the political culture of migrants is a positive first step to understanding the ramification of returning émigrés in Romania. It also may shed light on other countries in the region where temporary and circular migration is common. Additionally, we contribute to the larger debate regarding the effects of diversity on attitudes and behavior.

2. The Scope of Romanian Migration

Before beginning the analysis of data, it is necessary to construct of picture of the Romanian transnational population. This is no simple task. Estimates vary considerably regarding the number of Romanians who have migrated since 1990 and the profile of a typical migrant also has changed over time. According to the United Nations Development Program (2007, 93-94), migration of Romanian citizens peaked in 1990 with more than 100,000 applying for permanent leave of the country. Official figures then report a slow but steady decline. Still 53,029 Romanian citizens migrated in 2005 and another 42,758 in 2006 (OLFM, 2006). After 1990 when the emigration rate was 4.0 percent, the rate decreased to 1.13 percent in 1995, and then dropped again to 0.4-0.5 percent in 2001-2003 (Constantine *et al.* 2004, 72). Put differently, according to Romanian government estimates, during the period of 1990-2003 just under two percent of the Romanian population emigrated or fewer than 500,000 persons.

The official government figures likely undercount the actual number of Romanian migrants for two reasons. According to the 2002 Romanian census, migrants numbered 159,426; however, the census also found over 600,000 Romanian citizens "missing" suggesting that unofficial and oftentimes illegal migration was nearly four times the rate of official migration estimates (Constantine *et al.* 2004, 80). Official figures also do not account for temporary migration since January 2002 when visa requirements to the EU countries were altered for Romanians. The new requirements allowed Romanians to stay for up to three months to most of the EU countries with only a tourist visa available at border crossings. The change lead to a sharp increase in circular migration for employment purposes that did not require Romanians to register with the state (U.N. Development Program 2007, 93). Indeed, Sandu (2006, 13) shows how Romanian official estimates underreport migration by comparing the Romanian state figures to those generated in destination countries.

Survey data of households of two or more members may better represent the scope of Romanian labor migration. The method allows for respondents to report on members of the household who are presently working abroad and casts a broader net to capture those who have worked abroad but have since returned. Using this method, Sandu (2006, 14) estimates that at least 10 percent of the Romanian population has migrated for work since 1990. A

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separate study using a different sample but also relying on a survey of households as the primary unit of analysis found that approximately 17 percent of Romanian households report having had members work abroad at some point between 1990 and 2001, or approximately 1.2 million households; the number increased after 2001 to approximately 23 percent of households or 1.6 million households (Lazaroiu and Alexandru 2005, 4). A survey conducted by Gabriel Bădescu in March 2007 found that 19 percent of all Romanian households have someone working abroad or had at least one member who has worked abroad in the last two years. Using such survey estimates still does not alleviate the problem of undercounting the number of returned migrants for two reasons. First, respondents likely underreport illegal activities. Secondly, the method does not account for instances when an entire household are abroad at the time of the interview. Nevertheless, even conservative estimates based on surveys suggest that the phenomenon of labor migration is more widespread than official figures report.

Beyond precise numbers, there is more scholarly consensus on the general pattern of migration. Romania has experienced three distinct periods of migration since 1990 (Sandu, 2006, 14). The first from 1990-1995 was an initial phase of exploration for better working and living conditions. Migrants were overwhelmingly young, male, and from urban areas. They drew heavily on ethnic-based networks resulting in Hungary, Germany and Israel as the primary destination countries.[1] In the second phase, 1996-2001, exploration routes solidified and social networks paved the way for many to follow the paths of those who succeeded. After 2002, migration became a mass phenomenon, with a more balanced demographic profile of migrants (Sandu 2006). The latter phase also saw a preference toward Italy and Spain as destinations. With less restrictive visa requirements to EU countries, the costs of migration went down resulting in a more evenly distributed migration in terms of demographic indicators.[2] The strength of social networks in providing avenues of exit diminished in favor of forms of irregular, shuttle migration which better served individual preferences (Anghel 2008, 792).

Table 1. Percentage of Respondents who Worked Abroad Relative to the General Population[3]

		Worked Abroad		Did not Work Abroad
Education:				
	Less than H.S.	49.4		60.3
	H.S./ Vocational	36.6		30.0
	University	14.0		9.7
		N = 1832		N = 23752
Age:				
	18 – 35	45.0		29.7
	36 – 55	39.5		33.9
	55 +	15.5		36.4
		N = 1834		N = 23774
Gender:				
	Male	65.7		45.1
	Female	34.3		54.9
		N =1836		N = 23809
Ethnicity:				
	Non-Romanian	18.4		9.2
	Romanian	81.6		90.8
		N =1832		N =23766

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The demographic estimates refer to the migration phenomenon in the aggregate but say nothing about the portion of migrants who have returned to Romania. Table 1 provides a partial, descriptive glimpse of the returning migrant population using the data that will be the basis of further analysis below. We use a pooled data set of 13 Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls (RBOP) 2000-2007.[4] The aggregated data set results in a sample of 25,82 9 Romanian citizens. Of these, 7.2 percent (1,836) responded that they had worked abroad at some point since 1990. The series of surveys show a slight increase over time: all but one of the surveys conducted before 2006 have less than 6 percent former migrants, whereas all of the later surveys have between 7.4 and 8.1 percent of the respondents declaring to have worked abroad. Put differently, according to the Barometer data up to 1.5 million citizens living in Romania have spent time working abroad which is remarkably consistent with the figure estimated by Lazaroiu and Alexandru (2005). When asked if anyone in the respondent's household is working abroad, the number jumps to 16.8 percent, with only 3.4 percent (789 of 23,351) individuals responding affirmatively to both questions (respondent worked abroad and respondent has a household member working abroad).

The table shows that those who have returned from working abroad tend to be more educated, younger, and male relative to those who have not worked abroad. Non-Romanians are overrepresented among migrants but still are a minority among those who have returned. Since these survey data provide information only about those who were interviewed in Romania, we cannot draw inferences about the typical attributes of all the Romanian migrants. Nevertheless, Table 1 provides direction for what demographic control factors to consider when evaluating the relationship between returned migrant status and political culture attributes in the analysis below.

3. Romanian Migrants and Political Attitudes

There is a strong consensus that a certain individual traits, attitudes, values and norms tend to be a significant resource for transitioning from a totalitarian society, irrespective of the rules, institutions or any other contextual factors of the new regime (e.g. Dahl 1971, ch. 8; Diamond 1999). Building on the notion of a civic culture, Galston (1991, 221-224) contends that responsible citizenship requires four types of civic virtues: general virtues, social, economic and political virtues. In addition, the ability and willingness to cooperate as well as to feel solidarity with those who belong to different ethnic and religious groups are important prerequisites of good citizenship (Putnam, 1993; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000).

Civic involvement has the potential to form and enhance attitudes, knowledge and skills on which market-based practices are based under democratic institutions (Putnam, 1993; Hooghe, 1999). Associations provide „the social infrastructure of public spheres that develop agendas, test ideas, embody deliberations, and provide voice" (Warren, 2001, 61). Moreover, they speak on behalf of groups of citizens, contributing to the aggregation of individual judgment and to the representation of collective decisions (Foley and Edwards, 1996). Solidarity with the disadvantaged of a society and tolerance are by definition attributes describing an individual's capacity to show empathy and support for diverse and different people in a society (Gibson, 2002). Group borders based on ethnicity, religious beliefs, wealth, or immigrant status are easier to cross for associations whose members hold such attitudinal

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profiles. Generalized trust is another value that has the potential to enhance the capacity of citizens to identify common goals and to pursue them collectively (Inglehart, 1999; Stolle, 1998; Uslaner, 2002).

Thus, the literature informs our choices as to which attitudes among Romanian migrants we should investigate. We organize the attitudes of interest, and subsequently the analysis, into four general clusters: institutional trust, generalized trust, tolerance, and civic activism. The coding for each variable is detailed in the appendix. We use the pooled RBOP data set of 13 surveys conducted between May 2000 and October 2007 in the analysis. The primary advantage of pooling the data set is its large N. Although labor migration is not an uncommon phenomenon, the number of respondents reporting that they have worked abroad in a given survey sample is still low with the aggregate data set producing 1,839 respondents who have worked abroad, or 7.2 percent of the pooled sample. The remarkable size of the dataset (N = 25,829) facilitates statistical analysis that controls for factors within the sub-sample of respondents who have worked abroad. Yet, pooling survey data is not without costs. Pooling the data limits the number of variables we can fully assess since the questionnaires were not identical for each Barometer poll. The Barometer polls tended to limit the number of questions for quality of citizenship and seldom asked follow-up questions regarding the circumstances of former labor migrants. Finally, the aggregate data set treats time as a constant which might distort patterns of variance over the years. We address these potential shortcomings in the analysis below.

Table 2 shows the relationship between respondents who worked abroad and seven attitudinal and behavioral indicators. The table shows the correlations (Somers' d) using the aggregate data set.[5] The first three indicators refer to trust in the government (the index includes Parliament, the President and the Government), trust in the justice system, and trust in the police. The "generalized trust" question asks respondents if they think most people can be trusted these days, and is seen as an important indicator of maintaining democracy, especially trusting individuals who are different from oneself (Rothstein, 2004; Uslaner, 2002). The index of intolerance (would you tolerate those of different religions, ethnic groups, etc. as neighbors) captures a similar notion although in less abstract terms. Finally, the participation index and civil society membership indicators refer to behavioral norms. For all but the "intolerance index", we see significant but very weak correlations between these elements of political culture and returned migrant respondents. However, the aggregated data set may be masking important patterns.

Table 2. Correlations between Having Worked Abroad and Political Orientations[6]

	2000-07	N
Trust govt. (index)	-.021***	24432
Trust justice	-.010*	24329
Trust police	-.022***	24868
Generalized trust	-.014**	23657
Intolerance (index)	.002	13256
Participation (index)	.087***	3528
Association member	.030***	19367

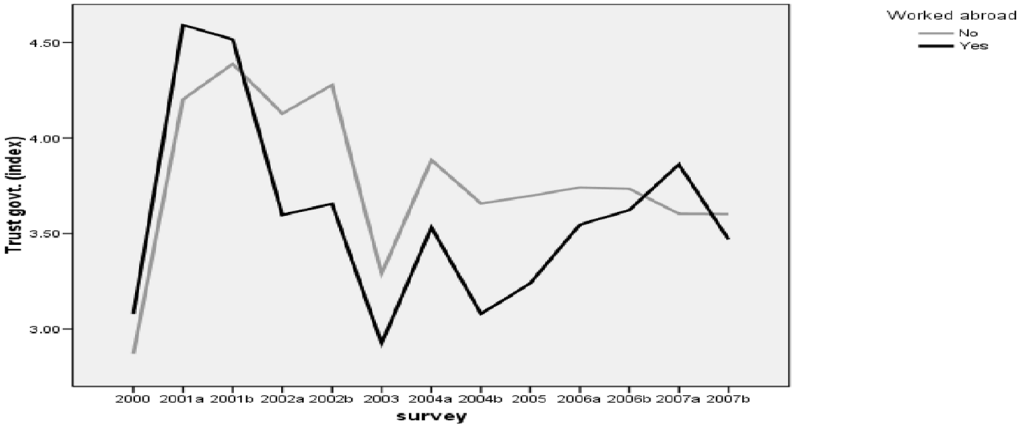
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For the measures of institutional trust, migrants tend to be slightly less trusting of Romanian governing institutions compared to the general population. Uslaner (2002, 47) finds that such measures of institutional trust are best interpreted as estimates of perceived performance of the institutions. In this light, the finding may suggest that individuals who have worked abroad judge Romanian national institutions more harshly after being exposed to governing institutions abroad. The result also may capture a selection bias among those who chose to migrate: individuals migrated who were already dissatisfied and lacking trust in Romanian governing institutions, and whose attitudes in this regard remained fairly stable in the aggregate.

If we disaggregate the numbers, the pattern of institutional trust among former migrants varies in a way that loosely conforms to the relaxation of visa restrictions on Romanians traveling to EU countries in 2002. The data in Figure 1 show that returned migrants who were abroad before 2002 tend to view Romanian governing institutions more favorably than their compatriots. However, those who were abroad after 2002 are less trusting of these institutions. After 2002, Romanian workers abroad are more accurately termed cyclical migrants, or even commuter migrants. Their primary income is earned abroad but they maintain a permanent residence in Romania, and often retain social networks within their home community. Thus, they are more subject to political decision-making in Romania yet, because of their absence, have less control over influencing outcomes that may affect them. Tax policies, government spending and welfare initiatives, and zoning decisions all have an impact on the cyclical migrant.

Table 2 shows that generalized trust among returned migrants is slightly less than the general population. The absence of any substantive correlation between generalized trust and migration in our data supports the assertion that adult experiences, including exposure to diversity, have little effect on the individual level of trust. However, assessment of the socializing effects of labor migration when time is taken into account reveals a different picture. People who worked abroad and returned a longer time ago tend to have a much higher level of generalized trust than those who did not work abroad (52 percent of those who worked before 1989, compared to 36 percent), whereas those who returned recently have lower trust than those who did not work abroad (27 percent of those who worked after 2002) as seen in Table 3.

Figure 1. Trust Government (index) of Migrants and non-Migrants



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The link remains unchanged when we control for the effect of gender, age, ethnicity, education and income of the respondents through cross-tabulations (the low N does not lend itself to regression analysis). There are two main reasons that might explain the importance of time as it is associated with generalized trust among migrant who returned. One supports a version of the socialization hypothesis: working abroad has a lasting impact on trust. In the short term, the effect is negative but as time passes a positive relationship emerges. Reasons for the initial impact include strains on family relationships, perhaps feeling of inadequacies for not having "made it" while abroad, and fresh wounds from social or political discrimination faced in the destination country (Iglic, 2003; Sandu and de Jong, 1996).[7]

Table 3. Social Trust and Year of Last Migration for Work[8]

	Year of last work migration					
		– 1989	1990-95	1996-2001	2002 –	Total
Trust other people	(%)	51.9	39.7	29.2	26.2	34.3
(N in parentheses)		(54)	(73)	(171)	(61)	(359)

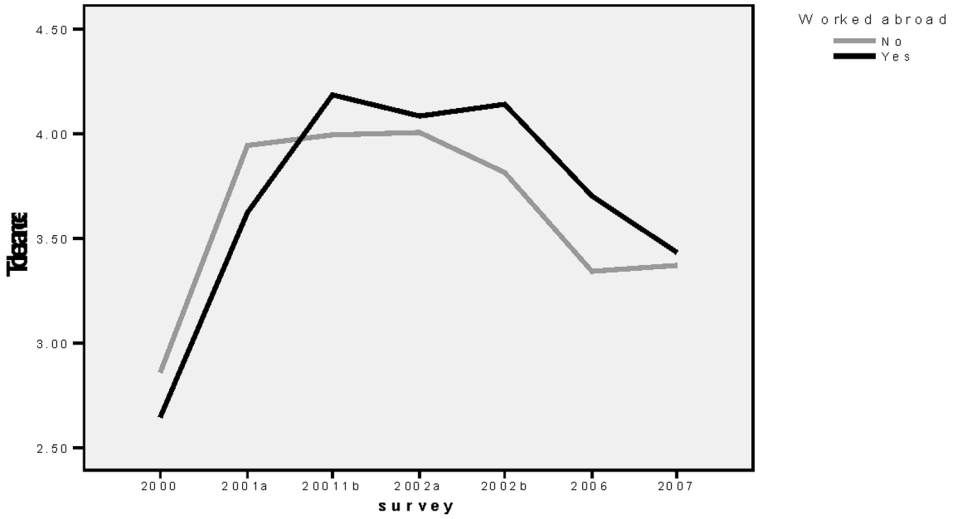
However, why would we see a positive effect several years after one's return? It is possible that working abroad had an effect on social status that is felt and can be observed only later: after return the migrant builds a larger house, starts a business, his/her children now can afford going to school, etc. Another possible explanation may be that migrants "re-imagine" their Romanian community only after they return and reflect on their experiences (Anderson 1991). For example, Volebaek and Selle (2003) found positive relations between passive membership to an association and generalized trust. In our case, the former migrant continues to feel connected and relate to the social context to which they were exposed when they were abroad.

Another explanation for why generalized trust is higher among those who worked abroad from time past may be a selection effect. Table 3 shows levels of generalized trust for different migration periods as noted above and supported in the literature (Sandu, 2006). Respondents from earlier time periods assumed greater risks with less information about what the experience abroad might hold. In effect, earlier migrants possessed higher levels of interpersonal trust as a resource. However, this selection explanation does not explain why recent migrants have lower levels of trust than those who did not migrate.

Bivariate analysis for the two explanations (socialization v. selection) yields results that support both explanations. The correlation between generalized trust and the amount of time since the respondent was last working abroad (socialization) and the correlation between generalized trust and time bracket abroad as shown in Table 3 (selection) are the same: Somers' $d = 0.180$, $p = 0.001$). If the socialization hypothesis on generalized trust is accurate, then it would be expected that in the most recent surveys past migration and trust have stronger correlations than in the older ones. However, such a link does not exist in our data: in each survey between 2001 and end of 2007 the correlation is close to zero. If socialization effects exist, then the lack of an overall correlation may be the result of later-returned migrants diluting the pooled data set resulting in the result found in Table 2. If, on the other hand, the positive association between migration and trust is a product of self-selection, than lack of positive correlation in more recent surveys may be due to maturation of individuals in the earlier periods, especially those who migrated temporarily before 1989.

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Figure 2. Intolerance (index) for Migrants and non-Migrants



As with the other indicators in Table 2, the estimate of intolerance shows differences in attitudes when time is taken into consideration. As Figure 2 shows, in the early period, former migrants tend to be more tolerant (see appendix for coding scheme). Later, migrants who have returned appear less tolerant compared to the general population. Figure 2 suggests intolerance on the rise among all Romanians, leveling off, and then decreasing. Migrants follow this general pattern but are intolerant at a faster pace and then remain slightly more intolerant throughout the period of analysis albeit following the aggregate decline in intolerance. Although the data do not speak directly to explaining why the pattern exists, it is plausibly explained as a by-product of the cyclical migration experience – where migrants have less control over the day-to-day affairs of the community and become more suspicious of those around them due to their extended absences. Such an interpretation suggests concrete characteristics of one's community, for example the percentage of "minorities" within the community might be an explanatory variable. This would explain why we see the pattern for intolerance (an index that asks about particular minorities) and not for generalized trust (a measure of general faith in fellow citizens).

Controlling for ethnicity, we also find that non-Romanian migrants who have returned exhibit the highest levels of intolerance. Ethnic Hungarians make up the largest portion of non-Romanian in the relatively small sub-sample. The finding is not sensitive to time as we see in Figure 2. Although it is difficult to explain given the lack of additional data, Fox (2003) finds that ethnic Hungarians in particular return disillusioned because many of them migrated to Hungary expecting their Hungarian compatriots to welcome them. Instead, they faced discrimination and hostility which might lead to attitudes that are less tolerant upon their return.

Concluding the discussion of results in Table 2, we find positive correlations between working abroad and behavioral indicators. Former migrants are more likely to engage in acts of political participation, compared to the general population. They are also more likely to belong to a voluntary association. The aggregate figures expressed in Table 2 are not significantly different when disaggregated per survey. The modest positive correlation may be linked to

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better citizenship habits but without corresponding attitudinal estimates, it is also possible that migrants have more need to defend interests after they have returned from abroad. The lower N for this indicator results from this question not being regularly asked on the Barometer survey. Thus, inferences concerning this indicator are on shakier ground relative to the above attitudinal indicators.

In sum, we find mixed results for the relationship between having worked abroad and different political culture indicators. Attitudinally, migrants are less trusting of governing institutions, less trusting of their fellow citizens, and less tolerant. The negative correlations come through especially during the period after 2002 when cyclical migration became the dominant pattern of migration. For all of its advantages, "commuting" imposes many difficulties and stresses. We feel that it is very plausible that such a transnational lifestyle might lead to attitudes which are generally more negative.[9] The fact that former migrants are more politically active is difficult to interpret without the corresponding attitudinal democratic profiles. It is possible that their experiences abroad may have contributed to more confidence in utilizing democratic forms of participation and perhaps generated more needs for political participation (DeSipio, 1996). Thus, returned migrants hold their fellow Romanians (who stayed) and the Romanian state in low esteem, but who at the same time hold a strong sense of internal efficacy, meaning confidence in their ability to affect outcomes which correlates to higher rates of political participation (Almond and Verba, 1963; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995).

Generally speaking, the poor democratic credentials found among migrants may reflect negative experiences while abroad. Alternatively, the negative findings might be limited to those who have returned, and are either not happy to have returned or returned due to negative experiences abroad. Both possibilities might lead to general dissatisfaction but are a result of a selection bias characteristic of the sub-population who returned. In the next section we evaluate the same attitudinal and behavioral indicators for household members of migrants. The analysis will allow us to estimate secondary or indirect effects of migration. It also will give us a small window of vision into the broader migrant community since some household members will live with a returned migrant while others will be separated from them.

4. Secondary Effects: Political Culture in Migrant Households

In the above analysis, we evaluated the direct relationship between working abroad and individual political attitudes and behaviors. However, the phenomenon of returning émigrés may produce a secondary effect on the people with whom they regularly interact. The RBOP asks respondents if any member of their household is working abroad (Pels and de Hann 2007). In the 13 surveys included in our pooled data set 3,934 interviewees responded affirmatively to this question, or 16.8 percent of the aggregated sample. Independent samples t-tests show that respondents with household members abroad in the pooled sample are slightly more likely to be more educated, younger, female, and are more likely to identify their ethnicity as non-Romanian relative to the general population.

We assume that individuals with household members working abroad will gain knowledge of their relations' experiences, or at least allow these individuals to imagine a broader world. However, the impact on political orientations and behavior is not clear. On one hand, it may

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result in household members who are more cosmopolitan. However, it is also possible that those "left behind" hold (and perhaps share) a negative impression of the migrant experience, resulting in individuals who are less trusting and tolerant. Along these lines, household members may develop a more dismal view of life in Romania, imagining a better life in the West regardless of the realities of the migrant status and situation.

Table 4 reports the correlations (Somers' d) between respondents with members of their households working abroad with the seven indicators organized into four clusters as presented above: institutional trust, generalized trust, tolerance, and civic activism.

Table 4. Correlations of Respondent with Household Member Abroad and Political Orientations[10]

	2000-07	N
Trust govt. (index)	-.034***	22293
Trust justice	-.026***	22173
Trust police	-.026***	22678
Social trust	-.031***	21507
Intolerance (index)	-.039***	13239
Participation (index)	.067***	3526
Association member	.040***	17140

The results for the institutional trust measures are very similar to the results found for migrants who have returned. In general, these respondents are slightly less trusting of national institutions. Disaggregating the data adds little to our understanding of the relationship. In the earlier period under consideration, 2000-2002, the weak, negative correlation consistently applies. After 2002, the correlations remain negative but become more varied survey to survey in terms of the strength and significance of the correlation.

For generalized trust using the aggregate sample, we see this sub-population less trusting of others than the rest of the population. When we follow the links over time and for each survey, we found they are weak and not always consistent. The negative correlations are statistically significant sporadically (Oct. 2002, May 2004, May and Oct. 2007) and positive in May 2005 (Somers' $d = 0.06$, $p<0.05$).

For tolerance, we see respondents with household members abroad are less tolerant than the others. Disaggregating the data, and controlling for the ethnicity of the respondents shows that the estimate of tolerance does not differ among the respondents who are of Romanian ethnicity, except for the October 2000 survey, when correlation is -0.16, $p < 0.001$. However, in most of the surveys tolerance is remarkably higher among the respondents of non-Romanian ethnicity. The correlations of non-Romanian ethnicity and intolerance index are: -0.18 (Oct. 2000), -0.19 (May 2001), -0.24 (Oct 2001), -0.16 (May 2002), 0.03 (Oct 2002), -0.23 (Oct. 2006) and 0.14 (Oct. 2007), and all are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

With regard to behavior, the group with household members abroad is more likely to have engaged in participatory acts and be members of associations. This result is consistent with the finding among returning migrants. However, the effect is driven by three surveys with very high correlations: 0.09 (May 2000), 0.14 (October 2000), and 0.10 (May 2001) all

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significant at the $p < .001$ level. However, the correlation is much weaker and not statistically significant in the remaining six surveys when the questions were asked.

Unfortunately, the RBOP data offer very limited information about the household members who are working abroad and who ostensibly account for some of the variation. We do not know the number of members who are abroad, where they are located, how long they have been away, or what sort of work in which they are engaged. Also absent is information about the social networks of these people: do they associate primarily with friends and associates who also have family members working abroad or are they unique in this respect within their social circles. Finally, in order to substantiate a causal link between household members working abroad and attitudes of these respondents, we would need, at a minimum, some information regarding the quantity and quality of communications they have with those abroad. The findings are consistent with the proposition that such a causal link may exist but without additional data, it is impossible to draw such an inference.

In the October 2004 survey, there are no significant differences between those having a household member who worked abroad and the others, in terms of generalized and institutional trust. However, the last two Barometer surveys, conducted in May and October 2007, find several significant links between past work migration of a household member on the one hand and politically relevant attitudes on the other. In both surveys migration tends to lower generalized trust: -0.05, $p < .05$ (May 2007) and -0.10, $p < .001$ (October 2007). Also, there is a positive link between migration and tolerance in the May 2007 survey, but no significant links in the October 2007 survey.

Overall, the evidence of a secondary effect of labor migration on household members who remain in Romania remains at the level of conjecture. Bivariate associations, even when controlling for demographic factors show very weak effects. The aggregate findings for respondents with household members abroad are consistent with our findings for the migrant population. However, unlike the results for migrants, very few patterns emerge after disaggregating the data.

5. Discussion: Migration and Effects on Political Culture

In this study, we began with the assertion that aspects of social capital (attitudes and behavior) matter to economic development. We investigated the role that returning labor migrants may play in influencing political culture in Romania, a country still influenced by its post-communist legacy but now a member of the EU. We drew upon the insights from the literature on transnational processes and built upon social capital and social identity theories. Through the use of pooled national survey data, we assessed the cultural effects of labor migration on people who worked abroad and on members of their household.

When former migrants are compared to the rest of the population they are largely similar with respect to many measures. Although we found a number of significant correlations indicating systematic differences between the two groups, the indicators were very weak. This held for measures that are fairly malleable, such as institutional trust, and more fundamental and less flexible measures, such as generalized trust and tolerance. The general conclusion of this broad, yet preliminary, assessment is that returning labor migrants have not changed

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the quality of citizenship in Romania in any meaningful way. The analysis, with a sample size of over 25,000 over an eight-year period, does not confirm the findings from other, studies of migrants which document important changes in attitudes and identity due to the transnational experience (Anghel 2008; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003). The result suggests that an en masse return of migrants will not initially be a source of economic growth based on positive attitudes brought (or learned) abroad and now back in Romania. However, this may change to a more positive scenario over time.

Some of the findings possess the potential to play a significant role in the future, especially if Romanian migrant workers continue to return to their home country. For example, respondents who worked abroad or had a family member working abroad before 1989 tend to have a much higher level of generalized trust than the others. Yet, based on the available data, the extent to which this finding is a manifestation of socialization that took place 20 years or more ago, the result of self selection, or both, is far from clear. The fact that we see parity in the effect between ex-migrants and family members of current migrants makes an entirely self-selection explanation less plausible. If migration had a causal effect, it is not clear if exposure to a different social and political context matters. The enhanced socio-economic status as a result of better pay abroad may account for the result, for example.

Another open question is why labor migration had a positive effect on the level of generalized trust for those who left Romania before 1989 but not for those the much more numerous group who left later. Should we expect over time a similar increase on trust among those who left for work after 1989 and then after 2002? Even if our reading of this result is accurate, we cannot be sure that the pattern will be replicated among returning migrants in the future. Our data suggest that many present migrants followed the paths of family members who went before them, a pattern which increases the chance that their migration will become permanent.[11] However, a massive return to Romania by migrants is certainly possible. Recent growth rates in Romania have been as high as 9.3 percent annually supporting impressive wage increases and attracting foreign direct investment (Brown, 2008). However, the global economic slump in fall 2008 has raised questions about the vitality of the Romanian economy, which is particularly vulnerable to global economic trends. Alternatively, Romanian migrants still enjoy advantageous employment opportunities in their host countries. For example in Italy, sectors employing Romanian migrant workers continue to face labor shortages despite otherwise difficult macro-economic fortunes. However, the optimistic forecast is met with pessimistic indicators such as the near collapse of the construction sector in Spain that employs many Romanian migrants.

An unexpected finding of our analysis is the significant negative effect of migration on level of tolerance of the non-Romanian, largely Hungarian, respondents. The effect was even stronger among members of their households. Many ethnic Hungarians in Romania were disillusioned with the hostility they experienced as migrants in Hungary (Fox, 2003). However, it may be that the negative feelings with which they returned are explained by a set of higher expectations since many felt a special attachment to the "mother" country of Hungary that was not reciprocated. Ethnic Romanians face similar hostility in their host countries such as Italy and Spain, and yet, they likely did not arrive with expectations of acceptance as did ethnic Hungarians from Romania relocating to Hungary.

Given the wide variance of Romanian migrant experiences, it is surprising to find any statistically significant results treating this population as a monolithic group. Therefore, the

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findings speak to a transnational effect; however, these are far from conclusive. Instead, they map out directions for future investigation. Our research points out to the need of collecting more data on the target population of migrants to investigate further variance among them. The most fruitful data will address the context of migration: when, for how long, what kind of job, who were the colleagues and employers, and what kind of job contract.

Notes

1. Most of those of Jewish and German heritage left Romania permanently at the beginning of 1990's, whereas among the Hungarians from Romania who migrated (in most cases to Hungary) a large part returned to Romania (Fox 2003).

2. According to Anghel (2008, 792), average travel costs to migrate went down from about 2,000 to 200 Euros.

3. Source: Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls, 2000-2007 (Open Society Foundation).

4. The RBOP polls employed are: May 2000, Nov. 2000, May 2001, Nov. 2001, May 2002, Oct. 2002, May 2004, Oct. 2004, May 2005, May 2006, Oct. 2006, May 2007, and Oct. 2007. Each poll included questions about migration and a series of attitudinal and demographic questions. Although not every question was always worded the same, the language used was close enough to allow for aggregation. Information about the surveys, samples, and data can be accessed through www.osf.ro/ro/bop/cercetare.html. The surveys were funded by the Soros Foundation for an Open Society – Romania.

5. The same analysis was run using OLS regression or logistic regression when the dependent variable is dichotomous, controlling for age, education, gender, and ethnicity. The "worked abroad" rarely exceeds 10 percent of the sample in any survey and constitutes 7.2 percent of the pooled sample leading to problems of interpreting regression results when a key variable demonstrates a proportion below 10 percent of the sample (Hutcheson and Sofroniou 1999). Therefore, we present the more conservative bivariate results and comment on controls within the text but do not report the findings from regression analysis.

6. Source: Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls, 2000-2007 (Open Society Foundation). We report Somers' d correlation coefficients (* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$).

7. According to several accounts, the divorce rate is several times higher among those who have a family member working abroad than among couple of similar age (Bădescu, Stoian, and Tanase 2007).

8. Source: Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls, 2000-2007 (Open Society Foundation). Five of the 13 surveys included a question asking respondents when (in years) did respondent last work abroad and missing data is the norm.

9. Inglehart (2003: 53) shows that the indicators used here, political trust, generalized trust, and tolerance, correlate strongly with "life satisfaction" which in turn correlates with democracy as measured through Freedom House ratings.

10. Source: Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls, 2000-2007 (Open Society Foundation). We report Somers' d correlation coefficients (* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$).

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Appendix: Coding of Romanian Barometer Opinion Polls (RBOP), 2000–2007

The analysis employs on a pooled data set of 13 RBOP surveys. The aggregated surveys were conducted in May 2000, Nov. 2000, May 2001, Nov. 2001, May 2002, Oct. 2002, May 2004, Oct. 2004, May 2005, May 2006, Oct. 2006, May 2007, and Oct. 2007. Each survey drew a representative sample of Romanian citizens. Information about the surveys, samples and data can be accessed through www.osf.ro/ro/bop/cercetare.html. The surveys were funded by the Soros Foundation for an Open Society – Romania. Missing data was not a problem unless otherwise noted.

Worked abroad since 1990: have worked abroad =1; have not worked abroad = 0 (All surveys)

Household member working abroad: yes = 1; no = 0 (Not asked in May 2004)

Year last worked abroad: Measured as a continuous variable in years relative to when the survey was conducted. (Asked in five surveys: May 2001, November 2001, May 2002, October 2002, and October 2004, N = 726)

Trust government (index): Additive index compiled from responses to three questions: extent to which respondent trusts Parliament, the President, the Government, where 1 = very little and 4 = very much. Index results in a range of 3-12. (All surveys)

Trust justice: Results from question asking the extent to which respondent trusts the justice system, where 1 = very little and 4 = very much. (All surveys)

Trust police: Results from question asking the extent to which respondent trusts the police, where 1 = very little and 4 = very much. (All surveys)

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Generalized trust: Results from question asking the extent to which respondent thinks that most people can be trusted, 1 = most people can be trusted and 0 = you can't be too careful these days. (All surveys)

Intolerance (index): Additive index compiled from five questions asking respondents if they would mind certain identity groups or types of people as neighbors, where 1 = yes, I would mind and 0 = no, I would not mind. For some surveys, only three or four questions were posed. In such cases, responses were weighted to sum five (e.g. four questions posed, affirmative responses each = 1.25). The wording of the questions, and sometimes groups named, changed among the surveys. The following questions comprise the index for the seven surveys that posed the battery of questions:

November 2000: Homosexuals, Jews, Roma, Hungarians (1.25 weight)

May 2001: Jews, Roma, Hungarians (1.67 weight)

October 2001: Jews, Roma, Hungarians, Jehovah Witnesses, Muslims (no weight)

May 2002: Jews, Roma, Hungarians, Jehovah Witnesses, Muslims (no weight)

October 2002: Jews, Roma, Hungarians, Jehovah Witnesses, Muslims (no weight)

October 2006: People of a different race, people of a different religion, people of a different ethnicity, Roma, homosexuals (no weight)

October 2007: People of a different race, people of a different religion, people of a different ethnicity, Roma, homosexuals (no weight)

Participation (index): Additive index compiled from three questions asking if respondent had ever contacted an official, signed a petition, and engaged in a legal protest, where 1 = yes and 0 = no resulting in a range of 0-3. (Questions asked in two surveys: May 2000 and May 2005, N = 3,548 with responses > 0 = 551 resulting in 15.2 percent affirming some act of participation)

Association member: Results from asking if the respondent is a member of a voluntary association, where 1 = yes and 0 = no. (Not asked in three of the 13 surveys: November 2001, May 2002, and October 2004)

Education: Level of respondent's education where 1 = less than high school or vocational, 2 = high school degree and professional school, and 3 = some university or more. (All surveys)

Age: Age of respondent recoded into the following six categories: 1 = 18-25, 2= 26-35, 3 = 36-45, 4 = 46-55, 5 = 56-65, and 6 = 66 or above. (All surveys)

Gender: Gender of respondent, where 1 = male and 2 = female

Ethnicity: Ethnicity of respondent, where 1 = Romanian and 0 = non-Romanian

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Culture and Social Interaction in the Globalized Society. Communicating Diversity

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Jonathan STILLO*

Tuberculosis in Romania: an Anthropological Perspective**

Abstract

Romania is the site of one of Eastern Europe and Central Asia's worst tuberculosis (TB) epidemics. According to the most recent statistics Romania has an approximate prevalence 128 cases per 100,000 people, far above most area countries (1). This paper will examine TB in Romania from an anthropological point of view taking into account historical, economic and social factors. Far from simply a biological entity with an antibiotic cure, TB is widely recognized as a "social disease" and a "disease of poverty". This tendency has led to a resurgence of the disease in many parts of the world, as well as its persistence in even the richest countries in the world. This paper draws on four months of research conducted in Romania during the summers of 2006 and 2008 but is preliminary in nature. I will provide an overview of TB in Romania paying special attention to the disease's connection to poverty. It does not seek to offer complete explanations or solutions but rather to highlight the need for additional research on TB in Romania and the importance of holistic approach addressing the social and economic problems which complicate treatment and exacerbate the disease.

Key words: Tuberculosis (TB), Romania, Sanatoria, Medical Anthropology.

1. Introduction

It is difficult to imagine the misery TB has caused throughout human history. Recently human remains found in Israel dating to approximately 9000 years ago showed evidence of TB infection making it the oldest known case (2). The disease became known as the "white death" in centuries past, yet in the U.S., this ancient bacterial infection is far from the public mind. Many believe that TB is no longer a problem and are more concerned with recent medical paranoia such as SARS or Swine Flu (H1N1). Most people are completely unaware that TB incidence steadily increased throughout the 1990s in much of the world, during a time of unparalleled, though uneven, economic growth (1). The resurgence of TB, including resistant strains like MDR and XDR calls into question the very notion of "epidemic transition" (3).[1] While the majority of deaths in the U.S. and EU are now caused by conditions such as cancer and heart disease, the presence of MDR TB continues to be a problem. As it turns out, epidemic disease was not eliminated by advances in medical science, or by

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economic prosperity. While TB is a complicated disease with many economic, political and cultural influences, no one factor is a better predictor of TB rates than poverty. In low-income countries the average TB rate is twenty times higher than in wealthy ones (4). This paper will examine the case of Romania, placing it within these global trends, and highlighting unique traits of the Romanian epidemic.

2. "New" and Old TB in Romania

The treatment of TB in Romania has undergone several stages. In the 1930s, the constructing mountaintop sanatoria began. These massive structures were modeled after Western European ones and provided Romanians with the benefits of clean air, rest, and nutritious food. In the mid 1940s, Streptomycin was discovered and, TB treatment changed around the world. The majority of these institutions closed their doors. However, in Russia and Eastern Europe sanatoria continued to treat TB through the socialist period and in Romania, remain in use today.

During socialism, Romania adopted a Semashko health system with an extensive network of hospitals and dispensaries in both urban and rural areas (5). The TB incidence rate in steadily declined from 1970s until it reached an all-time low of 55.8 cases per 100,000 in 1985 (6). This lower rate of TB in the 1980s may be a product of the intense screenings that were conducted in schools and workplaces. These screenings, modeled after those of the Russian public health service, were required, as was treatment if infection was found.

While statistically, TB rates were dropping in the 1980s, a public health catastrophe was brewing as austerity measures virtually shut off funding for medical infrastructure. When the new government took control after the 1989 revolution, they inherited a system where hospitals were literally crumbling to pieces after years of neglect. The municipal hospital in Suceava for example, is over 100 years old and as of 2007, not a single new one had been constructed anywhere since 1990 (7). This situation, coupled with cuts in health care funds, shortages of medicine and basic equipment as well as "explosive poverty" (8) created a perfect storm for TB infection which, by 1990, reached 70 per 100,000 and in 2002 peaked at over 142 per 100,000, one of the highest in all of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, compared to the EU average of 17 cases per 100,000 (1).

One of the major goals of the Romanian health care reforms was to create a general practitioner (GP) based system. This, in theory, would reduce the reliance on more expensive specialized care in favor of a greater role for preventative medicine and outpatient options (9). One unforeseen consequence of this policy was that due to Romania's highly centralized approach to TB during socialism, most general practitioners and nurses were not prepared to diagnose the disease. Patients were going to their doctor with TB symptoms and they were being misdiagnosed until it was too late. Doctors of the World (DOW), a US based NGO focused much of their energies in Romania conducting trainings for Romanian GPs and nurses from 2004-2007. In Romania, nurses have more meaningful interactions with patients than doctors. They explain the diagnosis and treatment details (10). DOW findings that nurses were unable to provide patients with complete, accurate information on TB are troubling. Similarly, DOW found that overall knowledge about TB among poor Romanians and Roma was

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very low, with only 56% and 34% knowing TB is a lung disease/infection, some had never heard of it before (10).

In recent years, the Directly Observed Treatment Short course (DOTS) strategy of the World Health Organization (WHO) has been fully implemented in Romania. DOTS is a standardized course of treatment that combines multiple drugs over a series of months. The drugs are given daily by a physician or nurse for the first phase of treatment and then every other day under supervision for the second phase. According to the WHO, DOTS represents the most efficient use of existing resources and serves the needs of the vast majority of TB patients (11). DOTS treatment, public information campaigns, and the expansion of MDR TB treatment has reduced the incidence of TB to 115 per 100,000 (6).

Despite these gains, TB remains a serious problem in Romania lacking easy solutions. The disease is an excellent example of what anthropologists have called a "syndemic" (12). A syndemic is a collection of diseases or negative conditions that not only exist simultaneously, but are mutually enhancing. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa the combination of HIV/AIDS, TB and poverty is disastrous. Luckily, in Romania, HIV and TB co-infection is rare, however, the combination of extreme poverty and TB infection is extremely common throughout the world 98% of TB deaths are among the poor (4). This is also true in Romania where the vast majority of infections also occur among poor Romanians and Roma. Poverty predisposes people to TB, exacerbates it, and complicates treatment (13,14,15,4).

One third of people in the world are infected with TB (16). The most important elements of avoiding TB infection and being cured of it are a healthy diet, low stress, rest, avoiding contact with infected individuals, and during treatment, abstinence from alcohol. The cramped living arrangements of the poor as well as their inadequate diets place them at risk for TB. The "epidemic" of stress accompanying Romania's economic transition has played an important role in weakening immune systems, particularly of the poor (17). When a person is infected with TB, the chances of them seeking medical attention will often depend on their ability to pay. While television and print media public service announcements for years in Romania have proclaimed that TB can be cured and that treatment is free. They neglect to mention that treatment and diagnosis for TB is free, but if they are found not to have TB, but a different ailment, they must pay. A number of doctors have told me that they believe poor patients wait longer to seek treatment and that when their TB is finally diagnosed it is far advanced. Worse still, this delay often leads to TB infection of their entire household.

Much in the same way that proper nutrition helps the body avoid active TB infection, it is also a crucial component of TB treatment which involves months of multiple antibiotics, lots of rest, and nutritious food. Poverty complicates treatment outcomes as follows: First, the patient needs a diet of rich, healthy food. Second, they must get lots of rest and not do any physical labor. Finally, they must abstain from alcohol. Obtaining additional nutritious foods can be impossible given the cost of these items. It is even more difficult when the TB patient is the family breadwinner. In Romania the majority of TB patients are men in their mid thirties to mid fifties, the most economically productive members of society, in terms of wages. It is very common for these men to work labor-intensive fields. In 2008, I met Cristi[2] an MDR TB patient in his mid thirties. He appeared rugged and strong, a construction worker by trade. He was visibly upset by the prospect of not being able to return to work and said he needed to support his family.

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3. A Closer Look at Chronic TB Patients

One particularly serious problem is that 18% of Romanian TB patients are chronic, and according to the former head of Romanian TB control they may serve as "reservoirs" of MDR TB (18). When asked who their most difficult TB patients are, Romanian doctors invariably describe their chronic patients. These patients have been *re-infected* with TB twice. They are usually poor, alcoholic, homeless and/or mentally ill. These factors make compliance with the treatment regimen difficult and lead to antibiotic resistance.

On my research trips in 2006 and 2008, I met many Romanian chronic TB patients at sanatoria and hospitals. Poverty and alcoholism were common themes in the interactions between patient and caregiver. In Piatra Neamț, a balding man in his fifties shuffled into the exam room of the local dispensary wearing a dusty and ill-fitting suit jacket and cap. He was red-faced and smelled of alcohol. The nurse explained to me that he traveled from a village once per month to pick up his antibiotics. The nurse urged him to only have a small glass if he must drink. She accompanied this by showing him 100 Ml. with her fingers. The man smiled and said "ok, just one glass" and opened his hands wide depicting a large glass of about 500 Ml. This man, like many chronic patients was having difficulties complying with the treatment. He was poor, lived alone, and drank too much.

Jeremy Greene's examination of the issue of noncompliance in Boliva produces a more complex picture, by highlighting the "hidden costs" of free TB treatment (19). He notes that while TB treatment in Bolivia is free, transportation to get from distant villages in not, nor are the funds needed to maintain a healthy diet. Additionally, he points out that those of minority ethnic or cultural backgrounds are far more likely to be labeled as noncompliant (19). This example rings true for the Roma population in Romania (estimated to be up to 2.5 million (10)) who are frequently described as "difficult" because of their differing customs. With this in mind, we should heed Paul Farmer's warning that structural violence such as persistent poverty and social exclusion offers a better explanation for non-compliance than individual failings (20).

Romania is at a crossroads in its fight against TB. Rates will only continue to drop if poverty is reduced. It is not enough to offer free TB treatment. People need secure places to live, and healthy food to avoid infection in the first place. During treatment, patients need support. This prescription is as relevant in Romania as anywhere else in the world. Preventing TB infection is smart economic policy and should be a priority. The New York City MDR TB outbreak of the 1990s provides an instructive example of this – where a small outbreak caused a statewide panic and cost one billion dollars to eventually track down just over a thousand cases. Hence a small savings from reducing public health funding for TB surveillance ended up costing ten times what was saved (21).

This paper is not all about bad news, however. Since 2002, TB rates in Romania have been slightly declining (6). Also, Romania has a comparatively low rate of MDR TB (2.8% compared to rates in Moldova, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia ranging between 12-19% (1). This may be a product of good management of the disease for much of the 1970s and 1980s. It may also be partly due to the sanatoria system, which provides difficult-to-treat patients with longer, more intensive treatment. Romania is one of the only countries in the world still using TB sanatoria. It should be part of the recent discussions regarding the future and possible uses of these institutions. India, for example is introducing DOTS in sanatoria and

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seeking ways to integrate them with DOTS (22). In Hungary, Koranyi Pneumology Hospital and Sanatorium has a special building for homeless alcoholics with TB. All their problems are addressed simultaneously in this innovative program through anti-TB drugs, counseling, and even job training (23).

Despite allegations of being obsolete, sanatoria may actually be at the cutting-edge of TB treatment, at a time when some are calling for the reopening of sanatoria elsewhere in the world to contain resistant strains (24). FEANTSA[3] – recognizing the difficulty of treating TB in patients who are alcoholic and/or homeless – has called for "creative solutions" to address their high rate of treatment failure, such as "stays at sanatoria", places in shelters where DOTS outreach could be conducted, or mobile DOTS treatment units which would find patients and ensure they take their medication (15). In Romania, these mobile solutions are nonexistent, yet the sanatoria system may offer hope for the "difficult to treat." Sanatoria are a controversial but important part of TB control that would benefit from further study, especially for the treatment of "difficult" and chronic patients.

Notes

1. Multi-Drug Resistant TB (MDR TB) is resistant to at least rifampicin and isoniazid. Extensively Drug Resistant TB (XDR TB) is MDR that is also resistant to any of the quinolone family of drugs and at least on of the injectable ones such as streptomycin.
2. All proper names have been changed to protect the identities of informants.
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Grigore GEORGIU*

Repères pour mieux comprendre la communication entre cultures

Résumé

Le problème que nous approchons porte sur l'importance de la communication et des dispositifs médiatiques nouveaux dans les stratégies de reconstruction identitaire. Le problème de l'image est aussi devenu vitale pour les cultures nationales, qui doivent apprendre à construire leur propre image favorable au sein de l'espace communicationnel global. L'identité d'une culture dépend aujourd'hui, d'une manière décisive, de l'image qu'elle se construit elle-même dans l'espace d'autres cultures. Pour s'imposer, d'une manière concurrentielle, sur le marché des biens symboliques, des créations et valeurs qui définissent l'identité d'une culture, il faut qu'elles deviennent visibles, reconnues et appréciées par un cercle de plus en plus vaste de récepteurs.

En tenant compte du contexte actuel, j'ai proposé un schéma logique pour mieux comprendre les rapports complexes entre cultures. Son pivot est l'idée de valeur, qui s'appuie sur la distinction entre quatre niveaux de référence: anthropologique, historique, axiologique et communicationnel. Le plan anthropologique ne contient pas de critères axiologiques, mais le plan historique met toujours en question le rapport problématique entre universalité axiologique (potentielle) et l'universalité communicationnelle (réelle). La Roumanie est un cas instructif en ce sens. Récemment intégrée dans l'Union Européenne, elle se confronte avec le handicap d'une image négative. L'une des causes est la promotion insuffisante de ses valeurs culturelles dans l'espace communicationnel et médiatique.

Mots-clés: identités culturelles, valeur, universel, image, espace communicationnel.

1. Introduction

Les cultures sont prises aujourd'hui dans le „net" du processus de mondialisation et dans le réseau de la communication généralisée, ainsi que les économies et les sociétés, qui représentent leur support existentiel. La communication interculturelle, si intense aujourd'hui, a engendré un nouveau milieu compétitif et pluraliste, au sein duquel les interactions entre cultures produisent aussi leur hybridation inévitable. Dans ce contexte, les cultures se voient obligées de redéfinir leur identité dans les termes de l'actualité, à travers l'ouverture, le dialogue et la confrontation sur le marché des biens symboliques et non matériels. La mondialisation a

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créé un vaste champ des interactions culturelles, ainsi qu'un marché où se rencontrent et se confrontent les produits, les idées, les croyances, les représentations et les images variées sur le monde. C'est un marché des idées, des créations spirituelles et des modèles culturels, mais qui fonctionne selon le modèle concurrentiel du marché économique. Dans cet espace interculturel et communicationnel ce qui compte, plus qu'autrefois, c'est l'image d'une culture, sa visibilité, sa notoriété, sa réputation, les brands et la sphère de diffusion de certaines créations et valeurs, mais aussi le degré dans lequel elles sont reconnues et homologuées par les instances de légitimation et consécration sur le plan international. La logique selon laquelle fonctionne la culture media s'est imposée pas à pas dans le domaine de la "haute culture", spécialisée. C'est évident que certaines cultures sont mieux placées, grâce aux performances scientifiques, technologiques et économiques, pour s'adapter aux conditions nouvelles et pour imposer leurs modèles culturels à d'autres espaces socioculturels. Le dialogue interculturel et la diversité culturelle sont aujourd'hui les thèmes les plus débattus dans le périmètre des disciplines sociales et humaines, ainsi que dans le domaine des études culturelles, théoriques ou appliquées. „Une culture ou des cultures? Cette question est désormais au centre des enjeux contemporains de la construction de l'espace-monde" (Mattelart, 1999, p. 8).

Pour comprendre l'aspect problématique de la communication entre cultures il faut tenir compte de l'importance écrasante acquise par les nouveaux moyens de communication dans les processus de mondialisation. Un indicateur de cette mutation serait le *statut privilégié acquis par l'image dans tous les registres de la vie humaine ce dernier siècle,* une fois que la télévision est apparue, „qui a tout changé" (Sartori, 2004, p.15) et en continuant avec l'expansion de l'entier dispositif de communication fondé sur les nouvelles technologies électroniques. L'expérience médiatique est celle qui nous fournit, d'une manière prépondérante, les images sur le monde. Dans ce contexte, le problème de l'image est devenu aussi vitale pour les cultures nationales. L'image est un capital symbolique ayant un rôle décisif dans un monde des brands, quand les peuples et les cultures se rencontrent et interagissent sur la scène globale du monde, d'une manière plus intense et substantielle que dans d'autres périodes historiques. Maintenant, toutes les réalités appartenant à l'horizon du monde humain ont besoin d'image pour certifier leur existence. La valeur d'une création culturelle et son caractère universel ne sont plus déterminés par des critères d'ordre axiologique seulement. Il faut tenir compte du radius couvert par la diffusion et la reconnaissance internationale (notoriété, réputation, succès) d'une oeuvre. Ces indicateurs représentent implicitement des modalités de confirmation et de légitimation de sa valeur intrinsèque.

J'ai considéré comme important d'interpréter de nouveau l'idée de l'universel dans la culture, un concept de la pensée moderne, mais qui a été estompé et remplacé souvent par le concept de mondialisation. Mais l'universel n'est pas synonyme au global. Le terme „mondialité" évoque la spatialité et non pas les rapports verticaux et axiologiques entre les créations à l'intérieure d'une culture. Mais, *l'idée d'universalité a simultanément un sens axiologique (intensif) et un sens communicationnel (extensif).* Le thème central que j'ai en vue est, ainsi, le rapport problématique entre l'universalité axiologique (potentielle) et l'universalité communicationnelle (réelle), entre l'identité culturelle d'une nation et ses images dans l'espace communicationnel. C'est un thème problématisé par la pensée roumaine moderne et qui revient dans l'actualité, comme un défi pour toutes les cultures.

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2. L'identité culturelle et ses images

Les théoriciens nous ont averti il y a longtemps que nous sommes entrés dans „une civilisation de l'image" et dans „une modernité liquide" (Bauman, 2002), une époque où les distinctions entre valeurs, concepts, domaines et niveaux de la réalité sont relativisés et „fondus" dans le creuset de „la pensée faible" ("pensiero debole"), caractéristique pour le monde postmoderne (Vattimo, 2004). C'est la même chose pour le rapport entre faits et perceptions, entre identité culturelle et ses images. *L'image este devenue un indicateur ontologique*. Le renversement des perspectives philosophiques traditionnelles a implicitement signifié aussi la renonciation aux visions substantialistes et essentialistes sur l'identité nationale et culturelle. L'identité collective n'est plus conçue comme une donnée substantielle, comme un substrat qu'on ne peut pas restructurer du point de vue historique, mais comme une construction symbolique, dans une évolution et ré-signification continue par l'intermédiaire des actes de création et de communication. Notre identité culturelle mène sa vie et se reconstruit à travers des images acquises dans d'autres espaces culturels. C'est important de comprendre que, à l'époque de la communication globale et des rencontres entre cultures „c'est l'autre qui décide ce que je suis" (Maffesoli, 2008, p.213). C'est un principe à partir duquel nous devons construire les actions de promotion et reconstruction identitaire. C'est le résultat d'un siècle d'expansion de la communication de masse et de la révolution qui se déroule sous nos yeux dans la sphère des technologies d'information et de communication. Pour s'imposer d'une façon compétitive sur le marché des biens symboliques, les cultures doivent être des présences actives dans le dialogue spirituel d'aujourd'hui, et les créations et les valeurs qui les définissent doivent être visibles, reconnues et appréciées par un cercle de plus en plus large de récepteurs.

Dans le monde postmoderne, les nations, avec leurs identités culturelles sont regardées comme des formations fluides, „des communautés imaginées" (Anderson, 2001) qui se réinventent continuellement à travers des mécanismes de la communication et la reconstruction de leur espace symbolique. „La modernité liquide" où nous menons notre vie a fondu aussi les structures „fortes" de l'identité. Dans ces conditions, le mythe d'une identité essentialiste, antérieure et indépendante est tombé devant un monde des images et expressions; la même chose est arrivée au mythe de la pensée antérieure au langage. L'identité d'une culture nationale dépend maintenant, d'une manière décisive, de l'image qu'elle a dans d'autres espaces culturelles. Les cultures communiquent et *se* communiquent elles mêmes, à travers leurs agents créatifs et à travers des stratégies diverses et des pratiques symboliques. Leurs identités n'existent que par l'intermède du filtre des images, qui les *montrent* et leur empruntent la visibilité dans l'espace communicationnel global. L'identité se reconstruit continuellement et elle est „traduite" dans ses images. L'idée d'une identité de substrat, ayant un fondement anthropologique et historique, est considérée comme une présupposition sans fondement, une „fiction" des philosophies spéculatives sur l'histoire.

Evidemment, les identités culturelles sont plus riches et plus complexes que leurs images, souvent réduites aux stéréotypes, clichés et formules condensées. Pourtant, ce fait n'annule pas le thèse que *l'identité s'exprime à travers ses images et fait corps commun avec celle-ci.* Le paradoxe est que ces images, plus ou moins adéquates, représentent un élément constitutif et définitoire même de l'identité d'une culture. C'est vrai, il y a toujours un „reste" de notre identité qui n'est pas présent et n'est pas représente dans ses images. Il s'agit d'une discrépance qui se manifeste sur deux paliers: a) entre notre identité comme telle (vue en

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tant que realité primaire, comme "ce qu'elle est réellement") et ses images, soit qu'elles nous appartiennent, soit qu'elles appartiennent aux autres, et b) entre l'image que nous avons sur notre identité comme peuple et les images que d'autres peuples se sont formées sur cette identité. Il y a une interaction permanente entre les auto-images et les images des autres sur nous mêmes, un trafic communicationnel et symbolique, d'où résulte un ajustement réciproque des deux images.

La Roumanie est un cas instructif pour la manière problématique dans laquelle se manifestent ces conflits imagologiques. Ces dernières années, dans les medias culturelles et politiques roumaines se sont intensifiées les préoccupations et les débats sur l'image et le brand de pays (Martin, 2008). Récemment intégrée dans l'Union Européenne, la Roumanie se confronte à un problème capital: son image négative à l'étranger. C'est un problème inconfortable pour la conscience roumaine, au fil de cette période moderne. Les gouvernants et aussi les hommes de culture ont ignoré cet aspect. Les faits repoussants et les infractions commises par certains citoyens roumains dans les pays de l'Union Européenne et leur médiatisation (voir les cas d'Italie) nous ont montré une leçon douloureuse sur la force que l'image d'un peuple a sur l'opinion publique internationale et sur les conséquences qu'elle puisse avoir sur les rapports géopolitiques. C'est une leçon qui nous dit que nous sommes tels que le miroir des autres nous montre, tels que nous apparaissons dans leurs images.

La conclusion serait qu'une culture qui veut affirmer son identité et ses valeurs spécifiques doit utiliser les mécanismes communicationnels et symboliques du monde actuel. *Dans le monde postmoderne, l'ontologie primaire des choses est remplacée ou surclassée par l'ontologie seconde des images.* C'est un renversement démesuré des perspectives au sein desquelles nous étions habitués à penser et agir jusqu'hier. Les gens agissent selon leurs croyances, opinions et images plutôt que selon leurs connaissances et informations certes. Le capital symbolique dépasse souvent, en importance, le capital physique. Les images définissent et donnent un sens aux réalités, les interprétations deviennent plus importantes que les faits, la vidéo -politique dirige la relation entre état et citoyen, l'image publique d'un homme politique est plus importante que sa compétence politique réelle, et la valeur intrinsèque d'une oeuvre culturelle doit être validée aussi par son succès médiatique.

3. Quatre niveaux pour approcher les rapports entre cultures

En tenant compte du contexte actuel, j'ai propose un schéma logique pour comprendre les rapports complexes entre cultures. Il a comme axe l'idée de valeur (les cultures sont, en dernière instance, des systèmes de valeurs) et s'appuie sur la distinction entre quatre niveaux de référence: *anthropologique, historique, axiologique et communicationnel.* Les distinctions entre ces niveaux sont nécessaires pour comprendre mieux les identités culturelles dans le contexte de la mondialisation, et aussi comment les valeurs culturelles sont diffusées et consacrées aujourd'hui par l'infrastructure des nouvelles formes de communication. Ces quatre niveaux de référence doivent être vus à travers deux types de rapports structuraux: unité/diversité et universel/spécifique. C'est instructif de projeter ces deux rapports sur les quatre niveaux d'approche. Ces rapports prennent des formes différentes sur chacun des quatre niveaux d'analyse (Georgiu, 2004, pp. 93-102).

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Le rapport entre anthropologique et historique. Ce sont deux niveaux distincts où nous pouvons placer notre analyse. Les disciplines sociales et historiques ont assimilé en profondeur l'idée de l'unité en diversité de l'humaine. La diversité des cultures a des fondements anthropologiques et historiques. La culture, comme signe de l'humaine, n'existe que par ses "isotopes" morphologiques et historiques. Bref, sur le plan anthropologique, il s'agit d'une *coincidentia oppositorum*, figure oxymoron ou „édifice théorétique" indispensable pour exprimer l'idée que l'existence humaine, sur tous ses niveaux de réalité, opère, simultanément, avec la logique de l'unité et la logique de la différenciation. En conséquent, on peut considérer le rapport unité/diversité comme *d'arrière-plan*, qui engage le plan anthropologique et exprime la structure ontologique du mode humaine d'existence. La logique de la différenciation est inscrite dans la structure de l'existence sociale où fonctionne en simultanéité avec la logique de l'intégration et de la totalisation des diversités en unités relatives. C'est bien autre chose si on déplace l'analyse sur le *plan de relief* de l'histoire réelle. Sur ce plan, on rencontre des influences multiples et croisées entre cultures et sociétés, interactions, acculturations, synchronisations et désynchronisations, décalages et intégrations relatives, en fonction des traits dominants de certaines époques historiques et d'une chaîne infinie de facteurs contextuels. L'histoire est la scène sur laquelle se déroule l'interaction dynamique des cultures, la communication horizontale entre elles, et aussi le dialogue entre époques, sur la verticale du temps.

Un penseur roumain a résumé les distinctions entre les deux plans d'approche par la suivante expression aphoristique: "Les cultures sont égales en ce qui concerne leur vocation. Les moyens dont elles disposent les rendent inégales." (Maliţa, 1981, p. 167). La première partie de l'assertion implique le plan anthropologique, alors que la deuxième le plan historique. Il faut comprendre ce dernier plan avec tout son cortège de moyens, facteurs et conditionnements qui agissent dans l'espace ne-euclidien de l'histoire réelle, y inclus les moyens, dispositifs et stratégies communicationnelles dont elles disposent et utilisent pour promouvoir et imposer leurs valeurs spécifiques dans l'environnement concurrentiel de la mondialisation.

Le rapport entre axiologique et communicationnel. La communication entre cultures peut être approchée aussi à travers la grille du rapport universel/spécifique, qui met en discussion des dimensions complémentaires et constitutives pour le monde symbolique de la culture. Bref, l'idée d'universel exprime le fait que toutes les cultures représentent, par leurs performances, quoique l'espace ou le temps, une affirmation de l'humaine. Les cultures sont des installations complexes (cognitives, pratiques, symboliques), qui ont assuré la survie et le développement de certaines communautés humaines. C'est le critère suprême pour apprécier la validité universelle d'une culture. Le plan anthropologique n'implique pas des critères axiologiques, mais le plan historique met toujours en discussion le rapport problématique entre axiologique et communicationnel, entre l'universalité axiologique (potentielle) et l'universalité communicationnelle (réelle).

L'équation universel/spécifique implique d'une manière constitutive la notion de valeur. La valeur est le terme moyen qui assure la liaison profonde entre universel et spécifique dans le domaine de la création culturelle. Les créations de performance sous rapport axiologique, dans leur domaine, sont celles qui ont une dimension universelle implicite, potentielle, mais qui ont, en même temps, une signification spécifique, c'est-à-dire une valeur représentative pour une certaine culture. Ces créations sont universelles par leur contenu idéatique et par leur performance expressive, mais en même temps elles sont les marques d'une

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identité culturelle. Les oeuvres représentatives sont justement celles accomplies sous un rapport valorisant, celles qui résument d'une façon symbolique l'identité d'une culture et élargissent en même temps leurs champs d'expression, ainsi, portant implicitement une signification universelle. C'est l'aspect *intensif* de l'universel. Le deuxième sens porte sur la circulation, dissémination et reconnaissance acquises par les valeurs culturelles dans d'autres espaces et temps, différents de ceux de la genèse. C'est l'aspect *extensif* et *communicationnel*, qui représente un processus de transformation d'une potentialité en une réalité historique.

La problématisation de ce rapport dépasse le cadre de cette étude. En résumé, entre les quatre niveaux d'approche on peut établir certaines distinctions évidentes, et aussi des analogies et correspondances significatives.

Tableau 1.

Le plan de fond	*Anthropologique* La coïncidence entre unité et diversité	*Axiologique* La coïncidence entre universel et spécifique sur la base de la valeur intrinsèque des oeuvres
Le plan de relief	*Historique* Différences et décalages historiques entre cultures	*Communicationnel* Différences entre l'universalité potentielle et l'universalité réelle

Ce tableau rend visibles les différences entre les quatre dimensions. Les premiers deux niveaux sont de *fond,* d'établissement, tandis que les derniers deux sont des niveaux de *relief,* actifs sur le plan historique réel. Le sens anthropologique est solidaire avec le sens axiologique (l'universalité potentielle), et le sens historique avec celui communicationnel, pragmatique et fonctionnel-extensif. C'est intéressant que ces distinctions et analogies nous rappellent la relation que Naom Chomsky établissait entre les deux plans du langage: compétence et performance.

4. Conclusions

Les distinctions entre les quatre niveaux de référence nous aident à comprendre d'une façon plus adéquate les rapports multiples entre cultures. Ainsi que j'ai montré, nous sommes les témoignes d'une réévaluation du concept de l'universel en culture ou de civilisation universelle, sous la pression croisée des facteurs qui nous modèlent la vie et les visions sur le monde. La distinction entre l'universalité axiologique, intrinsèque et celle communicationnelle, extensive, me semble surprendre une tension caractéristique du monde contemporaine. L'identité d'une culture est reçue et validée par ses images dans l'espace communicationnel global. Les cultures entrées plus tard dans le cycle de la modernisation se heurtent à cette situation et elles connaissent très bien la distinction entre l'universalité axiologique, potentielle, et l'universalité communicationnelle, réelle. On pourrait illustrer cette différence en prenant le cas de la culture roumaine, marquée par un déficit chronique d'image. Ce n'est pas un cas singulier, mais il s'inscrit dans la logique des rapports nouveaux de domination. Le complexe de la non-universalisation est vécu avec intensité par ces cultures qui se voient marginalisées sur le tableau des valeurs imposées par les medias qui contrôlent le champ réel de "l'universalité". Les intellectuels roumains ont débattu jusqu'à la saturation ce problème.

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Alina-Elena ROMAȘCU*

Le signe comme document multimédia: (re)présentation et interprétation

Résumé

Cette étude tente de mettre en évidence le «contexte contractuel» comme cadre de construction interactive qui s'interpose entre le visiteur/utilisateur et le site web dans la phénoménologie de l'interprétation du signe multimédia. Notre objectif est de mettre à l'épreuve l'hypothèse scénistique selon laquelle la production de sens dans l'expérience spécifique à la pratique des sites web est incontrôlable car le caractère interactif du signe multimédia est conditionné par l'articulation des «règles» qui ne sont, finalement, qu'autant de lieux d'interprétation.

Mots-clés: interprétation, signe multimédia, sites web.

Contrairement au document «classique» – où le concepteur est un auteur «tout puissant», maître de sa rhétorique, seul décideur des évènements successifs proposés à l'interaction avec le lecteur –, le document «constructible» joint le visiteur/utilisateur au concepteur dans le processus de construction de contenus et donc de production de sens. Plus exactement, dans le cas du document «constructible» «la scénation, associée aux autres composantes de la scénistique, oriente de façon décisive le document vers des processus totalement inédits de construction interactive où le lecteur et la machine tiennent leur rôle» (Leleu-Merviel, 2002, 116-117). Ce processus de construction interactive qui s'établit entre le visiteur/utilisateur et le site web nous l'appellerons ici «contexte contractuel». Ce contexte contractuel – ensemble des préalables herméneutiques tendu entre la textualité du signe et son usage – se réalise dans l'articulation de plusieurs conditions fondatrices d'interprétations: a) l'engagement intellectuel, b) l'expression personnelle, c) la liberté de mouvement, d) l'implication psychologique, e) la mise en situation.

1. L'engagement intellectuel

Dans le processus d'interprétation du signe multimédia comme objet interactif, l'engagement intellectuel est la «règle» du contexte contractuel qui conditionne d'une manière fondamentale la production de sens par la réactivation incessante de la tension phénoménologique entre la participation intellectuelle du concepteur des prestations et la participation intellectuelle du visiteur/utilisateur pour lequel sont mises à disposition ces prestations. Autrement dit, à travers l'objet interactif, la «collaboration» intellectuelle entre les deux parties se transforme

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en «enjeu de pouvoir», enjeu dans lequel est (pré)inscrite «génétiquement» la perte possible de pouvoir du concepteur.

La perte de «pouvoir» du concepteur

Dans le processus de construction interactive ou de contractualisation contextuelle, le visiteur/utilisateur va approfondir sa compréhension des règles qui organisent et encadrent les parcours sur le site web. Plus encore, dans ce processus de construction interactive, au fur et à mesure que le visiteur/utilisateur approfondit la compréhension de ces règles, il comprend que son parcours, est en fait, conditionné fondamentalement par l'attention qu'il accorde au respect de ces règles. Autant dire que l'engagement intellectuel du visiteur/utilisateur ne se fait pas sur quelque chose de neutre, mais sur un support qui est le produit d'un autre engagement, en l'occurrence l'engagement du concepteur. Dans ce sens, Françoise Demaizière et Colette Dubisson parlent de l'interactivité intentionnelle qui «concerne l'engagement de l'auteur du logiciel face à l'utilisateur» (Demaizière, Dubisson, 1992). En d'autres termes, le sens du signe multimédia, en tant qu'objet interactif se construit, dans une certaine mesure, dans un processus d'articulation entre l'engagement du visiteur/utilisateur et l'engagement du concepteur.

La conséquence immédiate d'une telle condition pour la production de sens révèle un autre niveau de déterminations. Même s'il y a un engagement intellectuel fort de la part du visiteur/utilisateur, le sens sera toujours limité par l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur. D'où, parfois, la frustration ressentie par le visiteur/utilisateur telle que nous l'avons pu rencontrer dans ses descriptions de sites web d'information: *«j'aurais apprécié qu'on me propose des liens renvoyant à une information complémentaire».* Inversement, si l'engagement intellectuel du visiteur/utilisateur est faible, le sens sera aussi limité. Ce fragment de réponse en est une illustration: *«je ne recherchais rien de spécial alors je me suis baladée sur presque tous les onglets en haut et à gauche».* En effet, dans la production de sens, l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur est une constante, mais l'engagement intellectuel du visiteur/utilisateur est variable. Tous les deux sont déterminants pour la production de sens mais ils le sont de manière différente. Comme l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur est stable, alors l'engagement du visiteur/utilisateur sera variable en fonction des paramètres socioculturels, anthropologiques ou philosophiques qui caractérisent le visiteur/utilisateur.

Sylvie Leleu-Merviel va jusqu'à dire que «le concepteur de document numérique perd alors tous ses privilèges en termes de production de contenus (…) au profit d'un jeu dramatique dans lequel le lecteur / acteur, mais aussi l'ordinateur lui-même s'improvisent partenaires à part entière de ce qui est en train de se construire» (Leleu-Merviel, 2002, 116). Cela ne veut pas dire que l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur est complètement annulé, mais l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur est une donnée mise à disposition du visiteur/utilisateur afin d'être actualisée. Pour donner sens à certaines informations qui demandent un niveau plus élevé de compréhension, le visiteur/utilisateur doit avoir un engagement plus fort, c'est-à-dire son engagement doit être proche de l'engagement intellectuel du concepteur. Dans la même optique – celle de Sylvie Leleu-Merviel –, A. Gardies parle d'un changement de rôles où «le lecteur-récepteur devient momentanément producteur de son propre discours» et le «sujet lecteur» devient «sujet-producteur» (Gardies, 1999). Il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'une condition de production de sens en situation d'interactivité, mais aussi d'une attente

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de la part du visiteur/utilisateur, attente qui peut prendre la forme de contexte interprétatif ou d'interprétation du site web. Par exemple, dans le «tchat» anniversaire sur le site web de France Info, le directeur de la radio France Info n'a pas échappé à des questions du genre: *«sur ce nouveau site, pourrons-nous laisser des commentaires comme le fait France Inter? Vous proposer des reportages, des témoignages via le site Web?».* De telles questions mettent en évidence la prédisposition d'un engagement intellectuel fort de la part du visiteur/utilisateur du site. Il attend que le site web, en l'occurrence de France Info, lui permette de s'impliquer dans la production de texte, voire d'images et de son, c'est-à-dire dans une contribution intellectuelle conditionnant implicitement la production du sens des prestations du site. Par la même occasion, le statut ou la règle du contexte contractuel *in situ* va apparaître renforcée et d'une certaine manière, explicite: le document «constructible» devient une «œuvre ouverte», dans l'acception du syntagme d'Umberto Eco (Eco, 1979) parce qu'il est destiné à être tout le temps enrichi par la contribution, la création du visiteur/utilisateur.

2. L'expression personnelle

Une deuxième «règle» du contexte contractuel qui conditionne l'interprétation du signe multimédia, en tant qu'objet interactif, est l'expression personnelle. Il s'agit dans le cas du site web, de la possibilité offerte au visiteur/utilisateur d'instrumentaliser le contenu du site par des moyens mis à sa disposition par le concepteur dans le cadre même des prestations du site.

Le site web comme instrument

Dans le contexte contractuel de construction interactive du sens du signe multimédia, la mise à disposition des prestations du site web par le concepteur devient, pour le visiteur/utilisateur, un instrument dont il va se servir, dans certaines conditions, à des fins personnelles. Cela veut dire que le sens est conditionné aussi par la manière dont le visiteur/utilisateur fait des prestations du site web un instrument en les utilisant en vue d'une expression personnelle. Le fondement d'un tel conditionnement est le fait qu'il n'y a pas un schéma scénationnel figé de l'interactivité dans un cadre donné: c'est le visiteur/utilisateur qui va réaliser son propre schéma. Le rôle du concepteur est de donner le cadre avec les règles du jeu, et par la suite c'est le visiteur/utilisateur qui s'exprime sur le site web: *«je clique sur 'Provence Alpes Côte d'azur' dans la liste qui m'est proposée. Parmi les trois villes qui me sont proposées (Marseille, Toulon, Nice), je clique sur Nice et s'affiche le temps d'aujourd'hui et les prévisions pour les trois jours à venir (mardi, mercredi, jeudi)… je clique sur ACCUEIL pour revenir à la page d'accueil»* ou *«je me suis rendue au sommaire, politique: j'ai trouvé un résumé comportant le mot 'présidentielle'. J'ai cliqué dessus et il y avait une citation de chaque candidat»* ou *«Je me dirige sur les liens à gauche. Je désire avoir des nouvelles sur ce qui se passe dans l'actualité internationale, je cherche dans l'info en bref et je clique sur 'monde'… puis je regarde les titres. Je clique (…) sur un des titres»*.

Ces divers schémas scénationnels correspondent, selon Sylvie Leleu Merviel «aux dispositifs prévus, spécifiés et programmés par le concepteur» (Leleu-Merviel, 2002, 115). Le résultat de ces schémas scénationnels, la scénation provenant de l'exploitation interactive du

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visiteur/utilisateur, participe à la construction ou à la production de l'expression personnelle. Le sens, dans ce cas là, se crée aussi à travers les régions à valeur péri- et epi- textuelles du site web, et pas seulement à travers les prestations textuelles (son, image, texte), c'est-à-dire il est possible que, pour parvenir à comprendre, lire, écouter, il faut passer par la péri-, epi-textualité afin que le visiteur/utilisateur fasse, par la suite son propre chemin interactif sur le site web. Ainsi, sur le site web de France Info, par exemple, le concepteur offre au visiteur/utilisateur la possibilité de créer sa propre radio à partir des informations existantes sur le site. Le site web est ici l'outil pour créer une radio à la carte, ce qui fait qu'il y a une démarcation de la prestation textuelle de la radio et du site. Le site web devient ainsi un instrument permettant au visiteur/utilisateur de s'emparer, à des fins non seulement personnelles, mais aussi personnalisées, de prestations mises à disposition.

3. La liberté de mouvement

L'interprétation du signe multimédia, en tant qu'objet interactif, est conditionnée également par une troisième «règle» du contexte contractuel: la liberté de mouvement. L'interactivité d'un site est marquée ainsi par les facilités de toute nature permettant l'émergence et le développement des parcours aléatoires non seulement de la spatialité, mais aussi de la temporalité investies par le visiteur/utilisateur dans le vécu de son interprétation.

Le processus interactif: un parcours aléatoire

Dans le processus de construction interactif du contexte contractuel, le sens est conditionné également par la liberté de mouvement du visiteur/utilisateur sur le site web. Il faut noter que le concepteur du site web donne seulement un cadre, c'est-à-dire les règles générales qui vont servir au visiteur/utilisateur par la suite pour avoir une liberté de mouvement sur le site web et de construire son propre parcours dans le processus d'interaction entre le visiteur/utilisateur et le site. A partir de ce cadre qui est donné par le concepteur, le visiteur/utilisateur dispose d'un espace de liberté sur le site web lui permettant le mouvement dans la création de son propre parcours sur le site. En effet, même s'il y a un cadre donné par le concepteur, le parcours du visiteur/utilisateur sur le site est aléatoire. Même s'il ne s'agit pas d'un parcours imposé sur le site, le concepteur peut néanmoins «faire des suggestions» au visiteur/utilisateur dans certains cas – en comptant habituellement sur son attente naturelle d'être guidé – dans son parcours. Le visiteur/utilisateur retrouve ainsi les titres des rubriques qui seront les premiers à attirer son regard, des titres comme, par exemple, «Ecouter le direct», «A la Une», «L'info en bref», etc. Ces titres guident le visiteur/utilisateur dans la construction de son parcours interactif. Certes, le visiteur/utilisateur a la liberté de suivre ou pas ce parcours dans le jeu d'interaction qui s'établit entre lui et le site web. D'ailleurs il n'est jamais complètement assujetti au concepteur. Dans son parcours, en suivant les règles, l'aide et le guidage du concepteur, le visiteur/utilisateur va se servir, pour la construction de son parcours interactif, de liens hypertextuels, qui sont un des éléments qui lui assurent la liberté de mouvement sur le site web: *«je tape l'objet de ma recherche dans le moteur de recherche. Le moteur de recherche étant commun a toutes les radios, cela m'a posé problème et je trouve*

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les résultats qu'il fournit peu pertinents. J'aurai préféré un moteur de recherche qui ne cherche que dans les news de France Info. En fait il existe des moteurs de recherche internes (un est spécifique pour 'à la une' par exemple), qui eux sont efficaces. Le champ de recherche global qu'on voit en haut il peut renvoyer sur le site de France Inter ou de n'importe qu'elle autre radio, et il cherche trop large pour que je trouve un article sur un sujet que je veux facilement. Donc niveau recherche de mon point de vue c'est pas top, et je pense que si j'ai besoin d'une info, j'irai plutôt sur 'Google Actualité' ou autre. Mon parcours dans ce cas sera donc de taper mon sujet dans le moteur de recherche, et de pester car il y a trop de résultats et qu'ils ne correspondent pas à ce que je veux. Au bout de deux essais je change de site d'infos pour aller sur un site plus efficace niveau 'recherche d'informations'». Ce qui est important de noter ici est que l'enchaînement, les relations qui vont s'établir entre ces liens hypertextuels et qui amèneront le visiteur/utilisateur à la création de son parcours interactif sont non seulement investies de sens, mais également productrices, créatrices de sens.

4. L'implication psychologique

Le conditionnement du signe multimédia, en tant qu'objet interactif, est marqué également par une quatrième «règle» du contexte contractuel: l'implication psychologique. Les réactions du visiteur/utilisateur du site web à la mise en scène de l'information, par exemple, sont ainsi l'illustration manifeste la plus courante de son implication psychologique dans le processus de production de sens.

Les réactions à la mise en scène de l'information

L'implication psychologique du visiteur/utilisateur est plus importante dans le cas des jeux vidéo en réseau où l'implication d'un joueur génère l'implication d'un autre ou d'autres joueurs. Ce n'est pas tout à fait le cas, d'une manière générale, pour les sites web des radios d'information où l'implication du visiteur/utilisateur ne génère pas l'implication d'un autre utilisateur, parce que le site ne propose pas de tels dispositifs. Cela dit, certains sites, comme par exemple le site web de RMC Info, proposent des dispositifs de type forum où l'implication psychologique d'un utilisateur peut générer l'implication d'un autre ou d'autres utilisateurs. Pourtant, le visiteur/utilisateur peut s'impliquer émotionnellement par rapport à des informations mises en scène par les journalistes ou par rapport aux prestations mises en scène par le concepteur du site web. Il peut s'impliquer émotionnellement en réagissant face aux textes, images, ou aux informations qu'il écoute et avec lesquelles il est en interaction sur le site par des sentiments de joie, de colère, de tension, comme, par exemple, la réaction d'un visiteur du site web de France Info qui «galère»: «*Je suis le chemin suivant que je trouve après quelques tâtonnements: L'info en bref / économie / A la une: Les archives / si l'on se souvient de la date on retrouve le reportage, cela est d'ailleurs préférable car la galère continue et là j'ai abandonné…».*

L'implication émotionnelle du visiteur/utilisateur, vis-à-vis du site web d'information, est conditionnée également par la mise en scène de l'information faite par les journalistes, c'est-à-dire par la ligne éditoriale du site créée à partir d'un modèle mis à disposition par

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le concepteur. En comparant les sites de France Info et de RMC Info, un visiteur remarquait: *«en page d'accueil de RMC la je vois le talk show de Brigitte Lahaie (ex star du porno qui anime des talks de sexe de bas niveau), j'ai franchement pas envie de cliquer (...) j'ai donc des grosses photos de l'animateur du talk show débile qui passe à l'antenne».* Cette remarque montre que le rôle du journaliste n'est absolument pas du tout neutre quand il s'agit de faire ressentir des émotions au visiteur/utilisateur du site web d'information car il va «mobiliser son affect, afin de déclencher chez lui intérêt et passion pour l'information qui lui est transmise» (Charadeau, 2005, 74). L'implication d'un troisième acteur, le journaliste, créée une complication dans le processus de production de sens. Le journaliste sera influencé par le concepteur dans la production et dans la mise en scène de l'information et le visiteur/utilisateur va donner un sens aux prestations, conditionnées dans une certaine mesure par la mise en scène de ces deux acteurs.

5. La mise en situation

Enfin, une dernière «règle» du contexte contractuel à souligner ici pour son rôle dans le conditionnement de l'interprétation du signe multimédia en tant qu'objet interactif, est la mise en situation. Il s'agit d'une règle qui revêt principalement deux formes: la forme du récit avec la variante spécifique du récit interactif et la forme de la dramaturgie.

La forme du récit

A l'intérieur du récit on ne peut pas interagir car le récit se construit par l'intermède de l'hypertexte et c'est à ce moment là que l'interaction intervient. Le concept de récit sous-entend ici la prise en compte du concepteur comme unique décideur des événements proposés à l'interaction avec le visiteur/utilisateur. Le rôle de ce dernier dans le processus d'interaction étant un rôle passif, il ne peut pas agir sur la production de contenu. Cela dit, il ne faut pas, dans ce cas, conclure que le concepteur «incarne» *la* détermination. Le sens du signe multimédia comme objet interactif, même lorsqu'on le considère uniquement sous sa forme de récit, participe d'un conditionnement multiple. Plus exactement, le sens des prestations d'un site web d'information, par exemple, se construit principalement dans les conditions du traitement de l'événement par le journaliste, de la mise en scène de l'événement proposée par le concepteur et de l'engagement dramatique qui interviennent au moment où le visiteur/utilisateur rentre en scène pour l'acte de lecture.

Le récit interactif

Dès lors, certains auteurs – Weissberg, Serge Bouchardon, Franck Ghitalla (Weissberg, 1999, Bouchardon, Broudou, Deseillihny, Ghitalla, 2007) – parlent de récit comme d'un genre d'application interactive particulière. Ainsi, constitué comme une région plus délimitée, le récit interactif garde certains éléments de la narration classique «tels que les rapports entre l'auteur et les personnages, entre l'activité d'écriture et le récit produit, ou encore entre l'interprétation et l'organisation matérielle du support» (Weissberg, 1999, 172). Mais derrière ces éléments qu'il emprunte à la narration classique «le récit interactif ne se révèle qu'à

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travers les questions de la séquentialité du récit, des temporalités de sa réception, de la présence du spect-acteur dans la narration ou de l'irruption d'un tiers – le programme – dans la relation auteur/lecteur» (Weissberg, 1999, 172). Le récit interactif rassemble alors deux composants: a) les «événements insécables» et b) la navigation. Les «événements insécables» sont constitués d'une série d'éléments tels que les séquences sonores, les images, les textes composés qui ne peuvent pas être découpés ou modifiés par le visiteur/utilisateur. Par l'intermède de la navigation le visiteur/utilisateur construit le parcours qui va le relier à ces «événements insécables». Ce «cadre narratif formel», une sorte d'alliage fait d' «événements insécables» conçus par le concepteur du site web et la création d'un possible parcours de la part du visiteur/utilisateur, se trouve au pôle opposé de l'actualisation. Le témoignage suivant issu de notre enquête est édifiant: *«Je cherche un article sur Airbus Power 8 dans France et dans Economie: impossible, rien ce jour là. Le moteur de recherche renvoie au site de Radio France et propose des articles de France Culture, France Info, Radio France Multimédia. Les articles sont anciens (Oct 06). Cependant, il existe un lien assez intéressant vers Eads 'les derniers communiqués de la maison mère de l'avionneur européen Airbus' mais je n'ai pas pu trouver d'articles récents»*. Autrement dit, l'actualisation apparaît comme le «cheminement d'un sujet qui parcourt et s'approprie la narration» (Weissberg, 1999, 192), alors qu'au pôle opposé, la virtualisation fait de ce cadre narratif un «moteur herméneutique individuel ouvert, producteur de scènes imaginaires, générateur sémantique, déclencheur d'associations d'idées» (Weissberg, 1999, 192). Le visiteur/utilisateur est interprète et créateur dans le processus d'enchaînement interactif de scènes à l'intérieur du récit ou à la configuration même du récit. La production de sens apparaît ainsi dans ce moteur herméneutique comme un enchaînement de scènes qui aura pour but la construction d'un nouveau récit interactif.

La forme de la dramaturgie

Dans la forme dramaturgique le rôle des acteurs change, c'est-à-dire le visiteur/utilisateur et le site web deviennent partenaires dans le processus de construction interactive. Weissberg évoque une situation de «partenariat inégal» qui s'établit entre le visiteur/utilisateur et le site web. La position du visiteur/utilisateur ne serait pas de co-auteur, mais seulement d'«interprète, puisque la machine de lecture envisagée devrait nécessairement être conçue par l'auteur, auquel on demanderait de complexifier son dispositif, d'ouvrir un espace d'itération en distribuant au lecteur une certaine autonomie dans le mode de production du texte» (Weissberg, 1999, 200). Le visiteur/utilisateur ne peut pas se projeter dans un récit qui n'est pas du tout le sien, mais il n'est pas non plus celui du concepteur. Ainsi, entre ces deux éléments émerge une intensité dramatique dans la composition du récit: *«j'arrive sur un ensemble de titres me donnant les dernières nouvelles des différents candidats (excepté Ségolène Royal); j'approfondis deux d'entre eux: voir un peu quel est ce 'programme volontariste' de Sarkozy (je n'en sais pas plus mais je ne pense pas que ce soit la faute de France Info!) et la volonté de Bayrou de remplacer l'ENA… par quoi? A suivre… voilà!!»*. Cette intensité dramatique «repose sur une construction subjective, avec ce qu'elle possède d'indécision et d'ouverture, mais qui assure une tension par l'incertitude de ce qui va advenir» (Weissberg, 1999, 199). Dans ce processus de lecture le visiteur/utilisateur est confronté à une sorte d'altérité. Tous ces composants réalisés par le concepteur du site contribuent à la réalisation d'une forme dramaturgique du récit. Dans le processus interactif de la lecture-écriture,

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le visiteur/utilisateur pourra prescrire l'enchaînement des informations, le choix de son parcours de lecture interactive sur le site web, entre les diverses scènes à travers les liens hypertextuels.

Selon l'optique de Jean-Pierre Balpe, ce moment du choix du visiteur/utilisateur pourrait être considéré comme de nature «fractale». Mais il s'agit là d'une conception déterministe, selon laquelle Jean-Pierre Balpe postule que le choix d'un mot ou d'une tournure syntaxique peut préfigurer et déterminer l'ensemble de l'œuvre, c'est-à-dire l'auteur détermine le sens du texte même avant l'écriture. (Balpe, 1994). Ce n'est pas notre point de vue. Nos observations se positionnent en opposition par rapport à cette approche déterministe du texte, c'est-à-dire elles rejoignent l'optique d'Umberto Eco qui, selon Weissberg, «insiste sur l'étrange alchimie qui transforme l'auteur en co-producteur du texte, en alliance – ou en confrontation – avec la dynamique propre qu'il a installée» (Weissberg, 1999, 199).

Maintenant, si l'on considère l'ensemble de ces conditions, l'hypothèse conclusive qui s'impose «naturellement» à l'esprit est celle de l'indissociabilité de l'interprétation et de la visite/utilisation des sites web d'information, car toute visite/utilisation est – si l'on se place dans le registre de François Rastier – un réajustement interprétatif réitéré d'elle-même. L'interprétation semble alors constituée des moments critiques de la visite/utilisation, et «la théorie interprétative veut présenter la synthèse rationnelle de ces moments critiques à visée régulatrice» (Rastier, 2001, 151). Le réajustement interne de la visite/utilisation des sites web dans son cours suppose alors, sans doute, une distance critique qui correspond à la dimension critique de l'herméneutique. Plus exactement, les cercles de l'interprétation et de la visite/utilisation des sites web d'information «n'ont au demeurant rien de vicieux, mais témoignent simplement de la dimension herméneutique de la connaissance» (Rastier, 2001, 151). Ce qui permet de supposer – si l'on veut aller encore plus loin – que la production de sens dans le contexte contractuel du signe multimédia superpose d'une manière aléatoire des sémioses, non seulement au niveau de l'interactivité, mais aussi aux niveaux de la textualité et de l'usage, sémioses qui n'aboutissent pas dans l'habitude, mais l'expérience.

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Methodological Issues in Cultural Semiotics of Advertising

Abstract

One of the main outcomes of globalization is the emergence of global brands. Such brands are virtually recognizable in multiple cultures, although it is very difficult to predict if the meanings associated with a brand are to be quasi-identical in different cultural spaces of the world. Different advertising strategies, on the one hand, and culturally associated values on the other hand influence the way people decode brands, as specific advertising signs.

This article discusses the possibility of quantitative and qualitative research in advertsphere research (the semiotic space outside which no decoding of advertising sign is possible), given the epistemological assumptions beneath the concept of advertsphere and suggests the main directions to follow in an attempt to study advertising signs' meaning in different cultures. This kind of cross-cultural analysis is subject to several challenges, such as understanding the social dimensions of advertising signs, acknowledging the role played by the country of origin of different brands, dealing with local adaptation of a global concept etc, but above all is challenged by the choice of a method of inquiry. The main purpose of this article is to discuss this particular methodological challenge and to situate the cultural semiotic research in perspective for future inquiry.

Key words: methodology, advertsphere, semiotics, global brands.

1. The Concept of Advertsphere. A New Field of Inquiry

Discussing advertising and meaning of advertising sings in a globalized world will automatically open an inquiry about global brands and cross-cultural research. Global brands' meaning is formed as clusters of different meanings associated with the brands in different cultures. In order to understand the semiotic research about brands, we shall briefly remind the key points about the concept of *advertsphere*, presented in detail elsewhere (Corbu, 2007, 2008).

As it was previously defined, the adversphere is the semiotic space outside which no decoding of advertising signs is possible. The concept is constructed based on Iuri Lotman's concept of semiosphere (2000/1990) and should be understood in the context of the theory of subjective universe (or Umwelt) proposed by Jakob von Uexküll (1982). The semiosphere, as defined by Iuri Lotman, is "the semiotic space necessary for the existence and functioning of languages", outside which "there can be neither communication, nor language" (Lotman, 2000/1990, 123-124). By analogy with the semiosphere, the advertsphere is the semiotic

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space outside which there is no advertising communication, nor advertising signs' decoding. The adversphere should be understood in its conventional social and cultural determination.

The concept of Lebenwelt (in John Deely's terms) – or human Umwelt – as proposed by Uexküll, refers to the subjective universe that surrounds the individual like a "soap bubble". In other words, the individual creates and shapes continuously the way he/she sees the world. "Everything that falls under the spell of an Umwelt (subjective universe) is altered and reshaped until it has become a useful meaning-carrier" (Uexküll, 1982, 31). The key characteristic of the Lebenwelt is that it is built continuously, as a result of repeated interactions of the individual with the outside world.

The advertising signs, in particular brands within the advertsphere, are to be understood in the context of the sign as proposed by Charles Sanders Peirce and his theory of semiotics, as a triadic entity: a sign stands for an object (or representamen) to an interpretant. A brand is a special type of sign, an empty sign when first born, that will be filled with meaning in time, based on both advertising strategies and consumers' experience with it. The different meanings associated with a brand are actualized in different circumstances. A given situation is like a spotlight that casts lights and shadows upon different parts of the global meaning. Nevertheless, just as for any other type of signs, there is a global meaning that a receiver would perceive when just thinking about a brand, even if that global meaning is just a shortcut to a company. What is specific to the brand as a special type of sign is that, at the beginning, it is an empty sign, similar to a proper name, and it has a spectacular diachronic evolution, and in the same time it is a very fluid, restless, easily meaning-changing sign.

In a cultural context, the adversphere, as a semiotic space, should be interpreted following the metaphor of onion's layers. At the center of the onion there is a hard core, or the cluster of the most stable meanings of advertising signs, given only by the human understanding of the advertising convention (to put it simply, the advertising is always an indirect directive speech act, its goal is to sell), and therefore common to all human beings that understand the advertising phenomenon. The outer layers are the individual, unique sets of clusters that every human being attaches to an advertising sign in his/ her own way, based on his/her own subjective past life (cultural, social, professional, individual life, etc.) experiences. As one peels away the layers, one should discover similarities between different decoding, at different layers, similarities due to common social or cultural backgrounds. The cultural layer is one of the closest layers to the hard core, in other words, it is more likely that individuals belonging to the same culture should decode the same advertising sign in a more similar way than individuals belonging to different cultures. Therefore, studying the cultural layer of advertising decoding (for the same global brands, for example) will suppose cross-cultural research.

Traditionally, research in the semiotic field was associated with the qualitative methodology, as a privileged inquiry perspective of meaning. In the same time, research in inter- and cross-cultural topics raises its own methodological issues. Therefore, there is a theoretical need for discussing the appropriate methodology to investigate meanings attached to global brands in cultural contexts.

A difference should be pointed out from the beginning, to avoid further confusions. The intercultural communication focuses on investigating cultural phenomena in which the participants, with different cultural backgrounds, interact in a direct or indirect way, whereas the cross-cultural communication deals with similar phenomena observed in two or more different cultures, in order to notice patterns, similarities or differences between cultures. (Kim,

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1984, 16) This distinction is very important in choosing the most appropriate methods of investigation, most of the researchers (for further discussions see Kim, 1984, Korzeny, Korzeny 1984) agreeing that intercultural research is usually based on qualitative methods, while cross-cultural research would rather use quantitative methods.

In the context of the adversphere, as defined above, the methodology issue should be discussed through individual, social, cultural differences, given, on the one hand, the individual and his subjective universe (the individual layer) and, on the other hand, the internal boundaries of the adversphere that delimitate social groups composed of individuals with common social, professional, or cultural backgrounds. Which type of methodology should be the most appropriate for studying these different layers?

2. Methodological Issues and Philosophical Assumptions

In order to answer the question of methodological issues within the adversphere, one has to have in mind the philosophical assumptions attached to the theoretical frame of semiotic space.

From a historical perspective, the main issue related to methodological differences is "the paradigms' war", an irreconcilable theoretical dispute based on philosophical (epistemological and ontological) assumptions. When discussing the paradigms' war, most of the authors oppose two different *paradigms*, in their purist understanding: logical positivism (some authors also discuss the post-positivism, as a continuation, a less radical version, of logical positivism) and interpretivism (often referred to as constructivism, or naturalism) (Smith, 1983; Howe, 1988, 1992; House, 1994; Reichardt, Rallis, 1994b; Wimmer, Dominick, 2000; Lindlof, Taylor, 2002; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Green, 2007; Deacon, 2008). The concept of "paradigm", as used in this article, is to be understood, in the tradition inaugurated by Thomas Kuhn (1963, 175), as "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a community", or "a set of core philosophical assumptions, values, and beliefs toward the conceptualization of social reality." (Ting-Toomey, 1984, 170).

Logical positivism is, from a chronological perspective, the paradigm that precedes the interpretivism, and its roots are to be found in Auguste Compte, John Stuart Mill and Emile Durkheim's theories. The historical line that gave birth to positivism is the empiricism proposed by Newton, Locke and others (Smith, 1983). This particular philosophical conception discusses the possibility of knowledge as exclusively based on observable facts (Tashakkori, Teddlie, 1998, 7), the acceptance of a unique objective reality, within which general categories can be observed, explaining individual patterns of behavior (Wimmer, Dominick, 2000, 104), a scientific knowledge free of metaphysics (Howe, 1988, 13).

Again from a historical perspective, the first reaction to positivism's excesses was a moderate one, which, although rejecting some radical assumptions of logical positivism, preserved its essence, the main ontological and epistemological lines, intact. This is post-positivism. It developed as a paradigm (sometimes referred to as distinct from positivism, sometimes associated with it) at the end of the 1950s, and it worked as an improved version of positivism for about two decades (1960-1980). The most prominent differences, if compared with the logical positivism, are related to the values of the researchers (that were totally indifferent to the research in the logical positivism) that are supposed to influence research in this new version

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of positivism, the theories and hypotheses that can also influence research, and the fact that reality is considered to be constructed to a certain extent (Tashkkori, Teddlie, 1998, 8).

The radical reaction to both logical positivism and to post-positivism is the constructivist paradigm or, in a larger framework, the interpretivist paradigm (which enclose first of all constructivism, but other related paradigms as well, such as naturalism or hermeneutic empiricism), which, from a historical perspective, has roots in the German idealism, phenomenology, hermeneutic philosophy (Lindlof, Taylor, 2002, 11). Constructivism, as a radical form of interpretivism, is totally opposed to the elements of logical positivism, therefore an insurmountable dispute has started between the two, known in the history of social sciences, as the "paradigm war". The assumptions of constructivism are: there are multiple realities constructed and not just only objective reality, realities that can change if their constructors change (Tashkkori, Teddlie, 1998, 27), the principle of reality is based on the different meanings associated with different aspects of reality, while interpretation is the only possible form of knowledge (Reichardt, Rallis, 1994b, 88), each researcher creates reality as part of the research process, human beings are completely different and cannot be grouped into categories that could explain behavioral patterns (Dominick, Roger, 2000, 104).

The totally opposed axioms of positivism and constructivism emerged into a general conception about the incompatibility of the two paradigms, that are irreconcilable, or the paradigmatic purism. Two different research perspectives are attached to the two philosophical points of view: quantitative and qualitative research. Purism supposes that a combination of the methods is virtually impossible, because the underlying principles themselves would be broken in the process. Quantitative purists consider that "social observations should be treated as entities in much the same way that physical scientists treat physical phenomena", and "science inquiry should be objective", while qualitative purists plead for multiple-constructed realities, value-bound research, the impossible separation of the knower and the known (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004, 14). Therefore the major difference between quantitative and qualitative research is not quantification or qualification of data, but rather different ontological and epistemological orientations that guide the researcher's effort. (Ting-Toomey, 1984, 171)

The quantitative research is still considered as the mainstream paradigm in social sciences research, while the qualitative research appears as not yet fully crystallized, without a considerable number of significant research and lacking a coherent conceptual system. (Chelcea, 2004, 37). However, in the last decades, qualitative research, although still considered an illegitimate child, has become a strong competitor in the inquiry in the social sciences.

The irreconcilable point of view proposed by the paradigm war has proven to be twice unsatisfactory for most researchers, especially in the inter- and cross-cultural studies. On the one hand, researchers point out the limits of both methods, outlining the flaws of the two paradigms. Qualitative researchers criticize quantitative studies for their irrelevance, while quantitative researchers suspect that qualitative research is unreliable (Reichardt, Rallis, 1994a, 7-8), in other words, the generalization of the results is quasi-impossible. On the other hand, some of the positivist theoretical models have proven to be more relevant for a qualitative inquiry, while some interpretivist general models seem to be more easily and adequately analyzed with quantitative tools.

In this context, in the last two decades, research in human and social sciences has been more and more open to the conciliation attempts between the paradigms, proposing mixed methods of inquiry. "Mixed methods research offers great promise for practicing researchers

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who would like to see methodologists describe and develop techniques that are closer to what researchers actually use in practice. Mixed methods research as the third research paradigm can also help bridge the schism between quantitative and qualitative research." (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004, 15)

From this perspective, the most delicate problem was finding a new philosophical paradigm to support the idea of mixed research, a paradigm that should have bridged the two irreconcilable dominant paradigms in social sciences. The solution almost came out by itself; the pragmatism was already there to be the perfect "philosophical partner" for mixed methods based research (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004, 16).

The word "pragmatism" is derived from the Greek *pragma* and refers to "the result of action" (Cherryholmes, 1994, 207). The philosophical paradigm started as a theory about meaning, with the works of Charles Sanders Peirce, and was developed afterwards by his colleagues, William James and John Dewey into an organized paradigm, based on clear principles that will be further presented. Most researchers agree that the roots of pragmatism are to be found in the works of the three Americans considered the founding fathers, Peirce, James, Dewey (Cherryhomes, 1994; Tashakkori, Teddlie, 1998; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Green, 2007), and the most cited followers are Richard Rorty, Willard V.O. Quine and Donald Davidson.

The philosophical principles supporting pragmatism were synthesized by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie in a synoptic table, from which a few things should be mentioned: "Rejects traditional dualisms (e.g., rationalism vs. empiricism, realism vs. antirealism, free will vs. determinism, Platonic appearance vs. reality, facts vs. values, subjectivism vs. objectivism); Recognizes the existence and importance of the natural or physical world as well as the emergent social and psychological world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts; […] Knowledge is viewed as being both constructed and based on the reality of the world we experience and live in; […] Theories are viewed instrumentally (they become true and they are true to different degrees based on how well they currently work; workability is judged especially on the criteria of predictability and applicability); […] Capital „T" Truth (i.e., absolute Truth) is what will be the „final opinion" perhaps at the end of and history. Lowercase „t" truths (i.e., the instrumental and provisional truths that we obtain and live by in the meantime) are given through experience and experimenting; […] it prefers action to philosophizing (pragmatism is, in a sense, an anti-philosophy)." (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004, 18)

The key points of research based on the pragmatist paradigm are the "dictatorship of the research question (not the paradigm or method)" (Tashakkori, Teddlie, 1998, 20), in other words the research question guiding the research is more important than the perspective about the world, accepting both points of view about knowledge, realism and constructivism, focusing on practical consequences (Green, 2007, 84), offering a scope-oriented methodology based on action (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004, 17), considering truth as "what works" (Tashakkori, Teddlie, 1998, 20; Howe, 1988, 15), in the sense that there is no absolute Truth, but contextual truths, which have to be investigated with the most appropriate methods. And those appropriate methods are mixed methods or the methods appropriate to any given, specific research.

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3. Methodological Issues in the Advertsphere Field of Inquiry

As long as the theory of advertsphere is built upon a pragmatist conceptual framework (the definition of advertsphere itself was created building on the theory of signs of one of the founding fathers of pragmatism, Charles Peirce), it becomes clear that mixed methodologies reveal themselves as research tools in both exploratory and confirmatory inquiry. In this context, research that focuses on the individuality of each human being, the uniqueness of each person, should use mainly qualitative methods, while research aiming at generalizing laws, based on what people have in common and similar with other people of one and the same group, should use quantitative tools. If quantitative methods strive for breadth, quantitative research strives for depth. The meaning of advertising signs, as constructed at the individual level by the unique experiences of individuals and the mechanisms that make possible the decoding of the meaning cannot be analyzed but using qualitative methods of investigation, the research thus aiming to analyze the most peripheral layers of the global meaning of advertising signs, their individual, specific additional values, built in time from the life experience of an individual.

On the other hand, if the research focuses on layers closer to the core and aims to reveal the similarities and differences between the ways people decode advertising signs within a social or cultural group, the quantitative methods should be the most appropriate. Representative samples could be used in order to find out the general characteristics of groups and they can help determine the influence of culture in decoding the meaning of advertising signs.

The advertsphere as a concept is built on the assumption that, even though it is impossible to know the reality itself in a unique way, as the ultimate Truth, a physical objective reality does exist, even if it is perceived differently within the individual Lebenwelten of individuals. Therefore, individuals with common characteristics (a typical example would be the profession) would decode in a much similar way the same signs than individuals not sharing the same social or cultural characteristics. If the situations in which Lebenwelten were created were similar, the decoding would be rather similar as well, and vice versa, for different Lebenwelten, there would be different decoding.

For this reason, the meanings of advertising signs are constructed for each individual like onion layers: in the middle there is a common hard core, that reveals very small differences from one individual to another, a core constructed by the human nature itself, the physical characteristics that allow human beings to perceive reality through the same organs and senses. Around this hard core one can imagine concentric layers. The very next ones are the layers determined by the cultural context. In other words, it is more likely that individuals within the same culture attribute similar meanings to advertising signs, whereas it is expected that individuals from different cultures would decode those signs in less similar ways. The next layers are less homogeneous and they overlap, the internal boundaries of the advertsphere shaping different groups of individuals sharing similar views and understanding or other social characteristics, such as age, sex, profession, income, religion etc. These layers can be all investigated using quantitative methods. The most peripheral layers and the most heterogeneous are built by the individual's everyday life, the unique experience of every human being. For instance, a woman who has used a certain brand in very happy occasions of her life would associate very personal meanings to that particular brand by transfer. These meanings are unique; they belong to the personal decoding of that one woman, based on her life history.

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These kinds of differences or particularities in constructing meaning are not to be generalized. Yet their analysis might reveal very interesting things about mechanisms that create meaning in general, but they must be investigated by means of qualitative research.

4. Conclusions

This paper focused on the methodological issues raised by a new field of inquiry in semiotics and cross-cultural research, based on the new concept of advertsphere. Although different cultures often perceive the same phenomena or signs in different ways, the decoding of the same signs (any kind of signs) is still remarkably close in different cultures most of the time. This can be explained through the concept of *semiosphere* of the Estonian semiotician Iuri Lotman, who proposed that all cultures are immersed in a semiotic space and subjects within a given culture can only function by interaction with that space. Based on this concept and on the concept of *subjective universe* (or Umwelt) of biologist Jakob von Uexküll, the author already proposed elsewhere a new concept, *the advertsphere*, which is the space outside which no decoding of advertising sign is possible.

In this context, the paper showed that, from a methodological point of view, this concept raises the problem of incompatibility between the subject to be examined and apparently irreconcilable philosophical assumptions. The newest methodological research shows that the most appropriate way to study any phenomenon is to approach it through the research question related to it rather than following philosophical assumptions of the theoretical framework. However, to avoid discussions about inappropriateness of methodology, the paradigm attached to the mixed methods approach is pragmatism, which takes a middle position between the two ancient "war" enemies, positivism and interpretivism. In this contest, the inquiry into the advertsphere field, framed in pragmatism as a philosophical paradigm, should follow the logic of the research question, that is, roughly to use mostly quantitative methods for the internal layers of the advertsphere, and qualitative methods for its external layers. In the same time, mixed methods are appropriate, if the research question guiding the research requires them.

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Langage, communication et médiation: déplacements métaphoriques

Résumé

En parlant du rôle efficient de la métaphore dans la connaissance du monde et dans la communication sur le monde, nous nous référons dans cet article au processus que nous définirons comme «médiation métaphorique» et par lequel nous comprendrons, dans les grandes lignes, l'ensemble des modalités par lesquelles une communauté de parleurs institue un monde, le connaît, y communique et, en même temps, le change en fonction de ses intérêts. En fait, notre proposition porte sur une compréhension des mécanismes concrets par lesquels les métaphores apparaissent et arrivent à être homologuées par l'usage linguistique, en finissant par être employées de manière efficiente en tant qu'instruments de communication, de médiation et d'instauration du monde des parleurs.

Mots-clés: communication, langage, médiations, métaphorisations, pratiques culturelles.

1. Introduction

Le problème de la communication et de la médiation ne peut pas être posé en dehors du problème de la langue dans un sens général ou, plus particulièrement, d'un langage. En même temps, il est aussi évident que nous ne pouvons pas éviter d'aborder le langage en l'absence d'un dialogue des consciences, qui communiquent entre elles sur un monde, compris sinon dans le sens traditionnel d'une pensée moderne, à fortes présuppositions métaphysiques, du moins dans le sens restreint d'une «pensée faible», postmoderne, comme l'univers commun d'un certain groupe d'interlocuteurs.

D'autre part, la communication comprise comme médiation par le langage est en même temps un processus de connaissance de soi, de médiation du *soi-même comme un autre*, de la même manière dont le sujet communique avec d'autres sujets en vue de partager et de connaître le monde, de le rassembler, en commun, à la disposition de tout le monde.

La conceptualisation, comprise comme isolement de l'essence sémantique d'un mot par rapport à un référent stable et ultime, a été pendant des siècles un effort incessant de la philosophie occidentale, mais un effort qui s'avère aujourd'hui de plus en plus voué à l'échec. De plus, en partant sur les traces de certains penseurs contemporains comme Paul Ricœur (Ricœur, 1975, 1984) ou Umberto Eco (Eco, 1996, 2002), notre hypothèse est que, en fait, la matière

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première du discours de tout domaine scientifique, le concept, n'a été qu'un empereur sans pouvoir derrière lequel s'est toujours caché un cardinal à velléités poétiques, un créateur génial de stratégies de connaissance, de communication et de médiation, à savoir la métaphore.

En parlant du rôle efficient de la métaphore dans la connaissance du monde et dans la communication sur le monde, nous nous référons au processus que nous définirons comme «médiation métaphorique» et par lequel nous comprendrons, dans les grandes lignes, l'ensemble des modalités par lesquelles une communauté de parleurs institue un monde, la connaît, y communique et, en même temps, le change en fonction de ses intérêts. En fait, nous tâcherons de constuire des ponts pour une compréhension des mécanismes concrets par lesquels les métaphores apparaissent et arrivent à être homologuées par l'usage linguistique, en finissant par être employées de manière efficiente en tant qu'instruments de communication, de médiation et d'instauration du monde des parleurs (Ionescu-Tudor, 2009a; Bratosin, 2001; Bratosin, 2004).

2. Repères théoriques et méthodologiques

Les points de repère de notre proposition s'incrivent dans le sillage de penseurs préoccupés par la thématique de la métaphore tels qu'Aristote (Aristote, 1998, 2004), Nietzsche (Nietzsche, 1990), Gadamer (Gadamer, 1976) et Derrida (Derrida, 1972) et sur les traces de la différence entre la «métaphore cachée» et la «métaphore associée» dans un sens suggéré par Le Guern (Le Guern, 1973) afin d'entendre que le discours communicationnel conceptuel n'est pas un mode de médiation métaphorique ayant un statut privilégié, mais il n'en est qu'un parmi d'autres. En même temps, en partant des méditations sur la métaphore de Paul Ricœur et Umberto Eco, nous pouvons affirmer que la lutte héroïque pour la compréhension de la métaphore a été, en dernière instance, une lutte pour l'unification sémantique du monde, une bataille théorique menée sur les barricades des sens, où l'idéal philosophique de la maîtrise du monde par la compréhension, porté avec les armes du concept depuis Aristote jusqu'à Kant et Hegel, n'a jamais été atteint.

Par conséquent, notre hypothèse de travail qui sera mettre à l'épreuve dans ce qui s'ensuit à l'occasion de l'analyse de quelques métaphores holistes de la communication, c'est que le monde en tant que système complexe de référents, est connu et communiqué par un processus cognitif appelé «médiation métaphorique» qui, uniquement dans la manière particulière d'une certaine communauté de parleurs, peut être identifiée avec le discours philosophique conceptuel.

La médiation métaphorique est une démarche cognitive, pragmatique et communicationnelle par laquelle une communauté de parleurs comprend, instaure et interagit un/dans un monde auquel chacun de ses membres croit appartenir (Ionescu-Tudor, 2009a, 2009b). Une communauté de parleurs, telle que nous la comprenons en partant d'un fragment aristotélicien (Aristote, 1964, 1998, XXII, 1458 b), est la communauté où il y l'«usage commun» des mots, autrement dit qui a un dictionnaire commun, une encyclopédie commune de sens et une collection commune de référents, et où la médiation métaphorique rend possible la communication.

Il s'agit tout simplement de noter que le champ de possibilités ouvert dans le domaine des Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication par l'hypothèse de la médiation

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métaphorique repose sur la compréhension de deux termes: la métaphore et le discours, deux termes qui constituent le «couple de force» de notre approche.

Mais, ce qu'on y veut souligner c'est le fait que la perspective que nous offre la compréhension des collisions des discours par la médiation métaphorique peut également nous conduire tant vers l'identification de la terminologie et des modelages métaphoriques des principaux discours de notre quotidienneté mondialisée que vers le discours de la communication. Ainsi, nous voulons mettre en évidence la spécificité de la perspective de la médiation métaphorique en tant qu'effort autoréflexif. La présupposition diffuse, mais très présente dans tous les discours contemporains, soient-ils politiques, médias, des relations publiques, des technologies informatiques ou de l'industrie du divertissement, est que «tout est communication». Autrement dit, le fait que «la communication» se trouve partout démontre une collision entre le discours des théories des Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication, de cet holisme communicationnel d'essence paloaltiste et une multitude d'autres discours parlés aujourd'hui par de larges communautés de locuteurs.

Le fait qu'on peut parler, dans un espace de l'évidence, de la communication inter et intra organisationnelle n'est qu'une preuve de la collision entre le discours sur les organisations en tant que «mécanismes ou organismes fonctionnels» – pour utiliser les termes de Sfez – et le discours de l'holisme de la communication, ayant comme résultat une métaphorisation à succès.

Dans ce sens, mais aussi pour illustrer la direction des ouvertures que l'hypothèse de la médiation métaphorique peut produire, nous essayerons une brève analyse des métaphores holistes spécifiques de notre époque et des médiations métaphoriques qui les ont engendrées.

Nous nous garderons bien de faire appel, dans toute analyse ou identification, à des discours relevant d'une certaine perspective idéologique ou de valeur; en échange, nous procéderons d'une manière descriptive, en identifiant les médiations métaphoriques et les discours qui les produisent.

3. Collisions métaphoriques

En début de son ouvrage, *Une critique de la communication*, Lucien Sfez raconte sa rencontre à Berkeley, le 14 février, avec Mark Landau, le renommé spécialiste de la théorie des organisations, avec lequel il a discuté de «l'utilité et l'utilisation des métaphores dans la science des organisations» (Sfez, 1988, p. 17). Landau répond à Sfez par le biais d'une métaphore obtenue par une comparaison, celle du Boeing 747, dont la fiabilité est garantie par les quatre systèmes de commande et de réglage des moteurs, qui fonctionnent indépendamment l'un de l'autre. Cette situation nous rappelle un célèbre roman d'Umberto Eco, *La pendule de Foucault*, où un personnage, tout aussi célèbre, Jacopo Belbo, produisait une métaphore «cabala-automobilistique», en traduisant le discours de la cabale médiévale dans les termes du fonctionnement d'une auto de nos jours, en assimilant l'arbre séfirotique à l'articulation de Cardan et le principe divin intrinsèque au moteur à combustion interne (Eco, 2005).

Bien sur, cet exercice de sémiose du personnage d'Eco illustre de manière auto-ironique la dérive herméneutique postmoderne, le glissage généralisé des sens les uns vers les autres; il montre, du point de vue de notre hypothèse, qu'en réalité toute médiation métaphorique est possible et légitime. Il n'existe aucun indice de légitimation entre la pensée d'un discours

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sur les organisations en termes d'un discours sur les systèmes de propulsion et la commande d'un Boeing 747 – comme le fait Landau, et la pensée de la cabale médiévale en termes du fonctionnement d'une automobile – comme le fait le personnage d'Eco. C'est le succès enregistré par la métaphore auprès de la communauté de locuteurs qui peut donner du sens à la métaphore organisation-Boeing par rapport à celle de la Cabale-automobile. Ce sont les sujets parlants qui légitiment et qui instituent et rendent évidente l'une ou l'autre de ces métaphores.

Lors du même témoignage portant sur son expérience américaine, les mots de Sfez rendent transparente cette tension de l'esprit, que Tocqueville a peut-être ressentie il y a longtemps: «Je n'ai pas encore la pratique de la côte Ouest. Ce langage trop direct me déplaît. Ces transpositions sauvages de métaphores me navrent. Vieux monde trop délicat…» (Sfez, 1988, p. 25). L'observation de Sfez a effectivement une finesse et une profondeur remarquables.

Aujourd'hui le rythme avec lequel Amérique «métaphorise» le monde est rapide et industrialisé. Il est, peut-être, tout aussi rapide que le rythme avec lequel les Romains ont métaphorisé le monde antique il y a deux millénaires, des rives de la Méditerranée aux îles Britanniques. Le vaste horizon scientifique qui s'ouvre devant les Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication est représenté, à nos yeux, par la compréhension des savoirs-faire des grandes métaphorisations de notre temps.

Dans ce sens, nous essayerons de souligner ci-dessous quelques médiations métaphoriques à succès, produites par la collision entre un discours mondialiste et holiste et divers discours locaux, des collisions qui ont pour conséquence la transformation des «localismes» en des «mondialismes». Nous nous proposons d'illustrer le potentiel et les ouvertures théoriques de la médiation métaphorique vers des études mises en œuvre par la communication inter et intra culturelle, institutionnelle, politique ou par la symbolique et la sémantique publicitaire et commerciale.

1) La métaphore holiste de la communication: *tout est communication.* Cette métaphore est née de la collision entre le discours de l'école californienne de Palo Alto et le discours mondialiste; le point de départ a été une médiation métaphorique créée par Paul Watzlawick, entre un discours psychanalytique, dont l'élément central était lié à la communication thérapeutique entre le médecin et le patient, et l'un des langages de nouvelles technologies de l'informatique (Watzlawick, 1981). La médiation métaphorique entre le discours holiste et le discours de la communication a reporté du succès et a rendu même possible le discours polymorphe des Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication.

2) La métaphore holiste du marché: *toute relation d'échange est traductible dans les termes du marché.* Cette métaphore représente une médiation à succès qui a conduit vers la naissance d'une galaxie de sous-discours. On peut donc parler de «transactions culturelles», d' «économie des biens symboliques», de «management universitaire», de «marché des idées», de «foire des livres», de «marketing politique», de «bourse de valeurs», d'«offre touristique», de «capital politique», etc. On peut même parler d'une «Charity Market».

Toutes ces métaphorisations représentent la traduction dans les termes du marché du fonctionnement de certains domaines locaux et, apparemment, profondément inadéquats à ce traitement terminologique. Il existe, pourtant, un marché mondial du livre, extrêmement circonscrit et bien articulé dans des genres, sous genres et espèces, qui rend possible une industrie de millions d'euros. Il existe une industrie de la fiction littéraire organisée d'une manière tout aussi efficace que l'industrie pétrolière. La métaphore holiste du marché a élevé au rang de loi deux préceptes commerciaux, qui fonctionnent en couple et donnent à tout domaine de la

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vie la forme d'un discours économique: 1) pour produire une chose on doit savoir si elle peut être vendue et 2) si une chose ne peut pas être vendue, on ne doit pas la produire. La fermeture de ce circuit à une perte minimale d'énergie et de coûts, soient–ils des «coûts humains» ou de l'«énergie intellectuelle», représente la quintessence du discours holiste du marché, en collision avec tout autre discours possible, le résultat étant une médiation métaphorique réussie.

3) La métaphore de l'ubiquité managériale*: le manager est un directeur qui peut migrer d'un domaine à l'autre en gardant intactes ses qualités.* Il s'y agit d'une médiation subsidiaire du discours holiste du marché, où l'agent principal de l'entreprise corporatiste ressemble à un héros omniprésent. Il s'agit donc d'une médiation métaphorique à succès entre le discours du marché et les discours traditionnels du «directeur», du «leader» et du «héros». Cette médiation métaphorique transforme le manager en une sorte de *factotum*, au sens où il est autorisé à se trouver au sommet de la pyramide d'une organisation participant de n'importe quel domaine, mais cette autorisation est basée sur un ensemble de compétences omniprésentes, c'est-à-dire sur un art «délocalisé» de la direction, invariable aux fluctuations ou aux différences qui peuvent intervenir dans le domaine du réel. Un manager peut être «performant» aussi bien dans le «management de la communication» que dans «le management culturel».

4) La métaphore de la marque généralisée: *l'autodiscours rhétorique est également autorisé quant à un produit d'une compagnie qu'en ce qui concerne une personne.* La généralisation de la définition de l'identité d'une marque est, elle aussi, une collision entre un métadiscours du marché et un discours extrêmement vieux, du «marquage», qui a subi à son tour diverses collisions antérieures. «Le marquage» représente la méthode ancestrale par laquelle les éleveurs de bétail «estampillaient» les animaux d'un fer rouge pour les reconnaître. Pendant l'esclavage, les hommes étaient marqués de la même sorte. La marque, comme icône de l'identification, a été remplacée par le sceau, puis par l'estampille; en Amérique, au début du 20^{e} siècle, l'essor commercial et la tentative des commerçants de distinguer leurs produits transportés en vrac, ont conduit à l'apparition du discours actuel de la «marque», par lequel est exprimée l'identité iconique et discursive de chaque produit individuel.

C'est remarquable le fait que ce discours du «marquage», un discours local, de l'ordre des discursivités, s'est disséminé, par des médiations métaphoriques successives, au niveau mondial au sein d'une large communauté de locuteurs. La peur de l'individu postmoderne quant à la perte de son identité et l'impératif commercial de la différenciation ont conduit à la collision entre le métadiscours du marché et celui du «marquage commercial» et à l'apparition d'un discours nouveau, où les personnes s'autodéfinissent de manière rhétorique et iconique lors d'un discours de la marque. Alain Finkielkraut affirme qu'il est surprenant que les hommes essayent de se différencier de manières si similaires (Finkielkraut, 1987). C'est justement pour combattre cette indigence qu'œuvrent les industries de la communication et du marquage, afin d'offrir à leurs clients une «vaste gamme», un «riche assortiment» des modalités de différenciation. A ce point s'ouvre un vaste champ pratique de recherche appliquée pour les Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication, un champs des collisions discursives entre le discours du marquage généralisé et les discours de la mode, de la communication publicitaire, des différents courants artistiques, musicaux, etc. qui produisent et communiquent des «styles de vie».

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4. Conclusions

On peut dire que nous sommes à l'époque des *discours jetables*, des médiations métaphoriques contrôlées et du langage éphémère, où les discours in vitro sont des produits industriels fabriqués en série, empaquetés dans des emballages sémantiques et livrés sur un marché de la communication globale. Nous nous trouvons en pleine époque de transformation du discours persuasif en une entreprise productrice.

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Innovation, Research and Education: the Magic Triangle of Contemporary Development

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Educating the Communication Professional for an Uncertain Occupational Landscape

Abstract

The sharp downturn in the U.S. economy and the collapse of the economic model for media industries in the country had dramatic impact on the job market for communication workers in 2008-2009. Evidence exits that work has shifted away from organizational settings and become more individualized and that a type of deprofessionalization of the communication occupations is underway. Any such deprofessionalization of an occupation necessarily raises questions about the necessity for and components of educational training for entry to the occupation. Those questions are the central topic of this paper, which argues that curricula need to be reformulated and the role of the educational institutional institutions need to be reexamined.

Key words: Professionalization, deprofessionalization, communication education, news routines, employment.

1. Introduction

The sharp downturn in the U.S. economy and the collapse of the economic model for media industries in the country had dramatic impact on the job market for graduates of the nation's university-level professional journalism and mass communication education programs in 2008 and 2009.

The drop in the level of full-time employment six to eight months after graduation–from 70.2% of graduates in 2007 to 60.4% in 2008–was the largest change recorded in the 23 years that the same methodology has been used to track these statistics (Becker, Vlad, Olin, Hanisak and Wilcox, 2009).

The turmoil was not limited to the entry-level segment of the job market. By one estimate, 5,900 full-time jobs were cut in U.S. newspaper newsrooms in 2008 (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009). Television, radio and news magazines also trimmed their staffs, often by eliminating positions at the top.

Many of those journalists continued to practice their occupation by setting up their own web operations or joining others in doing the same. If successful, these activities mean that journalism no longer will be the province only of those working at or for established media companies.

Perhaps what is more important, the journalists continuing to work at the established media and those who have gone out on their own have found themselves in competition with another

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group of individuals, often labeled "citizen" journalists (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

The terminology is important, for it suggests a transformation and deprofessionalization of the journalistic occupation itself (Nossek, 2009). Given the uncertainty of the financial models for the old journalistic organizations and for the start-up companies being formed by former journalists, it is even possible to question whether journalism will remain an occupation. Chris Anderson, editor in chief of Wired magazine, has speculated that journalism in the future may simply be a hobby (Hornig, 2009).

The competition of the "Professional" journalist with the "Citizen" journalist raises questions anew about the relationship between journalism and citizens. This is a relationship that many have questioned and challenged in the past. (See, for example, Carey, 1969).

While the focus has been on the journalistic occupation, other communication occupations are likely to be impacted as well. The easy access of amateurs to the tools of graphic design, data bases needed for sales, and the distribution capabilities of the web mean that everyone can become an advertising or public relations professional as well.

Formal education has always played a key role in the professionalization of an occupation, and the communication professions are no exception. Any deprofessionalization of an occupation necessarily raises questions about the necessity for and components of that education. Those questions are the central topic of this paper.

Although most of the empirical observations being used here to raise those questions come from one country, namely the United States, the questions are likely to generalize to other settings. While all media systems have their unique characteristics, as the work of Hallin and Mancini (2004) shows, media systems also have characteristics in common. So the challenge is to try to figure out what to learn from the American experience that is applicable in Romania and elsewhere. That is something that will be left largely to the discussion to follow this paper.

2. Professionalization

In the sociology of work literature, an occupation is defined as a social role played by adult members of society that directly and indirectly yields social and financial consequences (Hall,1994). Occupations can be and frequently are compared with an ideal type, a profession. In Wilensky's (1964) classic characterization, occupations go through four key, defining steps in the process of becoming a profession. First, the occupation establishes training schools for admission. Second, the occupation forms professional associations. Next, it attempts to regulate the practice of the profession through legal protection. Finally, it adopts a formal code of ethics. In addition, professions have been viewed as occupations with a special service orientation toward society.

Across time, however, this positive view of professions and their service orientation has come under challenge. As summarized by Freidson (1994), a more critical view has focused on the political influence of professions, on the relation of professions to political and economic elites and the state, and on the relations of professions to the market and the class system. Freidson's own work (1970, 1986, 1994), as well as that of Larson (1977), has been particularly important in examining the issues of market and class as they relate to the professional classification

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of occupations. Freidson (1994) also has argued that the professional model is a product of the Anglo-American work culture and may be limited to it.

Particularly influential in the critical discussions of professions has been Freidson's concept of a market shelter. In this view, professions gain control in the economic marketplace by building such a shelter, which keeps out competitors and controls who qualifies for the profession. Once a market shelter is in place, professionals control both the supply and demand of workers and the work they do. The control over qualification is based on presumed skills needed for practice in the profession.

Despite the differences in approaches to professionalization, one common concern has been education. There is little dispute that education is an essential prerequisite for entry into occupations that are labeled as professions and that occupations that are seeking to become professions focus on educational training.

A concern with the professional status of journalism has long standing, as a recent review by Becker, Vlad, Gans, Edwards, Daniels and Park (2005) has made clear. Particularly influential was the work of Jack McLeod and his students, who drew on the sociological literature on professionals to develop a measure of the degree of professional orientation of journalists (McLeod and Hawley, 1964; McLeod and Rush, 1969a, 1969b). Related research has looked at the professional orientations of public relations and advertising workers as well as at efforts by both occupations to establish their professional credentials (Johansen, 2001; Kreshel, 1990; Sallot, Cameron and Weaver-Lariscy 1997, 1998).

University programs in journalism and mass communication play an important role in discussions about the communications occupations and their efforts at professionalization (Becker, Fruit & Caudill, 1987; Froehlich & Holtz-Bacha, 2003). By the most recent estimate, 85% of those entering daily newspaper newsrooms in the United States come from a university journalism and mass communication program (Becker, Vlad, Pelton & Papper, 2006). For television newsrooms, the figure was 92%.

3. Deprofessionalization

Consistent with Freidson (1994), the process of professionalization can be seen as an effort at claiming the right to erect market shelters. Timmermans (2008) argues that a key claim in this process is that the profession possess a highly desirable skills set that requires protection through licensing, credentialing and restricted training. What is unclear, in Timmermans' view, is how the professions adapt to changes in the social and economic environment within which they operate. What is required, he says, is continuous legitimization of the profession so as to justify the market shelter. Implicit in this notion is the recognition that occupations can deprofessionalize over time as well as professionalize.

Haug (1975, 1988) is most closely linked to the deprofessionalization argument about occupations. She holds that professions are successful in their efforts at control when they have a monopoly on esoteric knowledge, maintain authority over clients, and have autonomy in work performance. Haug (1988) uses medicine as an example to illustrate how these threats to monopoly, authority and autonomy have weakened the profession. Though the medical profession has limited access to training, the media have popularized much of the medical knowledge and made it accessible to an increasingly well-educated public. The public increasingly

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demands participation in medical decision making, undercutting the authority of the physician. The autonomy of the doctor is increasingly undercut by group practice and health maintenance organizations, by medical review boards that involve lawyers as well as doctors, and by legally mandated peer-review systems. Ritzer and Walczak (1988) come to a similar conclusion based on a different argument. Their view is that medicine increasingly relies on rules, regulations, laws, bureaucracies and economies as a result of greater external control. Autonomy is lost in the process.

Critics of Haug's position, particularly as it relates to medicine, exist. Friedson (1994), prominent among them, says the case for demonopolization of knowledge is particularly weak as it relates to medicine. Muzio and Ackroyd (2005) argue that changes in the legal profession support Friedson's argument that professions find a way of adapt to maintain their special market shelters. Randall and Kindiak (2008) say that parts of social work have actually competed successfully with other professions by broadening the educational programs leading to admission. Hardley (1999), however, argues that the Internet in particular is the locus of renewed struggles in the medical professions over expertise.

Another argument about change in the professions is labeled by Freidson (1994) as proletarianization. This group holds that the location of the work of the professional has changed over time. Professionals are less likely to be working for themselves than in the past and more likely to be working in bureaucratic settings. Freidson says that the evidence that workers in the U.S. are less likely to be self-employed than in the past is contaminated by large changes in the number of people working in farming. With that group eliminated, there is stability in terms of level of self-employment. And those organizations for which professionals work are rarely highly bureaucratized, he contends. The organizations have made adaptations to reflect the fact that they hire professionals.

Deutz (2007), in his study of media work in the era of the Internet, argues that responsibility has increasingly shifted from the organization to the individual. Cultural production employers and managers stress the importance of enterprise as an individual outcome, rather than as an organizational one. Work is much more flexible than in the past, he argues.

What seems clear from this example is that occupations have confronted the current technological changes in work at different stages of professional development–whatever that terms means–and are likely to respond to those changes in different ways. Journalism in particular and the communication occupations in general have struggled with the argument that their practices were based on unique skills sets acquired through their education and training. To be sure, those preparing for the occupations did acquire specific technical skills as part of their training. They learned how to record and edit video and audio. They learned how to write headlines, shot and crop pictures, and create graphics. They learned how to create stories using the inverted pyramid style of writing.

The argument that the communication occupations relied on a knowledge base for their work has been more difficult to articulate. Journalists have argued that they know news when they see it because of their skills. Advertising and other promotional practitioners have argued that they could create messages based on artistic skills they possessed and honed. The creative producer could say she or he knew good art.

Often these statements of expertise were made in comparison with the audience, that is, the communication worker claimed expertise not shared by the general audience. Carey (1969) said this put the worker at odds with the audience. The journalist, Carey argued, mediates

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between the audience and the source and is pulled in both directions. The result often is contempt for both the audience and the source. The contempt for the audience is because it is apathetic and uninterested; the contempt for the source is because it is often dishonest.

4. Routines of News Construction

In fact, quite a lot is known by inference about the relationship between the journalist and the audience from the literature on news construction and news making routines (Becker & Vlad, 2009). What that literature shows is that journalists rely on official sources for their news and give little attention to the articulated concerns of the general public.

Integrated into the discussion of news routines is the concept of news beats. News organizations generally organize themselves so as to be able to observe events and gather the raw materials that are used to produce news. Tuchman (1978) said that news organizations use a "news net" as a means of acquiring the raw materials that become news. Fishman (1980) noted that while there are multiple ways in which news organizations could organize themselves so as to gather materials for news, "for at least the past one hundred years American newspapers have settled on one predominant mode of coverage known as the beat (p. 27)." For Gans (1979), the key process in news creation is story suggestion. Reporters have the responsibility for thinking up story ideas. To this end, they are required to "keep up with what is going on in the beats they patrol or in the areas of the country assigned to their bureaus, and they are evaluated in part by their ability to suggest suitable stories (p. 87)." Beats are either geographic, such as a beat focused on the offices of government, or topical, such as a beat focused on health. For the most part, the beat reinforces the idea that news is generated by official sources and reflects societal structure.

Gans' conceptualization is particularly informative, for it focuses on the generation of the idea that lies behind the story and links this generation of ideas to beats. In this view, raw material has the potential to become news only if it is recognized as having that potential by someone in the news construction business. Bantz, McCorkle and Baade (1980) called this process of story idea generation "story ideation." Because newsrooms use the beat system and other techniques that reflect societal structure, research has shown that story ideation is conservative as well (Phillips, Singer, Vlad & Becker, 2009). Journalists depend on people like themselves and those they encounter in their beats to help them generate the ideas that they turn into stories. This very conservative nature of reporting has been confirmed in a just-released study of sources of news in the Israeli press (Reich, 2009).

Citizens are not often treated as news sources except when they encounter the official structural outcroppings of society, such as when they meet up with authority figures such as police or when they are assigned some official duty, such as to chair a citizen advisory committee. A citizen with a complaint is not likely to be taken seriously by journalists until governmental officials respond. Citizens on their own lack authority, so they are not authoritative sources.

Citizen activists who thrust themselves forward are suspect to journalists for another reason: they are engaged, that is, have a point of view. Because journalists embrace the ideas of detachment that are central to the notion of a profession, they are at odds with activists who are not detached.

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Citizen journalists are often drawn from the ranks of citizen activists, and it is these more activist journalists that the journalists being tossed out of traditional media organizations confront. It should not be so surprising that the traditional journalist, clinging to traditional notions of professionalism, is not enamored with the competition.

5. Empirical Evidence

The changing nature of journalism and other communication work has implications for those entering the labor force for the first time. The disruption of the work brought about by technological change is now exacerbated by the disruption of work brought about by the severe international economic crisis.

In the U.S., these changes are reflected in data gathered as part of the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Graduates*, which is designed to monitor the employment rates and salaries of graduates of journalism and mass communication programs in the United States, including Puerto Rico, in the year after graduation (Becker, Vlad, Olin, Hanisak & Wilcox, 2009). In addition, the survey tracks the curricular activities of those graduates while in college, examines their job-seeking strategies, and provides measures of the professional attitudes and behaviors of the graduates upon completion of their college studies.

Each year a sample of schools is drawn from those listed in the *Journalism and Mass Communication Directory*, published annually by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, and *The Journalist's Road to Success: A Career Guide*, formerly published and printed by the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund, Inc., and now available on the web. Schools list themselves in the AEJMC *Directory*. All U.S. programs accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications and all U.S. members of the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication are in the AEJMC *Directory*. To be included in the Newspaper Fund *Guide*, the college or university must offer at least 10 courses in news-editorial journalism and those courses must include core courses, such as an introduction to the mass media and press law and ethics, as well as basic skills courses such as reporting and editing. Selection of schools for the sample is probabilistic, so that those chosen represent the population of schools in the two directories. In 2008, 86 schools were drawn from the 480 unique entries of four-year programs in the U.S. (including Puerto Rico) in the two directories.

Administrators at the selected schools are asked to provide the names and addresses of their spring bachelor's and master's degree recipients as well as a cover letter endorsing the project to be mailed with the questionnaire. The questionnaire was mailed in November 2008 to all spring graduates receiving either a bachelor's or a master's degree from the selected programs. A second questionnaire was sent to nonrespondents in January 2009. A third mailing was sent in March 2009 to graduates who had not responded to the first two mailings. For 10 programs that had provided email addresses, the third mailing was supplemented by an email message as well. The graduates could either return the mailed instrument in a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope, or complete the instrument online. All graduates were given a unique password for access to the web survey and could use it only once. The respondents also were told they could win an iPod in a lottery by participating.

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The questionnaire asked about the respondent's experiences both while a student and in the months since graduation. Included were questions about university experiences, job-seeking and employment, and salary and benefits.

In 2008, the survey was mailed to 9,526 individuals whose names and addresses were provided by the administrators of the 86 programs. A total of 2,840 returned the questionnaires by the middle of June of 2009. Of the returns, 2,542 were from students who reported they actually had completed their degrees during the April to June 2008 period. The remaining 298 had completed their degrees either before or after the specified period, despite their inclusion in the spring graduation lists. A total of 609 questionnaires was returned undelivered and without a forwarding address. Return rate, computed as the number of questionnaires returned divided by the number mailed, was 29.8%. Return rate, computed as the number returned divided by the number mailed minus the bad addresses, was 31.9%.

Of the 2,542 usable questionnaires, 2,360 (92.8%) were from bachelor's degree recipients and 182 were from those who received a master's degree. The findings reported for the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Graduates* are projectable to the estimated 50,560 students who earned bachelor's degrees and the 4,270 students who earned master's degrees in academic year 2007-2008 from the 480 colleges and universities across the United States and Puerto Rico offering programs in journalism and mass communication.

Detailed findings have been reported elsewhere (Becker, Vlad, Olin, Hanisak & Wilcox, 2009). What follows is simply a summary.

For several years, as the negative news swirled about the changes in the media industries, and particularly in the daily newspaper industry, graduates of journalism and mass communication programs around the country seemed protected. The dramatic weakening of the job market after 2000 seemed to have halted in 2003, and recovery seemed to be on the way. There was evidence of a slowing of that recovery in 2007, but little evidence yet that the entry-level part of the job market for journalism and mass communication graduates was in decline. In the second half of 2008 and the first half of 2009, all that changed.

By almost all indications, the 2008 graduates of the nation's journalism and mass communications programs found themselves in a disastrous job market. Job offers on graduation were down. Opportunities of job interviews had declined. The level of full-time employment at the benchmark Oct. 31 reference point was eight percentage points lower than a year earlier. Full-time employment based on a second measure–when the respondents returned the survey instrument–was at its lowest point going back at least to 1986, and the drop from a year earlier was unprecedented.

Salaries were stagnant at best. Those graduates who found full-time employment outside the field had a higher median annual salary than those who had work in the field. Even graduates who were lucky enough to find a job working for a web publishing company had an annual salary significantly below the annual salary of those who found similar jobs a year earlier. And the news in terms of benefits was even more discouraging. Across nine different comparisons, graduates in 2008 reported fewer benefits, and fewer of those were fully employer paid.

Graduates who found work were more likely to report they took their job because it was the only one available and less likely to say they were doing what they wanted to do. Job satisfaction was down, and regrets about the career chosen were up.

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Maybe because the traditional industries didn't offer them jobs, and maybe as yet one more indicant of the weak tie between the traditional media industries and their audiences, journalism and mass communication graduates in 2008 were less likely to read newspapers and magazines than graduates even a year before. They get their news from the Internet, and they frequently check social media web sites. Many are regular users of blogs and video sharing sites. And they are not very optimistic about the future of many of the traditional media or about job prospects in their field in the future.

While the picture is dreary for journalism and mass communication graduates, with an unemployment rate for graduates of journalism and mass communication programs that is higher than for the 20-24 year-old cohort of which they are a part, there is evidence that some felt the pain more than others. And this difference may say much about the future of the journalism and mass communication occupations.

Those students who studied public relations at the university found the job market in 2008 to be considerably less hostile than did those who studied for print media job, for telecommunications jobs, or even for advertising jobs. Of the public relations graduates, nearly 71% had a full-time job when they returned the survey instrument, compared with 65% of the advertising graduates, 59% of the print journalism graduates, and 57% of the telecommunications graduates. The public relations students also earned above average salaries–something the graduates who took jobs in advertising, at dailies and weeklies, and with television (except for cable) could not say.

Public relations graduates are different from others in a key way. They don't necessarily seek and find jobs in public relations. In fact, in 2008, only 17% of them took a job in traditional public relations, compared with 24% of the advertising students who went into advertising agencies and departments, 30% of the telecommunications students who went into that field, and 23% of the print journalism students who went into newspapers or wire services. Public relations students are more likely to say they are doing communications of some sort in jobs outside traditional employment circles than are any of the other students. In 2008, 38% of the public relations students said they found "communications" work that was not with a public relations department or agency, not with an advertising department or agency, not with a newspaper or wire service, and not with a telecommunications company.

The evidence is that the public relations students are more entrepreneurial, less tied to traditional definitions of what is communication work, and more flexible about what kinds of work they actually do. They did better in the job market in 2008, and that may say a lot about the future of employment for graduates of the nation's journalism and mass communications programs.

6. Implications for Research

As Deutz (2007) has observed, the literature on news construction, with its heavy emphasis on organizational constraints, is likely to have limited relevance to a future in which journalistic work is less likely to be carried out in organizational settings. Recent empirical studies of newswork have remained focused largely on established media settings (Phillips, Singer, Vlad & Becker, 2009; Reich, 2009). Future research will need to shift to the more entrepreneurial environment of the individual and citizen journalist. The interaction between these

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two types of news workers will become particularly important. Work in this area is only in its infancy (Lowrey, 2006; Singer, 2006; Wall, 2006).

Because of the weakened institutional setting, the characteristics of the journalists themselves will become more important. In an organizational setting, the individual characteristics of the journalists can be muted. Journalists are assigned stories by more established managers. Editors handle and modify copy the journalists produce before it appears in print or online.

Among the characteristics of the journalists that are likely to be particularly important in this new setting are the skill sets available and employed. A journalist with expertise in the medical sciences is more likely to be able to cover developments in health care than is a journalist without this training. A journalist with an understanding of economics is more likely to be able to write about that topic. A journalist with a background in the performing arts is going to be more able to write meaningfully about theater.

It also should be the case that a journalist with a background in the law and history of the occupation will address legal and ethical issues differently from a journalist without this training. And a journalist with knowledge about the consequences of media messages and of the limitations of news gathering techniques will produce different kinds of stories than a journalist without this expertise.

These same arguments can be made about the public relations or advertising practitioners. Their work has come under less scrutiny in research than is true for journalists. The exception is where public relations work has had impact on news production (Cameron, Sallot & Curtin, 1996). Clearly more needs to be known about the work of public relations and advertising practitioners.

7. Implications for Communication Education

Becker (2008) has suggested a number of possible activities that journalism and mass communication programs should consider undertaking in this new occupational environment. Chief among these is credentialing. Universities might want to put more emphasis on degrees and titles. Universities might want to create easy verification of these degrees via Internet links. The universities might even become proactive in listing people who have degrees from their programs in easily accessible data bases.

Stronger distinctions might be made between the American first degree, the bachelor's degree, and the second, the master's degree. And there might be some consideration of what a doctorate degree might contribute to the non-academic occupational world.

Rather than a single certification, universities might develop a series of certifications, such as in open records searches or in data base analysis. Students might be certified as trained in editing procedures or with graphic design software. Journalism students might be certified as having special training in health issues, and public relations students might be certified as expert in conducting and evaluating health campaigns.

The communication curricula are almost certainly going to need to focus more on the skills of entrepreneurial operation. All communicators are going to need to know how to survive as small businesses. They are going to need to know the skills to maneuver in a very competitive environment in which their own skill sets will be challenged and mimicked by

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others. Here the public relations and advertising market experience is likely to be particularly informative.

In the past, journalists have not worried much about the audience for their products. They have relied on the organization where they did their work to assemble the audience. Without the organization, the journalists are going to need to understand how to create and manage an audience. Here, too, public relations and advertising have an advantage. They have not had ready access to an audience for their messages in the past. They already have a heightened sensitivity to audiences and the techniques for gaining access to them.

Journalism and mass communication programs in the United States have considered journalism to be their core, since it is from that journalism heart that the curricula in public relations and, to a lesser extent, advertising have grown. It might well be the case that the academic enterprise needs to examine more fully the experiences of those who have been working in public relations and advertising and make some of those experiences the centerpiece of curricular reform and certification.

If all communication occupations are becoming more individualized, in at least some sense more deprofessionalized, and more open to amateurs, those parts of the field with more experience in such an environment could provide guidance for the future.

Communication education, at a minimum, needs to be aware of the open-source world in which future graduates will work. Everyone can create and edit code. Everyone can make entries into an encyclopedia. Everyone can issue public relations releases and develop advertisements. And everyone can produce news.

In such an environment, communication education either helps to provide the skills for success and for differentiation of the successful from the amateur, or it will contribute to the demise of the communication occupations as they exist today. Such inaction could result in the creation of the communication hobby–an activity for which there is no longer any real financial compensation.

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Nancy SHERMAN*

Mentoring Graduate Students' Career Development

Abstract

The importance of the mentoring relationship to the professional and career development of graduate students has been well documented. Research across academic disciplines suggests that mentoring has professional and personal benefits for both the mentor and the protégé. Yet, all graduate students are not mentored and many academics do not mentor graduate students. In this paper, mentoring is defined and reasons for the lack of mentoring are explored as well as steps that could resolve potential barriers for mentoring. A review of recent research on the mentoring relationship for graduate students provides ample evidence of the benefits of mentoring for all involved. A model for academic institutions is proposed that delineates responsibilities for the faculty member, the academic department and the graduate student in the mentoring process.

Key words: mentoring, carreer development, graduate students.

The concept and naming of mentoring originated in Homer's *Odyssey*. Mentor was an Ithacan noble and a friend of Ulysses. When Ulysses undertook his journey, he entrusted Mentor, his wise counselor, with the care, education, and protection of his son, Telemachus (Johnson, 2002). A current definition of mentoring based on recent research in academia is provided by W. B. Johnson (2007a). "Mentoring is a personal relationship in which a more experienced (usually older) faculty member or professional acts as a guide, role model, teacher, and sponsor of a less experienced (usually younger) graduate student or junior professional" (p. 20). A mentor provides the protégé or mentee with knowledge, advice, challenge, counsel and support of the protégé's pursuit of becoming a full member of a particular profession (Johnson, 2002). Mentors in a study of agricultural education professors were described as typically being between eight and 20 years older than protégés, usually held the rank of full professors and were considered to have had "considerable influence in their professional field." (Eastman & Williams, 1993, p. 74).

The importance of mentoring graduate students' career development has been well documented. The mentoring outcome literature reveals many of the benefits of being mentored. One study reviewing outcome studies of mentoring in the fields of management and education, conducted by Russell and Adams (1997) concluded that identifying with a mentor should be considered a major developmental task of early career due to the invaluable benefits offered. Johnson (2002) states that "a good mentor discerns a protégés personal and vocational dream, endorses this as realistic, and offers an environment conducive to facilitating this dream" (p. 89).

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At the graduate level, studies cite the benefits of mentoring as: development of professional skills, enhancement of confidence and professional identity, scholarly productivity, enhanced networking, dissertation success, and satisfaction with one's doctoral program. After graduate education, research shows that the benefits of mentoring continue. Postdoctoral benefits include increased income, more rapid promotion, career "eminence", willingness to mentor others, and increased career satisfaction and achievement. (Johnson, 2002; Wright & Wright, 1987; Forehand, 2008). Dr. Maureen Estevez (2009), writing about her mentoring experience as a doctoral student at the Boston University School of Medicine states, "High-quality mentorship is crucial to graduate education. Just ask any student about his or her experience, and you will invariably find yourself in a conversation about the advisor. In fact, apart from the dissertation, I would say that the advisor-student relationship is the single unifying component of all doctoral degree programs across all academic disciplines" (p. 2). Although Estevez used the term advisor, she is describing the role of the mentor.

Even the mentor benefits from the mentoring relationship, some substantially. Studies of mentors describe extrinsic rewards such as greater research productivity, greater networking, and enhanced professional recognition when their mentee or protégé is productive. Several important intrinsic rewards were noted as well. These include enhanced satisfaction with their own careers, enhancement of creative energy from collaborating with protégés and a sense of generativity, an important developmental task for adults (Wright & Wright, 1987; Johnson, 2002).

In the face of evidence of the benefits of mentoring for both individuals in the relationship, the question then becomes why all graduate students are not mentored and what can be done to increase effective mentoring of graduate students. In a study of psychology graduate programs, Johnson (2002) found that although mentoring clearly benefits those mentored, the mentors themselves and the profession of psychology, relatively few graduate psychology professors ever receive training or supervision in the art and science of mentoring. Graduate school faculty who are pressed with demands for research, teaching and committee work seldom initiate mentor relationships and rarely consider methods of explicitly structuring and managing those mentoring relationships that do exist. If mentoring was recognized by the university as an essential part of the professor's productivity, and training and promotion in the role of mentor provided, these incentives would serve to reduce the obstacles that effective mentoring faces.

Obstacles to successful mentoring of graduate students occur at the organizational level, departmental level and at the individual or relational level (Johnson, 2002). Organizationally, the system of tenure and promotion may inhibit faculty from taking a more active mentoring role, particularly if mentoring is not recognized as a valued component of the academician's productivity. In addition, student-faculty ratios, if high, mean there are not enough qualified faculty to act as mentors. In psychology, Johnson (2002) notes a discrepancy in reported rates of mentoring between what students report and what program administrators report. Administrators report higher rates of mentoring than do students and Johnson suggests that administrators may be mistaking advising for mentoring.

At the departmental level, obstacles to mentoring include lack of reward or incentive for faculty members to take on the mentoring role. Dickinson and Johnson (2000) found that although 41% of programs studied offer weight toward promotion for excellent mentors, only 14% offered reduced course loads and 5% offered financial reward. Johnson (2002)

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found that some departments may foster competition rather than cooperation among graduate students and that this type of atmosphere can inhibit faculty from investing in student success. Individual or relational obstacles may include erroneous beliefs on the part of the mentor about their role, personality traits that do not promote successful interpersonal relationships and differing expectations between mentors and protégés regarding the mentoring role (Johnson, 2002).

Strategies for overcoming obstacles to mentoring are suggested by Johnson (2002) as well. He suggests that organizations and departments make mentoring potential a criteria in hiring new faculty members. In addition, faculty should be prepared for the mentoring role through training and should be specifically rewarded for effective mentoring. Additional strategies include preparing student's to be mentored and measuring the outcomes of mentoring. Many universities have published guidelines for mentoring that address some of these strategies (e.g., The Ohio State University Graduate School, 2007; University of Michigan Rackham School of Graduate Studies, 2009).

The Division of Graduate Studies at Jackson State University (2009) in Mississippi has published what they title "Best Practices for Mentoring Graduate Students" which includes guidelines for the faculty, academic department and graduate students and serves as a model for effective mentoring programs. Some of the best practices for faculty include the following:

– Foster the intellectual development of students during their educational programs and while conducting their research.

– Provide perspective to students on the scope and emerging trends in their field of study.

– Inspire students to think independently, critically, and creatively.

– Acquaint students with strategies for accessing literature and related materials that are fundamental to the field of study.

– Know the programmatic requirements and deadlines (including selection of appropriate coursework) specified in the departmental handbook and catalog for graduate students and help students to meet them.

– Offer advice concerning the selection of a dissertation/thesis committee that affords relevant expertise as well as providing access to faculty members who can play a supportive mentoring role.

– Assist students in the selection/design of a timely and significant dissertation/thesis topic that has an appropriate scope.

– Evaluate and strive to resolve problems that students encounter during their graduate studies, and direct them to appropriate resources, as needed.

– Be cognizant of and responsive to the unique needs of international students.

– Inform students of funding opportunities, train them in proposal preparation, and encourage them to seek financial support.

– Establish and communicate clear expectations to students with regard to conducting research.

– Provide timely feedback, both written and oral, to students on their progress through constructive criticism and positive reinforcement.

– Encourage students to attend and present research in regional and national professional meetings, facilitate networking opportunities at the meetings, and teach the basics of oral presentation skills.

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– Help students understand the process of manuscript preparation, submission, and review, and provide appropriate authorship on manuscripts.

– Support students and graduates in matters related to career development.

The guidelines state that the graduate department/ program have responsibility for providing an environment in which students can receive a positive mentoring experience. The role of the program/department includes:

– Have clearly defined programmatic requirements available to all graduate students in the form of a departmental handbook, available as "hard-copy" and on-line. The departmental handbook should be issued to each graduate student as part of the department's orientation.

– Designate a specific individual to coordinate and oversee the administration of the program.

– Schedule meetings each semester with students to provide feedback and advice on program progress.

– Mediate disputes and help resolve conflicts experienced by graduate students.

– Provide access to faculty members with appropriate experience as mentors in different aspects of the graduate program, for example teaching, research, internships, and other discipline specific activities.

The guidelines for best practice also include Graduate students responsibilities for ensuring a positive mentoring relationship, as well as for meeting the requirements of the degree program. The guidelines state that it is the role of the student to:

– Know and follow the programmatic requirements and deadlines (including selection of appropriate coursework) specified in the departmental handbook and catalog for graduate students.

– Understand the mentorship process and seek out appropriate mentors.

– Carefully consider the advice and counsel obtained from the mentor.

– Recognize the constraints and other demands on faculty and staff.

– Understand the standards of ethical/moral behavior within the discipline, including research activities and act in accord with those standards.

One area in which mentoring plays a vital role is in the career development of the graduate student. This process of career development is an informal one that occurs throughout the graduate program. Initially the mentor can help the protégé define career aspirations. The mentor asks the question, "What do you want to be?" and provides support for the protégé to reach these goals such as connecting the protégé with financial support, dissertation funding, and publication support (Wright& Wright, 1987). One of the most important functions of the mentor in promoting the career development of the protégé is networking. Numerous studies have documented the importance of professional networks in career development (Hall & Harrington, 2007; Mulgani, 2005; Tullier, 1998). Productivity has been shown to be significantly correlated with the number of colleagues researchers have. Mentors can help establish a professional network for the protégés by bringing them to professional meetings and introducing them to colleagues and important people in the profession.

Mentors can increase the visibility of protégés by including them in intellectual discussions with peers, and treating them as equals within a professional organization. By using his or her network connections both in academia and in the profession, mentors serve as sources

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of information for open positions and recommending their protégés. In many cases, mentors guide students in CV preparation and job interviewing strategies.

As stated previously, mentoring has benefits for the mentor as well. One of these is in the career development of the mentor. Protégés can be instrumental in advancing or rejuvenating their mentor's careers. A current protégé and I have presented our research at several national conferences. Her enthusiasm and creativity have indeed rejuvenated one of my areas of research interest. By providing technical support or new ideas, enthusiasm, and new knowledge to the working relationship, a protégé can heighten a mentor's productivity. Mentoring can increase professional visibility and reputation if protégés are active and productive members within a professional organization. Many professional organizations have special membership rates and activities geared specifically for inclusion of graduate students. These students then share their mentor's story with their colleagues, enhancing the professional reputation of the mentor. In addition, professional organizations such as the American Counseling Association and Association for Counselor Education and Supervision have prestigious awards for "Outstanding Mentor." The mentor's role in the career development of protégés is seen as leadership ability among colleagues. In addition, many mentors derive a sense of professional identity and personal satisfaction from aiding the career development of young professionals.

In conclusion, research reveals that the mentoring process is of great benefit to both mentors and protégés. A quality relationship can enhance the career and professional development of both mentors and protégés. In addition, if properly developed, the mentoring process can contribute significantly to the dynamic development of a profession. As one mentor states, "By not mentoring we are wasting talent. We educate and train, but don't nurture. We should be concerned with capitalizing on the young professional's talent."

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Experiential Learning in the Classroom: A Tale across Two Borders

Abstract

According to Investment Business Weekly (Kauffman Foundation… 2008) entrepreneurs will become the vital force that will revive the US as well as stabilize the global economy. However, entrepreneurs are not made they are formed through experiences such as an experiential experience in the university setting (Tan and Ng, 2006). As a result of this, Entrepreneurship education has been adopted in universities such as California State University San Bernardino that has ranked in the top five since its inception 4 years ago. Experiential methods such as cases, client projects where students develop marketing and/or advertising or marketing research projects and plans, and client competitions have been common in the US for some time. As opposed to the US, universities have been limited in experiential pedagogy in other countries around the world. Entrepreneurial education has been introduced in Romanian universities in the early '90s and has developed more through experiential learning pedagogy than pure entrepreneurial education. The paper discusses entrepreneurial education in the US and Romania in a contrastive approach in the case of two universities: the California State University San Bernardino and the Al. I. Cuza University of Iasi.

Key words: pedagogy, experiential learning, business education, entrepreneurship, informational interview.

1. Introduction

According to Investment Business Weekly (Kauffman Foundation… 2008)) entrepreneurs will become the vital force that will revive the US as well as stabilize the global economy. However, entrepreneurs are not made they are formed through experiences such as an experiential experience in the university setting (Tan and Ng, 2006). Moreover, business schools are not geared to creating entrepreneurs but rather an employee such as a middle manager (Tan and Ng, 2006).

As a result of this, Entrepreneurship education has been adopted in universities such as California State University San Bernardino that has ranked in the top five since its inception 4 years ago. In that program students learn and build their skills ultimately to develop and present a business plan to venture capitalists (www.iece.csusb.edu). Skills sets learned include advertising, taxation, consulting, innovation, retailing and partnerships to name a few. Entrepreneurship is viewed as a mindset rather than a concentration (www.iece.csu sb.edu experiential in nature, and is prevalent among non-business and business majors alike. (Levenburg, Lane and Schwarz, 2006),

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As opposed to the US, universities have been limited in experiential pedagogy in other countries around the world. According to Gray (2006), almost 2,000 schools offer the ultimate in experiential pedagogy in entrepreneur courses. Experiential methods such as cases, client projects where students develop marketing and/or advertising or marketing research projects and plans, and client competitions have been common in the US for sometime. However, this is not the case in the European Union ("Special Issue on Entrepreneurship… 2004). The European Commission recently issued an action plan to have member states introduce entrepreneurship in their programs ("Special Issue on Entrepreneurship… 2004).

Entrepreneurship as a major started in the 1940's in business schools in the US. Journals of Entrepreneurship emerged in the 60's and currently there are approximately 150 programs offered as majors or minors at institutions of higher education in the US (Levenburg, Lane and Schwarz, 2006). In their study, Levenburg, Lane, and Schwarz (2006) found that many students of within and outside of the business school yearn to become entrepreneurs and that business schools need to look beyond their own students to grow such programs. Tan and Ng (2006) found that characteristics of established entrepreneurship programs emphasized experiential learning or the "learn by doing" model and that the finalized product is a business plan rather than an exam. Although taking on risk cannot be taught, the authors suggest to "demystify entrepreneurship by giving students a broad feeling of what it is like to develop a business" (Tan and Ng, 2006, pg 416). One way is through simulations while another is problem solving.

Even though entrepreneurship is a common course in many universities, the Consortium for Entrepreneurship in the US plans to introduce the subject in every school curriculum, create an Entrepreneurship Week that focuses on entrepreneurs at the national, state and local levels, finance Entrepreneurship Education Innovation Fund and share information through creative programs that are emerging all over the country (Consortium for Entrepreneurship…, 2006). The Consortium identified five stages that included 1) gaining basic skills, identifying career options, and understanding economics and free enterprise; 2, Competency Awareness that includes discovering entrepreneurships competencies and problems of employees; 3) Creative Application by learning entrepreneurship competencies, applying occupational training and learning how to create business; 4) Start Up that includes becoming self-employed and developing policies and procedures to train new employees; and, finally 5) Growth that includes solving business problems efficiently and expanding existing business.

Given the socialist nature of countries outside the US particularly in Europe, the "Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education", was started to set up to change the mindset in society to that of entrepreneurial in nature. The Agenda was a result of the "Entrepreneurship Education in Europe: Fostering Entrepreneurial Mindsets through Education and Learning in October 2006 ("The Oslo Agenda for… 2006). According to Robertson and Collins (2003) 61 percent of students at Leeds Metropolitan University in the UK want to run their own business.

However, this is particularly relevant for the transitioning economies in Eastern Europe such as Romania. According to Sitnikov (2007) the needs of a transition economy are very different than that of a planned economy and society. There is a lack of confidence in such societies that negatively affects entrepreneurship development (Hansemark, 1998). Old school thinking still prevails in universities where students are lectured on theory and descriptive subjects and tested at the end of the term. Projects are not service oriented as in client-based marketing or advertising plans. A more proactive approach would contribute to the growth of the

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economy when students are allowed to apply and synthesize material in experiential learning environments. Moreover, graduate studies revolve around literature reviews rather than quantitative or qualitative research where implications have market relevance.

This paper illustrates two institutions that have integrated experiential exercises in the classroom. The first will be at California State University, San Bernardino and the second at Alexander I. Cuza in Iasi, Romania. By a comparison of the two schools integration of experiential pedagogy, instructors will have a continuum of possibilities for the classroom.

2. Experiential Training at CSUSB

Introducing experiential exercises in the classroom is gaining ground in the US and abroad in business education as the emphasis on developing entrepreneurs of tomorrow grows. In experiential learning the instructor "delegates, consults, facilitates" and empowers student learning (Shields, 1997, p. 2). In business schools common experiential approaches include case studies, client projects, shadowing programs, student laboratories and internships.

Case Studies

Cases allow for classroom discussion and insight into a situation and developing a solution for it. Many of the cases are provided by companies such as MacDonald's for use in the classroom. Moreover, development of cases for the classroom is so vital to business education that a journal, *Business Case Journal* is published to articulate the educational process involved with this pedagogy.

Case studies are used commonly in graduate education more so than undergraduate to promote theoretical framing and hypotheses testing. At the graduate level, cases used provide questions to direct the discussion in the classroom. Students learn from the ideas presented by others and develop a mindset that there are multiple solutions possible with advantages and disadvantages of each. Ultimately, the instructor's role is to help students identify these solutions given the situation and recommend one.

Group Projects

Another experiential exercise is client projects. According to Ivins (1997), the "real world" nature of projects seems to motivate students to a higher level of learning as opposed to lecture, resulting in higher quality projects. In many business courses, the subject lends itself to client projects such as marketing and advertising campaigns for introductory marketing and advertising courses. Students work in teams to develop a marketing or advertising plan for a client and learn about not only working as a team but also with a real business. This works to benefit the students and the institution by providing a service to the community. Moreover, students gain networking skills and increase their exposure to professionals in their field. Real world projects provide students with real constraints as well as opportunities for a business.

However, group projects are not for everyone. According to Razzouk, Seitz and Rizkallah (2003), students are offered to work on the project in a group or as an individual with the same

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expectations required of all. Further, students are given the opportunity to select their own group if desired as opposed to the instructor assigning them resulting higher involvement by all members. One problem that arises in assigning group projects is when the majority of the work is done by a single student and other members get a grade for doing nothing. Students often resent having to work in a group for this sole reason; however, by implementing confidential peer evaluations, those that don't contribute receive a lower grade.

Procuring enough companies or organizations to participate as clients for students projects is often a "double-edge sword" for instructors. Although many companies would invite the chance to have a "free" analysis of their business along with recommendations, it is imperative that client companies reimburse student expenses in developing the report. It is better to involve a company that truly feels that the students' work will contribute to their operations and are willing to consider implementing their recommendations (Razzouk, Seitz, Rizkallah, 2003). Moreover, for companies that are willing to be involved, not only should cover students expenses should be recommended but also contribute to the instructor's department. This strategy has proved fruitful in developing long term ties between the community and the university.

Shadow Days

Another experiential technique employed in classes is a shadow program. In a shadow program students spend a day with an individual in the field and follow them around or "shadow" them for several hours or a day. Not only do students gain insight into the day-to-day operation in select positions, the professionals enjoy the opportunity to interact with them. According to Seitz (1993, p. 37) "shadow days" benefit students' educational experience by "1) bringing reality to what a chosen career path is about, 2) exposure to alternative positions in a career, 3) aiding the retention of textbook information, 4) creating excitement about chosen careers, and, 5) aiding in building a professional network."

In developing a shadow program for a class, the instructor needs to consider the objectives to be accomplished by the program as well select the companies determine the activities and/or involvement, schedule dates and times and assess student learning. Some of the learning objectives that can be accomplished through a shadow program include application of the concepts introduced in class, experience of alternative career paths, retention of textbook material, and expansion of students' professional networks. After the objectives have been set the selection of companies to participate can be difficult. Working through various professional organizations such as the local chamber of commerce and the American Marketing Association, community organizations such as Rotary or through personal contacts are effective methods to identify companies to work with. Moreover, seek larger companies as opposed to small businesses since they can accommodate more students and more varied career opportunities.

Oftentimes the professor is a member of a local chapter of a professional organization and conduct the shadow program through it. Again it enhances familiarity of the real world of business and builds the student's network of professionals. Although the shadow program was done in a class of 50 students, smaller classes are easier for the professor to set up, yet serve as a valuable experience for students in business.

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Depending on the nature of the subject and what companies are able to do the activities need to be chosen for the program. Activities can include face-to-face interviews, working with an individual in their work environment, presentations to student groups, and/or a combination there of. According to Seitz (1993) large companies are able to pair students with individuals whereas small businesses may prefer to do presentations to a student group. When scheduling shadow days it is best that they are conducted during the course time since many students work on the days that they are not in class. Finally, it is imperative to access student learning either through surveys or reports. This not only helps students organize their experience regarding the value to their chosen career but also aids the instructor in developing the program for the future.

The Store

Another experiential opportunity that has been done is the development of a store as a learning laboratory for students. "The Store" was a laboratory for students enrolled in retailing and merchandising courses in a marketing department. This laboratory was a functional enterprise where students were responsible for getting and pricing the merchandise, inventory control, management, accounting and inventory valuation, virtually all aspects of operating a clothing and sundry shop. The objectives of the student run store included 1) gaining working knowledge of the terminology pertinent to the field of merchandising and retailing; 2) gaining a working knowledge of the merchandise planning process, merchandise budgeting, pricing, unit planning and inventory control systems; 3) understanding the role and expectations of the buyer; and 4) applying this knowledge to the operation of a profitable retail store (Seitz and Razzouk, 2002).

The course incorporated lecture, homework assignments and lab work that included the operation of the store. Some class time was allocated to discussion of issues related to the store by department managers; however, for the most part, students were responsible for lecture, homework and hours in the store. From the lecture students learned about various concepts of retailing such as unit and dollar merchandise planning, open-to-buy, visual merchandising, merchandise accounting and operations.

Like a retail store, students played roles in various departments and supervisory positions such as store manager, operations manager, receiving, accounting, shrinkage, advertising and promotions, merchandising, human resources, and visual merchandising. Evaluation of student learning included homework assignments, the retail store operation report, and departmental peer and manager evaluations. According to Seitz and Razzouk (2002, p. 57) to "induce ownership and create a sense of realism, ten (10%) percent of division managers' grades were influenced by whether the store met its profit, gross margin and shrinkage goals." Specifically, the goals were as follows: gross margin 35 percent of better, gross profit of 10 or better, and an inventory shrinkage of two percent or less. These figures were determined based on guidelines set by national retail chains.

Internships

Finally, internships, either voluntary or part of a degree program, provide hands on training for students. Students enrolled in an internship have an instructor and an acceptable

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employer as verified by the internship coordinator. The student works part time at the employer's business and is evaluated at the end of the term by his immediate supervisor. Internships may or may not be paid; however, most students today desire a paid internship since many currently work and will have to curtail their hours at their regular job. This evaluation is sent to the internship coordinator. Additionally, the student writes a report outlining the experience and the information learned. For his experience, the evaluation of his employer and the written paper, the student is assigned a grade for the internship. Although internships provide a valuable opportunity for learning leadership and communication skills (Gault, Redington, and Schlager, 2000) they are not for everyone. The primary issue is today's students work while they are going to school so they don't have time to enroll. Moreover, most internships are focused in a single area and therefore, not exposed to all facets of the company's operations. Finally, internships, as opposed to client projects or a retail laboratory, do not empower students to affect the bottom line of a company's revenue, expenses and profit (Seitz and Razzouk, 2002).

3. Experiential Learning at UAIC – Interdisciplinary Approach

The Learning Model

The *Experiential Learning Theory* (ELT) defines learning as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb, 1984). The model developed by Kolb and Kolb is based on two modes of grasping experience "…Concrete experience (feeling) and Abstract Conceptualization (thinking) – and two related modes of transforming experience – Reflective Observation (reflecting) and Active Experimentation (acting) (Eickman, 2004). The learning model is composed of four elements: concrete experience, observation and reflection, the formation of abstract concepts and testing in new situations.

A variety of techniques putting into practice the experiential model have been implemented to test the model.. *Critical Practice Audit* suggested by S. Brookfield in his article *Assessing Critical Thinking* (Brookfield, 19997) is an experiential approach which helps learners engage in transformative learning by participating in action or practice-based learning tasks. Later, Ivey and Ivey created a five-stage interview structure including a wide range of interviewing skills. The model was intended to facilitate critical thinking and reflection in the context of face-to-face interviews. The study suggests that interviewing setting triggers transformative learning. The stages of this model include rapport, gathering information, determining outcomes, generating alternatives and transfer of learning. The stages create the framework that the learner/interviewer may follow to critically reflect upon the field of practice.

Experiential learning models have been incorporated into the teaching of business communication in the late 90s with the introduction of new innovative teaching into traditional curriculum dominated by static, teacher-centered in-class learning. The new paradigm put the learner into the center of the learning process. The experiential learning model brought into class experience outside the immediate learning environment of students. Task-based learning model used in teaching Business Communication at the Al. I. Cuza Business School adopted the experiential learning concepts. TBL provides appropriate learning environment for developing thinking and study skills as well as academic concepts. Business Communication

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teaching in Romanian higher education has been coupled with knowledge production, research skills development and problem solving. Today, learners face new challenges, such as real time communication, on-line learning, life-long learning, and substantial use of technology. The integration of multi-modal learning provided the context for experiential learning in higher education as instruction in Romanian universities moved from traditional classroom to a variety of learning contexts: on-line, in-company, etc. Below are described the activities built around interviewing skills which use both the reflective approach and a more practical five-stage model integrated into Business Communication course for second year undergraduate students.

Informational Interview Format and In-class Scenario

The five-stage interview structure called "critical practice audit" was used as a theoretical tool for developing a set of tasks which introduce and develop interviewing skills. Business Communication program follows a theme-based approach, i.e. familiar business topics are used to introduce specialized vocabulary, professional skills and elements of professional writing.

The aim of an informational interview is that of developing a better understanding of a target field of practice. The undergraduate students with little professional experience carried out preliminary secondary research, formulated interview questions, conducted the interview, shared feedback with their peers in an in-class presentation and wrote a final report.

In the first stage, the concept of *critical reflection* has been employed to set the research stage of activities in a pre-task context. Brookfield states that "[critical reflection] involves adults in recognizing and researching the assumptions that undergird their thoughts and actions" (Brookfield, 1997). A set of assumptions on the nature of work, industry developments, practice and daily activities were generated using brainstorming sessions and mind-mapping technique. Each student produced a set of assumptions and carried out desk research in order to collect information for developing a more informed, critical opinion about a professional activity they decided to investigate. This preliminary assessment of the field ensured the purpose and direction of the interview.

Students formulated a short list of five to ten questions, such as: *How did you come to work in this field/industry position? What career path did you take to get where you are? What are your duties and responsibilities? What qualifications are required for this position? How will your current position lead to future advancement?*

The interviewing stage requires a set of analytical competencies: listening, formulating, paraphrasing, summarizing, etc. For example, students could start with an open question "How did the morning negotiation go?" to establish initial rapport with the person they are interviewing. Recent literature discusses the importance of rapport in running informational interviews. Chrobak-Munoz gives an overview of two of the most important skills in creating a good rapport, namely, a*ttending or self-closure* skills defined as "… appropriate body language that shows interest and attention on the part of the interviewer, while self-closure is used in order to model critical reflection on one's practice" (Chrobak-Munoz, 2000). The common assumption is that the process of sincere sharing will stimulate learners to examine their own skills in their later professional life. A variety of pre-interview tasks were presented and practiced in class around note-taking, generalizing and summarizing.

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The goal of the fourth stage is that of reflecting critically and providing meaningful feedback in front of their peers by means of a Power Point presentation. Students were given a lecture on PowerPoint Presentation design and were also involved in additional activities which focused on language of presenting and referencing as well as formulating sample questions for developing a coherent reflection on the outcomes of the interview.

After the interview, students compared their assumptions with the answers received and used their notes to provide a summary and coherent feedback in an informative and reflective manner. Students organized feedback in the form of questions and answers, important points, summary or essay genre. Students gave a presentation in front of their peers in a critical, filtered manner. Students' presentations were followed by a peer-to-peer feedback session where they assessed both content and delivery of each presentation. The activity revealed that a high level of student engagement produced better and more informed presentations. Even though Business Communication textbooks contain a wide range of role plays and case studies, these proved to be less interesting and engaging due to the fact that pre-experience students lack the overall understanding of the simulated work environment.

Finally, a written follow-up activity was developed to introduce the report genre. The five-stage model proved to be successful in creating a learning setting referred to as *transformative learning*, thus helping students in transferring the acquired skills into a written report format.

Teaching and Learning Outcomes

With the technological development of Romania, learners will have a greater need for experiential learning which will prepare them better for the demands of the more dynamic labour market. Interviewing skills format attempted to develop a set of skills from an interdisciplinary perspective. Research, interviewing, presentation and writing skills have been successfully integrated into a portfolio of activities for pre-experience undergraduate students. The students were provided opportunities to research independently a workplace environment which helped them in developing a genuine, critical experience-based opinion on the world of practice. As currently research skills are not given a central role, the activity proved to be successful in engaging students in choosing a subject after researching and studying it thoroughly.

Interviewing stage of the activity transformed into a powerful pedagogical tool for practicing question formulating, developing rapport and engaging the interviewee. Learners perceived this stage as being both engaging and empowering. In terms of teacher involvement, the interview was prepared by the teacher in a set of in-class simulation tasks.

Furthermore, students worked on a PowerPoint presentation where a critical and highly reflective feedback was shared with their peers. This activity created a learner-responsible environment where students were assessed by both their teacher and peers. The fact that students were put in a position where both language and content were equally important generated high student involvement. Many students focused more on content, thus failing to focus more on their accuracy and specialized vocabulary. We believe that these students were given opportunities to critically reflect on the field of practice and their future careers.

Finally, a set of follow-up written activities were designed to develop students' professional writing abilities. Learners chose one of the most widespread workplace genres: email, memorandum, business letter and short report to present the interview outcomes in a structured

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format. Targeted workplace writing is frequently taught and practiced in isolation, without prior preparation and guidance of learners. The method addressed this issue and offered an in-class environment where writing becomes experiential, i.e. *based on students' own experience in an authentic environment*. The experiment built around a set of transferable skills showed that even non-native learners are able to develop critical thinking skills targeted at the workplace and adopt learning techniques borrowed from other disciplines.

4. Final Remarks

The evaluation of experiential training across cultures provides students with a multitude and variety of hands on education that will help foster an entrepreneurial perspective. Further, from an academic perspective, such an exchange provides opportunities for instructors to integrate experiential exercises that are suitable for their courses in the classroom In many countries in Europe and, particularly in Romania, further integration of experiential instruction is needed to spur a fundamental shift in business education to promote an entrepreneurial spirit among graduates. The greater role of higher education in changing the face of the EU and elsewhere demands a new pedagogical perspective as purported by the Oslo agenda. Business education in the university setting is no longer a means to acquire information and learn but to apply and build a market economy that benefits all.

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Dynamics in the Internationalization of Higher Education at the Global Level and Specific Trends in Romania[1]

Abstract

The paper focuses on several directions that manifest at a global level in the area of internationalization of higher education, together with their associated phenomena and specific activities, as they arise from a comparative analysis of the higher education systems in the states with the most important developments in the field. The analysis focuses on the way the mobility of students, faculty and institutions along with the use of information and communication technologies to influence the offer and demand of higher education services on the global market.

Key words: higher education, internationalization, mobility, ICT, global trends.

1. Introduction

A record increase in mobility in academic education, in the encouragement of programs taught in foreign languages, in the wider range of international cooperation in order to guarantee a larger degree of convergence of public policies in the field of higher education is shown in several recent studies (OECD, 2008; UNESCO and the Institute for Statistics, 2009). Analyzing the dynamics of internationalization, forecasts for the next 10-20 years are placing higher education on one of the top positions in the rankings of the main industries with the highest potential for growth and interaction on a global scale, considering it an important instrument, with political, diplomatic, cultural and economic attributes.

Developments during the last three decades in the area of information and communication technologies that have catalyzed, on one hand, the increased use of the multi-media at a level that exceeds national borders and, on the other hand, the growing mobility of people worldwide, have led to an unprecedented intensification of social interactions between different political, economic and cultural entities at a global level. This important evolution, which some call globalization, while others call it internationalization, could not have left unchanged the field of higher education, bringing along wide-reaching developments of the field. However, we need to acknowledge that international dimension of higher education is not

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specific to our times alone. In fact, specific to our times in this respect is the new dynamics of the phenomenon and its new meanings.

The paper focuses on several directions that manifest at a global level in the area of internationalization of higher education, together with their associated phenomena and specific activities, as they arise from a comparative analysis of the higher education systems in the states with the most important developments in the field. The analysis focuses on the way the mobility of students, faculty and institutions along with the use of information and communication technologies to influence the offer and demand of higher education services on the global market, taking into account the progress made by different countries by promoting offshore education, on one hand, or by understanding to support their cultural values and languages worldwide by offering substantial governmental financing, on the other hand.

2. World Dynamics and Trends of Student and Teacher Mobility in Higher Education

Physical mobility of students and teachers across national borders represents the traditional form of the early internationalization of higher education. The term international mobility covers today a large variety of initiatives and types of actions: from intra-continental mobility to mobility between the regions of the world, from the mobility based on agreements and / or inter-university exchanges to the individual mobility of the free mover, from the horizontal mobility (between similar programs of the same cycle of study) to the vertical mobility (continuing one's education with a superior cycle of study in an institution located in a country different from the one in which the student originally graduated from the previous cycle), from short-term mobility, to the mobility focused on cycles of study, from the mobility for internships and research stages, to the mobility for the participation in summer schools or modules of study conducted in order to develop new skills or professional competencies, etc.

Regional networks (such as CEEPUS; BSUN) or national funding schemes with public or mixed financing were created for the support of international student mobility, based on the positive experience of the European program TEMPUS, ERASMUS, etc.

It is worth pointing out that one of the major factors which undermines the cross-border mobility of students, teachers and researchers over 45 years can sometimes be the unsatisfactory level of knowledge of widely spoken European languages.

Moreover, only at the London Ministerial Conference of the Bologna Process, in 2007, it was emphasized the need for adequate resolution of the portability of scholarships and bank loans for studies, the portability of health insurance for sickness, and, respectively, of the social insurance for the entitlement to pension of teachers and researchers who have performed throughout their career international mobility missions.

Last but not least, the scrutiny of certain national security agencies restrict, in some cases, the mobility associated with certain geographic regions – particularly those with potential terrorist risk – or the mobility associated with certain programs of study – such as atomic physics programs, chemistry of explosive substances, etc.

The most visible indicator of internationalization of higher education is the mobility of students. According to the OECD (2007), this indicator has seen a steady increase since the early '70s, reaching today a number of 2.8–2.9 million students enrolled worldwide in

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education programs conducted outside the country of origin. This upward trend will accelerate in coming years, according to a 2004 study of the British Council, coordinated by Anthony Böhm, *Vision 2020. Forecasting international student mobility: a UK perspective*, estimates that in 2020 the international mobility will reach 5.8 million students, while Philip G. Altbach and Robert M. Bassett (2004) estimated 8 million foreign students for 2025.

OECD data (2004) shows that 85% of global foreign students are studying in one of the OECD countries, six of which are major receiving countries: United States – 30%, UK – 14%, Germany – 13%, France – 9 %, Australia – 7%, Japan – 4%. Of these, the countries where programs are conducted in English manage to aggregate 54% of all foreign students worldwide.

Among the countries of origin of foreign students Asian countries (China, Korea, India, Japan, etc.) provide, by far, the highest number of international students – approximately 43%. In second place comes Europe, with 35%, Africa 12%, North America, with 7%, South Africa, with 7% and Oceania, with 1% (OECD, 2004).

Comparing the above data can draw some conclusions: (i) there is a certain type of imbalance in international mobility, imbalance that can be seen both in terms of global international flows (the Western space dominates the study destinations while the Asian geographic area is a leader in sending young people abroad for academic training), and also from a national perspective (U.S. proves to be an example for the worst imbalance between the incoming and outgoing students); (ii) there is also a serious imbalance of the language of instruction. Thus, over 54% of the international students are studying in countries where the official language is English. This adds to the fact that many countries have developed policies to attract foreign students mainly by promoting programs taught in English. It is therefore difficult to speak, in every sense of the word, about the encouragement of mobility based on multilingualism in the internationalization of higher education, given that over 60% of the foreign students are studying in English, and another 25-30% in French or German.

3. Offshore Courses and Programs as a Tool of Internationalizing Higher Education

"Trans-national education", "cross-border learning", "university extensions", "joined universities", "integrated programs", or "borderless education" are only some of the various terms describing forms of institutional mobility meant to offer study-abroad programs like offshore courses and programs – the outcome of a rather new development of an innovative type of international education services. The approval of the national official authorities in the beneficiary country is mandatory for these programs to function. The supplier of the trans-national academic services has to be accredited, so that the diploma awarded could receive national recognition, which opens the way for international recognition. The external provider of educational services meeting both its own organizational standards and the official quality requirements is the main element of internationalization, but represents also the legal and institutional framework that comes from providing educational services in a foreign country.

Australia. ICT and online education represent the main catalysts for the internationalization of the Australian universities. The new technologies have been implemented faster and better than in many other academic institutions worldwide, thus Australia was one of the first

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to provide offshore academic services. The Australian government started in 2003 a special initiative to support and promote the Australian universities that offered international academic programs. This plan came in response to the fact that, at the beginning of this century, education became the third major service exported by Australia, with over 20% of the programs taught offshore (AEI, 2009).

The Australian government continues this policy of support for the internationalization of higher education through the creation of dedicated governmental agencies (Australian Education International – AEI, Australian Universities Quality Agency – AUQA etc.) aimed to support, promote, provide data for the Australian academic providers and assure the quality of the educational process in order to increase and preserve the high quality brand of the Australian education (DEST, 2004; AEI, 2009).

Germany. In the same context, even since 2001, the Federal Government has been supporting the German institutions of higher education to develop their own educational programs abroad. Consequently, according to the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF, 2009), there have been so far 29 such projects for the internationalization of higher education institutions in Germany.

The Great Britain. British Council estimated ten years ago that the international online programs in higher education offered by universities in UK would have enrolled in 2010 more foreign students than the international students living in Great Britain. Open University, University of London, of Derby, Leicester, Northumbria and Kingston represent the main service providers in this area (British Council, 1999). Asia is the main geographic area targeted by these providers, and the most important field of study is Business (Garrett, 2004a, 2004b). The reality of the present seems to confirm these estimates, since offshore students enrolled in British higher education institutions represent over 57% of all foreign students in the United Kingdom (HESA, 2009).

The main support for the distribution of educational services is information and communications technology (ICT), online academic programs being developed by Open University and the Polytechnic University, which started in the last century with traditional distance learning programs, and have proved to be able to adapt quickly the new eLearning technologies (Wisker et al, 2003).

The United States. One of the most important American universities, The George Washington University in Washington DC, is investigating the opportunity of opening a branch in South Korea, after the revision of legislation in this country (Altbach & Knight, 2007). After 9/11 the threat of terrorism modified the visa requirements for studying in the USA. But these new obstacles did not prevent the American universities from continuing to develop programs dedicated to attract international students, especially by promoting online post-graduate academic programs. The support offered by the information and communication technologies (ICT) is used intensely within and for the growth of offshore higher education programs by one of the most dynamic and trendy American private universities – University of Phoenix, a member of the Apollo Group. (UofPHX, 2009).

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4. Dynamics and Trends of Higher Education Mobility and Internationalization in Romania

The number of foreign students in the Romanian universities began to increase significantly after the coming to power of Ceausescu in 1965, reaching the peak in 1981. In the early '80s Romania was one of the top 15 providers of academic services for students, with a total of 16,962 international students enrolled in 1981. This was possible because of the foreign policy pursued by the Communist Party, which sought to build international links with many third world countries (on the African continent, in Asia and South America).

After the events of 1989 and the overthrow of the communist regime, foreign students' interest for Romania started to increase again, but the apathy of the authorities and of the Romanian universities lowered the importance of Romania on the international market of higher education (Pricopie, 2004).

The fall of communism has added some new elements to the issue of internationalizing the Romanian campus but without much change in the number of foreign students. First, there has been a diversification of categories in the foreign students. Romania signed new bilateral agreements with other countries (Europe, USA, Canada etc.), which included the possibility of student exchanges and, in 1996, joined the Socrates program that contained an important component of academic exchanges (Erasmus). Also, every year since 1991, the Romanian government grants a significant number of scholarships to Romanians living in Moldova.

Another important step in the internationalization of the Romanian academic environment was the launch of university programs in languages other than Romanian. In the '90s, the Ministry of Education has created special academic programs in medicine, political science, public administration, engineering, etc., taught in English, German, French, Hungarian, etc.. In fact, exactly these programs were the ones to attract foreign students to Romania. Thus, in the 2002-2003 academic year their number reached 9,830 (1.69% of total students) (MERY, 2003).

The increasing trend continued, so that in the academic year 2006-2007, in Romania there were an estimated 10,400 foreign students, representing 1.3% of the total number of students enrolled in higher education (INS, 2008). Countries with the highest percentages of foreign students are Switzerland (16%), Australia (12%), Austria (11%), United Kingdom (11%), but considering the absolute number of students, the country with the highest number of foreign students is the U.S., followed by Britain, Germany and France (OECD, 2000).

Regions of origin for the foreign students coming to Romania since 2006-2007 have been Europe (69%), Asia (16.1%), Africa (13.2%) and North America, South Australia (1.7 %) (INS, 2008). Unfortunately, the global economic recession has not spared higher education and the number of international students currently enrolled in the Romanian universities has declined compared to previous years, reaching approx. 7,800 (MERI, 2009).

5. Conclusions

The information on the above five major countries with the most dynamic developments in the field of internationalization of the higher education conducts to three main conclusions, as follows.

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The effects of mobility (both of students and institutions) and the use of ICT seem to be two elements that represent the essence of the ultimate trends in the internationalization of higher education and they need to be further analyzed from statistic, impact and development perspectives. Therefore, the universities and countries that aim to have best results in the area need to focus more on these two important elements (mobility and ICT) that seem to have helped Australia, Germany or Japan to successfully compete on the global market of higher education with traditional providers like the United Kingdom or the United States.

However, there are also threats of this harsh competition that have to be taken into account: (i) the increase of the brain-drain process as many of the students tend to begin a new and many times better life in the host countries (ii) the excessive use of ICT in teaching and learning, which could lead to a lower quality and depersonalization of the educational act. The possible impact of these threats needs to be the subject of a separate, more thorough analysis.

In conclusion, although the number of foreign students presently enrolled in the Romanian universities is almost equal to that of 1977, Romania has been quite active in the internationalization of higher education. The number of foreign students involved in mobility programs and the number of foreign applicants who wish to study in Romania has continuously increased since 1990, as well as the mobility of academics, which is growing along due to the adjustment of the academic curricula to the realities of globalization

Note

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Developing the Tacit Knowledge. Potential through Education

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present some results of our research concerning tacit knowledge as a valuable intellectual capital potential, and how we can enhance its potential through education. Tacit knowledge is a rather fuzzy concept developed especially in the last years in connection with knowledge management and intellectual capital fields of research. Tacit knowledge represents personal knowledge obtained as a result of the direct interaction between individuals and their environment, which in time becomes experience. It contains also intuitions, feelings, hunches, talent and many other forms of knowledge which are non-rational. Tacit knowledge represents an excellent reservoir of intangible resources from which we can develop innovation capabilities if we create an adequate learning environment through education.

Key words: education, explicit knowledge, experience, tacit knowledge.

1. Introduction

The study of *knowledge* has increased in importance in the last years, with the emergence of the concept of *Knowledge Management*, and *Intellectual Capital*. Even though this concept has been approached by many researchers we believe that its conceptual limits have not been reached yet. Knowledge has become the heart of much of today's economy. People realized that through knowledge they can assure their success or not. Knowledge is believed to offer the competitive advantage that everyone, both companies and people, is intensely seeking.

Knowledge is one of the fundamental building blocks of the intellectual capital, both at the individual level and organizational level (Andriessen, 2004; Bratianu, 2008a). Most of the people believe that knowledge can be easily recognized when encountered but what people do not know is that in fact there are more types of knowledge that a person uses and applies this knowledge in different ways. Among the most important forms are the following: tacit knowledge, explicit knowledge, cognitive knowledge and emotional knowledge (Davenport & Prusak, 2000; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Polanyi, 1983). Knowledge can be considered as a field, like energy, and its different forms transform one into another like mechanical energy into thermal energy. Thus, we may consider knowledge dynamics to be very similar to thermodynamics (Bratianu, 2008b, 2009; Bratianu & Andriessen, 2008). The

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most fascinated form of knowledge is *tacit knowledge*, due to its hidden structure and nature. As Polanyi (1983) stressed in his landmark book, due to tacit knowledge each of us can know more than he/she can tell. For instance, "*We know a person's face, and can recognize it among a thousand, indeed a million. Yet we usually cannot tell how we recognize a face we know"* (Polanyi, 1983, p. 4).

The purpose of this paper is to investigate different meanings of the tacit knowledge, and suggest some practical ways of enhancing its potential through education, especially in the business field.

2. Understanding Tacit Knowledge

Analyzing a series of psychological experiments, Polanyi reached the conclusion that in many practical situations a person apprehends the relation between two known events, but only one of them can be expressed in an explicit way. The other one remains tacit (Polanyi, 1983). For instance, some individuals have been subjected to shock waves whenever some nonsense syllables have been shown to them. After repeating the experiment several times, these individuals learned to anticipate the shock waves, but they could not explain how they made it. This kind of experiments used by Polanyi as examples show the structure and nature of tacit knowing. It involves two things, two kinds of knowing, among which there exists a functional relation: "*we know the first term only by relying on our awareness of it for attending to the second*" (Polanyi, 1983, p. 10).

The analysis undergone by Polanyi introduced the fact that a person has more than one type of knowledge. There is the explicit knowledge, that can be described in formal language (manuals, expressions), the "know-what"; and there is the tacit knowing, the knowledge that cannot be easily transmitted and expressed. Tacit knowledge is the result of experience, subconsciously processed and integrated in our live. As shown by Bratianu (2006) any concept must have two components: explicit knowledge – obtained through a rational knowledge transfer, and tacit knowledge – obtained through a direct experience.

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) observed that within the Western culture there are two epistemological traditions in understanding and explaining knowledge. At the roots of one epistemology was Plato who stated that humans aspire toward eternal and perfect ideas through *pure reason*. Thus, knowledge is a result of ideal mental processes. On the other hand, empiricism claims that there is no a priori knowledge and that the only source of knowledge is *sensory experience*. These are ancient anticipation of what will later be called explicit and tacit knowledge. A significant contribution to the rational perspective has been made by Descartes, with his famous dictum: "*Cogito, ergo sum*". The development of science and technology in Europe has been based almost entirely on this kind of explicit knowledge and determinism. Even today, many authors refer only to the explicit knowledge, and use metaphors having tangibles as source domains: knowledge as a resource, knowledge as capital, and knowledge as asset (Andriessen & Boom, 2007). Within the metaphor *knowledge as resource,* knowledge is conceptualized as a resource that can be created, stored, moved and located. The metaphor *knowledge as capital* refers to knowledge that can be capitalized, measured and that brings a good investment, it is an asset that the company or companies must measure.

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Thus, the Western culture views knowledge as something that can be included in the accounting of an organization, like any other tangible asset.

If within the Western cultures the body and the mind are seen as two distinct entities, and only the mind is responsible for the creation and generation of knowledge, within the Eastern cultures the body and the mind are seen as one. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) speak now about the *oneness of body and mind*. In this perspective, "*Tacit knowledge is highly personal and hard to formalize, making it difficult to communicate or to share with others. Subjective insights, intuitions, and hunches fall into this category of knowledge. Furthermore, tacit knowledge is deeply rooted in an individual's action and experience, as well as in the ideals, values, or emotions he or she embraces*" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995, p.8).

Knowledge is not a substance outside, but merely innate knowledge that unifies the man with the world and the society (Andriessen & Boom, 2007). In Zen Buddhism the ultimate condition for practitioners is to obtain oneness of body and mind through meditation and equilibrated life style. "*The truth is that strength lies in the interior of the warrior: in his heart, his mind, and his spirit*" (Kaufman, 1994, p.8). Thus, tacit knowledge becomes very fuzzy and hard to comprehend, since each contribution coming from the heart, from the mind and from the spirit is beyond any boundaries and rational approach.

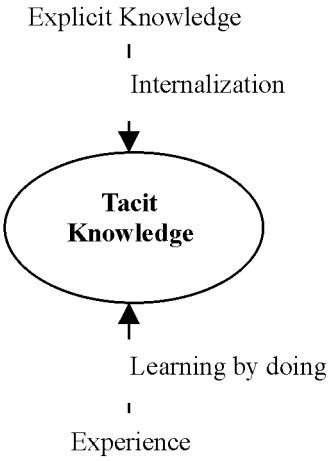
Making again a connection with the analysis undergone by Andriessen and Boom (2008) concerning the metaphorical conceptualization of knowledge, it can be observed that for the Eastern culture an adequate metaphor would be: *knowledge as thoughts and feelings*. This metaphor implies that knowledge is not a substance that can be easily controlled and manipulated, but it is tacit and resides in people's heads and bodies. Thus, we may say that the essence of Eastern knowledge spectrum resides in tacit knowledge.

Davenport and Prusak (2000) recognize that *"knowledge is a fluid mix of framed experience, values, contextual information, and expert insight that provides a framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information. It originates and is applied in the minds of workers."* (Davenport & Prusak, 2000, p. 5). Actually, they underline the fact that knowledge can be structured (explicit knowledge), and in the same time it is intuitive and hard to capture in words (tacit knowledge). Although the focus is on explicit knowledge, the authors stress also the importance of tacit knowledge, as experience, ground truth, judgment, values and beliefs. Things get complicated when we consider tacit knowledge at the organizational level, and the way in which it is integrated from individuals.

In our research of knowledge dynamics, we reached the conclusion that there are two main mechanisms of generating tacit knowledge, both at individual and at organizational levels. The first mechanism is concerning with *experience evaluation and processing*, and it has been developed for each individual through education and personal reflection. We shall emphasize the fact that experience is not proportional to the time spent in any activity, but to the variety of the whole spectrum of activities one performs in a given span of time. The second mechanism has been explained by Nonaka and Takeuchi in their famous book, and denominated *internalization.* Through internalization, explicit knowledge can be transformed into tacit knowledge. For instance, driving rules are learned from books and legislation, and then through extensive practice they are transformed almost in tacit knowledge. Both mechanisms are important and in real life they actually work in a synergetic mode. These two mechanisms are shown schematically in fig.1.

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Figure 1. Tacit Knowledge



3. Enhancing Tacit Knowledge through Education

If tacit knowledge is so important, and in the same time so difficult to work with, there is a natural inquiry of the way we can enhance its potential and its contribution to the decision making process, especially in business and management.

Formal education usually concentrates on providing graduates with explicit knowledge. The knowledge they need to become effective professionals comes later from practice, and it is more tacit. Romanian culture is strong ascendant of the Western culture. The formal education is based on developing the explicit knowledge of students and not interested in developing the tacit dimension of knowledge. The reforming process that Romanian education is currently undergoing, for the last 20 years, proved to be very fuzzy and lacking a real vision. It looks like the Romanian formal education system has no desire to restructure itself, and our universities have no incentives to converge toward the world class universities as institutions of research and education (Bratianu, 2008). Actually, there several barriers in the Romanian higher education to develop adequate education programs for students in business and management. The most important barriers are the following:

a) lack of any tradition in business and management domains;
b) lack of any education programs in business and management;
c) inertial existence of the old socialist system of cultural values;
d) focus on theoretical knowledge.

In order to enhance the potential of tacit knowledge in business and management it is necessary to eliminate or just to overcome these above barriers. The first barrier has been actually eliminated after 20 years of transition and development of the free market economy, since business and management became normal fields of activities. The second barrier has been reduced very much since we developed business and management programs based

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on the Western experience and very little from our own experience. However, the results coming from overcoming the first two barriers are not satisfactory because of the operational action of the third barrier. It is not possible to develop real tacit knowledge in these new economic fields due to the fact that the cultural values system has been changed very little. For instance, in socialism we did not have the concept of "competition" as a basic cultural value. It is really hard now to develop tacit knowledge able to incorporate this new cultural value, either from direct experience or through internationalization.

Finally, we come to the last barrier, of focusing our teaching methods on explicit knowledge transfer, called combination by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995). There are two possible ways to deal with problem: firstly, to change completely our applications from standard problem solving using predetermined solutions to presentations of study cases from real life; secondly, to find solutions for developing internship programs like in the medical education programs. Thus they can see how the concepts are applied in real business and gain the practical experience needed in order to have the full concepts.

One of the least developed methods in our education to enhance the tacit knowledge potential is *learning by doing*. Doing, is much more than just learning from books. Doing means to develop tacit knowledge through direct action, and then through reflection. It is a complex process integrating both cognitive and emotional knowledge which generates tacit knowledge at a higher temperature than any other process. Learning by doing should become an important part of our business and management university programs.

For master programs, where many students come with some professional experience, tacit knowledge can be enhanced by sharing and integration. Sharing can bring a significant contribution in improving individual tacit knowledge only if there is a stimulating learning environment created by school. Sharing means a quite new perspective in education, since students become full actors and professors only facilitators, or guiding coaches. Sharing means also the capacity of extracting the significant data and information from a personal experience, and the ability to convey them through an efficient communication process. Sharing means also reciprocity; it is important not only to receive knowledge, but to offer knowledge with generosity to all the other students in the program.

4. Conclusion

The tacit knowledge is mainly acquired through a process of trial and error encountered in practice; it can be felt and understood but it cannot be easily expressed. Tacit knowledge is not just about experiences learned on the job; it also comprises beliefs, values, attitudes, ideals, and elements that are related to the individual and organizational culture. Tacit knowledge is a natural counterpart of any concept and any theory. Its importance has been demonstrated especially by the Japanese companies and their oneness conception of body and mind. More and more business and management university programs throughout the world are reconsidered in order to find ways to enhace the potential of the tacit knowledge.

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Media and Communication in the Information Society

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Catherine GHOSN*

"France Télévisions" and the Missions of Public Services

Abstract

As a mass media, TV became very important. We propose to analyze the principles of French television and the missions of public service in its policy of globalisation. We thus study economic logics and the schedules of the public channels. Recently, this operation changed with the law about the reform of the audiovisual public in January 2008.

Key words: communication, public television.

1. Introduction

The French TV is declined in private and public channels. These categories (private/public) must obey an economical logic and a schedule with several conditions. The public channels are gathered in a group called "France Televisions" which includes four metropolitan and national channels (France 2, France 3, France 4 and France 5) as well as a network of overseas with RFO and the channel France O, treating DOM (Departments overseas) and broadcast in metropolis.

For the general framework of the study, we choose to deal with France Televisions because its schedule lists many parameters which aim the logic of public service. We focus then our work on the channel France 3 because it works with geographic proximity and gives an account of the regional and local events. France 3 talks about decentralized and regional events, (cultural and sporting).

France 3 aims especially a cultural community, linguistics (because of the importance of the regional languages) by stressing the events which touch a community (information having milked with associations, social categories, professional, etc). However, the application of the law "reform of the public audiovisual" in January 2008 upsets the operation and the financing of France Televisions. France 3 had then to change the news about geographic proximity.

We thus propose to identify the changes which touch the channels and to analyze the reasons why they pushed the viewers to react on this reform, anxious that they are about the future of the audiovisual public service.

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2. Presentation of France Televisions

2.1. Public service missions

The European Union stresses that public television "has an important part to play to promote the diversity of the cultures of each State, to offer educational programs and programs of discovery, to inform in an objective way the public opinion of the events and debates in progress, to ensure pluralism, and to provide in a democratic and free way an entertainment of quality".

The aims of the audiovisual public service must thus answer to these expectations which are not the private channels'ones. Its missions serve the general interest, the social link, pluralism, diversity of the programs, for all the public in order to take part in the democratic life of the country. Public television has a part of responsibility about news, education, democratic debate, as well at the national level as local and international one. It proposes a broad choice of cultural programs, but also sporting, patrimonial and artistic great events which gather the country. Moreover, public television has the concern of being with the point of modernity. It is numerically present on the whole of the networks and the grounds of the new services: TVHD, VoD, Mobile television…

The audiovisual public service thus plays a crucial role in the diffusion of the knowledge and the development of the social link. The missions of public television are defined in the contract, signed with the State. "Television of all the French people", France Televisions wants to put "the respect of the viewers in the middle of his action". With 5 complementary channels, each one carrying a strong identity, France Televisions wishes to offer to all the public a rich and ambitious programmation. Public television also posts to be the "television of all the citizens, public in all its components".

The French group wants also to play a "social role" with specific mission in the democratic life and reinforce the link between the individuals and the groups. Some of its channels, like France 5, thus propose "emissions intended to bring answers to the questions of the public on the social life, the insertion from abroad, the knowledge of the institutions, education and the prevention in the economic field, social and medical. It also proposes emissions devoted to the professional and the economic life having to support a better knowledge of the work, training "by allowing the expression and the exchange from the points of view of the various actors, employers, applicants for work". Its goal is thus to support acquisition by each one of autonomy and the capacity to work out a personal project in particular on the professional level. With regard to the concept of pluralism, France Televisions wants to propose the pluralism of the social and cultural currents of expression because, the central role of public television in the democratic life implies to take account with "the pluralist expression of the currents of thought and opinion" with "pluralism of its programs".

2.2. National channels

France Televisions is the first French audiovisual group, created in 2000 and includes four metropolitan national channels (France 2, France 3, France 4 and France 5) and a network of overseas with RFO and France O, treating DOM and broadcast in metropolis. France 2 stresses national and international news. It supplements its programming with emissions (documentaries, debates…) and integrates also films. France 3 is presented as the channel of "generosity", "proximity" and develops a geographical nearby work. France 4 has vocation to

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be the channel of the 15-34 years. France 5 is presented as the channel of knowledge and discovery. Broadcast one TNT, satellite and cable in Metropolitan. France O shares with the richness overseas.

Figure 1. National channels



2.3. France 3

The schedule of France 3

France 3 is charged to conceive television programs in national, regional and local matter, intended to be broadcast on the metropolitan territory. It gives an account of the regional and local events. The purpose of these services is to meet the need growing of proximity expressed by the viewers. As the Protocol of Amsterdam envisages it on the system of public broadcasting in the Member States, it contributes to preserve pluralism in the media by offering to the citizens diversified news, nearer to their daily preoccupations. This network makes it possible to propose with the greatest number a regional offer of programs and thus takes part in cultural decentralization. France 3 privileges decentralized information, in particular cultural and sporting events and sometimes France 3 news are included in the news of national channels. In addition to the importance of the proximity, the schedule of France 3 broadcast also a whole panel of televisual kinds which correspond to varied tastes. In his last publication, we can counts the following categories:

Figure 2. Program of France 3 in may 2009[1]

France 3		
Documentary	1	Des femmes en blanc
Fictions	4	Le choix de Myriam
		Louis la brocante
		Eaux troubles
		Villa Jasmin
Entertainment	3	La véritable histoire de Joe Dassin
		La légende de Johnny
		Années 70, la France se déshabille
Magazines	6	Ce soir ou jamais!
		Des racines et des ailes – Passion jardins, passion nature
		Droit d'inventaire – Premières dames
		Thalassa
		Obsessions, phobies, panique: vos questions, nos réponses
		Pièces à conviction – Les nouveaux barbouzes
Game	1	Questions pour un champion spéciale grandes écoles
Film	4	Le grand meaulnes
		Indigènes
		Quand j'étais chanteur
		L'effaceur

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3. The reform of the public television

3.1. Principal points of the reform

All the channels of France Televisions are concerned with the reform of the audiovisual public except those of RFO which temporarily keep, for technical reasons, publicity in the evening. The reform relates to mainly the following points for all the channels of public service.

The first change relates to the publicity since January 2008. A decree doesn't allow anymore publicity on the channels of France Televisions between 8pm and 6am. The complete stop of publicity must intervene with the end of analogical television in favour of numerical, at the end of 2011.

A second point relates to the nomination of the presidents of France Televisions and Radio France. Indeed, a nomination by the President of the Republic is quite worrying because the Council in 1989 had considered that the nomination of the president of an audiovisual public company by CSA[2] was an essential condition of its independence. One can certainly assert that the context changed (competing character of the audiovisual environment, in particular), especially that this nomination is surrounded by many precautions (assent of CSA and examination by the responsible committees of the Parliament).

3.2. Effects on France Televisions

Concerns relate especially to the financing and were even reinforced following an amendment examined within the framework of the special subcommittee on the audiovisual one. Indeed, the two taxes whose product must make it possible to finance France Televisions by compensating for the shortfall of the advertising re-entries are re-examined. In 2009, the tax on the private channels should be divided by 2, passing from 3% to 1,5%. In addition, the tax of 0,9% planed on the turnover of the phone operators would be replaced by a tax progressive ranging between 0,5% and 0,9% according to the results of the companies. The other concern, underlined by the viewers, is related to the new way of nomination and revocation of the presidents of the audiovisual public service, not allowing a marked independence. A journalist of France Televisions specifies that like many of her colleagues, she agrees with the suppressions of publicity but is very worried about the lack of financial equalization. Indeed, the payment of the tax by the viewers represents the guarantee for the public service of its independence, and to him created an obligation with regard to the viewers, in a relation of exchange.

4. Conclusion

The reform of the audiovisual public engaged in 2008 causes many interrogations on the financial and political aspect. The suppression of part of publicity between 20:00 pm and 6:00 am involves a loss of financing for public television, suppression which will be total in 2011. Then, the nomination of the presidents of France Televisions, Radio France by the President of the Republic raises the question of the independence of television, even if this nomination is surrounded by many precautions (assent of CSA and examination by

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the responsible committees of the Parliament). Indeed, the CSA had considered into 1989 that the nomination of the president of an audiovisual public company was an essential condition of freedom.

Notes

1. From «Baromètre Francetélévisions» – Harris Interactive, http://www.francetelevisions.fr/.
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Delia Cristina BALABAN*

The Relevance of Online Advertising for the Advertising Industry in Romania

Abstract

In the contemporary economic situation business clients are looking for effectiveness in reaching their target groups in less expensive ways trough advertising. Online advertising seems to be one of these ways. It is not just the economic argument that is decisive for choosing this type of promoting but the entire development of the consumer habits of the public in the last period. One of the assumptions of the paper is that the development of the online sector in a creative way, by using new technologies can be a solution for getting out of the crisis.

The article starts with the data presentation about the current development of the advertising market in Romania with focus on the online sector in order to have a general perspective. We succeed in presenting the tools of online advertising that are used nowadays. In addition to the economic data, the fervency of cross-media messages pointing on internet advertising is a sign of the importance of the online sector for the development of advertising. A content analysis of the television program of Antena 1 for seven weeks proved that the majority of TV ads that were broadcast had information about the products' websites.

One cannot speak about the importance of online advertising without taking into consideration the opinion of those who develop and produce online advertising. In order to research the perception of advertisers regarding online advertising we have conducted a number of twenty in-depth-interviews with professionals working in different positions in advertising agencies in Romania.

Key words: advertising, Internet, creativity, innovation.

1. Introduction

Until the middle of 2008 the evolution of online advertising was considered by analysts to be very good, and this was visible in the declared revenues by the main intermediary in advertising space sales on the internet, Google. Services such as *Google AdSense* and *Google AdWords* have revolutionized the online advertisement market, introducing new concepts such as contextual banners or limited budget advertisements. According to *Advertising Age,* the global evolution of this sector was in 2008 around the figure of 10%, representing an increase that other media have not seen in a long time.

Nevertheless, the problems in online advertising arose simultaneously with the real-estate crisis in the USA, when companies earned less and less profit and started to cut expenses. Among the first decisions the companies took were reducing or cutting advertising budgets altogether. As a result, online advertising services have started to dwindle, registering lower

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profits compared to the same period of the previous year, *Google* had its first revenue drop since it was established, being saved only by expanding into the browser and mobile operating systems markets.

American specialists stated for *Advertising Age* magazine that over 71% of US-based companies registered decreases in marketing budgets by over 20%, and in the majority of cases online advertising budgets suffered the biggest cuts. On the other hand, there are those who prefer to paradoxically invest more in online advertising, because they had to cut marketing budgets so much that an outdoor or TV campaign would not have been possible.

The same experts expect this trend to continue with a slight come-back in the second part of the next year, but most analysts are not so optimistic, forecasting a return to normal will be felt only in 2011. The current situation is rather uncertain regarding the moment of recovery for online advertising, but online advertising will recover and become more consolidated. In general, this hint of optimism is due to the fact that the online advertising market still has a potential for growth as there are numerous companies that want to make the leap towards online ads.

In Romania, the effects of the online advertising crisis have not been so pronounced yet, partially because of the fact that this sector was not that developed (the Romanian advertising market is under 0.01% of the Global market) and partially because in their attempt to maintain their presence on the market, many Romanian companies preferred to keep their investments in online ads. The estimations of those that handled this sector in Romania varied in 2008: some bet on the fact the crisis will not be felt in this sector, while others bet that in trying to reduce costs, companies will naturally cut these budgets. Strangely, in Romania, real-estate advertisements are still out on the market, in spite of the fact that most American companies have given up on these ads since last year. We said that in Romania this sector is not very developed, because of two main reasons. The first is that there is not enough interest for the online content produced by Romanians (the only sites that enjoy success are news portals and the main newspapers and TV sites), and the second is that those big investors in advertising who target the Romanian audience are multinational companies that would rather contract foreign agencies better specialized in this field.

In an especially difficult year for the advertising industry, the online market has the opportunity to attract a significant share of the smaller and smaller advertising budgets of companies, concerned with more efficient targeting. Online advertising is the most underdeveloped branch of advertising in Romania, the online budgets in 2008 being only 2% of the total advertising budgets at a national level on all communication channels.

On the one hand, as exemplified above, the crisis will bring benefits to the online market because of the low costs and arguably higher efficiency than the other media. On the other hand, the companies' requirements for more and more lead or click campaigns means that the advertiser pays only for the traffic redirected to their site.

"*All industries use the online medium in a particular way. FMCG uses it because the «golden audiences», aged between 25 and 35, are online. The banking sector targets online business publications to promote their services. The automotive industry rarely launches a new product without constructing it a strong online presence. In their turn, telecommunications cannot afford to be absent fom the online space*"[1] stated Alex Karageorgis for wall-street.ro,

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which will participate at the third edtition of the Digital Marketing Forum. "*We will witness an increase in demand for online advertising, a cost-efficient method of maintaining a dialogue with the end user. Advertisers will become more demanding in what the creative aspect of their campaigns is concerned, as they try to create a long term commitment between the brand a the consumer. I think we will see more interactivity at the banner level and rich media advertising*"[2], stressed Karageorgis.

Acording to the study ROARDS conducted by IAB and PriceWaterhouseCoopers, the most important players on the Romanian online advertising market in the first half of 2008 are: Intact Intecative, ARBO interactive, Boom, Ad Evolution, MediaPro interactive, Internet Corp, Realitatea Cațavencu, Ad Target, Splendid Media Interactive, Sanoma Hearst Romania. Among these are, as can be noticed, the online divisions of the big media trusts in Romania[3].

2. Forms of online advertising

Before talking about how advertising makers see online advertising today we have to present the forms of online advertising. During the last years online advertising proved to be a space of creativity, the tools and forms were differentiated. The advertising platforms characteristic of the Internet are: the webpage (home page), advertising banners and buttons (very often linked to other web pages), sponsoring of virtual space, newsletters (texts that have a double purpose: to inform as well as advertise) that are sent to e-mails through virtual groups (newsgroups), e-mails with special offers acting as direct marketing instruments. (Guțu, 2007; Balaban, 2009a).

The portals Yahoo, Lycos, Alta Vista are as important to the Internet as prime-time TV programs are for national broadcasters from the point of view of establishing contact with a usefully large audience. These portals bring in more than half of the funds that are annually allocated to on-line advertising, because they benefit form a large number of users. Newspapers and other media of general or specialized interest, very often have on-line editions in the form of web pages. These display advertising banners or clickable buttons.

On their web pages, television broadcasters offer the viewers the possibility to choose whichever program they want to watch, and the online radio broadcasters are no longer a novelty for the media in Romania. Audio and audio-video spots can also be watched online. The first form of Internet advertising was the webpage itself. The first advertising instruments were banners and buttons that were actually reproducing the traditional forms of advertising from the print media. (Balaban, 2009a, pp.174)

In time, due to technological development, the banners changed. In the beginning, the banners were mostly static, fixed images on a web site. These were among the first models used by online advertising. Animated banners appeared a few years later and they are those banners that move, rotate or perform any other such action. These are more popular than the static banners, they are visualized more times by users and they can offer more information. The third category, the interactive banners, appeared as a necessity to improve the quality and efficiency of banners. Multimedia banners imply direct interaction.

Alongside banners, there are also buttons, which can differ in size. They are usually situated on the right side of the page. That is usually where the cursor goes to while skimming

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through a web page. The buttons can represent logos, names of domains, names of products, slogans etc.

Then there are also ads that appear in the time span between leaving a webpage and opening another. These ads are split in three categories: inline, pop-ups and pop-under. This type of advertising is similar to the classical advertising, when broadcasting is interrupted for advertising breaks. The difference is that the online user is not notified before the ads appear. The users have the option of closing them; they are not forced to navigate away from that webpage like the TV viewers would be to change the channel for example (Balaban, 2009, pp. 175).

Inline ads appear in the main window of the browser and the moment a link (to another page) is clicked, it takes the user to a webpage containing advertising. This page will be active for a specific period of time, usually 5-10 seconds. After that, the desired webpage will load automatically. *Pop-ups* are ads that appear in a new, smaller window. They are the most frequently used and they appear usually in the time span when the new page is loading, remaining either above or below the main window, or behind it if they are minimized, until the user decides to close them. The pop-ups can be different in size. *The pop-under* ads load in a new window, behind the main window (Balaban, 2009a, pp. 176-177).

The text link is the simplest type of ad, the least aggressive, but also one of the most efficient forms of online advertising. It exists as an underlined text, usually a sentence, a title or even the address of a website. Clicking it creates a link to another page. In most cases, search engines provide links. Search Engine Marketing (SEM), including social networks, has increased greatly in the last years.

Rich media allows a more detailed distribution of advertising messages; for example, the potential consumer can listen to the songs on a CD before actually purchasing it online. The consumer can ask for detailed information about a product without having to leave the current website. Also, in this case, the ads have a greater visual impact. Notable is the fact that rich media is not necessarily more expensive than the traditional online advertising. If used correctly, it can offer the user a special experience. Rich media banners offer the possibility of displaying additional content to the traditional one that already exists in the limited banner space (Balaban, 2009a, pp. 176-177).

Advertising cursors are the proof that any object on the display of the computer can be used as an advertising instrument. This works by turning the mouse cursor into an ad, by assigning an image to it. In the last years, social networks like MySpace, Facebook, and Hi5 have become very important in promoting ads. YouTube, launched in 2005, has had tremendous success, being considered, at a global level, the site with the greatest development in a relatively short time since its launch. The success of the site was so great, that after only one year since it was launched, it was purchased by Google for 1.65 billion dollars. Dorina Guțu says about YouTube.com that it is a site where users can upload and watch videos of maximum 10 minutes and 100 MB (shows, spots, music videos, commercials, films, trailers, homemade videos etc.), personal productions or productions for which they have author rights or broadcasting rights (Guțu,2007, pp. 84).

The advantages to using online advertising are: a global audience (any person with an Internet connection can basically access any webpage from a server in any corner of the world, on condition that they know how to navigate online, which is a given for the new generation);

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the accessibility of the message at any time of day or night as long as it is present on the page. Advertising can be integrated in the editing part of the webpage and can be made interactive. Since the Internet is multimedial it can offer various creative possibilities. Moreover, the number of users of a page can be easily registered and thus the media audience can be as easily calculated. Starting with the audience the other parameters can be determined as well. Thanks to the diverse technical means, ads are perceived in different parameters (colour, speed, clarity). New media advertising has the advantage of creating a more definite separation of the target audience, the users generally belonging to the young generation and/or people with a college education. This is the reason why this type of promotion is more suitable for dynamic brands that target this kind of audience. The usage itself of this type of advertising instruments creates a positive image to products that want to express the idea of novelty, youth and want to stay in the limelight.

The production and distribution costs for online advertising are low, but one disadvantage would be that the user has to pay a considerable sum of money to access the Internet. Another drawback is the low efficiency level of a concentrated mix (simple) which would only use the Internet (except advertising for other web pages). If the banners and buttons draw user attention, promotional emails are generally deleted without being read, especially when they are received in large numbers. As far as online communication is concerned, advertising communication plays a peripheral role. Of the total advertising revenues, only about 0.1% come from online advertising in Germany and about 0.7% in the USA (for the year 1999, during the new economy boom) (Kloss, 2000, pp. 315). It is estimated that the attraction for this type of media advertising is on the increase. The products that are mostly promoted by online advertising are: hardware, software producers, telecommunication companies, financial services providers. Online and new media advertising constitute an increasing market segment. Its potential will most probably be maximized in the years to come (Balaban, 2009a, pp. 179-180).

3. Television and Internet

Television is still the most important actor on the Romanian television market. Quantitative data regarding the amount of advertising investments prove the leading position of the television over the last years. Still the online sector is becoming more and more relevant day by day. One of the relevance indicators of online advertising is the massive presence of cross-media recommendations in television advertising. A simple quantitative content analysis of the television ads broadcasted by every one of the Romanian national televisions can prove it. Our choice was to perform the monitoring of the spots broadcasted by the private TV station *Antena 1* during February and March 2009 for a period of seven days from seven consecutive weeks during the prime time (from 18:00 to 22:00). The reason why we chose *Antena 1* is because the private TV station was the leading TV station in Romania. According to *Home Media* the station had r8.0% ratings for February 2009 and 7.2% for March 2009)[4].

The monitoring period of seven weeks was structured as follows: Monday in the first week, Tuesday in the second, and Wednesday in the thirds and so one. This is a common way of sampling media and especially TV content (Rössler, 2005).

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The number of TV ads that invite viewers to surf the web pages is high. From companies that constantly broadcast spots with cross-media invitations we mention: Orange, Vodafone, Provident, Coca-Cola, Nestle, Hyundai and Banc Post. Orange is the most active player in the TV advertising at *Antena 1* and used in every TV-ad, information about the web sites. There are media products like newspapers or magazines that advertise on TV also by using cross media links. The websites that were indicated are in all most of the cases the web pages of the company. Unfortunately cross-media advertising in Romanian television does not indicate in many cases web sites of particular advertising campaigns as it is the case in other countries.

4. How advertising makers think about online advertising

The theoretical framework of the paper consists in the theory of innovation diffusion. It is a theory related to the diffusion of information. S. Chafee was the first researcher that published important findings concerning information diffusion in 1977. In 1983 Rogers differentiated from the theory of information diffusion, the innovation diffusion. According to Rogers there are three types of persons involved in the innovation diffusion: the innovators (5% of the population), the earlier adopters and the later adopters. The innovation is spread in further steps: first it must be known, than a persuasion is necessary in order to emphasize its relevance to the public, the next step is the decision making one, followed by the implementation and finally by the results (McQuail/ Windhal, 2004, pp. 68-69; Bonfadelli, 2004, pp. 151-152; Balaban, 2009b, pp.110).

The research bellow is structured based on the theory of the diffusion of innovation in considering online advertising and especially new aspects as being an innovation. The relationship between two relevant actors for the decision making process: advertising makers and advertising investors is the focus of the research. The other actor that is taken into consideration is the public. The paper presents the perspective of advertising makers on the aspects that we listed below.

5. Method

In order to research the perception of advertisers regarding online advertising we have conducted a number of twenty in-depth-interviews with professionals working in different positions (from managers to copywriters, media and PR experts and consultants) in advertising agencies in Romania (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Târgu Mureș). The interviews were conducted in June 2009 with the help of the students from the MA program Advertising of the Babeș-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca.

Using a qualitative research design we faced difficulties in the selection procedure. Accordingly, qualitative methods can describe typical patterns but not reveal the distribution of certain patterns in the population. Nevertheless, the interviewees were selected according to the procedure of theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss 2007, Lindlof 2002). This procedure is based on the grounds that there are not endless forms of practice in advertising. We used two types of categories closed and open.

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Closed categories: socio-demographics, socialization, career, life circumstances; position within the agencies.

Open categories: functions of online advertising within advertising; influences in decision making concerning online advertising: advertisers, clients; online advertising and crisis.

6. Findings

Online advertising has its advantages that are well known by the advertising makers. The Advantages are structured on two dimensions: the costs and the dynamics of the audience. An agency manager from Bucharest stressed that *"the costs are very low reported to the results. The majority of costs involve renting space on websites that are well known…It's offering new communication spaces with high creativity, with good possibility of measurements. Online advertising has the advantage of a well structured audience based on age"* (m/30). The answer of a manager from Cluj-Napoca is similar: "*The speed, the promptitude of answers, the economy of time, the efficiency in making contracts, the excellent feed-back, the low costs are some of the relevant answers"* (m/45).

Online advertising has also disadvantages: *"The lack of direct contact with the client, the fact that the audience is not very large"* (m/45).

The development of the online advertising is not necessarily related to the crisis, but the crisis can prove to be a positive factor for a speeding development, as a young copywriter from Cluj-Napoca endorsed: "*Basically the challenge was to adapt. This was not only the evolution of advertising in the last year but in the last few years. To learn about new media, to learn how to adapt, to offer new solutions, not only classical to their clients"* (m/29). A similar opinion is shared by a female PR advisor: "*Even before the economic crisis, online advertising had reached a significant level of relevance. It is a good way to promote. Lately it is used also because of the fact that it is not so expensive. I think that in the future, the number of agencies that will work exclusively with online advertising will grow because of the fact that the number of clients that will prefer this type of advertising will grow"* (f/35).

The option for online advertising is the first option especially in the case of specialized agencies. Some advertisers prefer to use classical advertising: *"We focused in our agency on classical advertising to an extent of 60 to 70%"* (m/45), online advertising is the solution for *"new information"*.

The advertising makers we spoke to are aware of the fact that *"online advertising is underdeveloped in our country. In the future more and more clients will be aware of the importance of this segment for promoting"* (m/33) stressed a media expert from Târgu Mureş.

The answers to the question: which companies prefer online advertising, are pointing in two directions. On the one hand *"big companies that are open to the Internet"* (m/29), on the other hand small businesses, because their profile makes them aware of the targeting capacity of online advertising. Thus there are difficulties in persuading some clients to use this type of advertising in their campaigns. There must be compatibility between the products that are promoted and the type of advertising that is used. Clients still have to be advised in order to pick the right medium.

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Online advertising is a broad field, the importance of new techniques such as viral marketing or swarm marketing (Balaban, 2009c) was also emphasized. Our respondents share the common opinion that the future of advertising is online, yet classical advertising, especially outdoor will still play an important role for the media budgets. With respect to radio and TV advertising, the Internet will integrate them. Advertising on mobile phones is not to be neglected.

7. Conclusions

The aim of the research was to draw a picture of the development of the online advertising sector in Romania behind the economic figures that we presented at the beginning. We focused at the level of advertising makers in order to understand the way they see the advantages and disadvantages of online advertising, the relation to the other form of advertising and the way the innovation diffusion is taking place in this field. The research has its limits that are rooted especially in the method, but the findings of the study can be used in order to develop a quantitative research that can lead to findings with a general character for the industry. The development of a complementary research focused on relevant investors on the market, is also recommended, in order to develop a better understanding of decision making process concerning online advertising.

Notes

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Dorina GUȚU
Alina DOLEA

Local PR Campaigns for International Programs – Speak Truth to Power in Romania

Abstract

Between 6th and 9th of April 2009, Kerry Kennedy, president of Robert F. Kennedy Foundation of Europe, visited Romania to launch the international project "Speak Truth to Power". The project in Romania included the book "Speak Truth to Power. Human Rights defenders who are changing our world", a photo exhibit of the Pulitzer prize-winner Eddie Adams, a theatre play, a symposium dedicated to human rights issues and an educational curriculum for high schools students. The project started when the first edition of the book was launched in the USA. It soon became an international project with photo exhibits in Europe, Middle East, North America and Africa, with the educational curriculum issued in an Asian, a Liberian and a Spanish version and premieres of the play all over the world. The paper will present the Romanian public relations campaign developed to promote the project and analyze the strategies and techniques of successful campaigns that get extensive media coverage with articles and interviews in written and online media, TV live interviews and footages. It will also focus on the dos and donts of developing an international campaign and discuss several aspects of international public relations campaigns from a comparative perspective.

Key words: international public relations, campaigns, human rights, educational projects, Romania.

1. Introduction

International public relations is an area which suffers from the lack of theoretical foundations because public relations itself is still a growing area in the field of mass communication and communication. As Kunczik (1990) pointed out, most articles on international public relations has been anecdotal or descriptive approaches, even "scientifically non-serious sources" (p. 24). Wakefield (1996) added that "most of the attempts at scholarly examinations have been country-specific, discussing public relations in a particular country and how it varies from other countries" (p. 18). Research has been descriptive because it focuses on public relations practices in different countries and geographic regions without overarching theories and conceptualization. This approach is called a culture-specific approach focused on documenting the peculiar and distinct features of individual cultures. The main interest of this study is how social, political, and economic contexts influence the practices of public relations country by country. For demonstrating this, an international program had been

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chose in order to demonstrate how the specificity of the political, social and economical context changes the strategy, tactics and even objectives of a PR campaign.

Speak Truth to Power (STTP)[1], a core program of The Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, is a global initiative to aid the fight for international human rights through a series of cultural and education programs. The program began in 2000 with a book, *Speak Truth to Power: Human Rights Defenders Who Are Chainging Our World* that presents the stories of 51 personalities from 5 continents interviewed by Kerry Kennedy and illustrated by Pulitzer prize-winner Eddie Adams. It grew to include a play by Ariel Dorfman – *Speak Truth To Power: Voices from beyond the dark*, a photographic exhibition by Adams, a documentary film, 5 award-winning public service announcements, an education curriculum distributed free by Amnesty International to 10,000 high schools and universities, and an award-winning website. Between 6th and 9th of April 2009, Kerry Kennedy, daughter of Robert F. Kennedy, visited Romania to launch this international project. The project in Romania included the book *Speak Truth to Power. Human Rights defenders who are changing our world*, a photo exhibit, a theatre play, a symposium dedicated to human rights issues and an educational curriculum for high schools students[2].

Her visit was a good moment to promote human rights which are not a current issue on the public agenda in Romania, as well as an opportunity to encourage cultural consumption and reading. Such programs are needed since in Romania the interest in reading has continuously decreased, proportionally with the number of people that buy or borrow books. If we corelate this with the specialists' forecast[3] for 2009 of this industry which is expected to face a 30%-40% decrease in sales, as compared to the last year, due to the economic crisis, the conclusion is certainly alarming. The main associations on the Romanian publishing industry evaluate the market of books and manuals at aproximately 150 million euro in 2009, and the latest Cultural Barometer released for 2007[4], shows 41% of Romanians never read books, articles or specialised magazines. The same Barometer shows that cultural consumption in Romania is dominated by television and radio. If prior to accession in EU, Romanians prefer going to the movies, to libraries, and visiting monuments, now they prefer local feasts, shows and museums[5]. These figures indicate one more time the necessity of integrated cultural campaigns meant to promote cultural consumption.

2. Presentation of Data

One difficulty of staking out a particular ground for future public relations is the increasing inability to distinguish public relations practice from the promotional communication practices of advertising and marketing. Advertising, marketing, and public relations efforts are now very commonly combined in integrated marketing communications programs (Harris, 1998). Public relations are especially valuable to this communication mix because it builds relationships with a wide variety of organizational stakeholders, not only consumers. Some scholars argue that in gaining unpaid media coverage and third-party endorsement for products, brands, and corporations, public relations is able to secure types of publicity that audiences view as more credible than paid-for commercial advertising and marketing messages (Harris, 1998).

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The main goal of the campaign was to increase visibility and gain awareness for the international program launched in Romania. It was also important to bring human rights on the public agenda, even for a short period of time, in order to raise the awareness of Romanians with regards to social activism and involvement in the life of their community. The long-term goal when initiating and implementing such programs is to make culture more accessible and interesting to Romanians, so that cultural consumption, in general, and reading, in particular, increase in the following years. The campaign had three objectives: to inform that Kerry Kennedy was visiting Romania, to offer details on the human rights program, and to bring as many people as possible to the events. The appropriate way to achieve these objectives was good media coverage of all events in the main newspapers, magazines, online portals, blogs, television and radio.

In order to adapt the international campaign to the Romanian context, the central message of the communication campaign was that, for the first time, a member of the famous American political family was visiting Romania. Since human rights were not a subject of main interest for Romanians, emphasize was put on Kerry Kennedy. Thus, it was more likely to gain the attention of the various audiences and convince them to come to the events that were organized. Secondary messages were related to the necessity of fighting against human rights violations, and the experience of being a human rights defender. The targeted audiences were made by journalists to spread the basic information on the program (from cultural departments interested in the book, the exhibition and the theatre play, from education/social for the curriculum to be introduced in high schools, from political magazines for Kerry Kennedy's views on international politics and movements, from women magazines for women rights discussed also at the symposium); government representatives partners of the program (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation); high schools students and teachers, direct beneficiaries of the educational project; politicians, professors and opinion leaders for the debate on advocacy and women rights included in the symposium; the general public for the book launch and the exhibition. While the public display of government commitment is a prerequisite for a successful event, governmental involvement is essential not least because of the number of guarantees required that are too costly for private business. Despite all the financial risks, governments are willing to take their chances because such events attract national media recognition.

The concept was delivering messages on a theme little known in Romania such as human rights through cultural events. At the same time, the notoriety of the Kennedy family, as well as the charisma and the personality of Kerry Kennedy were key points in the strategy to attract people's interest and participation in events. Therefore the main focus was on her, the launching of the program coming on the second place. Following the example of other countries, the visit was placed in the context of the 20 years that passed since the 1989'events, considered a major moment of defending human rights in Romania. The best way to convey the information and reach all targeted audiences was considered an integrated communication campaign (PR, print, TV, marketing) using both the traditional and the new media, carried out by Aspen Romania, Romanian – US Fulbright Commission, Curtea Veche Publishing and Saatchi & Saatchi PR.

The first step was the initiation of a fundraising campaign in order to attract sponsors and hold all the events organized also in other countries. Media partnerships were signed with representative of each media segment, to ensure a wide distribution of promotional materi-

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als and official information of visit. In order to ensure it a national wide dissemination, the Audiovisual National Council's approval was obtained to air the TV campaign as a public interest one. The agenda of the visit included: on April 7th a press conference and the theatre play, on April 8th a visit to Sf. Sava High school to launch the pilot educational program *Education for Human Rights*, the opening of the exhibition with photos of Eddie Adams, the launch of the book *Speak Truth to Power*, and the attending to the celebration of International Roma Day, on April 9th the symposium on human rights.

The first announcement of Kerry Kennedy's coming to Romania was made at the end of 2008, when Curtea Veche Publishing announced the publication of *Speak Truth to Power*, as one of the main editorial projects for 2009, and the fact that the book will be promoted by the author herself. The communication campaign started by mid-March when the first ad appeared in media, followed by the TV and radio spots aired starting with March 30th. Due to the fact that there was much information to be released to journalist about the program itself and the events to be held in Romania, a 3-wave PR campaign was considered appropiate: on March 30, the first press release included the confirmation of Kerry Kennedy's arrival in Romania, a statement with her expectations, background info on her activism in human rights, a brieft description of the project wordwide and the project in Romania, the partners and the events in the agenda confirmed at that time. On April 3, press conference was held with the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to launch the program, mentioning the speakers at the press conference, a statement given by a state secretary, the organizers and partners of the project, the announcement of all interviews and shows Kerry Kennedy was going to participate in, and the final agenda of the visit. The last press release was delivered at the press conference on April 7, and focused on the international dimension of the project. The program had an official website containing basic information on all the activities and resource for the media. Online banners were created and promoted by media partners and organizers on their websites. Each event was also communicated, using new media, on Twitter, Facebook and several blogs. In addition, the book benefited of preferential exposure in a network of bookstores in Bucharest, with special shelves and placement, airing of the TV spot, display of posters, layout ad in their magazine and in the newsletter sent to all their customers.

3. Analysis and Evaluation of Data

The integrated communication campaign was a successful one, all the objectives being accomplished and having significant impact as reflected by the media coverage and the number of people that attended the events. There were more than 100 press materials, including: articles and interviews in the main daily papers and magazines, and on most read news portals, TV news and interviews broadcasted in prime time, radio interviews, and news on every major news agency wire and posts on the several cultural and general blogs. The Cultural Journal accompanied Kerry Kennedy throughout her visit airing images from the arrival, press conference, photo exhibition, book launch and the sympozium on human rights. Interviews with her were published in Evenimentul Zilei, Cotidianul, Romania Libera, Hotnews, Newsin, Marie Claire, The One and aired by Europa FM.

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The analysis of the content of press materials showed that the communication campaigned was correctly adapted to the Romanian local context. As anticipated, media main interest was on Kerry Kennedy herself, her career, background and views on human rights and politics in general – more than 90% of all press materials had headlines mentioning her name or stressed the affiliation to the Kennedy family. The program was the second theme mentioned in close relation with her. It is interesting to notice that journalists covered widely all the events of the programme, although there were many, which raised the awareness of the programme and underlined the message that it was a consistent initiative which will be continued mainly throught the educational programme. There were over 100 TV spots on TVR 1, TVR 2 and TVR Cultural, 78 radio spots at Europa FM, 6 press layouts in Cotidianul and Marie Claire, more than 10 online banners and electronic layouts on Hotnews.ro, Cotidianul.ro, Bookblog and on the websites of organizers and other partners. Half the copies of the book *Speak Truth to Power* were sold after the campaign and were attracted more than 600 participants to attend the events: press conference (60), the theatre play (150), visit to Sf Sava High school (80), the inauguration of the exhibition (100), the launch of the book (50), and the symposium on human rights (200).

Among the challenges faced in organizing the events and implementing the communication campaign, the most important was the difficulty of raising funds in a period of economic crisis, so that the entire program could be implemented, as it was in other countries. This led to a big number of sponsors and partners that had to be informed constantly and asked for approval on promotion materials, which required significant time resources and coordination. Another challenge was adapting of the program to the Romanian context so that media was interested in the subject and covered widely the events. In Romania the accent of the communication campaign was on Kerry Kennedy's visit, rather than on the issue of human rights, nevertheless important. Otherwise, it would have risked failing in achieving the objective of having lots of participants to the events, as very few Romanians are, at this point, interested in this issue. The numerous events were aspects analyzed and took into account in order to avoid the situation of having many participants at one event and very few at another. If the public events were promoted through the TV and radio spot that ensured a good audience, all the rest were planned in such a way that different audiences were invited, attended and did not overlap. Special efforts were made in this respect and a lot of creativity was needed in order to bring relevant and interested participants at each event. Many human rights defenders NGOs, high schools and university students and teachers, opinion leaders, politicians, business partners agreed to get involved in parts of the campaign.

Coordinating all communication was a difficult task due to the large number of organizers. The program was divided in several parts and had an efficient project manager that supervised each section and made sure it remained a whole and all little, last minute, details were carefully foreseen. Another important thing is its continuity through the educational curriculum which will be taught in 15 high schools during the next academic year.

4. Conclusions

The study demonstrated that the best approach of managing the PR campaign of an international program is the mixture of both the global and the local approach. The local imple-

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mentation under a global theme is most effective, as long as the central theme is followed. International public relations should have worldwide consistency before anything else; however, it also should be clearly understood that every local culture and market needs different ways of execution. Therefore, Kerry Kennedy's visit in Romania was considered one of the biggest cultural communication campaigns implemented in 2009 so far. The differences in culture between the American area and the Romanian one, especially with regards to the participative and political culture, had to be overcome when developing a PR campaign for an international program. An integrated campaign that adapts the message to the local context and conveys it using all channels and all types of communication is the key to be successful when promoting an international program.

Notes

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Elizabeth BOUGEOIS*

Le «flou journalistique[1]» et ses enjeux: le cas de France 3 Toulouse

Résumé

Les travaux sur le journalisme mettent en avant le manque d'institutionnalisation et de cadrage de l'exercice professionnel. Sur un terrain restreint d'étude, la dimension indéterminée de la profession génère souffrance et isolement. Elle aboutit également à l'élaboration d'outils conceptuels et pratiques axiologiquement situés par lesquels les journalistes donnent sens et opérationnalité à leur métier.

Mots-clés: journalisme, télévision, institutionnalisation, empirisme, représentations, pratiques, axiologie.

Abstract

Research work about journalism show the lack of institutionalization and framework of the professional exercise. On a small case study, this vagueness leads to suffering. It also leads to the construction of conceptual and practical tools based on the journalists'own values, and by which they give sense and effectiveness to their profession.

Key words: journalism, television, institutionalization, empiricism, representations, practices, axiology.

La production journalistique fait l'objet de nombreux travaux en Sciences de l'information et de la communication et en sociologie des médias. Ces travaux sont notamment centrés sur l'histoire de la presse, ses rapports avec le politique, et les conditions socio-économiques dans lesquelles elle est élaborée[2]. La dimension praxéologique du journalisme est moins étudiée, peut-être parce que les rédactions ouvrent peu leurs portes aux chercheurs.

Ces articles et ouvrages scientifiques soulignent le manque d'institutionnalisation de l'exercice journalistique et la difficile construction d'une identité professionnelle des journalistes, notamment par un questionnement sur le journalisme en tant que profession.

Dans ce contexte, nous avons construit un dispositif empirique qui articule l'analyse systématique de reportages réalisés pendant une année par cinq journalistes de France 3 Toulouse et le discours de ces professionnels sur leur travail. L'étude de ce matériau permet de comprendre en partie les raisons pour lesquelles, sur une même actualité, dans une même période, et au sein d'une même rédaction, des reportages réalisés par des journalistes différents peuvent exprimer des visions et représentations de l'actualité fondamentalement différentes. Cet élément d'ordre herméneutique constitue un enjeu à la fois pour l'étude du journalisme en termes de pratiques et en termes de réception.

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Notre propos concerne ici l'analyse d'un phénomène connu – le manque de cadrage de l'exercice journalistique – à la lumière de pratiques singulières expliquées par des journalistes[3]. Nous avons ainsi pour objectif d'identifier la place et les outils particuliers que des journalistes définissent et mettent en œuvre pour mener à bien leur mission: la réalisation de reportages. Nous souhaitons également étudier quelques conséquences auxquelles aboutit ce manque de cadrage, sur un terrain restreint.

Nous centrerons notre étude sur des éléments qui fournissent un contexte explicatif à l'indétermination du travail journalistique. Nous présenterons ensuite sommairement notre terrain d'étude puis synthétiserons quelques enjeux de cette indétermination sur les plans praxéologique et humain.

1. Quelques origines du flou journalistique

Afin de contextualiser notre propos, nous proposons, dans les lignes qui suivent, une présentation succincte de l'histoire du journalisme en France. Nous la compléterons d'une brève analyse des conditions d'accès à la profession. Nous relierons ces éléments à des conventions professionnelles sociologiquement étudiées.

1.1. Naissance et autonomisation du journalisme

L'exercice de la profession est lié à celui de la démocratie, au moment de l'acquisition des libertés fondamentales, sous la IIIème République. Le texte fondateur de l'activité est la Loi du 29 juillet 1881, dans lequel une forme d'analogie apparaît entre la finalité de la presse et celle de la République naissante. La profession a connu sa première définition le 29 mars 1935, par le vote au parlement d'un statut des journalistes, repris in extenso dans l'article L 761-2 du code du travail[4].

Le rapport préalable à la loi précise que la profession de journaliste «*possède des caractères d'un ordre particulier*» et que «*son rôle est capital dans un ordre démocratique, qu'elle n'est à même de remplir que dans la liberté et que le Statut professionnel des journalistes est une des garanties de cette indispensable liberté*».

Le législateur a souhaité, par l'ordonnance du 26 août 1944, contenir le pouvoir de l'argent, limiter la concentration des titres, et encourager le pluralisme de l'information, initiative qui s'est complétée en octobre 1945 d'un projet et d'une mission pour la presse: *«la presse n'est pas un instrument de projet commercial mais un instrument de culture; sa mission est de donner des informations exactes, de défendre des idées, de servir la cause du progrès humain»*[5].

La profession s'est ainsi définie et institutionnalisée en termes de revenus qu'en tirent ses membres, de nécessité démocratique de l'exercice journalistique, et d'une mission à caractère culturel, opposée à une fonction strictement commerciale. Cependant, si ces éléments inscrivent l'exercice journalistique dans un projet démocratique et éducatif, ils ne définissent ni ce qu'est le métier, ni les conditions légales à son accession, caractéristiques de ce qu'est une profession.

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Par ailleurs, la Charte des devoirs professionnels des journalistes français, devenue déclaration des devoirs et des droits du journaliste en 1971, indique que le journaliste ne reconnaît «*en matière d'honneur, que la juridiction de ses pairs*». Cette forme d'institutionnalisation de la profession peut être qualifiée d'auto-institutionnalisation.

1.2. Conditions d'accès à la profession

La formation, qui caractérise l'accès à une profession, est particulièrement hétérogène en matière de journalisme, les parcours sont très variés. Dominique Marchetti et Denis Ruellan ont ainsi publié, en 2001, une étude[6] qui fait apparaître que 16 à 23 % des journalistes sont diplômés de formations spécialisées, d'écoles reconnues ou non. Cette hétérogénéité complique l'analyse sociologique du groupe professionnel et, partant, permet à ce groupe de rester en partie indéterminé, singulier.

Nicolas Pélissier et Denis Ruellan complètent ces observations d'une analyse, qu'ils empruntent à Arnaud mercier, selon laquelle la dimension technique de l'activité journalistique participerait, par la définition d'une compétence professionnelle issue du terrain, d'une identité particulière volontairement entretenue par la corporation: «*ll* [Arnaud Mercier] *remarque que la préférence donnée généralement par les journalistes à l'apprentissage par le terrain revient à relier leur expertise professionnelle aux aspects pratiques et techniques. Donc, à se distinguer parmi d'autres métiers intellectuels, notamment ceux qui se remarquent par leur spécialisation disciplinaires (universitaires, ingénieurs, avocats, écrivains…)».*[7]

Le journalisme apparaît ainsi comme une activité ayant bénéficié d'une certaine autonomie dans la définition de ses prérogatives sociales et professionnelles.

1.3. Conventions professionnellement construites

D'un point de vue plus proche des pratiques professionnelles, il existe des éléments constitutifs de l'identité sociale des journalistes que l'analyse de leur production et de l'organisation de leur travail fait apparaître. Ces analyses permettent ainsi de définir des conventions auxquelles les professionnels de l'information semblent souscrire dans l'exercice de leur métier. Nous considérons ici les éléments concernant notamment la prise en compte de membres de la communauté sociale en tant que représentatifs de leurs congénères, et sa mise en œuvre dans la construction de reportages paraissant «objectifs».

Cette construction semble ainsi exprimer une considération de la fonction professionnelle en tant que recherche d'adhésion et d'accord des publics, sur la base d'actions permettant la présentation d'éléments susceptibles d'être considérés comme vrais parce qu'ils n'excluent pas l'existence de pensées dialectiquement opposées. Nous nous référons ici aux nombreux travaux qui mettent en lumière les «*conventions d'objectivité*»[8], «*statut de vérité*»[9] et autres modèles de la «*neutralité journalistique*»[10] auxquels les journalistes semblent souscrire de manière quasi «*rituelle*»[11]. S'il est possible d'étudier ces conventions particulières dans un ensemble de productions, il semble moins aisé de les rapprocher d'une quelconque forme d'institutionnalisation professionnelle. Saisissables dans leur expression, ces conventions semblent constituer des référents professionnels, mais les raisons concrètes de leur adoption par les journalistes et les modalités singulières de leur appropriation restent indéterminées. Il en est de même, nous semble t-il, des particularités de l'écriture journalistique, comme «*la*

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centration sur les faits»[12], ou comme les modèles narratifs audiovisuels fortement empathiques qu'analyse Guy Lochard[13].

De cette présentation restreinte de données historiquement et sociologiquement construites, nous retenons que l'identité sociale du journalisme s'est élaborée sur la base d'indéterminations et d'autonomie professionnelle. Il apparaît encore que la profession est faiblement institutionnalisée et que définir ce qu'est «un journaliste» de manière satisfaisante et complète relève de la gageure. Il semble que, dans ce contexte, des référents identitaires conventionnellement admis et mis en œuvre par les journalistes se sont élaborés avec, pour finalité, la recherche d'opérationnalité dans la médiation d'événements pour des publics.

2. Eléments de présentation du terrain d'étude

La rédaction de France 3 Toulouse compte 27 journalistes rédacteurs, encadrés par un rédacteur en chef, 4 adjoints, et un chef d'édition[14].

Nous avons, pour notre étude, analysé la production[15] et questionné, au cours d'entretiens de type compréhensif[16], cinq journalistes hommes et femmes, membres de la rédaction de France 3 Toulouse. Leur parcours de formation et leur parcours professionnel diffèrent, tous ont au moins dix ans d'expérience.

En amont, nous avions, pendant plusieurs mois, conduit une observation participante des conférences de rédactions et des différents lieux que fréquentent les journalistes: service de documentation, archives, salles de montage et de mixage.

La présentation sommaire du fonctionnement des conférences de rédaction nous semble nécessaire pour permettre une meilleure compréhension de la suite de notre réflexion.

Ces dernières rassemblent sept types de professionnels différents: le rédacteur en chef de l'édition ou un adjoint, qui anime la conférence, le chef d'édition, qui assure le suivi éditorial de tous les reportages, la scripte, qui édite les pré-conducteurs au fil de la conférence, les documentalistes, qui présentent la revue de presse du jour, le cadre chargé du planning des équipes techniques, et les journalistes, rédacteurs et reporteurs d'images. Les conférences de rédaction permettent de faire le point sur trois types d'informations différents: l'information imprévisible, l'information prévisible et l'information créée[17].

La conférence s'ouvre généralement autour des sujets Prêts à diffuser (PAD), c'est à dire réalisés en amont et relatifs à des actualités «non immédiates». La revue de presse locale et régionale permet à ce moment de faire le point sur les informations dont rédacteur en chef, chef d'édition et service de documentation disposent. Une information peut être ajoutée ou complétée par un participant. Les échanges en équipe sont structurés sur l'argumentaire et les références à des reportages passés. Ces échanges, parfois houleux, sont arbitrés par le rédacteur en chef; ils permettent de décider la prévalence d'un sujet sur un autre. La conférence s'achève sur les décisions prises et l'ouverture à de nouvelles propositions.

La conduite des conférences de rédaction diffère en fonction des participants et du rédacteur en chef. Elle peut ainsi être plus ou moins directive, les échanges y sont plus ou moins ouverts.

L'observation participante, l'analyse de reportages et les entretiens avec des journalistes nous ont permis de collecter et d'articuler entre eux trois types de d'éléments: des éléments relatifs au contenu et à l'organisation du travail de groupe, une analyse des pratiques

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énonciatives et scénographiques de chaque journaliste et des données précises sur leurs représentations professionnelles et leurs choix en matière de construction de reportages.

La synthèse de ces éléments nous permet d'approcher, «de l'intérieur», différentes perceptions et conceptions du métier de journaliste qui font avant tout apparaître une marge de manœuvre individuelle et une autonomie dont nous présentons certains enjeux dans les lignes qui suivent.

3. Enjeux du manque de cadrage de l'exercice journalistique sur le plan des pratiques professionnelles

Sur notre terrain d'étude, le manque de repères institutionnels dans la profession est analysé par les journalistes d'un point de vue pragmatique. Il concerne le peu, voire l'absence de cadrage organisationnel, formel et éditorial de leur travail.

Ainsi, en l'absence de règles professionnelles clairement établies, les professionnels sont conduits à définir leurs propres outils de travail. Largement issus de la socialisation professionnelle des journalistes, ces outils sont d'ordre conceptuel et technique et sont utilisés dans l'objectif de parvenir à une efficacité rédactionnelle et scénographique qui leur permet d'être productifs.

3.1. L'importance de la socialisation professionnelle et de l'expérience

Les journalistes que nous avons questionnés estiment qu'ils ont appris leur métier sur le tas et que seule l'expérience permet de devenir professionnel, c'est à dire, à leur sens, capable de prendre rapidement du recul sur un événement, apte à en cerner les enjeux, et adaptable à toutes les situations que le terrain peut receler.

Ceux qui ont suivi une formation au journalisme en retiennent la dimension pratique, c'est à dire les stages.

Leur socialisation professionnelle – tous ont travaillé pour des médias différents – leur a donné l'occasion d'observer différentes manières de procéder sur du long terme, ils en ont analysé le sens, les enjeux et les conséquences et ont décidé d'en reproduire certaines et d'en rejeter d'autres: la confrontation a permis l'identification de ces éléments, qui ne peuvent pas être connus ni anticipés par la seule formation, fut-elle professionnelle. Des personnes expérimentées ont souvent été aidantes dans les premières années, leurs conseils, vingt ans plus tard, sont très vifs dans la mémoire de nos interlocuteurs, qui les mettent toujours en œuvre.

L'expérience spectatorielle est également jugée importante: nos interlocuteurs s'intéressent au travail de leurs collègues directs et plus lointains, qu'ils analysent et face auquel ils se positionnent d'un point de vue professionnel.

Les pratiques professionnelles semblent ainsi se structurer sur l'expérience des individus, laquelle n'est «*ni mécanique ni strictement rationnelle*»[18] et les acteurs ne sont pas totalement socialisés, non pas parce que «*préexistent des éléments naturels et irréductibles, l'âme ou la raison par exemple, mais parce que l'action sociale n'est pas réductible à un programme unique*». La nature des éléments à communiquer, la forme – très complexe en télévision – qui leur est donnée ne relèvent pas d'actions mécaniques, programmées, mais d'une démarche

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créative prenant appui sur des savoir-faire et des schèmes[19] d'action qui peuvent être partagés par le groupe de professionnels mais dont l'agencement incombe au rédacteur. Il nous semble émerger de ces observations une possible explication à l'hétérogénéité des pratiques professionnelles: les pratiques sont fondées sur l'expérience et l'expérience est unique.

3.2. La mise en œuvre d'une veille journalistique et de procédures de rééquilibrage

L'observation et l'analyse critique du travail des collègues permettent l'identification et la justification des pratiques propres des journalistes questionnés, par une définition en creux, argumentée de manière concrète. Elles agissent comme une inépuisable source d'outils et sont utilisées à la manière d'une sorte d'auto-formation continue.

Cette observation et cette analyse – que tous nos interlocuteurs mettent en œuvre et jugent essentielles – les autorisent également à rééquilibrer l'offre journalistique, d'un point de vue éditorial comme d'un point de vue formel. Au sein de la rédaction, ce travail spectatoriel permet par exemple d'argumenter, sur la base de la référence à des sujets diffusés, la nécessité de présenter une actualité sous un autre angle, de justifier la nécessité d'aborder un sujet négligé jusque là ou, au contraire, de prouver, par un décompte précis, que la rédaction s'est trop focalisée sur un événement particulier. Les journalistes indiquent qu'ils peuvent ainsi influencer les échanges en conférence de rédaction aussi bien par la considération du contenu des journaux de la station que par celle d'autres supports.

Ils parviennent, de cette manière, à articuler leurs représentations sur le rôle du journaliste dans la sphère sociale, leurs conceptions du métier, et les besoins supposés des téléspectateurs.

Ces procédures de rééquilibrages offrent également aux journalistes une marge de manœuvre jugée intéressante et satisfaisante par eux, d'autant qu'elles s'appuient sur des éléments objectivables et cohérents avec l'une des conventions professionnellement admises: la nécessité d'un discours journalistique pluriel.

3.3. L'importance du terrain

Nos interlocuteurs sont unanimes sur la centralité du terrain dans leur métier de journalistes d'informations régionales télévisées. Dans un souci de clarification et de cohérence, nous empruntons à Francis James la définition du terrain journalistique: «*le terrain désigne à la fois un espace géographique et temporel localisé, une étendue de terre considérée dans sa situation qui est le milieu de l'événement, et l'endroit où se déroule l'enquête du reporter, l'espace journalistique (...). Le terrain est à la fois un découpage physique et une catégorie intellectuelle produits par la présence du reporter sur les lieux des événements. Le terrain est un découpage dans l'espace et le temps qui identifie la réalité de l'événement à sa réalité empirique (...) Le terrain est également une catégorie intellectuelle qui rend les faits pensables. Il se présente comme l'organisation de l'actualité en termes d'événement*»[20]. Cette définition est en effet très proche de celle qu'en donnent les journalistes que nous avons questionnés. Pour eux, c'est le terrain qui permet de vérifier intuitions, a priori et validité

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des décisions prises en conférence de rédaction d'une part et, d'autre part, le terrain donne l'unicité aux images et aux interviews réalisées dans le cadre du reportage.

Le terrain apparaît ainsi comme, à la fois, le lieu de réalisation et de contextualisation du reportage – tandis que sa conception se fait en conférence de rédaction – et celui qui apporte une dimension vivante, réaliste et partageable au document réalisé. Ainsi, le terrain, en journalisme régional télévisé, ne sert pas uniquement à définir les frontières géographiques et sociales de la communauté à laquelle les professionnels de l'information s'adressent. Il permet de définir de nombreuses limites aux pratiques journalistiques et est, à ce titre, considéré par nos interlocuteurs comme un outil technique. Les journalistes se reconnaissent dans leur rapport au terrain parce qu'il est l'outil que tous partagent, et le lieu authentique du déroulement des événements, qui constituent la matière première de leur travail. Il est à souligner ici que les caractéristiques régionales et télévisuelles de notre terrain d'études fournissent de manière induite des explications à cette centralité du terrain.

C'est donc sur ce terrain que, d'après nos interlocuteurs, le travail journalistique s'exerce réellement: il permet d'instaurer une dimension située à l'action journalistique, et donc de circonscrire une situation de reportage pour la rendre compréhensible en limitant l'interprétation des publics. Dans ce contexte, les définitions angulaires d'un reportage ne s'effectuent donc pas en conférence de rédaction mais sur le terrain, en fonction de ce que le journaliste y observe dans sa confrontation directe avec les événements et leurs protagonistes, d'une manière jugée authentique.

3.4. Le savoir-faire professionnel: techniques et méthodes de travail

Pour nos interlocuteurs, le savoir-faire en reportage régional télévisé semble surtout concerner des techniques et des méthodes[21] à mettre en œuvre pour recueillir et agencer de manière attrayante et intelligible un ensemble d'éléments.

L'utilisation de ces techniques et méthodes est très consciente, tout à fait dicible, et diffère nettement d'un individu à l'autre. Techniques et méthode sont jugées indispensables en raison de leur caractère généralisable et de l'efficacité que les journalistes leur trouvent. Elles concernent par exemple les interviews, le travail sur l'accroche, la construction du reportage ou l'adresse au public.

Ainsi, les personnes interviewées sont-elles considérées en tant que témoins, experts d'une situation, preuves de l'existence d'une pluralité de points de vue sur un sujet. Leur parole est considérée par certains comme l'inverse d'une tribune libre et doit donner lieu à des informations complémentaires, pour d'autres, elle est au contraire jugée très informative et représentative d'une forme de vérité existant dans la communauté régionale.

Le travail sur l'accroche du reportage est jugé très important: nos interlocuteurs ont une conscience très fine de l'enjeu des procédures de captation du public. L'accroche est parfois une parole forte – extrait d'interview ou présentation très directe d'une situation – une image forte – surprenante, inhabituelle, démonstrative – ou encore une recherche de correspondance entre l'image et le commentaire. Les techniques d'accroche sont expressives de représentations des besoins et attentes du public construites à partir de l'expérience propre des journalistes en situation de réception de journaux télévisés. Elles peuvent, à ce titre, mettre en œuvre un questionnement, une interpellation ou encore une démonstration.

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Les techniques et méthodes de construction de reportages comprennent les éléments contribuant à l'élaboration d'un message dans un contexte. Elles sont d'ordre formel et éditorial et s'inscrivent dans une dimension téléologique expressive des préoccupations et intentions particulières des journalistes. Leur utilité est de permettre l'intelligibilité, les visées informative et de captation ne sont pas dissociées[22]. Sont ainsi privilégiées, suivant les acteurs, la mise en situation des protagonistes dans le contexte de l'événement, la scénarisation empathique d'une proximité avec eux, la construction d'une dialectique, la reconstruction chronologique d'un événement présenté comme en tant réel ou encore l'ouverture en fin de reportage. Dans la construction des reportages, le lien entre l'énoncé et le discours iconographique fait apparaître d'une part le primat du premier sur le second et, d'autre part, un souci à la fois de complémentarité et de redondance entre ces deux matériaux.

L'adresse au public fait l'objet d'un positionnement par lequel les journalistes tentent de se mettre à sa place et considèrent leur entourage (famille, amis) afin de procéder à des choix de présentation de l'information. Nos interlocuteurs précisent qu'ils se questionnent sur ce qu'ils aimeraient eux, en tant que public, voir et entendre sur un élément d'actualité et concluent sur la nécessité de rendre leurs comptes rendus aussi vivants que possible. Ils déduisent également de ce questionnement qu'ils doivent agir comme des prolongements des téléspectateurs, être leurs yeux et leurs oreilles, et leur permettre d'entrer dans les lieux et au cœur des situations auxquels il leur est donné à eux d'être confrontés.

La convocation virtuelle de leur entourage les autorise à légitimer des procédures formelles et éditoriales qu'ils analysent en tant qu'aptes à construire une adresse à tout le monde, c'est à dire à la fois à un public qu'ils définissent en tant qu'universel et à des individus singuliers. Par ces procédures, les journalistes ont par exemple recours à la simplification et à la contextualisation précises d'un événement. Ils mettent également en œuvre des techniques stylistiques, comme l'humour ou la gravité. Ils ont encore recours à l'explication et à l'illustration, au questionnement ouvert sur un événement ou à sa présentation axiologiquement située.

3.5. Les échanges entre professionnels

La dimension relationnelle du métier est jugée centrale. Pour nos interlocuteurs, le journalisme est avant tout une activité de contacts et d'échanges. Les interactions avec le journaliste reporteur d'images et le monteur leur semblent donc essentielles, et tous insistent sur cette richesse que seule le média télévisuel apporte.

L'institution ne proposant pas d'échanges constructifs ou évaluatifs entre professionnels, les rédacteurs en construisent eux-mêmes, dans l'élaboration des différents reportages, avec l'équipe restreinte constituée pour l'occasion.

Sur le terrain, les discussions avec le journaliste reporter d'images permettent ainsi d'ajuster deux perceptions en une définition commune des éléments essentiels à traiter. Ces échanges constituent, pour les journalistes, un moyen de prendre du recul avec leurs perceptions et leurs a priori et contribue à davantage de justesse interprétative de l'actualité. Conscients que les comptes rendus journalistiques sont des constructions, ils quêtent, auprès de leurs coéquipiers, des moyens de limiter leur subjectivité.

De la même manière, les échanges avec le monteur, qui maîtrise la construction d'un discours en images, les conduisent parfois à abandonner une idée de présentation d'un événement pour lui en substituer une autre finalement jugée plus pertinente ou plus efficace. Les

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rédacteurs considèrent par ailleurs que le monteur est leur premier public. S'il ne reçoit pas le message tel que le journaliste a imaginé de le présenter, nos interlocuteurs pensent qu'il est probable qu'il en aille de même pour les téléspectateurs.

Les échanges entre professionnels sont ainsi pensés et agis de manière à obtenir une lecture plus juste du réel et de travailler à sa reconstruction de façon efficace pour le public.

De ces analyses nous retenons deux observations essentielles. Les pratiques mises en œuvre par les journalistes semblent révéler une marge de manœuvre individuelle conséquente, et tous insistent sur le fait que «*rien ne s'impose*», qu'un reportage constitue un ensemble de choix élaborés en différentes étapes. Cette marge de manœuvre n'est pas décidée par les acteurs eux-mêmes mais semble davantage représenter un espace indéterminé auquel il est nécessaire, d'une part, de donner du sens et qu'il faut d'autre part combler de manière pragmatique et opérationnelle pour pouvoir agir professionnellement.

Il en résulte une forte individualisation des pratiques qui puise ses sources dans l'unicité de l'expérience: cette expérience est en effet socialisation professionnelle, apprentissage spectatoriel réflexif, confrontation constante avec différents terrains d'exercice. Elle aboutit à la mise en œuvre d'échanges et de réflexions qui permettent l'élaboration d'outils particuliers.

4. Enjeux du manque de cadrage de l'exercice journalistique sur le plan humain

Parfois perçu par les journalistes comme une forme de laxisme de la part de leur hiérarchie, le manque de repères clairs et opérationnels est encore pensé comme une technique de management, par laquelle il serait facile de rendre les acteurs malléables et disponibles. Nos interlocuteurs déplorent l'absence totale de dispositif d'évaluation du travail accompli, malgré de nombreuses demandes et propositions concrètes formulées auprès de leur hiérarchie, et dénoncent l'évolution à l'ancienneté et non en fonction des qualités professionnelles. Par ailleurs, en raison du niveau de péremption élevé des informations télévisuelles, le droit de réponse s'y exerce très rarement, contrairement à la presse écrite.

Les journalistes estiment qu'ils ont une grande responsabilité et disent l'exercer dans une très grande solitude. Nous rappelons ici que si le reportage télévisuel est généralement coréalisé par quatre types de professionnels différents, c'est au rédacteur qu'incombe la responsabilité éditoriale du document final. C'est donc également à lui qu'incombe la gestion des éventuels conflits avec le journaliste reporter d'images ou avec le monteur.

4.1. Le public en tant que commanditaire informel du travail

Nous avons vu précédemment que les techniques d'adresse au public mettent en œuvre une forme de connaissance empirique de cette entité pourtant abstraite. Cet élément se double d'une conception selon laquelle des données plus précises, d'ordre statistique par exemple, sont perçues comme inutiles voire contre-productives: la connaissance que nos interlocuteurs ont du public est nécessairement fragmentaire, et cet aspect leur permet de ne pas travailler pour un public inventé statistiquement alors qu'ils pensent que cerner un public est un leurre, d'une part et parce que, d'autre part, ils refusent de s'adresser à un public plus qu'à un autre car, sur le territoire régional, ce serait, pour eux, un non-sens.

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Paradoxalement, le peu de connaissances sur le public s'accompagne d'un souci constant des téléspectateurs: les professionnels que nous avons questionnés expriment très clairement que c'est pour les téléspectateurs qu'ils travaillent, c'est à dire, pour le public modèle[23] qu'ils construisent, en l'absence de données sur le public réel de la station.

Ce public modèle est en partie structuré sur la base des relations sur le terrain, dont tous soulignent l'importance: en région, les interlocuteurs, informateurs ou protagonistes d'événements sont pensés en tant que téléspectateurs potentiels.

Ainsi, le contact conservé avec les personnes rencontrées au cours d'un reportage est-il jugé important à deux titres: il permet une veille informationnelle et la constitution d'un vivier d'interlocuteurs, il permet également d'obtenir des indications sur des attentes et besoins de téléspectateurs.

Le territoire géographique restreint d'intervention conduit les journalistes à la construction de régimes de proximité avec ses ressortissants: proximité avec les événements et avec leurs protagonistes, proximité scénarisée avec les destinataires, rapprochement de ces deux instances. Le journaliste devient alors un intermédiaire entre elles, et nous en voulons pour preuve la très grande satisfaction professionnelle éprouvée par les rédacteurs lorsque des interlocuteurs ou des téléspectateurs expriment la leur au sujet d'un reportage. Là semble résider la vraie reconnaissance de leur travail.

4.2. Représentations sur le rôle et la fonction du journaliste

Les journalistes indiquent que, au sein de la rédaction, ils font preuve d'une très grande adaptabilité. Celle-ci concerne par exemple la connaissance des attentes des différents rédacteurs en chef et adjoints, et, partant, la nécessité d'argumenter plus ou moins leur point de vue en conférence de rédaction. Des formes de combativité ou d'autocensure sont parfois lisibles dans cette attitude. L'absence de ligne éditoriale claire est dénoncée par tous, mais tous considèrent qu'il en existe une, informelle, par rapport à laquelle ils peuvent se positionner. Elle concerne la dimension régionale du média, son appartenance au service public, et, d'un point de vue thématique, le traitement de l'actualité aéronautique, secteur phare de la région toulousaine. Sur ce dernier point, des représentations très différentes du rôle et de la fonction du journaliste apparaissent. Certains estiment ainsi qu'il est nécessaire de ne pas donner une image négative de l'économie et leurs reportages portent la marque d'un engagement par lesquels ils soutiennent les valeurs d'innovation et de puissance développées par les entreprises du groupe EADS. Ils estiment, par exemple, qu'il n'est pas utile de mentionner que les images utilisées dans les reportages ont été en grande partie fournies par l'avionneur Airbus. D'autres soulignent au contraire la nécessité de montrer les conséquences des différents plans sociaux du point de vue des salariés, et réalisent, par exemple, des reportages sur les stratégies de communication d'entreprises du secteur aéronautique.

L'exemple du traitement de l'actualité aéronautique est emblématique de celui d'autres sujets. L'étude des seuls aspects définitionnels du rôle et de la fonction du journaliste relatifs à son insertion dans la sphère sociale fournit des indications expressives de visions singulières du métier.

Le journaliste est ainsi défini par sa mission de contribution au renforcement du système démocratique, il doit, à ce titre, dénoncer les dysfonctionnements institutionnels par

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la centration sur les faits. Il est encore présenté comme une personne ayant une responsabilité en matière d'entretien de la cohésion sociale, sa fonction est alors de valoriser les initiatives citoyennes qu'il juge intéressantes et de les présenter comme des modèles à imiter.

Il est également pensé comme un pédagogue ou un éducateur qui considère la compétence spectatorielle du public comme acquise. Sa mission consiste alors à analyser des événements pour en livrer une contextualisation particulière.

Ces trois exemples de conceptions singulières du métier se traduisent, dans les reportages, par des procédures énonciatives et scénographiques nettes et stables, dans la durée comme dans les différentes thématiques traitées.

La première aboutit ainsi à de très nombreuses références à l'efficacité de la presse et à la difficulté que comporte son exercice. La seconde donne lieu à des procédures par lesquelles protagonistes d'événements et publics sont systématiquement rapprochés. La troisième s'exprime par une posture énonciative centrée sur l'interprétation d'événements en termes d'enjeux, de conséquences et de finalités.

4.3. La place de l'éthique et des valeurs personnelles

Dans ce contexte d'indétermination de l'exercice professionnel, ce sont leurs valeurs et la responsabilité personnelles que les journalistes convoquent dans la conduite de leur travail. Ils contournent ainsi ce qu'ils analysent comme une lacune en termes de positionnement hiérarchique sur les aspects éditoriaux et les enjeux éthiques qui les sous-tendent.

Dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, nos interlocuteurs disent ne pas se référer aux textes relatifs à la déontologie du journalisme, comme la Charte de Munich, par exemple, ils ne les connaissent généralement pas.

Le travail journalistique que nos interlocuteurs présentent fait cependant émerger des problèmes d'ordre éthique: la contrainte de productivité – seule exigence formelle de la hiérarchie – ne s'accorde pas avec les contraintes de lourdeur technique et de prise de recul dans la considération d'un événement.

Les choix professionnels que cette situation impose inscrivent régulièrement les acteurs dans un face-à-face avec eux-mêmes. La référence aux valeurs personnelles constitue alors un guide à l'action cohérent avec leurs représentations singulières du métier. Il en résulte des lectures des événements très individualisées et des pratiques en termes de réalisation de comptes rendus journalistiques qui conjuguent ces lectures particulières et ces représentations singulières sur le métier.

Dans l'environnement professionnel des journalistes, la dimension axiologique des actions semble donc à la fois pallier le manque de cadrage hiérarchique et le manque de retour évaluatif institutionnel.

Ainsi, l'autonomie et la marge de manœuvre qui caractérisent l'exercice professionnel en télévision régionale sont-elles soumises à la responsabilité individuelle des acteurs. Il faut donc, pour gérer correctement cette autonomie dans le travail que les valeurs des individus soient d'une part fortes et structurées afin d'être faciles à convoquer et que, d'autre part, le sens de l'action, de la mission professionnelle soit lui aussi clair chez les journalistes pour constituer un référent stable, dans un environnement institutionnel qui n'en fournit pas.

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4.4. Solitude et souffrance

Un fort sentiment d'injustice et de manque de reconnaissance émerge des propos de nos interlocuteurs. Ceux-ci considèrent que, en l'absence d'évaluation, et en vertu d'une évolution de carrière purement administrative, la hiérarchie ne fait aucune différence entre le bon et le mauvais travail. Les journalistes peuvent donc facilement confondre marge de manœuvre et licence sans risque de sanction. Ils pensent par ailleurs que, sans évaluation, la progression n'est pas possible, que le travail ne fait l'objet d'aucune attention particulière de la part d'une hiérarchie dès lors perçue comme une hiérarchie de forme mais pas de fond. Chez nos interlocuteurs, il résulte de cet ensemble de perceptions une compréhension et une justification des reproches faits aux médias par les publics de manière générale. Il en résulte également un sentiment de solitude et une souffrance professionnelle visibles et exprimés.

Pendant notre étude, nous avons en effet remarqué que le planning des journalistes faisait apparaître très régulièrement des absences du personnel. Nous avons également noté l'existence de deux mi-temps thérapeutiques, de deux congés sans solde, d'une absence pour «*indisponibilité*», et que la mention «*maladie*» figurait très régulièrement à côté du nom d'un ou de plusieurs journalistes. Deux de nos interlocuteurs nous ont également confié leur réflexion sur leur mal-être au sein de la rédaction, l'attente de la retraite, après une longue période de dépression, pour l'un, le souhait de changer de métier ou de continuer à l'exercer dans la frustration, sans perspective d'amélioration, pour l'autre.

L'encadrement n'effectue pas sa mission, d'après nos interlocuteurs. La fragilité des individus, directement exposés à des situations difficiles répétées sur le terrain[24] n'est pas prise en compte, elle semble parfois niée. Il n'y a apparemment pas de risques professionnels identifiés concernant la pratique journalistique, élément surprenant lorsque l'on observe le poids des contraintes auxquelles les individus doivent satisfaire, dans un environnement aussi indéterminé structurellement qu'hétérogène en termes de pratiques.

Il semble donc que si les journalistes sont acteurs dans l'exercice de leur travail, ils sont également *agents*[25] d'une structure dont la préoccupation première est d'assumer ses obligations en matière de diffusion.

La place des journalistes à l'intérieur de l'entreprise s'en trouve compliquée. Certaines procédures professionnelles se structurent alors, qui prennent la forme de routines visant d'une part la productivité et l'efficacité et, d'autre part, la construction d'une sorte de pare-feu à l'instabilité et à l'indétermination structurelles et organisationnelles. Ainsi en est-il, par exemple, du recours fréquent à la scénarisation de la dialectique dans les reportages. La juxtaposition de points de vue différents permet de pallier le manque de temps qu'exigerait une enquête approfondie et protège le journaliste d'une éventuelle accusation de partialité, notamment en matière d'actualité politique et sociale.

Le manque de soutien de l'encadrement semble ainsi alourdir la tâche des journalistes qui ont à charge de produire, en accord avec leurs propres valeurs et celles de la profession, et dans le respect d'une mission d'informer à laquelle personne ne propose de contours stables, et pour laquelle le coût de l'engagement est la portion congrue, le tout, en vertu des attentes supposées d'un public qui reste, lui aussi, indéterminé.

Nos interlocuteurs rejettent le clivage entre le professionnel et l'humain et indiquent que «*l'on est journaliste comme on est humain*». Ils revendiquent et assument, de ce fait,

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des formes de subjectivité dans leur travail et situent précisément à ce niveau la nécessaire cohabitation entre personnes ne partagent pas les mêmes valeurs et opinions au sein d'une même rédaction.

Les conséquences négatives du manque de cadrage de l'exercice journalistique sont ainsi surmontées, sur le plan cognitif. L'intellectualisation de la mission et du rôle du journaliste dans la sphère sociale permettent la prise de distance avec ce que l'humain ressent et la mise en cohérence de principes et de valeurs personnels dans la conduite du travail.

Au vu de ces analyses, il apparaît que le manque d'institutionnalisation et de cadrage de la profession de journaliste se traduisent, sur un terrain d'exercice particulier, par l'élaboration de procédures conceptuelles et pratiques qui peuvent apporter quelques éléments concrets d'explication au phénomène et à ses conséquences étudiés sur le plan sociologique. La dimension fortement axiologique et individualisée des actions professionnelles et ses déclinaisons nous semblent constituer un point central de ce que le «flou» journalistique génère et des moyens que les individus mettent en œuvre pour donner une portée sémantique et opérationnelle à leur métier.

Notes

1. Nous reprenons ici la terminologie de Denis Ruellan, in Denis Ruellan, *Le professionnalisme du flou*, identité et savoir-faire des journalistes français, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1993.

2. *Cf.,* par exemple, les travaux de Guy Lochard, 1998; Rémy Rieffel, 1984; 2005; Erik Neveu, 1997; 2001; 2004; Arnaud Mercier, 1996; François Jost, 2003; 2004; 2005; Dominique Marchetti, 2004; Nicolas Pélissier, 2004; Michel Mathien, 1992; 2004; 2007; Jean-Pierre Esquenazi, 2002; Alain Accardo, 1995; Michel Cornu, 1997…

3. Nous employons ici, de manière équivalente, les termes de journaliste, rédacteur, auteur: il s'agit toujours, dans notre propos, de journalistes d'informations régionales télévisées, donc, d'auteurs, responsables d'un contenu éditorial, même si le produit final – le reportage – est le fruit de l'interaction de quatre types de professionnels différents: le rédacteur, le journaliste reporteur d'images, le preneur de son et le monteur.

4. Cet article stipule que «*Le journaliste professionnel est celui qui a pour occupation principale, régulière et rétribuée l'exercice de sa profession dans une ou plusieurs publications quotidiennes ou périodiques, une ou plusieurs agences de presse, et qui en tire le principal de ses ressources*».

5. Extrait de la proposition de Déclaration des droits et devoirs de la presse libre d'Albert Bayet, Président de la Fédération française de la presse, octobre 1945.

6. Dominique Marchetti, Denis Ruellan, *Devenir journaliste. Sociologie de l'entrée sur le marché du travail*, Paris, La Documentation française, 2001.

7. Nicolas Pélissier, Denis Ruellan, *Les journalistes contre leur formation?* in Hermès N° 35, *Les journalistes ont-ils encore du pouvoir?*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2003, p. 94.

8. Jacques Siracusa, *Le JT, machine à décrire, sociologie du travail des reporters à la télévision,* Bruxelles, INA De Boeck, 2001, p. 67.

9. Jean-Pierre Esquenazi, *L'écriture de l'actualité, pour une sociologie du discours médiatique*, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2002, p. 23.

10. Arnaud Mercier, *Le journal télévisé*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de Sciences Po, 1996, p. 69.

11. Géraldine Muhlmann, *Une histoire politique du journalisme*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2004, p. 14.

12. Erik Neveu, *Sociologie du journalisme*, Paris, La Découverte, 2004, pp. 63-68.

13. Guy Lochard, *L'information télévisée*, Paris, INA Vuibert, 2005, pp. 67-69.

14. Au moment de notre étude, soit à la fin 2008.

15. Une vingtaine de reportages pour chaque journaliste.

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16. Chaque entretien durait environ 4 heures et comportait une partie visant à cerner les représentations des journalistes sur leur formation, leur métier, le public, les sujets traités et la présentation des pratiques et méthodes de travail, et une partie centrée sur l'explication des choix et des pratiques à partir du visionnage de plusieurs reportages réalisés par eux.

17. Ces terminologies sont empruntées au jargon professionnel. L'information imprévisible concerne par exemple les accidents et événements venant de se produire, l'information prévisible alimente l'essentiel des sujets (environ 90 %), elle est notamment issue des communiqués émanant de différentes organisations, de la revue de presse et du suivi de dossiers. L'information créée est relative à l'invitation en plateau d'une personnalité politique ou autre.

18. François Dubet, *Sociologie de l'expérience*, Paris, Seuil, 1994, p. 76.

19. Dans l'acception de Victor Alexandre, *Eléments de praxéologie*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2003.

20. Francis James, *cinq colonnes à la Une, ou le journalisme total*, in Cinémaction N°84, *Les magazines de reportage à la télévision*, Paris, 1997, p. 13.

21. Au sens du dictionnaire Robert. Les méthodes sont «*ensemble de démarches que suit l'esprit pour découvrir et démontrer la vérité*» et «*ensemble de démarches raisonnées pour parvenir à un but*»; les techniques désignent ce qui «*appartient à un domaine particulier, spécialisé, de l'activité ou de la connaissance*».

22. *Cf.* Patrick Charaudeau, Dominique Maingueneau, *Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours* Paris, Seuil, 2002.

23. Nous adaptons ici le concept de «*lecteur modèle*» d'Umberto Eco, in *Six promenades dans le bois du roman et d'ailleurs*, Paris, Grasset, 1996, pp. 14 à 18.

24. Nombreux conflits sociaux, faits divers, affaire Alègre, refus de communiquer de la part de responsables institutionnels, auxquels s'ajoutent, pour le rédacteur, la gestion de relations parfois conflictuelles avec le JRI et le monteur, et la nécessité de produire un reportage.

25. Au sens que définit Eric grillo, *Ethique de la communication et des médias*, in *Communication et médias*, la Documentation française, 2003, pp. 95 à 100.

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