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THE WAN-IFRA DISCOURSE:

advice, application, and disqualification
of organisational models in media

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Brasileira de Pesquisadores em Jornalismo

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ABSTRACT - Among the multiple exhortations made on the liberating - even saviour-type - role of the digital era over the past ten years in the field of journalism, one constant has remained: criticism of managerial models and dialectic of economic ones in the media which have defined the spheres of action, resulting in these discourses without ever sealing their fate. A fate that for several years now has been marked by a process in which journalists are being cast aside in favour of a managerial standpoint that broadly integrates 'convergence' as a tool of governance. This paper aims to question (as one of many mediations instituting convergence as a structuring model) WAN-IFRA's discursive and ideological materiality. This international organisation of newspapers and news publishers has set its sights on convincing the print media of the necessity to switching to multiformat; to convergence. This work investigates the stability and/or instability of the WAN-IFRA discourse, as well as its ability to absorb other discourses. Lastly, through a cloud of prescriptive discourse it will indicate those discourses enforced by some managers in the media business.

Keywords: Information company. Convergence. Economic model. Organisational model.

O DISCURSO DA WAN-IFRA: exortação, prescrição e desqualificação dos modelos organizacionais da empresa de informação

RESUMO - Dentre as várias exortações que permearam o campo do jornalismo, nos últimos dez anos, sobre o papel libertador e até mesmo salvador da era digital, destaca-se uma constante: a crítica aos modelos gerenciais e a dialética dos modelos econômicos ligados às empresas de informação delinearão esferas de ação e produziram discursos sem nunca selar seu destino. Esse destino vem sendo marcado há muitos anos por um processo de desempoderamento dos jornalistas em favor de lógicas gerenciais que adotaram amplamente a "convergência" como uma ferramenta de governança. Este trabalho propõe-se a questionar, dentre as inúmeras mediações que instituem a convergência como modelo estruturador, a materialidade discursiva e ideológica da WAN-IFRA. A essa organização internacional de editores de imprensa atribuiu-se a missão de convencer o mundo da imprensa da necessidade de uma transição para a multiplataforma, para a convergência. Este trabalho interrogará a estabilidade e/ou instabilidade do discurso da WAN-IFRA, bem como sua permeabilidade para absorver outros discursos. Ele indicará, por fim, em meio à nebulosa de discursos prescritivos, aqueles reivindicados por parte dos executivos do campo midiático.

Palavras-chave: Empresa de informação. Convergência. Modelo econômico. Modelo organizacional.

EL DISCURSO DE LA WAN-IFRA: exhortación, prescripción y descalificación de los modelos organizacionales de la empresa informativa.

RESUMEN - Entre las múltiples exhortaciones sobre el papel liberador e incluso salvador de la era digital que han salpicado, durante los últimos diez años, el campo del periodismo, destaca una constancia: la crítica de los modelos gerenciales y la dialéctica de los modelos económicos unidos a las empresas informativas, han diseñado unas esferas de acción y elaborado unos discursos sin cerrarle la puerta a otros. Esta dinámica se ve marcada, desde hace varios años, por un proceso de desposeimiento de los periodistas en beneficio de unas lógicas gerenciales que han integrado ampliamente “la convergencia” como una herramienta de gobernanza. Este trabajo pretende cuestionar, entre las numerosas mediaciones que instituyen la convergencia como modelo de estructuración, la materialidad discursiva e ideológica de la WAN-IFRA. Esta organización internacional de editores de prensa se ha asignado la misión de convencer al mundo de la prensa de la necesidad de un cambio hacia el multisoporte, hacia la convergencia. Este trabajo, permitirá cuestionar la estabilidad y/o la inestabilidad del discurso de la WAN-IFRA, así como su maleabilidad para absorber otros discursos. En él apuntaremos in fine, entre la nebulosa existente de discursos prescriptores, de cuales se vale una parte de los dirigentes del campo mediático.

Palabras claves: Empresas informativas. Convergencia. Modelo económico. Modelo organizacional.

We begin by mentioning a discourse, a specific management discourse, promoted by leaders in the news publishing industry and expressed through a specific organisation: the IFRA. We began taking an interest in the IFRA in 2009 when a team at CRAPE¹ integrated a research programme on ‘media convergence’- a much-used term in media in recent years and an idea which has attracted academic interest.

The research soon began to look at changes in the multi-format industrial supply chain (QUINN, 2004; FORTE DUHE, MORTIMER and CHOW, 2004; JENKINS, 2004; QUINN and QUINN-ALLAN, 2005; DOMINGO et al, 2007; BOUQUILLION, 2008), and also observed how these changes could lead journalists towards becoming actors in an entrepreneurial organisation (GARCIA and BIENVENIDO, 2002; SINGER, 2004; CABROLIE, 2009 and 2010). All of these studies showed that the move towards multi-format is neither a uniform process nor a linear one (DEUZE, 2005; DOMINGO et al, 2007). The transformations always occurred within specific *continua* (GESTIN et al., 2009). Thus, the research programme which we participated in quickly understood the contextual nature of the restructuring process and its foundation within singular trajectories, both of which should be studied as local phenomena of time, of space, and within specific relationships. (RUELLAN and LANGONNE, 2012).

However, in the 2000s, there was another discourse which, contrary as it may be, concluded that the transformation of print media

business was inevitable and vital. The IFRA is an important player in this particular type of discourse. Branching out from this study (which allowed a case-by-case observation of convergence actions) we look at IFRA's discourse, "the world organization of research and service for the news publishing industry" which represents "more than 18,000 publications, 15,000 online sites and over 3,000 companies in more than 120 countries"². IFRA offers a wide array of consultancy, training and promotional activities for businesses undergoing convergence.

We looked to highlight a few features of the *IFRA* discussion and the way in which this organisation has invested in and briefly exploited the question and definition of editorial integration; integration through which managerial strategies can help organize the production of information.

The great strength of the IFRA discourse rests mainly on a digital display system, greatly increased by the many formats and hypertexts displayed on the organisation's website. Our approach consisted mainly of delimiting the elements of discursive stability and the recurring forms in the IFRA discourse. In order to do so, we examined the organisation's website to better understand its online strategy: the layout of the site, the sections, the *drop-down* menus, and the hypertextuality. Afterwards, we looked at its magazine - *IFRA Magazine* – the only object which distinctively states the organisation's physical and temporal position. Our analysis focuses on twelve issues of the monthly magazine sent out to members of the organisation and published between January 2006 and July 2009. What we observed is a discourse developed within a very particular, tight-knit, professional circle. Right from the outset, our corpus is both limited and incomplete. Even still, we concur with Annelise Touboul when she states that although this type of corpus does not constitute a "reflection on journalism in general", it is still "a demonstrator of the ongoing changes within this professional universe." (TOUBOUL, 2010, p.22).

This approach to the IFRA discourse reveals an extremely aggressive discursive strategy. The IFRA is determined to convince the print media of the necessity of the transition to multi-format; to convergence. The organisation produces narratives with the intention of changing its status from narrator to source, reproduced by intermediaries (D'ALMEIDA, 2001). It also seeks, through persuasive discourse, to influence both the decisions and practices characteristic of media businesses. In this article, we will show how IFRA legitimises its own position: firstly, by backing it up with the expertise it claims to have as a result of its own

history and the transformations it has imposed upon itself in order to be what it is now (intertextuality). Secondly, it incorporates discourse from endogenous and exogenous actors (practitioners, consultants, experts, and researchers) with argumentative strategy (hypertextuality) which tells a story³ within a story (*storytelling*).

1 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Our methodology is comprised of three levels; one level which is divided into two sub-levels. Firstly, we found it interesting to ‘characterize’ the IFRA Magazine’s discourse; to shed light on how it is structured. In order to do this, two sub-levels were assessed: the context in which statements are made (1) and how the evidence is used (2).

Analysing statement context (1) is particularly useful in explaining why a journalist is excluded from the IFRA discourse and deprived of any initiatives. Here, the statements themselves are representative of intentions. For its discourse to appear both irrefutable and unavoidable the IFRA employed a strategy to disqualify the so-called actors of the argument.

The question of how evidence is used (2) supports this discursive strategy as it makes it appear that the argument is co-constructed, that the organisation is open to criticism from other credited actors, and that it values transparency. From the beginning, this work looked for the reported, solicited, selected, formed, and often represented word. Afterwards, it inferred the effects of legitimacy and credibility. However, the exemplary and wisely articulated actions of a few consist of presenting the principle of its generalization. Common sense was implicitly brought into play: “what has worked here should work elsewhere”. This principle of generalization applies to both the use of evidence and the report.

Secondly, we worked on the terminology used in the IFRA discourse. We determined that terminology becomes a managerial standard by implementing one or more models functioning as standards.

Thirdly, we look back at the IFRA’s argumentative structures and immediately pointing out the following paradox: an argumentative discourse aims to influence and act upon its target. More simply put, it tries to convince. The IFRA discourse seems to present a clearly dominant argumentative intention around the transition to convergence. Yet, there can be no arguing against the evidence: anything inescapable cannot be

the subject of argumentation. We determine that the IFRA deliberately chooses an argumentative story in order to introduce an opponent and, subsequently, better disqualify that opponent. We agree with Marianne Doury when she says that: “argumentation can be considered as a mode of discourse construction aimed at making them more resistant to contesting” (DOURY, 2003, p. 13).

Supported by this methodological approach, we attempt to show how the IFRA constructs a near exclusive legitimacy based on the complete management of new technologies in media businesses. In order to do this, the organisation and business managers keep the journalists “out of the game” in order to better convey the message of convergence as the inevitable model.

2 “WE, IFRA”: A NARRATIVE STRATEGY WITH THE WEIGHT OF A LEGITIMATE MANDATE

The organization is a union of two bodies: the *International Newspaper Colour Association* (INCA, founded in 1961) and the *Fédération Internationale des Éditeurs de Journaux* (FIEJ), which in 1970 joined together to become the ‘INCA-FIEJ Research Association’ (IFRA). This is an important merger for IFRA. Although it wasn’t made official until 1970, INCA leaders had already had such a merger in mind as early as 1964. At that time, INCA was “a purely technical body”⁴; it dealt with printing techniques for the newspapers. INCA’s management wondered whether admitting new members to its fold should depend on that new member sharing a mutual respect for freedom of the press, as is the case with FIEJ. No answer was forthcoming. However, INCA and FIEJ went ahead with the merger in 1970. As a result, the new IFRA is no longer - and will never be - ‘purely technical’. Perhaps it was this approach which enabled IFRA to initially distance itself from the ‘technical’ domain and begin taking on the authority of a discourse on the production process as a whole. Let’s just say that the conditions for authorization of such a process became apparent.

Things started moving more quickly in the 2000s. Firstly, there was the publication written by Boris Fuchs, a former executive at IFRA: *‘IFRA: 40 années au service des journaux’* (IFRA: 40 years working for the newspapers) Throughout the book, the author reflects on the process that led a small organisation of editors and

experts in printing techniques to take over the *expertise* of the whole newspaper production process. Whenever possible, IFRA's 40-year history is adapted to suit its own contemporary concerns and discourses. When the organization relates its own history *a posteriori* it establishes intertextuality with the *IFRA Magazine* discourse – which defines our *corpus*. This is called synchronic transposition.

In the early 2000s, IFRA became a trademark, one that “is now recognised without any need to explain where it came from”⁵- credit where credit is due. The recent merger in 2009 between IFRA and WAN (*World Association of Newspapers*), now known as WAN-IFRA, further legitimates IFRA to broaden the reach of its discourse. Indeed, WAN appears to lean more favourably towards the journalists and maintain the profession's mythical side. This organization states that it wishes to “promote press freedom and the economic independence of newspapers”⁶, among other things, and conducts some of its actions under the UNESCO banner. Integrating another producer (and competitor) in the discursive field of media seems an effective way of legitimizing a discourse associated to in-depth organisational and economic restructuring practices in print media businesses.

This merger was sanctioned in the August to September 2009 issues of the *IFRA Magazine*, renamed “*WAN-IFRA Magazine*”. According to the editorial, the publication became:

“the world's most detailed review of the press and news media industry. [...] The magazine covers all news media from A to Z. [...] In this first issue of WAN-IFRA Magazine, we cover the questions vital to our industry in as much depth as ever. [...] We hope that you will understand that it is not a matter of the future of WAN and IFRA, but rather the future of our industry, of your future.”⁷

The illocutionary force used in this context transforms IFRA into a legitimate representative of media industry discourse. In granting itself this power, IFRA adopts “signs and insignia that act as a reminder that [it] does not act in its own name or on its own authority” (BOURDIEU, 2001, p. 111-112). It is historically legitimate by having “more than 400 years [...] of expertise”⁸, it is legitimate in both monetary and geographical terms (“3,000 companies in more than 120 countries”), and legitimate in professional terms as WAN and IFRA “carry the weight of a whole industry on their shoulders”. The problems WAN and IFRA will face as a new entity can be seen as a miniature portrait of the future of world media.⁹ Nowadays it is possible to evoke access to symbolic legitimacy: “IFRA's technical know-how, coupled with its commitment to the development

of new economic models, perfectly complete its status as WAN leader in terms of defending press freedom”¹⁰ We understand what is at stake for IFRA. To a certain extent, one of the social conditions that allows IFRA to make its mark socially is made possible through this merger with an organization holding such legitimacy in its discourse on press freedom. It is easier to deliver sermons when you are the only one who has the bible.

By the end of the 2000s, IFRA (or WAN-IFRA), was in the process of acquiring a managerial model vastly different from its printing techniques; one that is as of now still incomplete, undefined, and not based on any economic model. This is a global model adapted to each company and uses another acronym: TINA (There Is No Alternative¹¹). “Onward or die” is the cornerstone of its discourse. The organisation has paved the way through its evolutionary stages and has survived. To those it addresses (owners and senior executives at print media businesses and their suppliers, editors, and software designers) it is now a matter of following suit.

3 THEM - THE JOURNALISTS. DENIAL OF REALITY¹²

So - who does IFRA not address? If we read between the lines we can come to an answer: the IFRA does not address journalists. We define the IFRA “us” as a system of values. There is also “we” the journalists which has its own discourse and a different set of values. This double axiology will never truly be discussed by IFRA. Its values never confront those of journalists. IFRA justifies its choices and directions taken through the use of “we” - the recipient of statements. In order to directly compare one’s own system with another there needs to be a debate. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the discourse model is TINA: no debate. Therefore, the reality of fieldwork in journalism looks like it is *denied*.

The entire *corpus* has just two articles written by “journalists” - one published in March 2006, the other in April 2009. The first is an opinionated article written by Julian Gallo, a journalist and journalism professor of new media at San Andres University (Argentina) and the University of Columbia¹³. Here’s what he had to say:

“When I hear certain journalists and graphic artists state with conviction that the daily papers, and their activities as journalists, photographers and graphic designers are, and will remain, unchanging, at least in the course of this century, two thoughts come to mind: the first is that they are ill-informed[...]. When a journalist or sub-editor proudly claims that their work will not change and that the dailies will survive another hundred years, my second thought is : what a drag! [...] “Tom Peters,

the 'guru's guru', [...] has a great way of humiliating those who believe that they are wise in stating themselves to be unchangeable. Using the Tom Peters methodology, we could write epitaphs for thousands of journalists."¹⁴

To back up his argument, Juan Gallo illustrates the image of a journalist who does not exist, has never existed, and *who cannot exist*. As we said: no debate. The interdiscursivity lies in the '*guru*' who "knows how to humiliate". Shifting from "I" to "we", Gallo effectively *buries* thousands of journalists". This isn't the IFRA speaking or carrying out the dirty work, but an actual journalist to whom the task has been assigned.

The IFRA's own discourse does, however, intervene a little further in the magazine's monthly 'Focus' article titled: 'Restructure - or grind to a halt'¹⁵. This 8-page section is not about restructuring per se. Since restructuring is presented as a *sine qua non* condition for survival, it is all about the best way of making restructuring successful. Here, seventeen contributors (European and American), newspaper owners, editors, consultants, and human resources directors shared their points of view and experiences.

Restructuring is therefore indispensable for economic reasons: "It is not so much the poor results of the press groups (currently criticised by financial analysts) as the absence of visibility over their medium-term potential. [...] In short, a reduction in manpower isn't always a sign of poor health; it can also be an expression of change in how print media businesses are organised" (ARNOULD, 2006, p.22). This is a passage quoted from IFRA. At the end of the day, the goal of restructuring is to reassure the financial analysts. That's the key to survival. In order to do so, journalists must adapt: "Between these opinions [...], is the completely healthy preoccupation of questioning how journalists work and the limits of their mission" (ARNOULD, 2006, p.26).

Even though 'convergence' might not be the term referred to, behind the restructuring this is the organisation model being used. Convergence seems to be a form of organisation for which the set-up and expected results for *media firms* (BLANCHOT, PADIOLEAU, 2003) are capable of reassuring financial analysts. Here, convergence is a *means* of meeting the *objectives* dictated by economic rationalism. IFRA serves as its own mediator - its voice is heard far more clearly among managers than among journalists.

4 DISQUALIFICATIONS AND NEW TALENTS

Who benefits from what is called ‘denial’? In order to answer this question, we look at the second article attributed to a “journalist”. In April 2009, the traditional editorial by Kerry Northrup was handed over to the Director General of IFRA, Reiner Mittelbach, who wrote the following headline: “Prepare yourselves for post-crisis success”. On page 10 in the ‘Developments’ section, there is a short article with a similar title: “The positive side of the crisis?”¹⁶. This is a statement from Chuck Stewart, a journalist at the Dallas Morning News, who was asked about the “positive signs, if any, in these uncertain times”. He responded:

“Positive signs?... I don't see any... For me, there's nothing positive about reducing the number of people whose job is to seek out and pass on news. It's horrible for everyone except those unscrupulous people who take advantage of the reduced presence of the monitoring body that is the press” (STEWART, 2009, p.10).

This discourse is specific to journalism in that people “seek out and pass on information”. A fairly vague adversary is mentioned (“unscrupulous people”) connected to a certain view of the profession which draws journalism and democracy closer together. Chuck Stewart continues:

“It's weird, but skilful as we are, in news coverage, it seems that our intelligence fails us when it comes to adapting our own structures. Just the other day, I was thinking about how much we were on the defensive, how much time we've spent talking about what we can't do, instead of setting clear objectives, concentrating on one thing and seeing how we might manage to achieve that objective. This mind-set is certainly no fit state in which to rise to the challenges presented by a world in constant flux” (STEWART, 2009, p.10).

“It's weird”, we might say after reading the first extract. However, the second passage saves IFRA's discourse. The “us” refers to journalists and not IFRA, which once again leaves the professional group to describe itself using negative terms.

“The only sign you might call positive is that those of us who remain (for the time being, at least) will have to broaden their knowledge and abilities as much as possible. For example: since our team is now smaller, I am responsible for data collection - a task which in the past was exclusively assigned to reporters and graphic artists. It is necessary for us to be aware of the significance of this broadening of our horizons, if we want to continue providing in-depth news coverage” (STEWART, 2009, p.10).

In summary: journalists repeat themselves, they are on the

defensive, and they are lost when it comes to setting organisational objectives for the future. Those who are still working have understood the diversification of tasks brought on by job redundancies.

As in our first example, this journalist's discourse is supported by a longer article on restructuring either already under way or yet to be carried out. The article is entitled "Editorial reorganisation gathers pace". The paper gives three examples from newspapers "having recently restructured their newsrooms in order to rise to current challenges"¹⁷. The IFRA has advised each of these three on how to conduct this reorganisation.

In all of IFRA's twelve online issues only two are journalist pieces. These carefully selected discourses make up part of a *denial of work*. IFRA allows two professional journalists to practice a form of *symbolic violence*¹⁸ in order to definitively disqualify the whole group to which they belong. The journalists are not *capable* of understanding the implications of restructuring. IFRA is the one who has this *expertise*, the one who masters the forms that convergence takes.

Once disqualified, the journalists are no longer a top priority for human resources management within a company. Now, the senior managers are the ones who make up the "central HR departments"¹⁹. "With the major shift that is currently under way in the industry in terms of what is demanded of employees, human resources management is moving towards the integration of 'talent management' to print media business strategy. Management needs to be adapted" (SHIPSIDE, 2007, p. 14).

The "talents" to which we are referring to are not (or no longer) journalists, but rather media firm executives. Journalists (the word 'journalist' never appears in three pages of this article) are designated as 'employees' or 'personnel', just like any other company. The new talents are those who show these employees the path towards convergence. The IFRA gives the executives the tools to begin restructuring.

Let's not forget that the late 2000s showed some partial restructurings at newspaper printing facilities, yet there is still room for improvement: "The press industry has yet to achieve the level of automation reached in other industries, such as, for example, that of the motor industry. A great deal remains to be done for better automation of tasks."²⁰ The IFRA has no need to prove that such restructuring is necessary in printing facilities - it settles for giving advice towards further optimizing rationalisation. Being an expert in printing techniques since its inception, the IFRA is right at home here. The journalists are left behind.

A 2006 article states: “Clearly, all eyes are now on the largest workforce remaining at the paper: the journalists”²¹. This is where IFRA developed its discourse. It’s where one of many models chosen (convergence) has to be adopted and supported in order to ‘rationalise’ staff reductions and to integrate all of a media company’s production with the process of *economic rationalism* and *managerialism* (BLANCHOT, PADIOLEAU, 2003).

In 2009, the waves of job redundancies in editorial offices (“a last, painful effort”²² according to IFRA) seemed to be over and the IFRA discourse devoted to editorial offices and their organisational changes increased exponentially. Proof of this is in an article in the January edition of IFRA Magazine: ‘5 ideas for reorganising your editorial office’: “The reorganisation and restructuring of editorial processes offers a huge opportunity to sustainably improve the efficiency of the newsroom as well as to secure - and even improve - quality.”²³ In April 2009, the article ‘*Editorial reorganisation gathers pace*’ was published, featuring three examples of daily newspapers from three different countries that had recently restructured their editorial offices²⁴. The last article in July 2009 wrote: ‘Three editorial offices take stock of their reorganisation’.²⁵

CONCLUSION

Throughout this work, we have seen how the IFRA discourse focuses on editorial integration. At any given point in time, the organisation uses ‘convergence’ in their discourse which coincides with the necessities of economic rationalism and managing. Yet the subject has proved difficult to handle. IFRA might not have considered all the consequences of convergency. Some indexes show that practicing journalists might be capable of controlling some of the effects of the new editorial organisation. In this case, IFRA runs the risk of losing control.

Recently, it seems that IFRA has been taking “the contextuality of restructuring processes and their anchorage *in* singular trajectories” into account (GESTIN et al., 2009, p. 86). The term “convergence” is no longer central to its statements, and has even had to give way to ‘divergence’ and ‘mixing’ of the various media. This seems to be accompanied by a “back to basics” movement; a refocusing of the organisation’s traditional activity. “No, the printed product is not dead”²⁶, insisted Dean Roper, the new editor-in-chief of WAN-IFRA Magazine, in November 2009. He clarified this statement in

the subsequent issue when he said: “IFRA made a decision several years ago to concentrate not just on technical matters, but also on questions that were both technical and strategic. This change was taken into account in our magazine by covering the whole field of publishing and its processes. We will be continuing to move in this direction, while still refocusing on the technical aspects.”²⁷

At the conclusion of our analysis, IFRA’s great project is internal. The merger with WAN gives it a new legitimacy and IFRA can now invest in the remaining mythical dimensions of the profession. It is now a matter of observing what WAN-IFRA refers to as “positive complementary effects” which should come hand-in-hand with this merger.

NOTES

- 1 CRAPE (the Centre for Research on Political Action in Europe) is a joint research unit (UMR 6051) in the social sciences affiliated to the CNRS, to the University of Rennes 1, to Science Po Rennes, and to the EHESP (French School of Public Health).
- 2 Available at: <http://www.wan-ifra.org/about-wan-ifra>
- 3 "To narrate is to construct an intrigue, that is, to place the series of events and actions which constitute the story being told in a certain textual order" (CHARAUDEAU; MAINGUENEAU, 2002, p. 486).
- 4 FUCHS B., **IFRA** – quarante années au service des journaux. Darmstadt: IFRA édition, 2001. p. 69.
- 5 Available at: http://www.ifra.com/website/website.nsf/html/CONT_HISTORY?OpenDocument&HIS&F& (most recent consultation in December 2009).
- 6 Available at: <http://www.wan-press.org/article1033.html>
- 7 NORTHROP, K.-J. Les médias d'information de A a Z. **WAN-IFRA Magazine**, ago. 2009. p. 3.
- 8 "Over a period of more than 400 years, the editors of news services have amassed their fair share of techniques and skill. And IFRA is proud to have been able to chronicle this expertise, in part via its emblematic publication, *Techniques de Presse*.[...] Though it's true that our activity deals essentially with printing techniques, this is certainly not the

- only field with which you'd like to keep up to date, in order to fully participate in your company's debates and strategies". NORTHROP, K.-J. Une page se tourne. **IFRA Magazine**, jan. 2008. p. 3.
- 9 SHIPSIDE, S. Les effets positifs de la complémentarité. **WAN-IFRA Magazine**, ago. 2009. p. 16-17.
- 10 *ibid*
- 11 "TINA' is an acronym attributed to Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990.
- 12 "The denial of reality leads to the interpretation of ordinary failures at work as expressions of incompetency, a lack of application, a carefree attitude, a lack of training, ill-will, a fault or mistake, arising out of human error" (DEJOURS, 1998, p. 85).
- 13 GALLO, J. Les bons côtés de l'enthousiasme. **Techniques de presse**, mar. 2006. p.18.
- 14 *ibid*.
- 15 ARNOULD, V. Restructurer ou s'immobiliser. **Techniques de presse**, mar. 2006. p. 21.
- 16 Le côté positif de la crise?. **IFRA Magazine**, abr. 2009. p.10.
- 17 VESELING, B. La réorganisation rédactionnelle gagne en vitesse. **IFRA Magazine**, abr. 2009. p. 18.
- 18 The symbolic violence emerges when a source of power "manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the unequal power relations underlying its strength". (BOURDIEU, 1972, p. 18)
- 19 SHIPSIDE, S. Les cadres: thème central des RH. **Techniques de presse**, jul. 2007. p. 14.
- 20 PASCUAL, M. Des automates et des hommes. **Techniques de presse**, abr. 2006. p. 22.
- 21 ARNOULD, V. Restructurer ou s'immobiliser. **Techniques de presse**, mar. 2006. p. 23.
- 22 *ibid* (p. 22).

- 23 SCHANTIN, D. 5 idées pour réorganiser votre rédaction. **IFRA Magazine**, jan. 2009. p. 20.
- 24 VESELING, B. La réorganisation rédactionnelle gagne en vitesse. **IFRA Magazine**, abr. 2009. p. 18).
- 25 VESELING B. Trois rédactions font un bilan de leur organisation. **IFRA Magazine**, jul. 2009. p. 12.
- 26 ROPER, D. Ce n'est pas le moment de baisser la tête, **WAN-IFRA Magazine**, nov. 2009. p. 3.
- 27 ROPER, D. Une nouvelle approche de votre information, **WAN-IFRA Magazine**, déc. 2009, p. 3.

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