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Volume 4, Issue 2, 2015

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**International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and
Environmental Communication**

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**SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE 3rd ESTIDIA
CONFERENCE**

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DIALOGUE AS GLOBAL ACTION: INTERACTING VOICES AND VISIONS ACROSS CULTURES

Cornelia Ilie¹

This special issue of the *International Journal of Cross-cultural Studies and Environmental Communication* (Volume 4, Issue 2, 2015) has been devoted to selected papers presented at the 3rd ESTIDIA Conference that was hosted by 'Ovidius' University, Constanța, Romania. These papers raise and discuss a significant range of current issues related to the theme of the conference "Dialogue as Global Action: Interacting Voices and Visions across Cultures". This issue brings together ten articles devoted to the following four topics: (1) Multimodality of Public-Private Intersecting Dialogues; (2) Voices Sharing Views in Intercultural Dialogue; (3) Dialogue of Voices in Visual Semiotic Perspective; (4) Communication Challenges in Real-life and Virtual Dialogues.

The articles included in this issue address the challenges involved by practices and processes involved in the global dialogue that are being articulated, in different forms, across borders, cultures, professions and scientific disciplines. The focus of these studies is on the intersection, cross-fertilization, convergence and/or divergence of interacting voices and echoes at various levels and with various purposes in interpersonal and institutional contexts.

In a micro- and macro-level dialogic juxtaposition of voices, the interlocutors have an impact on each other and, to different extents, on their social, cultural and political environments. The dialogic exchanges not only have a communicative function, but they also function as vehicles for mediating meaning and meaning negotiations (Leech, 1983). Based on their respective social and institutional roles, speakers and writers are able to induce meaning in the minds of their hearers and readers, just like musicians/singers have the capacity to induce meaning in the minds of their audiences (Lévy-Strauss, 1971).

Due to its engaging, emulating and exploratory nature, dialogue is an essential form of human communication, action and interaction. According to Vygotsky (1978), any true understanding is dialogic in nature. As social human beings, we participate in a wide range of dialogues in various contexts and at different levels, in a shared search for increased understanding of issues and phenomena, for questioning ideas and actions, for joint problem-solving. These multi-layered dialogues have dramatically increased with the widespread use of social media, which now enable members of any social, gender, ethnic, racial or cultural group to raise and make their voices heard while articulating current concerns and addressing critical issues of inequality, discrimination, socio-political underrepresentation and misrepresentation. A common aim of the contributions to

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this issue has been to scrutinize the interplay of local and global dialogues at particular interactive levels by exploring their function and role as a springboard for critical reflection and self-reflection, for in-depth issue problematisation, for multi-voiced interpersonal resonance, for constructive polyphony of intersecting, contradictory and complementary voices. In the Bakhtinian (1981) theoretical tradition, the voices of social-political dialogue not only represent the world, they also convey societal norms and moral values. Hence, multiple voices express not only how people see the world, but also how they feel about it.

For a better understanding of how meaning is created through the mechanisms and strategies of dialogue, it is important to investigate how voices are woven in discourse, how themes and voices intermingle in a polyphonic way. One way of understanding the shifting qualities of individual voices as interactive network-creating generators is provided by Goffman's (1981) concept of participation framework (based on the distinction between author, animator and principal). At the same time, as has been pointed out by Couldry (2010), having a voice is not enough: we need to know that our voice matters, i.e. it has legitimacy. Hence, following Wertsch (1991), we need to realize that in internalizing forms of social interaction, the individual takes on and interrelates with the voices of others, which accounts for the complexity of 'multivoiced' dialogues. While joining in a dialogic polyphony of voices, each voice shares a particular experience, viewpoint, or sets of attitudes to reality, all of which are instrumental in shaping actions, interactions and relationships. As a result, dialogue is the locus where different beliefs, commitments, ideologies come into contact and confront each other through the intermediary of intersecting voices.

Viewed as complex forms of human interaction, the dialogic communication practices can fulfil several functions:

(i) Dialogic communication practices activate multiple social identities: for example, in the case of political leaders, they can activate the following identities: as politicians, as citizens, as professionals, as family representatives (Edelman 1988, Ilie 2010, Browne 2013).

(ii) Dialogic communication practices presume, challenge, reinforce, etc., social and interpersonal relations, which is commonly manifested through various argumentation strategies (Walton & Krabbe 1995)

(iii) Dialogic communication practices shape and are shaped by the societal institutions in which they take place, e. g. educational, legal, political, medical (Maranhão 1990, Schoem & Hurtado 2001, Markova et al. 2007).

The authors of the articles included in this special issue have chosen to investigate a broad spectrum of research topics (both discipline-specific and multi-disciplinary) that regard a number of topical issues transgressing geo-political and cultural borders. A currently debated issue that has been approached from different methodological perspectives by the authors in the first section is the multimodality of dialogues instantiated at the interface of the public and private spheres: the socially engaged voices emerging from the dialogic communication in newspaper blogs; the visual intertextuality of public and private voices on Facebook; the multi-voiced verbal and visual slogans of parliamentary election

campaigns; the convergence of visual and textual dialogic cues in artistic dialogues. The articles of the authors in the second section are devoted to the investigation of multi-voiced interactions and cases of (mis)understanding in dialogic communication in intercultural environments. The polyphonic dialogue of voices in visual semiotic perspective is the focus of the articles in the third section: one article explores the dialogic communication strategies in fashion blogs, while the other examines converging vs. diverging voices across time and space in dialogic practices in films. In the last section of this issue, each of the authors uses an integrated theoretical framework to carry out an in-depth analysis of communication challenges in real-life conversations, and in virtual dialogues developed for pedagogical purposes, respectively.

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**MULTIMODALITY OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE
INTERSECTING DIALOGUES**

MULTI-VOICED SPEECH: NEWSPAPERS' BLOGS ABOUT A HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY

Mariselda Tessarolo & Eleonora Bordon¹

Abstract: New media, and in particular the newspapers' blogs, allow us to pay attention to the positions of reporters and readers. In these blogs, indeed, one can find the explanations, the suggestions, the opinions and the questions that the readers of famous reporters' posts exchange with the person who writes the news, inside a space situated outside the newspaper. It is a matter of a "small" public domain (Dahlgran, 2005) which welcomes a debate between who writes the news and the opinions on the news, and which therefore reports a modality of "taken for granted", a legitimation of what must be said or made known to one's audience. In a way, by means of comments and interpretations, the readers' posts represent the others' speech, either direct or indirect, but nonetheless a soliloquy (Bakhtin, Volosinov, 1997). It is a matter of dialogue interaction intended, in this case, as a set of micro-dialogues that refer to the interiorized relationships self-others, just as Bakhtin meant when affirming that our voices are saturated by those of the others.

Keywords: newspapers' blogs, forced immigration, politics and language, multi-voice speech. hey can partially contribute to cause events), as possible roles waiting for a legitimation.

Introduction

During postmodernity mankind is wandering from the great narration which accompanied it almost since the end of the 20th century: we see a discontinuity due to a removal from tradition of both the extension and intension² with the application of the organizational principles inserted in the new conceptual model of the representation of society. In the passage from tradition to modernity moral and juridical rules of social integration are also redefined and, in this passage, Beck³ sees the strengthening of ecological, individual and globalized problems which is a prelude to the risk foreseen by Luhmann⁴, though in his case mitigated by trust. Thematic blogs, also called "journalistic", are dedicated to a specific argument and because of this they are comparable to the articles of a newspaper⁵.

Language is deeply social because whatever the social net in which it is used, it provides the environment in which is produced the meaning in reference to

¹ University of Padua, Italy

² Lyotard, J.-F. *La condizione postmoderna*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 1981.

³ Beck, U. *Che cos'è la globalizzazione*. Roma: Carocci, 1999.

⁴ Luhmann, N. *La fiducia*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002.

⁵ In Italy, polemics have risen about the fact of considering blogs as newspapers and therefore falling under legislative ties and being subjects to a self-regulation or to legislative ties as the press. Until now, though, blogs have not the obligation of registration.

people, events and things; language is decisive in building the reality in which we are living and is therefore a social practice⁶.

People are not only and simply colonized by speeches, but these speeches, as we saw, become the resources for the production of new ones. Texts and speeches also constitute a form of appropriation which represents a chance of emancipation, because drawing on texts one gains knowledge, a perspective on the world, which potentially should give the opportunity to generate other speeches and shape other ways of behaving and living. According to Bourdieu⁷ it is not possible to analyze language without taking into account the social conditions at the base of its existence: for example, it is the process of a State formation that creates the conditions of a unified market inside which a single linguistic variety assumes the status of standard language. According to Bachtin's enlightening postulate, the words we use belonged and still belong, for the most part, to "others" before belonging to "us". Indeed, not only our unconscious but also our conscience itself are both populated by others' words and intentions. Sartre used to say that "the others are our hell"; more secularly and with more sense of reality Bachtin states that "the others are our reality: I live in a world of others' words"⁸. The strength of his thought resides in the concept of social intersubjectivity, that may be found in words and signs, which substantiates every historical gesture of mankind be it conscious or unconscious: as a consequence such a social intersubjectivity, historical and real, is constituent of the individual subjectivity, as the otherness is of my own subjectivity.

The new space of the public sphere

The journalistic manner of collecting, selecting and spreading the news has been overthrown by the web 2.0 which allowed an interactivity previously not even thinkable. By now one could speak of participative journalism or *citizen journalism*, which puts into discussion the very competences of a professional pressman who does not have anymore the monopoly on the news. His function of mediator which is believed no more necessary is also debated. The *citizen journalism* could be considered a phenomenon at a surfacing stage which comes from the bottom and inside of which the editorial control and the flow of the journalistic work, which determines the decisions of the ones participating, is scarce or totally absent. Journalism is the result of the participation of many people who believe in the mythical possibility of spreading an independent and therefore more reliable, understandable and also democratic information, compared to the one which is officially given on the newspapers and/or online. Blogs are considered true and real innovative online newspapers which are the first to present the latest "news" with redirection to links for exploring more in-depth or expressing personal opinions on a specific topic. The web, with its versatility,

⁶ Fairclough, N. *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992.

⁷ Bourdieu, P. *La parola e il potere. L'economia degli scambi linguistici*. Napoli: Guida, 1988.

⁸ Bachtin, M. *Estetica e romanzo*. Torino: Einaudi, 1979: 361.

offers many possibilities of creating a personal publishing trade. A blog can be compared to “a newspaper in which the readers’ mails occupy the front page” and therefore makes visible the reflections elaborated allowing the active participation of subjects, augmenting and facilitating the creation of a virtual community: a blog is a front of the stage on which one shows his better part⁹.

From the debate on the public sphere developed the public deliberation which does not intervene on the final decision, but in the phase in which the solution is elaborated. The public sphere can be seen as a further moment of democracy compared to information and consultation, “but also as a more complete answer to the need for the broadening of the production of the environment’s social conscience” (Pellizzoni, 2003, p. 283). It is not important the ambit in which the debate takes place, but the modalities and the articulations of the public sphere speeches oriented to the deliberation meant as discussion which precedes the decision about material matters. The current public discussion is mostly a discussion in which the media have a great importance¹⁰.

The internet, in a certain way, seems to jeopardize the systems of political communication (e.g. the Movimento Cinque Stelle [the Five Star Movement] in Italy), but meanwhile it extends and pluralizes the political debate in the public sphere. Part of the “progressive” readers feel a need for what Lakoff¹¹ defines “reframing” and which consists in the ability of constantly reshaping the contest and “framing” the various questions, from the wars to the welfare state, in a way congenial to the “liberal” mentality. The “reframing” is inherent to the overcoming of the “rigid thought” consisting in the radicalization of the differences and in the minimization of the similarities between our own beliefs and the opposed objective systems. Mizzau¹² analyzes the elements of “decentralization” applied to interpersonal communication consisting mainly in the use of an understandable language, in the assumption of the other’s viewpoint, in the ability of getting the plurality of meanings. Vigotskij¹³ speaks of sense to define the subjectivity implied in the language (i.e. its variability) and of meaning to address what remains constant in the language. The egocentric language is not based on a normal retro-communication, but on a paradoxical communication which is based on not listening, on jumping to conclusions too soon, conclusions which are not useful to demonstrate, but to metaphorically strengthen the debate.

It is evident, furthermore, that the lack of argument, which stresses a disagreement at the level of content and of relationship, is a typical attitude of the rigid position in which conflicts can be relative to the content when it doesn’t exist an agreement on a certain theme, or relative to the relationship when even though existing a theme on which an agreement could be found, one interactant has the

⁹ Goffman, E. *Strategic Interaction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1969.

¹⁰ Tassarolo, M. Social Change: How tradition renews itself in the Experience of Public Sphere. In *International Journal of Cross-cultural Studies and Environmental Communication*. 39 (2014): 30-40.

¹¹ Lakoff, G. *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century American Politics with an 18th Century Brain*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2008.

¹² Mizzau, M. *Prospettive della comunicazione interpersonale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

¹³ Vigotskij, L. *Il linguaggio come pratica sociale*. Firenze: Giunti.

desire to prevail over the other. This type of conflict of relationship is characteristic of a symmetric communication. Bateson¹⁴ defines in that manner a relationship in which two individuals interact one over the other in terms of competitive equality, a relationship in which a reciprocal adjustment, which emphasizes differences, is made.

Lakoff insists on the concept of frame: the political debate is not, simply because it is addressed to the citizens, a simple confrontation of opposite positions which manifest on single topics time after time. The way citizens perceive and also emotionally interpret the various positions will depend on how these position have been framed by the various actors of the political debate. Indeed, the communicative strategy goes beyond the proposal of argumentations in favor or against the argument in question itself. Inside the frame metaphoric and symbolic elements intersect which orient the listening citizens so as they would arrive to a decision. It is a matter of a small public “sphere”¹⁵ which holds a debate between the person who writes the news and the opinions on them, and which therefore reports a modality of “taken for granted”, a legitimization of what must be said or made known to their audience. In a certain way, through comment and interpretation, the readers’ posts represent the others’ speech, direct or indirect, but still monologic¹⁶. It is a matter of dialogical interaction meant, in this case, as a set of micro-dialogues which refer to the interiorized relations Self-Others, just as Bachtin intended when claiming that our voices are saturated by the others’ ones. The measure of blogs’ freedom can be found in the quiescent or contrasting attitude of the readers in respect to the pressman. It can be supposed that the reader would have the desire and the will to cooperate only if there is a dialogue between two parts. It is not sufficient, indeed, to have one voice, but that voice must count, that is to say it must be listened to¹⁷ (Couldry, 2013). The pressman, because of his own job, channels’ rules, values, social behaviors shared by society. Reading the posts present in specific blogs, regarding the humanitarian help to the refugees coming from the various shores of the Mediterranean Sea, one ought to have the chance to analyze a multiplicity of voices expressing very different viewpoints of the world. If a voice is in need of legitimization, a newspaper has the means and the power to accomplish it. Individual voices, indeed, can be seen as agency (they can partially contribute in causing events), as possible roles waiting for legitimization.

What determines “the power of words”, or the performance efficiency of the speech, does not reside much in the words themselves, but in the conditions which can be related to the concept of authority. This authority needs the cooperation of the ones it rules, something that happens by means of mechanisms, social instructions, able to produce complicity¹⁸. Thanks to the ability of imposing

¹⁴ Bateson, G. *Verso un’ecologia della mente*. Milano: Adelphi, 1977.

¹⁵ Dahlgren, P. The internet, public spheres and political Communication: dispersion and deliberation. *Political Communication*. 22 (2005): 147-161.

¹⁶ Bachtin, M. Volosinov V. *Il linguaggio come pratica sociale*. Bari: Dedalo, 1997.

¹⁷ Couldry, N. (2012), *Dare voce*. Brescia: La scuola, 2012.

¹⁸ Bourdieu, P. *La parola e il potere. L’economia degli scambi linguistici*. Napoli: Guida, 1988.

a certain vision of the social world, the speech therefore gets a meaningful role in the production, the upkeep and the change of the power relations. The relation between the speech and the power relations is bound to the opacity, to the unclarity of the implied mediation process. Power is hidden and not explicit, at the point that there is not conscience of its existence¹⁹. In the contemporary society, among the mechanisms of the practice of power, the most common is the one relative to instill and communicate. The former is used to artificially recreate the universality of knowing and believing which belongs to the one who has the power, because it depends on the authority: to constitute communication and debate, on the contrary, a mechanism of emancipation which is used against the established power.

The blogs

The blogs have a structure in which texts have dates and are presented in the web page in anti-chronological order, i.e. starting from the most recent messages, and most of the times they are introduced by a headline. Dahlgren points out the dimensions of the public sphere: representational, structural and interactional, which allow a detailed examination of the public sphere which can be meant as a set of communicative spaces allowing the flowing of ideas and debates in society. It can be supposed that this “social ecology” is democratically weak and that the representational dimension is inadequate and a little disengaged too. The structural dimension regards the accessibility of the web for civic, legal and economic use which encompasses all that concerns the political communication (equity, pluralism of opinions, agenda setting, etc.). Finally the interactional dimension, a fundamental one according to Dahlgren²⁰, in which emerge the speeches of atomized individuals who use information in their homes without forming an audience, but constituting what was already the television’s audience.

If democracy derives from a set of citizens speaking and arguing among themselves, what can be said of this type of “relationality”? One can think of micro-contexts of interaction: the public sphere that expands its tentacles in order to reach inside the web becomes very dispersive. It is of course a transformation due to IT, but perhaps that is not the way to reach a “fast democracy”, on the contrary it sometimes seems that democracy itself is leaving and that it is not easily reachable in the wide space of the media’s public sphere. Speaking represents a social practice: speaking is an activity having consequences for those who engage in it. It can be hypothesized that a dichotomic position of acceptance or refusal can exist which is crystallized in the phenomenon being conveyed mainly by emotional aspects and not by a reflection which might lead to a cultural change.

¹⁹ Bourdieu, P. *La parola e il potere. L'economia degli scambi linguistici*. Napoli: Guida, 1988.

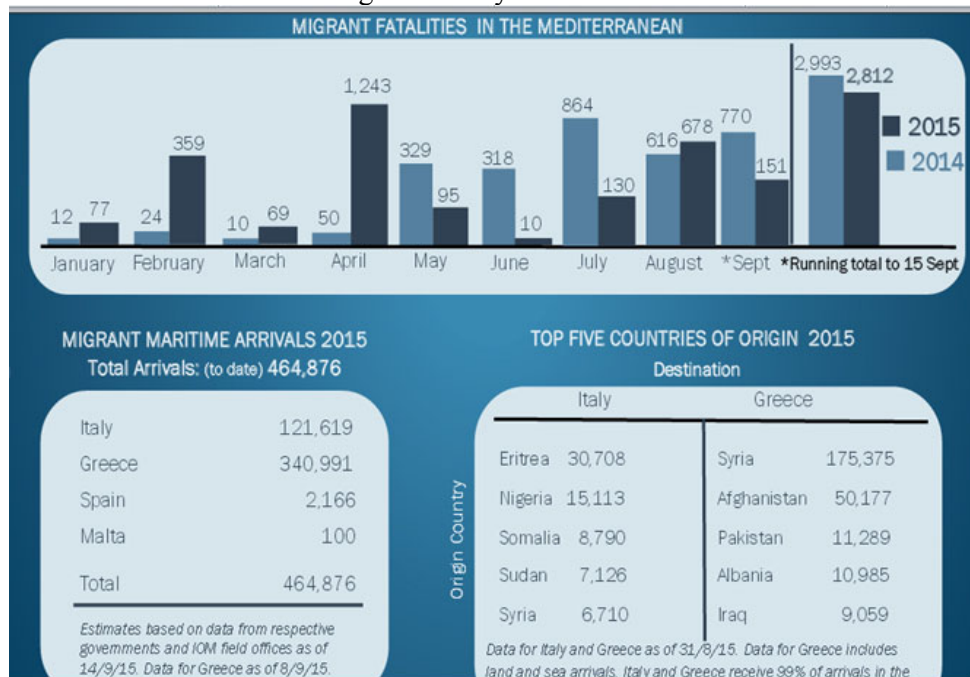
²⁰ Dahlgren, P. The internet, public spheres and political Communication: dispersion and deliberation. *Political Communication*, 22 (2005): 147-161.

Method and results

To reach our goal we chose two journalistic blogs kept by two well known pressmen (Luca Sofri and Gad Lerner). The choice of the two blogs was founded on a classification of fruition which puts them in the first two positions. The relevance of co-constructing and spreading the information by means of internet results being a practice which in the post-modernity made individuals not only spectators, but also actors in the public life. We analyzed, with a textual analysis program (SPAD), the corpus obtained from the posts about the refugees' landings. From the results we expect that the readers' answers be so pre-fixed by attributions and confirmed by society, that their posts confirm and not oppose the pressmen's opinions. This means that a silent dynamic exists among people even if there is not explicitly a conversation among them²¹.

The proposed inquiry forms an explorative study on the construction of the theme of immigration. In an historical moment in which the migratory flow changes its paths and modifies the geopolitical assets of not only the hosting countries but also of the entire planet, it seems interesting to try to understand how pressmen and citizens perceive this phenomenon.

Table 1 Migrant fatality in the Mediterranean



²¹ Vigotskij Lev S. *Pensiero e linguaggio*, Firenze, Giunti. 1966.

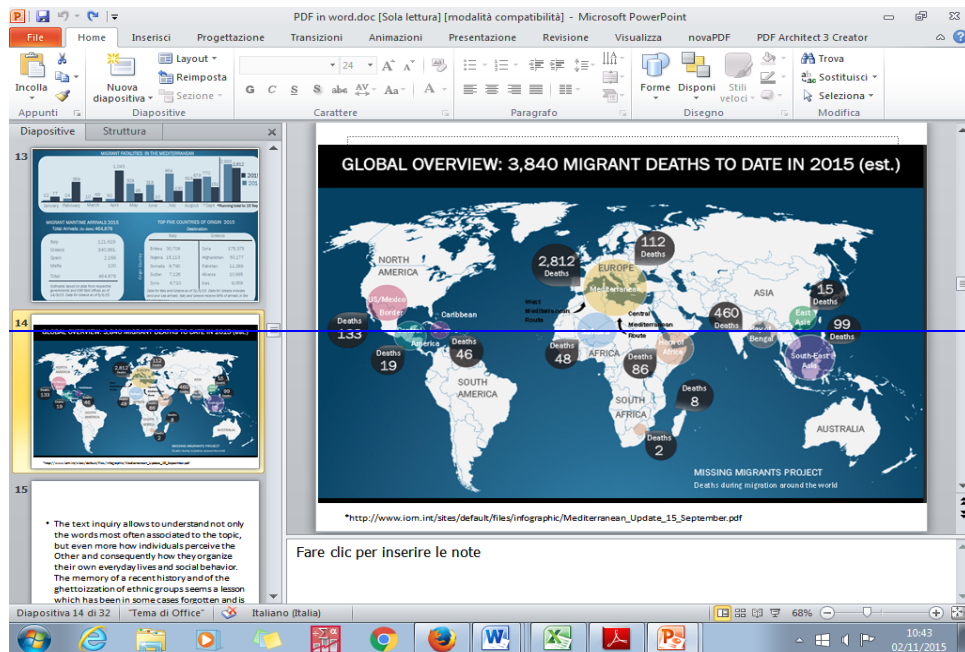


Figure 1 - Global overview migrant deaths

The text inquiry allows us to understand not only the words most often associated to the topic, but even more how individuals perceive the Other and consequently how they organize their own everyday lives and social behavior. The memory of a recent history and of the ghettoization of ethnic groups seems a lesson which in some cases has been forgotten and is partially replicated. To analyze the texts we took advantage of Spad-T, a software for the qualitative/quantitative analysis of documents. This tool allowed us to extrapolate the dictionary and observe the frequencies of terms and their relation by means of the factorial analysis. The specificity of the telling is calculated through the application of the test value in the Vospec process.

The sample

In this preliminary study 56 articles taken from the blogs:

- www.gadlerner.it
- www.wittgenstein.it/

The articles of the last three years have been selected from those blogs and they contained the

following key words: landings, immigrants, migrants, refugees (tables 2 e 3)

Table 2
Blog di Gad Lerner

Blog	Gad Lerner			
Key word	Landings	Migrants	Immigrates	Refugees
Post	1058	1937	3167	2432
Articles	8	9	20	10

Table 3
Blog wittgenstein

Blog	Wittgenstein			
Key word	Landings	Migrants	Immigrates	Refugees
Post	0	4	100	10
Articles	0	2	6	1

Results

From the analysis of the headlines and of the articles emerged that the dictionary is composed by:

TOTAL NUMBER OF ANSWERS	22
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS	27427
NUMBER OF DISTINCT WORDS	5937
PERCENTAGE OF DISTINCT WORDS	21.6

Table 4
List words by counts order

Used words	Counts	Used words	Counts
Italy	55	Migrants	49
Them	55	Others	45
Refugees	54	Left party	40
Europe	52	Country	40
People	50	Sea	39

From the frequencies in the articles emerges with higher relevance the distinction between «us» and «them» in addition to the representations of geopolitical character. The human social dimension is almost entirely disregarded leaving more room to reflections of political kind.

On the basis of the analysis of the pressmen's specificity we see that Gad Lerner distinguishes for a greater use of the terms (see tab 5).

Table 5
Specific words of Gad Lerner's blog

1.	Asylum-Seekers	13.	Men
2.	Sea	14.	According
3.	Europe	15.	Deads
4.	Reception	16.	European
5.	Migrants	17.	Shoah
6.	Refugees	18.	Society
7.	President	19.	Ship
8.	Refuge	20.	Buzzi
9.	Germany	21.	Jewish
10.	Escape	22.	Indifference
11.	2015	23.	Humanitarians
12.	Nostrum		

While Wittgenstein uses in a statistically different way the terms in table 6

Table 6
Specific words in Wittgenstein's blog

1.	Right party	10.	World
2.	Berlusconi	11.	To vote
3.	Thoughts	12.	Better
4.	Center-left party	13.	Continuous
5.	Isis	14.	Matter
6.	Idea	15.	Right
7.	Real	16.	Money
8.	Ugly	17.	Xenophobia
9.	Terrorists		

The first six most frequent words in Gad Lerner's blog (tab.5) are closely linked to the humanitarian dimension of the real emergency: asylums-seekers, sea, Europe, reception, migrants, refugees. In Wittgenstein's blog, the first six words are connected to the political dimension: "right party, Berlusconi, thoughts, center-left party, Isis, idea". These dynamics tend to show a phenomenon according to a stereotyped expression and which hardly succeeds in helping the audience to understand the complexity of the phenomenon.

From the analysis of the posts' content one can find the data relative to the dictionary which is composed by 32.298 distinct words and that among the first 15 ones we find with greater frequency terms linked to the space-time context (table 7). Terms like «Italy, country, now, today» etc. score the greatest presence in the text. Nonetheless it appears interesting to notice that in this list also the term «home» appears. It is about a dimension that is not only logistic, but also social and sentimental which widens the reflection on the theme.

Table 7
List of words by counts order

Used words	Counts	Used words	Counts
Italy	582	War	422
Fact	575	Where	422
Years	488	Country	405
Side	484	Home	393
Others	477	Refugees	384
Europe	472	After	383
His	441	Now	382
Before	441		

the specificities we see that the themes treated by the bloggers, i.e. by those who answer to Gad Lerner's blog, are reported in table 8

Table 8
Topics treated by Gad Lerner's bloggers

1.	2015	9.	Europe
2.	Syria	10.	Always
3.	Pm	11.	Big
4.	Salvini	12.	God
5.	September	13.	Israel
6.	Russia	14.	Usa
7.	All	15.	Power
8.	2014	16.	Job

For what concerns Wittgenstein's blog regular clients, the results are reported in table 9.

Table 9
Topics treated by Wittgenstein's bloggers

1.	Primary elections	13.	My
2.	To vote	14.	I take
3.	Right party	15.	Motivated
4.	Bersani	16.	Rome
5.	Elector	17.	Berlusconi
6.	Left party	18.	Generally
7.	Intellectual	19.	Articulated
8.	Rules	20.	Change
9.	Registration	21.	Real
10.	Populists	22.	Reasoning
11.	Voter	23.	Turn
12.	Vote	24.	Sense

Though there is a meaningful difference between the reports of the audience of the two blogs, it must be stressed that the scarce wealth of posts in Wittgenstein's blog acquires all but negligible weight in the understanding of the phenomenon. The different narrative matrix of the audience, mainly bound to the politics and apparently not much representative of the theme observed among Wittgenstein's audience, seems to be representative of a scarce interest in taking a stance on the phenomenon.

Conclusions

A plurality of public spheres by itself does not guarantee democracy. Dahlgren²² claims that structural connections and decisional processes are necessary because they may lead to participation, but also to disengagement. It has been often observed that the apparent political apathy and the lack of interest in the established political system for many citizens cannot necessarily signal a lack of interest for politics itself. Many citizens, instead, reoriented their political attention towards outside the parliamentary system, or are going to redefine just what constitutes politics, often in the context of social movements. Politics not only becomes an instrumental activity for reaching specific goals, but also an expressive activity, a way of affirming, in the public sphere, the group values and the ideals of belonging. The discussion is not always so rational, it does not always foster

²² Dahlgren, P. The internet, public spheres and political Communication: dispersion and deliberation. *Political Communication*, 22 (2005): 147-161.

tolerance towards those who support visions antithetical to ours and the forms of interaction are not always civilized.

Dahlgren²³ sees democracy as being actuated by means of “material and recurrent practices” which include both the routine of the elections and the spontaneous acts of protest. Such an activity is often accomplished by online “audiences” having in their hands the “modest potential” to favor the shared cultures among the disengaged citizens. The term “discussion” can or cannot assume the form of Habermasian deliberation, but what matters is the dynamic of reciprocity which can be generated by strengthening the parameters of the civic culture and with the impact which can be realized on the wider political situation.

The phenomenon of the blogs, mostly in the beginning, has been defined “autonomous” and “heretic” compared to the logics of the traditional information. But thanks to personalization, passion, trust, transparency and ability to open towards the outside world by means of links a widening in journalistic field was produced through journalistic formats more or less hybrid and frequented as the spread journalism (in situations of emergency), the residual journalism, and the cooperative deepening process. These broadenings, though, do not mean the “end” of traditional journalism, on the contrary just because of this amplification journalism has a real possibility of reclaiming that social and interpretative centrality which it seemed to have lost a little during the years; where the informative complexity grows, at the same time grows the need of expert systems providing orientation maps gifted with meaning.

The diversity is preferable to uniformity, even though there is a unique thought proceeding. “Bringing attention to the discursive dimension (used words, attributed meanings, associated metaphors, etc.) is a tool useful both to probe, inquire, understand the trends and the social transformations that are going on (because to discussion changes correspond changes in the society) and to weigh on reality and transform the ongoing trends”²⁴.

Many are the inquiries which could be made on the selected text, but in this short space it seemed interesting to remain more pertinent to the text and to observe the dynamics of pressmen and civil society while co-participating in the building of an interpretative repertoire of the migrations’ phenomenon. It is interesting to notice the substantial difference in the production of texts by the two pressmen and the consequent difference of participation by their readers. A more stimulated audience tends to answer with greater participation and constancy exposing itself publicly. It appears nonetheless evident that both the pressmen and the civil society intervening in these virtual spaces tend not to fully probe the theme and to further a superficial reflection a little pertinent to the faced problem. One tends to shift the

²³ Dahlgren, P. The internet, public spheres and political Communication: dispersion and deliberation. *Political Communication*, 22 (2005): 147-161.

²⁴ Boniburini, I. (2008), *Linguaggio, discorso, potere. Perché le parole non sono solo parole*, 2008: 14.

reflection to the political dimension and to the State managing augmenting the dual construction between «us» and «them».

It is therefore a matter of building an information which only in few cases would take the responsibility of a through reflection and which would contemplate also the human, social and sentimental implications of the theme. Thus it appears evident that this way of doing journalism favors disinformation and reduces the individual's ability of shaping a critical thought.

The analysis of the results of the two journalistic blogs shows that those who write posts express a feeling oriented toward sharing what the pressman and the other bloggers are saying in relation to the humanitarian emergency. In particular, the people who post their opinion on the blog remain very adherent to what is happening (or better to what is said to have happened) in the national politic life and they don't behave as "voices outside the choir", as the blog could allow them. The results of the present study seem to line up with those emerged in a previous research on the construction of the "natural catastrophe" theme and journalistic blog²⁵. Also in that context it has been found that the main argumentation of the common people is concentrated on what is known of the national politics and of the discussion on it. Such a result seems to suggest that the "common sense" orients in a stereotyped and homogeneous manner towards the social phenomena and the group dynamics which allow to realize what the politologist Quincy Wright already in 1984 called 'bandwagoning' (jumping on the winner's wagon) because anyone of us wants to belong to that majority of people who regard themselves as winners. We consider it important, in this case, to use the concept of frame in the field of information: the frame opened by this metaphor becomes an interpretative frame both of the message in itself and of the modality in which it is expressed. In other words the frame is an invitation, but also an incentive to read a news in a certain manner²⁶. Pressmen prepare the frames (meant as a frame of a window); the news is a window on the word. The media and the pressmen working inside them allow us to see a certain reality, selecting for us what we ourselves can see. Obviously, what we can see depends by the opening of the window²⁷, but also by the point of view and by other details.

But our relationship with the reality given by the "news photogram" is more wide and fluid. The process of framing itself is made of references among the different rhetorical, visual and lexical devices which are activated in the map deriving from the frame itself and which is the result of the encounter between different sources: media, experience, good sense. It is not sufficient to emphasize

²⁵ Tessarolo, M. and Bordon, E. L'informazione sulle calamità naturali nei blog giornalistici. Il caso di wittgenstein.it e di gadlerner.it". *Problemi dell'informazione*. 39 (2014): 219-242.

²⁶ Van Gorp, B. The constructionist approach to framing: bringin culture back. *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 60-78. Bruno, M. *Cornici di realtà. Il frame e l'analisi dell'informazione*. Milano: Guerini. 2014.

²⁷ Tuchman, G. *Making news. A study of the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press, 1978.

the so called frame devices, that is to say the linguistic and representative choices or the rhetorical structures because among these elements realizes a “connectivity principle” consisting in a “set of references which a frame automatically activates among ideas culturally linked among themselves”²⁸.

The landscape appearing from the discussion inside these two blogs does not put one individual and his/her social relationships at the center of the world, but raises a hiding (or a homologation) in a convenient context. It seems that the political debate weakened more and more the ability of shaping the world and of building a critical conscience in the citizens. The discussion inside the two journalistic blogs shows that also the theme of the humanitarian emergency exhibits a scarce cooperation in the audience; it promotes a self-referential subject who lost the interest in expressing, in a public arena, his opinion. It seems we are witnessing a sort of loss of the hope of being active subjects able of changing the world, just when the information technologies offer us the faculty and the possibility too.

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²⁸ Barisione, M. *Comunicazione e società. Teorie, processi e pratiche e politiche del framing*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009:33.

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IMAGES PUBLIQUES ET VIES PRIVEES SUR FACEBOOK ETUDE DE CAS: FEMMES POLITIQUES ROUMAINES

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Résumé : *A la suite des changements paradigmatiques des deux dernières décennies, décelables au niveau de la théorie ainsi que de l'empirie, nous nous proposons de voir comment la multimodalité (ressources sémiotiques iconiques et ressources textuelles) s'articule aux nouvelles pratiques digitales (facebook en l'occurrence) dans l'espace public politique roumain.*

Dans un premier temps nous essaierons de mettre en évidence l'articulation des principales tendances déterminées par l'hégémonie du visuel et la « tyrannie de la visibilité » pour nous arrêter à la manière dont les politiciennes roumaines communiquent sur facebook par leurs images (professionnelles/vs/personnelles), en cernant les changements (!) que facebook a apportés.

L'un des principaux objectifs sera d'acquérir une réflexivité nouvelle dans la déconstruction de la dynamique du visuel et de la culture visuelle ainsi que dans l'approfondissement des fonctions existentielles et stratégiques politiques de la "vie visuelle".

Mots clés: *Facebook, visuel, visibilité, femmes et politique, espace public/espace privé*

1. Web 2.0 Ici Et Maintenant

La plus importante mutation qui marque le passage au troisième millénaire est représentée par la digitalisation de la communication qui a massivement transformée la sphère publique ainsi que la vie individuelle des citoyens ordinaires et des acteurs politiques. L'information, la mobilisation et la participation des individus et des groupes par l'intermédiaire des sites web, de la presse en ligne et surtout des réseaux sociaux semble changer la démocratie. Il est vrai que le *technoscape* évolue, mais le problème qui se pose pourrait être formulé ainsi : dans un nouveau cadre (recontextualisation du politique) la démocratie change de manière significative ou la même histoire des gagnants se répercute sur des nouveaux supports?

La grande majorité des pratiques d'information et de communication passent aujourd'hui par l'intermédiaire des plateformes numériques en configurant ce que les chercheurs appellent « le capitalisme informationnel » (Proulx et alii 2014) On envoie des photos ou SMS de son téléphone portable, on consulte les journaux en ligne, on partage ses émotions, expériences, commentaires sur Facebook, on rend public son profil professionnel sur LinkedIn ,on publie des photos sur Flickr ou des vidéos sur YouTube ,on envoie des messages sur Twitter,

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toutes ces pratiques devenues des gestes quotidiens passent par les plateformes numériques et constituent la culture du *sharing* (du partage) à l'ère du « capitalisme informationnel » (Proulx, 2014). En utilisant le mot « bricolage » lancé par Claude Lévi Strauss pour définir l'assemblage, l'intertextualité et la reconfiguration de l'activité de recherche, les analystes de la culture contributive parlent de « bricolage coopératif » (accumulation, réutilisation et détournement), d'économie de la contribution (Stiegler 2009).

Cette nouvelle forme d'économie et de culture se fonde sur des notions enchevêtrées telles la culture participative promue par Jenkins (2009), la nouvelle figure du producteur/usager (*producer*), l'intervention de l'amateur dans la constitution des corpus de connaissances sur internet et sur la culture (culte ?) du partage- soubassement idéologique de la nouvelle culture en ligne (John 2013). La notion de partage concerne non seulement des objets concrets tels les photos ou commentaires mais aussi des objets « plus flous - partager sa vie, son monde » (S Proulx (2014 :5). C'est dans ce sens de partage implicite ou explicite de repères et modèles que nous allons analyser les *photos sur Facebook des politiciens/politiciennes roumaines dans des situations extraordinaires (campagne présidentielle) et ordinaires* (le facebook vécu et « vu » au quotidien).

Ce qui caractérise la nouvelle socialité c'est la fluidité des frontières entre la sphère publique et celle privée, entre le temps et l'activité professionnels et ceux personnels, autrement dit la publicisation de la vie privée et la privatisation (personnalisation) de la vie publique. « Comment sur un forum ou un blogue, passe-t-on d'une atmosphère plutôt privée de badinage à une discussion semi-publique de nature citoyenne ? Des recherches sur le rôle subtil des médias sociaux au moment du printemps arabe ont mis en évidence ces va-et-vient du « parler privé-public » (Cardon, 2012), où des thématiques personnelles se transforment en problématiques à caractère public » (S Proulx, 2014 :6).

La digitalisation n'est pas reliée uniquement à l'effacement des frontières expert/amateur, global/local, commercial/non commercial etc., mais aussi à la suprématie du visible (et de la visibilité) qui remplace ou diminue le scriptible des siècles passés.

Des syntagmes tels nouvelle démocratie électronique, hyper démocratie (Patrice Flichy) schématisent ces mutations et présentent les *new media* comme une solution à la « crise de la représentation ». Le Web 2.0. de par son accent sur l'interaction et l'exposition de soi crée les conditions favorables pour le dialogue et le partage des informations et des opinions (Cardon 2010). Entre l'utopie et la critique, les *new media* ouvrent différentes voies de lecture: l'espoir de la cyber démocratie (Castells entre autres) ou le *statu quo ante*- la même Jeannette autrement coiffée (cf. l'ouvrage de M. Margolis et D. Resnick (2000, au titre significatif, *Politics as usual. The Cyberspace Revolution* qui à la suite de Pippa Norris (2003) soutient l'idée que sont actifs en ligne, ceux qui l'étaient déjà hors ligne). Les tenants de cette thèse affirment que seuls les individus déjà intéressés par la politique vont être en capacité de se diriger vers ce type de contenu et ainsi démultiplier leurs sources d'information.

La seconde lecture du rôle de l'Internet (outre celui du stockage de l'information- *big data*) met en avant la capacité d'Internet de mobilisation de nouveaux publics et d'inclusion de plus de citoyens dans la politique (C Mabi et A Theviot, 2014 :8).

Selon bon nombre de chercheurs le principal intérêt des réseaux socio-numériques vient de ce qu'ils favorisent *l'interactivité*, le rassemblement autour *d'évènements chauds* imposant le *partage* et une *réaction émotionnelle* (sport, élections) mais aussi et surtout autour de *valeurs communes*.

Il est évident que le support technologique impose/suggère certaines réactions et interdit d'autres. *Liker* sur la page *facebook* d'une vedette de la chanson n'a pas la même signification et même « engagement » que *liker* une proposition politique ou la création d'une plateforme, parti etc.

Le support numérique a des caractéristiques particulières qui lui permettent de produire des contenus, les dupliquer et les faire circuler à grande échelle. Sur le plan méthodologique c'est évidemment une entrée pour le chercheur qui peut capter ce que le dispositif nous montre et nous « fait dire » (Monnoyer-Smith, 2013) mais il doit également être considéré comme un espace d'actualisation, le support des interactions entre acteurs, afin de le considérer dans son contexte sociopolitique de conception et d'usage. (C Mabi et A Theviot, 2014 :17).

La mise en visibilité de la vie personnelle (sur Facebook par exemple) jouit des caractéristiques du “new journalism” avec ses nouvelles techniques et temps de production/réception: publics fragmentés, microsphères publiques, décontextualisations et recontextualisations.

“This new journalism is open to novices, lacks editorial control, can stem from anywhere (not just the newsroom), involves new writing techniques, functions in a network with fragmented audiences, is delivered at great speed, and is open and iterative. In this manner the technology of the internet is said to have reinvigorated democracy” (Fenton 2010: 6).

Si l' image hégémonique se substitue à mille mots, très souvent un mot ou syntagme fonctionne à la manière des images, schématisant une expérience ou événement (les 140 caractères des messages Twitter, la fonction ouverture des *breaking news* à la télé, les mots clés d'un article scientifique etc.).

Ce qui arrive dans la culture journalistique ainsi que dans les pratiques sur Facebook c'est la connectivité avec des publics multiples, hétérogènes ainsi qu'une permanente recontextualisation des messages (reprises des commentaires, *feed back* des récepteurs)

“McNair (1999: 213) states that a proliferation of news platforms calls into question the notion of the public as a single, monolithic construct 'defined and serviced by a metropolitan elite', and encourages its replacement with a vision of 'multiple publics, connected in key ways'. As a result, online journalism is claimed to offer audiences a view of the world that is more contextualized, textured, and multidimensional than traditional news media.” (Fenton 2010: 8).

2.Espace(s) Public(s) Et Medias Sociaux

Le repère fondamental dans la définition de l'espace public reste *le modèle normatif* de Jurgen Habermas proposé à travers plusieurs étapes de l'évolution de sa pensée. Le travail fondateur habermassien (1962) élabore la notion d'espace public comme action de communication basée sur le dialogue critique, le débat des problèmes essentiels de la communauté/société et la critique/interpellation des instances du pouvoir. "En perspective historique ces pratiques communicationnelles allaient contribuer à la transparence de la gouvernance, à l'émancipation politique des gouvernés et aussi à l'apparition de formes de sociabilité entre les citoyens" (C Beciu, 2011:714).

Il est utile de rappeler la distinction de la littérature anglo-saxonne entre *public sphere* visant la délibération et *public space* plus englobant, comportant aussi l'espace physique du domaine public (espaces urbains, espaces institutionnels); dans la littérature francophone on emploie surtout le syntagme espace public et "espaces publics" au pluriel :

"L'espace public se décline aujourd'hui d'une double manière, au singulier et au pluriel. Cette distinction renvoie à deux conceptions qui ne sont pas divergentes mais parallèles : le pluriel correspond à l'espace public qui offre au public une « commune visibilité », celle des rues, des places, des lieux et des monuments qui font émerger un espace commun ; le singulier renvoie à l'« espace public politique » qui est indissociable de dispositifs, de procédures ou de lieux tangibles favorisant le débat public. Si le singulier d'espace public évoque le débat politique et la pratique démocratique, les espaces publics désignent pour leur part des lieux considérés comme publics car accessibles à tous" (O.Mongin, 2012:73).

Selon Dahlgren aussi l'espace public **politique** est "l'espace discursif, institutionnel, topographique– où les gens dans leur rôle de citoyens ont accès à ce qui peut être nommé métaphoriquement dialogues sociétaux qui s'occupent des problèmes d'intérêt commun, autrement dit de la politique dans le sens le plus large du mot " (Dahlgren, 1995: 9).

Dans le troisième millénaire les analystes soutiennent l'idée de *fragmentation de l'espace public* (Miège 2010) liée à l'inégalité de participation aux espaces publics, à l'apparition de nouvelles modalités d'exercer l'interaction sociale et à la tendance d'individualisation des pratiques communicationnelles (Miège 2010:172). Miège souligne que *ces espaces publics partiels* sont constitués autour de thématiques et de mouvements sociaux associés à ces thématiques : espace public féministe, espaces publics formés autour du développement durable, des droits de l'homme ou de la déontologie media (Miège, 2010:183). Outre la différenciation « thématique » apparaît l'interconnexion sans frontières : "Le médium numérique du début du xxi-ème siècle se caractérise par une possibilité d'expression publique, d'interconnexion sans frontières et d'accès à l'information sans précédent dans l'histoire humaine. Ce médium est en train de remplacer, tout en l'absorbant, l'ancien système des medias, induisant une transformation radicale

de la sphère publique avec de profondes et durables conséquences politiques” (Pierre Levy 2012 : 204).

Et ce médium numérique élargit et démocratise la liberté d’expression pour des raisons économiques, techniques et institutionnelles qui expliquent en grande partie la révolution digitale et la reconstruction des identités, des sociabilités et de l’espace public.

New media et *social media* facilitent l’agentivité des audiences (*agency*) et la dissémination des idées contre hégémoniques (Ritzer 2012) ainsi que la reconfiguration des audiences en tant que *prosumers* ou *producers*.

Zizi Papacharissi décrit l’émergence d’une “virtual sphere 2.0”, dans laquelle les citoyens participent en exprimant le désaccord avec l’agenda publique à travers des blogues, des posts sur YouTube ou des commentaires dans des groupes de discussion en ligne. (Papacharissi 2010, 244). Et ce nouvel espace public virtuel est basé sur l’explosion du « networked self » (Papacharissi 2011) visant les opportunités sociales pour « expression et connexion » (Papacharissi 2011 :317).

Dans ce contexte de liquéfaction des frontières, amalgame des rôles, identités et espaces nous essayons de voir non seulement comment la vie publique est privatisée et la vie privée publicisée à partir des médias sociaux, mais aussi comment se déconstruit et reconstruit l’espace public virtuel.

3. En Ligne et Hors Ligne

L’analyse des pratiques en ligne permet paradoxalement de sortir de l’hégémonie de « l’ère de l’individu » pour analyser l’engagement citoyen, la dimension collective des pratiques politiques en ligne, la constitution des collectivités parfois malgré l’intention des individus.

Mais ce qui a été valable dans la succession des périodes/courants culturels et des supports (la photographie n’a pas tué la peinture- cf le syndrome évoqué par V Hugo : « ceci ne tuera pas cela ») semble conforter la conclusion de bon nombre d’études empiriques, à savoir que le en ligne s’ajoute à un hors ligne déjà actif (le bon citoyen de Coleman 2005 se manifeste aussi bien ici que là).

« *C’est la pluralité des expériences des publics en démocratie qui est ainsi interrogée, créant des ponts avec l’étude des mouvements sociaux plus traditionnels (Neveu, 2011) afin de poser la problématique des effets sociaux du numérique dans une démarche d’articulation entre les espaces « en ligne » et « hors ligne » (Mabi et Theviot, 2014 :19).*

Même si internet par le renouvellement des dialogues et interactions suscite l’espoir de l’émancipation (*empowerment*), l’étude des formes dominantes (modèles prescrits de succès dans le jeu politique) et des formes de domination (qui est subalterne de qui) mérite une investigation approfondie. L’*empowerment* n’est pas une conséquence obligatoire de la démocratie électronique et les rapports de

force présents hors ligne perdurent sur Internet (les géants de l'économie ou de la politique continuent de surveiller et de contrôler). En définitive, Internet n'a pas en lui-même d'effet direct (positif ou négatif) sur la délibération démocratique. Il s'est en partie moulé sur les caractéristiques de notre société, mais il offre aussi de réelles opportunités pour de nouvelles formes démocratiques multiples où le citoyen ne se contente pas d'élire ses représentants, mais où il peut faire connaître son opinion, débattre, surveiller et évaluer les actions de ceux qu'il a élus.

Ce qui nous intéresse dans cette analyse ce n'est pas de voir comment des individus des groupes minoritaires trouvent un espace de manifestation en ligne, mais de voir si certains représentants de ces groupes minoritaires (sexuels, ethniques, religieux) trouvent leur espace et voix de manifestation pour le « grand public ».

Si la politique traditionnelle est prête à utiliser les innovations pour les « normaliser », il n'est pas dépourvu d'intérêt de voir si les individus de leur côté ne tentent pas de refaire à travers des parcours individuels des trajectoires de normalisation (les femmes dans une campagne électorale présidentielle et même dans les pratiques quotidiennes d'usage du numérique se comportant comme des hommes).

4. La « Tyrannie de la Visibilité »

L'ensemble des pratiques sociales connaissent aujourd'hui l'injonction paradoxale de la « mise en visibilité ». Au XIX^{ème} siècle on prônait la discrétion sur l'intimité. Aujourd'hui l'invisible signifie l'insignifiant et par conséquent l'inexistant.

L'exigence de visibilité s'est exponentiellement développée avec les nouvelles technologies qui interpellent l'individu à une production continue de soi. La visibilité répond à une exigence (imaginaire aussi bien que réelle) de légitimité et de reconnaissance. L'individu est évalué à partir de la quantité de signes, textes, images qu'il produit et ceci de façon ininterrompue. Par la multiplicité de supports et personnes susceptibles d'avoir accès à notre *self* (visible), l'individu semble exister plus intensément « comme si la quantité remplaçait la qualité » (Serge Tisseron à propos des réseaux et de l'invisibilité et de la visibilité sur le Net) et vivre plusieurs existences/identités à la fois.

Cette dilatation du moi, exposition de soi est omniprésente dans la vie personnelle ainsi que dans celle publique. *L'ubiquité visuelle* exige aux leaders de paraître partout, à tout moment, de remplacer l'argumentation par le slogan et les habiletés de leader par des habiletés communicationnelles (ce que J.Dakhli nomme la visibilité *people*). Dans nos sociétés nomades (de la « modernité liquide » - Bauman) métissées, déterritorialisées, la domination de l'écran et de l'image exigent une visibilité immédiate et constamment changeante (C Haroche, 2011:84). L'individu aboutit à la marchandisation (exhibition de soi, visibilité marchande), condition d'existence dans le monde social

5. Facebook et Genre en Roumanie

Facebook le premier réseau de socialisation du monde avec 1,49 de milliards d'utilisateurs actifs au niveau international connaît depuis cinq ans en Roumanie une croissance aussi spectaculaire qu'au monde entier. Facebrands.ro et Facebrands PRO, services de monitorisation de l'activité Facebook en Roumanie ont enregistré à la mi novembre 2015 le chiffre de 8.200.000 comptes Facebook en Roumanie. Le nombre d'utilisateurs roumains d'Internet ayant un compte Facebook s'est accru dans les 10 premiers mois de l'année 2015 avec 7,9%, après 8,57% en 2014, (année qui comptait en janvier 2014 -7 millions d'utilisateurs) ; à la mi mars 2015 il y avait déjà 8 millions et à la mi novembre 8.200.000. « Les réseaux sociaux et les blogs continuent de rester les medias les plus dynamiques et interactifs et on s'attend à ce que cette position soit consolidée en 2016 » , selon Ionuț Oprea, manager des services *analytics Facebrands* et de l'agence marketing et communication des medias sociaux STANDOUT. Les comptes Facebook des utilisateurs roumains ont évolué ainsi: janvier 2011 - 2.405.920 de comptes, janvier 2012 - 4.406.580 de comptes, janvier 2013 - 5.593.480 de comptes, janvier 2014 - 7.000.000 de comptes, janvier 2015 - 7.600.000 comptes, mars 2015 - 8.000.000 de comptes, novembre 2015 - 8.200.000 de comptes.

Interpellés par cette explosion des plateformes numériques, les institutions, les partis politiques, les leaders mais aussi les gens ordinaires font constamment appel aux posts sur Facebook (largement dominant dans le paysage socio numérique roumain). Lors de la dernière campagne électorale présidentielle les politiciens connus (et soutenus par la formation politique), de même que les candidats indépendants (*challengers*) ont largement utilisé Facebook. Et la victoire du candidat *challenger* lors des dernières élections présidentielles a été interprétée comme résultat i) d'une excellente mobilisation sur les réseaux sociaux, a travers des mythes pertinents pour les Roumains (Badau et Eyries 2015) ainsi que de ii) l'interpellation et activation de la diaspora.

Si les slogans, confrontations télévisées, rencontres avec les partisans des deux principaux présidentiables hommes ont fait l'objet de nombreuses analyses, la présence pour la première fois après un quart de siècle de transition de deux femmes sur les premières places a moins retenu l'attention des analystes. C'est pourquoi on s'est proposé de comparer les images de campagnes (outdoors) des candidats hommes aux photos des candidates; on a remarqué les traditionnelles bains de foule à connotation folklorique, collective (fusionnelle), identitaire nationale des candidats (cf. fig 1) par rapport aux images individualisantes, de leader solitaire dans les campagnes des candidates.



Fig. 1

Les hommes déjà bien connus et individualisés sont inclus dans le « peuple », les femmes, « pas à leur place » en tant que leader doivent réaffirmer leur statut de leader devant le symbole du pays - le drapeau ou à partir d'un slogan polysémantique sujet à interprétation (Udrea présidente/la Roumanie belle- jeu ambigu de consolidation ou de subversion de l'être/paraître féminin).

Les hommes se présentent comme déjà votés (infra fig. 2)



Fig. 2

ou soutenus par le seul slogan (*La Roumanie des choses bien faites*) infra fig. 3



Fig.3

alors que les femmes fondent leur campagne sur les réalisations antérieures (lutte contre la corruption fig 4) et sur la différenciation (« Macovei est meilleure qu'eux »- fig. 5).



**A creat DNA.
Banii furati
se întorc la tine.**

Macovei,
mai bună
decât ei!



Macovei,
mai bună decât ei!



Fig. 4

Fig.. 5

Tout comme les hommes, Macovei est identifiée par le nom de famille afin d'éviter toute trace de familiarité (donc diminution de statut) ; en plus le substantif président est accordé au masculin même si le féminin existe (pour présidente de commission scolaire ou d'association de voisins). Plus qu'un homme, une femme doit prouver chaque jour sa compétence, ajouter de nouveaux arguments et dimensions.

Les *Internet Studies* et les sciences de la communication ont massivement intégré lors des deux dernières décennies la dimension transversale du genre au carrefour de nombreuses disciplines: philosophie, anthropologie, histoire, sciences politiques et évidemment *Gender studies*. En général les études sur l'usage de l'internet ont relié la théorie féministe soit au cadre genre comme identité, soit au

cadre genre comme structure sociale (Van Doorn, Van Zoonen 2009) en essayant de corrélérer les distinctions naturelles de genre à des comportements et discours genrés. Les premières recherches focalisées sur l'identité de genre ont montré que les inégalités linguistiques entre les femmes et les hommes persistent dans les groupes mixtes sur internet (hégémonie des thématiques et des interventions masculines), mais au fur et à mesure que les pratiques sur web 2.0. se multiplient, la structure top-down du web 1.0 est remplacée par le mode non hiérarchique de production de contenu et une croissance de l'activisme féminin et de la formation d'opinion en ligne (Van Doorn, Van Zoonen 2009 :272).

Or, ce que l'on remarque c'est le maintien dans le champ politique Facebook des règles du jeu masculin en Roumanie, même si dans d'autres pays le genre a été employé comme identité stratégique (Segolene mère de la France et aussi mère de famille, Sarah Palin mère de famille etc.). Les femmes misent exclusivement sur le côté professionnel de leur carrière dans un « one woman show » pendant les campagnes électorales (événements extraordinaires) mais aussi dans les moments ordinaires de leur vie publique.(cf. *infra*) Alors que les hommes n'évitent pas de sortir du cône d'ombre des éléments de la vie privée (amis, enfants, voisins), les femmes politiciennes préfèrent mettre entièrement entre parenthèses la vie privée. Beaucoup d'études (Ross et alii 2014 a, Ross et Burger 2014 b) ont montré la persistance des réflexes discursifs des medias anciens dans les nouveaux medias, autrement dit la même approche monologique ou « monologues interactifs » qui utilise facebook comme *one way flow* et non pas comme *two-way flow*.

Pour ce qui est de l'incidence du genre dans les messages des politiciennes sur Facebook, on remarque aussi bien des reprises des identités traditionnelles (les représentations des femmes dans les revues pour femmes en ligne et hors ligne dans les contenus des journalistes et les réponses des lectrices) que des *contre stéréotypes* (marquant l'autonomie, le leadership).

Après l'examen des *outdoors* de la campagne présidentielle qui a mis en évidence le renversement des stéréotypes de genre (femmes seules, apparemment dominantes et non pas à l'intérieur des groupes ou des foules), nous avons examiné l'iconicité d'une période ordinaire de la vie politique - le mois de juin 2015, à savoir les photos postés sur facebook On a fait l'hypothèse d'une présence significative de l'intime, du familial, du non formel, des photos que l'on partage avec des amis (surtout dans le contexte actuel de personnalisation et privatisation de la communication politique).

Alina Gorghiu, avocate, membre du Parlement depuis 2008 et co-présidente du Parti National Libéral est une présence marquante dans la vie politique roumaine. Mais elle choisit de poster sur sa page Facebook plutôt des photos de groupes (plus d'un quart fig.6), de fans, et même des photos individuelles à connotation exclusivement professionnelle. Elle choisit de poster des photos de groupes féminins et beaucoup de dyades femmes à des rencontres type école d'été, visites etc. (fig.7).

Categorie	Photos
Photos de groupe (jeunes politiciens, jeunes fans)	N=23;25%
Photos de grand groupe	N=14;15%
Photos individuelles (slogan+image)	N=10;11%
Photos individuelles (chambre de travail;promenade dans la rue)	N=9;10%
Photos groupes femmes	N=8;8,8%
Photos dyades femmes	N=8;8,8%
Autopromotions	N=8;8,8%
Photos dyades mixtes	N=6;6%
Photos animaux/objets	N=3;3%
Caricature	N=1



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



De la ora 20.30 voi fi la Antena 3, la emisiunea
Subiectiv, moderată de Răzvan Dumitrescu.

Fig. 8

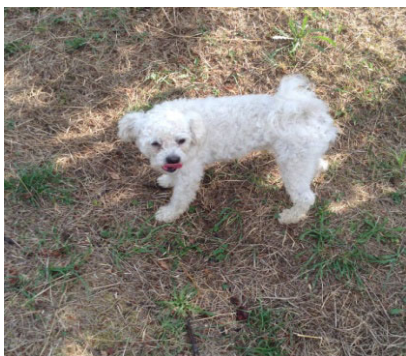


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

A peu près les mêmes options ressortent des photos postées par Monica Macovei.

Monica Luisa Macovei est un ancien procureur, membre du Parlement Européen, « mère de la DNA » (Direction National Anticorruption), ex ministre de la justice, candidat indépendant dans les élections présidentielles de 2014. En tant que ministre de la justice elle a introduit les réformes qui ont permis l'adhésion de la Roumanie à L'Union Européenne.

Elle aussi poste 30% photos de groupe à des manifestations culturelles ou de vacances (juin 2915), des photos individuelles avec parfois des connotations vie privée, des photos en dyade mixte et des photos objets (décorations culinaires). Donc l'hypothèse de la présence dominante de l'intime, du familial, de la vie privée n'a pas été validée dans le cas des femmes politiciennes analysé.

Conclusion

Les résultats de la comparaison entre les images disséminées par les hommes et par les femmes politiques roumains montrent le choix féminin net pour le modèle masculin (de la domination du professionnel) perçu comme l'unique légitime dans les événements extraordinaires - campagne électorale, ainsi que dans la vie « personnelle » publicisée normalement sur facebook. Par contre les hommes n'hésitent pas de promouvoir le côté personnel de leur vie (familiale, privée).

Les réseaux sociaux ont pris une place grandissante dans la vie des politiciens aussi bien que dans celle de tous les citoyennes et citoyens, depuis le fulgurant succès d'Obama en 2008, mais aussi depuis l'hybridation des genres liée à la centralité de l'oeil ("Centrality of eye" -Chris Jenks, 1995 , "scopic regime" - Martin Jay 1992 ,etc.), l'accroissement des contenus générés par les usagers et la complémentarité des codes sémiotiques (Jewitt 2010,2013, Kress et Van Leeuwen 2006 etc.). Ce potentiel de multimédialité et intermédialité détermine l'efficientisation, la vi-lisibilité et la mémorabilité des figures et des messages. Or, il apparaît que ces mutations de nature visuelle pluri sémiotique gagneront à être corrélées à la digitalisation et à l'empreinte du genre dans les nouvelles pratiques en ligne et hors ligne. Donc l'analyse du genre (comme identité et comme structure sociale) dans les pratiques d'expression de soi sur Facebook pourrait fournir des pistes fertiles pour des recherches sur l'utilisation stéréotypée, stratégique ou subversive de l'identité de genre.

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THE VOICES OF BULGARIAN POLITICAL PARTIES DURING THE 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION CAMPAIGN

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Abstract: This study examines the specific features of Bulgarian political rhetoric and the subject area of particular interest for this research is the election campaign (2014) in Bulgaria for Members of the National Assembly (MPs). Bulgarian candidates for MPs send and broadcast messages, appeals and slogans where they proclaim both new programs and traditional ideological principles of governance. The investigation focuses on specific verbal and visual elements of political party websites, political blogs and linked spaces throughout social networks, especially featuring their public presentations during the election campaign. The paper displays the summarized results of the research aspect focusing on the arguments of virtual and media political communication during the election campaign which has diverse ramifications.

Keywords: pre-election rhetoric, argumentation, Bulgaria, Parliamentary Election Campaign.

Introduction

Two national elections were held in 2013 and 2014 and both of them are pre-elections for MPs in the principal legislative institution of the Republic of Bulgaria. The elections for the 42nd National Assembly on 12th May 2013 and for the 43rd mandate of the Bulgarian Parliament on 5th October 2014 were both won by Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria [Граждани за европейско развитие на България, ГЕРБ (Grazhdani za evropeysko razvitie na Bulgaria, GERB)].

The situation in Bulgaria between 2012 and 2014 from a political, social, economic and communicative point of view was complicated and some of the reasons lay in the oppositions of Bulgarian citizens.

The protests in the winter of 2012 and the spring of 2013 were against low salaries, the high prizes of electricity, corruption, the high fees, and taxes. The Prime Minister, Boyko Borissov, resigned in the plenary hall of the National Assembly on 20th February 2013. On 14th March 2013 the National Assembly suspended its activities.

The preliminary elections for the Bulgarian Parliament on 12th May 2013 were won again by Citizens for European Development of Bulgarian, but the party refused to form a government. The Coalition for Bulgaria or the Bulgarian Socialist Party [Българска социалистическа партия, БСП (Balgarska sotsialisticheska

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partiya, BSP)], the second largest parliamentary group, undertook to form the government and Plamen Oreharski was elected prime-minister on 29th May 2013.

The street demonstrations started on 14 June 2013 and they have continued in the summer and the autumn of 2013. The protests were against *Plamen Oreharski, his cabinet and governmental policy*. Prime Minister Oreharski resigned in the parliamentary tribune in the National Assembly on 23 July 2014.

The President of the Republic of Bulgaria, Rossen Plevneliev, signed the decrees for a preliminary parliamentary election. The election campaign continued since 5 September to 3 October 2014. The election vote for the Bulgarian Parliament was on 5th October 2014.

Theoretical review of political rhetoric and arguments

The complex nature of the research requires us to introduce some basic concepts and corresponding terminology. We will start with the terms related to political rhetoric and its manifestations in the current society and virtual environment.

Political rhetoric includes parliamentary oratory, presidential statements, diplomatic negotiations and addresses, participations in discussion and debates in international institutions, speeches delivered during the election campaigns etc. Political rhetoric plays a key role during the election campaign and in particular in the parliamentary elections for the National Assembly in Bulgarian after 1990.

The notion *pre-election rhetoric* consists of the main features of political rhetoric and at the same time it has its specific manifestations. *Pre-election rhetoric* has changed since 2000 and Bulgarian candidates for MPs have been using combined direct, media and virtual channels.

Pre-election media rhetoric includes video-recorded speeches, presentations or statements delivered by candidates for the Parliament as an inseparable part of the election campaign, as well as individual, team or group participations in media debates and programs directly broadcast by the Bulgarian media or published later on the media sites.

Virtual pre-election rhetoric includes video-recorded speeches delivered by the candidates for national and international institutions and in particular for MPs as well as video clips disseminated on the sites, blogs and social media and networks. New rhetorical genres broadcasted on the Internet are *video-conference, video presentations, webinar, virtual forums, and posts*. Consequently the *pre-election rhetoric* in the virtual space has new manifestations.

Visual virtual pre-election rhetoric is a variant of *virtual pre-election rhetoric* and it has manifestations on placates, posters, video clips, caricatures etc. disseminated on the Internet.

We will also draw on the basic definitions of some types of arguments analysed in the study of the 2014 Parliamentary election campaign in Bulgaria.

The scheme of Argument *Pro Homine* is presented by Leo Groarke and Christopher Tindale (2012):

“Promise 1: X says y.

Promise 2: X is knowledgeable, trustworthy, and free of bias.

Conclusion: y should be accepted.” (308).

Leo Groarke and Michel Tindale accept that argument from authority is a form of pro homine argument (312). The authors clarify the meaning of this argument: “... Argument from authority is an appeal to an authority’s claim that uses their expertise as a base for the conclusion that their views should be accepted” (313). Groarke and Tindale explain the verbal scheme of this argument “A good argument from authority supports a claim based on the fact that the endorsed person or group is deemed to have (1) certain stated credentials, which are (2) relevant to the claim in question, and (3) no biases that are likely to interfere with their assessment of the claim, provided that (4) the claim in question concerns an area in which there is wide agreement among the relevant experts, and that (5) the claim concerns an area of knowledge in which consensus is possible (318).

We will focus next on the meaning of the term *authority* from political rhetoric point of view. The authority in politics can be a politician, party leader or leader of coalition or non-governmental organization etc. The party authority is appreciated as formal leader in the political sphere. A key-opinion leader can be formal or informal but he or she has influences over particular communities and their power and charisma are exerted in front of different audiences. At the same time we cannot isolate the other factors established as a result of the new media, Web 2.0 and public relations. The authority can be increased, enlarged and reinforced by virtue of publicity, popularity and participation in the events, media broadcasts and online interviews. The Internet and new media channels support the effect of information-through visualization or a mix of verbal and visual elements of the virtual space: sites, blogs, social networks and online media etc. The popularity of a politician has connection with channel and context but their reputation associates with the real achievements and with moral values and ethics. Consequently it is important to make differences between ethotic argument and party leader’s reputation, argument and presenting of the person or political formation, coalition or party.

In accordance with the aims of the current research it is reasonable to introduce the term *visual argument*.

Leo Groarke and Christopher Tindale (2012) give a definition of visual arguments in the dictionary of the book “Good Reasoning Matters! A Constructive Approach to Critical Thinking”: “Visual arguments are arguments that convey premises and conclusions with non-verbal images one finds in drawing, photographs, films, videos, sculptures natural objects, and so on. In most cases they combine visual and verbal cues that can be understood as argument” (455).

The above definition stands in close agreement with the theoretical grounds of this search, especially with the position that verbal and visual cues are combined to support the process of understanding the arguments and we will continue to use it as a part of the theoretical background of this study.

Georges Roque (2010) reasons about arguments and draws the conclusion that arguments are better expressed visually and he adds that the arguments are much better displayed visually than verbally especially in the case of diagrams displayed as statistic curves (1724-1727).

The researchers and scientists mentioned above have their singular contributions to the theory of visual argument and visual argumentation.

We can add that the visual arguments include unique elements as well as well-known portraits, pictures, plots, posters, and other forms of slogans and mottos adapted to the specific situation or the political orator and communicator paraphrase them using visual analogy and other rhetorical figures and techniques.

Research design

The hypothesis is that *Bulgarian pre-election rhetoric* has diverse forms of manifestation and specific characteristics and that the argumentation in the sites, blogs and social networks during the election campaigns goes through different transformations combining verbal and visual elements. The manners of presenting the ideological appeals and ideas for government in Bulgaria have changed as a result of the decisions of experts on political rhetoric, political communication and political public relations.

The aims of the current study is an investigation on the different political messages and kinds of arguments used by the candidates for MPs in the Bulgarian Parliament; to analyse the appropriateness and effectiveness of the combination between different instruments.

This study aims at providing answers the following research questions:

What were the political, social, communicative and technical circumstances during the 2014 parliamentary election campaign?

What is the role of media and social networks during the election campaign?

Which arguments on verbal and visual level did the candidates for MPs use purposefully to convey their main messages, influence the public conscience of the Bulgarian citizens?

Which rhetorical techniques on verbal and visual level did the candidates for MPs use purposefully to influence the electorate and mobilise them to support their ideas?

The empirical sources for the present study are selected and included in corpora, the materials have connections with the topics '2014 Parliamentary election'. The study is based on a grounded analysis of 50 posters and placates selected from the party's sites, political blogs and Facebook profiles; 10 video clips posted on YouTube channels and sites, 10 media participations of TV broadcasts since 1st September to 4th October 2014.

The research design is a result of selection of elements of the same spheres in particular from the article "Ideology and discourse analysis" (Dijk 2006: 115-

140), rhetorical argumentative analysis and the adapted model of rhetorical image analysis (Broek et al 2012: 110-111). The model of rhetorical image analysis is reconstructed on the basis of the rhetorical canons and principles.

Political situation and communication

Twenty two *parties and seven coalitions* have declared participation in 2014 Parliamentary elections in Bulgaria. Due to irregularities, the Central Election Commission refused the registration of two parties: the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian Worker-peasant Party.

The main political formation GERB follows liberal ideology, the abbreviation has a meaning in Bulgarian language ‘emblem of state’ or ‘blazon’ and communication strategy includes appeals about *security, stability, statehood* etc. GERB combined different communication channels and tools, the candidates organise meetings and concerts in the streets and big halls (for example ‘Arena Armeetz’, the biggest hall in the capital of Bulgaria, Sofia). The candidates use also the social networks and principally Facebook as well as they took part in direct communication with the electorate. The party GERB won 32,667% and 84 seats in 43 National Assembly.

The coalition ideologically oriented to the left included 13 parties and it was named BSP – Left Bulgaria [БСП – Лява България (Liava Bulgariya)]. The main members are BSP, Bulgarian Social-Democrats’ [Български социал-демократи (Balgarski social-demokrati)], Movement of Social Humanism [(Dvijenie za socialen humanisam)], three small formations including the ideological word ‘Communist’, New Dawn [Нова зора (Nova Zora)], EuroRomes [Евророма (Evrroma)]. The coalitions prefer traditional techniques to persuade the electorate during the meeting with representatives of hard electorate and at the same time BSP uses sites and social networks. BSP won 15,398% and 39 seats.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) [Движение за права и свободи – ДПС (Dvizhenie za prava i svobodi)] was an active participant in the parliamentary competition and it generally accepted as an ethnic minority party with a liberal ideology. The candidates of DPS prefer direct meetings with the electorate and they use sparingly social networks and media channels. DPS won 14, 837% and 38 seats.

The results of BSP are almost equal with the DPS and the configuration on the National Assembly was transformed because BSP loses the influence as the second parliamentary force.

The party ‘Alternative for Bulgarian Revival’ [Алтернатива за българско възраждане, АБВ (Alternativa za balgarsko vazrazhdane, ABV) followed the left ideological cannons but in this campaign ABV played in a coalition with Bulgarian Party of Liberals [Българска партия на либералите (Balragska partiya na libetalite)], United Labour Block [Обединен блок на труда (Obedinen blok na truda)] and FAGO [Федерация активно гражданско общество – ФАГО Federation ‘Active Civil Soceity’ (FAGO)]. The candidates combined traditional

communicative channels and new media tools during the campaign and they won 4,149% and 11 seats.

‘Movement 21’ has left ideological orientation and it plays independently following modern model of propaganda and contemporary pre-election tools, TV channels and Facebook and as a result it won 1,195% and received state donation.

Seven conservative and right parties participated as member in the coalition The Reformist Block [Реформаторски блок (Reformatorski blok). The Reformist Block was the main player, other bigger members are the Union of Democratic Forces [Съюз на демократичните сили – СДС (Sauz na demokraticnite sili)], the Bulgarian Agrarian Union [Български земеделски народен съюз (Balarski zemedelski naroden sauz)], Democrats for Strong Bulgaria [Демократи за силна България – ДСБ (Demokrati za silna Bagaria)] etc. They tried to revive the messages from the beginning of the democratic changes in Bulgaria after 1990 and as a result the communicative strategy has been fluid. The candidates prefer virtual pre-election communication as well as direct meetings with the hard electorate. The Reformist Block won 8.8888 % and 23 seats.

Some nationalist parties and coalitions took part in 2014 Parliamentary election campaign: The main payer was the “Attack” party [Атака (Ataka)] and the candidates follows aggressive manner to present their appeals. The candidates, especially party leader Volen Siderov, used the Alfa TV as well as street meetings, party site, Facebook and YouTube. Attack won 4,516% and 11 seats.

The coalition “Patriotic Front” included two formations: The National Front for Saving Bulgaria [Национален фронт за спасение на България – НФСБ (Nacionalen front za spasenie na Bulgariya – NFSB)] and the Internal Macedonian-Odrin Revolutionary Organization [Вътрешна Македоно-Одринска революционна организация – ВМРО (Vatreshna Makedono-Odrinska revolyutsionna organizatsiya – VMRO)]. They combined meetings, media participations, blogs and Facebook pages broadcasting patriotic appeals to Bulgarian citizens. They won 7,283% and 19 seats.

The party “Bulgaria without Censorship” (BWC) [България без цензура – ББЦ (Bulgariya bez tsenzura – BBC)] was the main member in the heterogeneous coalition including 10 political formations among witch Party of Bulgarian Women, ‘Gergiovdan’, Union of Free Democrats Agrarian Union, Bulgarian Agrarian-Industrial Party etc. The online media and social networks, TV communication channels are combined with political events during the campaign. BBC won 5,694% or 15 seats.

Vox Populi [Глас народен (Glas Naroden)] was a relatively new political party and its very active participants in the election addressed verbal and visual messages to young Bulgarian citizens who regard themselves as active members of the civil society in Bulgaria. Party’s leader Svetoslav Vitkov took part in TV programs. One of the most preferable party in Facebook during the 2014 parliamentary election campaign was Vox Populi, the party has a Facebook groups in different Bulgarian towns, for example Varna, Turnovo etc. Vox populi/Glas Naroden won 1,137%.

The Party of Greens [Партия на зелените (Partiya na zelenite)] took part independently, it won 0,609%. The Green Party [Зелена партия (Zelena partiya)] participated in a coalition with 'Left' [Левите (Levite)], they won 0,214. The eco/green parties use social networks and meeting with the electorate during the campaign.

New alternative [Нова Алтернатива (Nova Alternativa)] organized attractive campaign following the main aim to recognize it; the candidates used video clips, interactive games and visual argument ad hominem but it won only 0,353%.

On 27 October 2014 started the 43 National Assembly including 8 parliamentary groups: GERB, BSP, DPS, Reformatorski Block, BBC, Ataka, Patrioticen Front, and ABV. On 7 November 2014 GERB supported by Reformatorski Block, Patrioticen Front and ABV selected the staff of the Council of Ministry named the second Borissov' cabinet.

Bearing in mind the above data of 2014 parliamentary election campaign, it is possible to summarise that the party system in Bulgaria included traditionally ideologically oriented formations of the left, right and liberal as well as conservative and neoliberal, nationalist and eco or green, nationalistic, patriotic and ethnic minority parties. Consequently the parties and coalitions broadcasted verbal slogan and visual messages, video clips and posters, placates and speeches. The main features of this campaign are heterogeneity of political parties, coalitions, vitiated tools and techniques, clear and strong ideological appeals and at the same time fluid messages sent to the electorate. As a result the 43 Bulgarian parliament is fragmented. There are MPs from parties which follow diametrically ideological ideas, it is difficult to reach agreement on key issues for Bulgaria and the decisions will be taken based on many compromises.

Verbal arguments

The candidates from different Bulgarian political parties for MPs try to present themselves as moral, competent and active politicians or leaders. From their point of view Bulgaria could develop better, the ruling or management of the state can become more efficient if they and their party or coalitions took part in the legislative process in the National Assembly and state institutions. Therefore, the candidates and parties did their best to send powerful verbal messages and influence voters who had lost confidence in the government and the Bulgarian political elite during the last decades.

GERB chose the slogan "*Stable Bulgaria. It's time!*" which consists of two sub-parts. From a rhetorical point of view the elliptical sentence "Stable Bulgaria" corresponds to the intention of GERB to rule again and to pursue a responsible policy concerning the state. The verbal message of the first part sounded as a result, the second part confirmed the responsible intention of former ruled party "Stable Bulgaria. It's time!" The slogan expressed the self-confidence and active position of GERB.

The Reformist Block which united right parties broadcasted the main slogan “*Everything is in your hands*” and it is an appeal to activate the Bulgarian electorate and voters. This slogan was written on placates and posters next to the portraits of the candidates and it is an attempt to personalize this appeal. The state, statehood and reforms are the leading words of the slogans of The Reformist Block, the candidate Peter Slavov sent the message “*For reforms and order of our state*” or “*For reforms to put our country in order!*”

The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), a right ideological formation, prefers two different ways to present their ideas. One of them is “*We are blue again!*” Probably this verbal message is the result of the desire to return to the post-1990 democratic values and the aim is a re-recognition of the political formation in new political configurations through nostalgia. The second verbal message consists of social elements directed to young Bulgarians who prefer to be immigrants” “*Young people have to stay in Bulgaria*”. The ideological identification of SDS was neither clear nor effective.

The coalition “Bulgaria without Censure” (BBC) broadcasted during the general national elections the following verbal message: “*Bulgaria deserves more*”. ‘Bulgaria’, the name of the state, is included in the slogan but the message sounds vague and indefinite. Bulgaria is a part of the party brand and the repetition of this key word aims to reinforce the effect of recognising BBC, a relatively new political formation, and to direct the attention to the meaning of statehood and responsibility as ethotic argument.

The Patriotic Front followed the same model by creating the main verbal slogans during the 2014 Parliamentary election campaign: “*Bulgaria above all!*” This slogan has connection with the ideological programs of the patriotic and nationalist parties (Nacionalen front za spasenie na Balgariya and Vatreshna Makedono-Odrinska revolyutsionna organizatsiya)), the members of the Patriotic Front.

Dvigenie 21/Movement 21 broadcasted the slogan “Best ideas for the good of Bulgaria” and the ambition of their MPs was to raise new proposals and they declared their willingness to work for the good of the state and the people.

ABV (Alternative for Bulgarian Revival) in accordance with the brand and left ideology followed the same approach incorporating the word ‘state’ in the slogans. ABV disseminated the slogan “*For a strong state, successful nation and dignified life!*”.

BBC was focused on the obligation of the state: “*The state cares for the people*”.

Another party, “New Alternative”, implemented the word “state” in the slogan too but the focus is on the functions of the state: “For a strong, not forceful state”.

Stefan Danailov, a well-known Bulgarian actor and professor, who has experience as MP and minister of culture disseminated the verbal message “*Dignified life in a just state*”. His popularity and charisma play the role of

argument from authority, his portrait is combined with the verbal appeal which is relevant to the left ideology and policy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

The slogan published on the website of the party “Zelenite” is repeated during the 2014 Parliamentary election campaign: “*The Greens – pure nature – fair policy*” http://izbori.zelenite.bg/listi_43_ns

The Nationalist party Attack and the leader Volen Siderov combined argumentum ad populum and argument from authority during the 2014 Parliamentary election campaign. Attack disseminated on posters, video clips, party website and social networks the following slogans: “*Our patience has come to an end! Attack. Victory!*” and “*Attack – the last stronghold of the people*”. At the same the leader Volen Siderov is presented as a strategist in the verbal messages “*Plan Siderov*”. The second variant of verbal slogan included the pathetic message: “*God is with us!*”

Nova Alternativa/New Alternative disseminated the slogan “Output has” but from a rhetorical point of view it is fluid, unclear and amorphous.

Meglana Kuneva, the candidate from the Reformist Block, disseminated on the Internet a lot of verbal messages but all of them followed the model of proverbs or aphorisms and she has tried to present rhetorically framed norms or moral maxims. For example Kuneva published on the Facebook wall the sentences “*The state is the ultimate standard of the people* “ and “*The public policy can be translated into everyday language through the National Awareness orders*”.

DPS traditionally prefers the words ‘freedom’ and ‘security’, where ‘freedom’ is an important part of the party brand (Movement of Rights and Freedom). An additional variant of the slogan consisted of the word ‘freedom’ as in “*Freedom is inside you!*”. It is obvious that the value of freedom is declared directly on a verbal level in the slogans of DPS.

The freedom in other contexts was included in the slogan disseminated by the party Glas Narodni/ ‘Vox Populi’, because the main appeal was addressed to Bulgarian citizens and their choice in civil society, their responsibility in choosing the rulers and political elite: “Freedom!” “Difficult choice. Live in freedom!”

To summarize, it is fair to say that the participants in the competitions for MPs prefer to combine words denoting values with ideological words. *Bulgaria, state, stability/stable, security, freedom/freely, people, life, standards, reforms, choice* etc. are the words incorporated in the slogans. The argument from authority is used in different contexts, Attack presents the family name of the leader: “Plan Siderov”; BSP – popular persons for example Stefan Danailov. Big parties achieved identification on a verbal level: BSP as a left party focused on justice, reform in the Bulgarian labor market, jobs for young people and higher pensions. GERB as a former ruling party emphasized stability, DPS repeated often the word freedom; Reformatorski block sent appeals about standards, life, state care, reforms; patriotic and nationalistic parties – state, stability, government, new parties like Vox Populi – choice and freedom, Movement 21 – best idea and statehood etc. Consequently we can conclude that the diversity of verbal slogans and message heterogeneity are typical features of the 2014 parliamentary elections.

Visual arguments

The adapted model of rhetorical image analysis was used in this part of the paper and it includes analysis of the materials from corpora including placates, posters, video clips etc. in connection with logos, colours as well as arguments presented on visual levels. Traditionally BSP used red colour and red rose and the decoding by the electorate oriented to left ideology is very easy. The same model was followed by other parties. DPS traditionally used olive branch painted in purple color. The nationalist party Ataka posted on placates shield with elements of Bulgarian history and proto-Bulgarians. The visual element is a variant of the proto-Bulgarian sign used by BBC and it is important to say that the sign is colored in yellow and gold but the background is light blue. ABV preferred the variant of the other symbol of Bulgaria and statehood – the lion and the variant of purple color synchronised with the main aim as a party for Bulgarian Revival. VMRO as a nationalistic party traditionally incorporated in placates, video clips, blogs and social networks dark red and black colors with Bulgarian flags, shields and weapons presented as symbolic ideals for freedom and a strong state. The party ‘Zelenite’ following the aim of recognition as eco party uses the green leaf and bright colors as a background of the verbal messages or placates. GERB has presented for 8 years the party brand as a mix of light blue, yellow stars associated with the European Union and the name Citizens of the European Future of Bulgaria. The blue colour has different nuances and it is in connection with the parties’ brands: GERB, Refromatorski Block etc. New parties aim to identify themselves and to recognize the candidates for MPs, they prefer variants of well-known colors in different nuances: Movement 21 use variants of purple, New Alternative – light green etc. Glas Naroden/Vox Poluli had a creative approach with a relatively new visual argument in political communication in Bulgaria – the cock and the message combined visual and oral elements: bright colors of cock’s comb and pip crowing sound familiar upon awakening for everybody.

The argument from authority has different ramifications on a visual level. The portrait of Siderov, the leader of the nationalistic party Ataka, is presented as a monument painted in brown color and the face is in combination with the verbal messages “*Plan Siderov*” or “*God is with us!*” The face on the posters is bigger than the verbal element and the sentences: “*Plan Siderov – against colonial slavery*” and “*Plan Siderov – Ataka’s programs for governance*”.

GERB is a leader’s party, the figure of Boyko Borissov plays the key role of an argument from authority, consequently Borissov was presented very often in placates, posters, video clips, presentations during the election campaign. The smaller figures of candidates of MPs are placed around the bigger figure of the leader Borissov.

The same model has been followed by Glass Naroden, the party’s leader Svetoslav Vitkov is presented as a leader, his figure is bigger than that of other

candidates. The candidates from this party presented as a team, the collaboration and activity are visual message on the other placates.

The purple colour is a part of the new visual image of “Movement 21” and the posters, placates and video clips use this colour combined with the colours of the national flag: red, green and white in a different and modern design. Reformatorski Block incorporated in their posters and video clips the number 7 and it is presented of the specific script with a particular font. The number 7 acquires different meanings from a semiotic and a symbolic point of view. The number 7 was downloaded in the Central Election Commission and it is integrated as a visual element and argument with verbal messages.

The argument from authority was used in video clips, press conferences, events and speeches during the 2014 Parliamentary election campaign. GERB invited the celebrities and popular persons (Edvin Sugarev and Georgi Markov) from SDS and from the beginning of democratic changes and transition; all of them declared their categorical support for GERB. In the same video they included appeals and greetings delivered by the President of the Election headquarters of GERB Tsvetan Tsvetanov and by the mayor of the capital of Bulgaria Yordanka Fandakova who was nominated by GERB. All verbal sentences included in the video clips expressed confidence in the victory of GERB and the successful future ruling. GERB is represented by authoritative political figures as a savior and the only possible alternative. The orators often repeated the importance of stability during the meetings in the big halls built during the GERB ruling and this is an argument from authority too.

The Green/Zelenite do not have a long experience in the Bulgarian political life and they incorporated as argument from authority the photos and video clips presented their participation in the protests and names of the street manifestations and demonstration against governmental policy concerning nuclear energy, Black Sea resorts, etc. The green background is prevailing on the clips and posters.

The posters and video clips broadcasted by Vox Populi include the argument Pro Homine and they included the portrait of celebrated Bulgarians. The visual argument Pro Homine used by them are the portraits of the political leader of the Bulgarian Revive Vassil Levski.

In conclusion we can say that colors, symbols, numbers, flags etc. are used as visual elements and that the argument from authority had different manifestations on a visual level during the parliamentary election in Bulgaria.

Conclusion

The candidates of political parties aim to impact on party members, political leaders, competitors, and citizens during the 2014 parliamentary election campaign. They understand the necessity of developing rhetorical and digital competence and of using different, distinguishable, memorable, powerful and persuasive messages and ‘voices’ in a metaphorical way. As a result the process of constructing political

messages and design arguments has been gradually changing by including and combining different elements.

The arguments of virtual political communication during the election campaign have diverse ramifications. The Bulgarian candidates for MPs sent and broadcasted slogans, they proclaimed new programs, reforms or traditional ideological principles.

The voices during the 2014 parliamentary election campaign are multiple and very diverse. The candidates for MP took part in the meetings, TV media broadcasts, they used new communication channels such as blogs, Facebook, YouTube in accordance with political decisions and pre-election situations. Bulgarian citizens received the information from different channels.

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VISUEL, TEXTUEL, MULTIMODALITE DANS LES GRAPHISMES DE DAN PERJOVSCHI

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Résumé: *Dans une période d'accroissement du visuel (ère du facebook ,pictorial turn-W J Mitchell;) l'artiste contemporain agit comme un citoyen capacitare (Pierre Rosanvallon, 2012) et interroge plusieurs espaces et médias.*

Dan Perjovschi, artiste roumain de renommée internationale, construit pendant une période longue de plus de 20 années, un discours journalistique basé sur un langage interprétatif, sémiotique, visuel et textuel à même de pénétrer plusieurs espaces publics et d'interroger des normes et des valeurs démocratiques médiatiques afin d'interpeller des publics divers, orientés vers des problématiques issues du contexte sociopolitique le plus actuel.

On se propose d'analyser un corpus constitué sur les Posts facebook) de l'artiste Dan Perjovschi dans la période septembre-octobre 2013 à l'aide l'analyse du contenu, analyse du discours et l'analyse visuelle (Kress G. & Van Leeuwen T.(2005)) sociale et de popular culture; l'objectif principal sera de configurer l'articulation des deux concepts fondamentaux de l'art de Dan Perjovschi, plus précisément la multi-modalité inhérente au fonctionnement facebook.

Mots clés: *discours, ressources sémiotiques, modes sémiotiques, multimodalité, sémiotique sociale.*

Introduction

« Il n'y a pas de meilleurs citoyens que les artistes » soutient dans son article de revue intitulé « Peuples de l'art », Joelle Zask. Selon elle, le lien entre art et politique rend un éclairage sur les valeurs universelles de la cité mais aussi sur les déficiences et les conformismes d'une société destinée à consommer. L'artiste citoyen est un être qui doit créer et concevoir des pratiques communicationnelles, artistiques et sociales capables d'indiquer au monde du politique, ses faiblesses et ses déviations, surtout dans la société d'aujourd'hui, grande consommatrice des produits médias. L'artiste du moment c'est un créateur conscient des limites de la démocratie et celles des politiciens qui devraient traiter les citoyens comme des égaux rationaux.« En réalité, en politique, il ne s'agit surtout pas de se mettre à la place des autres, car cela conduit à la leur prendre. Il s'agit seulement d'occuper sa place de telle sorte qu'il reste de la place pour les autres. Ainsi, « la démocratie commence à la maison » (Zask,1999). Dans l'atelier, elle est reine. » (Zask, 2012).

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D'autre part, selon Pierre Rosanvallon (2012), le nouveau citoyen capacitaire détermine des formes nouvelles de mobilisation et surveillance politique, en interagissant dans l'espace public élargi avec celui des réseaux sociaux. La contestation de l'intérieur de la démocratie est un moyen de lutte ainsi dite « contre-démocratique », où « l'intellectuel organique » selon Gramsci, devient conscient de son rôle de contestateur des politiques et pratiques démocratiques, de l'intérieur pour adhérer à une participation active et intense des élites civiles. Selon l'auteur, pour devenir un « citoyen capacitaire » il faut « organiser la défiance pour construire la confiance ». (Rosanvallon, 2012).

A travers un discours engagé sur sa page *facebook*, Dan Perjovschi, artiste et caricaturiste roumain, avec une notable notoriété internationale, avait évolué pendant l'année 2013, d'une figure connue dans le monde de l'art, à un leader d'opinion impliqué dans un nouveau mouvement socio-écologique. Son histoire d'engagement civique et écologique s'était configurée dans un discours multimodal, lié directement aux mouvements politiques et sociaux du contexte roumain de cette période.

On se propose d'étudier comment se construit et se développe le discours multimodal de Dan Perjovschi dans la période 1 septembre - 31 décembre 2013, période qui coïncide avec les manifestations de protestation écologistes et anti-gouvernementales « *Sauver Roșia Montană* ». En suivant de près le phénomène grâce à l'observation participative, on avait remarqué la réponse immédiate et l'implication intense avec laquelle l'artiste réagissait aux événements qui se déroulaient. En assumant que les pratiques communicationnelles de cette période se constituent dans un discours qui soutenait les valeurs écologistes, on a l'intention d'analyser quelles sont les ressources sémiotiques les plus importantes et comment ont été utilisés. On doit aussi établir quelles sont les caractéristiques qui font de ce discours un acte communicationnel original et affirmé. Le corpus est constitué de 1985 posts comprenant 131 dessins artistiques, 260 photographies, 670 commentaires textuelles, dans une période de temps qui couvre plus de 3 mois (septembre-décembre 2013) (topique d'implication sociale, politique, écologique)- « *Sauver Roșia Montana* ».

Approfondissement du concept de multimodalité

Inspiré par la sémiotique sociale qui utilise les recherches de Michael Halliday sur la triade réception/compréhension/production – en contexte réel de communication – du sens (Kress, 2010, van Leeuwen, 2005), le concept de multimodalité est configuré à partir des notions comme les ressources sémiotiques et leur distribution via une pluralité de médias, dans le contexte de la communication médiatique contemporaine (Kress, 2010).

On parle aussi de modes sémiotiques: l'image, l'écriture, la gestuelle, le regard, la parole, etc. (Jewitt, 2009) utilisés pour configurer un objet ou un événement sémiotique (Kress et van Leeuwen, 2001). La multimodalité est

regardée comme un mix de possibilités techniques à travers lequel se mettent ensemble différentes formes de communication: la langue écrite, les images fixes et mobiles, la parole, les sons, la musique, les gestes. Selon Bearne et Wolstencroft (2007) la multimodalité naît comme interaction du langage, de l'image, du geste/mouvement et de la sonorité, la parole, ces éléments se combinant alors de différentes façons et étant diffusés à partir d'une kyrielle de plus en plus diversifiée d'outils médiatiques.

Ce concept est apparu comme une conséquence dans le monde postmoderne, enrichi d'une complexité sémiotique et relève d'une tendance analytique pour ordonner, évaluer et analyser les enjeux et les contraintes des pratiques informationnelles. Ruth Wodak reprend le terme dans son chapitre intitulé « Images in/and news in a globalised world », et considère que la modalité concerne en premier lieu l'analyse de la production, reproduction, reconfiguration des informations trouvables sur Internet ; en outre, elle doit tenir compte de la globalisation comme un des facteurs les plus importants. De son côté Jay Lemke (Lemke, 2001, apud Wodak, 2003) propose de reconsidérer les activités de communication sur Internet comme « transversales », des genres mixtes, hybrides qui transcendent les normes traditionnelles d'espace et du temps. Lemke introduit le concept de « hypermodalité » des pages web en prenant en compte la liberté de l'utilisateur de créer et de lier son propre texte, à travers des images, sous-textes, symboles, icônes et graphismes. Se configure ainsi une hiérarchie sémiotique, un type de « hétéroglossie » qui constitue des fonctions et des perspectives différentes spécifiques à l'hyper textualité Internet.

Ruth Wodak met l'accent sur le fait que, de nos jours, les images sont utilisées par les médias, pour des raisons politiques, pour renforcer des idéologies, de créer méta-narrations métaphoriques et des cadrages conceptuels polarisés du bien et du mal. La signification et l'importance font sens en fonction du contexte et de l'intérêt de certains groupes d'influence. Le processus de recréer les ressources sémiotiques en fonction du contexte (Wodak, 2000 ; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) prend ici une valeur majeure, car une nouvelle signification des images est réalisée par le biais de ce processus. La construction conceptuelle est configurée autour de la signification, la *semiosis* du texte et d'images. Les liaisons entre elles, la production de l'information, sont faites autour des intérêts politiques et économiques, d'influences médiatiques globales.

Dans l'article de revue intitulé « Multimodality, resemiotization: extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice » paru dans *Visual Communication*, 2007, Rick Iedema met l'accent sur le fait que l'homme présente une tendance naturelle de faire appel à la manière multimodale d'interpréter la réalité. On peut regarder la multimodalité comme une méthode exhaustive, intéressée par toutes les modalités de représentation, non seulement par le texte écrit ou les actes langage comme centres d'intérêt. Toutes les pratiques communicationnelles sont considérées multimodales et le mot multimodalité est utilisé pour décrire et comprendre comment se réalise l'articulation de ces pratiques dans un acte de communication plus complexe. L'homme fait appel au

langage, voix, expressions faciales, gestes, postures et autres ressources sémiotiques pour construire un message et le redonner au monde. La multimodalité est la quintessence sémiotique avec laquelle le langage, l'écriture, les images, le son se combinent entre eux. Selon l'auteur, il existe des principes de design qui peuvent être « identifiés dans plusieurs systèmes sociaux » (Sellers, 1995, Williams, 1995, Van Leeuwen, *apud* Iedema, 2003).

La multimodalité donne les consignes et fournit des règles et des pratiques pour expliquer et analyser les modes de représentation dans leur richesse et leur complexité. Le terme resémiotisation est introduit par Rick Iedema pour décrire comment la signification et la compréhension du sens peut changer d'une pratique informationnelle à l'autre. En tant que la multimodalité se concentre sur la nature plurimodale de la représentation, la resémiotisation est responsable de la dimension matérielle et historique de la réinterprétation.

Selon Iedema (Kress et Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress et Ogborn, 1998; Van Leeuwen, 1999, *apud* Iedema, 2003) la multimodalité est un concept nécessaire pour:

- analyser les représentations selon les modes sémiotiques différentes : images, son, peinture, écriture, typographie y compris le langage ;
- insister sur les relations et les rapports qui se créent entre les différents modes sémiotiques,
- décrypter la façon par laquelle une modalité sémiotique peut être remplacée ou substituée par une autre, le langage par l'image, et établir comment différents codes sémiotiques déterminent une certaine interprétation et réception subjective (Kress, Van Leeuwen, 1996, *apud* Iedema, 2003).

L'analyse du discours multimodal

L' éco-discours développé par Dan Perjovschi pendant la période septembre-décembre 2013 sur sa page *facebook*, implique des éléments structurels sémiotiques spécifiques de cette pratique sociale: les actions des protagonistes, la manière dont les actions sont mises en œuvre, les acteurs ou les participants à l'expression de cette pratique, les ressources symboliques et communicationnelles auxquelles les participants font appel, la temporalité et les lieux de la mise en œuvre des post et répliques *facebook*.

Dan Perjovschi construit un discours sur plusieurs plans et utilise la multimodalité du réseau *facebook* pour transmettre plusieurs messages aux interlocuteurs parfois absents du dialogue, vers un tiers qui est son public de suiveurs et amis. Il se met en scène pour contester les politiques, les politiciens et les lois injustes que les ministres du Gouvernement ont eu l'intention de passer en régime d'urgence:

- appeler la presse qui, à son opinion, ne réagissait pas, restait soumise, obéissante ou achetée par RMGC;
- soutenir la cause de manifestants et des ONG impliqués dans les protestations de la rue.

Facebook devient ainsi l'outil et le milieu pour un flux d'information où les protagonistes sont les gens directement impliqués, les politiciens, et bien sûr l'artiste lui-même qui fait appel à plusieurs ressources sémiotiques constituant un support communicationnel multimodal: les dessins artistiques, les photos et les commentaires écrites.

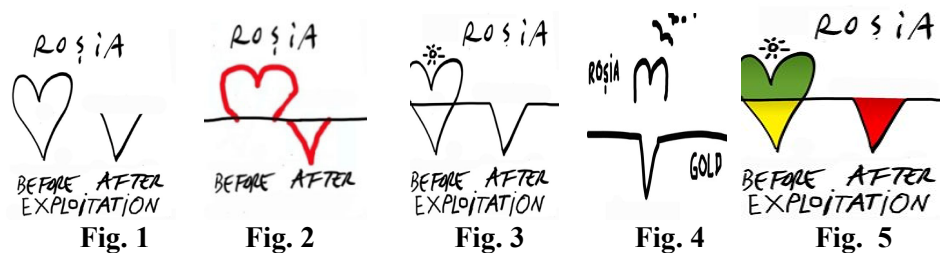
La voix la plus poignante dans les premiers jours, est la voix du contestataire Perjovschi qui interpelle, questionne les politiques et surtout les politiciens. En utilisant la première personne du singulier, il prend la parole dans une suite d'affirmations qui semblent être des jugements aprioriques. Il utilise un ton incisif, direct, parfois en utilisant des grandes paroles. La presse roumaine est traitée au début des événements, avec des mots durs : « *la presse roumaine est zéro* » (avec des petites exceptions, DIGI) et est comparée avec un ton ironique avec la presse « impérialiste » qui commente et transmet les manifestations. Pour soutenir son attitude Dan Perjovschi poste sur facebook à partir de 2 septembre tous les articles parus dans la presse occidentale et même d'autres territoires plus lointains: « Thousands rally in Romania against gold mine » « 1 September 2013 Web of Protests for Roșia Montană », “The Hypocrisy of the Romanian Government: Why the Rosia Montana project must be stopped.” « Dirty Gold: Crisis Has Europe Clamoring to Mine ». On peut compter que dans le période de révolte contre la presse (1-5 septembre) il avait posté 14 articles des journaux parus dans les quotidiens étrangers.

De la même manière, directe, il s'adresse aux politiciens pour soutenir les pétitions contre l'exploitation minière. C'est la textualité civique, impliqué, qui prime dans les premiers jours de la protestation. Il avait écrit et posté le 6 septembre une lettre au député Raluca Turcanu, et puis il avait posté la réponse de la politicienne. Les pratiques du civisme continuent avec le lettre écrite le 6 septembre au manager de RMGC et le soutien pour la pétition « Romania : no dirty mine, no dirty politics ». La pétition avait reçu le 7 septembre 25000 signatures, et à présent il y a presque 75000 signatures.

Dès les premiers jours, il offre ses dessins à la distribution libre pour soutenir la cause écologique - Sauver Roșia Montană. Il assure « *c'est copy left pas copy right* » pour clarifier un possible problème sur les droits d'auteur.

Strategies interactives du dialogue multi-modal

La plus interactive manière de dialoguer est la reconfiguration graphique et conceptuelle de ses dessins selon les réinterprétations suggérés par le public. Les dessins suivants ont été réalisés pendant la première partie du mois de septembre et le dernier est la variante proposée par un ami suiveur:



On peut noter que ses amis *facebook* sont les acteurs impliqués dans le combat activiste, ils maintiennent une communication constante avec Dan Perjovschi, ils redistribuent, ils commentent, ils renvoient des photos et des messages. Se concrétise ainsi un vrai espace public où les gens méconnus s'interpellent, communiquent et collaborent en favorisant une lutte sociopolitique active et efficiente.

L'auteur crée une stratégie communicationnelle, à partir du partage des dessins pour soutenir d'une manière active son credo. Il est très actif à créer, reconfigurer et donner du sens aux dessins politiques. De leur part les manifestants commentent, reprennent et réutilisent les dessins comme posters et outils de combat dans la rue. Les manifestants donnent aux processus de narration des événements une rapidité, une énergie particulière et une dimension de participation sociale. La méthode appelée pour coincer les politiciens impliqués - volontairement ou pas - dans la protestation est ironique, sarcastique, sans révérence. Il existe un changement de style et du langage entre le ton optimiste, plein de vie et direct, et le ton sardonique, appellatif et sans pitié utilisé pour faire appel aux personnalités politiques. Cette différence d'attitude et de langage donne à son discours une dimension polarisée. Les dessins et les photos ne nécessitent parfois aucune explication, mais les vrais enjeux de critique et parfois les moqueries évidentes faites sur le milieu politique se sont développées grâce à des outils verbaux très poignants.

C'est la multi modalité du *facebook* qui lui permet un dialogue porté sur plusieurs dimensions et une interactivité communicationnelle. Les interventions écrites sont virulentes et les citations via l'option *share* viennent à donner un sens justificatif. C'est la légitimation du récit qui est la plus importante. L'artiste partage des textes, des pétitions, des interpellations et des lettres de protestation pour créer et crayonner un sens de la justesse de l'action protestataire. D'un autre côté, les images avec les témoins et les manifestants de la rue sont évidences de la coté réelle, pragmatique, vive et active de la protestation. C'est une démonstration de force faite grâce à des images et un spectacle de protestataires qui partagent les images sur *facebook* en temps réel. C'est la dimension la plus importante qui confère au récit un trait d'exhaustivité sociale et signifié aussi que l'auteur essaye de rester caché et d'accorder de l'importance aux personnes qui participent et qui sont impliquées directement.

La dimension artistique vient de compléter et d'appuyer le mouvement social. Les gens réagissent immédiatement, ils distribuent et utilisent les dessins,

les transforment dans des outils de lutte engagée dans la rue. On peut noter comment les dessins de Dan Perjovschi deviennent partie intégrante des manifestations de protestation, plus que symbolique, une porte-parole de l'artiste qui est passé dans la rue, porté par centaines des protestataires.

Les acteurs impliqués et invoqués sont les éléments capitales qui performant et réagissent.

Ils sont les personnages d'un tissu narratif dans un discours construit sur plusieurs dimensions. Premièrement, il s'agit d'un discours personnel, où l'auteur configure et redonne son identité envers des valeurs comme l'activisme écologiste et la démocratie. Il choisit de devenir une partie prégnante de l'action et de poster chaque dimanche des photos de lui-même, prises partout dans le monde, dans une solidarité à la cause des manifestants. Il est dans le moment, il crée de liens de solidarité, il donne son opinion et fournit du matériel de propagande. Il devient protestataire mais il n'oublie pas sa dimension artistique, il recrée son credo à travers une série de reconfigurations .



Fig. 6

Son implication peut-être retracée aussi à partir des photos et ses dessins – autoportrait en ordre chronologique.

Polyphonie symbolique des voix des citoyens

Selon sa propre déclaration « j'étais golan [=voyou] (1990), puis ciumpalac (2012) et maintenant je suis hipster ». Dan Perjovschi s'introduit volontairement dans le récit pour que sa propre image donne un exemple d'implication et de motivation aux protestataires. C'est un moyen efficace de lier les séquences narratives, de donner du sens et de se présenter au monde comme un individu ouvert, travailleur et dédié à ses idéaux. Le langage utilisé, témoigne d'une certaine liberté de la parole qui est en syntonie avec la personnalité exubérante de l'artiste.

Le profil ironique, chargé de connotations et accusations, réalisé par Dan Perjovschi aux pouvoirs politiques, est loin d'être flattant. Son message envers les politiciens est conçu simplement. Selon ses propres paroles « *Si tu votes avec Gold, tu et ton parti avez perdu mon vote et vous avez gagné mon contre-lobby par air, eau, online et par terre* ». A part de la dimension poétique, ça ressemble à une déclaration de guerre, pas à une négociation.

C'est à travers ses dessins que le message devient plus incisif:

GUVERNUL

Fig. 7

Les gouvernants sont visés et adressés en groupe : les gouvernants bouffons, préoccupés de soi et leur train de vie pathétique.

L'artiste se déclare en fait préoccupé de l'incapacité politique de comprendre les démonstrations : « *les politiciens sont tellement habitués à acheter leur votes avec un kilo de farine de maïs et leur place avec de l'argent, qu'ils ne sont pas capables physiquement de comprendre que l'on peut manifester par conviction (20 octobre)* »

On peut observer que l'artiste n'est pas vraiment préoccupé d'attaquer directement la classe politique, car le nombre de posts est réduit si on le compare avec ceux qui sont liés à la manifestation écologiste et les preuves de solidarité. Mais l'intensité et la virulence, le ton et l'impact de ses dessins soulignent une préoccupation réelle pour les enjeux politiques.

Grace à des photos reçues, Dan Perjovschi est placé dans le centre l'action de la révolte. Les témoins solidaires avec les manifestants, qui sont présents grâce à leurs photos, appartiennent à la jeune diaspora qui travaille et étudie loin de la Roumanie. De Toulouse, London Trafalgar Square ou Machu Pichu, ces jeunes rendent leur soutien avec des moyens très simples: le symbole de Roşia Montană est toujours à côté d'eux pour maximiser l'impact du message.

Les manifestants présents dans la rue, apparaissent tout au long du récit, car ils sont la composante plus active, plus impliquée. Leurs actions et leurs idéaux soutiennent et justifient une lutte qui donne sens aux valeurs écologistes. Ils sont partout dans différents coins du pays, toujours au plus grand nombre, toujours impliquées, toujours convaincus. Les symboles utilisés dans la rue sont importants: c'est surtout le symbole de la société Alburnus Maior qui prime, mais sont aussi les dessins de Dan Perjovschi.

Autour d'eux, le symbole national - le drapeau roumain – vient de compléter un arsenal de lutte politique.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

L'intention discursive c'est de souligner le cas d'un combat de solidarité exprimé avec des moyens simples: la chaîne humaine qui entoure le Palais du Parlement, les danses symboliques, les bougies alignées, les drapeaux, les affiches de protestataires. Ce ne sont pas des armes véritables, mais des tentatives de communiquer autour des valeurs communautaires.

Ce sont des gens de toutes les catégories d'âge, provenant de tous les milieux sociaux, qui ne correspondent pas à la description ironique donnée dans la presse: ils ne sont pas que des hipsters.



Fig. 12

Le mot hipster vient de faire carrière autour des événements du septembre-octobre 2013. Il est « utilisé » aussi par Dan Perjovschi, conscient du détournement du sens et des significations péjoratives. Les manifestants sont vus comme un « mélange » intéressant, qui échappe à une catégorisation précise



Fig. 13

Observations finales

Pour Perjovschi, le temps du discours correspond au temps narratif de l'action. A partir du 1 septembre on peut retracer les événements marquants des protestations, le déclenchement de la crise, son évolution, les réactions des autorités, les moments principaux qui regardent le traitement de la loi en Parlement, les activités de la commission parlementaire. Il existe un aspect de la temporalité bien évident : pendant une journée on peut avoir plusieurs événements qui se succèdent, plusieurs réactions qui donnent au discours une dimension réelle et alerte.

Les lieux où l'auteur du discours nous porte sont essentiels pour la construction discursive. Grâce à ces endroits, on peut visiter pratiquement plusieurs espaces, être impliqués et embarqués dans la tentative de conviction et du partage des expériences quotidiennes des manifestations.

C'est une sorte de voyage initiatique, où le gens se réunissent pour être solidaires près des lieux très connus: Paris, Londres, Lyon, des places avec une signification historique (Porte de Brandebourg chargés d'un capital culturel (colonne sans fin) et lieux exotiques ou très lointains : Zanzibar, Woodstock, Machu Pichu, Kilimandjaro, le massif Moldoveanu, sur la façade du bâtiment du « 22 » ou à un match de football .

Il existe en fait deux types classiques de lieux: le lieu de la protestation – la rue – qui est présenté surtout la nuit, à travers les événements produites. C'est un lieu vu de loin car il doit comprendre le grand nombre de gens qui participent. Le Palais du Parlement est probablement le plus récurrent, car il revient périodiquement comme instrument de réflexion dans la thématique sociale de l'artiste.

C'est grâce à la diaspora roumaine qui avait réagi rapidement en renvoyant des photos de partout : Paris, Copenhague, Berlin, Toulouse. Avec l'aide de plusieurs amis, l'artiste fait de ses posts une pratique fréquente qui contribue à construire une véridicité et une authenticité pour la cause « Sauvez Roșia Montană ».

Les lieux où Perjovschi réalise ses performances artistiques sont aussi des lieux des témoignages. Ici il rencontre les gens des manifestations. Le scénario de son implication personnelle dans le discours montre le degré de l'implication exercé par l'artiste et ses efforts envers une connexion en temps réel avec son public

Son discours renferme plusieurs dimensions communicationnelles, est réalisé avec l'aide et l'apport des plusieurs des ressources sémiotiques très variées (dessins artistiques, photographies, commentaires textuels), qui donnent une caractéristique multimodale, globale et sociale. Dan Perjovschi configure le discours de soutien de la cause écologique « *Sauver RoșiaMontană* » et en même temps, combat et questionne la classe politique responsable. C'est un discours fait pour configurer des stratégies communicatives efficaces pour et avec un grand nombre de gens. L'auteur est toujours conscient qu'il fait partie d'un engrenage complexe, qui se met en action peut réunir et consolider une cause. Il fait appel à

des indices de modalité originels pour concentrer et orienter des pratiques sociales qui sont justes mais qui nécessitent une certaine visibilité. Son discours est un mélange habile entre l'art graphique, les slogans percutants et les témoignages et manifestations de la rue. C'est créé ainsi une pluri dimension du dialogue, une vraie opinion publique qui se manifeste et réagisse dans le moment, pour continuer de donner du sens au récit.

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Fig.1...13 appartient aux profile public *facebook* de l'artiste et ont été consulté et téléchargé dans la période 1 septembre-31 décembre 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/danperjovski/>

**VOICES SHARING VIEWS IN INTERCULTURAL
DIALOGUE**

DON'T WE LAUGH THE SAME AS YOU? DO ISRAELI ARABS AND JEWS LAUGH AT THE SAME HUMOROUS SITUATIONS?

Arie Sover¹

Abstract: This article intends to answer the question, is there any difference to the way Arabs and Jews relate to humor in Israel, taking into account that there are cultural differences between the two populations. This research, carried out in 2015, is a continuation of work carried out in 2013 and examined the same question². In contrast to the previous study, in the current one, the group of Arabs was made up only of Muslims and the Jewish group was made up of Oriental origin Jews only. In the previous study, the Arab group was mixed, Muslims, Christians and Druze and the Jewish group was heterogeneous, made up of Oriental and Ashkenazi (from Western culture) origin participants. In order to answer the above question, we selected for both studies, the comic series "Arab Labor", broadcast on Israeli Television's Channel 2.

Arab Labor is an aired comic series directed at a Hebrew speaking audience. It is the first comic series broadcast on a Hebrew speaking channel, whose stars are Arab actors speaking Arabic, directed at Hebrew speaking viewers who are mostly Jewish.

The series depicts an Arab family headed by Amjad, who is trying to integrate into and be accepted by Jewish society. The close encounter between the two populations, Jews and Arabs, creates numerous conflicts and misunderstandings, which in turn, awaken stereotypes, fears, and each culture's beliefs about the other.

This research seeks to examine the comic structure of the series on the one hand, and to examine the differences in Arab viewers' attitude to the series, compared to that of Jewish viewer's, on the other, and to see whether the findings in the previous study are repeated. The current study compared to the previous one, was carried out at the end of October 2015, at a time when security tensions were taking place between Israelis and Palestinian citizens of the Palestinian Authority, causing tension between the two populations, Jewish and Arab in Israel. Against this background, the way the two populations related to and accepted this series was investigated.

Two main questions underpin this research. The first question - Is the series with its comic structure directed at all Hebrew speaking viewers including Arabs, or is it structured in a way that suits Jewish viewers in particular? The second question – How do Arab viewers respond to the series compared to Jewish viewers?

From the research findings one can see that on a personal and social level, there is a relatively large gap between the two populations with regard to their relationship with humor in the daily lives as well to self-humor. The Arabs tend to laugh less at themselves and others, and especially at their society, while in contrast the Jews are more open to laughing at themselves, others and even their society. Another finding that emerged was

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that despite the tension between the two populations at the time of the current study, no significant differences were found between the two populations' attitudes to the series.

Furthermore, there is no significant difference between the Muslim Arab answers in the 2015 survey and the Heterogeneous Arab's group that participated in the 2013 research. In contrast, a difference was found between the two Jewish groups – the heterogeneous group of 2013 and the Oriental Jews in the 2015 survey.

Key Words: *humor, sitcom, laughter, superiority, satire, tension.*

Introduction

The Series and Background of Broadcasting the Series on Israeli Television

Arab Labor is the fourth sitcom focusing on Arab figures broadcast on an Israeli television channel. It was preceded by *Adel and Samira*, with leading stars Lilit Nagar and Jack Cohen (1971), *The Big Restaurant*, with Bassam Zuamut as the leading star, broadcast for three seasons in the years 1985-1988, and *Neighbors*, broadcast for one season in 1989. All three series were produced by the Arabic Department of Israeli Television (IBA Channel 1) and were directed at an audience of Arabic speakers. The languages spoken in the series were Hebrew and Arabic, and all episodes were accompanied by relevant Hebrew/Arabic subtitles. Therefore, they were viewed by both Arabs and Jews.

In contrast, *Arab Labor* is the first comic Arab series aired on a Hebrew speaking channel directed at a Hebrew speaking audience, meaning a predominantly Jewish audience. Four seasons of the series have been broadcast on Channel 2 to 2013. Its creator, Sayed Kashua, is an Arab journalist and script writer, who is deeply involved in Israeli society.

The series focuses on the figure of Amjad, played by Norman Issa, and Abu-Amjad, played by comedian Salim Dau. Immediately upon broadcast of the first season, there were Israeli Arabs who criticized the series and the Arab actors participating in it for disrespecting Arab society by portraying it as ridiculous. Nonetheless, over subsequent seasons, criticism decreased and the series achieved great success within both the Jewish and Arab populations (Salim Dau, Telephone Interview November 29th 2013). The series has been highly rated (Avraham, 2012). At the beginning of its third season, a 32% rating was measured – of the highest on television. *Arab Labor* won the Israeli Academy of Film and Television's best comic series award for the 2011.

Until the 1980s the Arab in Israeli movies on television and cinema, was practically non-existent, and if he/she did exist, it was on news or current affairs talk shows, and the connotations were negative (Avraham & First, 2010; First, 2013).

One exception was *Khirbet Khizeh* (1978) produced by Israeli Television. The film was the first televised attempt at criticizing the Arab-Israeli conflict. The

film was heavily criticized by the Israeli public as well as by many intellectuals, for serving as propaganda for the Arab enemy's position (Shohat, 2005: 236).

The trauma of the Yom Kippur War and Israel's isolation among the nations of the world brought about a government changeover in 1977, with the Likud party, which represented the Jews who have originally emigrated from Arab states in particular, headed by Menachem Begin in government for the first time. In 1978, as a reaction to the change, the Israeli left established a political protest movement called "Peace Now".

These changes; the trauma of war, political isolation, having Jews who have originally emigrated from Arab states in the center of the political arena and the political protest of "Peace Now", paved the way to a cultural change in the state of Israel: Increased acknowledgement of the existence of Arabs in general and Israeli Arabs in particular, and of the need to integrate them into the multicultural texture of Israeli society (Shohat, 2005:234-23).

The Arabs who had been absent from early films started taking a central place in cinema (Gertz, 1988: 400). The films of the 1980s redesigned the cinematic representations of the Jewish-Arab conflict and challenged Zionist supremacy as it had been expressed in Israeli films of the 1930s and 1940s prior to the establishment of the State of Israel and in the 1950s after the state was established (Ne'eman, 1988: 406).

Since the 1980s, for the first time in Israeli films, Arab actors have played leading roles. They are represented as human beings with human characteristics and behaviors, with which viewers can identify. They speak Arabic, a language that until then had been outcast, as representative of the enemy. The 1980s constituted fertile ground for the making of political films which directly touched upon the Jewish-Arab conflict. Films such as Daniel Wachsmann's *Hamsin* (1982), Yehuda Ne'eman's *Magash Hakesef* (The Silver Platter), Uri Barbah's *Beyond the Walls* (1984), Nissim Dayan's *Gesher Tzar Me'od* (A Very Narrow Bridge), Rafi Bukai's *Avanti Popolo* (1986) and Eran Riklis's *Playoff*. These films were usually accepted by viewers, although there were those who did not yet tolerate criticism of Israelis or a partially sympathetic attitude towards Arabs (Shohat, 2005: 236).

With the exception of *Avanti Popolo*, a melodramatic comedy, all the other films are dramatic and serious. Since then, Arab actors have played leading roles in Israeli films. In most of the films, the figure of the Arab is dramatic and serious rather than comic. An exception is *The Band's Visit* (2007), which is classified as a melodramatic comedy. It is interesting to note that in both comic films, *Avanti Popolo* and *The Band's Visit*, the figures represent Egyptian soldiers or policemen (respectively) rather than Israeli Arabs. It appears that Israeli viewers still find it hard to identify with a comic figure represented by an Israeli Arab.

In contrast to films, the Arab figure has been absent from Israeli television channels; talk and entertainment shows, television drama shows and mainly comedy shows for many years. Research conducted in 2006 by the Israeli Second Authority for Television and Radio revealed that the Arab minority was the least

represented group on Israeli television, and representation is mostly expressed in the news and shows engaging in current affairs, but hardly in entertainment shows (Maoz & Steiner, 2011). A cluster of surveys conducted in the 1990s pointed to the rigid Jewish attitude towards Arabs, which have been deeply rooted in Israeli public opinion and reflected in the media accordingly. A change in covering the Arabs in the media began in the 1990s with the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations (Avraham, 2001: 185-186).

A change in the representation of the Arab on television occurred in 2007 with the broadcast of the first season of *Arab Labor*. The series was designed to be broadcast on a television channel directed mainly at Hebrew speaking Israeli viewers, meaning Jews. After 60 years of the state of Israel's existence, Jewish viewers are willing to accept a comic series on a Hebrew channel focusing on an Arabic speaking family, and whose main actor is an Arab. Has Israeli society changed? Does this indicate a rapprochement between Jewish and Arab Cultures? Can a comic series or humor bring cultures closer together?

Humor as a Means of Criticism and Superiority Theory

In order to understand the phenomenon wherein the Jewish public is ready to accept a comic series focusing on Arabic speaking Arabs, we must first refer to one of the main functions which humor serves – humor seeks to criticize. When people laugh together at humorous situations – anti-norm situations – they are in agreement that these extraordinary situations contradict the group's norms. Laughing in a group means one speaks the group's language of humor and agrees with the group's criticism (Koestler, 1964: 27-67; Moreall 1983: 43; Mindess, 1971: 21-22).

Group laughter strengthens the cohesion of the laughing group (Curry & Dunbar 2013; Davies, 2013; Fine, 1977; Sover, 2011; Terrion & Ashroft, 2002).

Arab Labor aims to provide its audience, Jewish viewers, with anti-norms to laugh at. The anti-norms consist of two types: the characters unusual behavior and the stereotypical views Jews hold about Arabs. This argument is consistent with one of the main humor research theories according to which laughter at humorous situations expresses the laugher's superiority over a person or a group at which he or she laughs. This type of humor is sometimes accompanied by aggression and the need to humiliate the person or the society laughed at (Bergson, 1975: 152-153; Martin, 2007: 45-46; Rapp, 1951). In each state and each region, people laugh at groups of a different nationality or region, who are considered different or somehow culturally inferior to the dominating group's culture; misers, idiots/dolts, cuckolds and more (Davies, 1990, 2008; Goldstein & McGhee, 1972: 6-7; Sully, 1904: 108).

Gruner maintains that aggressive humor does not testify to a person's negative character. He argues humor is likened to animals' play, where with humans, the winner ultimately laughs his "laughter of triumph" over the opponent,

and hence, humor and laughter point to the superiority of the laugher rather than the intent to hurt others (Gruner, 1997:9). Davies rejects the common Superiority Theory as it does not discern aggressive play from aggressiveness in the real world (Davies, 1990: 326).

The "Clown Figure" and Stereotypes as Grounds for Creating Humor in the Series

Arab Labor is largely based on the familiar clown's image known from its many forms such as; Grottesque, Ridiculous, Fool, Naïve and Harmless, from the classical theater of ancient times to current day cinema comedy (Sover, 2012: 336-340). Amjad, the main character, and Abu-Amjad, his father, are two clown-comedians who create comic situations based on their extraordinary behavior. Amjad tries his best to integrate into Jewish society, while the latter treats him with suspicion arising, inter alia, from stereotypical perceptions of Arab culture. Amjad is the Jewish viewers' "court jester" who aims to make them laugh.

In order to make the audience laugh and enjoy the series, it engages in stereotypes and opinions about Arab society which are prevalent in Israeli society. The assumption is that the Labor is Arab and the laughter is Jewish. This notion is supported by the series creator, Sayed Kashua, "Slowly, through a great deal of humor and use of stereotypes, to calm the viewers and tell them I am with you, that we are on the same wavelength. All I have done was based on thinking of prime-time awareness. I had to develop characters that the average Jewish viewer would love..." (Zoabi, 2007).

Reviewing the first three *Arab Labor* seasons, the following stereotypes which Jews hold about Arabs have been found:

Season 1:

- Arabs do not adhere to driving laws; Arabs do not wear safety belts. .A
- Arabs kidnap Jews. .B

Season 2:

- Arabs do not listen to classical music, only to Arab music. .C
- Arabs cannot swim, that is why they drown in the sea. .D
- Arab culture is inferior to western culture. .E

Season 3:

- Arabs cannot be vegetarians because they eat meat. .F
- Arabs kill women for violating the family's honor. .G
- Do not buy cars from Arabs because they are unreliable. .H

The comic situations in "Arab Labor" derive from the following sources:

- Comic-clown behavior of the characters. .A
- What Jews think or say about Arabs. .B
- What Arabs think about themselves. .C
- How Jews perceive themselves. .D

Some of the comic situations in the series are expressed explicitly deriving from the characters' exceptional behavior or personality traits. 32 comic situations are based on comic-clown Arab figures and 9 Comic situations pertaining to Jews. Other comic situations integrate explicit comic situations as well as implicit circumstances, including Jews' stereotypical references to Arabs in the series. There are 15 comic situations which combine the explicit and implicit levels based on stereotypes. In cases of integration of both explicit and implicit levels, the Jewish viewer recognizes the implicit level and identifies with it. This adds to the intensity of laughter which already exists due to the comic situation on the explicit level (See: Harvey, 1999; Boskin, 1987: 260)

Research Method

The research method is based on the analysis of comic situations in the *Family Honor* episode and a viewing survey among two groups of students: Jews and Arabs.

The research questions were: (1) Is the series *Arab Labor* aimed at serving Jewish viewers needs of laughter and enjoyment based on the Arab characters and Arab behavior? (2) In what way is the series accepted by Arabs and Jews in Israel?

The research hypotheses were: (1) The episode's comic structure is initially designed for Jewish viewers and in fact, it is about Arab Labor and Jewish laughter.

(2) Arab viewers may be more hurt by the contents of the series than Jewish viewers.

The *Family Honor* episode is one of the 12 episodes of the third season, which was relatively balanced in terms of Jewish and Arab characters' screen time. The 2013 survey was based on 67 students: 35 Jews and 32 Arabs. The actual survey was conducted among 60 students, 30 Jews and 30 Arabs.

In contrast to the previous study, in the current one, the group of Arabs was made up only of Muslims and the Jewish group was made up of Oriental Jews only. In the previous study, the Arab group was mixed, Muslims, Christians and Druze whilst the Jewish group was made up of orthodox, traditional and secular Jews. The reason for choosing the make-up of the current groups was in order to continue the previous research and examine how humor is accepted in two subgroups: Muslims, who make up the majority of Arabs in Israel, and is most influenced by tensed relationship between Israeli and Palestinian citizens. The second subgroup: Oriental Jews because the tendency of Oriental Jews in Israeli society is to be more critical of the Arab population and of course, they too are influenced by the tensed relationship between Israeli and Palestinian citizens.

Each group watched the episode separately, and afterwards, the students were asked to fill in a questionnaire which included nine questions:

- Did the episode make you laugh? .1
- Did the Jewish characters make you laugh? .2
- Did the Arab characters make you laugh? .3

Do you like it when your society is laughed at?	.4
Do you believe the Jews in the episode treat Arabs with contempt?	.5
Do you believe the Arabs in the episode treat Jews with contempt?	.6
Were you personally offended by the way the Arab characters were presented?	.7
Were you personally offended by the way the Jewish characters were presented?	.8
Have you changed your opinions about Arabs or Jews as a result of watching the episode?	.9

Research Limitations

The survey did not relate to in-group characteristics such as age distribution and gender. Since this survey is the second of its kind, I chose not to address these background variables and suffice with raw results which can serve as grounds for further research. We should take in consideration that the research results do not measure the influence – if there is such - of the Arab group's need to identify with Jewish society as the dominant majority as a component in their reaction to the episode.

Analysis of the Comic Situations in the "Family Honor" Episode

Analysis of the comic situations in the episode, behavior, characteristics and verbal humor yielded **66 comic situations** (including 28 verbal situations) classified into four categories:

10 comic situations based on stereotypical views Jews have about Arabs:	.A
Arab men control Arab women who are not free to do as they please.	.1
Arab men kill women who have violated the family honor.	.2
An Arab man cannot be a feminist; if he is, he is not a man.	.3
32 comic situations based on Comic-clown Arab figures:	.B
The comic situations are based on the verbal or visual humor of Amjad, the main figure, and his father, Abu-Amjad such as:	
Amjad wears a Kipa (A Jewish tradition head cover).	.1
Amjad gives a lecture to a Jewish feminist group about women's lib.	.2
Abu-Amjad apologizes to a family member because he is wearing an apron (which is not an Arab man's behavior).	.3
9 Comic situations pertaining to Jews on the explicit level:	.C
Only 9 comic situations were generated by the Jewish characters on an explicit level (verbal and visual)	
15 comic situations pertaining to Jews, which combined the explicit and implicit levels: Meaning, stereotypical views that Jews have about Arabs.	.D

Summary of Comic situations in the Episode

From the categories of comic situations we learn that most of the humor in the episode is based on the Arab characters, especially Amjad and Abu-Amjad. Out of 66 comic situations, 42 are based on the Arab figures. Additionally, there are 15 comic situations which combine the explicit and implicit levels – based on stereotypes - where the latter intensifies the humor and the ensuing laughter. Only 9 comic situations are created by Jewish figures that bear no relation to Arabs.

Analysis results show that 57 of 66 comic situations are based on, or connected to, the Arab figures. The episode, then, reaffirms the claim that the work is Arab and the laughter is Jewish.

At this stage I was intrigued to discover how Arab viewers respond to the series. In 2013 I had assumed Arab viewers would find it less funny, or even insulting and humiliating in some instances, assumptions that would prove to be completely wrong. In the current research, I wanted to reexamine the same assumptions in order to reinforce or refute them and as previously stated, against the background of tensions between the two populations at that time.

Survey Results

The survey consisted of nine questions, the answers to which were on a five point scale ranging from. 1 = Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree.

The current research results are presented together with those of the previous study in order to examine if and in what way the answers may be different.

Question 1: Did the episode make you laugh?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **4.61**; Arab audience's score: **4.52**.

2013

Both groups gave similar answers with a mean score of **4.17**, meaning the episode was perceived by both groups as very funny.

Comparison between the two periods:

It turns out that in 2015, the series made both groups laugh more than in 2013, with a slightly higher tendency in the Jewish group.

Question 2: Did the Jewish characters make you laugh?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **4.23**; Arab audience's score: **3.83**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **3.62**; Arab audience's score: **3.32**

Comparison between the two periods:

In 2015 the Jewish characters in the episode made the two groups laugh much more than in the previous study. The Jewish group increased significantly from 2013, as did the Arab group, in relation to the answers they had given previously.

Question 3: Did the Arab characters make you laugh?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **4.52**; Arab audience's score: **4.17**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **4.08**; Arab audience's score: **4.17**

Comparison between the two periods:

In 2013 both groups were made to laugh by Arab characters at a similarly high level. In contrast, in 2015, there is an interesting change. The Jewish group was made to laugh a lot more by Arab characters, but there was no difference in the Arab group score.

Question 4: Do you like it when your society is laughed at?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **2.76**; Arab audience's score: **2.35**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **4.05**; Arab audience's score: **2.73**

Comparison between the two periods:

One can see a significant difference between 2015 and 2013 in the Jewish group. In 2015, the group of Oriental Jews tends not to accept their society being laughed at, whereas in 2013, when the research group was heterogeneous, openness to the possibilities of their society being laughed at was much greater. In the Arab group, radicalization is also seen, but to a much lower extent and they too do not like their society being laughed at. In this respect, both groups - Oriental Jews and Arab Muslims - show similar awareness with regard to this question.

Question 5: Do you believe the Jews in the episode treat Arabs with contempt?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **3.28**; Arab audience's score: **2.93**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **3.27**; Arab audience's score: **2.95**

Comparison between the two periods:

In both studies there is almost no change in both groups. The results show that the Arab audience, less than the Jewish one, believed that the Arab figures constitute an insult, whereas the Jewish audience identified some disrespect.

Question 6: Do you believe the Arabs in the episode treat Jews with contempt?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **2.71**; Arab audience's score: **2.31**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **2.23**; Arab audience's score: **2.37**

Comparison between the two periods:

In 2015 there is a slight upward tendency amongst Oriental Jews to believe that the Arabs treat the Jews with contempt. Among the Arabs, the tendency moved downwards, that is to say that they rejected this possibility. Despite this, it appears that neither group felt there was much contempt towards Jews, although the result is lower than the previous question regarding the possibility of contempt towards Arabs.

Question 7: Were you personally offended by the way the Arab figures are presented?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **1.76**; Arab audience's score: **2.00**

2013

Jewish audience's score: **1.88**; Arab audience's score: **2.37**.

Comparison between the two periods:

It seems that both groups rated any personal offence as extremely low in both periods. In 2015, one can see a decrease among Arabs since 2013, whilst there is a very small and insignificant decrease among Jews.

Question 8: Were you personally offended by the way the Jewish figures are presented?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **1.66**; Arab audience's score: **1.77**

Jewish audience's score: **1.80**; Arab audience's score: **1.80**

Comparison between the two periods:

In 2015, as in 2013, both groups ranked their answers as similarly low. It is interesting to see even greater decrease among Jews since 2013.

Question 9: Have you changed your opinions about Arabs or Jews as a result of watching the episode?

2015

Jewish audience's score: **1.61**; Arab audience's score: **2.09**

2013

Jewish audiences' score: **1.75** Arab audience's score: **1.89**.

Comparison between the two periods:

It appears that in 2015, like 2013, both groups have not changed their minds with regard to the other after watching the comic series. Despite this, we see a small difference between the two groups. The Oriental Jewish group took a more radical stance by a number of points downwards, whereas the Arab group showed by a number of points upwards. In other words, with regard to the two groups' attitudes in 2015, a reasonably large gap between them has emerged, the one has slightly changed its opinion, and the other appears to have intensified its unchanged attitude.

This shows that comedy, as stated earlier, does not change world views, but rather relies on common, well known opinions and stereotypes.

Discussion

A person or a society laughing at others or at another society, feels superior to those being laughed at (Berger, 1987; Hobbes, 1977: 125; Ferguson & Ford, 2008; Keith-Spiegel, 1972: 4-39; Martins, 2012; Plato, 1975: 489; Vallade, 2013).

Humor research conducted on mixed social groups found that the majority group preferred jokes which focused on the minority groups. However, the minority group also preferred the same jokes (Nevo, 2011). A comparative study was conducted in two American colleges, where researchers compared jokes told in one college where the majority of the students were African-American with jokes told in another college where the majority of the students were white. It was found that in both colleges, the African American students, more than white students, told ethnic jokes humiliating African-Americans (Middleton & Moland, 1959)

From the 2015 research findings, when comparing the Muslim Arab group and the Oriental Jewish group, changes, sometimes significant, emerge in relation to the findings from the 2013 research where both groups were heterogeneous. One must remember that the new research in 2015 was carried out against the backdrop of security events taking place between Israelis and Palestinians that influence the relationships between the Arab and Jewish populations in Israel. Despite this, in response to the question whether the series made them laugh, there is a clear increase in both groups. That is to say that it made more participants laugh than in 2013. In response to the question whether the Jewish characters in the series made them laugh, there was a slight increase in both groups. However, when asked whether the Arab characters made them laugh, there was no change in the Arab group's response, whereas there was a large shift upwards in the Jewish group. That is to say that the Arab characters made them laugh a lot. In response to the question whether they agreed that their society can be laughed at, in the 2015 research it emerged that Oriental Jews tend not to agree that their society can be laughed at whereas in 2013 among a heterogeneous group of Jewish participants,

there was no problem. The Arab group's answer to this question was close to that of the Oriental Jews although their level of opposition was even higher. In response the question whether they felt that the Arab characters in the series treated Jews with contempt, the response of the Oriental Jews whilst moderate, was greater than the 2013 results. That is to say that they felt that some contempt was shown by Arab characters to Jews. In contrast, the Muslim Arab group felt almost exactly the same as 2013 and their response was even more moderate than that of the Oriental Jewish group.

Answers to the questionnaire in this research reveal no significant difference in the two groups' attitude to the episode they watched. Both groups – Arab Muslims and Oriental Jews - ranked the humor highly in the episode, with the Jews audience ranking it slightly higher than the Arab one. This means Muslim Arabs have no problem laughing at Arab figures even when it relates to a sitcom broadcast on a Hebrew Channel directed at Jewish viewers, when viewing takes place, as stated, during a period of security tensions that negatively affect the relationships between the two populations.

Regarding the second and third questions, both groups stated the Arab figures had made them laugh more than the Jewish ones. This leads to two insights: the first is that Oriental Jewish audiences have no problem laughing at the Arab figures and accepting Israeli-Arab comedians on their "own" television channel. Neither do Arab viewers have any problem laughing at the same figures although they are portrayed in a somewhat ridiculous manner. The Arab viewers refer to the Arab figures as clownish characters not necessarily representing Arab society. This is much like circus clowns who remove themselves from the real world and transfer into a world of imagination with their unconventional clothes, excess makeup and extraordinary behavior. Their existence is limited to the circus.

This claim is supported by the answer to the fourth question, "Did you like it when your society is laughed at?" Here the answer given by the Arab group was unequivocal: they do not like it. If that is the case, then how is it possible that they laugh at the figures in the series although they do not like it when their society is mocked? The answer lies in the fifth question, "Do you believe the Jews in the episode treat Arabs with contempt?" The Arab audience graded contempt towards Arabs in the episode even lower than the Jewish audience. These findings are further reaffirmed by the answers to the seventh and eight questions, "Were you personally offended by the way the Arab/Jewish figures are presented?" It appears the level of offence was relatively low in both groups, although slightly higher amongst the Arab viewers.

We can also assume – even though it is not measured - that the Arab Muslims group reaction – laughing at Arab figures - could indicate that the Arab viewers identify themselves with the 'dominant majority' group in an effort to be accepted by them, by conforming to their norms.

The phenomenon where Arabs laugh at Arab figures at the same level of enjoyment as Jews, who constitute the majority group, is consistent with many researchers' claims, according to which the social minority group perceived by the

majority as weak or inferior in some respects, takes upon itself the "social class" attributed to it by the majority. This group will then laugh at those humor situations where it is the butt of the joke, as an expression of submissiveness and acknowledgement of its own weaknesses, which do not correspond to the "proper" criteria set by the majority group. There are those who regard this behavior as a genuine or make-belief defense mechanism, meaning "I identify with the majority group so as to protect myself and not remain outside the dominating social norm" (Ben Amos, 1973; Juni, 1999).

I doubt the assertion made by Mendelson-Maoz- & Steir-Livney (2011) that Kashua takes the stereotypes in the series to an extreme state of improbability, thus crushing them and extracting the Arabs from their usual stereotypical state. The comic spirit is nourished by exceptional personal and social situations as well as by the common stereotypes held by one group about another. Without them, comedy has no life. Comedy does not intend to and cannot change opinions or stereotypes. Evidence of this can be found in the answer to the ninth question, "Have you changed your opinions about Arabs or Jews as a result of watching the episode?" to which both groups gave low scores, which means no significant change has occurred.

Conclusion

Analysis of the humorous situations in the episode shows that "Arab Labor" is primarily directed at Jewish viewers. Sayed Kashua, the series' scriptwriter and creator, knew how to provide the comic situations required for the Jewish viewers to laugh when watching it. Out of 66 comic situations in the researched episode, 57 are either created by Arabs or have to do with them; 32 of these comic situations are created by the Arab figures – Amjad and Abu-Amjad; 15 comic situations integrate the explicit and implicit levels, the latter also based on Jewish stereotypical views of Arabs. Only 9 comic situations are created by Jewish characters. Therefore, the research hypothesis stating that "Arab Labor" is primarily intended for Jewish viewers has been confirmed. In contrast, the second research hypothesis has turned out to be incorrect. In order to allow Arab viewers to enjoy the series, Kashua exaggerates Amjad's and Abu Amjad's behavior, thus giving them a clownish appearance which distances them from reality, so that Arab viewers can laugh and enjoy without feeling offended in any way.

Answers to the questionnaire in this research reveal no significant difference in the two groups' attitudes to the episode they watched. Both groups ranked the humor highly in the episode, with the Oriental Jewish audience ranking it slightly higher than Arab Muslim viewers. This means Arabs have no problem laughing at Arab figures even when a sitcom broadcast on a Hebrew Channel directed at Jewish viewers is concerned and in a tense atmosphere between the two societies.

With matters regarding Arabs, there does not appear to be any significant difference between the two periods with the exception that this series made Arab

Muslim participants in the 2015 study laugh more than the heterogeneous group of 2013. In contrast, among the Jews, there were some relatively stark differences between the two periods. Oriental Jews found that the series made them laugh more in 2015 than the heterogeneous group in 2013. Similarly the Oriental Jews tended not to accept laughing at their society as much as the 2013 heterogeneous research group.

Do the research findings teach us anything about Jewish and Arab cultures coming closer together?

It is not possible to answer that question from this research. What can perhaps be assumed is that Arabs and Israeli Jews seem to be coming closer in the sense that Arabs try to assimilate into the 'dominant' group's sense of humor – meaning the Jewish group - by enjoying the same jokes and laughing at the same targets. What emerges from this study, like other studies of humor is that where people laugh together at the same humorous situations, there is a sign of common ground for cultures to draw closer.

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DIALOGUE AND ACTIONS IN MULTICULTURAL RUSSIA

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Abstract: The ALLMEET project promotes actions of intercultural education in Russia through the development of six Intercultural Education Platforms in five different regions. This paper is aimed to disseminate the results gained in the first half (18 months) of the project, focusing on the research findings on the intercultural relationships in five different Russian regions (Krasnoyarsk-Siberia, Moscow, Republic of Tatarstan, Republic of Mari El, Arkhangelsk) and on the theoretical background of the ALLMEET actions, planned through a synthesis of Russian and Western theories on intercultural education.

Keywords: intercultural education, tolerance, Russian Federation, dialogue, capacity building, lifelong learning, intercultural centres, interfaith education, cultural diversity, migration

Introduction

In the global world, that is characterised by constant movement of people, goods and information, contamination between cultures has become a daily practice. The meeting and coexistence of different ethnic groups in living environments are always complex and often connoted by problems, conflicts, misunderstandings and closures. In such environments, the issues of the intercultural education are becoming more urgent and necessary. Reflections and actions of intercultural education must take place also outside of schools to involve the older generations and reach people. The ALLMEET project (Actions of the Lifelong Learning addressing Multicultural Education and Tolerance in Russia) pursues this perspective.

Intercultural education, dialogue and tolerance

At the basis of each modern discourses on education we can quote the Article 26.2 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948):

Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

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Tolerance and friendships among nations, racial and religious groups are personal attitudes, but also competences that can be taught and trained. Education processes should dynamically reflect the reality, in order to face the changeable challenges with adequate, modern and effective actions and tools.

In a globalised context, characterized by the compression of space and time, increasing communication and mobility flows (Craig 6), culture is subject to renewed challenges. Immigrant communities are multi-layered and multidimensional, they have many viewpoints and within them there is often a conflict between those arguing for assimilation and those demanding an independent identity for the group (Epstein & Gang 12). On the other side, the migration policies of the host countries follow different models, due to different traditions, political systems, economic and social possibilities. The common challenge for all of them is to assure the conditions for a peaceful coexistence of different ethnic, religious and cultural groups in the same space.

The first article of the *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 4) recognises cultural diversity as a common heritage of humanity, while the second article expresses the need to move from cultural diversity to cultural pluralism. Cultures interrelate with societies and are constantly formulated and reformulated by people – members of a cultural group – in their interactive and communicative processes. The concept of culture is strictly linked with the concepts of language, religion, cultural heritage and, firstly, education:

Concepts of culture and education are, in essence, intertwined. Culture forges educational content, operational modes and contexts because it shapes our frames of reference, our ways of thinking and acting, our beliefs and even our feelings. All actors involved in education – teachers and learners, curriculum developers, policy makers and community members – invest their cultural perspectives and cultural aspirations into what is taught, and how it is conveyed. Yet education is also vital to the survival of culture. As a collective and historical phenomenon, culture cannot exist without continual transmission and enrichment through education, and organized education often aims to achieve this very purpose (UNESCO, *Guidelines on Intercultural Education* 12).

Language is one of the most essential forms of expression of culture and has a very strong impact on identity, memory and transmission of knowledge. Since multilingualism is a manifestation of cultural diversity, linguistic competencies are fundamental for the empowerment of the individual in democratic and plural societies, as they condition school achievements, promote access to other cultures and encourage openness to cultural exchange. Also religious pluralism is a direct effect of cultural pluralism and the issue of interfaith education is in the educational agendas of many countries throughout the world, focusing on the complex dimensions of values, spiritual life and searching for meaning, but also managing the coexistence of different symbolisms, normative behaviors and daily

practices. Finally, considering the cultural heritage as the combination of the tangible and intangible expressions of a culture (languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, art, archives and libraries), its survival and enhancement are key issue all over the globalised world.

Nowadays the demographic, social and cultural composition of urban and rural population is very complex and the boundaries between majorities and minorities are becoming increasingly fluid and indefinite. The continuous interactions among representatives of different groups are building cultural *metissage* and new form of sociality. This process can't be stopped but at the same time need to be managed and monitored, in order to find positive solutions to the many conflicts on small, medium and large scales. In this direction, education plays a key role.

In order to strengthen democracy, education systems need to take into account the multicultural character of society, and aim at actively contributing to peaceful coexistence and positive interaction between different cultural groups. There have traditionally been two approaches: multicultural education and Intercultural Education. Multicultural education uses learning about other cultures in order to produce acceptance, or at least tolerance, of these cultures. Intercultural Education aims to go beyond passive coexistence, to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups (UNESCO, *Guidelines on Intercultural Education* 18).

Learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be are the “four pillars of education” identified by the International Commission of Education for the Twenty-First Century. They can be efficaciously considered to determine the perimeter of the intercultural education and intertwined with the three recurrent principles that may guide the international actions in the field:

Principle I: Intercultural Education respects the cultural identity of the learner through the provision of culturally appropriate and responsive quality education for all.

Principle II: Intercultural Education provides every learner with the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in society.

Principle III: Intercultural Education provides all learners with cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations (UNESCO, *Guidelines on Intercultural Education* 32).

Intercultural education is a need for all the inhabitants of the globalised world, because interactions and exchanges among people with different origins, ethnicities, religions and languages are happening in real and virtual life all over the world and involve people of different ages and generations. Intercultural competence is based on specific attitudes (respect, openness, curiosity and discovery) that through education can be improved and enriched with new knowledge and skills. Intercultural competence should be trained - and the training should continue for the whole cycle of life - because it is “a continual process of improvement, and as such, one may never achieve ultimate intercultural competence” (Deardorff 257). In contemporary society, learning is more than ever important and valuable and should concern all citizens, including the underrepresented groups and the non-traditional learners, regardless of their background (Duvekot & Schuur 3); it should be addressed to professional and cultural competences, and should offer new keys to understand the world and to improve the interpersonal relationship between people with different cultures and languages. Intercultural education needs lifelong learning approaches, as far as lifelong learning actions need to consider the basic principles of intercultural education even when they are addressed to different topics and aims.

One of the main aims of intercultural educations is to promote the respect of cultural diversity. The UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* was accompanied by an Action Plan for implementing the twelve principles adopted by the 188 Member States at the thirty-first session of the General Conference in November 2001. This plan consists of twenty sets of long-term objectives to be achieved in order to maintain, reinforce and enrich cultural diversity in society at the local, national and international levels. Four of these objectives are the following:

- Deepening the international debate on questions relating to cultural diversity, particularly in respect of its links with development and its impact on policy-making, at both national and international level; taking forward notably consideration of the opportunity of an international legal instrument on cultural diversity.
- Advancing in the definition of principles, standards and practices, at both the national and the international levels, as well as of awareness-raising modalities and patterns of cooperation, that are most conducive to the safeguarding and promotion of cultural diversity.
- Fostering the exchange of knowledge and best practices in regard to cultural pluralism with a view to facilitating, in diversified societies, the inclusion and participation of persons and groups from varied cultural backgrounds.
- Involving all sectors of civil society in framing of public policies aimed at safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity” (17-57).

The international dimension, the cooperation with policy makers and stakeholders, the involvement of all sectors of civil society and the exchange of knowledge and best practices between European and Russian Higher Education Institutions, IGOs and NGOs are some of the main features of *ALLMEET (Actions of Lifelong Learning addressing Multicultural Education and Tolerance in Russia)* project. An overview on the social and cultural context of the contemporary multicultural Russia is necessary to achieve a better understanding of the criteria that lie behind the activities of the project.

The intercultural need in Russia

According to the National Census 2010, although 80% of the population is ethnic Russian, more than 100 ethnic minorities live in Russia. Russian is the national language, but there are 27 other recognised official languages and more than 100 that do not have official recognition. In correspondence with a decrease of the native Russian population, since 2000 the inflow of migrants is progressively growing. Nowadays 1.7 million labor migrants work in Russia on legal basis, and the number of illegal migrants has been estimated from 2.1 million people to 3-5 million people. Most of the legal labor immigrants come from Central Asia, most of them planning a permanent migration. In the recent years the traditional unskilled labor force is flanked by the massive arrivals of high school and university graduates, and also the percentage of females is increasing (Mukomel, *Labour Migration And The Host Country: Russian case* 15-17).

Several Federal Migration Programs² were approved during the 1990s and reproduced in normative legislative acts³ during the 2000s, but they were not implemented till 2012, when the *Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation through to 2025* was approved, stating that the “successful social and cultural adaptation and integration of migrants” should be one of the main objectives of national policy. In 2011 a survey by NRU HSE CEPRS has shown that the relations with the local population are positively evaluated by migrants: 72,2% answered that they are treated nicely by Russians and 91,6% feel in good relation with the neighbours. The migrants who tie their future to Russia are the most optimistic are, but probably they underestimate the difficulties and the increasing diffusion of xenophobic ideas in Russian society.

Since the beginning of 2000s the slogan “Russia for Russians!” and restrictive migration policies have been supported by the majority of the ethnic Russian population. According to the results of a research led by Trufanov and Fen’vesh in 2014 in the upper secondary schools in the city of Krasnoyarsk, only 23,3 % of students are happy of living in a multicultural environment, 32,6 % expressed their dissatisfaction, while 44,1 % were indifferent. The negative attitude towards foreign labor migration is relatively high among the Krasnoyarsk’s

² Decree of 1992; Order of 1994; Decree of 1996; Decree of 1997.

³ Concept 2001; Concept 2003; Strategy 2006; Concept 2007; Concept 2008.

students: up to 42% of them believe that the new migrants - mostly from China and from the former Soviet Union's countries - are likely to be harmful for quality of people's life in the Krasnoyarsk Region. Xenophobia and nationalism are intensely present in the attitudes and beliefs of a considerable part of the Russian population:

Inflow of migrants is viewed by Russians as destabilization of customary social order, and opposition against migrants is viewed by the host population as an attempt to reestablish status quo. Lack of trust results in lack of solidarity and loyalty. People only trust those who are close to them - family, relatives, friends. Non acceptance of migrants in this light is seen as a logical and natural reaction of the host population. Confrontation shifts more and more to the socio-cultural sphere: many Russians are convinced that inflow of foreign ethnic migrants shall dissolve the cultural core of local communities (Mukomel, *Integration of Migrants: Russian Federation* 7).

The ethnic belonging and the physical appearance are determinant factors. Russians are relatively tolerant towards immigrants from Moldova, who are not visually different from the dominating majority, while other groups, especially the ones originating from the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, are often victims of irritation, dislike, distrust, discrimination and racism.

The restrictions, obstacles and problems in many spheres of the daily life that migrants have to face become risk factors for social exclusion: most of them are employed in low skilled jobs, rent houses in the cheapest areas, speak a poor Russian language, can't receive full medical assistance and social protection, are limited in the political rights, and nobody is protected by any antidiscrimination legislation. The success or the failure of the integration processes are determined by various factors, linked to the social contexts of the sending and host societies and to the personal characteristic of the migrants: integration is easier for migrants that are permanent, young, well educated and settled down.

The issue of the peaceful coexistence between natives and migrants in the Russian multicultural environments is flanked and intertwined with additional issues related to the historical rooted presence of many native ethnic and religious groups in the same regions. The situation in the Republic of Tatarstan can be considered emblematic. In this region, that is one of the most developed in the Volga Federal district and in the Russian Federation, Tatars and Russians are the main ethnic groups: Tatars are traditional Sunni Muslims, while Russians are traditional Orthodox Christian. The relationships between Tatars and Russians have been consolidated by a coexistence that has been lasting for centuries, but latent conflicts, misunderstandings in everyday life, stereotypes, prejudices and recriminations linked to religion, way of living, bilingualism and to the teaching of Tatar language at school are increasingly growing. While Russian and Tatar ethno-nationalist organizations - although still small and marginal - are assuming radical

positions, the diffusion of radical Islam has been generating serious interfaith tensions in the society and striking events of terrorism. Similar phenomena are developing in many areas of the Russian Federation, especially in the 21 ethnic republics, where bilingualism is officially recognised, religious and cultural pluralism is considered a distinctive feature and the promotion of the multicultural traditional heritage is on the political and cultural agenda, but latent conflicts are increasingly present.

The Intercultural Education Platforms

The *Tempus programme* is the longest-standing EU programme in the sector of cooperation with the neighboring countries. Since its inception in 1990, it has promoted the cooperation between higher education institutions to enhance mutual understanding between the academic worlds of the European Union and the Partner Countries and to face the major social and educative challenges of the post Cold War societies.

The Tempus financed project *ALLMEET (Actions of Lifelong Learning addressing Multicultural Education and Tolerance in Russia)* involves European and Russian institutions facing together the challenges of the multicultural Russian society, particularly focusing on education⁴. The main aim of the project is to promote actions of lifelong learning on topics not usually debated such as migration, intercultural education and interreligious dialogue, in order to increase the level of tolerance toward people with migrant background and minority groups. After a first phase of theoretical and empirical research on the existing knowledge, practices and policies regarding migration and conflict resolution at local, regional and national level, the project has moved to its core: the implementation of six Intercultural Education Platforms in six cities located in five regions of the Russian Federation.

The Intercultural Education Platforms have been thought and planned adapting to the local contexts the model of the Intercultural Centres that has been developed in Europe since 1980s. This model is based on the assumption that interculturality must be deliberately pursued by local authorities and civil society creating adequate tools, spaces and places. According to Jude Bloomfield and Phil Wood (1) there is no standard model of what an intercultural space should be:

⁴ The project partners are: University of Bologna (Department of Education Studies), University of Glasgow (College of Social Sciences), Universidade Nova de Lisboa (CESNOVA Centro de Estudos de Sociologia), Moscow City Pedagogical University (Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology), Russian Academy of Education (Kazan), Kazan (Volga region) Federal University (Branch of Naberezhnye Chelny), Mari State University (Institute of Pedagogical Sciences & Psychology), Northern (Arctic) Federal University (Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology), Siberian Federal University (Institute of Education, Psychology and Sociology), Charitable organisation Volunteers (Elabuga, Russia) and Foundation European Centre for Valuation of Prior Learning (The Netherlands).

An intercultural centre is any space where there is an underlying philosophy that cultural mixing is more desirable than separation, and a deliberate and sustained practice designed to bring this about by various means, and a determination to make cultural mixing and co-operation a higher priority than the integration of the minority into the systems and norms of the majority.

Intercultural centres are dynamic and fluid entities, that can be roughly classified in several typologies according to the presence of some specific features:

- core-funded, professional centres with a large permanent staff with research, documentation and training functions which may engage with the academic world and serve national and international representational roles;
- statutory services for inclusion which work as meeting places across ethnicities and provide social and advice services;
- arts and resource centres;
- municipally-funded centres, that promotes economic, social and civic inclusion across the city;
- sectoral think-tanks which promote an intercultural rethinking of existing practices;
- autonomous, project-financed centres that seeks democratic participation and partnerships with migrant and other civic associations.

Although their structural diversities, the intercultural centres share the common ethos to be inclusive, open to everyone, and to promote non-ethnic and multi-perspective concepts of culture and history, rooting on the democratic practices of the dialogue in (and with) the public space. They aim to achieve positive integration processes, avoiding exclusions and radicalizations.

The network of the ALLMEET Intercultural Education Platforms have been implemented in Moscow, Arkhangelsk, Yoshkar-Ola, Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, and Krasnoyarsk. Each Platform, led by researchers and staff from the local partner universities, is developing its activities and tasks through *physical*, *virtual* and *outreach* educational interactive spaces, obviously interlinked through a unique Platform Agenda, with common goals and coordinative criteria.

The physical spaces consist of *Research, Training and Learning Centers*, in which a wide spectrum of activities have been planned and progressively implemented connecting academic findings with the needs of policy makers and civil society: research, monitoring and creation of databases on multicultural topics; joint meetings with the leadership of the Federal Migration Services, Youth Committees and regional volunteer organizations; seminars, workshops and symposia on practice and methods of cultural mediation, negotiating, cross-cultural communication and conflict managements; free counseling for migrants on legal, linguistic, social, psychological and cultural issues. The virtual space is represented by the *Intercultural Education web Platforms*, which provides on-line courses and offers free access to materials and educational resources. Finally, the outreach

approach is developed through *actions in community spaces*, to reach the target groups in their social and cultural environments, in many cases supported by local “community ambassadors” that are involved in the planning and implementation of the activities, serve as role models, share and interpret useful information for integration and settling. The activities include regular door-to-door visits, counseling services, cultural and social events.

The work of the Intercultural Education Platforms is thus characterized by a synergy of languages, strategies, contexts, topics and actors, strictly intertwining the theoretical reflection with the operative actions. The goals are well established and clear, but they are constantly re-defined according to an attentive evaluation of the intermediate results.

Conclusions

Capacity-building is an approach to development not something separate from it. It is a response to the multi-dimensional processes of change, not a set of discrete or prepackaged technical interventions intended to bring about a pre-defined outcome. In supporting organizations working for social justice, it is also necessary to support the various capacities they require to do this: intellectual, organizational, social, political, cultural, material, practical, or financial (Eade 23).

The ALLMEET project and the actions of the Intercultural Education Platforms pursue the most innovative and dynamic meanings of the concept of capacity building. At all stages, the transmission of knowledge and contents has never been one-way: from the European universities to the Russian universities; from the Russian universities to the involved associations and institutions; from the trainers to the participants. On the contrary, the process of building and sharing purposes, concepts and knowledge is based on the continuous dialogue and exchange of points of view and skills. The intention is to find an open and complex synthesis, that can be a starting point for the building of new approaches and effective synergies to promote intercultural education in Russia, especially in contexts where divisions, racism and xenophobia are noticeably increasing.

During the first 18 months, the dialogue between experts, researchers and practitioners from European countries and Russian regions with very different cultural and social backgrounds has led to the development of approaches and activities whose content and potential exceed the content and the potential of the single traditional approaches that still exist in the respective countries and regions. Now, entering the second phase of the project, all this heritage is translated into concrete proposals for activities addressed to specific target groups. These activities take place in Russia, but certainly the produced materials and the results will become part of the experiential, professional and intellectual baggage of the European project members, and then will be re-proposed and adapted in different contexts than those in which they have been designed.

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**DIALOGUE OF VOICES IN VISUAL SEMIOTIC
PERSPECTIVE**

L'IMAGINAIRE DES BLOGS FEMININS DE MODE

Drd. Alexandra Irimescu ¹

Résumé: Aujourd'hui, surtout dans le numérique, le sens circule à travers les images qui viennent compléter le texte écrit et le son. Les images transmettent des informations, des normes sociales et des valeurs morales, établissent des rapports de pouvoir, influencent le style et la consommation. Pour cela, les images constituent un point d'accès stratégique vers un monde multidimensionnel et dialogique. Le développement des blogs s'inscrit dans l'imaginaire social de la seconde modernité qui se caractérise par la réflexivité et la démocratisation des compétences qui sont révélateurs, d'un côté pour le refus de la monopolisation de la production de l'information et, d'un autre côté, pour la libéralisation de la parole dans le numérique. Les blogs de mode, aussi que d'autres catégories de blogs féminins, constituent une source inépuisable de représentations de la féminité qui, à la différence d'autres représentations fournies par la télévision, la publicité, la presse écrite et, surtout, la presse féminine, cette fois-ci sont fournies par les femmes elles-mêmes. Ce changement de perspective s'inscrit dans une logique expressiviste (Allard and Vandenberghe, 2003) rendue possible et soutenue par la démocratisation et la banalisation de l'accès à Internet. Dans ce contexte, les blogs de mode occupent une place particulière parmi les autres blogs féminins grâce à l'utilisation des images de mode – en réalité, de vrais autoportraits de mode – qui abondent dans cette catégorie des productions féminines. De plus, le blog de mode se présente comme un nouveau support de diffusion médiatique de la mode, une nouvelle forme de manifestation de la spécificité qui constitue un espace privilégié d'expression pour l'amateur. Il s'agit de l'émergence d'une nouvelle information sur la mode alimentée par l'expérience quotidienne et la subjectivité de l'individu. A celle-ci s'ajoute une autre caractéristique définitoire – le caractère interactif et immédiat de cette communication – qui font du blog de mode, non seulement un espace de communion, mais aussi de (re)définition identitaire. Ce vecteur d'interaction et de socialisation (Rocamora and Bartlett) détient le potentiel d'une renégociation sur le terrain de l'identité féminine, dans le sens d'un renouvellement de la vision sur la féminité contemporaine. Dans ce contexte, on se demande dans quelle mesure les blogueuses de mode imposent une rupture dans la logique de la culture visuelle occidentale, celle du regard masculin, pour instaurer un nouvel regard, au féminin. Pour répondre à cette question on propose une analyse sémiologique des images de mode disponibles sur les blogs personnels de mode, en utilisant en tant qu'interprétant interne, les images avec les blogueuses de mode, et en tant qu'interprétant externe, les images avec les blogueurs de mode. En conclusion, les blogs personnels de mode offrent aux femmes l'accès aux propres représentations qui, longtemps, leurs a été refusé ce qui rend cet objet d'analyse très pertinent pour répondre aux questions liées à la redéfinition de la féminité dans le numérique.

Mots-clés: *blogs de mode, images de mode, expressivisme, féminité, représentations.*

Introduction

De nos jours, le blog, dans tous ses formats, est partie intégrante de notre paysage médiatique qui exhibe sans cesse un univers de discours régi en première instance

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par des gens ordinaires, des amateurs passionnés et désireux de s'exprimer. Le développement des blogs s'inscrit dans l'imaginaire social de la seconde modernité qui se caractérise par la réflexivité et la démocratisation des compétences (Flichy) qui sont révélateurs, d'un côté pour le refus de la monopolisation de la production de l'information et, d'un autre côté, pour la libéralisation de la parole dans le numérique. Les blogs de mode, aussi que d'autres catégories de blogs féminins, constituent une source inépuisable de représentations de la féminité qui, à la différence d'autres représentations fournies par la télévision, la publicité, la presse écrite et, surtout, la presse féminine, cette fois-ci sont fournies par les femmes elles-mêmes. Ce changement de perspective s'inscrit dans une logique *expressiviste* (Allard and Blondeau-Coulet) rendue possible et soutenue par la démocratisation et la banalisation de l'accès à Internet.

Le but de cet article est de présenter les résultats de l'incursion faite dans l'univers des blogs féminins de mode pour chercher les indices de l'existence *d'imaginaires figuratifs* (Soulages) particuliers du féminin et ce qui est propre à ceux-ci dans le contexte du passage vers le numérique qui donne accès aux femmes à leurs propres représentations. Donc, le choix des blogs personnels de mode écrits par des femmes n'est pas par hasard, mais on le justifie par l'abondance des images de mode, en réalité, de vrais autoportraits de mode (Rocamora), dans cette catégorie des productions féminines.

L'analyse des configurations visuelles fournies de cette manière nous permet de mettre au jour des comportements, d'interaction et des postures qui échappent à tout formatage, étant le résultat d'une démarche réflexive d'autopromotion dans le numérique. Ainsi, l'analyse des images de mode peut nous permettre d'observer le figement de divers «*syntagmes visuels*» (Soulages 103) à travers lesquels les identités et les rôles sexuels se sont cristallisés dans les autres types de médias. En même temps, les résultats de cette étude constituent un repère pour une analyse plus complexe qui vise les blogs féminins de mode en tant que phénomène culturel et communicationnel qui porte les indices d'un nouvel arrangement de genre (Goffman, "Le déploiement du genre") et de la redéfinition contemporaine de la féminité, qui intègre aussi cette dimension visuelle qui sera développée dans les pages suivantes.

Pourtant, on se demande qu'est-ce qui se passe quand l'instance créatrice des discours sur la femme, sur son corps et son rôle dans la société change pour devenir «profane», donc quand ces discours deviennent accessibles aux gens ordinaires, aux femmes ordinaires en dehors tout cadrage. En effet, ce qui nous intéresse vraiment dans cette étude est de dévoiler la manière dont les femmes se «parlent» en images à travers les blogs de mode. Est-ce qu'elles prouvent qu'elles ont bien appris les «leçons» qui leurs ont été fournies par la presse féminine, la publicité et tous les autres médias traditionnels (Chollet)? Est-ce que le tournant *expressiviste* (Allard and Vandenberghe) n'a pas eu vraiment lieu dans le cas du genre comme certains auteurs l'ont suggéré (Bourdaloie)?

Ainsi, la question lancée dans cette recherche est la suivante: dans quelle mesure les blogueuses de mode imposent une rupture dans la logique de la culture visuelle occidentale, celle du regard masculin, pour instaurer un nouvel regard, au féminin ? Tandis que l'hypothèse qu'on se propose de tester est qu'aujourd'hui, les femmes, en devenant des sujets, des acteurs impliqués dans un projet réflexif de présentation au monde, à l'autrui et à soi-même, fournissent des images qui promeuvent des modèles alternatifs de féminité. Toutefois, si cette hypothèse sera confirmée il nous reste à découvrir s'il s'agit des changements qui annoncent la disparition des deux catégories (homme/femme) dans le sens de la *déconstruction* des identités de genre envisagée par les théories *queer* et surtout par les réflexions de Judith Butler (1999) sur les pratiques des *drag-queens* ou encore d'une *redéfinition* et d'une réappropriation de ces catégories dans une acception renouvelée, personnelle et plus flexible (Froidevaux-Metterie Camille).

Pour cela, cette étude se propose, de contribuer à la compréhension de la société contemporaine marquée par des paradoxes et contradictions (Macé, *L'après-patriarcat*) en ce qui concerne la condition de la femme, mais aussi des transformations qu'on ne peut plus ignorer en ce qui concerne la féminité. Dans ce processus les femmes sont directement impliquées, en qualité d'acteurs disposant de toute une panoplie de moyens pour s'exprimer, se repenser et se réinventer, fournis par la démocratisation d'Internet. Pour cela on propose de nous diriger l'attention vers cette question de la féminité contemporaine, à travers les blogs de mode.

Cadrage théorique et épistémologique

Cette recherche est ancrée dans le cadre de compréhension et d'interprétation du phénomène étudié fourni par les paradigmes féministes qui contestent l'idée de consensus dans la société. Ce modèle ne dévoile pas seulement l'expérience des femmes en tant que êtres opprimés, mais il accentue aussi les limites de la compréhension et de l'investigation de la vie sociale. En sachant le fait que la plupart des descriptions, des valeurs et des normes appartiennent à des gens qui représentent seulement une partie de la société (Babbie 74) il sera intéressant de voir ce qui se passe quand dans le numérique ces voix se multiplient grâce à la démocratisation de l'accès aux nouvelles technologies. Pour cela, on focalise notre attention sur la notion de féminité, en spéculant les effets de l'absence du consensus dans la définition de ce terme, parce que, comme le souligne Teresa de Lauretis (2007) dans son étude visant la culture populaire, le genre peut être vécu comme une domination, mais en tant que rapport de pouvoir il ne s'exerce qu'à travers des « technologie de genre » qui sont ces médiateurs à travers lesquels le genre existe et il est fait et refait par l'usage et par la critique des représentations, des corps, des objets techniques, des vêtements, des catégories institutionnelles (de Lauretis). Ainsi, cette conception renouvelée laisse une grande part à la reconfiguration plutôt qu'à la seule reproduction des rapports de genre.

Le *blogging* conçu comme *pratique* et *dispositif* est à la fois une catégorie du *web communautaire* et du *capitalisme du partage* (Allard 11). Pour Allard, les blogs marquent l'entrée par le terrain de la subjectivité à travers des agencements multiples (textuels, sonores et visuels) qui fait possible un « soi exprimé » qu'ainsi se donne à lire. Il théorise l'*individualisme expressif* en référence aux dispositifs numériques en mettant l'accent sur le travail expressif à travers lequel les individus performant leurs identités. En ce sens, il insiste sur la capacité des individus à se construire de façon autonome. Ainsi, il s'appuie sur les travaux du philosophe canadien Charles Taylor (1989) sur les origines de l'individualisme contemporain et sur la formation de l'identité moderne et définit l'*expressivisme* comme « l'une des sources du moi moderne » (Allard 12). Toutefois, Hélène Bourdeloie (2013) considère que le « tournant expressiviste » n'a pas été observé sur le plan du genre, mais les pratiques identifiées dans la blogosphère féminine contredisent ses assomptions. La blogosphère féminine s'avère un espace dans lequel les femmes peuvent exprimer librement leurs idées sans s'exposer aux critiques, aux jugements, ou pire, au harcèlement déplacé dans le numérique. Les femmes utilisent les blogs pour casser les stéréotypes et une littérature assez riche soutienne ce constat (Antunovic and Hardin; Attwood; Muise; Paechter; Somolu; MacKay and Dallaire; Mitra).

Éric Macé (2015) a défini le genre comme « un rapport social par lequel les acteurs sociaux construisent collectivement le masculin et le féminin comme des valeurs différentes ayant des conséquences sur le mode d'existence des hommes et des femmes et sur les formes d'organisation de l'ensemble de la vie sociale et de ses imaginaires » (Macé, *L'après-patriarcat* 19) et indique les voies du « devenir homme » et du « devenir femme » dans l'*après-patriarcat* – qui constitue la phase ultime de l'évolution du patriarcat qui est en réalité «un égalitarisme inégalitaire paradoxal » (Macé, *L'après-patriarcat* 10). Ainsi le « devenir femme » de l'*après-patriarcat* se définit par *ambivalence* parce qu'elles, les femmes, souhaitent défendre aussi leur féminité, devenue constitutive de leur identité sociale et subjective, comme leur autonomie individuelle, pareilles en cela aux hommes; tandis que le « devenir homme » de l'*après-patriarcat* est moins marqué par l'ambivalence que par l'*ambiguïté* - « ils peuvent être volontaires pour partager certaines tâches et relations typiquement féminines sans que cela nuise à une masculinité devenue anti-macho, mais à la condition que cela n'entrave pas leur autonomie, leurs projets, leurs ambitions, leur tranquillité (Macé, *L'après-patriarcat* 110).

En ce sens, Camille Froidevaux-Metterie (2015) présente l'advenue d'un modèle inédit de sujet féminin, « simultanément et semblablement engagé dans le monde social et dans la vie intime ». Elle entreprend une analyse sur la féminité contemporaine à la suite d'une observation qui porte sur une mutation anthropologique et sociale qu'elle exprime de manière concise « plus d'assignations sexuées des ordres de l'existence, plus de-frontières entre le public et le privé, plus de repères ni de normes genrées...Reste la singularité des expériences individuelles et l'envie d'y donner sens » (Froidevaux-Metterie

Camille 17). Dans le monde contemporain, la tendance vers la *convergence de genre* fait « que chacun laisse pénétrer en lui une partie de l'autre (...) de même que la part féminine augmente chez les hommes, la part masculine s'entend chez les femmes » (Touraine 49) rend cette dissimulation inutile.

Dans ce contexte, une réflexion qui vise le corps des femmes représente à la fois une réflexion sur la singularité féminine. En ce sens, elle envisage le souci des femmes pour le cadre matériel de leur vie, tout comme le souci pour leur apparence en tant qu'expression de l'individualisme contemporain et une manière « d'exprimer quelque chose d'elles-mêmes » (Froidevaux-Metterie Camille 281–282). Dans cette vision, le souci esthétique des femmes devient un *projet réflexif de coïncidence à soi* qui se projette sur l'image corporelle et fait signe d'une liberté retrouvée: « *l'éventail des choix de féminité* est très largement ouvert, de la minorisation frôlant la masculinisation à l'ultra-féminisation touchant à la caricature. Chaque femme choisit en quelque sorte le degré de féminité qu'elle désire assumer socialement, c'est-à-dire celui qui coïncide avec sa personnalité, celui qui lui conféra son identité individuelle» (Froidevaux-Metterie Camille 324). En conséquence, on pourrait suivre cette direction indiquée par Froidevaux-Metterie et avant de stigmatiser les femmes pour l'aliénation domestique et la mascarade féminine qui sont signes d'une domination masculine incorporée, il devient nécessaire de comprendre cette quête féminine contemporaine dirigée vers la réussite de leur propre singularité, dans la manière dont elle a été formulée par Martuccelli (2010).

Méthodologie

Cette analyse s'informe par les études qui ont visé les revues pour les femmes (Marillonnet), la publicité (Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*) et, particulièrement, une étude qui a visé l'identification des *imaginaires figuratifs* du masculin et du féminin dans la publicité, et plus particulièrement, dans la publicité de parfum (Soulages). Ainsi, pour répondre à la question lancée dans cet article, on propose une analyse sémiologique des images de mode disponibles sur les blogs personnels de mode, en utilisant en tant qu'interprétant interne, les images avec les blogueuses de mode, et en tant qu'interprétant externe, les images avec les blogueurs de mode.

La sémiologie des indices, formulée et travaillée par Houdebine-Gravaud, est une méthodologie issue de la linguistique dure (Saussure) qui mise sur l'existence d'un code, mais appliquée à la culture – comprise à la manière d'Eco – comme un *grand système de signes* qui s'impose aux individus (Eco). Dans cette optique renouvelée, le codage devient souple et accessible dans les rituels, dans les conventions. Si pour les promoteurs de la sémiologie des images, le signes sont des signes parce qu'ils signifient: « C'est-à-dire que leur aspect perceptible met en œuvre un processus de signification et donc l'interprétation, dépendant de leur nature, du contexte de leur manifestation, de la culture du récepteur, de ses préoccupations. C'est lui qui « associera », qui interprétera, qui établira tel ou tel

type de rapport entre la face perceptible du signe et sa signification» (Joly 27). Pour Anne-Marie Houdebine-Gravaud la notion d'indice est «*un élément degageable en réception dont le sens n'est pas imposé par le code, mais par le procès interprétatif*» (Houdebine-Gravaud 16). Suite à cette redéfinition se précise la notion originale de la sémiologie des indices – celle de *signifiant indiciel*.

Quant à cette recherche, on se propose de saisir dans les images (mises en scènes, parades, pose), donc dans la codification culturelle, la norme hégémonique selon l'approche proposée par Houdebine. Il s'agit d'un processus qui se déploie en deux phases: premièrement, l'analyse du corpus (interprétants internes) et deuxièmement, la phase interprétative où on dégage la signifiance en fournissant des interprétations de nature psychanalytique, sociologique, historique, idéologique etc. dans la logique de la *praxis critique* de R. Barthes.

Ainsi, l'analyse sémiologique débute avec le repérage des éléments du code ou de la structuration. C'est la première phase de l'analyse appelée *systémique* et inspirée par les travaux de Barthes (*Mythologies; L'aventure sémiologique*) et qui dégagera les codes stables bâtis sur la convention du rapport indiquant vs. indiqué, signifiant vs. signifié. Dans le contexte particulier de cette recherche, il s'agit de la stratification de l'objet d'étude selon trois composantes : *plastique, figurative* et *narrative*, donc d'une analyse déployée exclusivement au niveau visuel censée d'identifier les scénarios figuratifs du féminin sédimentés dans l'univers des blogs personnels de mode. Cette étape est suivie par l'étape *interprétative* dans laquelle on s'efforce à repérer les potentialités sémantique de *l'Objet* – vu comme «un simulacre de la réalité prélevé dans la réalité socio-culturelle» (Houdebine-Gravaud 15), donc d'un *objet construit* à partir des objets sociaux ou pratiques.

Pour Houdebine, l'analyse *interprétative* vise à repérer les références sociales impliquées et les *signifiances* ou les *effets de sens* (symboliques) qui impliquent dans la culture le genre de discours considéré. Il s'agit donc, d'un code «fluide», «souple» surajouté au premier, prolongeant le sens, en lui amplifiant et démultipliant chaque fois selon des contextes différentes et en fonction de l'expérience de l'interprète. A ce niveau, il nous reste à préciser la modalité de fonctionnement du système étudié. En effet, dans le cadre des blogs personnels de mode qui constituent notre objet de recherche, il s'agit d'une structuration ouverte à laquelle on a accès après qu'on a parcouru une quantité immense de blogs de mode dont la manière de collecte est présentée plus loin dans ce texte.

Ainsi, il ne faut pas oublier que le blog de mode est un média, mais un média, lui-même, avec une structure instable, une production ouverte qu'on se propose de saisir dans la gestualité, la pose, les vêtements etc. Sa caractéristique définitoire est la redondance, donc l'abondance excessive des discours concrétisée dans l'hétérogénéité discursive des blogueuses de mode. Dans ces conditions, les signifiants indiciels retenus ont logique seulement dans le contexte extérieur (culturel) ou ils émergent. Pour exemplifier ces propos, on donne l'exemple des couleurs qui *se définissent d'abord comme un fait de société*, donc c'est la société qui donne ses définitions et son sens, qui construit ses codes en leur associant des

valeurs, qui organise des pratiques et détermine ses enjeux, donc elles sont chargées culturellement (Pastoureau 57). Ainsi, dans la culture occidentale, elles peuvent être partagées en couleurs féminines et couleurs masculines – pratique très visible dans les vêtements de petits enfants, la couleur rose étant toujours un marqueur pour le genre féminin, tout comme la couleur bleu pour le genre masculin.

Essentielle dans cette étape reste le dégagement « en réception » des signifiants indiciels qui fonctionnent en structure souple, interprétative qui envoient à *l'effet de sens* non imposé par un code dont parle Houdebine. Ainsi, dans la partie d'analyse on vise dégager ces signifiants au niveau des trois niveaux systématiques dans une perspective analytico-déductive par la réduction de la classe à ses parties, jusqu'à l'unité minimale de signification.

Collection des données

Du point de vue d'une sémiotique visuelle ce type de corpus est homogène sur le plan de l'expression et il a l'avantage de ne pas convoquer le matériel linguistique. Comme dans le cas des visuels publicitaires, la plupart de ces visuels constituent de « véritables actes de langage porteurs d'une certaine intentionnalité signifiante étayée par l'existence d'une congruence manifeste entre le plan de l'expression et celui du contenu » (Soulages 103).

Le corpus discontinu et hétérogène mobilisé dans cette recherche demeure représentatif pour la blogosphère de mode. Toutefois, l'enfermement dans un corpus précis comporte le risque majeur d'étouffement de la richesse et de la complexité de l'analyse. Ainsi, pour déployer l'analyse en deux phases (systémique et interprétative), proposée dans notre méthodologie, on utilise un petit nombre de blogs féminins hautement représentatifs pour l'univers des blogs personnels de mode vers lesquels on dirige notre attention avec priorité. A ceux-ci on ajoute quelques blogs masculins de mode qui résument les principales tendances dans cet univers restreint de la blogosphère masculine de mode et nous aide à découvrir ce que demeure spécifique pour la blogosphère féminine de mode.

Ces blogs ont été identifiés sur des différentes plateformes (*Blogger, Signature 9, BlogHer, Independent Fashion Bloggers, Blogger Babes*), dans les nombreux classements conçus selon des multiples critères (mais qui rendent visibles surtout les blogs de mode célèbres et contribuent à l'étouffement de la diversité caractéristique de la blogosphère de mode et soulèvent des questions liées à *l'invisibilité* et à *l'accès* dans le numérique), tout comme à travers une recherche exploratoire sur Internet à partir les *blogrolls* disponibles dans les blogs déjà identifiés, mais aussi à partir des mots-clés. De plus, nos recherches antérieures qui ont visé les nouveaux médias – par exemple le *Pure Player* The Huffington Post – ont contribué à la complexification du regard par rapport à cet univers de la blogosphère de mode en permanente transformation.

Analyse des données

Comme dans le cas des études précédentes visant l'imaginaire publicitaire, dès le début, un constat doit être établi « il n'existe pas de dictionnaire, pas de grammaire, juste des encyclopédies » (Soulages 106) que se partagent les blogueurs et leurs publics, donc des savoirs informels qui assure une certaine unité de sens. Puisque du point de vue épistémologique on s'inscrit dans la « sémiologie des indices » énoncée par Anne-Marie Houdebine Gravaud, qui témoigne d'un processus de *conventionnalisation* des formes signifiantes. Cette méthodologie repose dans sa première phase sur une opération de stratification de l'objet étudié en trois stades signifiants provisoirement autonomisées:

- a. la composante plastique – rassemblant de différents éléments sémiotiques : la couleur, la lumière, l'ensemble des formes et leur agencement qui composent les univers plastiques du masculin et du féminin.
- b. La composante figurative – concerne les éléments figurés : les univers, les objets, les personnages eux-mêmes dont la gestualité mobilise une sémiotique spécifique.
- c. La composante narrative qui vise les modalités d'organisation discursive et qui, dans l'imaginaire publicitaire, le plus souvent se limite à des « qualifications d'actions » ou à des schémas ou des rôles actantiels. Mais comme on le verra dans les cas particuliers les blogs féminins renversent cette règle grâce au recours aux scénarios figuratifs qui vont se sédimenter comme des identités narratives multiples et, parfois, divergentes, voire périphériques.

Avant de déployer l'analyse au niveau des trois composantes indiquées, il faut rappeler que l'interprétant externe, donc les blogs masculins de mode, ont le seul rôle de nous aider à voir ce qui est spécifique aux blogs féminins de mode. Autrement dit, ils ne constituent pas l'objet central de notre intérêt, mais seulement facilitent notre analyse.

Résultats

a) *Phase systémique*

Au niveau plastique

A ce niveau, la norme dominante se perpétue exhibant deux configurations visuelles en opposition. D'un côté, dans le cas des blogueuse de mode les couleurs douces, les lumières chaudes, les formes courbes constituent la règle (comme dans le cas des blogs d'Anabelle Fleur - <http://vivaluxury.blogspot.ro/> et d'Eleonore Bridge - <http://www.leblogdelamechante.fr/>, ou encore de la très célèbre Chiara Fergani - <http://www.theblondesalad.com/>). Ainsi, on constate que beaucoup de visuels fournis à travers les blogs féminins de mode représentent une simple illustration des normes dominantes qui régissent cet univers, identifiés auparavant

dans les études visant la publicité (Soulages; Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*; Goffman, “Le déploiement du genre”).

D’autre côté, les images /autoportraits de mode avec les blogueurs montrent jusqu’à quel point la norme dominante se perpétue. La mise en scène des blogueurs de mode (exemples Marcel Florus – www.onedapperstreet.com; George Hahn – [www. http://georgehahn.com](http://www.georgehahn.com); Tanner Guzy – [www. masculine-style.com](http://www.masculine-style.com)) se fait au moyen d’une lumière dure, couleurs froides ou neutres (blanc, noir, gris, marron), formes rigides et lignes verticales ou obliques. Toutefois, parmi ces blogs dont la conception de l’univers plastique reste dominante, émergent des formes différentes de défigement de ces univers plastiques dans le sens d’un rapprochement de l’univers plastique masculin de celui féminin. Par exemple, plusieurs visuels disponibles sur les blogs: *The Gentleman Blogger* (<http://www.thegentlemanblogger.com/2015/12/a-break-in-prague/>; <http://www.thegentlemanblogger.com/2015/05/2733/>; <http://www.thegentlemanblogger.com/2015/12/pool-games/>); *The Stories of O.* (<http://www.ovidiumuresanu.com/2015/04/follow-your-dream/>) et *School Boy Culture* (<http://schoolboycouture.com/blog/2015/4/14/red-letter-day>) indiquent des couleurs chaudes et des lumières douces qui sont repris aussi dans l’univers plastique des blogs masculins de mode. Ainsi, on constate que la figuration de l’homme se « féminise », tandis que, comme on le verra au niveau figuratif, leurs postures s’adoucissent.

Au niveau figuratif

Au niveau de la composante figurative de ces deux catégories de visuels, la gestualité distingue deux types de postures: d’une côté, la mimique relâchée de la femme s’oppose à la gestualité de l’homme extraverti. De l’autre côté, il faut insister sur un autre élément central parmi les autres marques expressives, il s’agit du statut du regard. A ce niveau se distinguent deux types de regards: un regard autocentré de type « je suis regardé » comme dans les premiers trois blogs féminins mentionnés et un regard hétérocentré de type « je vous regarde » comme dans les suivants trois visuels avec les blogueurs (hommes) de mode qui s’inscrivent dans la norme dominante.

De ces deux types de regards à dimension performative et de la répartition des indices visuels implicites découlent *deux identités narratives distinctes* – la femme est figurée dans une attitude d’attente, d’écoute et de passivité, tandis que l’homme est figuré dans une attitude d’affirmation. Mais, dans l’univers des blogs de mode nous sommes face au défigement des deux représentations régies par des éléments non verbaux, des deux stéréotypes qui réunissent l’essentiel des attributs idéal-typiques de chaque classe sexuelle.

Si au niveau de la composante plastique on constate un rapprochement de l’univers plastique masculin de celui féminin, au niveau figuratif on peut indiquer les traits généraux de ce glissement qui affecte à la fois les deux répertoires de la figuration et indique une tendance d’homogénéisation de ces deux univers. L’univers déréalisé disparaît, le regard autocentré se mélange avec le regard hétérocentré, la distance intime se trouve mélangée avec la distance sociale-tandis

que, les hommes et les femmes, sans distinction, s'accompagnent des mêmes objets dans les photos de mode qu'ils publient sur leurs blogs: des sacs à main, des livres, des cafés et des lunettes.

Les postures s'homogénéisent elles aussi: les hommes, généralement inscrits dans la norme dominante, figurent dans une attitude de détachement de leur corps (avec les mains dans les poches, par exemple). Dans les visuels qui exemplifient le glissement des marqueurs visuels dans les blogs masculins de mode, ils touchent leurs corps et/ou leurs vêtements pareils aux femmes qui se trouvent dans une figuration qui s'encadre dans la norme dominante qui régit l'univers féminin. Si aux niveaux plastique et figuratif on a observé le rapprochement des deux univers figuratifs, dans le sens du rapprochement de l'univers masculin de celui féminin, au niveau narratif ce glissement pourra être observé surtout dans les cas des blogs féminins de mode.

Au niveau narratif

Dans le cas des blogs féminins de mode on a identifié trois glissements saisis par rapport à la *mascarade féminine*. Cette notion, dans un premier temps conceptualisée en tant que forme de régulation des tensions pour les femmes dans l'environnement social androcentré (Rivière). Dans le contexte de cette recherche la mascarade féminine a plutôt l'acception d'une forme d'identification du sujet féminin à partir la norme dominante qui régit son univers, ses postures, ses parures et qui se détache de sa conceptualisation initiale, psychanalytique, énoncée par Joanne Rivière (1929).

Le premier glissement vise les nouvelles stratégies employées par les femmes pour communiquer et promouvoir des idées et des valeurs personnelles conçues dans l'esprit du postféminisme. Habituellement envisagées dans la presse *mainstream* dans une attitude d'attente et de passivité, les femmes qui publient des photos d'elles-mêmes dans leurs blogs de mode emploient des stratégies performatives pour se construire une identité, pour promouvoir des idées, pour soutenir des valeurs et des attitudes (*empowerment*) ou encore pour sanctionner certaines formes de déni de la reconnaissance (l'image de la professionnelle). Pour cela elles mobilisent des gestuelles extraverties et des attitudes d'affirmation. Par exemple, Mary Orton est une femme professionnelle et l'auteur du blog *Memorandum*, une femme, qui milite pour le changement statutaire des femmes dans l'univers du travail. Elle représente la figure de la *combattante*, tandis que son propos est de lutter contre le déni de la reconnaissance de femmes dans cet univers et de les encourager à se valoriser dans la carrière par le *look*. Dans ses images, les vêtements ne sont plus portés comme un *costume* (Goffman, *Gender Advertisements*), mais ils constituent une interface entre elle-même et le monde extérieur qui contribue pleinement à son succès professionnel. Ana Morodan est une blogueuse roumaine et l'auteure du blog homonyme qui se présente comme une *superhéroïne*, comme tous les femmes qui savent comment utiliser leur apparence comme une source de pouvoir (*I'm a woman. What's your superpower*).

Elle exploite la question de *l'empowerment* du paradigme postféministe entretenant une attitude ambivalente par rapport à la mascarade féminine que parfois elle met en scène et puis renverse par l'utilisation stratégique des *antistéréotypes* (Macé, "Des «minorités visibles» aux néostéréotypes"). Chiara Fegani, l'auteure du très célèbre *The Blonde Salad*, s'appuie sur ses qualités physiques et son photogénie pour se construire une identité autour d'une mascarade consciente, performée comme un jeu de masques et de costumes, tandis que Ashleigh (aka "Bing"), l'auteure de *I Dream of Dapper*, refuse la *mascarade féminine* et, en tant que réponse à la division binaire (entre masculin et féminin) dans la mode vestimentaire et étant dans l'impossibilité de s'identifier avec les tenues féminines, adopte des tenues masculines.

Un deuxième glissement concerne la représentation des femmes à l'intérieur de leurs maisons. La norme dominante, identifiée par Goffman (1978) dans les visuels publicitaires (images qui répliquent la même attitude d'attente, passive, des femmes envisagées en tant qu'objets désirants), dans les blogs personnels de mode écrits par des femmes est remplacée par l'émergence des représentations alternatives qui s'inscrivent dans des schémas actantiels. Par exemple, Morodan associe une activité intellectuelle (la lecture) aux pratiques de beauté (<http://www.anamorodan.com/the-business-of-being-ana-morodan-the-beauty-butler/>) – tandis qu'une autre blogueuse, dans l'intimité de sa chambre, joue le rôle d'un chevalier ou d'un prince charmant prêt à affronter tout danger avec son épée, ou peut-être celui d'une princesse qui a décidé de se sauver toute seule (<http://vonmunsterr.tumblr.com/post/14355014357>).

Un troisième glissement concerne l'attitude féminine qui, dans l'univers de la blogosphère de mode, devient un rôle où les femmes peuvent prendre des pauses ; elles se permettent d'avoir des moments de sortie de ce rôle. A titre d'exemple, cette idée est illustrée par la manière dont la blogueuse roumaine, Ana Morodan, se représente en image publiées pendant qu'elle allume sa cigarette et fume. Aucun homme n'est pas là pour performer la galanterie masculine en allumant sa cigarette, mais elle se débrouille toute seule en suspendant la parade féminine et prenant une pause de l'attitude féminine (<http://www.anamorodan.com/thefirstlesseffectivemanipulation/>).

Au niveau de l'interprétant externe, le principal glissement se produit dans le sens de l'emprunt de certaines formes mise en scène, propres à la mascarade féminine. Les blogueurs, eux-aussi, entrent dans le jeu de la séduction typiquement féminine et arrivent à porter leurs vêtements comme des costumes (*School boy couture, The Gentleman Blogger, Ovidiu Muresanu -The Stories of O.*). Mais ceux-ci restent plutôt des cas isolés, tandis que, dans l'univers de la blogosphère de mode masculine, les images à l'intérieur restent encore rares.

b) Phase interprétative

A l'intermède de ce nouvel outil de communication et d'autopromotion dans le numérique, de nombreuses blogueuses, autrefois de simples anonymes dépourvues

de tout pouvoir représentationnel, se crée un personnage définissant une nouvelle identité sociale entamée entre plusieurs polarités :

- soit les blogueuses adoptent le comportement attendu de la femme, clonant les postures identiques à celles présentées dans les magazines qui contribuent à déréaliser la femme réelle, assumant et jouant une « mascarade » du féminin (Anabelle Fleur –*Viva Luxury* et Chiara Fergani –*The Blonde Salad*) ;
- soit les blogueuses s'affichent comme des femmes “réelles”, déployant un discours critique ou réflexive. Ce jeu performatif tout à fait variable donne le jour à un répertoire assumé de « contre-parades » du féminin (Goffman, “Le déploiement du genre”) témoignant d’une résistance face aux assignations de genre (Mary Orton – *Memorandum* ; Ashleigh - *I Dream of Dapper*);
- soit les blogueuses adoptent des positionnements ambivalents qui mélangent la mascarade féminine avec des formes de résistance stratégique (Morodan).

En partant des résultats obtenus suite à l’analyse déployée sur les trois niveaux on identifie une mascarade féminine qui se préfigure en pleine déstructuration selon des scénarios multiples: une mascarade féminine sérieuse et assumée (Anabelle Fleur), une mascarade en tant que jeu (Chiara Fergani), une mascarade ambivalente et stratégique (Morodan); la mascarade défigurée suite à l’inscription dans le social (Mary Orton) et encore, le refus de la mascarade (Ashleigh aka «Bing»).

Ainsi l’inscription dans le social conduit au défigement des parades de genre (plutôt dans le cas de la mascarade féminine) ou à sa réactivation comme dans le cas des blogueurs qui se détachent du social pour réinvestir certaines postures typiques à la représentation médiatique des femmes. Dans notre vison, cela atteste un mouvement généralisé vers l’homogénéisation des conditions et des aspirations des hommes et des femmes. En ce sens se révèle l’utilité de l’interprétant externe, les blogs masculins de mode, investi dans cette recherche. Ainsi, on rappelle qu’on a utilisé cet interprétant externe dans le but déclaré d’identifier la spécificité des enjeux qui prennent forme derrière le monopole instauré par les femmes dans cet univers.

Grâce à l’*expressivisme* rendu possible par la démocratisation de l’accès à Internet, les gens ont maintenant accès à leurs propres représentations et peuvent choisir eux-mêmes les modalités de mise en scène au niveau social le plus adaptées à leurs convictions, aux manières d’être et à leurs idées, ce qui pousse à la redéfinition contemporaine de la féminité et de la masculinité déjà observés par les chercheurs en sciences humaines (Froidevaux-Metterie Camille). Ces redéfinitions des identités de genre sont alimentées de la réalité des expériences individuelles devenues la source directe d’information qui est facilement accessible aux recherches qui ont en tant qu’objet d’étude les blogs personnels de mode. Ces mutations attestent la flexibilité du social annoncé par Martuccelli dans lequel le

récit individuel des blogueurs a un rôle central dans la construction de la réalité (Martuccelli).

Discussions finales et conclusion

Le choix du blog personnel de mode en tant qu'objet d'étude s'explique par un double enjeu: le premier est d'ordre communicationnel et citoyen car il atteste les mutations contemporaines qui se cristallisent dans l'univers médiatique lui-même par l'avènement des amateurs; tandis que le second est d'ordre imaginaire et sociétal, reposant sur l'expression d'appartenances identitaires et symboliques s'incarnant dans des postures ou des rôles renvoyant à des glissements dans les assignations de genre et dans les définition du genre (masculin / féminin).

Les blogs, analysés en tant qu'outils de mise en images, prouvent leur efficacité dans l'illustration des orientations et des positionnements singuliers de la reconstruction contemporaine des identités de genre. Suite au réinvestissement de la riche littérature qui vise ces mutations, notre recherche pourra mener à des implications théoriques fructueuses concernant la redéfinition de la féminité et de la masculinité dans l'univers numérique. Pour cela, on propose en tant que directions pour continuer ces réflexions de reprendre la discussion concernant la féminité en utilisant une grille d'analyse élargie qui intègre aussi d'autres dimensions d'étude que celle visuelle. De plus, on propose l'élargissement du corpus pour intégrer d'autres types de blogs personnels de mode ignorés dans toutes les recherches précédentes (par exemple les blogs de mode en bande dessinée ou les métablogs de mode).

A travers un corpus d'exemples des blogs féminins et masculins de mode qui informe sur la complexité de cet univers, nous nous sommes efforcés d'isoler l'organisation sémio-discursive qui prend forme dans cet univers numérique. Cette analyse implique le risque du recueil et la dissémination aléatoire des indices. La solution qu'on propose est de continuer ce travail sur un corpus plus large de blogs jusqu'à ce qu'on arrive à la saturation de l'échantillon. Les résultats obtenus servent à mettre à jour un certain nombre de configurations visuelles de la féminité et de leur mise en scène par rapport à la mascarade féminine. Les résultats de cette démarche, tout comme la continuation de l'investigation sur ce terrain, pourraient avoir non seulement des implications théoriques, mais aussi des implications par rapport à l'industrie de la mode qui montre un vif intérêt pour ces formes de médiation de ses formes classiques.

Ainsi, les blogs personnels de mode offrent aux femmes l'accès à leurs propres représentations qui, longtemps, leur a été refusé. L'investigation menée dans cette sous-division blogosphère atteste des mutations observables dans l'imaginaire figuratif du féminin ce qui ouvre la voie des multiples questionnements concernant la féminité contemporaine, indissociables; des mutations qui affectent aussi la masculinité.

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School Boy Culture - Jefferson Pires - www.schoolboycouture.com
One Dapper Style - Marcel Florus – www.onedapperstreet.com;
Masculine Style - Tanner Guzy – www.masculine-style.com
George Hahn – www.georgehahn.com;

➤ **Plateformes de blogs de mode :**

Blogger Babes <http://bloggerbabes.com/>
Independent Fashion Bloggers - <http://heartifb.com/>
BlogHer - <http://www.blogher.com>
Blogger - <https://www.blogger.com/>
Signature 9 - <http://www.signature9.com/>

VOICES IN DIALOGUE IN THE LANGUAGE OF FILM: FROM FICTIONAL TO DOCUMENTARY MODE

Ileana Jitaru¹

*Abstract: The main statements of cognitive film semiotics lie in the focus of actual mental activities (intuitive knowledge) involved in the making and understanding of filmic texts rather than the filmic texts themselves. This paper will critically examine Christian Metz's cognitive film semiotics (his theory of impersonal filmic enunciation) ("The Impersonal Enunciation, or the Site of Film", 1995), with a focus on reflexivity, metalanguage and anaphora, analysing it in contrast with Francesco Casetti's personal filmic enunciation ("D'un regard l'autre. Le film et son spectateur", 1990), a deictic theory of enunciation based on personal pronouns. These theories of enunciation will be applied to Davis Guggenheim's documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), where the enunciator and addressee are shaped as real. Conversely, in the fiction film, the enunciator and addressee are imaginary (or absent, constructed). This reformulation enables us to begin refining our understanding of the relation between fiction and reality in the construction of films. If the fiction film's actants are foregrounded as real on the below-surface level, in documentaries they are foregrounded as real on the surface level, which would suggest that fiction and documentaries have a mutual connection, in ways other than the audience would generally perceive.*

Key words: Film cognitive semiotics, filmic enunciation, documentaries, film actants, global warming.

"The image is always speech, never a unit of language."
(Christian Metz, *Film Language – A Semiotics of the Cinema*, 67)

1. Cognitive semiotics - theoretical grounds

1.1. From cognitivism to semiotics to cognitive semiotics

Beginning in the 1950's, the first semiotic research in film gave priority to the study of narrative films (Nöth 471), and most of the studies devoted to film theory analysed narrative structures which are specific and unspecific of films, such as the cinematographic structure of narrative sequences in films, and the specific differences between verbal and filmic narratives.

During the 1980s, film studies gradually adopted 'new' methodologies from cultural studies and the social sciences, which, to a certain extent, displaced the concerns of film theory. Rather than construct hypotheses and models about the general film structure and spectators' experience of film, a number of film scholars,

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in both Europe and North America, conceptualized film theory's most difficult concepts, which they tackled from the perspective of cognitive science.

This paper is going to place *An Inconvenient Truth*, a 2006 Academy Awarded film against the theories conducted not by the reputed cognitive film theorists in North America (David Bordwell, Noel Carroll) but by the much less known film cognitive theorists in Europe – particularly Francesco Casetti, Roger Odin. Despite certain similarities, the two groups manifested a marked contrast in their work. Whereas the North American cognitivists decisively rejected the basic doctrines of contemporary film theory (grounded in structural linguistics, semiotics, Marxism, and psychoanalysis), the European cognitivists inaugurated a revolution in modern film theory and reconsidered its early semiotic stage.

What unifies the European cognitivists is that their work critically resonates to Christian Metz's film semiotics. This conjunction involved transforming Metz's semiotics by means of theories of pragmatics, cognitive science, and transformational generative grammar (which is in fact one of the main research programs in cognitive science). The European cognitivists attempted to go beyond the main tenets of Metz's film semiotics (which claimed that film semiotics should be based exclusively on the methods of structural linguistics) by combining semiotics with pragmatics and cognitive science.

Contemporary cognitive semiotics developed in several stages, by initially addressing the concepts staged by contemporary film theory in the vein of a) film semiotics (Christian Metz: *Film Language, Language and Cinema*) and b) Post-structural film theory (or second semiotics, psycho-semiotics). The second level of indebtedness of cognitive semiotics was to cognitive film theory (David Bordwell, Noël Carroll, Edward Branigan), allowing it to gain ground in a new critical paradigm, that included three secondary areas, such as (a) theories of enunciation (Francesco Casetti, Christian Metz - *The Impersonal Enunciation*), (b) the semio-pragmatics of film (Roger Odin) and (c) transformational generative grammar and cognitive semantics of film (Michel Colin, Dominique Chateau) (Buckland 17).

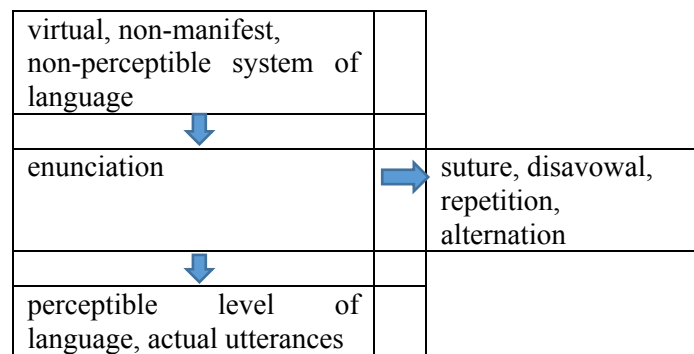
Grounded in structural linguistics, film semiotics adopted the same two-fold hierarchy between perceptible and non-perceptible levels of reality and formulated hypotheses describing this underlying, non-perceptible level. In analysing film from a semiotic perspective, film scholars brought a new level of filmic reality to film theory and proved that the sense of unity and continuity each spectator experiences at the cinema is effected by shared, subliminal system of codes that makes the specificity of the perceptible level of film.

The concern of cognitive film semiotics is to identify and shape the “actual mental activities (intuitive knowledge) involved in the making and understanding of filmic texts, rather than study filmic texts themselves” (idem 19).

The cognitive film semiotician Francesco Casetti dealt with the deictic theory of enunciation defining the activity that results in speech following Emile Benveniste distinction between *discourse* (discours) and *story* (histoire). Whereas *discours* includes words such as personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns that grammaticalize within the utterance particular aspects of its spatio-temporal

context (e.g., the speaker and hearer), *histoire* is a form of utterance that excludes pronouns. Around the main pronominal categories *I*, *you*, and *he*, Casetti developed a typology of four shot types, which aim to describe the way film orients itself in relation to the spectator.

In the late eighties, (“L’Enonciation impersonnelle ou le site du film”), Christian Metz also problematised a theory of enunciation also based on Emile Benveniste’s byname, *histoire* (hi/story) and *discours* (discourse). Benveniste’s theory of enunciation is compliant with the hierarchy dominating film semiotics, denoting a process mediating between the underlying non-perceptible system and the perceptible level of language.

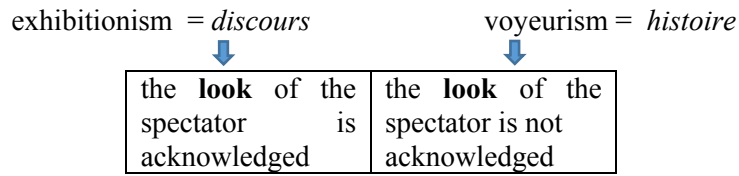


Metz’s cognitive film semiotics (his theory of impersonal filmic enunciation), foregrounds concepts such as reflexivity, metalanguage and anaphora, and may be approached in opposition and comparison with Francesco Casetti’s personal pronouns-based deictic theory of enunciation. While Casetti modelled his theory on speech (on face-to-face conversation), Metz shaped his theory on writing. He rejected a pronoun-based theory of enunciation because pronouns are not appropriate to describing the ‘reality’ of film and so are all deictic elements (concepts that designate how film is oriented to its contexts of production and reception). Warren Buckland negotiated the two opposing positions and proposed “‘deixis’ as a broad cognitive concept, rather than a narrow linguistic one” (52-53), suggesting that film deixis may be used to analyse the way audio-visual-based media are “oriented to their contexts of production and reception” (idem 53).

1.2 Christian Metz’s theory of impersonal enunciation: reflexivity, metalanguage, anaphora

According to the French theorist, a filmic text is reflexive if it makes reference to itself, or –put in other words, if it manifests its own processes of production as a text. The connection between reflexivity and enunciation lies in the latter being a process of production or mediation, that transforms the underlying language

system, *la langue*, into a text. In his paper ‘‘Histoire/Discours’’ Metz actually renamed the term ‘reflexivity’ as ‘exhibitionism’.



Reflexivity. According to the theory of filmic enunciation, a film includes marks of production and reception, which may be hidden or foregrounded in the process of filmmaking. Classical narrative films are identified as filmic texts that attempt to conceal these marks (*discours* being *histoire*) – in a feature of transparency, while, on the other hand, several contemporary films cancel the illusion of continuity and reveal the codes that constitute the filmic illusion in a foregrounding process of enunciation, thus making the text reflexive.

From this perspective, as a filmic text, *An Inconvenient Truth* is a ‘transparent’ not reflexive film, since its genre per se is meant to emphasize not the film’s ‘discourse’ but its ‘histoire’, in a manifesto against the dangers of global warming and the magnitude of the demand for companies and governments to implement measures and address the issue.

Metalinguage. In order to manifest a meaning, a language has the ability to refer to itself [metalinguage], and to extra-linguistic reality [object language]. Consequently, metalinguage is actually a simultaneous effect of reflexivity or metalinguage is reflexive. Metz considers that reflexivity and metalinguage may be used in cinematic language as forms of enunciation: ‘‘In subjective framing, the gazing and at the same time showing character duplicates [that is, ‘reflects’] both the spectator and the camera’’ (‘‘The Impersonal Enunciation’’ 159).

Back in a 1964 paper ‘‘Cinema: langue ou langage?’’ (in *Film Language-A Semiotics of the Cinema*, 1974, pp.31-91), Metz implicitly acknowledged the reflexive (therefore metadiscursive and enunciative) nature of filmic discourse and gave the famous example of a film close-up of a revolver. If the image of a revolver simply signified ‘revolver’ ‘‘a purely virtual lexical unit’’ (67) it would be purely denotational (i.e., functioning as object language). But since the shot may signify ‘‘Here is a revolver’’, the image also functions reflexively as metalinguage, since it acknowledges its own presentation of the revolver to a spectator as ‘‘a pure index of actualization’’ (ibid). Metz regards the reflexive aspect of the image deictically, since ‘here’ is a deictic term (an adverb of place) that implies ‘proximity to the spectator’ (in the case of films).

There are several close-ups in *An Inconvenient Truth* that implicitly serve the same reflexive function: low-level medium close-ups of forests (filmed from a low angle owing to the empowering function this type of shot renders onto the signified content – figure 1)



Fig. 1 (AIT 00:03:07)

or a consecutive close-up of stone-dry soil (figure 2) which, by opposition to the former, substitutes itself as an alarming display for what may happen unless we gain awareness of the threats coming from global warming or fail to meet the moral imperative of what is really urgent .

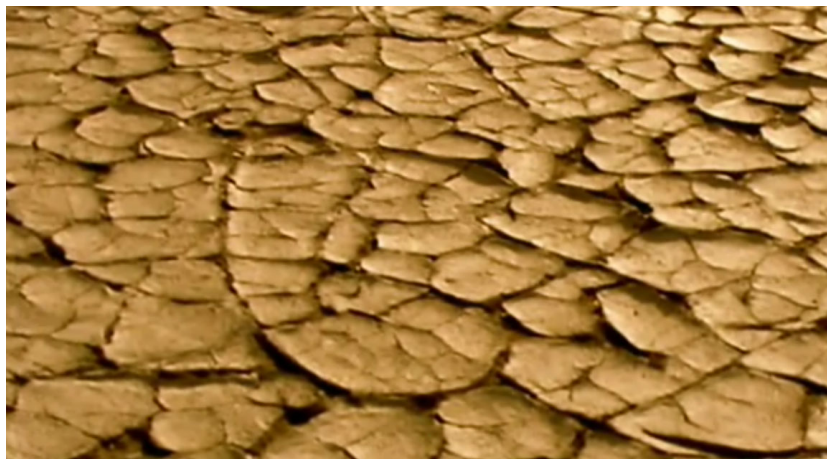


Figure 2 (AIT 00:03:12)

Anaphora represents another dimension of enunciation, in which language becomes reflexive and is, in fact, a special form of metalanguage, since the referent of an anaphor is not an object or concept, but another linguistic sign. In linguistics, anaphora expresses the ability of one linguistic sign (the anaphor) to refer back to another linguistic sign (the antecedent). Besides the function of ensuring economy and cohesiveness at textual level, anaphora has a reflexive and metadiscursive dimension: it serves as a binding marker between two linguistic signs and, through it, reference is pointed to information already expressed in the utterance. Although some might place anaphora and deixis on the same level in a relationship of inclusion, Metz emphasized the opposition between them.

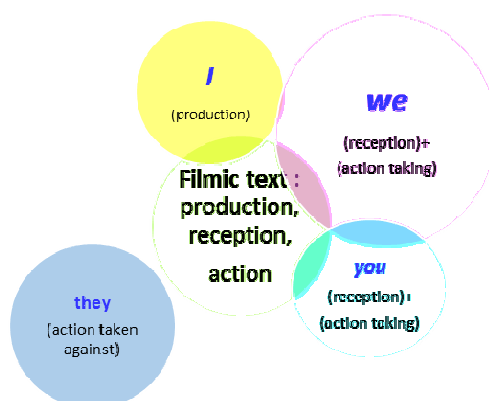
<p>Anaphora = reference is made to information already contained in the utterance</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>internal textual relation</p>	<p>Deixis = a relation between linguistic signs and their context</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>external textual relation</p>
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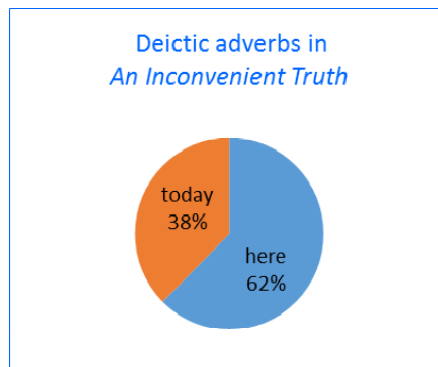
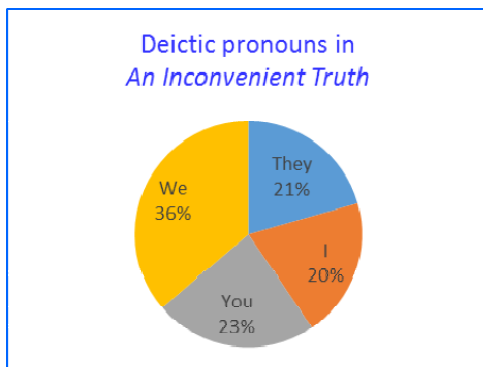
In terms of deictic value, personal pronouns ('I', 'you', etc), demonstrative pronouns ('this', 'that', 'these', 'those'), adverbs of time ('now', 'then') and place ('here', 'there') – refer directly to the circumstances of enunciation, primarily to the spatio-temporal position of speaker and hearer.

Triggered exclusively by the existence of utterances, enunciation in the filmic text is the process of suturing or editing several shots in utterances that form scenes, then sequences, which thus become meaningful in the overall context of film production.

If we take the example of the opening lines in the documentary,
 You listen to a river gently rolling by.
 You notice the leaves rustling in the wind.
 You hear the birds, you hear the tree frogs.
 In the distance you hear a cow.
 You feel the grass. The mud gives a little bit on the river bank.
 It's quiet, it's peaceful.
 And all of a sudden, it's a gear shift inside you.
 And it's like taking a deep breath and going
 Oh yeah, I forgot about this.
 (AIT 00:00:43 - 00:01:22)

the presence of the direct address deictic *you* acknowledges the reception by an involved audience. Actually the entire script is dominated by a few pronouns **we** (171 times), **you** (109 times), **they** (97 times) **I** (94 times). The enunciation of these deictic pronouns activate the relations of power distribution from the level of virtual manifestation of *langue*, to the actual utterances. These utterances serve several functions through suture (the pronouns connect the referents), or repetition and alternation of the pronouns.





The other important deictic elements that orient the transmitter and receptor of the text as to the reality outside the linguistic texture are *here* (10 times) and *today* (6 times), used rather sparingly in contrast to the abundance of the fore-mentioned deictic class. In *An Inconvenient Truth*, the deictic reference of the adverb ‘today’ is not the day the speaker (narrator Al Gore) utters the word ‘today’ but, obviously, has a meaning ‘around the present’. Its reference is also amplified throughout the film by its implied opposition to ‘tomorrow’, more specifically, what happens to planet Earth *tomorrow* if we fail to take action *today*. Uttered on another day, its reference will obviously change, thus being dependent on the date of enunciation. Both ‘here’ and ‘today’ pass from the non-manifest latent language level through enunciation into the manifest meaningful utterance with the obvious intention of the transmitter (actant Al Gore) to urge action from the audience (‘you’ and inclusive ‘we’). By opposition, the deictic pronouns ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’, ‘they’ will always refer to the same referents, whenever these utterances are created. An interesting case is the enunciation of ‘they’, which always functions as an anaphoric element in fictional films, with an enormous variety of antecedents. In our documentary, ‘they’ is anaphoric only once, in the opening sequence of the film, when it replaces the antecedent “*good people who are in politics*”: “There are *good people who are in politics* who hold this at arm's length because *they* acknowledge it and recognize it as a moral imperative to make big changes is inescapable (AIT 00:03:48 - 00:04:05)”. For the rest of the film, ‘they’ holds its anaphoric function only implicitly, alluding to the antagonistic relation between ‘we’, people who care about this planet and ‘they’, people who promise to but do not. As anaphoric and deictic elements, these pronouns are not dependent for their meaning on the circumstances of enunciation, as it is the case with the adverbs ‘here’ and ‘today’.

1.3 Francesco Casetti’s personal filmic enunciation

In his 1998 book *Inside the Gaze. The Fiction Film and Its Spectator*, Francesco Casetti started with a history of spectator theory, which identified spectator as a decoder – someone who “was also assigned a precise but limited function (...),

registering only what was given (...) us(ing) pre-established codes for understanding the message addressed to him” (5). A decade later, in the 1970’s, theorists like Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco, Wayne Booth, Wolfgang Iser, Seymour Chatman replaced the spectator as decoder with spectator as interlocutor, when the birth of the reader meant the death of the writer, reading meant rewriting, positing the spectator as “someone to whom one can address propositions and from whom one may expect signs of intelligence” (idem 6). Casetti defined the filmic text as a texture not isolated and self-contained but reflecting toward the outside world and open to it “when information is ruled by the function of a system of expectations (in particular, phenomena such as suspense, narrative closure)” in “instances when all the possibilities of an image multiply even with the least bit of participation on the part of the spectator” (idem 10).

The Italian theorist considered that a relation between a look and a scene allows us to appraise at the same time a) the enunciator, b) addressee and c) the filmic discourse the two are supposed to share in the filmic space. For Casetti, this system of three elements is obligatory in all films; yet he admits a change in emphasis more on one than on the two others, which leads to four types of shots:

- a) The *objective shot*, in which attention is neither to the enunciator (‘I’) nor to the addressee (‘you’), but to the filmic discourse itself; in this case, the addressee must assume the position of a witness; neither the addressee (‘you’) nor the enunciator (‘I’) acknowledges the look of the camera. The documentary *AIT* is filmed in this mode, owing to the impersonation of discourse required from the documentary genre and from a topic like global warming. The addressee ‘you’ is constantly allowed to watch the scientific proofs brought on screen objectively and make their own decision of ‘intervention’ outside the immediate text and context of the film. Nowhere in the film does director Davis Guggenheim insert any subjective shots, which are so customary in fictional films. The opening scene of the documentary is a pro-filmic bracket rich in a visual poetics completely different from the visual body of the film which is suffused with scientific proofs. The lines of the voice over narrator (non-diegetic at this level) abound in metaphors, in opposition with the scientific discourse that dominates the rest of the film (“spacecraft”, “the earth’s surface”, “the earth’s atmosphere”, “infrared radiation”, “global warming pollution”, “glaciers melting”, etc.).
- b) The *interpellation shot*: the enunciator (‘I’) and the addressee (‘you’) become involved in the filmic utterance. For example, a character’s look at the addressee (into the camera) is a case of interpellation.

This is what produces an unequal disposition between enunciator and enunciatee. Both openly display themselves but the first is figurativized in a character identified through action (the act of gazing) and objective (to ensnare the film’s viewer), while the second is presented simply for what it is—an ‘ideal’ point of view.

(Casetti 48)

Unlike fictional films, which foreground this interpellation for the audience– addressee in order to be able to read the ‘truth’ of the filmic message, documentaries (*AIT* is no exception) rarely –if ever- use such interpellation shots. Instead, the filmic space becomes a collage of objective shots with inserts of archive footage of political meetings of the latest three Conservative American presidents (Ronald Reagan, George Bush and George W. Bush), of graphs, tables, photos that prove the gravity of the film’s topic, and mainly, with public slide presentations on the topic of global warming given by the enunciator of the film, who ironically introduces himself as “I am Al Gore, I used to be the next president of the United States” (*AIT* 00:02:17 -00:02:20).

- c) The subjective shot includes two moments rendered visually in one, two, or three shots in a filmic suture called the eyeline-match by mainstream film theory, in which a character’s act of looking is followed by the addressee’s being shown what the character is looking at. A common type of editing in fictional films, this montage device is again missing from *AIT*, since the addressee-enunciator must not have any kind of open interference in the response of the addressee, who must objectively look at the filmic enunciation and formulate their own response.
- d) The unreal objective shot refers to unusual camera angles, often employed in independent films or in new wave film schools but hardly ever found a place in documentaries.

2. Documentary films /vs/ fiction films.

One of the most prominent and long-lasting forms of cinematic expression, the documentary, has faced a revival in the past two decades, being able to find success both with an audience in cinemas or critical acclaim from film critics. *Hoop Dreams* (Steve James, 1994), *The Thin Blue Line* (Errol Morris, 1989), *Supersize Me* (Morgan Spurlock, 2004), *Fahrenheit 9/11* (Michael Moore, 2004), *An Inconvenient Truth* (Davis Guggenheim, 2006), *Man on Wire* (James March 2008) are only a few non-fiction films that confirm the cinematic value of documentaries.

In the same line with other cognitive film semioticians, Roger Odin (“Semio-pragmatique du cinema et de l’audiovisuel: Modes et institutions,” *Towards a Pragmatics of the Audio-Visual*, 1994) developed a semio-pragmatic film theory concerned with investigating the film spectator’s competence, the implicit knowledge that constitutes each spectator’s psychic disposition (he calls it ‘mode of attention’) when involved in the act of film watching. These modes of film are not seen to be mutually exclusive categories, but are similar in a number of operations. His semio-pragmatics was in conjunction with Metz’s seminal work *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier*, which portrays the relation between fiction film and spectator as a fantasy relation. The ‘imaginary signifier’ in the fiction film aims to transform the spectator’s consciousness – to displace their attention away from the immediate space and time of her context (including

the screen's material surface) and toward the space and time of the events depicted in the diegesis (the film's fictive, imaginary elsewhere). In *An Inconvenient Truth*, this process of displacement is different, since the mind of the audience is guided not into an histoire fictionalized, imagined in the filmic diegesis but to real issues, such as scientific data, rising awareness in the audience towards developing alternative energy sources, which are placed in the filmic discourse but which are also anchored in the reality outside the cinema hall. In a cognitive rather than psychoanalytical approach, Odin modified Metz's concept and introduced different modes of attention (Odin calls them 'modes' of film) that spectators adopt when watching different groups and classes of films. Central to his theory and our paper concern is the documentary mode, defined as able to "inform the spectator of real events" (35), and having only one operation (fictivization) that separates it from the fiction mode of filmmaking. Another line of delineation lies in terms of the real status of its enunciator, opposed to the fictional quality of the narrator-enunciator in fictional films. In this respect, *An Inconvenient Truth* is grounded in a speech and slide show on climate that Al Gore presented to audiences worldwide a number of years. Davis Guggenheim's film becomes part documentary, part biography, and part campaign advertisement, part political agenda, despite it has all the nonfictional actualities that structure documentaries (for instance, high-impact visuals such as the famous photograph "Earthrise" taken from space by the first American astronauts or the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina).

In "What is Non-Fiction Cinema?", Trevor Ponch notices that "Documentaries (...) are cinematic assertions, naturally meaningful images being among the elements employed by the communicator toward assertive ends" (205). According to him, "the difference between fiction and non-fiction is one of force, not of style, form, or content" (idem 216). In this respect, *An Inconvenient Truth* is a powerful filmic persuasion that balances between two specific modes of documentary filmmaking: the *performative* (Al Gore's 'performance' on stage and in expeditions to the Poles is part of the filmic diegesis) and the *reflexive*, since the film uses techniques that "encourage the viewer to question the very idea of 'documentary' as a category or mode" (Nelmes 212), thus adding a lot of cinematic realism. As a documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth* serves some of the textual features assigned by Roger Odin to the home movie mode: the absence of closure (since the film does not support the operation of narrativization, with no story behind the filmic discourse); discontinuous linear temporality (the film has broken chronology, with many inserts in the 'present tense' of the filmic narrative) and dispersed narrative (the 'plot' is a collage of spectacle, footage, scientific data and photography, all making a non-narrative sequence).

As Richard Allen puts it, "the spectator of a documentary film does not naively believe in the reality of what he sees. Nevertheless, we are in practice deceived" (92). If the fiction film's actants are foregrounded as real on the below-surface level, in documentaries they are foregrounded as real on the diegetic surface level, which would suggest that fiction and documentaries have a mutual connection, in ways other than the audience would generally perceive.

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**COMMUNICATION CHALLENGES IN REAL-LIFE AND
VIRTUAL DIALOGUES**

INTERACTIVE VALUES OF VAGUENESS *ASSIGNING EVENTS AND EXPERIENCES TO CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES IN ROMANIAN CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE*

Diana Hornoiu¹

Abstract: Vagueness in language generally takes on negative connotations. Vagueness in reference is often stigmatized because it is seen as a deviation from precision and clarity and is associated with vagueness in thinking. Traditional approaches to reference assignment generally assume that the communication is successful if the addressee can uniquely identify each entity that the speaker refers to. Although this may be the case in some speech events and for some discourse entities, there are nevertheless cases when a vague characterization may not only be sufficient, but also preferable. Applying a theoretical framework that blends elements of conversation analysis, politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995), this paper demonstrates that vague expressions used in assigning events and experiences to conceptual categories rarely trigger detectable misunderstanding. In some contexts, vague expressions can be more effective than the explicit ones in conveying the intended meaning. Their success depends on the exploitation of common ground in managing conversational implicature. The analysis is based on a corpus of naturally occurring conversations in Romanian recorded and transcribed within the framework of conversation analysis.

Key words: relevance; vagueness; implicature; general extenders; downtoners; placeholder words; common ground; positive politeness.

Introduction

It is generally assumed that vague expressions take on negative connotations. Such forms are stigmatized because they are “assumed to reflect vague and inexplicit speech” (Dines 1980: 19). The negative value attached to the use of vague language seems to come from a feeling that vagueness in reference stems from vagueness in thinking, and hence stupidity. Those who stigmatize the use of vague expressions embrace the view that language should be ideally precise. However, this is a rather plain view of what amounts to efficient communication. Stubbs (1986) argues that, in itself, precise language is not necessarily more efficient than vague language. Channell (1994: 3) argues a more general point, that “vagueness in language is neither all ‘bad’ nor all ‘good’. What matters is that vague language is used appropriately”.

Williamson (1994) takes a similar view arguing that, in certain contexts, vagueness is a desirable feature of natural languages. He points out that vague expressions might better serve the purpose at hand and “too much precision can

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lead to time wasting and inflexibility” (Williamson 1994: 4869). Thus, the ability to vary the precision of utterances and to use them in contextually appropriate ways becomes a crucial part of the speaker’s communicative competence.

This paper proposes an interactional approach to the concept of vagueness which blends elements of conversation analysis, politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995). Vagueness is not only an inherent feature of natural language but also an interactional strategy. When dealing with various communicative tasks, speakers may choose to employ vague expressions for strategic reasons. Varying the level of vagueness may help rather than hinder the addressee in finding the best match between the communicated and the intended meaning.

The paper focuses on the communicative task of assigning events and experiences to conceptual categories. The analysis focuses on the use of general extenders, downtoners and place holder words in Romanian conversational discourse. The aim of the paper is two-fold. Firstly, it determines ways in which these vague referring expressions are not just good-enough substitutes for precise expressions, but are the preferred choice in some contexts due to their greater efficiency (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 46-48). Secondly, it determines the extent to which vague expressions may carry meanings which are more relevant than those conveyed by precise expressions.

Vagueness and the relevance theory

In their relevance theory, Sperber and Wilson (1991: 540) treat vagueness, or loose talk, in their terminology, as a pragmatic analogue of semantic vagueness. They view loose uses as non-literal uses of language “based on resemblance relations among representations” (Sperber and Wilson 1991: 546). In general, an utterance is said to express a proposition. As such it conveys some state of affairs which constitutes the truth conditions of this proposition. However, utterances are not confined to representations of state of affairs. Their meaning can also rely on resemblance relations. Thus, an utterance can also be used to represent any other phenomenon which it resembles in some respects. In order to distinguish between these two aspects of representation, namely representation in virtue of truth-conditions and representation in virtue of resemblance relations, Sperber and Wilson call the former ‘description’ and the latter ‘interpretation’. Descriptively, an utterance expresses a proposition that represents/describes the world in a certain way and so has truth-conditions. Interpretively, an utterance is used to represent another object (e.g. thought, utterance) it resembles. For instance, in directly quoted speech an utterance is used to represent another utterance with which it shares linguistic properties; in translation an utterance is used to represent another utterance with which it shares semantic properties. When an utterance is used to represent not a state of affairs but another utterance that it resembles we deal with

interpretive resemblance and interpretive use. Vague expressions are said to involve interpretive rather than descriptive dimensions of language use (Sperber and Wilson, 1991: 546).

Resemblance can be defined as the similarity of representations in terms of their content. The relationship between two similar representations is called 'interpretive resemblance'. 'Interpretive resemblance' is a comparative notion since the degree of resemblance can vary: it can be very high, e.g. in the case of a directly quoted speech, or it may be very low, e.g. in the case of a report or summary of somebody else's utterance. In each case, the addressee is expected to "identify the respects in which the resemblance holds" (Blakemore, 1992: 104).

Sperber and Wilson take the notion of interpretive resemblance one step further and apply it to intrinsic properties of thoughts. They argue that "there is an even more essential interpretive use of utterances: on a more fundamental level, every utterance is used to represent a thought of the speaker's" (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 230). Under this interpretation, an utterance always relies on resemblance relations. In other words, there is an underlying assumption that an utterance can never have the same contextual and analytical implication as the thought the speaker has in mind. Thus, in Sperber and Wilson's view an utterance is only an approximation to the thought entertained by the speaker.

The meaning conveyed by the speaker cannot always be expected to be a literal one. In some context a literal interpretation is far from being the most appropriate one for successful communication. In using vague expressions, the speaker is committed to only some of the analytical and conceptual implications of the proposition. Consequently, the addressee is expected to carry out the task of constructing a set of contextual implications as intended by the speaker with a view to achieving common ground.

In terms of its truth-conditions, a vague utterance is not regarded as 'approximately true'. A vague proposition generally bears a literal truth-conditional meaning. According to Sperber and Wilson, "the truth-conditional relation between propositions and the state of affairs they represent remains unaltered: what varies is how closely the proposition expressed is taken to represent the speaker's thought" (Sperber and Wilson, 1991: 564). Following Sperber and Wilson (1991, 1995), the analysis of the empirical data reported in this paper supports the view that, in some contexts, vague expressions are more efficient than precise terms in guiding the addressee through the process of inferring the intended meaning.

Database and methodology

The excerpts analysed in this paper are taken from a ten-hour corpus of face-to-face naturally occurring conversation that I recorded as part of a research project comprising both mixed and same-sex interactions with a view to exploring the speaking practices of Romanian women and men in both formal and informal settings (Hornoiu 2007). The participants include twenty-four individuals (twenty females and four males), whose ages ranged from thirteen to sixty-four (including ten adolescents, eight in their twenties, two in their thirties, three in their forties,

and one in her sixties. The primary database was collected with one Panasonic MiniCassette Recorder (RQ-L30).

My primary concern in gathering the data on informal conversation has been to avoid the constraints inherent in a one-to-one interview where the interviewer is present. Therefore I have chosen not to be present while the informants were engaged in conversation hoping that the constraints stemming from the informants' knowledge that they are being observed can be alleviated.

I asked some of the participants to pair up with their same-sex best friend and talk about 'stuff' in a familiar setting; the topic for discussion, however, was up to the informants. The choice to group them in dyads rather than in triads or in even larger groups was made with the view to avoiding the technical problem of recording each speaker on a different track. On the other hand, I have chosen to interview best friends because I hold the view that the closest we can come to getting natural speech in an interview situation is by interviewing *groups of peer*. This type of interview is the context most conducive to obtaining casual speech since the normal patterns of group interaction can direct attention away from the tape recorder.

All those involved in this project provided information on their social background and granted permission for the data to be used for linguistic analysis. Throughout the process, participants were free to edit and delete material as they wished. By handing over control of the recording process in this way, I managed to develop a relationship with my informants based on mutual trust which, over a period of time, made it easy for the participants to ignore the recording equipment. As a result, in return for guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality, the informants trusted me with a wide range of fascinating material. All names are fictionalised to protect participants' identity.

The analysis of the data

Speakers do not just evoke referents; they also characterize entities, events and experiences by assigning them to conceptual categories. In some cases, speakers may believe that a conventional category appropriately describes the experience. But in other cases speakers may be forced to use a category that is limited in its ability to characterize the experience, and they may want to convey a sense of that limitation to the addressee. This can be achieved implicitly by using a variety of expressions that have a fuzzy denotation or by explicitly flagging vagueness thorough the use *general extenders*, *downtoners* or *placeholder words*.

General extenders

One way for the speaker to flag concepts as vague is to use *general extenders* (Overstreet 1999) or *vague category identifiers* (Channell 1994). They are expressions that typically occur in clause-final position and have the structure *conjunction + NP*. They have been divided into two sets: **adjunctive** general extenders (i.e. phrases beginning with *and* such as *and stuff*, *and everything*, and

things like that, etc) and **disjunctive** general extenders, this latter set including such phrases beginning with *or* as *or something, or anything* (Overstreet 1999:3)². This is a rough classification, however, since there are occasions when the actual conjunctions are missing. In most cases, general extenders are analyzed as indicating additional members of a list, set, or category.

From a cognitive categorial perspective, general extenders co-occur with a named exemplar (or exemplars) whose characteristics enable the hearer to infer additional or alternate members of the category the speaker has in mind. Following this approach, a noun phrase such as *apples and stuff* might be analyzed as having the same referent as the category *fruit*. There are several reasons why a speaker may choose to use a general extender rather than to refer to the category by name. First, by naming an item (or items), and then using a general extender to implicate a lexicalized category, speakers can refer to a category whose name they either do not know, or cannot recall. Second, in using a general extender a speaker can identify members of a category for a hearer who may be unfamiliar with the category, or with its name. Finally, naming a specific exemplar and indicating “more” with a general extender allows a speaker to emphasize or highlight certain members of the category (Overstreet 1999:45).

However, it has become apparent that in actual usage general extenders do not appear to be used with category implication as their most obvious function. Rather, when viewed in terms of their role within the interactive exchange of talk, general extenders appear to take on a new dimension that is **interpersonal** and tied to the nature of the social relationships holding among participants. In natural conversation general extenders are not so much list completers or category identifiers as **markers of shared knowledge** and **experience**, or markers of the speaker’s attitude towards the message expressed, or towards the addressee. In what follows the focus of our analysis will shift from a concern with the cognitive and the categorial to the role general extenders play in creating **inter-subjectivity**³

² The following list, long yet not exhaustive, based on Overstreet (1999:3) provides an idea of the range of possible types of expressions that could be classified as general extenders: *and stuff (like that), or something (like that); and all (that), or anything (like that); and everything (like that), or what; and blah blah blah, or whatever; and that, or what have you; and the like, or anyone (like that); and such, or anybody (like that); and what have you, or someone (like that); and so on, or somebody (like that); and so forth, or someplace (like that); and whatnot, or somewhere (like that); and the rest; and this and that; and whatever; and you name it; and the whole kit and caboodle; and the whole nine yards; and the whole bit/thing; and (all) {this/that}; and (all) (this/that) {sort/kind/type} of; {crap/thing/jazz/junk/mess/nonsense/shit/stuff}; and {crap/things/junk/shit/stuff} (like this/that); and {business /crap/things/junk/shit} of (this/that); {kind/sort/ilk/nature}; et cetera.*

³ Inter-subjectivity is the process whereby participants can reach similar interpretations of the world despite the fact that individual mental worlds are necessarily distinct and no two individuals will share identical concepts; this achievement is ascribed to an assumption of shared knowledge and a shared world (Schegloff 1992; Schiffrin 1990, 1994); social actors behave as if the external world is sufficiently the same for them as it is for others.

or “reciprocity of perspectives” (see Cicourel 1974, Schegloff 1992, Schutz and Luckmann 1977) by invoking **shared knowledge** and **shared experience**.

It has been argued that the type of shared experiential knowledge that the addressee needs in order to infer what the speaker may implicate in using a general extender ranges along “a continuum from broad, cultural, or general knowledge potentially shared by many, to knowledge that is shared only by a small number of interactants” (Overstreet 1999:69). **Excerpts 1** and **2** illustrate the use of **general extenders** that implicate **broad cultural knowledge shared by many**. In excerpt **1** Rodica is expressing her dissatisfaction towards the medical system in Romania quoting an acquaintance who argued that in order to receive proper medical care one has no choice but to tip medical staff. In order to infer what is implicated by the general extender *tot tot* (“everybody everybody”) in lines 3 and 4, the addressee is assumed to recognize the named items, *portar asistentă infirmieră* (‘doorman, nurse’), as members of the medical staff.

Excerpt 1

- 1 Rodica: și spunea asta ce nenorocire e în spital cum ‘trebuie
and she said that what a tragedy there is in hospitals how ‘you have to
2 de la poartă trebuie să stai cu banii-n mână
from the gate on you have to give them the money
3 portar asistentă infirmieră **tot tot**
doorman, nurse, everybody everybody
4 a doua zi la fel portar asistentă infirmieră **tot tot**
the next day, the same: doorman, nurse, everybody everybody the next
day, the same:
doorman, nurse, everybody everybody
5 altfel nici nu se uită’
otherwise, they don’t even look at you

Excerpt 2 taken from the same conversational exchange offers a similar example. Here Rodica mentions another example (her aunt’s experience) that lends weight to her view that one has no choice but to spend a lot of money on tipping medical staff.

Excerpt 2

- 1 Rodica: io știu de la mătușă-mea de astă vară
I know it from my aunt last summer
2 ca să-i schimbe perfu::ziile să-i schimbe so::nda **și așa mai departe**
in order to give her intravenous nutrition to change her probe and so on
3 trebuia să le dai bani
you had to give them money

In using the general extender *și așa mai departe* (‘and so on’) after the subordinate clauses of purpose *ca să-i schimbe perfuziile ca să-i schimbe sonda* (‘in order to

give her intravenous nutrition to change her probe'), the speaker assumes that the addressee will infer that the general extender implicates various other ways in which members of the medical staff take care of their patients. The conventional set of "ways of taking care of patients in hospitals" may qualify as a kind of broad or general knowledge that the analyst, as a non-participant in the interaction, can attribute easily to the participants.

As we move towards the far end of the continuum, there may be occasions when the knowledge shared between participants seems inaccessible to non-participants. In a discussion of "the architecture of inter-subjectivity", Rommetveit (1974: 29) argues that "similar states of nearly perfect complementarity and synchronization of intentions and thoughts" may result in conversations that are cryptic to outsiders but are perfectly understood by the interactants. For the purposes of illustration, consider **excerpt 3** which, although it is not based on a private way of seeing the world shared exclusively by the participants only, demonstrates that the interpretation of the general extender *și cu draci și cu toate astea* ('and with shit and all the stuff') does depend on having access to some **specialized knowledge shared by the participants**. But for this knowledge, a non-participant would not know that Maria's use of the general extender implicates a reference to Hermann Hesse's work.

The activation of shared experiential knowledge as a result of the speaker's use of a general extender leads to inter-subjective understanding which is co-constructed by participants in the course of the interaction. The point of interest in this excerpt 3 is line 7, where Maria mentions that she found text analyses focusing on characters (presumably on ways characterization is achieved) and then uses another general extender *cu nu știi ce* (literally: 'with I don't know what', i.e. and the rest/and the like), thus demonstrating an expectation that Iulia will recognize that she implicates other "issues that are relevant in a literary analysis", i.e. setting, atmosphere, narrative technique, etc. Indeed, Iulia demonstrates such an understanding by offering an evaluation of the piece of information supplied by Maria as being *mișto* 'cool'. The fact that Iulia does not make use of requests for clarification, but on the contrary uses two questions in lines 4 and 6 (*în germană totu'* 'all in German'; *și comentariu de text* 'and text analysis as well') that elaborate on the topic under discussion and an additional characterization at the end of the extract (*ce mișto* 'how cool') demonstrates that she inferred correctly the meaning of the general extenders used by Maria and this correct inference is based on *inter-subjective understanding*.

Excerpt 3

- 1 Maria: a:::: măi am găsit să știi
ah, I've found some more, you know
- 2 am găsit și cu:: lupul de ste::pă i cu jocu' cu măgelele și cu siddhartha
I've found some with the prairie wolf and playing with beads and with
siddhartha as well
- 3 **și cu draci și cu toate astea știi**
and with shit and all the stuff, you know

- 4 Iulia: în germană totu’?
all in German?
- 5 Maria: da mă în germană [și am găsit
yeah, in German, and I’ve found
- 6 Iulia: [și comentariu de ↑text
and text analysis as well?
- 7 Maria: și comentariu de text am găsit cu personaje **cu nu știu ce**
I’ve found some text analysis as well, with characters, with whatever
- 8 Iulia: ce mișto
how cool

In **excerpts 2 and 3** the speaker’s use of vague category identifiers invites the addressee to use their shared knowledge to interpret the utterance and establish the referent; the addressee’s responses demonstrates that they were doing just that. This process of creating inter-subjectivity is guided by the principle of relevance and it exploits the common ground between the speaker and the addressee.

Downtoners

Downtoners are hedging expressions such as *sort of, kind of, a bit of*. They introduce or increase the degree of vagueness of a sentence or utterance. They signal that the degree of resemblance between what the speaker had in mind and the utterance that he is producing is not as close as the addressee might expect. In other words, downtoners signal that there is a relevant mismatch between the prototype and the item being described.

Excerpt 4 is taken from a conversation on complementary medicine and herbal remedies and exemplifies the intricately woven fabric of downtoners and extreme case formulations.

Excerpt 4

- 1 Iulia: asta pentru ce o iei?
what do you take this for?
- 2 Maria: uite să-ți spună alina [pentru de toate
well, alina can tell you (it’s good) for all kinds of things
- 3 Iulia: [să nu mai ai poftă de mâncare=
to assuage your appetite
- 4 Maria: =pentru de toate
for all kinds of things
- 5 Alina: **în general** cele care sînt bune de– pentru toate nu **prea** sînt bune
in general those that are good for- for all kinds of things aren’t that good
- 6 Maria: deloc ăăă?
at all?
- 7 Alina: da mă rog au **oarece**
well they’ve got some

- 8 Maria: dar am înțeles că–
but I've heard that-
- 9 Alina: da' spirulina asta cre' că e- a ajuns așa: **un fel de** apă sfințită
yeah, the spiruline has come to be some sort of holy water

Both Maria and Alina are at pains not to disagree with each other while stating their rather conflicting opinions. This leads them to hedge their extreme case formulations so as to hide disagreement conveying thus that they share common opinions. Previously in the conversation Maria mentioned spirulina, a drug based on algae extracts that she takes as part of her slimming diet, arguing in line 2 that it is good for everything. Notice that she uses an extreme case formulation. Since her opinion is delivered in overlap with Iulia's turn which supplies in line 3 a possible reason for taking this drug (*să nu mai ai poftă de mâncare* – 'to assuage your appetite', Maria repeats her extreme case formulation in line 4 when she emerges into the clear. Moreover, she expects Alina, who is a doctor, to agree with her opinion: *uite să-ti spună Alina (e) pentru de toate* ('well, Alina can tell you it's good for all kinds of things'). Maria's use of an extreme case formulation proves to be a risky strategy, in light of her desire to agree, since she is unaware of her addressee's opinion. Alina does not seem to agree with Maria since the point she is about to make in line 5 is that drugs that are claimed to be good for all kinds of things are not very efficient, and this would stand in total disagreement with Maria's opinion. However, in line 5 Alina seems to be attending to the capacity for simple unmodified generalizations to be taken as equivalents to extreme case formulations. Consequently, she uses two softeners *în general* ('in general') and *(nu) prea* ('hardly') which enable her to mitigate the force of an utterance that might stand in total disagreement with her interlocutor's assertion. Thus she makes a more plausible claim that is in keeping with her wish to avoid disagreement with Maria.

Maria, on the other hand, shifts to another point of view and aligns with Alina's position by supplying in line 6 the adverb *deloc* ('not at all'), an anticipatory completion that reinforces Alina's opinion. Thus Maria abandons her initial point of view in order to claim common opinion with Alina. The upshot that emerges from this collaboratively produced sentence amounts to another extreme case formulation that stands in complete disagreement with Maria's initial opinion: "drugs that are good for all kinds of things aren't good at all". Apparently they have reached agreement, but reaching this agreement means rejecting Maria's initial opinion, something Alina would rather not do. Hence Alina's unexpected turn in line 7: *da, mă rog, au oare ce* ('yeah, well, they have sort of') consisting of a token agreement (*da, mă rog* – 'yeah, well'), meant to hide her partial disagreement with the assertion jointly produced by her and Maria, and a softener (*au oare ce*), meant to mitigate the force of the jointly produced utterance that amounts to an extreme case formulation (which as we have already seen stands in disagreement with Maria's initial opinion). Alina's turn in line 7, far from showing lack of assertiveness, actually signals her concern for Maria's positive face. The

same goes for Maria who, after stating an opinion which later seems not to be favoured by Alina, embraces Alina's totally conflicting opinion by producing a collaboratively built sentence meant to signal shared point of view.

Excerpt 4 shows the interplay between extreme case formulations meant to create involvement and instances of token agreement and downtoners meant to hedge the illocutionary force and to avoid the disagreement that might be triggered by the former. From a relevance-theoretical perspective, downtoners represent a loose use of language. They indicate that the meaning the speaker wants to convey is not sufficiently covered by an available word.

Placeholder words

Speakers can be so vague as to use expressions that convey no referential content in themselves but instead invite the listener to infer a referent. In her analysis, Channel (1994: 157) includes terms like *stuff*, *thing*, *things*, *what-do-you-call-it* as examples of vague placeholder words. According to Yule (1996), they enable the speaker "to refer to an entity or a person without knowing exactly which 'name' would be the best word to use". The speaker may not know an appropriate name or he may not be able to access it at the moment of speaking. Channel (1994: 162) also suggests that a speaker who has access to an appropriate name may prefer not to use it in order to avoid using an offensive or a taboo word, being derogatory, being pretentious, or revealing pronunciation problems.

Evaluating the meaning of these terms, it is obvious that the pragmatic meaning is more crucial than the semantic meaning. Semantically these words can only be described as placeholders for nouns/names. However, the successful use of such expressions demonstrates that collaboration is an essential part of reference, as their meaning depends critically on the context of utterance and on the common ground holding between the speaker and addressee.

In situations in which the speaker cannot access a name, the use of a placeholder word may allow her to maintain the flow of conversation going. Excerpt 5 is a case in point. In lines 5 and 6 Maria lists several activities that her husband is supposed to do in organizing a concert. As she cannot assign these activities to a category that she has in mind, organizing a concert, she uses the placeholder name *nu știu ce* ('I don't know what'), in the middle of a list that includes various activities (e.g. *i-ai p-ăia*, *du-i la hotel*, *pune-i la mîncare*, *du-i să facă probe* – 'pick them up, take them to the hotel, to eat, take them to rehearsal') belonging in the respective category. Thus the activities mentioned and the use of the placeholder facilitates reference assignment and keeps the flow of conversation going. By keeping the flow of conversation going the speaker signals not only her involvement with the discussion topic elicited by her partner, but also with the relationship holding between the two participants in the speech event.

Excerpt 5

1 Iulia: bogdan? = ce face? a terminat cu concertu'?=
bogdan? what is he doing? has he finished with the concert?

- 2 Maria: =eh bogdan = nu sîmbătă
eh, bogdan no, on Saturday
- 3 Iulia: =aha
aha
- 4 Maria: tre' să îți dai seama că aleargă ca nebunu' pînă vin ăia
you've got to know he's running around like crazy until they come
- 5 ia-i p-ăia du-i la hotel pune-i la mîncare pînă **nu știu ce**
pick them up, take them to the hotel, to eat 'til I don't know what
- 6 du-i să [facă probe du-i să facă aia
take them to rehearsal, take to do that and that
- 7 Iulia: [pe cine pe cine la hotel?
whom whom is he taking to the hotel?
- 8 Maria: păi p-ăia care cîntă
well, the singers

Speakers may have other reasons for which they resort to using placeholders. In excerpt 6, the speaker does not seem to be confronted with a word-finding problem as she is discussing the structure of her doctoral dissertation, she refers to the concepts she will analyse from a pragmatic approach to discourse as *nu știu ce* ('I don't know what'). Although it may be difficult for an individual unfamiliar with this branch of linguistic investigation to correctly establish the referent of the vague expression *nu știu ce* ('I don't know what/whatever'), there are still a relatively large number of individuals who would be able to make sense of it, as a result of certain amount of shared knowledge, namely that the chapter in question will probably address, for instance, such issues as implicature, speech acts or deixis.

Excerpt 6

- 1 B : ca un capitol gîndesc să nu iau enunțul așa ca : palier de mijloc pentru ce este sub
as a chapter, I'm thinking of taking the utterance as a midway for what's below
- 2 enunț și pentru ce este peste enunț
the utterance and for what's above the utterance
- 3 pentru că o parte să fie de pragmatică a textului dialogului **nu știu ce**
so that a part can be about the pragmatics of the text, of the dialogue, whatever
(Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2002)

The question then arises as to why the speaker uses a vague term instead of a more precise one. We believe that the use of a vague term implies additional effects that the speaker may have hoped the addressee to access. The speaker might have intended to maintain an informal atmosphere in order to establish more camaraderie. On this interpretation, the use of precise technical terms pertaining to

the field of pragmatics would have appeared too formal and pretentious. Any of these additional meanings are not strongly but weakly communicated by the speaker, which means that it is the addressee who is held responsible for interpreting these implicit meanings and establishing the identity of the referent as a result of an inferential chain.

Excerpts 7 and 8, taken from adolescents' talk, illustrate a similar situation where the speaker does seem to have a problem with finding the appropriate words to convey the intended meaning but instead she uses the vague term *chestie* ('thing').

Excerpt 7

- 1 Raluca: io sînt prietenă cu irina deci noi sîntem ca două surori
irina and I are friends; so we're like sisters
- 2 și părinții noștri nici măcar- a::: știi una de alta da' nu se cunosc
and our parents don't even aaa, they know about us, but they don't
know each other
- 3 sau dacă se cunosc nu se salută
or, if they know each other, they don't greet each other
- 4 Mona: să știi că am și eu [o prietenă foarte bună
you know I've got a very good friend too
- 5 Raluca: [e o **chestie** ciudată
it's weird

Excerpt 8

- 4 Raluca: și:: cînd a fost cu sorin (.) **chestia** cum a fost (.) io la plajă-
and when she hung out with sorin (.), the thing was (.), at the beach, I
- 5 io-l știam pe sorin din liceu și-l știam din vedere
I've known sorin since high school and I've known him by sight
- 6 de cînd am fost cu tibi de fapt il știam
actually, I've known him since I started hanging out with tibi

The use of the vague placeholder instead of a precise term in the two excerpts above might fulfill social goals by maintaining an informal atmosphere based on camaraderie and inviting collaboration on the part of the addressee who is expected to supply any intended meaning that is left unexpressed.

Conclusions

Vague expressions are pervasive in naturally occurring conversational discourse where they serve a variety of functions. The analysis of our corpus has shown that they are not just a poor substitute of a precise term. Rather they convey meaning that is different from, and more relevant than a precise expression would.

The analysis of my empirical data has focused on the use of three types of vague expressions employed in assigning entities and events to conceptual

categories: general extenders, downtoners and place holder terms. The data examined so far suggest that they serve a variety of discourse functions. On the one hand, they may function as focusing devices, directing the addressee's attention to the most relevant information. They may guide the addressee in interpreting appropriateness of fit of an entity to a conceptual category. Additionally, they play an important role in managing conversational implicature, especially relevance-related implicature. They may place descriptions on a scale and thus provide a reference point that is instrumental in drawing inferences.

Finally, vague expressions may serve various social functions. They may serve as positive politeness strategies softening the illocutionary force of implicit complaints or of various expressions that may trigger disagreement. They also provide a way of establishing social bond by invoking shared knowledge and experiences or by maintaining an informal atmosphere based on camaraderie. They invite collaboration on the part of the addressee to the extent to which the latter is expected to supply any intended meaning that is left unexpressed.

Transcription symbols

The transcription conventions used for transcribing the conversations analyzed in this paper are adopted with some changes from Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson (1996: 461-65). One important difference between these conventions and the ones cited in our book is that capital letters are neither used in the beginning of turns nor for new turn constructional units. Nor are they used at the beginning of proper nouns. Capital letters are used to indicate some form of emphasis.

The conversations have been transcribed phonetically. Thus I depart from some of the current spelling rules that apply to the letters *î/â* in medial position. I use the letter *â* only in such words as *român/românesc/românește/România*. Similarly, I use two variants for the verbal forms of *a fi* (to be) in first person singular and plural and in second and third persons plural (*sînt/sunt; sîntem/suntem; sînteți/sunteți; sînt/sunt*) depending on how our informants pronounce these forms.

- [Separate left brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances
- [by different speakers, indicate the point of overlap onset.
-] Separate right square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with
-] utterances by different speakers, indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances both end.
- = Equal signs come in pairs: one at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line or one line shortly thereafter. They are used to indicate the following:

1. If the two lines connected by equal signs are by the same speaker, then there was a single continuous utterance, with no break or pause, which was broken up in order to accommodate the placement of overlapping talk.
 2. If the lines connected by two equal signs are by different speakers, then the second followed the first with no discernable silence between them or was latched to it.
- (0.5) Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, approximately represented in tenths of a second. Silences may be marked within an utterance or between utterances.
- (.) A dot in parentheses indicates a “micropause”, hearable but not readily measurable, usually less than 2 tenths a second.

The punctuation marks are not used grammatically, but to indicate intonation.

- . The period indicates a falling, or final, intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence.
- ? Similarly, a question mark indicates rising intonation, not necessarily an interrogative sentence.
- , A comma indicates continuing intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary.
- :: Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching. On the other hand, graphically stretching a word on the page by inserting blank spaces between the letters does not indicate how it was pronounced; it is used to allow alignment with overlapping talk.
- becau-** A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop.
- word** Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis either by increase loudness or higher pitch. The more underlining, the greater the emphasis.
- WOrd** Upper case indicates especially loud talk; the louder, the more letters in upper case.
- WOrd** In extreme cases, upper case may be underlined.
- ° The degree sign indicates that the talk following is marked as being quiet or soft.
- °**word**° When there are two degree signs, the talk between them is marked as being softer than the talk around it.
- wo:rd** If the letter(s) preceding a colon is/are underlined, then there is an inflected *falling* intonation contour on the vowel (you can hear the pitch turn downward).
- wo:rd** If a colon is itself underlined, then there is an inflected *rising* intonation contour on the vowel (i.e., you can hear the pitch turn upward).

- ↑↓ The up and down arrows mark sharper rises or falls in pitch than would be indicated by combinations of colons and underlining, or they may mark a whole shift or resetting of pitch register at which the talk is being produced.
- > < The combinations “more than” and “less than” symbols indicates that the talk between
- < > them is compressed or rushed. Used in the reverse order, they can indicate that a stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out.
- < The “less than” symbol by itself indicates that the immediately following talk is “jump-started” i.e. sounds like it starts with a rush.
- (cough)** Double are used to mark the transcriber’s description of events, rather than representations of them.
- (word)** When all or part of an utterance is in parentheses, or the speaker identification is, this indicates uncertainty on the part of the transcriber, but represents a likely possibility.
- () Empty parentheses indicate that something is being said, but no hearing, or in some cases speaker identification, can be achieved.
- (bu::t)/** Two parentheses separated by a slash represent alternative hearings of the same spate of talk
- (goo:d)**

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LES INTERACTIONS INTERALLOGLOTTES SUR LES PLATEFORMES DE COMMUNICATION. DES OUTILS VERS LEUR UTILISATION DIDACTIQUE

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Résumé: Dans cet article, nous rendons compte des particularités de l'activité de communication multimodale à distance dans un parcours d'enseignement / apprentissage et sur les possibilités d'utilisation didactique ouvertes par l'outil dématérialisé représenté par la plateforme de communication. Suite à l'analyse de la relation interlocutive créée par les participants aux échanges nous montrons quel est l'impact de la communication virtuelle sur le déroulement d'un cours de français langue étrangère.

Mots-clés: plateforme collaborative ; communication virtuelle ; autonomie ; apprentissage des langues ; interaction virtuelle ; négociation conversationnelle ; interculturel ; retombées didactiques ; apprentissage ; français langue étrangère.

Introduction

Les plateformes collaboratives permettent de mettre en place des dispositifs de communication interalloglotte entre des jeunes provenant de contextes différents, pouvant échanger à partir d'espaces virtuels non territorialisés dans une langue tierce (cf. Vlad, Codleanu, Dervin, Vasile, 2009). Ce type de communication (synchrone et asynchrone) médiée par ordinateur permet de faire dialoguer de manière multimodale des étudiants provenant des différentes universités partenaires sans faire appel à des mobilités physiques et de diversifier l'enseignement des langues à l'université dans le sens de l'autonomisation des étudiants, par l'usage des TICE dans leurs parcours d'enseignement / apprentissage.

Par le biais d'un projet de recherche financé par l'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie, portant sur les utilisations du français langue véhiculaire dans les interactions plurilingues en ligne des étudiants non spécialistes du français, à l'intérieur d'une équipe formée d'enseignants-chercheurs provenant de quatre universités situées en Europe Centrale et Orientale (Université *Ovidius* de Constanta, Université *Galatasaray* d'Istanbul, Université *Saint Clément Ohrid* de Sofia et Université *d'Etat d'économie et de finances* de Saint-Pétersbourg), nous avons travaillé sur la place du français dans les répertoires linguistiques des étudiants provenant d'univers géographiques, culturels, encyclopédiques et

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linguistiques différents, mais partageant un même domaine de spécialisation (l'économie).

Durant la deuxième partie du projet, nous avons décidé de faire travailler les étudiants sur la plateforme collaborative Moodle 2 mise à disposition gracieusement par l'Université Galatasaray d'Istanbul. Dans ce nouvel environnement de travail, il s'agissait de mettre en place des modules didactiques en progression, modules de travail qui mènent vers la création par les étudiants, suite à des activités de communication en français langue véhiculaire, d'un produit spécifique à leur activité, en l'occurrence une brochure de présentation pour une entreprise étrangère.

Dans cet article, nous rendons compte des particularités de cette activité de communication multimodale à distance dans un parcours d'enseignement / apprentissage et sur les possibilités d'utilisation ouvertes par l'outil dématérialisé représenté par la plateforme de communication : le type de la relation interlocutive créée par les participants aux échanges et l'impact de la problématique interculturelle sur cette relation, le(s) rôle(s) et le(s) modification(s) des rôles induits par la communication multimodale à distance dans la communication didactique... Nous allons nous servir, pour ce faire, des cadres analytiques posés par l'analyse des interactions (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Mondada, Traverso), ainsi que des perspectives interculturelles ouvertes par ces cadres (Dervin, Behrent, Abdallah-Preteceille, etc.). Enfin, nos analyses seront placées et analysées dans le contexte didactique qui les a générées (cf. Vlad, Codleanu).

I. Les Interactions en Ligne : Dispositifs et Types de Corpus

Nous allons appuyer nos remarques et observations sur un corpus formé des interactions virtuelles entre les étudiants et les enseignants provenant des quatre équipes partenaires, telles qu'elles ont été recueillies lors des échanges par *chat* et sur la plateforme de communication.

Le travail sur la plateforme collaborative du type Moodle (<http://francaisagsu.gsu.edu.tr/index.php/mes-cours>) nous a permis de mettre en place une expérimentation qui relie communication à distance, travail sur projet et exercice des langues dans la communication de spécialité afin de provoquer chez nos étudiants des activités d'apprentissage collaboratif de types différents : apprentissage de la communication à distance par le biais de la maîtrise de différents types d'outils dématérialisés (chats, wikis, réseau social, glossaire collaboratif), apprentissage du français économique, apprentissage de la gestion des répertoires plurilingues dans la communication sur des sujets de spécialité, apprentissages interculturels divers.

Le dispositif pédagogique a été construit sur la plateforme Moodle 2 de l'Université Galatasaray d'Istanbul et il comportait plusieurs étapes successives, définies en fonction des objectifs et du calendrier académique des quatre universités partenaires.

La première étape de travail (octobre – décembre 2013) consistait dans la production collaborative, par groupe-classe, de définitions liées à l'écologie, au marché écologique ainsi qu'à l'entreprise écologique au sens large. La deuxième étape (janvier – février 2014), autour de la présentation du marché écologique régional, avait comme but de faire les étudiants réfléchir entre eux (toujours au sein des groupes-classe) sur les critères qui caractérisent un marché écologique, et plus spécifiquement celui de leur pays. Ils étaient censés restituer cette étape sous la forme d'un document qui récapitule les informations nécessaires pour qu'un étudiant étranger puisse comprendre ce que représente le marché écologique régional de leur contexte. Lors de la troisième étape (mars – mai 2014), chaque étudiant devait choisir une entreprise écologique de sa région et en faire une brève présentation en français. Une fois les présentations postées sur la plateforme, celles-ci ont fait l'objet de choix par des pairs provenant d'autres contextes qui étaient censés lire les éléments de présentation fournis et réaliser, à partir de ces éléments, une brochure de présentation de l'entreprise choisie en vue de sa promotion sur le marché écologique étranger. Cette troisième étape supposait un vrai travail d'interaction et de mise en commun car les étudiants devaient s'entraider mutuellement pour finaliser la tâche avec succès. Enfin, la dernière étape du projet a consisté dans la présentation orale des brochures réalisées dans chacun des quatre contextes académiques.

La complexité des échanges et des interventions des étudiants et des enseignants dans les espaces dématérialisés fournis par la plateforme collaborative est évidente. Les interactions réunies comme corpus sont non seulement très nombreuses, mais marquées par la multimodalité qui caractérise tout dispositif en ligne : la présence des images et du son, les liens hypertextes qui enrichissent les documents, la possibilité de rédaction collaborative – voilà quelques-unes seulement des particularités qui caractérisent ce nouveau type de corpus émergent pour l'analyse des discours.

Dans la deuxième partie de notre texte, nous allons nous arrêter à un seul aspect lié au caractère interactif des séquences recueillies : la mise en discours de la relation interpersonnelle par les participants aux échanges.

II. Les Particularités des Interactions en Ligne dans le Cadre du Projet

Afin d'examiner la relation établie entre les participants aux échanges, relation modifiée, sans doute, par le caractère virtuel des discussions, nous avons observé leur manière de gérer les séquences d'ouverture et de clôture des échanges, les règles de politesse, ainsi que les « objets » négociés au cours des échanges. Ces types d'analyses nous ont permis d'observer, d'une part, la maîtrise des règles interactionnelles et d'autre part, les stratégies déployées par les participants aux *chats* pour la co-construction – à travers l'interaction en ligne – d'identités aussi valorisantes que possible.

a) L'observation des séquences conventionnelles d'ouverture et de clôture a permis de remarquer que les participants appliquent les règles conversationnelles

qui veulent que les tensions inhérentes à l'ouverture et à la clôture de l'interaction soient atténuées par des formules conventionnelles.

L'adoption des formules rituelles auxquelles s'ajoutent les coordonnées personnelles, que chacun croit bon de spécifier, contribuent à la construction de l'identité que chaque locuteur veut se forger à l'intention de son nouvel interlocuteur mais, en même temps à l'observation de l'identité de l'autre, car leurs identités se construisent mutuellement, dans un processus corrélatif:

- Dans les séquences d'ouverture les interlocuteurs déploient des rituels confirmatifs contenant des salutations spécifiques au clavardage, activité située entre l'expression écrite et l'expression orale : *Bonjour X! Salut! Ça va?/ Comment ça va?*, et même un original *Hello, bonjour et privet!*

- Celui qui prend l'initiative se sent obligé de donner des informations détaillées sur son identité et de préciser le but de son message en justifiant ainsi, de manière convenable, son incursion dans l'espace de l'autre.

- Dans les séquences de clôture on voit des formules ritualisées consacrées « à compenser le caractère dysphorique de la séparation ». (C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1990, 1995 : 218-233). Certaines en sont spécifiques aux messages écrits : *Bien cordialement; Dans l'attente de ta réponse, cordialement; En attendant de tes nouvelles; Je vous souhaite tout le meilleur*, jusqu'au familier *Bisous*. D'autres sont spécifiques de l'oral : *Au revoir! A bientôt!* Ce mélange de types de formules suggère des hésitations quant au type de relation (+/-distance) et quant au type de message écrit/vs/ oral. Et peut-être des lacunes dans la maîtrise des formules.

b) **Le degré de coopération** identifié dans les échanges est variable : parfois maximal (++) , d'autres fois, minimal (--) et dans certains cas il y a déséquilibre entre les deux participants ou entre ces derniers et le protocole du projet (+-).

Dans les conversations (++) les participants sont réciproquement très contents de l'occasion de faire la connaissance de l'autre, ils y consacrent du temps et de la disponibilité, bref, ils respectent et appliquent les règles de politesse interactionnelle :

Ex. ++ : A :- Je suis bien aise de faire la connaissance de toi. Roumanie est un beau pays !(...) J'espère que nous pourrions communiquer bien et s'aider à faire le devoir dont on nous a imposé ☺

Dans les conversations (+-) le désir des participants d'établir une relation heureuse en vue de l'élaboration du projet commun est déséquilibré : soit l'initiative (prise et maintien du contact, informations à propos du projet, etc.), revient en totalité à A alors que B n'est disposé que d'accomplir le devoir, sans trop s'impliquer. Soit les participants sont désireux de continuer la relation mais en dehors du cadre contraignant du projet (trouver un canal non contrôlé par les enseignants ; utiliser une autre langue que le français (d'habitude l'anglais qu'ils maîtrisent mieux que le français).

Parfois il y a aussi des déséquilibres dans le respect des règles de figuration, comme dans l'exemple suivant où le contraste entre les attitudes des deux participants est évident:

A : 17 heures en Roumanie ? ça veut dire 18 h chez nous ? je suis pas sur d'être à la maison à cette heure, au pire on pourrait se connecter un peu plus tard...

B : excusez-moi j'ai oublié que vous êtes d'une heure en avance sur nous

A : ça va) tu voulais parler de quoi ?

Les conversations, peu nombreuses, notées par (--) montrent peu d'intérêt pour le projet proposé. Les participants ont du mal à dépasser le cadre contraignant de l'activité proposée :

Ex.(- -) : A :... As-tu des question sur ma présentation ?

B : J'ai un : comment devrait fonctionner cette discussion ?

A : Ouais, demande-moi qch, s'il te plait !

*B : (...) Je ne sais pas que je devais te demander... devrais**

A : OK, j'ai essaye seulement de questionner quelque-chose. Moi, je sait pas aussi, quoi raconter

Ces échanges sont marqués par l'obligation de travailler avec un pair désigné, pour obtenir une (bonne) note en français, la relation en soi n'intéressant pas les interlocuteurs. La relation interpersonnelle ne parvient pas à se construire en dehors du devoir à accomplir et donc il y a échec de l'interaction.

c) Les négociations interactionnelles. Dans les conversations en ligne observées il intervient toutes sortes d'obstacles qui menacent l'aboutissement de l'interaction, autant d'occasions pour les participants de procéder à des négociations. Notre analyse nous a permis de retenir les objets négociés qui apparaissent dans toutes les conversations enregistrées, à savoir, par exemple, les termes d'adresse, les contenus de l'interaction **et** la langue à utiliser. Ces objets constituent des indices définitoires pour les stratégies interactionnelles adoptées par les participants.

Les termes d'adresse utilisés indiquent le type de relation qui sera adoptée par les participants. On assiste à des fluctuations dans l'utilisation des termes d'adresse, à des hésitations entre le *vous* de politesse /+distance/ et le *tu* /-distance/. Ceci montre que certains participants ont du mal à décider du type de relation (+/-distance) à instaurer. Cette incertitude est causée, pensons-nous, moins par les contraintes situationnelles mais, au contraire, par les libertés dont ils disposent dans cet exercice et, donc, de la difficulté de prendre des décisions qu'il faut assumer par la suite.

En ce qui concerne **les contenus de l'interaction** nous constatons que la plupart des interactions par *chat* commencent par des questionnements portant sur le déroulement attendu des échanges. Même si dans le protocole de discussion préalablement fourni aux étudiants une rubrique spéciale était réservée aux questions (avec des exemples à l'appui), les étudiants se posent en « novices » et se demandent les uns les autres quelle démarche interactionnelle il faudrait adopter. Il ne faut pas oublier que les étudiants ne se connaissent en principe pas et qu'ils sont bien conscients que la conversation par Skype, dont ils maîtrisent sans doute les

règles, est ressentie comme une obligation académique surveillée. Pour preuve, l'usage du « devoir » déontique dans cet extrait tiré de la partie initiale d'une conversation par *chat* entre une étudiante roumaine et une étudiante russe (dans les exemples on a gardé l'orthographe, le style et la ponctuation des étudiants)

Dans l'exemple ci-dessous, alors que l'étudiant russe, vraisemblablement plus familiarisé avec le protocole de l'exercice, demande à l'étudiante roumaine si elle a des questions, celle-ci fait glisser l'échange vers la partie procédurale, liée au fonctionnement général de l'interaction, perçue en soi comme un exercice :

G. : Ok, commençons? As-tu des questions sur ma présentation?

C. : J'ai un: comment devrait fonctionner cette discussion?

G.: Par exemple: Exemples de questions à se poser lors du chat :- le choix de l'entreprise vous semble-t-il pertinent ? S'agit-il d'une entreprise locale / nationale disposée à recevoir des étudiants en stage ?

Un autre paramètre que les étudiants questionnent dans leurs échanges porte sur **la langue** qu'ils « doivent » utiliser dans la communication, alors que dans la fiche conseil fournie au préalable il n'y a aucune mention en ce sens... Pourtant, les étudiants comprennent bien qu'il s'agit d'un exercice fourni dans le cadre du cours de FLE, ce qui les fait se poser des questions, notamment ceux qui ont du mal avec le français, et revenir finalement, à la contrainte supposée de l'exercice : l'usage du français langue étrangère / véhiculaire.

S.: je peut aussi parler allemand, mais nous pouvons parler en anglais si tu veux ;)

E.: Salut=) Je suis désolé, mais on interdit de parler anglais. Seulement français.

S.: Mon professeur de français a dit qu'elle veut voir nos dialogues C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons pas parler anglais. Mais, tu peux m'écrire en anglais en facebook =) Je n'envoie pas nos dialogues en facebook à elle)

Le français écrit pose des difficultés supplémentaires aux étudiants qui en parlent, en évoquant la problématique des accents... qui risquent de ralentir le rythme de la « conversation ». Dans l'exemple suivant, on voit bien apparaître le fait que les étudiants se représentent différemment l'exercice de la conversation par *chat* et l'exercice de la présentation écrite de l'entreprise. Si le *chat*, malgré le fait qu'il devra être transmis aux enseignantes, peut fonctionner « sans accents », la présentation écrite devra respecter toutes les règles de l'orthographe française...

T. : excuses-moi mais les accents françaises sont difficile pour moi de les écrire :D

T. : j'écris trop lentement si je les use :)

H. : de toute façon si tu es comme moi il n'y a pas de problème ça va :)

T. : haha ok :)

H. : ok ça va sans accent je peux bien comprendre pas de souci

T. : mais..

T. : je pense que pour le chat sur les entreprises on doit les utiliser

H. : je suis d'accord avec toi

La maîtrise insatisfaisante du français est ressentie par les participants comme une menace pour leur image publique et ils essaient de l'atténuer en comblant cette lacune en étalant des connaissances d'anglais ou d'allemand ou de russe (un participant non russe).

En conclusion, les participants aux interactions par *chat* se trouvent devant une nouvelle relation sociale par l'intermédiaire de laquelle ils peuvent élargir leur groupe interactionnel, opportunité qu'ils veulent exploiter afin de se construire une image identitaire valorisante. Les aspects présentés brièvement ci-dessus parlent des mécanismes par lesquels les participants focalisent leurs efforts, non seulement sur la construction d'une image identitaire propre qui soit aussi convenable que possible, mais aussi, de manière plus ou moins consciente, sur la participation à la construction, dans le même sens, de l'image de l'autre.

III. L'impact des Nouveaux Dispositifs sur les Apprentissages

Enfin, au bout de ce projet nous nous sommes interrogées sur la manière dont les étudiants ont perçu le projet, ses particularités du point de vue des différents apprentissages. Nous avons donc conçu un questionnaire anonyme qui, rempli en ligne, nous a permis de relever les éléments les plus importants concernant le changement de représentations sur la progression des contenus d'enseignement / apprentissage dans le domaine des langues et notamment du français de spécialité, sur l'évaluation, sur l'autonomisation des apprentissages. Sur le total de 80 étudiants impliqués dans le projet dans les quatre universités partenaires, nous avons obtenu 52 réponses². Les questions portaient essentiellement sur les types de contenus liés à la discipline français / à la discipline étude des marchés qu'ils estimaient appris grâce au projet, sur les autres types d'apprentissages qu'ils pensaient avoir effectué et, enfin, sur les éléments les plus motivants / démotivants du projet.

La plupart des réponses que nous avons obtenues font état de contenus lexicaux et grammaticaux qui ont été soit appris, soit revus grâce au projet :

J'ai appris un nouveau vocabulaire, les termes environnementaux. J'ai parlé avec d'autres étudiants en français, j'ai appris le vocabulaire familier. J'ai appris à utiliser des temps nouveaux.

Les étudiants citent également les éléments de contenus liés à l'écologie qui est, semble-t-il, un élément de contenu relativement nouveau et qui n'a pas vraiment été traité en cours dans les contextes académiques pris en considération :

D'après-moi, l'aspect le plus intéressant étaient les recherches sur le marché écologique bulgare et celles sur les entreprises écologiquement responsables. Je crois que l'information apprise me sera très utile au futur compte tenu que l'écologie est un secteur en développement.

² Les citations qui apparaissent dans le texte ne sont pas identifiées car les questionnaires ont été anonymes et ils ont été postés sur la plateforme, ce qui rend impossible leur mise en relation avec un certain contexte.

Par contre, pour ce qui est des éléments « d'autre nature » qu'ils estiment avoir appris grâce à ce projet, peu d'étudiants font référence à l'utilisation de la plateforme électronique qui ne fait apparemment pas partie des contenus d'apprentissage nouveaux. Ce sur quoi ils mettent l'accent de manière très évidente ce sont les relations (amicales...) qu'ils ont réussi à créer avec des partenaires étrangers, ainsi que les différences culturelles qu'ils ont réussi à dépasser grâce à ce type de projet de collaboration. Voici quelques extraits de leurs réponses :

Je me suis fait de nouveaux amis d'autres cultures et d'autres mentalités

J'ai appris à converser avec des partenaires étrangers, d'interagir avec des amis de différents groupes

J'ai bien aimé la communication à distance avec la fille de Turquie, j'ai développé encore mon travail en équipe.

Cette focalisation sur le relationnel et sur l'interculturel que l'on devine à travers la lecture des réponses des étudiants se place quelque part entre apprentissage et admiration : en effet, les sujets questionnés estiment avoir « appris » et « développé » des pans de leur compétence de communication en langue étrangère, mais ils se positionnent également de manière affective lorsqu'ils parlent de la chance, de l'intérêt, du plaisir qu'ils ont trouvé dans la communication. Par contre, la plupart d'entre eux mettent l'accent sur l'Autre en tant qu'étranger (*d'autres mentalités, d'autres cultures, d'autres pays, différents*), et ceci de manière générique. Seule une réponse fait état de la nationalité de la correspondante choisie, les autres nommant de manière indifférenciée les pairs « des étrangers ».

On comprend bien, à la lecture de ces commentaires, que les étudiants impliqués dans le projet mettent moins l'accent sur les aspects liés à l'utilisation de la plateforme collaborative, et ils perçoivent, au-delà de l'outil, l'importance de la mise en relation avec un Autre étranger. Ils comprennent bien que le projet, par sa dimension collaborative virtuelle, a ajouté des éléments de contenu différents par rapport aux contenus d'un cours classique de français langue étrangère.

Questionnés sur les aspects les plus / les moins motivants du projet, les étudiants ne font que peu référence au changement de rôles induit par le travail en autonomie sur une plateforme collaborative. On peut tout de même citer la réaction d'un étudiant qui, tout en expliquant les difficultés de se rencontrer au sein d'un seul groupe / pays laisse comprendre que la flexibilité offerte par l'environnement de travail virtuel a représenté un atout :

Dans les premières étapes du projet il fallait que tous les groupes de chaque université fassent un travail commun qui devait être ensuite attaché sur la plateforme. C'était un peu difficile de le faire, non seulement parce que chaque groupe a trouvé des informations diverses, mais aussi parce qu'on avait des difficultés à trouver une heure convenable pour tous pour nous rencontrer puisque les participants sont de différentes années et donc avec différents horaires.

Moins sensibilisés à la problématique de la différence entre l'enseignement classique et l'enseignement à distance, sur une plateforme collaborative, les

étudiants ont pointé plutôt des éléments liés aux contenus qui les intéressaient (*réalisation d'une brochure, travail sur le domaine des entreprises écologiquement responsables*) et à la dimension interlocutive de la communication avec un partenaire étranger. On peut supposer également que pour eux le travail dans les environnements virtuels représentait, plus que pour les enseignants, une habitude, et que ceci les a moins surpris / interrogés.

Conclusions

Au-delà de la modification des habitudes de travail de tous les acteurs (enseignants et étudiants), ce projet d'enseignement collaboratif à distance du français langue étrangère a permis de saisir certains des enjeux des environnements virtuels sur l'enseignement / apprentissage : les étudiants ont mis en évidence notamment l'importance de la plateforme d'échange en tant qu'outil qui leur permet d'échanger avec des pairs « étrangers », avec une idée encore très large et très floue de l'« étrangeté » de l'Autre.

Si les étudiants se sont moins focalisés dans leurs réponses au questionnaire sur la plateforme de collaboration en tant que telle et sur les effets de la multimodalité sur l'apprentissage de la langue et des contenus de spécialité, c'est sans doute qu'ils sont encore trop « dedans », trop familiarisés avec ce type d'outils dans son utilisation commune, quotidienne. Le considérer comme un élément à interroger aura nécessité un plus de prise de distance, ce dont les étudiants ne sont pas encore capables en l'absence de formations spécifiques.

Au bout du projet, nous estimons que les bénéfices didactiques du projet (enseignement de différents types de contenus disciplinaires, apprentissage de la communication en français langue étrangère...) vont de pair avec les bénéfices de nature interculturelle (échanges avec des pairs étrangers, interrogations sur l'altérité...). Par contre, si les dispositifs de communication à distance représentent un outil qui facilite énormément le travail de tous les acteurs, leurs bénéfices ne sont pas encore vraiment perçus et encore moins analysés. C'est un long travail qui nous reste à faire, car nous ne pourrions pas nous servir des outils sans comprendre leurs potentialités.

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