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ARTICLES

Does the balance between conformity and innovation make companies more responsible ? The case of four Ambidextrous SME'S

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Due to the increasing complexity and uncertainty of their environment, businesses need to go beyond their traditional financial goals in order to be considered as successful. Nowadays managerial and strategic implications of their activity are often taken into consideration as a whole, which means that innovation cannot be the only factor of success. The importance of innovation, with its potential at once destructive and creative, has been known and studied for a very long time based on the seminal works of Schumpeter (1942). Managerial innovation has somehow remained in the shadow, concealed by more visible forms regarding products, technologies, or processes. Managerial innovation can, however, be considered as fundamentally tied to most of the other configurations of innovation in companies, as these configurations rest on the systems and procedures of management. Managerial innovations are, actually, what seek to improve or modernize processes and methods regarding the definition of objectives, organization, leadership, allocation of resources, and monitoring. They are at the "heart" of the functionality of business.

Innovation cannot necessarily establish a condition of required and adequate situation for success. Whatever its nature, it cannot be considered as adequate per se, and that is not the least of its ambiguities... At a time when innovation is considered as a necessary key to success, the simultaneous rise of the needs of organizational stabilization and enhancement based on prior experience, can easily be disqualified as suspect practice, old-fashioned, or outdated. Yet this need is crucial, and numerous businesses know, discover, or rediscover, the risks of innovation "at any price". One of the great organizational theoreticians, James March (1991) has, in pioneering works, demonstrated the necessity of a combination of explorative efforts (of innovation) and exploitation (of what already exists). This brings to light the need for balance between conformity and innovation in the process of transformation. More recently, different works have labeled this capacity of organizational ambidexterity (Tushman and O'Reilly, 2004), in reference to current language in which "to be ambidextrous" revisits the possibility of the ease of using one hand or the other according to the particular movement.

One of the main concerns of ambidextrous companies seems to be the consideration of expectations from various kinds of stakeholders, such as employees, clients, buyers, communities and partners. Being an integral part of organization's existence, the responsibility towards all concerned stakeholders may appear as crucial (Freeman, 2010). Therefore, actions and processes of organizations are questioned and challenged by behaviors, expectations and interests of stakeholders, which means that the stakeholders' relationships should have an echo in the organizational and managerial processes of the company. Freeman calls it "the New Story" of business (2017). He underlines the responsibility of each business in regards to its suppliers, customers, financial institutions, communities and employees and the interdependence of the relationship between these stakeholders. This interdependence brings an organization to line up most of the interests of

its stakeholders in a common direction in order to create value. Such an attitude may be qualified as responsible, as proposed by Freeman. This idea was also developed by Maria Minoja (2012), who linked ambidextrous stakeholder management and stakeholder cooperation. The author underlines ambidexterity as a frame for long-term value creation for all stakeholders, which can be considered as a way to be more responsible.

In the theoretical framework of the stakeholders' theory, business responsibility can be seen as a shared vision that represents an engagement with all stakeholders, and this engagement involves them in what the organization does and how it acts. Using the examples of four American mid-size companies, this article will analyze to what extent an ambidextrous organization which has common shared values with its stakeholders and some ethical sensitivity concerning them, could be considered as a responsible organization.

1. The Characteristics of Ambidextrous Organizations.

In current usage, being ambidextrous refers to the possibility of using one or the other hand with equal ease according to the particular act. What does this mean for business? The sciences of management began to use the concept of organizational ambidexterity in the seventies. This concept permits the capacity to conduct, simultaneously, activities of operation – or stabilization - of its know-how, essential to its present survival, and pursuit of new perspectives, - or innovation -, necessary to long-term survival. The first use of the term, ambidexterity, in an organizational context would be attributed to Duncan (1976) who considered this capacity a veritable asset for businesses. His analysis is based on the continuity of the studies of Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) on the balance between integration and differentiation. In a certain manner, the question of change, rooted between conformity and innovation, actually relies on a similar logic. The works of Tushman and O'Reilly (2004) then center on the structural conditions of ambidexterity, particularly in the situations of large companies. The authors stress the strategic challenge of knowing how to rely on past output and methods, while projecting toward the future with preparative innovations.

At this stage, let's retain of this concept, the idea according to which total innovation is not the only possible scenario of managerial success. These approaches distinguish themselves, in part, by research on the management of innovation to the extent that they will consider that certain forms of reduction of "all innovation" can be necessary.

This question is essential because many of today's businesses have placed innovation as a priority in their orientation regarding products, technology, strategy, organizational procedures, etc. More generally, innovation is often considered to be the inescapable and indispensable path to progress, from the research of solutions to the problems of society, and even to human happiness. The analysis of Gary Hamel, from the London Business School, go along with his idea that, "*Innovation is not a fad: it's the real deal, the only deal*" (Hamel, 2012, p. 44). But the question of knowing whether the choice of innovation must necessarily be non-inclusive, and accompanied by destruction of the past, remains open in a certain number of cases. The perverse effects of "total innovation" are well known on the socio-economic level in particular. Thus creative destruction, inherent in innovation, may be contraindicated for traditional businesses of a particular sector and so, also for job losses for workers with skills that have become obsolete. More generally, a society of "*permanent whirling*" is also a generator of evil to be, as shown in the research of Cowan et al. (2011) on the links between innovation and social relations. These works end on a negative note between increased rates of innovation and growth, because of the "stress" factor.

Certain researchers thus consider that innovation at any price may be harmful, as much on the individual level as in organizational situations. The French philosopher Luc Ferry

estimates that capitalism pushes us into a spiral of innovation for the sake of innovation, which leads to negation of heritage, cultural background, and tradition. Resting on the famous “creative destruction” of Schumpeter, he proposes to qualify it as “*destructive innovation*” this process of innovation, somewhat paradoxical, which destroys the present to create the future (Ferry, 2014). Is this type of permanent innovational procedure inevitable? If macro-economic activity seems to take on this meaning, then the response on the organizational level proceeds more moderately. Thus, the situation of companies that combine factors of innovation and tradition with efficacy are not rare, and have used of the concept of ambidexterity, previously noted. However, such a concept is far from being stabilized and requires some clarification, notably in the field of the management of change.

The ambidexterity is mostly analyzed in structural form. For example, Duncan (1976) proposed to achieve the ambidexterity by applying “dual structures”, i.e. by separating the activities of the organization either dealing with adaptability or alignment. This option leads to the achievement of ambidexterity by structural division (structural ambidexterity). In structural ambidexterity, main divisions are dealing with exploitation of existing products and services, whereas business and product development divisions are dealing with exploring new technologies or markets. In this case, structural separation is described as essential, as both activities are completely different and allocation, funds, knowledge and capabilities differ a lot. Meanwhile, too much strict separation between divisions of same company fosters isolation and alienation, which means that a form of coordination is also needed.

For their part, the works of Tushman and O'Reilly on organizational ambidexterity have considerably helped to highlight the benefits of combining exploitation and exploration. They still don't directly deal with the managerial questions or with the internal processes and value systems, since they focus, above all, on the challenges tied to the strategic-structural articulation. Actually, their initial works are of particular interest to large businesses that both exploit their assets and explore new opportunities. In particular, the authors demonstrate the need to handle ambidexterity by differentiating sub-units, and creating integration through a single senior team. Indeed, the strong decentralization resulting from the differentiation of specialized units (some being related to exploitation, and others to exploration), needs to be compensated in order to be efficient. The compensation is assured through an appropriate integration by the management team at the top of the structure. Innovation and business choices studied in their research usually concern the strategic couple of product and market.

A different orientation has been followed by Gibson and Birkinshaw (2004), who developed the concept of contextual ambidexterity, and explained the attainment of ambidexterity by the whole organizational context: “*Contextual ambidexterity is the behavioral capacity to simultaneously demonstrate alignment and adaptability across an entire business unit*” (Gibson and Birkinshaw, 2004, p.209). The authors proposed to reunite the efforts on current activities with those which deal with further research in one business unit or division. This type of organizations save time and cost and create a strong corporate culture, which empowers the employees. The role of top or senior managers in fostering the ambidexterity is important. Hence, they set systems that enable to develop supportive contexts which in turn set about individual behaviors (Gibson and Birkinshaw, 2004). The authors showed that alignment and adaptability can be achieved if top management can create a supportive climate within the organization. Nevertheless, companies end to develop structural and cultural inertia to change. Established and settled structures, systems and procedures of organization make it very difficult to deal with discontinuous change.

Even more complex is the cultural inertia, which is deeply-rooted in norms, values and myths of organization (Tushman and O'Reilly, 1996). It has been shown that culture can play a significant role in the success of an organization. It is one major element that permits the

management to assemble people around common values and control their activity within the organization. It is also an important factor that can generate some resistance to change. Therefore, the challenging job of the top management can be seen as the efforts for facilitating some conformity to today's culture thus fostering short-term success and focusing energies toward tomorrow's growth. As shown below in our empirical research, this tight-loose facet of the culture is very important for ambidextrous organizations. On one hand, common vision and strong leadership integrate tightly people in organization and on the other hand they encourage risk-taking and accountability.

Our approach situates itself on an additional register in regard to studies, until now, concerning mainly organizational ambidexterity. Here we put forth the concept of "integrated managerial ambidexterity", touching, in addition, on internal management processes, which has been the least covered in the literature of ambidexterity. In order to study the situation of managerial innovation, references to *ago-antagonist* systems (Bernard - Weil, 1999) notably developed in bio-medicine, and sometimes used in the science of management (Martinet, 2007), seem to us to be more suitable. Actually, these works have been particularly developed in medical research regarding pairs of hormones whose activity reveals, at once, both opposing and cooperative meanings. Researchers in the field of strategy, such as Martinet (1993), have shown that classical binary logic cannot fit into complex systems such as those presented by businesses and organizations facing their environment. These works propose taking into account logic of simultaneous contradiction, if not *dialectic*, (Thietart and Forgues, 1993) and developing the analysis of *ago-antagonistic* approaches into the procedures of strategic management (Martinet and Payaud, 2006).

It is within the framework of these data that our research on integrated managerial ambidexterity is concentrated. This is defined as the capacity of a business to reconcile, at the heart of global general policy, (touching on strategic, structural, cultural, and behavioral dimensions), on one side traditional experience, and on the other development of major innovations. (Bartoli and Hermel, 2015). In certain situations managerial ambidexterity may result, more or less deliberately, from a balance between the will to innovate and "path dependence" (Liebowitz and Margolis, 1995). Actually, as Pierson (1994) indicates, once established, the rules of the institutional game, and even the ways of seeing the world, are often going to generate automatically self-reinforcing dynamics. Indeed, even faced with the necessity to change, certain historical factors of enterprise, justified in one period but which have ceased to be optimal, can endure in an organization, because to transform them would involve efforts, social reactions, or a very serious blow. This is also what is called, in current usage, "the weight of custom". However, in certain situations, innovation, if it were managed, could be efficient on a long-term scale. Managerial ambidexterity proves, thus, to persist in various circumstances: certain situations turn out coming from a lucid choice, and at other times they are partially involuntary.

The systems of management on which the characterization of this capacity of ambidexterity rely on, will be studied with reference to the SSCB model (Bartoli and Hermel, 1989), which considers responsible and integrated development of business, and rests on Structural, Strategic, Cultural, and Behavioral factors of interaction.

We will return to these factors here to qualify the traditional particularities of the functioning of the companies we have studied. The cases of four companies presented here will thus allow for illustration of the concept of "integrated managerial ambidexterity", seen in various degrees. A reflection of the invariables and the recognized characteristics of the four companies will help in demonstrating that this ambidextrous capacity causes tensions (Bartoli, Hermel, Safarova, 2013). These tensions look sometimes of a pathologic nature, sometimes of a skilled nature, and it appears that they are overcome thanks to styles of management, strongly based on leadership. Actually, one of the key factors of ambidexterity seems to be a particular posture of the manager, himself or herself talented, in his or her

wish to disclaim the established order while still remaining attached to the roots and values of the company.

2. Case Studies of Four American Mid-Sized Businesses Merging Tradition and Innovation.

2.1. Research Methodology

In order to study and interpret certain entrepreneurial situations presenting the ramifications of ambidexterity, we are taking on an “interpretative” position (Wacheux, 1996), in the sense that it bears on common knowledge, and on the subjectivity of the participants. Indeed, our aim is to consider that reality is tied to individual representations and interpretations. As shown by Giordano (2003), the subjectivity of interpretation is doubly emphasized on the level of the participants who, in their daily lives, interpret and understand the world, and on the level of researchers who, in their own way, interpret the representations of the participants. The researcher, as an active interpretative stakeholder, thus fills an integral part of the system of research.

Within this framework, our methodology is qualitative and rooted in empiric reality (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Four American businesses with the following characteristics were studied¹:

- They are either of small or medium size,
- They are located on the East Coast of the United States (Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, and Virginia),
- They are all in the process of growth and development,
- They are viewed as successful and ground-breaking within their domain.

Research methods based on case studies (“Case Study Research”) are more and more frequently used in the social sciences and, most particularly, in the science of management. The method of case study research can be defined as in-depth empiric investigation analyzing a contemporary phenomenon in its true context. According to Yin (2009), this genre of methodology is particularly appropriate when the boundaries between phenomenon and context have not been clearly established, and when multiple sources of data are available.

The objective of this particular research is to understand and interpret the balance between “Tradition” and “Innovation” in managerial processes. It deals with the determination of how and where certain companies are in position to better their performance by introducing innovative managerial procedures on one side, and the balance between “Innovation” and “Tradition” in their choice of strategy on the other. The task of empirical research was brought about during a four-year period. Each case study comprises three principal stages: collection of data, reconstruction, and interpretation of information. Each company was approached via the following plans:

- A series of semi-structured interviews with employees (between 4 and 15 interviews per company, dealing with various professional categories, which means a total of 35 interviews),

¹ This study was conducted within the framework of COMQUI (“Comprehensive Management, Quality and Innovation”), a research program conducted by LAREQUOI Research Center of the University of Versailles (France), in cooperation with the CIED of Georgetown University (Washington, DC), for the segment based in the United States.

- One to three work meetings with the direction team of each company (8 meetings in total),
- Collection of some internal documents (activity reports, flow charts, company statements, social audits, financial assessments...),
- Several half-days of direct observation within each company.

2.2. *Analysis of Four American SME's.*

The four companies chosen for research are the following:

- BG1 is a small family company specializing, for more than 100 years, in decoration of glass for the art of table decoration.
- BC2 is a mid-size family enterprise in the food industry specializing, for almost 80 years, in the production and distribution of snacks.
- BB3 is a mid-size company specializing, for about 50 years, in the area of cardboard boxes and packaging.
- BH4 is a mid-size family business in the food sector specializing, for nearly 80 years, in the production and distribution of sauces and condiments.

All these businesses are leaders in their markets and share the general trend of growth for more than ten years. Even though very different from each other in the matter of age, product, strategic environment, or technology, analysis of the operation of their methods of management reveals a common thread touching on the importance of innovation. In fact, they all bear witness to the continued process of innovation which has allowed them to cope with the sometimes-drastic transformations of the socio-economic or technological environment, or to overcome periods of crisis.

The innovation observed in these four companies assumes the various forms of the classification of Hamel (2006), who puts forth the distinction of four categories of innovation:

- Innovations of product and service,
- Operational innovations (including technological innovation),
- Strategic innovation,
- Managerial innovation.

When using this classification, it seems that the four large families of innovation are more or less present according to these companies, knowing that those that are identified are key:

- Innovations of “product” are clearly present for the two companies of the food industry (BC2 and BH4),
- Operational innovation (particularly technological and logistical) is important for the box company BB3, for the glass decoration company BG1, and for the food company BC2,
- The strategic innovations (touching on the very definition of the mission, and on the business model) is especially seen in the glass decoration company BG1,
- Managerial innovations (particularly those concerning organizational procedures and methods of internal management) appear in the box company BB3 and in the glass decoration company BG1.

Fieldwork has thus allowed for the determination that at least two of the four categories of innovation are strongly integrated into the comprehensive policies as well as into the operational methods of each company. However, beyond that indicated and explicit policy, research reveals a second common point, less visible on first approach: the four companies have deliberately retained options of traditional operation, dating back to their very creation. Whether the organization is 15, or more than 100 years of age, doesn't change, in the four

studied cases, the choice of resting on their original characteristics. When they are questioned with regard to these properties, the participants, whether directors or workers, all offer the same type of explanation targeting agreement with this choice, and revealing the role it plays in the key factors of success as well as in their attachment to the company.

These traditional factors are expressed, there again, on a spectrum of varied conditions. In order to describe the choices of reinforcement of the existing, the model of integrated development. "Strategy, Structure, Culture, Behavior" (SSCB) of Bartoli and Hermel (1989), was used in the collection of data and in the grid of interpretation. We formulate on this basis, four categories of factors:

- Strategic factors: traditional strategic choices
- Structural factors: traditional structures, facilities or equipment
- Cultural factors: traditional values and organizational culture
- Behavioral factors: paternalistic or traditional managerial behaviors.

It is thus determined that in the four companies, traditional factors maintained in the general policy of the companies are related to the strategy of product marketing, and/or to the physical and technological infrastructures, and/or to management styles and behavior of the leaders, and/or to internal culture. Overall, empirical research offers the following results regarding the dimension of "tradition":

→ *Product and Market Strategy:*

- o Maintenance and highlight of traditional original recipe for the manufacture of products of the two food companies, BC2 and BH4,
- o Intentional maintenance of expertise tied to the strategy of "product/market" for the glass decoration company, BG1,
- o Preservation and highlight of the original trademark and logo of the two food-sector companies, BC2 and BH4.

→ *Structures and Work Plan:*

- o Some physical structures maintained (location of workshops and offices), particularly for image, in spite of various inadequacies for BG1,
- o Lack of replacement of certain technological equipment due to investment return, and maintenance of handmade goods in addition to "Hi Tech" productions, for companies BG1 and BB3.

→ *Culture and Values:*

- o Maintaining the family values of owners or founders, in all businesses (BG1, BC2, BB3, BH4),
- o Cultural assessment of the local community, where the facilities are located (Companies BG1 and BC2).

→ *Behavior and Conduct:*

- o A paternalistic management style based on family culture and on the charisma (inspiration) of the leaders (Companies BG1 and BH4),
- o Management of human resources in precise reference (for one director) of "Management by Wandering Around" (Peters and Waterman, 1996), in companies BC2 and BB3.

Figure 1 synthesizes several key-examples of managerial processes that illustrate either Tradition or Innovation in the four companies. It shows a balanced situation that may be qualified as “ambidextrous” in all cases.

	BG1	BC2	BB3	BH4
Tradition - Exploitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Craft manufacturing (Product-Technology) retained in partnership with modern manufacturing</i> - <i>Family Culture</i> - <i>Original location in a traditional small city</i> - <i>“Bricolage” (Do It Yourself) management</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Original Trademark and Logo retained and appraised</i> - <i>Traditional recipes</i> - <i>“Management by Wandering Around”</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Paternalistic Human relations inherited from the founders (the founder having been re-hired by the new board)</i> - <i>“Management by Wandering Around”</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Brand/Logo retained</i> - <i>Main product based on an old recipe (from the geographic origins of the founders)</i> - <i>Family culture</i>
Innovation - Exploration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Major break in the mission (strategic innovation)</i> - <i>Technological innovation</i> - <i>Highly innovative channels of distribution (electronic data and direct relation to client)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Continuing process of launching new products</i> - <i>Technological innovation</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Entirely new modernized factory</i> - <i>Technological innovation</i> - <i>Procedural innovation (Quality management)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Continuing process of launching new products</i> - <i>Technological innovation</i>

Figure 1: Selection of several key examples illustrating ambidexterity in the 4 companies.

3. Discussion

- *Implicit but Repairable Managerial Ambidexterity:*

These four American companies thus more or less firmly illustrate, according to the situation, the proposed concept of integrated managerial ambidexterity. They all reveal capacities of reconciliation, within a general global policy, between the maintenance of traditional experience and the development of major innovation. Even though the four studied companies spontaneously put forward the innovative dimension of their business, the interviewed participants easily recognize, while assuming and legitimizing it, the traditional dimension as well. This ability to play on two tables brings to light in the research, as an asset (or a talent) since it allowed surviving in a sometimes-difficult context (where competitors have often disappeared), as well as developing a position of leader of the markets.

Several companies (in particular BG1, BC2, and BB3) involve themselves explicitly in a process of managerial excellence of ongoing organizational improvement, while deliberately continuing to preserve a conformist position regarding certain existing features. One also notes the strong influence of past and present leaders who illustrate a charismatic style of management and, at times, a paternalist and/or familial logic.

- *A positive relation between ambidexterity and managerial style?*

As shown by Raisch et al. (2009), one question often remains unclear: does ambidexterity occur at the individual or organizational level? Our research reveals the importance of the style of management in the four ambidextrous companies, which suggests a possible impact of this individual factor. This relation had been on other terms, highlighted more than half a century ago by Edith Penrose (1959) who mentioned: "*The attempts of a particular group of human beings to do something.*" (Penrose, 1959, p.5). So the manner by which the framing and the personnel of these businesses are involved in the development is, according to this author, an important element among the key factors in the development of business. Yet the four companies rest equally on a style of management at once participatory and charismatic, two among them being directed by the owner according to a "paternalistic" logic (BG1 and BH4), two by managers much inclined toward closeness to the staff, according to the practice of "management by wandering around", attached to the popular expression by Peters and Waterman (1982) - (BC2 and BC3). The behavior and style of the managers thus stand out as particular in the four enterprises. Research reveals, in all cases, a specific leader capacity among people wanting, on one side, to leave the beaten paths, evoking a pioneering style and, on the other, to give sense to their actions in rooting them in traditional values tied to the very creation of the company. It must also be noted that the four companies share a common capacity of on-going growth for several years, which leads to the additional consideration of a possible connection between their "talent" for ambidexterity and this development, reminding again the analysis of Penrose that was mentioned above. Furthermore, such intermediate conclusions tend to confirm previous findings stating that some managers' styles are related to organizational ambidexterity, particularly when there is "*a manager's participation in cross functional interfaces and his or her connectedness to other organization members*" (Raish et al., 2009).

- *An ambidextrous organization more responsible?*

The most-successful ambidextrous designs had leaders who developed a better consideration of their responsibility toward the stakeholders, as well as a clear vision and common identity (O'Reilly and Tushman, 2011). In the studied four businesses, we can see the impact of respective leaders in the success of their companies. Indeed, the challenge is substantial in conducting an ambidextrous business, yet the important part stands on how it is implemented. Successful ambidextrous firms are conditioned by interdependent actions conducted by their leaders. By maintaining the family values in all of the analyzed companies (BG1, BC2, BB3, BH4), the respective leaders keep up and strengthen the established relationships with internal and external shareholders. For example, a strong attachment to the local community is vital for the leader of BG1. Despite of growth and possibilities, this leader is willing to keep the old facility in its actual location. Almost all the employees are living in the neighborhoods, and the company for more than hundred years has become a part of the community. Feeling responsible towards the community and caring about the employees are among the main reasons of this strategic decision.

As proposed by Freeman (2010), ethics and environmental sensitivity should be an inseparable part of their management processes of businesses. This issue is managed by distinct units in big multinational companies, whereas it is totally differently handled in SMEs. They are integrated in daily management processes, thus cultivating responsibility towards various categories of stakeholders. This characteristic has been found in all four-studied

companies. The leaders are mostly concerned by the constant improvement of human assets of the company, therefore topical trainings which are related to a specific job in the company, as well as general knowledge programs (notably in BB3, BH4, BC2) are organized for the employees.

The organizational culture is a system of shared values and norms that define appropriate attitudes and behaviors for its members (Tushman and O'Reilly, 2002). The attitude of sharing information openly is also an important ingredient of responsibility towards employees of the company. Particularly in the case of BB3 company, the leaders decided to share financial results with each employee. This process is described as a way to reveal the importance of their teamwork and the efforts put together, which may reinforce the attachment to the company values.

Our findings show that this kind of integrated managerial ambidexterity matches with a form of social responsibility toward some stakeholders, such as the employees, the customers and the local communities. One must, however, consider that managerial ambidexterity is more likely to be effective if it is strategically and tactically thought through, and led from within a general policy framework.

Conclusion

Within the logic of managerial excellence, the combination of innovation and tradition may, therefore, turn out to be appropriate as long as the capacity for ambidexterity integrates itself into a general policy. Even without viewing it as a systematically relevant approach, integrated managerial ambidexterity could constitute an alternative response for certain organizations to consider, as well as a way to limit the risks of innovation "at any price".

The research conducted within the four mid-size organizations located on the East coast of the United States, demonstrates that integrated managerial ambidexterity can be considered an appropriate organizational design for responsible SME's. The attitude of the manager, assuming strong and recognized leadership, becomes a determining factor and leads to the acceptance that ambidexterity, on a collective level, might be stimulated by the ambidexterity of individuals (especially the leaders). Besides, the sensitivity concerning the internal and external stakeholders' interests appears to be an integral part of ambidextrous SME's functioning, which lays some solid foundation for long-term creation of value for various stakeholders. Thus, being responsible is not seen as a strategy or communication tool, but the condition of existence and sustainability of some mid-size companies.

The works that have been presented in this paper remain incomplete and cannot be generalized. They pertain to a larger program and will have to be enriched by additional research, some of which is already underway. It would be now relevant to test the findings of this study based on cases through a more deductive approach to seek validation on larger samples. Indeed, as pointed out by Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) about theory building from case study, "*Its emphasis on developing constructs, measures, and testable theoretical propositions makes inductive case research consistent with the emphasis on testable theory within mainstream deductive research.*" Also, additional research will put forth some questions of international comparison, which are at the heart of many challenges of today's managerial innovation and responsibility.

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Employee-learning orientation and innovation performance : assessing the mediating role of organizational learning and the moderating role of transformational leadership

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Abstract

This paper examines the role played by the employee-learning orientation (ELO) in producing organizational learning (OL) and innovation performance (IP). It also aims at assessing the mediating effect of the organizational learning on the employee-learning orientation - innovation performance link. In addition, it aims at evaluating the moderating role played by the transactional leadership (TL): on one hand, on the relationship between the ELO and the OL; on the other hand, on the indirect effect of the ELO on the IP through OL. This article explores these relationships using structural equations modeling with partial least squares technique with data set from the medical biotechnology industry in France. The results support all but one of the hypotheses and have important implications for both academics and practitioners, in the field of organizational learning, strategic leadership and innovation performance.

Key words: employee learning orientation, innovation performance, organizational learning, transactional leadership.

1. Introduction

The literature suggests that innovative firms are effective learning organizations where human capital is developed and where firms learn to enhance their performance. According to Calantone et al (2002), innovation and performance are closely related to organizational learning. The starting point and the foundation of the organizational learning is the individual learning (Marsick and Watkins, 2003), the personal mastery (Senge, 1990), the personnel development (Belet, 2003) and, the employee-learning orientation (Gong et al, 2009). In this line, Senge (1990) notes that the dynamics of mastery and organizational learning are inseparable. Some studies suggest that individual learning relates directly to innovation performance (Garcia-Morales et al, 2012). Other studies demonstrate an indirect effect of the individual learning on the innovation performance through the organizational learning (Hsu and Fang, 2009). The contingencies of employee-learning orientation and performance outcomes have, surprisingly, received little research attention. Among these contingencies, Marsick and Watkins (2003) highlighted the key role played by the strategic leadership. Indeed, they demonstrated that the people level of the learning organization influences system variables, which in turn positively influence the firm performance but only when moderated by strategic leadership for learning. Marsick and Watkins (2003, p.142) note: "This research provides more evidence that workplace learning programs not supported by leaders who understand the strategic role of learning will have less effect on the very reasons why corporations invest in HRD in the first place - to impact current and future financial performance".

The conceptual literature points out implicit assumption that strategic leadership, namely the transformational one, is crucial to the organizational learning (Vera and Crossan, 2004). However, empirical studies, especially those quantitative specifying the conditions under which the employee-learning orientation - organizational learning link is optimized through transformational leadership are very scarce (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007).

Employee-learning orientation (ELO), organizational learning (OL), transformational leadership (TL) and innovation performance (IP) relate to each other (Montes et al, 2005). However, research that studies the interrelationships between these concepts simultaneously remains scarce. Previous studies usually focus on the impact of the organizational learning orientation on the innovation and on the performance. Even when introducing employee-learning orientation, this is done in a more global context, considering that ELO as a variable of the learning organization and thus not taking into account its precise and individualized effect on organizational learning and innovation performance. Thus, previous research provides an unclear explanation of the role played by the ELO in the improvement of the OL and the IP. This study attempts to address the weaknesses of the preceding literature by empirically assessing the relationships between employee-learning orientation, organizational learning, transformational leadership and innovation performance together in a single model. Especially, our study seeks to highlight the necessity to investigate how ELO influences innovation performance through organizational learning; and how this link (ELO-OL-IP) is influenced by transformational leadership. The article starts with a review of the literature on these topics and a set of testable hypotheses is proposed. The implemented methodological frame is then introduced. The next section presents the main results of the survey. Following a discussion of the results, implications, limitations and proposals for future research are presented.

2. The framework and hypotheses

2-1 Employee-learning orientation and organizational learning

Gong et al, (2009) defined an employee-learning orientation as an internal mind-set that stimulates employees to develop their competencies. Such employees are on the lookout for challenges that provide them with continuous learning opportunities (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007). When employees enhance their learning capacity, they can improve the organizational capacity to learn. This is conditioned by an organizational climate receptive to the individual learning, putting in place suitable mechanisms to facilitate, support and reward the knowledge generation and its sharing and exploitation (Marsick and Watkins, 2003). According to the 4Is model of organizational learning, developed by Crossan et al (1999), it is argued that individual learning is a crucial step toward the organizational learning process. Vera and Crossan (2004, p. 225) defined the learning process involved in the 4I framework: "Intuiting is a subconscious process that occurs at the level of the individual. It is the start of learning and must happen in a single mind. Interpreting then notices the conscious elements of this individual learning and shares it at the group level. Integrating follows to change collective understanding at the group level and bridges to the level of the whole organization. Finally, institutionalizing incorporates that learning across the organization by imbedding it in its systems, structures, routines, and practices". In summary, employee-learning orientation captures the processes of intuiting and interpreting. Individuals facilitate organizational knowledge exploitation through sharing it with others. They also promote organizational knowledge exploration through generating new insights. Hsu and Fang (2009) assert that organizational learning depends on the sharing and integration of extant knowledge, and ideas explored by organizational members. The better the employee learning orientation, the more knowledge produced to enhance organizational learning capability. Based on the discussion above, this study offers the following hypothesis:

H1: Employee-learning orientation will have a positive effect on organizational learning capability.

2-2 Employee-learning orientation, organizational learning and innovation performance

Prior studies asserted that the creation of intelligent organizations based on innovation performance is conditioned by the exploitation and the development of the human capital and by the use of the individual learning potential (Nonaka, 1997). Hult et al, (2004) stated that if a firm is to be innovative, it must foster a management that reflects a clear learning orientation. Specifically, an employee-learning orientation is conducive to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, which enhance the creativity and the innovation effectiveness. In this regard, Garcia-Morales et al (2007, p. 548) noted: "The most innovative firms are effective learning systems where human resources are developed and where firms learn to maintain today's competitive advantages while aggressively preparing for tomorrow". Empirically, Plott (1998, cited by Bontis et al, 2002) showed that firms that invest more heavily on employee-learning orientation are more successful and better rated by the stock market exchange. As individual learning is supposed to improve the human capital of the firm, we can consider that a firm with a better employee quality will have higher innovation performance because its workforce can bring skills and capabilities into full play (Hsu and Fang, 2009).

Some authors (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007) pointed out that the effect of the employee-learning orientation on innovation performance is of an indirect nature. Indeed, they asserted that employee-learning orientation provides the framework for the generation of the organizational learning, which in turn influences the innovation performance. In this spirit, Hsu and Fang (2009) showed that the organizational learning capability played a mediating role between the human capital of a firm and the product innovation performance. The foregoing demonstrates that organizational learning is an antecedent of the innovation performance and that employee-learning orientation is an antecedent of the organizational learning. This is in line with the thoughts of Park and Kim (2006) seeing that the achieved innovation performance of a firm is the reflection of the effectiveness and efficiency of its learning processes. Based on these discussions, this study predicts the following hypotheses:

H2: Employee-learning orientation will have a positive and direct effect on innovation performance.

H3: Employee-learning orientation will have a positive and indirect effect on innovation performance through organizational learning capability.

2-3 The effect of the transformational leadership

Two distinctions are made by Hambrick and Pettigrew (2001, cited by Vera and Crossan, 2004) with regard to the terms leadership and strategic leadership. First, leadership studies leaders at any organizational level, whereas strategic leadership studies leaders at the top of the organization. Second, leadership theory refers to the relationship between leaders and followers, whereas strategic leadership theory refers to executive work, not only as a relational activity, but also as a strategic and a symbolic activity (Vera and Crossan, 2004). In this study, we adopt the strategic leadership theory; thus, we focus on how the leaders at the top of the firm influence the organizational learning process. Strategic leadership behaviors are usually classified into transformational and transactional styles (Peltokorpi and Hasu, 2014). In this study, we focus on transformational leadership (TL) because it is shown to enhance performance and innovativeness. TL refers to the ability of the leader to lead his subordinates transcend their personal interests and transform their beliefs, needs and values on behalf of a collective vision. While previous literature has highlighted the key role played by the transformational leadership in supporting the organizational learning (Montes et al, 2006), most of this work is prescriptive in nature and says little about the specific contribution of this leadership style with regard to the employee-learning orientation - organizational learning link. This study breaks new ground by examining how the relationship between

employee-learning orientation and organizational learning is contingent with transformational leadership.

Vera and Crossan (2004) and Garcia-Morales et al, (2012) indicate that the most adopted definition of transformational leadership is that proposed by Bass (1999). This latter considers that transformational leadership is the interaction result of four components: the charismatic influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration.

Given that transformational leaders tend to be charismatic, they are natural role models whom employees are likely to identify with, emulate, and learn from (Vera and Crossan, 2004). Furthermore, through inspirational motivation, leaders behave in motivating ways and articulate an exciting vision that inspires followers by implanting challenge of high expectation in their work. In addition, transformational leaders encourage intellectual stimulation by promoting employees' efforts to be creative by thinking about old problems in new ways, questioning assumptions and taking risks. Therefore, employees can generate double-loop learning and be more innovative. Through individualized consideration, transformational leaders pay attention to each individual's need for learning by acting as a mentor and coach. In addition, by individualized consideration, leaders show empathy, recognition and encouragement for employees, which should support overcome internal skepticism and the fear of challenging the status quo, leading to higher creativity, learning and, innovation.

Conceptual publications suggest that transformational leadership strengthens the relation between individual learning, organizational and firm performance outcomes (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007). Some researchers believe that organizational learning will flourish when a supervisor provides transformational leadership (Belet, 2003) and when an employee-learning orientation is established within a firm (Marsick and Watkins, 2003). Based on these arguments, we expect that the employee-learning orientation will produce higher organizational learning when transformational leadership is high rather than low. This study predicts the following hypotheses:

H4: Transformational leadership moderates the relationship between employee-learning orientation and organizational learning.

H5: The indirect effect of employee-learning orientation on innovation performance via organizational learning will be stronger when transformational leadership is high rather than low.

The conceptual model (except H4) of this study is depicted in Figure 1.

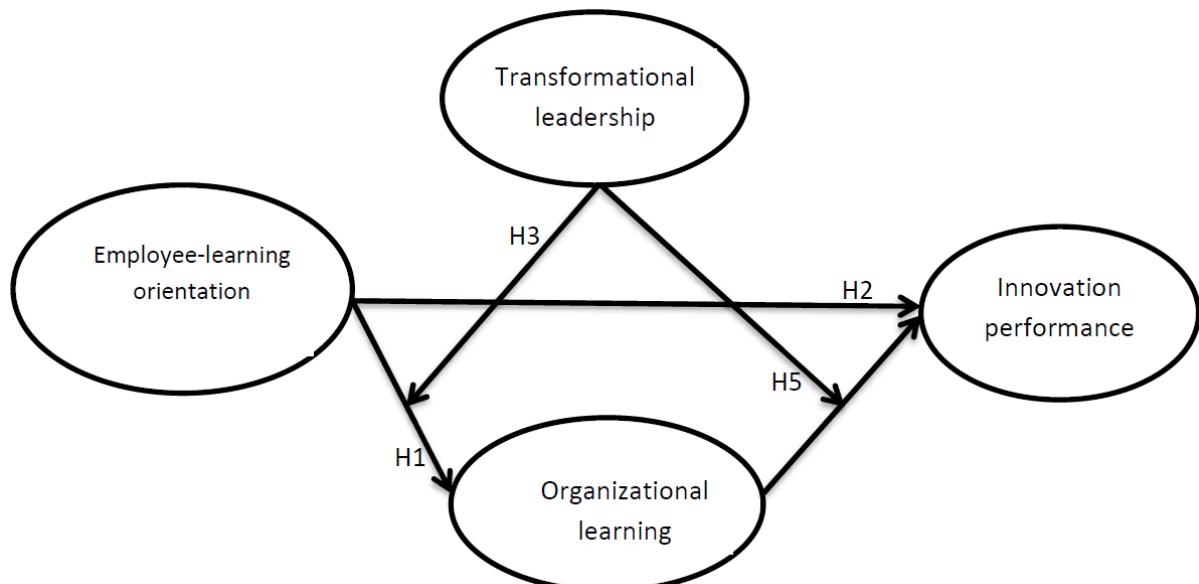


FIGURE 1: THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

3. Methodology

3-1 Measures

The questionnaire consisted of 20 items, split into four parts that measure employee-learning orientation, transformational leadership, organizational learning and innovation performance. The measurements of employee-learning orientation and transformational leadership were extracted from the Dimensions of Learning Organization Questionnaire (DLOQ), originally developed by Watkins and Marsick (2003). The results of studies done to test the validity and reliability of the DLOQ have confirmed the internal consistency of each item's reliability and reliable factor structure of its dimensions (Song et al. 2009). These two dimensions were measured by 7 and 6 items respectively, on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Organizational learning measurement was measured with two items, based on Pedon and Schmidt's (2003) instrument. The items in this instrument took the form of a five-point Likert scale ranging from "not achieved result" to "perfectly achieved result". Innovation performance measurement, inspired from the studies of Alegre et al (2006) and Hsu and Fang (2009) was measured with five items. We ask respondents to state the performance of their product innovation on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "not achieved result" to "perfectly achieved result".

3-2 Sample and data collection

This study concentrates on the medical biotechnology (MB) industry in France. Several factors led to choosing this industry as the sample. First, the medical biotechnology industry is an intellectually capital-intensive industry where human capital and organizational learning play a crucial role. Second, MB firms face a tough environment and must continually produce product innovation. Third, many scholars have used this industry as a research sample in the organizational learning, innovation and performance field (Alegre and Chiva, 2008). Finally, MB industry in France accounts for nearly 10% of worldwide turnover with 14 Mds€, and ranks fourth in the world, making it a suitable ground to research (LEEM, 2011).

To collect data, this study uses a survey method. The sample pool consists of 322 MB firms listed in the national database of biotechnology (<http://www.biotechnologiefrance.org/>). The survey was conducted in two waves from February to April. Three weeks after the first emailing of questionnaires, we sent a reminder email to non-respondents and a second questionnaire. The number of valid questionnaires obtained was 76, yielding a response rate of 23.6%. We compared respondent and non-respondent firms with regard to general characteristics and model variables. These comparisons did not show significant differences, suggesting no response bias.

3-3 Analytical procedures

To test the hypotheses, we use structural equation modelling (SEM) method. The estimation technique we used under SEM is the Partial Least Square (PLS-SEM) using SmartPLS package version 2.0.M3. This technique was chosen as the analytical procedure because of these reasons: First, it is in accordance with our objective, which focuses on explaining the variance of key target constructs (IP) by explanatory construct (ELO and OL). Second, it is flexible in sample size and is not rigid with non-normal distributed data. Third, it is efficient in modelling and simultaneously assessing both measurement and structural complex models with mediating and moderating variables (Chin, 2008).

4. Results

The estimation of a model under PLS requires two steps: the assessment of the measurement model (outer model) and the evaluation of the structural model (inner model).

4-1 Evaluation of the measurement model

To assess the validity and the reliability of the variables, we carried out exploratory factor analysis (EFA), confirming their dimensionality. Table 1 shows the measurement analysis results, including item loadings, composite reliabilities (CR), average variances extracted (AVE), and Cronbach's alpha. Items under the threshold of 0.6 were dropped as suggested by Hair et al (2013). The rest of item loadings, ranging from 0.620 to 0.905, were significant ($t > 1.96$).

Variable	Item	Mean	SD	Loading	α	CR	AVE
Employee Learning Orientation	ELO1*	4,158	0,784	-			
	ELO2*	3,645	0,778	-			
	ELO3*	4,039	0,701	-			
	ELO4	3,408	0,969	0.772**	0.721	0.824	0.542
	ELO5	3,684	0,852	0.690**			
	ELO6	3,671	0,806	0.845**			
	ELO7	3,171	0,929	0.619**			
Organizational learning	OL1	4,039	0,701	0.907**			
	OL2	3,618	0,923	0.894**	0.766	0.895	0.810
Innovation performance	IP1	2,947	1,210	0.755**			
	IP2	3,171	1,012	0.897**			
	IP3	3,158	1,020	0.840**	0.848	0.892	0.626
	IP4	3,026	0,979	0.811**			
	IP5	3,566	1,075	0.626**			
Transactional leadership	TL1	4,105	0,759	0.658**			
	TL2	4,118	0,765	0.742**			
	TL3	3,737	0,839	0.773**			
	TL4	3,789	0,899	0.717**	0.832	0.877	0.543
	TL5	3,750	0,881	0.712**			
	TL6	4,250	0,802	0.810**			

Note.* dropped item ; ** p <0.05

TABLE 1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS, RELIABILITY, AND CONVERGENT VALIDITY

For the four variables, AVE values, ranging from 0.547 to 0.810, are above the threshold of 0.5 (Hair et al., 2013), indicating convergent validity. The composite reliability (CR) and Cronbach's alpha (α) values exceeded the acceptable cut off point of 0.7, confirming the good reliability of the variables.

The discriminant validity was evaluated using Fornell and Larcker criterion (table 2), which requests that the square root of each variable's AVE (boldface diagonal elements in table 2) should be larger than the level of correlations involving the variable. All variables satisfy this condition.

	ELO	OL	IP	TL
ELO	0.736			
OL	0.441	0.900		
IP	0.469	0.394	0.791	
TL	0.443	0.465	0.094	0.737

TABLE 2: DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

These results lend sufficient confidence that the measurement model fits the data well and has the adequate validity to take the next step: the evaluation of the structural model.

4-2 Evaluation of the structural model

The approach suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986) was adopted to test the mediation model (H1, H2 and H3). Based on this approach, the mediation model was examined via a regression analysis through three steps. First, innovation performance is the dependent variable, and employee-learning orientation is the independent variable. Second, organizational learning is the dependent variable, and employee-learning orientation is the independent variable. Third, organizational learning adds to employee-learning orientation and regresses with innovation performance. These relations are examined by assessing the direction, strength and level of significance of the path coefficients, using a bootstrap resampling method with 1000 re-samples (Chin, 2008). The results (Table 3), indicated that the employee-learning orientation is directly and positively related with organizational learning ($\beta=0.464$; $t=3.687$), confirming H1.

Step	Coefficient	Regression	β	t	R ²	Q ²
1	c	ELO>>IP	0.471	6.260	22.1%	12.6%
2	a	ELO>>OL	0.464	3.687	21.6%	13.8%
3		(ELO+OL)>>IP				
3-1	c'	ELO>>PIP	0.346	3.684	25%	13.7%
3-2	b	OL>>PIP	0.237	2.246		

TABLE 3: THE RESULTS OF THE MEDIATED MODEL (H1, H2 AND, H3)

Employee-learning orientation also directly and significantly influences innovation performance with a path coefficient of 0.471 ($t=6.260$), and therefore, H2 is supported. To test H3, we performed a multiple regression on the independent variables. As shown in table 3, organizational learning is positively related to the innovation performance and the impact of the employee-learning orientation on the innovation performance remained positive but became smaller ($\beta=0.346$; $t=3.684$). To check the significance of this reduction, the Sobel test was used (Sobel, 1982). The results of this test ($z=4.497$, $p=0.000$) confirm that organizational learning exerts a mediating effect. However, the effect of the employee-learning orientation on innovation performance, controlling for organizational learning, had nonzero coefficients. Thus, the mediation is of a partial nature and H3 is supported. We note that all R² values exceeded the cutoff level of 19%, indicating a good predictive accuracy of our model (Chin, 2008). In addition, all Q² values were greater than zero and confirm, therefore, that our model had satisfactory predictive relevance (Wilson, 2010).

With respect to H1, we considered the contingent effect of transformational leadership on ELO-LO link. H4 was examined using the procedure outlined by Henseler and Fassot (2010). According to this approach, firstly, the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable and on the moderator (main effects model). Secondly, the regression effect of the dependent variable on the product term of the independent variable and the moderator is introduced (interaction effects model). Transactional leadership had a direct and positive effect on the organizational learning under the main effects model. Then, as shown in table 4 (second regression), in the interaction effects model, the path coefficient from the product term on the organizational learning was positive and significant ($\beta=0.341$; $t=2.530$), therefore H4 was supported.

Predictors	Regression 1 (criterion : IP)		Regression 2 (criterion : OL)		Regression 3 (criterion : IP)	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Independent variable : ELO	0.452	3.346*	0.305	2.411*	0.388	2.857*
Moderator : TL	-0.136	0.758ns	0.245	2.349*	-0.171	1.082ns
Product term : ELO*TL	-0.308	0.943ns	0.341	2.530*	-0.102	0.901 ns
Mediator : OL	-	-	-	-	0.223	2.118*
Product term : OL*TL	-	-	-	-	0.014	0.086 ns
R ²	31.2%		33.6%		34.1%	
Q ²	16.1%		21.9%		16.9%	

Note. * $p<0.05$; ns : not significant

TABLE 4: THE RESULTS OF THE MODERATED MEDIATION MODEL (H4 AND H5)

The test of H5 refers to moderated mediation. We used the procedure suggested by Muller et al. (2005) which consists in a three multiple regression analysis. First, the dependent variable (IP) is regressed on the independent variable (ELO), the moderator (TL) and the product-term: ELO*TL. Second, the mediator (OL) is regressed on the independent variable, the moderator, and the product-term: ELO*TL. Third, the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable, the moderator, the product-term: ELO*TL, the mediator and the product-term: OL*TL.

The results of the moderated mediation model are presented in Table 4. The first regression analysis showed the positive effect induced by the employee-learning orientation ($\beta=0.452$; $t=3.346$), but the transactional leadership and the product term (ELO*TL) did not reach statistical significance. The ELO impact on innovation performance did not depend on transactional leadership and this is a condition for a moderated mediation to occur. The second regression showed a significant effect of the employee-learning orientation on the mediator (OL) and, a significant relationship between the innovation performance and the ELO*TL product term. The last regression displayed significant effects of the ELO and the mediator (OL) on the innovation performance, but neither the ELO*TL product term nor the TL*OL were significant. The second regression result demonstrated that the relationship between employee-learning orientation and organizational learning is moderated by the transactional leadership as said above (H4). However, the third regression result showed that the transactional leadership does not moderate the OL-IP link as the product term TL*OL was not significant. Likewise, the transactional leadership does not moderate the ELO-IP link since the product term ELO-TL was not significant. This means that the mediated model is not moderated, suggesting that H5 is rejected.

5. Discussion

This study has shown that the employee-learning orientation as developed by Marsick and Watkins (2003) is somewhat an appropriate measurement for the MB firms in France. Suppression of some ELO items reflects the cultural differences between the Anglo-Saxon and the Francophone contexts. Transactional leadership instrument as proposed by Marsick and Watkins (2003) is perfectly appropriate for the MB industry in France. The validation of the ELO and TL scales is in line with previous studies done in a variety of contexts (Song et al, 2009) confirming the robustness of these measurements and lending further generalizability to them. In addition, the OL and IP measurements are well validated in our context study. This implies that MB firms achieved high levels of simple and double loop learning as well as good new product market performance. This shows that the

biotechnology sector is expanding and thus reflecting its increased importance in the national economy.

The confirmation of H1 and H2 is consistent with theoretical developments of several authors (Garcia-Morales, 2007; Hsu and Fang, 2009) seeing that the ELO is a crucial practice for the development of organizational learning and innovation performance. The finding that ELO positively relates to the OL is in line with Hsu and Fang study (2009). These authors confirmed that good quality employees committed to learning, efficiently produce knowledge and enhance absorptive capacity of the firm. As a result, an ELO will generate better skilled employees, leading to improved organizational learning capability. Otherwise, individuals committed to continuous personal development with a high degree of an ELO will have a high level of systems thinking, qualities that facilitate organizational learning (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007). In addition, confirming the positive effect of the ELO on the IP is consistent with Bontis et al study (2002). Thus, the more ELO flourishes, the better the firm's chances of becoming innovative will be, since individual learning fosters the different conditions driving innovation, such as motivation, training, sharing knowledge, and systems thinking. Indeed, greater emphasis on ELO nurtures the firm with new insights, improves the capacity to appreciate new ideas and boosts creativity and the ability to explore and exploit new opportunities.

With regard to H3, comparing the model without mediating effect to the mediated model, the direct effect of ELO on innovation performance decreases when including organizational learning as a mediating variable ($\beta=0.47$ decreases to $\beta=0.37$). Moreover, the ELO effect on OL and OL effect on innovation performance remain significant showing that ELO affects IP through OL. This result confirming that the LO mediates the relationship between the ELO and the IP is consistent with previous literature. Indeed, Real et al, (2012) showed that the OL mediates the relationship between the learning organization and perceived business performance. Likewise, Hsu and Fang (2009) showed that the relationship between the human capital and product innovation performance was mediated by the OL capability. In our study, the percentage of the mediating effect ($me=100*ab/c$) has reached 23% of the total effect. Thus, the LO explains 23% of the ELO effect on the innovation performance. We have demonstrated that the mediation through the LO was of partial type. In other words, other mediating factors should be involved to explain the effect of the ELO on IP.

The present study supports the moderating effect of transformational leadership (H4) between employee-learning orientation and organizational learning. Specifically, it was found that an employee-learning orientation of a MB firm, when supported by a transactional leadership, is likely to generate a higher organizational learning level. Indeed, comparing the non-moderated model (H2) to the moderated model (H4), the explained variance (R^2) of the LO increases from 21.6% to 33.6%, showing the importance of transformational leadership. These findings are in line with the results from previous studies which have supported the moderating effect of the TL (Marsick and Watkins, 2003; Garcia-Morales et al, 2007). According to Vera and Crossan (2004), it is imperative to recognize that investments in an ELO may be wasted if the role of the TL, in stimulating and motivating the transfer and the sharing of the built stocks of individual learning to group and organizational levels, is not ensured.

The moderated mediation model was not supported in this study. Thus, the indirect effect of the ELO on the IP through the OL is not dependent on the level of the TL. The linkage is novel because there were not any previous studies taking into account such relationships within the same model. As shown by the second regression under the moderated mediation model, the TL has demonstrated its importance mainly by a positive direct effect on the OL and by a positively moderated effect on the same variable. This implies the necessity to foster transformational leadership in order to stimulate directly and indirectly, organizational learning, through its interaction with the ELO.

6. Conclusions

In this study, a framework for studying employee learning orientation, organizational learning, transactional leadership, and innovation performance was developed. The model was tested using data collected from MB firms in France. The findings support all but one of the hypotheses and have important implications in the field of organizational learning, strategic leadership and innovation performance.

6-1 Implications

In summary, this research contributes to the literature, first, by Examining, in a same model, the relationships between the aforementioned variables. Second, it provides empirical support that employee-learning orientation improves directly and indirectly, through organizational learning, innovation performance. Indeed, ELO is an antecedent of the OL, which in turn relates positively to the IP. Hence, the importance for academics to take the mediating effect of the OL into account when examining the ELO-IP link. Third, it contributes to the literature by assessing the likely moderating effect of the transactional leadership on the relationship between ELO and OL. The findings contribute to confirm that the relation between ELO and OL is contingent upon TL. Fourth, although this study has not confirmed H5, it highlights the importance of taking into account the contingencies related to organizational phenomena through mobilizing intermediate variables (moderators and mediators) to better explain and reflect studied realities.

The main methodological contribution of the current research is that we have demonstrated, through the appropriateness of Partial Least Square in the estimation of a complex model, containing moderator and mediator variables, with a small sample, the flexibility of this technique. This pleads for a more frequent use of it in the estimation of structural equation models in management science.

This work also provides implications for practitioners. First, although practitioners recognize the idea that learning orientation influences innovation performance, how to go about this phenomenon stayed unclear. The present study suggests that ELO relates positively, directly and indirectly through organizational learning, to innovation performance. Therefore, a firm hoping to enhance its innovation performance should improve its organizational learning processes. Thus, by recognizing that the greatest part of the value accumulated in innovation arises from human intelligence, that is, from the individual learning of the employees, HR managers should consider ELO as the firm's most valuable resource, "a resource for which large firms and SMEs must take responsibility and whose professional development it must promote" (Garcia-Morales et al, 2007, p. 560). In addition, HR managers should recruit employees not only with suitable qualifications, but also with great willingness to become better through learning. Next, these employees should be supported to participate in firm training courses and to commit to long-term employee development programs. Employees should be encouraged to help each other learn, to explore new knowledge, and to openly discuss mistakes in order to learn from them. Second, because the results suggest that transformational leadership supports ELO, attention to the team and firm leader profiles should be considered during the recruitment process. This is especially important in service and research firms where leaders are selected more often for their technical than their leadership competencies. Third, to translate individual learning into organizational improvement, firm managers should be aware that the ELO has to be supported by a TL. Indeed, if firms wish to be intelligent, learning and creative, and hope to tackle the intellectual-capital-based new economy, they should foster a climate where they can tap the fullness of human learning potential through a leadership that promotes the charismatic influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration.

6-2 Limitations and directions for future research

As with any research, this study has some limitations that should be considered when interpreting its results. First, this study focuses on a single industry in France: the medical

biotechnology. Results should be considered with caution and thus, generalization of the results is to relativize. Therefore, it would be important to test the applicability of the tested model with larger samples and in other contexts. A second limitation is the use of single informants as the source of information in the survey. Thus, there is a possibility of existence of the subjectivity bias. "Although the use of single informants remains the primary research design in most studies, multiple informants would enhance the validity of the research findings" (Jimenez-Jimenez and Sanz-Valle, 2011, p. 416). Third, we have not taken into account contextual factors that may affect the tested model. Other variables, such as the firm size, age, life cycle, environmental turbulence and, intensity of R&D, may be added to the model and yield further insights into our findings.

Some additional recommendations for future research are proposed. One is to consider OL as a process animated by the dynamic of stocks and flows as suggested by Vera and Crossan (2004). Another suggestion is to take into account the precise role played by the strategic leadership with regard to the exploitation and exploration learning processes. According to the literature, exploitation and exploration learning activities could require different leadership styles and may influence differently the innovation performance. Finally, as organizational learning requires some time to affect innovation performance, it may be worthwhile to study our model through longitudinal study.

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Imagining the city as a space for cultural policy – 10 years later

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Abstract: The present text is based on an analysis of examples of public spaces and their transformed uses in different cities in Europe and beyond, published 10 years ago in the Bulgarian academic magazine *Sociological Problems*. Even from present point of view, the main conclusion is still valid: The urban public space turned into an arena of clashes between private and public interests, and simultaneously, it is a cross-point between official urban policy and increasing self-enlightened consciousness of the citizens as a participatory process of critical public debate, even in the post-socialist East-European cities, initially obsessed by consumerist fever. Correct was also the diagnosis that social developments on the territory of European cities contest the Habermasian vision, according to which in late modern societies the critical discourse is non-public, while the public activities are non-critical. The present radicalization in public spaces globally are a signal that the world has entered already into a new, post-consumerist phase. Correct was also the anticipation that the public life of modern cities involves new cultural policy as a result of complex interplay between different key actors of urban governance, including urban populace whose voice is getting more powerful. However, what remained unnoticed by that time was the development of radically new practices of spatial protest: the birth of the Global public space as a consequence of the last global financial crisis.

Analytical perspectives on the city: from city to urbanity

Since the end of the 19C. 'city' is one of the central concepts in the analysis of modern society which from the very beginning presents a critical stance on the urban as a specific spatial form of organization of new kind of social ties. In the theoretical framework of Tonnies, Durkheim, and Weber the growing industrial cities by that time are hosts to strangers, who relate between themselves on the basis of temporary contractual bureaucratic relationships as a quintessence of modern life. Conceived as a stage of anonymous social interactions and potential conflicts (Simmel 1969); convincingly seen as a place where people find shelter but no salvation, and where public spirit of human beings has been degraded (Sennett 1974, 1993); space of human plentitude, but growing impersonality (Lofland 1973), modern city is an optical lens for critical discourse of modernity itself. Not the whole urban life is modern, as Zygmunt Bauman puts it, but the whole modern life is urban (Bauman 1995).

Important contribution to this theoretical vein is Henry Lefebvre's prediction of *urbanité* (*urbanity, urban society*) as a dominant form of social organization. According to him, there are three fields (or domains) in human history: the Agrarian field, characterized by need; the Industrial – characterized by work; and finally the Urban – characterized by enjoyment. When he published *The Urban Revolution* in 1970, the transformation of the city into urban society was in a process of becoming, it was '*still unknown and poorly understood*' (Lefebvre 2003: 36) and therefore, it could not *take shape conceptually until the end of a process*

during which the old urban forms, the end result of a series of discontinuous transformations burst apart.

Following the traditional view of the city as a meeting point of differences, Lefebvre distinguishes between '**differences**' (characterizing the urban space) and '**particularities**' (generally of peasant origin), the latter being developed through relationships from the former:

*The affirmation of difference can include [...] ethnic, linguistic, local, and regional particularities, but on another level, one where differences are perceived and conceived as such; that is, through their relations and no longer in isolation, as particularities. Inevitably, conflicts will arise between differences and particularities, just as there are conflicts between current interests and possibilities. Nonetheless, **the urban can be defined as a place where differences know one another and, in this way are strengthened or weakened.** (Lefebvre 2003: 96)*

Noteworthy, for Lefebvre the term '*field*' does not refer only to successive or superimposed layers of facts or phenomena, but also to modes of thought, action, and life. Departing from this Lefebvre's presumption of the connectedness between the reality of social, political, economic and cultural systems, on the one hand, and the relevant epistemological systems, on the other, we shall make an attempt to review the changes in the life of cities conceptualized in later theoretical developments on the background of the numerous evidences accumulated during the last four decades² since Lefebvre made his prognosticating analysis of urban society.

Cities in a world without borders

'World without borders' is one of the many metaphors of globalization. In a globally connected world borders fluctuate in time and space and change their representations and symbolic markers. One of the features of this global social condition is the postmodern nomadism and liquidity of contemporary culture, a theme introduced and continuously developed by Zygmunt Bauman (1998, 2000): liquid modernity, liquid times, liquid life... just to list few titles of his most influential publications. World without borders means also relativization of the borders of our symbolic and cognitive systems. Arjun Appadurai, one of the analysts of the deterritorialization, pointed out the inconsistency of existing fixed categories with strict borders by which present world is analyzed, and suggested to see the new *global cultural economy* as a complex overlapping disjunctive order, which could be described as *global cultural flows*, termed also *ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes*. These are not objectively given relations, but *deeply perspectival constructs* which point to the *fluid irregular shapes of these landscapes* (Appadurai 1998: 32-33).

Nevertheless in a world of terror borders are reinforced by strengthening their main function: to keep a divide between *our space of protected security and the rest of the world*, full of disorder or at least – high degree of unpredictability. *World without borders* signifies not so

² The most important trend is the continuous increase of urban population due to migration and natural growth of the population, as well as the reclassification of rural areas into urban. According to UN Population Fund (UNFPA) report 'State of World Population 2007. Unleashing the Potential for Urban Growth' in 2008, for the first time, half the world's population is living in towns and cities. By 2030, the urban population will reach 5 billion — 60 per cent of the world's population. Nearly all population growth will be in the cities of developing countries, whose population will double to nearly 4 billion by 2030 — about the size of the developing world's total population in 1990. See: http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2007/presskit/pdf/sowp2007_eng.pdf (Accessed July 15th, 2008)

much the dissolution of borders, but their increased and precisely directed permeability. Continuously more of contemporary relationships take place *trans border* – from individual life routes changing their parables across the border, looking for shelter or for real estates, seeking opportunities for studies, job or business, or just for the sake of tourism; to geopolitical, economic and military collaborations, which turn the world into a single arena of action. All this is multiplied by the virtual reality of mass media and Internet. Hence, the role of cities in this *global village* with relativized fluctuating borders increased enormously as autonomous sustainable loci of economic, social and cultural development. The cities in the globalized world turned into nodes in international networks of flows of capital, ideology, migration and culture (Sassen 2001; Shaw 2001). On the other hand, the notion of *global city* appeared as something different from the cities in the past. Saskia Sassen (1991) distinguished four new ways of functioning of the global cities, beyond their long history as centers for international trade and banking: first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations, in the leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced. In the face of developed global markets, the global cities begin to act as a *surplus-extracting mechanism vis-à-vis a “transnational hinterland”* (Sassen 1991: 127).

In a similar analytical vein, an additional argument has been advanced concerning the EU: Union's changing borders are the visual aspect of the rescaling governance and hence the growing potential for cities as a driving force for social change in a *new European society* (Castells 1993) in which Europe is seen as a *community of cities rather than a community of nations and/or countries* (Simioforides 1998: 144). To conclude with Edward Soja's words, spatial dimension of our lives has never been of greater practical and political relevance than it is today (Soja 1996), therefore cultural policy inevitably needs to take it into consideration.

The City as Encounter of Differences

By its origin the city is a concentration of heterogeneous groups of people. The world without borders can also be spelled out as a city of concentrated diversity more than ever before creating boundless variations of social groupings and a condition of total strangeness on the territory of the city.

This social habitat of anonymous multitude has always to solve the same basic problems. The first issue is how to learn to accommodate culturally distant people in a space of physical proximity. To be *in public* means to stick to common rules of behaviour enabling strangers to co-exist sharing common space: this implies a degree of civilization, *civitas*, civility as a moral order (and sometimes *disorder*) of urban life. City has been conceived traditionally as a place that enables difference, the urban life – as fragmented, and citizens – as playing various segmented social roles, leaping easily from situation to situation and from one social group to another.³ This turns city into the birthplace of the archetypical figures of *stranger* (Schutz 1999; Bauman 1995), and of *cosmopolitan* as a person who moves comfortably in diversity (Sennett 1993: 17). There is a synergy between these two notions, derivatives of the urban life: the Cosmopolitan tolerance can come into being only in the presence of Strangers, representatives of different cultures. The reverse side of the Cosmopolitanism is the Otherness. On the territory of the city this implies a question about the *boundaries of acceptable difference*, and the continuous re-establishment of ‘*new normal*’ of cosmopolitan tolerance (Zukin 2018: 18). On the other hand, the consummative ethos of modern culture can produce a cartoon notion of cosmopolitanism, reduced to

³ A good review of how this idea was developed by the first modern school of urbanists is presented in Richard Sennett's book 'The Conscience of the Eye', pp.121-128

various national cuisines, ethno-music and exotic flavours. In a case-study of Manchester as an exemplification of a cosmopolitan and entrepreneurial city, Craig Young, Martina Diep and Stephanie Drabble revealed that although the '*cosmopolitan' city centre is marked out as different, but this is a form of difference which is planned, legitimated, regulated and commodified as a part of the marketing of the city*' (Young et al., 2006, p.1698). Thus a narrow, middle-class-based and highly exclusionary vision of cosmopolitanism has been advanced by city developers and private-sector marketers.

Almost all authors writing on contemporary urban life pay special attention to various aspects of its diversity: immigrants and their rights to city; social injustice on the territory of the city; public space as a site of inclusion and exclusion – all these themes belong to the large analytical repertoire of urban diversity leading to the political question: how to deal with so many and so different segments of population on the territory of one single settlement. For Richard Sennett, one of the most perceptive analysts of urban variety and its derivatives in *urbanite's mind*, the experience of difference on the territory of the city unfolds historically. At the beginning it offers a *provocation in the very loosening of strong connections between people in a city*; consequently the habitual and comprehensive *difference* brings about to *indifference* (Sennett 1990: 126-129) and citizens-as-strangers are estranged to each other looking for salvation in the privacy of the home and intimacy of the family but wrongly transacting their intimate feelings into the public domain (Sennett 1993). Finally, the modern culture developed various strategies for leveling the differences or for walling them off:

The spaces full of people in the modern city are either spaces limited to and carefully orchestrating consumption, like the shopping malls, or spaces limited to and carefully orchestrating the experience of tourism. This reduction and trivializing of the city as a stage of life is no accident. [...] What is characteristic of our city building is to wall off the differences between people, assuming that these differences are more likely to be mutually threatening than mutually stimulating. What we make in the urban realm are therefore bland, neutralizing spaces, spaces which remove the threat of social contact: street walls faced in sheets of plate glass, highways that cut off poor neighbourhoods from the rest of the city, dormitory housing developments. (Sennett 1990: xii)

Other urban analysts conceive the urban variety as entailing a quest for ego development; the city is seen as a realm of differences stimulating various new forms of identity and broadening individual cultural horizons. Celebrating diversity is not just an official motto of campaigns of the EU, European Council and UNESCO, but a popular world-wide slogan used as an action and research platform for various international NGOs, universities and even a successful brand for trading companies. Celebrating difference in the urban semiotics means open access and more free spaces in the city texture. Nevertheless differences on the territory of cities are often source of social tension between diverse social groups, what can be at least partially resolved, according to some theorists, through the promotion of innovative urban design, new architectural developments and management of city (Gospodini 2002). This task takes place in public spaces on the territory of city as the most eligible arena for actions of common concern.

The Public Space as a 'Window' into the City's Sole

Public spaces are the primary site of public culture; they are a window into the city's sole... This is a quotation from the revealing book of Sharon Zukin "The Cultures of Cities" (1995: 259) who underlines the seminal relationship between the city as social construct and its public spaces:

As both site and sight, meeting place and social staging ground, public spaces enable us to conceptualize and represent the city – to make an ideology of its

receptivity to strangers, tolerance of difference, and opportunities to enter a fully socialized life, both civic and commercial. We can understand what is happening to our public culture today if we look at what is happening to public spaces (Zukin 1995: 260).

It is exactly the potential of public space to be conceived and treated as representative of the city that contains also the opportunity of its manageability. For this reason, public spaces in the city are the most relevant (if not the only possible) terrain for cultural political action. From the view point of civic culture, public spaces are those places in the city which are presumably accessible to all and which enable social interactive practices through which inhabitants become citizens. But an empty, opened to all physical space in the city is not enough by itself to gain a public quality. Following the Habermas's analysis of the emergence of bourgeois public sphere, the development of public space is ultimately related with the emergence of the civil society as the counterpart of economically autonomous individual and as the corollary of a depersonalized state authority (Calhoun 1992). A place, common to all, outgrows into a public space when there is a public⁴ to use that place – public spaces and their publics engender each other. Simultaneously, *public space* does not coincide with the whole *public sphere*, but is its physical representation. If we extend the Habermas's logics, we can summarize that public space is a *weak instrument* of the public sphere, which in its utmost form is characterized by its capacity to enable a critical discourse. According to Habermasian theory this means also that not every action *in public* is necessarily *public action*:

Individual satisfaction of needs might be achieved in public fashion, namely, in the company of many others; but a public sphere itself did not emerge from such a situation... Rational-critical debate had a tendency to be replaced by consumption, and the web of public communication unraveled into acts of individuated perception, however uniform in mode (Calhoun 1992: 161).

For the late Habermas the modern culture is characterized by consumerism which inevitably leads to a divorce between public life and critical thinking. '*The public is split apart into minorities of specialists [e.g., lawyers, academics] who put their reason to use nonpublicly and the great mass of consumers whose receptiveness is public but noncritical*' (*ibid*). In this theoretical vein the present neoliberalization of the cities expressed in further privatization of public spaces, marketization of their use, and consumerization of culture leads logically to the question about the end of public space in the city raised at the beginning of 1990s by some American urbanists. One of the first signals was given by a publication under the symptomatic title *Variations on a Theme Park: the New York City and the End of Public Space*, edited by Michael Sorkin (1992). One of the most impressive texts there was Mike Davis's article offering noir vision of the crash of the American urban liberalism, based on his observation of fortifying Los Angeles, cited as a kind of exemplary city on *the hard edge of postmodernity*, where by the means of *architectural privatization of the physical public sphere*, police apparatus and restructuring of electronic space, the downtown was turned into a middle-class fortress, inaccessible for the homeless and poor (Davis 1992: 155-180). Similar ideas are continuously expressed by scientists from different cities and different parts of the world. (Mitchel 1995; Voice 2006).

⁴ In short, the use of the word *public* evolved historically from 'common good' in society to 'domain open to observation and scrutiny of anyone' as opposite to the 'private', and finally, to its present meaning as 'audience', where the behavior of anonymous social actors is codified and reduced to observable presentation. (Sennett 1993: 16-44). Finally, *public* has been conceptualised as a specific type of solidarity by choice, which is constituted through various discursive practices widely accessible as an open relation among strangers (Calhoun 2002).

It is worthwhile to verify the hypothesis of the end of public space, looking at the recent developments in the presumably public space of cities, i.e. places accessible to all citizens where they can enjoy common activities, express themselves and communicate between themselves as strangers. The reality is contradictory. On the one hand, places of consumption disclaimed as *quasi-* or *semi-public* space, proliferate and thrive, reducing culture to market. On the other hand, the principle of their functioning (public service to private persons, delivered by private owners) is not different from that, governing the well-known 18C. English coffee houses, one of the favorite Habermas' examples of genuine bourgeois public sphere. If something has changed in the meantime, this is (a) the large scale on which the process of mallification of culture takes place; and (b) the changed interests of private persons which obviously do not coincide with the problems of the day of the 18C. man. Concerning the first argument about the commercialization of culture and global triumph of spaces of consumption, we can add to this that there are simultaneous counter-processes based on alternative choices and deliberate public policies.⁵

So far as the ‘public’ and its dominating interests, convincing considerations on this point are presented by Nancy Frazer in her article *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy*. She supports the view that there have always been and still are existing alternative publics, which she proposes to call *subaltern counterpublics* in order to signal that there are *parallel discursive arenas* where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs. Insofar as these arenas are *publics*, they are by definition not enclaves, which is not to deny that they are often involuntarily enclaved (Frazer 1992: 122-124). Besides that, the topics of ‘common interest’ which are considered as ‘public good’ are continuously renegotiated as for example the gender issue and domestic violence, considered to be a private problem for a long time (*ibid*, 128).

Finally, to add to Nancy Frazer’s arguments one more: when thinking about “public good” and ‘common interest’, it is worthwhile to ask ourselves which is the principle justifying certain social groups’ interests as ‘universal’? Departing in their presumptions from the period of the emerging bourgeois public sphere, most analysts try to define the “universality” as pre-conditioned by the relation between society, state and “the newly privatized market economy” but never a question has been posed what was the actual content of that presumably “common interest”? What was that, what united the old aristocracy, the plebian strata and the raising bourgeoisie? There was really an igniting issue capable to unify different social strata and to produce a new form of public consent. It all was about the formation of nationhood. Nevertheless the national project – as Craig Calhoun underlined in his *Introduction* to the already cited volume – was totally ignored in the Habermas’s analysis. We can reformulate the same question like this: why coffee houses are presented as genuine public space in 18C. England, but are apprehended as trivial ‘consumption places’ now? Obviously, spaces of open access can be turned into places of discursive practices of shared concern, when there is a common mobilizing project. In the postmodern time of disintegrated narratives and transitory authorities what can be expected at most is actually what we observe in our societies: multiplicity of publics with their own partial interests enacting interchangeably in different situations and in different contexts.

Another alarming tendency is the *fortification* of public spaces – the global symbolic economy of fear – which seems only partially controllable and completely inescapable consequence of increasing violence and terroristic attacks. When citizens face the dilemma to save their rights or their lives, more plausibly their choice will be on behalf of the latter. Although the militarization of urban spaces and the total symbolic economy of fear could

⁵ See for example the story of Seattle Central Library, whose subtitle is: *Creating the perfect public space*.
<http://edition.cnn.com/2007/TECH/08/02/seattle.library/> Accessed: July 1, 2008

create further dissolution of public life, nevertheless they can also ignite new cause of common concern for the citizenry with much higher mobilizing and unifying potential than any other cause after the 19th century nationalisms.

When estimating the chances of survival of the public space in postmodern cities, we cannot ignore the consummative profile of our culture suffering from the global terror paranoia, but we should also acknowledge the fluidity of its boundaries, including the multifunctionality of the spaces open for free access; the re-combinational character of diverse social groups with specific claims on open city spaces continuously renegotiating the issues of public concern, presenting plural publics with different usages and different expectations for "perfect public space". The stratification of space-place terminology in social sciences itself is an indicator of the multiplication of the functions and blurring the borders of the various meanings assigned to public spaces by their different publics in their different usages⁶.

In a nutshell, in spite of the severe criticism of contemporary public culture, public space today displays many stages for different social activities which taken altogether form ingredients in the formula of what sociologists call "social glue". Besides the consumption-dominated practices, public space also hosts non-pragmatic actions of an emotive nature creating alternatives to the spirit of consumerism. The presence of public spaces as a ground for joint activities is a guarantee for the social cohesion and a potential resource of democracy for the society as a whole. To put it in Sharon Zukin's words, public spaces are also important because *they continually negotiate the boundaries and markers of human society* (Zukin 1995: 259).

Therefore the next question is: are there common tendencies characterizing cultural policy in public space of European cities? Is there a winning formula? And finally, which is the ideal of city to be achieved with these politics?

City as a Space for Cultural Policy

The main question which usually directs cultural policy on the territory of any city is how to make best use of the existing public spaces. Very often this question involves also the regeneration concern how to give a fresh breath to those places and premises which are already expiring. More rarely professional expert attention is directed to stimulation and creation of new ones.

But who are those, whose opinion, expertise and money do count in urban policy making? On the territory of modern cities it becomes evident that 'cultural policies' to public spaces are only partially 'public' policies: what citizens see and experience is usually a complex result of intertwining diverse and often contradictory interests between private and public sector, which turn sometimes the public space into a battlefield. In transition societies, such as those in Central and Eastern Europe, where the principles of social regulation have been continuously redefined during the last three decades, and public ownership has been reappropriated, public spaces have been turned into arenas of social conflicts and contestation: attractive plots from expensive public terrains (central city parks, sea beaches, forest reserves, etc.) have been built up and tacitly privatized as real estates. This contestation could take sometimes less drastic mundane forms. The simplest example of the anomical lack of public consensus and disregard of any social rules is the daily tension

⁶ The differentiation of the notions 'public space' and 'civic space' can release 'public space' from its strict Habermasian obligation to enable the 'critical discourse' in society, and to be perceived more as an 'open space', i.e.a free-access place for common activities and talks, assisting in this way social bonding and networking. The differences between these concepts have been elaborated in details by Mike Douglass, K.C.Ho and Ooi Gyok Ling (2002: 346-349)

between pedestrians and car drivers on the streets and open public areas in almost all Bulgarian cities.

Situations of intensive privatization of urban public spaces occur in all corners of the world⁷. In addition there is a process of gentrification by supplanting poors in favour of tourists and middle class consumers, reflected critically as ‘taming and themeing of public space’ (Chang 2000), which eventually increases the environmental injustice. Can urban planning and management of public space of single city compensate for the lack of consistent social policy in a whole society? Can urban design and artistic creativity in the city amend social problems like displacement, homelessness, and disenfranchisement? The negative answer is obvious, but it does not imply that cultural policy is useless at all. The only possible solution of integral approach is that cultural policy of the city should be coherent with long-term social and economic policies, re-inforcing each other. Let us review on the basis of few examples of different uses of public space some critical points of cultural policy and the possible areas and instruments of managerial intervention.

Diversion of space

There could be different ways of remodeling, redesigning and reappropriation of public space. Two revealing examples can shed light on how changes in the urban structures resonate directly on urban society: the first one – illustrating how remodeling of a place can foster its social functions; the second one – showing how seemingly open for access place can be reduced to a mere passage-way. The first example refers to the end of 1960s of Paris, the second one – to after WW II New York. The first example is given by Henry Lefebvre, who in the *Production of Space* points out to the attribute of space to divert its functions and initial purposes: *An existing space may outlive its original purpose and the raison d'être which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one. A recent and well-known case of this was the reappropriation of the Halles Centrales, Paris's former wholesale produce market, in 1969-71. For a brief period, the urban centre, designed to facilitate the distribution of food, was transformed into a gathering-place and a scene of permanent festival – in short, into a centre of play rather than of work – for the youth of Paris.*

Just an opposite diversion is presented by Richard Sennett when describing Gordon Bunshaft's Lever House on Park Avenue, one of the first International School skyscrapers. There is an open-air square-like courtyard, serving as a groundfloor of Lever House, turned into a dead public space: *The form of this International-type skyscraper is at odds with its function, for a miniature public square revivified is declared in form, but the function destroys the nature of public square, which is to intermix persons and diverse activities. The reduction of the square to a mere passage to the interior in fact erases alive public space. By making space contingent upon movement, it finally kills its public functionality: the public space becomes an area to move through, not be in. The same paradox with the same result of dead public space is at work in different places in the world: Sennett points also as examples the Brunswick Centre in the Bloomsbury section of London and the Deffence office complex on the edge of Paris (Sennett 1993: 12-14).*

⁷ In a critical review of the 1st AIA Los Angeles Urban Open Space Summit (October 2007) Orhan Ayyce explains the ongoing process of privatization of public spaces in L.A. in the following way: *The stakes are higher, the sprawl model is no longer reasonable, public transportation is inadequate, land is scarce, political will is more attuned to gain power base (votes) via urban development, and add to that, speculative nature of any improvement happens in most American cities. Urban living is well marketed. The Economy needs urban development. Public space, namely parks, makes it easier to open big parcels to profitable private development. The investors know how to use public money to benefit their projects. In the eyes of many, increased property values and gentrification means success. (See http://archinect.com/features/article.php?id=67166_0_23_0_C)*

This potential for diversion of space could empower cultural entrepreneurs to develop various new social functions of public space – as points of social encounters, communalities, artistic self-expression, enjoiment of joint activities and co-creation at public display. There are various practices of spatial diversions, which sometimes revitalize public spaces, while sometimes make them just blind empty spots. In this process of urban remodeling new alluring images have been created, accentuating on the new status of the societies, belonging to the world of modernity. The most powerful icon among all possible brands is *Europeaneness* – it seems that this is the new obsession in EU-country members, as well as of other non-members. Cities from different parts of Europe refer to “European quality” as a brand of the place: “*We want to build a universal district of European type with a European standard of services.*” is the official statement, concerning the developmenet of an exquisite district in St. Petersburg, the so called Baltic Pearl (see *Baltic-Pearl.com*). *European feel to the city* is a marketing allurement in the re-imaging strategy for celling the Manchester center (Young et al., 2006).

“Europeanness” could mean also more “high culture” in the public spaces in cities and more fund-raising for it. “The cultural city” / the European cultural capital program launched since 1985 by the Council of Ministers at the EU pays exclusive attention to artistic creativity and cultural production in their specific urban environment. Each year the citizens of Europe observe remarkable cultural projects ongoing simultaneously encompassing larger areas around the celebrated city. In this new spirit of “Europeanness” culture and arts are regarded not only as image-generators, but consequently as income-generators as well. Expensive projects like “City of Culture of Galicia”⁸, art installations such as Antony Gormley’s “Another Place”⁹ on Crosby beach, or Richard Wilson’s “Turning the Place Over” in Liverpool¹⁰ are based on the presumption that in long-term they will pay back their investments, attracting more visitors and revivifying the surroundings. Nevertheless this is not a particular European trend, because similar tendencies of place branding with the help of art with similar re-imaging strategies and the same set of arguments have been observed in big North American cities since the 1970s, as analyzed by American urbanists¹¹.

Dubious Role of Culture: The Hegemony of the New Financial Elite

No doubts, the relation between space, art and its publics could be mutually stimulating. To put it in Sharon Zukin’s words: “*On this point, the symbolic economy is consistent: the production of symbols (more art) demands the production of space (more space). The more space there is for art, the larger is the public for cultural institutions*” (Zukin 1995: 119-120).

On the other hand, there are different interest conflicts creating social tension in concern with art projects in public spaces. The first and most obvious tension is between art and market which sometimes takes the form of a conflict between cutting edge artistic projects and the hegemonic standardization of consumerist culture, the results of which could be the

⁸ See <http://www.arcspace.com/architects/eisenman/ccg/ccg.html>

⁹ See <http://www.sefton.gov.uk/Default.aspx?page=7218>

¹⁰ The installation has been created in the framework of the program ‘Liverpool 2008 – Cultural Capital of Europe’. See <http://www.thenorthernway.co.uk/icons/page.asp?id=51>

¹¹ Speaking at conference in 1993 [...] the deputy mayor for planning and development of New York gave a perfunctory nod to culture as a unifying force: ‘*The role that the arts play in humanizing the city and in binding our social fabric takes many forms.[...] The signature role that the arts community has played in the realization of our neighbourhoods is evident throughout the city. The proliferation of restaurants, shops and other small businesses that appear in areas where artists live and work have brought substantial gains to the fabric of our neighbourhoods. We should remember also particularly when our statistics on unemployment are rather staggering, that culture in New York city is a six billion dollar industry.*’ in: Zukin, 1995, 110

creation of simulacrum public spaces for arts and culture, semi-public institutions orchestrating public taste and ultimately – the public opinion. For Zukin such quasi-democratic institutions are the museums, which *connect art, money, and public space*. In the 1980s, they joined the authority of art to both the cultural hegemony of new financial elite and the politics of public good. (1995, 119) Today we are witnessing a growing suspicion of civil society toward private interests which most often are seen as restricting and seizing upon urban public space and its artistic endeavours. Recent commercialization of public spaces feeds this negative stance, although the final results need a more thorough estimation from a multiple point of view - of all, local communities, users and visitors. The aestheticization and commercialized upgrading of the environment for example is often interpreted as “sanitization” which can lead to its semiotic hedging off for different groups and various measures of “soft policies of exclusion” of undesired people (Thörn 2013). The newly glamorized places become less accessible than before (Young et al., 2006). The good solutions occur in those cases, when the open spaces in the city turn – to paraphrase Richard Sennett – into places to be in, not just to pass through. Even spaces of consumption can be converted from sites of purchase into places of recreation and leisure, of social contacts and dialogue (Paterson 2006: 172). Hence we can define the successful cultural management on the territory of the city as such an approach for realization of cultural and artistic projects, which will make the Market to be in service to Culture as Human Self-Expression and Production of Meaning, and not vice versa. And although the public arts, architecture and urban design are not an omnipotent factor for social cohesion but they can predetermine the use of public space which determines their significance as instruments to influence upon society.

Finally, the ownership of the place is of vital but not of ultimate importance. There are many examples that privately owned spaces are used successfully for purposes of common interest: recombined spaces like art café-galleries, private theatres, concert halls, museums, even shopping malls with various ‘social sevices’, including religious sermons¹² could function as public spaces, contributing for the development of “public sole” and identity of the place. However, if culture is to play a role in both the physical fabric and the social texture of urban renewal, it needs the support of the whole administrative and economic apparatus of the city.

Key figures in cultural policies and urban management

When thinking of cultural policies of the city, it is worthwhile to ask ourselves: who are the stakeholders of the urban public spaces? Who owns, who runs, and who uses the public space? And also: who raises claims on it? At the present moment we are witnessing a process of re-conciliation of all answers to the questions above. These answers are in the core of the cultural policy in the city. The unprecedent development of private-public alliances can be interpreted as a neo-liberal offensive to the public spaces of the cities that brings about gentrification and expelling the less affluent inhabitants from their quarters. These processes can be mitigated by the city regulations¹³ reflecting the civic traditions of the place. In some cases these public-private funds are venues for legitimation of foreign investments in regeneration of cultural sites, iconic for national identity. But money investment does not necessarily bring affiliation to the place. The internationally mobile elites, courted by competing urban governments for the skills and capital they bring, end up with an absence of moral commitment to place, while the migrant working class become resentful of their marginal status in society. (Ho 2008: 55) Therefore public-private fundings can be really successful from the viewpoint of public good when there are established

¹² See for example <http://www.churchatthemall.net/>

¹³ In some instances, for example, civic spaces are created through the regulation of private property, as in the case of laws in several US states requiring privately owned shopping malls to allow freedom of speech on their premises. (Paterson 2006: 348)

mechanisms of public control and accountability. Another important alteration in the financing mechanism is the changing 'level' of funding of culture and arts on the territory of the European city: more and more cities are competing for international funds of EU, on the one hand, and are mobilizing their own regional private-public agreements, on the other. In this process local communities acquire broader access to decision making and social regulations concerning the city and its public spaces. While there are many forces that seem to jeopardise civic spaces, these local efforts show that opportunities to create and sustain them do exist and are being pursued. (Douglas 2002: 355)

During the last decade the urban public space attracts increasingly the attention not only of urban developers and social scientists, but of civil society as well. Edward Soja reviewed this process like this: Perhaps more than ever before, a strategic awareness of this collectively created spatiality and its social consequences has become a vital part of making both theoretical and practical sense of our contemporary life-worlds at all scales, from the most intimate to the most global (Soja 1996: 1).

Most of the recent huge artistic projects have been backed up by the different civic actors. Since 1999, there was created European prize for Urban Public Space whose goal is "to recognize and encourage activities aimed at recovering and creating *spaces of cohesion* in cities. [...] as an incentive to investment by administrations in remodeling public spaces so as to improve the quality of urban life, from renovating a discrete crossroads zone through the transforming a set of collective spaces throughout a neighborhood." According to the open declaration of the European Archive of Urban Public Space: "Much of what has characterized life in European cities has occurred in their public spaces, which have appeared as *areas of assembly, as meeting points, as places for conversation and protest, as venues for festivities, music, and for people*. After a long period of neglect and decline, recent decades have seen a slow but tenacious movement to recover public spaces through Europe, these being understood as places that are full of *functional and symbolic values where citizens may relate with each other*."¹⁴ Probably this public condition is called by Richard Sennett in one of his recent books kind of democracy in which governance is widely diffused, and not given over to expert elites.

To summarize: inspite of the advancing neo-liberalization of public spaces, there are also counter-processes of growing public consciousness about the vital importance of the open public space. Artists, local communities and different cultural NGOs are taking their share of responsibility in the process of decision-making. In this process of increasing public participation and envolving of more citizens in city governance, arts and culture are one of the instruments for empowerment of civil society.

10 years Later: The Global Public Space

To recall again Henri Lefebvre in the *Production of Space* that 'every society – and hence every mode of production – [.] produces its own space' (1991, 31), and since, 'ex hypothesis, [.] the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space' (1991, 46), it is worthwhile to ask ourselves what major changes occurred in society that have led during the last decade to the unprecedented radicalization of public space, turned into a premise of new spatial strategies, occupations and spectacular terrorist acts in referential cities of the modern civilization. Perhaps, these processes were unlocked during the global financial crises that started in America in 2007, which made it obvious that the double standard of neoliberal development is not possible any more. The world witnessed two unprecedented phenomena that have been developing in the Western world since the 1970s, but only now they became obvious: the birth of the new poors as a counterpart of the

¹⁴ See <http://urban.cccb.org/>

global class of the prosperous mobile elites:, i.e. the new Global precariats; and the emergence of a new kind of Global public space as an innovative transnational protest tactics over space.

The emergence of new social actors for new kind of global public space has been pre-conditioned by a process, described as “*financialization*” – not exactly a new mode of production, but a new mode of accumulation and secret redistribution of wealth which deeply perverts the logic of both, the way of production and trade, and disrupts the lifeworld from inside (Hristova, 2018: 32-34). The financialization, i.e. the growing importance of the so-called financial services in national economies, is defined by the American economist Greta Krippner, in a study of the US economy in the post-1970s period, as a “pattern of accumulation in which profit making occurs increasingly through financial channels rather than through trade and commodity production” (2005, 181). As she argues, there are two wide-ranging sociological implications of financialization: dubious corporate control and eroded state autonomy. The tendency to global action is another implicit feature of financialization, and as observed by the Dutch political scientist Natascha van der Zwan, “financialization and globalization are [. . .] not mutually exclusive analytical frameworks, but rather two sides of the same coin” (Zwan 2014, 104). Gradually, the initially useful financial services turned into a master of the existing mode of production, leading to its marginalization. The expansion of financial logic throughout society has ubiquitous malignant effects, revealed by the Polish-Swiss economist Paul Dembinski: in the present societies, conquered by financialization, trust, empathy and responsiveness have been replaced by transactions and contracts: students become ‘recipients of educational services’, patients ‘recipients of medical services’, the sense of public good has been lost, resulting in social unrests, triggered by excessive concentration of wealth (Dembinski 2009, 8) and new global inequalities (Milanovic 2005, Stiglitz 2012, Piketty 2013). Financialization can also be tracked in urban social relations, which for centuries required discussions, negotiations and co-operation but now have been reduced to sale and purchase, while transactions have become the model of increasingly instrumental interpersonal connections. Thus the urban condition does not merely reflect or represent the culture of financial accumulation, but enables the permeation of finance into the fabric of daily life (Moreno 2014).

Financialization conquering the world, perceived as *globalization*, with its numerous sobriquets like *Westernization*, *Americanization*, *Mondialization*, *glocalization*, *McDonaldization*, *McGuggenization*, *Disneyfication* and so on, gives us an inkling of the hidden tensions stemming from the new redistribution and upscaling of world power through capitals, information, knowledge, images and lifestyles, but also through new social, cultural and spatial inequalities in the continuously standardized world. “Furthermore, insofar as powerful global actors are making increasing demands on urban space and thereby displacing less-powerful users, urban space becomes politicized in the process of rebuilding itself” (Sassen 2006, 29).

The politicization of public space is expressed not only in the emergence of an almighty global elite, imposing their visions on city development, management and usage, but also in the appearance of new kinds of global activists on behalf of the powerless and deprived ‘new poors’, reclaiming not just their rights on the city but their lives as before – their lost jobs and foreclosed homes. As Roland Robertson noticed at the beginning of the new century, “We have entered the phase of what appears to us in 1990 to be the great global uncertainty” (Robertson 2000, 50). However, it was the German sociologist Ulrich Beck who first offered a systematic diagnosis of this shift with the concept of the *world risk society*. In his book, written as an immediate response to the Chernobyl nuclear reactor catastrophe, he revealed that modernity began already to produce globally greater risks than wealth: while social risks and natural hazards always existed in human history, the late modernity is marked by a fundamentally new situation when the risks are produced as a side-effect of its development – over a long term, the produced risks are global, unpredictable, incalculable and

unescapable. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, worldwide uncertainty has become part of the human condition (Beck 1986). A decade later, Ulrich Beck added to the already-distinguished *environmental* and *financial* risks the *terrorist* threats, “which are both empowered and disempowered by the states” (Beck 2009, 13). Ultimately, they “may give rise to a more acute global normative awareness, create a public space and perhaps even a cosmopolitan outlook” (*ibid*, 15).

By the dialectic logics of its development, the risk society is already transformed into society of ‘*responsible modernity*’ (*ibid*, 9): a society, gradually developing new ethics and a system of responsibility, substituting reckless consumerism with ever-growing self-restraint, awakening its consciousness and personal responsibility towards nature, and slowly discovering the meaning of a new “common good”, understood as avoiding the possible “common bad” (Hristova, 2018).

Today we witness, besides the world-wide spread Occupy movements, organized and disseminated by the global class of new poors, emerging new participatory cultures and everyday urbanism (green arctivism, city gardening, aesthetics of unformality) in already globalized spaces marked by their new strategic approach towards space as urban commons (Hristova 2018).

Saskia Sassen designates this as the ‘Global Street’, which employs ‘fragments of various national and global territories’: a new spatial way of protesting and addressing political issues in a search for social justice ‘by those who lack access to the established instruments of power within the frame of national sovereign territory’, thus making ‘novel territory, and thereby a bit of history’, using what was previously considered merely ground. In this specific context, for Sassen ‘to occupy is to remake, even if temporarily, territory’s embedded and often deeply undemocratic logics of power, and redefine the role of citizens, mostly weakened and fatigued after decades of growing inequality and injustice’ (Sassen 2012).

The trend of the transnationalization of public space has different forms, instruments of expression and intensity. They can vary from social, political and ecological movements to ‘new urban wars [...] between criminal, paramilitary, and civilian militias, tied in obscure ways to transnational, economic and political forces’ (Appadurai 2009, 193) to less dramatic and more routine confrontations as daily strategies and weapons of the weak (Theodossopoulos 2010, 14).

This raises the question about the thin red line between authentic protests and “stimulated” or “activated” ones. The highly flammable explosive mixture of accumulated social discontent, ready to burst out in any moment, makes only more difficult the task to distinguish between DIY terrorism and well organized and carefully planned and financed terrorist attacks.

In what way these processes can be referred to the cultural policies of city? As transnationalization involves all main actors and all sides of the process, both, resistance and control, this refers also to the policies of the city – they are duly transnationalized, while the security issues become part of the action and education. This can also raise taking into consideration of the issues new spatial practices of resistance and protest into the political agenda of the city. Recently, the architects Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll in a comparason between Occupy Wall Street in New York (2011) and Nuit Debout in Paris (2016) while analysing the practical “bodily” issues, that challenge sustaining the encampment for a longer period of time, come to the idea of remaking the city by creating special spaces for such kind of political interventions:

If living in public space, with the bodily functions that entails, is arguably the most powerful way of creating a new community capable of focusing attention on contemporary issues, then to what extent should architects and urbanists make that possible as they build and rebuild cities? More fundamentally, to be truly democratic,

should a society provide spaces not just for recreational camping and for temporary public gatherings, but actually for public living? The challenge raised by Occupy and Nuit Debout for democratic cities is to make spaces where the kind of protest that they showed to be most powerful—encampment in plain sight—is not just tolerated but facilitated. What if, for instance, at the center of a modern city, a democratic government opted to locate an open space—functionally inspired by the ancient model of the Agora—where citizens could safely and comfortably agree to dwell together for a time in order to draw attention to their shared concerns? In such a semi-permanent encampment, ephemeral means—performances, posters, signs, music, and more—could be used to bring new meanings to the space. The very debates that making such spaces would produce—about the limits of democracy in the city—would entail powerful contributions to our political lives.

(Murphy and O'Driscoll, 2017)

The first objection against such idea is not its seeming unapplicability, but rather its true long-term effect of “theming and taming” of the protests. On the other hand, existing of such special places could probably make easier the distinction between authentically engaged new civic communities working for positive transformation from those who are aim mere destruction and terror. “The very debates that making such spaces would produce—about the limits of democracy in the city—would entail powerful contributions to our political lives (ibid)”.

The ideal city (A Dream instead of Conclusion)

The ideal city will be a place which will achieve the impossible balance between different claims for rights to city and the universal claim for right to safety of the city; between freedom of movement and self-expression, and public control; between artistic re-imagination and aesthetization of the city and the social integration of people from the margins. Even the ideal city will not be able to erase the social boundaries, transformed into spatial differentiations, but it will make them more permeable and transparent. The ideal city will open its public spaces for social dialogue, for self-expression hosting the new personality – *Homo Ludens*, who will not be reduced to a mere *Homo Consumericus*. The ideal city will remember its past turning it into a cultural heritage, and will respect its culture, turning it into flourishing presence. This ideal city of course does not exist. This is nowhere place – *utopia*. Bit it is worth to remember this dream.

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Faire évoluer les représentations sur l'administration publique française, mission impossible¹⁵ ?

Etude de l'impact des réformes issues du NMP sur l'évolution de la mémoire collective des administrés en France

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INTRODUCTION

L'administration publique française souffre, de longue date, d'une mauvaise image. Engluée dans ce que Crozier (1964) appelle le « *phénomène bureaucratique* », l'administration apparaît comme étant « *compliquée* », « *anonyme* », « *tatillonne* » ou encore « *autoritaire* » (Rangeon, 1983). De plus, l'incapacité de l'Etat à maîtriser les dépenses publiques et à assurer une croissance économique sans fin (Passet, 2010), ont favorisé le développement d'une véritable crise de légitimité. Pour y remédier, un nouveau discours global de légitimation (March et Olsen, 1995) a été adopté (Pollitt et Bouckaert, 2000) : le Nouveau Management Public (NMP, Hood, 1991 ; Dunleavy et Hood, 1994). Alors que la légitimité publique s'était jusqu'à présent construite par contestation du système de légitimité de l'entreprise privée (Laufer et Burlaud, 1980), elle se fonde désormais sur l'introduction du management privé dans les organisations publiques, ce dernier étant devenu plus légitime aux yeux des administrés. Ainsi, depuis les années 1970-80, l'administration publique a fait l'objet de nombreuses réformes, qui s'inscrivent dans la philosophie du NMP et dont les plus marquantes sont certainement la LOLF (Loi Organique relative aux Lois de Finance) en 2001 et la RGPP (Révision Générale des Politiques Publiques) en 2007 (Bezes, 2009). Les objectifs fondamentaux et transversaux poursuivis par ces réformes sont d'abord de rendre l'administration plus efficace et efficiente, autrement dit, de mettre en place une « *action publique simplifiée, plus proche des citoyens, donc plus efficace et moins couteuse* » (projet de loi du 10/04/2013).

De manière plus sous-jacente, l'un des principaux objectifs du NMP, qui se traduit par la « *managérialisation* » des organisations publiques, est d'enrichir ce que Moore (1994) a appelé la « *valeur publique intrinsèque* », c'est-à-dire la valeur stratégique, idéologique ou administrative (Harrison, et al., 2012). Créée par les organismes publics au profit des citoyens avec effet à long terme, elle agit sur les croyances, la morale, l'éthique, la confiance

¹⁵ Nous faisons ici référence au travail de Gouiffès P.F., 2010, Réformes, mission impossible ?, La documentation française.

publique, l'image, l'intégrité, la légitimité tant des fonctionnaires que de l'institution publique en tant que telle. Les politiques publiques permettent ainsi de modifier certaines caractéristiques de la société (Gibert, 2002), en faisant évoluer sa « *mémoire collective*¹⁶ » au sens d'Halbwachs (1925, 1950) et de Boltanski et Thévenot (1991).

Pour cerner les impacts du NMP, la littérature, ainsi que les praticiens, se sont beaucoup intéressés à l'évaluation des politiques publiques entrant dans ce cadre. Ils ont ainsi mobilisé une grande variété de concepts tels que l'efficience, l'efficacité, la performance, la pertinence ou encore la cohérence des politiques publiques, délaissant – étonnamment – l'étude des effets et impacts des politiques publiques issues du NMP (*moyens*) sur les représentations des administrés et donc sur la valeur publique intrinsèque des organisations publiques (*fin*).

L'objectif de cette communication est de déterminer si les réformes issues du NMP et mises en œuvre depuis les années 1980 (*moyens*) ont permis de créer de la valeur publique intrinsèque et, plus précisément, si elles ont permis de faire évoluer les représentations (*mémoire collective*) qu'ont les administrés au sujet de l'administration publique française (*fin*).

Afin de répondre à cette question de recherche, nous mobilisons les cadres théoriques de la valeur publique intrinsèque et de la mémoire collective, sur lesquels nous revenons dans une première partie. Dans un deuxième temps, nous exposons la méthodologie que nous avons suivie pour cerner les retombées à long terme des réformes de l'administration publique, inscrites dans la mémoire collective. Celle-ci s'articule entre une vingtaine d'entretiens qualitatifs exploratoires et la réalisation d'une enquête quantitative auprès de 1200 personnes (avec un taux de retour de 19%, soit 225 questionnaires analysés).

Les résultats, qui montrent le faible impact des politiques publiques issues du NMP sur la mémoire collective des administrés, sont présentés dans un troisième temps et discutés.

1. VALEUR PUBLIQUE, MEMOIRE COLLECTIVE ET RISQUE D'INERTIE

1.1 Le concept de valeur publique intrinsèque ou le plaidoyer pour une évaluation élargie des politiques publiques.

Selon Moore (1994), la « *valeur privée* », est produite par les organisations privées au profit de leurs actionnaires et propriétaires et provient principalement du profit dégagé par ces organisations. Parallèlement, la « *valeur publique* » résulte de l'exercice du rôle de l'Etat et a pour objet la satisfaction des besoins des citoyens. Elle représente donc, la valeur créée par les organismes publics au bénéfice des citoyens et plus largement de l'ensemble des parties prenantes. Le concept de valeur publique ne se limite donc pas à une catégorie unique d'administrés (comme les fonctionnaires ou les usagers de certains services proposés par l'administration), mais concerne l'ensemble des administrés, ce qui inclut donc notamment les salariés du privé. Le spectre d'analyse de la valeur publique se révèle donc plus large que la simple estimation de retombées économiques ou financières sur une partie limitée de la population et nécessite une vision élargie de l'évaluation des politiques publiques.

¹⁶ Halbwachs (1925, 1950) définit la mémoire collective comme l'ensemble des points de repère, construits au fil du temps, qui servent de liens entre les membres d'une société.

Si l'évaluation de la valeur privée est déjà l'objet de nombreux débats dans la littérature, étudier la valeur publique s'avère encore plus complexe. En effet, celle-ci n'est généralement pas réellement quantifiable. Son évaluation suppose donc de prendre en compte des aspects essentiellement qualitatifs. La valeur publique est ainsi principalement estimée en terme de lien entre l'action gouvernementale et ses retombées de deux types :

- *La valeur substantielle des intérêts privés* : ce sont les retombées financières, politiques, sociales et stratégiques. Ces retombées concernent les individus et les groupes d'intérêt ;
- *La valeur intrinsèque de la société et de la démocratie* : ce sont les retombées idéologiques (conséquences sur les croyances, la morale ou l'éthique) et administratives (conséquences sur la confiance publique, l'image, l'intégrité, la légitimité des fonctionnaires et de l'institution publique). Ces retombées concernent le système politique et le fondement même de la société.

D'après Moore (1995), la valeur publique s'avère inévitablement politique : « *La politique demeure l'ultime arbitraire de la valeur publique tout comme c'est le cas de la consommation pour la détermination de la valeur privée.* (Moore, 1995, p.38¹⁷) ». De ce fait, elle varie en fonction du temps, et évolue en fonction de l'opinion des groupes d'intérêt et du poids de ces derniers dans la société. Cette variabilité de la valeur publique doit être nuancée par la force d'inertie que représente la mémoire collective, telle qu'elle est définie par Halbwachs.

1.2 La mémoire collective comme force d'inertie de la valeur publique intrinsèque

Disciple de Durkheim, Halbwachs définit dans la première moitié du XXème siècle le concept de mémoire collective. Dans son célèbre ouvrage *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), il remet en cause l'idée que la mémoire est une capacité purement personnelle de conserver des représentations passées et s'attache au contraire à démontrer que la mémoire résulte d'une construction sociale. Ainsi, Halbwachs affirme que « *tout souvenir, si personnel soit-il, même ceux des événements dont nous avons seuls été les témoins, même ceux de pensées et de sentiments inexprimés, sont en rapport avec un ensemble de notions que beaucoup d'autres que nous possèdent, avec des personnes, des groupes, des lieux, des dates, des mots et formes de langage, avec des raisonnements aussi et des idées, c'est-à-dire avec toute la vie matérielle et morale des sociétés dont nous faisons ou dont nous avons fait partie* » (Halbwachs, 1925, pp. 51-52). Ainsi, chacun, lorsqu'il fait appel à sa mémoire, reconstitue ses souvenirs, les réinterprète, les reconstruit, et ce, à l'aide des cadres de la mémoire collective. Par exemple, un individu réinterprète ses souvenirs à la lueur de sa classe sociale d'appartenance, ou, dans une terminologie plus actuelle, en fonction de son groupe socioprofessionnel d'appartenance (Montigny, 2006). Certains cadres, comme le langage par exemple, constituent alors des supports stables, collectifs et pérennes de la mémoire des groupes. Selon Halbwachs (1950), la mémoire collective permet de reconstruire le passé collectif à partir des données ou des notions communes empruntées au présent. Ainsi, dans la reconstruction du passé collectif, ce ne sont pas uniquement les faits ou les choses en tant que tels dont nous nous souvenons. Nous regardons et comprenons le monde suivant la façon que nous avons appris sous l'influence de la société, non tel que le monde nous est présenté.

¹⁷ Traduit par Harrison, Guerrero et al., « La transparence gouvernementale et le cyber-gouvernement : les enjeux démocratiques selon une perspective publique », in *érudit*, vol. 18, n°-2, 2012, pp.1-20.

Dès lors, nous considérons que des administrés issus d'un même groupe socioprofessionnel font appel à des cadres collectifs de la mémoire qui ont une certaine stabilité dans le temps, ce qui freine l'évolution de leurs représentations. Dans cette conception, le temps s'étend tant que les groupes se souviennent. Autrement dit, le temps est collectif et continu, ce qui fait que la mémoire collective est toujours en relation avec le présent. Ainsi, interroger les citoyens sur leur valeur publique intrinsèque revient à reconstruire leur pensée collective qui les lie et les rassemble.

2. METHODOLOGIE

Dans notre étude, suivant Viaud (2003) et Bonardi (2003), nous avons décidé d'explorer la valeur publique intrinsèque par l'entremise de l'étude de la mémoire collective d'un groupe socio-professionnel, à savoir les cadres salariés du privé. En effet, selon ces auteurs, si la mémoire collective est un concept difficilement saisissable, les représentations sociales sont quant à elles identifiables et rendent concrète la mémoire collective. En d'autres termes, examiner des représentations sociales permet d'explorer une mémoire collective.

D'après Abric (1976 et 2003), tous les éléments de la représentation sociale sont organisés et hiérarchisés (fonction organisatrice ou système périphérique) autour et par un noyau central qui donne leur signification (fonction génératrice ou système central) dans la représentation sociale concernée. Etudier une représentation sociale nécessite donc de connaître à la fois le contenu et l'organisation. Autrement dit, identifier « *la fonction génératrice* » ou « *les noyaux centraux* » de la représentation sociale équivaut à repérer les notions communes et les points de repères de la mémoire collective chez les « *gens ordinaires* » (Viaud, 2003). Le tableau de synthèse de Roussiau et Renard (2003) liste les caractéristiques de ces deux systèmes (voir le tableau 1).

TABLEAU 1. CARACTÉRISTIQUES DU SYSTÈME CENTRAL ET DU SYSTÈME PÉRIPHÉRIQUE D'UNE REPRÉSENTATION SOCIALE (SOURCE : EXTRAIT DE ABRIC, 1994, P. 80)

Système central	Système périphérique
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lié à la mémoire collective et à l'histoire du groupe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permet l'intégration des expériences et histoires individuelles
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consensual (définit l'homogénéité du groupe) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporte l'hétérogénéité du groupe
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stable Cohérent Rigide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Souple Supporte des contradictions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Résiste au changement Peu sensible au contexte immédiat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evolutif Sensible au contexte immédiat
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fonctions : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Génère la signification de la représentation ✓ Détermine son organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fonctions : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Permet l'adaptation à la réalité concrète ✓ Permet la différenciation du contenu ✓ Protège le système central

Afin de repérer les éléments de la représentation sociale, nous avons adopté une démarche en deux temps, articulés autour des étapes suivantes :

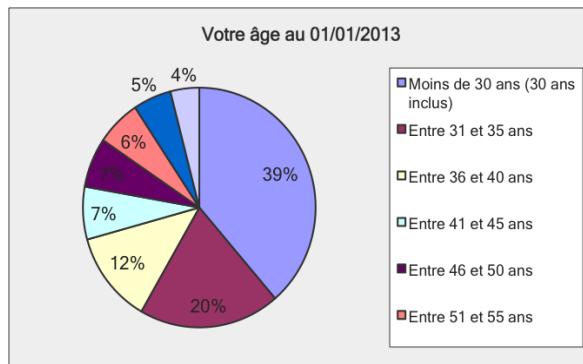
Tout d'abord une *pré-enquête qualitative* reposant sur l'analyse thématique de 11 entretiens individuels semi-directifs et de 2 entretiens collectifs que nous avons menés. Suivi d'une phase intensive, qui a consisté en une *enquête quantitative*. A partir des thèmes

repérés pendant la pré-enquête, un questionnaire a été élaboré et administré aux membres-adhérents du *Centre d'Etudes de la Fonction Personnel* (Cefop) via un formulaire disponible en ligne entre le 03/01/2013 au 16/01/2013. Mises à part les parties introductive et conclusive, celui-ci a été divisé en trois grandes parties concernant respectivement : le secteur public, l'administration publique et le management public. Suivant la technique de reconnaissance de l'objet (Abric et Verges, 1994 ; Verges, 2001), nous avons donc demandé aux répondants si l'item caractérisait le secteur public, l'administration publique et le management public « certainement », « peut-être » ou « pas du tout ».

A défaut d'être représentatif, l'échantillon de convenance que nous avons mobilisé s'avère significatif et présente les caractéristiques suivantes :

- L'échantillon est composé de 102 femmes (soit 45,3% des personnes interrogées) et 123 hommes (54,7%) ;
- Les répondants sont tous diplômés d'au moins Bac+5 ;
- 30% des répondants disent avoir au moins une expérience dans le secteur public tandis que 70% disent n'en avoir aucune ;
- la répartition des répondants selon l'âge montre que la population de moins de 35 ans représente environ 60% des personnes interrogées et que 80% des personnes interrogées ont moins de 45 ans environ (cf. Figure 1) ;

FIGURE 2 : RÉPARTITION PAR ÂGES DES INDIVIDUS DE NOTRE ÉCHANTILLON



Le Tableau 2 synthétise les deux grandes phases de la méthodologie qui a été suivie.

TABLEAU 2. RÉCAPITULATIF DE LA MÉTHODOLOGIE ADOPTÉE (SOURCE : AUTEURS)

Etapes	Objectifs	Nature de l'étude	Analyse menée	Nb de participants ou de réponses obtenues
Pré-enquête	Repérer les items récurrents Elaborer le questionnaire	Etude qualitative	Analyses thématique et lexicale	17 personnes interrogées (dont 11 en entretiens individuels)
Enquête	Identifier les éléments centraux et périphériques de la valeur publique	Etude quantitative	Statistique descriptive univariée et bivariée	225 réponses enregistrées sur environ 1 200 (taux de retour : environ 19%)

Suivant la technique de la reconnaissance de l'objet (Abric et Verges, 1994 ; Verges, 2001), il est possible d'identifier trois types de profils à partir des résultats obtenus :

- les *éléments centraux* (choisis massivement comme les plus caractéristiques et observés sous forme de courbe en « J »),

- les éléments périphériques (« moyennement » importants dans la caractérisation de l'objet et observées sous forme de courbe en « cloche »)
- et les éléments contrastés (des jugements contrastés faisant apparaître l'existence de sous-groupes et observés sous forme de courbe en « U »).

3. RESULTATS ET DISCUSSION

3.1 Les résultats de l'enquête quantitative

Les résultats sont présentés successivement pour le secteur public, l'administration publique et enfin le management public.

• Le secteur public

Les représentations attachées au secteur public sont représentées au sein de la Figure 2. La grille d'analyse d'Abic et Verges (1994) nous permet d'identifier deux catégories de représentations, respectivement les représentations composant le noyau central et d'autres, plus contrastées (cf. Tableau 3).

FIGURE 3 : REPRÉSENTATIONS SUR LE SECTEUR PUBLIC

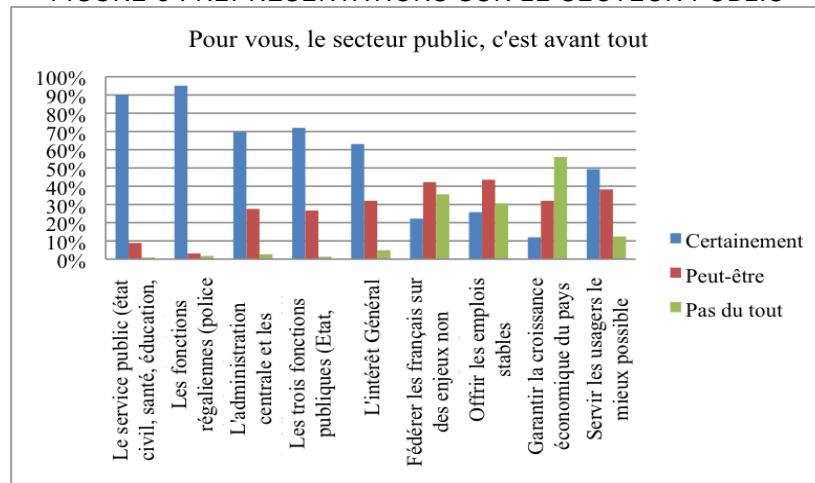


TABLEAU 3 : CATÉGORISATION DES REPRÉSENTATIONS SUR LE SECTEUR PUBLIC
Pour vous, le secteur public, c'est avant tout :

	Certainement	Peut-être	Pas du tout	
Le service public (état civil, santé, éducation, transport, hôpital,...)	90%	9%	1%	Noyau central
Les fonctions régaliennes (police justice, impôts,...)	95%	3%	2%	
L'administration centrale et les établissements publics et semi-publics	70%	28%	3%	
Les trois fonctions publiques (Etat, Collectivités Territoriales et Hôpital)	72%	27%	1%	
L'intérêt Général	63%	32%	5%	Eléments contrastés
Fédérer les français sur des enjeux non marchands	22%	42%	36%	
Offrir les emplois stables	26%	44%	31%	
Garantir la croissance économique du pays	12%	32%	56%	
Servir les usagers le mieux possible	49%	38%	12%	

D'après ces résultats, le service public, les fonctions régaliennes, l'administration centrale et les établissements publics et semi-publics ainsi que les trois fonctions publiques constituent les éléments centraux des représentations relatives au secteur public.

Pour ce qui est des autres items, une analyse bi-variée par tranche d'âge met en évidence leur caractère contrasté, malgré leur dispersion en forme de « cloche » ou de « J » pour certains (voir le tableau 4). En d'autres termes, nous avons des sous-groupes qui ont des opinions différentes, voire contrastées. Ils sont identifiés grâce au profil de la dispersion de leurs réponses qui se différencie de la tendance générale (les parties colorées). Par exemple, nous observons l'existence de quatre sous-groupes qui se démarquent sur l'item « *le secteur public, c'est avant tout fédérer les français sur des enjeux non marchands* ». Le premier sous-groupe (partie non colorée) a le même profil de dispersion que la tendance générale sous forme de courbe en « cloche », le second (partie bleue) sous forme de courbe en « J » à l'envers fortement atténuée, le troisième (partie grise) en « U » et en fin, le dernier (partie rose) en « J » à l'endroit. En somme, ces items démontrent l'existence de plusieurs sous-groupes qui n'ont pas la même représentation sociale du secteur public. Il en est de même pour les autres résultats (cf. les figures 3 et 4), relatifs aux représentations liées à l'administration publique et au management public.

TABLEAU 4 : ANALYSE BI-VARIÉE PAR TRANCHE D'ÂGE

	Total	≥ 30 ans	$30 < \leq 35$ ans	$35 < \leq 40$ ans	$40 < \leq 45$ ans	$45 < \leq 50$ ans	$50 < \leq 55$ ans	$55 < \leq 60$ ans	< 60 ans
L'intérêt Général									
Certainement	63%	53%	64%	79%	50%	73%	86%	83%	56%
Peut-être	32%	43%	32%	21%	31%	27%	7%	17%	33%
Pas du tout	5%	5%	5%	0%	19%	0%	7%	0%	11%
Fédérer les français sur des enjeux non marchands									
Certainement	22%	20%	23%	39%	31%	13%	21%	8%	11%
Peut-être	42%	43%	50%	36%	13%	60%	36%	33%	67%
Pas du tout	36%	38%	27%	25%	56%	27%	43%	58%	22%
Servir les usagers le mieux possible									
Certainement	49%	32%	59%	75%	38%	73%	50%	67%	44%
Peut-être	38%	51%	30%	21%	50%	13%	36%	33%	44%
Pas du tout	12%	17%	11%	4%	13%	13%	14%	0%	11%
Offrir les emplois stables									
Certainement	26%	34%	27%	14%	31%	20%	14%	8%	11%
Peut-être	44%	45%	43%	46%	31%	33%	43%	58%	44%
Pas du tout	31%	21%	30%	39%	38%	47%	43%	33%	44%
Garantir la croissance économique du pays									
Certainement	12%	11%	11%	14%	13%	7%	21%	8%	11%
Peut-être	32%	29%	30%	57%	38%	20%	7%	33%	44%
Pas du tout	56%	60%	59%	29%	50%	73%	71%	58%	44%

FIGURE 4 : REPRÉSENTATIONS SUR L'ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE

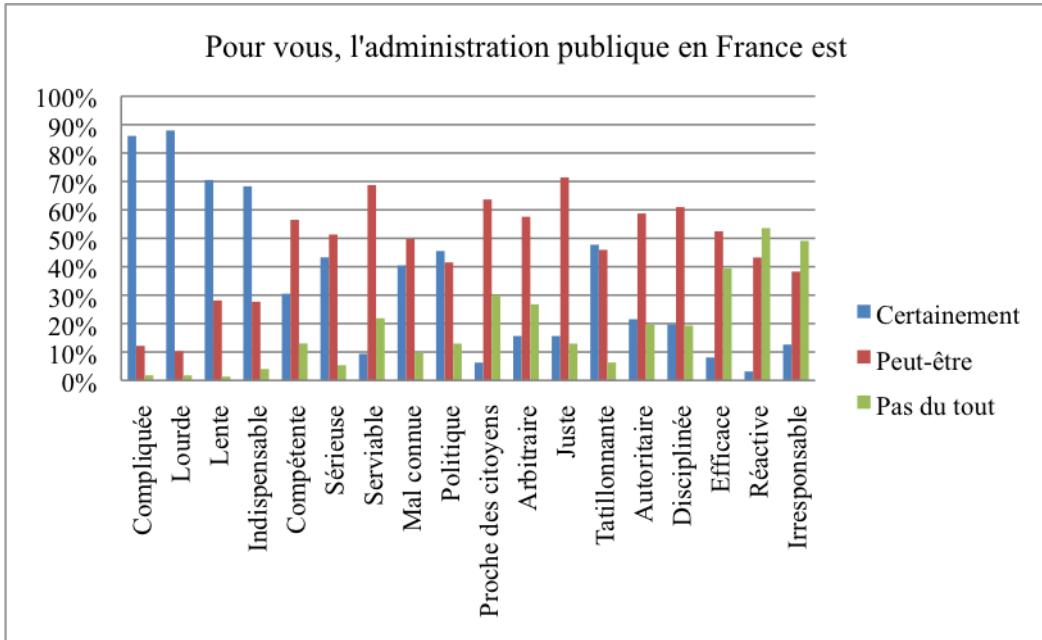
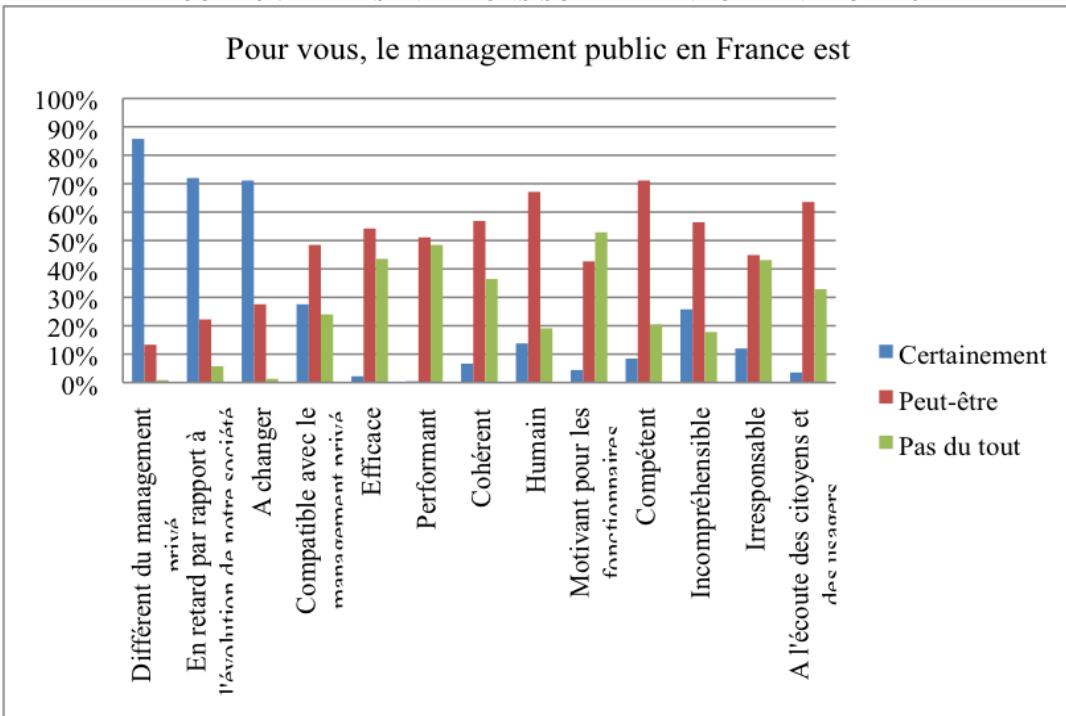


FIGURE 5 : REPRÉSENTATIONS SUR LE MANAGEMENT PUBLIC



Au final, nous avons classé les items de la manière suivante (voir le tableau 5).

TABLEAU 5. CLASSIFICATION DES ITEMS

	Central	Périphérique	Contrasté
Secteur public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Le service public (état civil, santé, éducation, transport, hôpital,...) Les fonctions régaliennes (police justice, impôts,...) L'administration centrale et les établissements publics et semi-publics Les trois fonctions publiques (Etat, Collectivités Territoriales et Hôpital) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intérêt Général Fédérer les français sur des enjeux non marchands Offrir les emplois stables Garantir la croissance économique du pays Servir les usagers le mieux possible
Administration publique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compliquée Lourde Lente Indispensable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compétente Sérieuse Serviable Mal connue Politique Proche des citoyens Arbitraire Juste Tatillonante Autoritaire Disciplinée 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Efficace Réactive Irresponsable
Management public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different du management privé En retard par rapport à l'évolution de notre société A changer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compatible avec le management privé Efficace Performant Cohérent Humain Motivant pour les fonctionnaires Compétent Incompréhensible Irresponsable A l'écoute des citoyens et des usagers 	

Les résultats de notre enquête montrent que, conformément à Halbwachs et à Abric, la valeur publique est composée de deux éléments : le contenu ou les noyaux centraux et la façon de faire et d'être ou les éléments périphériques. Le secteur public concerne le contenu

de la valeur publique. Il est représenté par le service public, les fonctions régaliennes, l'administration centrale et les établissements publics et semi-publics ainsi que les trois fonctions publiques. Tous ces éléments constituent des notions communes et un cadre où la valeur publique intrinsèque est fixée comme les souvenirs de nos participants. Le service public et les fonctions régaliennes sont des notions communes très fortes, un peu comme les « souvenirs dominants » au sens de Bergson dans la mémoire collective de nos interviewés (pour plus de 90% des répondants, ces items qualifient « certainement » le secteur public). Il est à remarquer que l'intérêt général est considéré comme élément contrasté. L'explication se trouverait dans son immatérialité. En effet, tous les éléments centraux peuvent être illustrés des exemples concrets qui facilitent leur matérialisation dans le souvenir des répondants. Ce n'est pas le cas pour l'intérêt général. Cette difficile matérialisation de l'intérêt général empêcherait son ancrage dans la mémoire collective en tant que des notions communes fortes ou des repères. De ce fait, il serait pour certains plutôt un élément périphérique-central. Pour les autres éléments contrastés (fédérer les français sur des enjeux non marchands, offrir les emplois stables, garantir la croissance économique du pays et servir les usagers le mieux possible), il est à noter que les items sont tous formulés en verbe. En d'autres mots, ces items constituent plutôt à une façon de faire que le contenu, ce qui aurait conduit nos participants à une certaine confusion et les aurait conduit à donner les réponses contrastées.

Quant à l'administration publique, elle consiste en la façon d'être ou de faire dans la valeur publique (tous les items sont des adjectifs qualificatifs). Parmi les qualifications, « *compliquée* », « *lourde* », « *lente* » et « *indispensable* » sont des noyaux centraux de la représentation sociale de l'administration et « *compliquée* » et « *lourde* » constituent les notions communes très fortes dans la mémoire collective de nos répondants (plus de 85% d'entre eux considèrent « *certainement* » l'administration « *compliquée* » et « *lourde* »). En d'autres mots, selon Halbwachs, nos participants vivaient et vivent un rapport « *compliqué* » et « *lourd* » avec l'administration. De ce point de vue, l'enquête de Rangeon (1983) sur l'administration publique en France présente un intérêt tout particulier. Si sa méthodologie ne nous permet pas de comparer directement les résultats de nos enquêtes, ses résultats font apparaître néanmoins une représentation sociale que les habitants de Picardie se faisaient de l'administration en 1982 (voir le tableau 6).

TABLEAU 6 : LES REPRÉSENTATIONS DE L'ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE
(SOURCE : RANGEON, 1983)

« Quel est le qualitatif qui, selon vous, s'applique le mieux à l'administration : »

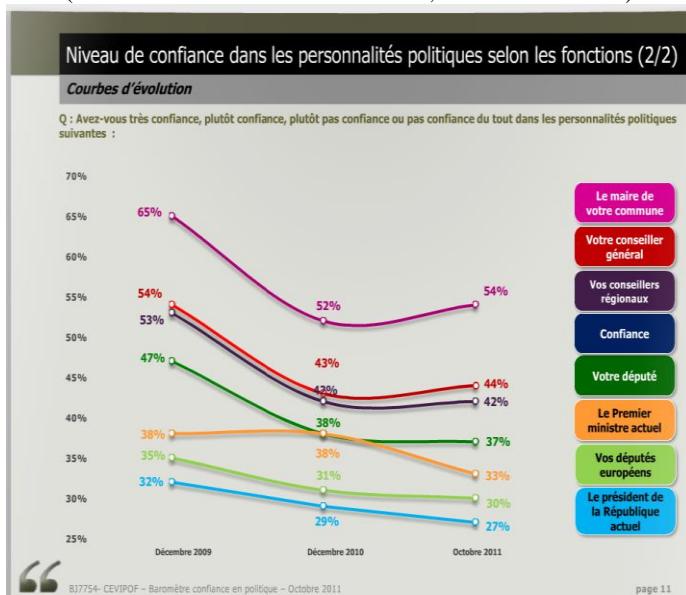
• Compliquée	25,0%
• Anonyme	22,5%
• Tatillonne	17,0%
• Autoritaire	11,5%
• Disciplinée	5,0%
• Serviable	5,0%
• Compréhensive	3,5%
• Autres qualificatifs (irresponsable, lente, lourde, injuste, politique, méconnue,...)	9,5%
• Sans réponse	1,0%

« Estimez-vous que l'administration est, dans l'ensemble : »

• Plutôt compétente	53,5%
• Plutôt incompétente	46,5%
• Plutôt efficace	32%
• Plutôt inefficace	68%

Nous notons qu'entre les résultats du sondage de Rangeon réalisé en 1982 et ceux de notre enquête, menée en 2013, l'image de l'administration a peu changé, et ce, malgré tous les efforts effectués pour « réinventer l'Etat » (Bezes, 2009), le service public et l'administration (ex : le Renouveau du Service Public sous Rocard de 1988 à 1991, le circulaire « Juppé » du 26/07/1995, des expérimentations de nouveaux instruments de gestion de la dépense publique,...). En effet, d'après le sondage de Rangeon, le terme « compliquée » était déjà classé en premier pour qualifier l'administration. Les termes « lourde » et « lente » sont passés de fonction périphérique en 1982 à la fonction centrale en 2013. Si nous considérons l'administration « lourde » et « lente » comme une des conséquences d'une administration « compliquée », leur glissement vers les noyaux centraux apparaît parfaitement logique. Pour les autres items classés dans les éléments périphériques et contrastés dans notre étude, leurs fonctions ont très peu changé depuis 1983. Tout ceci a des retombées administratives plutôt négatives en termes de la valeur publique intrinsèque de nos jours. La confiance publique, la légitimité, l'intégrité et l'image des fonctionnaires et des institutions publiques et politiques sont en effet fortement touchées (voir la figure 5). Selon le sondage de CSA/Avise (2010), seuls 45% des français font confiance aux pouvoirs publics.

FIGURE 6. BAROMÈTRE DE LA CONFIANCE POLITIQUE
(SOURCE : CEVIFOP DU CNRS, OCTOBRE 2011)



Si ces résultats nous permettent de saisir la « retombée administrative » des actions gouvernementales en 1982 et 2013, ils nous permettent également constater la persistance de cette valeur publique dans la durée (plus de 30 ans), ce qui signifie qu'elle constitue bel et bien la mémoire collective de nos participants. Autrement dit, en fixant toute l'attention sur la similitude et la constance, non sur la diversité, ni sur le changement, les deux groupes apparemment distincts partagent les mêmes repères communs quant à la valeur intrinsèque, in fine la même mémoire collective.

Pour ce qui est du management public, il concerne également les manières de faire, car il met en œuvre les actions gouvernementales. Cependant, d'après nos résultats, il ne semble pas facile de qualifier le management public pour nos participants. En effet, si le management public est « certainement » « différent du management privé », « en retard par rapport à l'évolution de notre société » et enfin, « à changer », pour le reste, c'est « peut-être ». Il est ainsi « peut-être » « compatible avec le management privé », « efficace », « performant », « cohérent », « humain », « motivant pour les fonctionnaires », « compétent », « incompréhensible », « irresponsable » et « à l'écoute des citoyens et des

usagers ». Deux explications sont possibles. Tout d'abord, au cours de notre pré-enquête, nous avons constaté quelques difficultés, voire l'embarras de nos participants à définir ce qu'est le management public. Cette difficulté nous laisse penser que tout comme l'intérêt général, la difficulté à le matérialiser et le rendre concret aurait conduit nos répondants à choisir la réponse de facilité en choisissant « peut-être ». En d'autres termes, le management public serait une notion trop vague pour nos répondants. De ce fait, ils ont des difficultés à se la représenter de manière concrète et la formuler. Cette insaisissabilité rend difficile l'appréciation de la valeur publique intrinsèque et la construction d'une mémoire collective en absence du cadre concret où elle peut se fixer. La seconde explication se trouve dans la fonction du management public elle-même par rapport à la représentation sociale. En effet, le management public met en œuvre les actions gouvernementales. Autrement dit, il consiste à une façon de faire. De ce fait, dans une représentation sociale, il occupe nécessairement une fonction périphérique, ce qui justifierait le choix de nos participants pour « peut-être ».

En somme, nos résultats montrent que la valeur publique intrinsèque est bel et bien constituée du contenu et des façons de faire et qu'elle s'inscrit dans la mémoire collective. Si la définition du secteur public nous a permis d'identifier le contenu ou le cadre où la mémoire collective peut se fixer, la qualification de l'administration publique nous a conduits à saisir la nature des rapports entre nos participants et l'administration. Quant au management public, la notion semble trop vague pour constituer un repère quelconque pour le moment. Nous avons également noté que les façons de faire constituent des notions communes fortes dans la mémoire collective de nos participants au même titre que le contenu de la valeur publique. Ceci confirme les propos d'Halbwachs. En effet, pour Halbwachs, les façons de faire est aussi importante, sinon plus que le contenu (le service public, les fonctions régaliennes, l'administration et les fonctions publiques), car la valeur publique a une importance pour nous davantage pour ses rapports et sa façon d'être avec nos idées d'aujourd'hui et moins pour ses contenus.

CONCLUSION

Dans notre étude, nous avons cherché à mesurer l'impact du NPM sur la valeur publique intrinsèque. Pour ce faire, en collaboration avec le Cefop, nous avons mené une enquête au sein des responsables de ressources humaines du secteur privé à la lumière de l'explication théorique d'Halbwachs sur la mémoire collective et à l'appui des techniques d'analyse d'Abrie du noyau central de la représentation sociale. Les résultats de notre enquête nous ont d'abord permis de définir partiellement la valeur publique intrinsèque. Elle est constituée du service public, des fonctions régaliennes, de l'administration et des fonctions publiques et enfin, des façons de les faire fonctionner. Du point de vue de la valeur publique intrinsèque, les façons de faire ont d'importants impacts sur les retombées administratives, alors que le reste représente un aspect concret et stable. Dans une prochaine étude, ces deux aspects sont à tenir compte. Pour ce faire, l'étude de Harrison, Guerrero et al. (2012) présente un intérêt particulier. En effet, ils identifient six façons de faire, appelées « générateurs de valeur publique » ; la rentabilité, l'efficacité, les améliorations intrinsèques, la transparence, la participation et la collaboration. Parmi ces six façons, les auteurs pensent que la transparence, la participation et la collaboration sont liées à la valeur publique à la fois substantielle et intrinsèque. Il serait donc intéressant de vérifier leur hypothèse.

Nos résultats montrent également que la perception de l'administration publique n'a pas tant changé malgré les réformes successives et qu'elle s'est inscrite dans une certaine

continuité. Tout ceci a une double conséquence sur les réformes à mettre en place. D'une part, pour Halbwachs, afin de mener une véritable réforme, il faut changer soit les membres, soit les lieux physiques. En effet, l'espace représente une continuité physique qui sert du cadre dans la mémoire collective. Justement, la localisation physique du service public (ex : écoles, hôpital, Sapeur-Pompier,...), de l'administration (ex : préfecture, mairie,...) ou encore des Ministères (ex : Bercy, Quai d'Orsay,...) fait fonction de cadre stable et concret où la mémoire collective peut se fixer. Quant aux membres, ils sont les détenteurs de cette mémoire collective. De ce fait, tant que les membres changent peu et que l'espace et/ou les noyaux centraux restent les mêmes, quoi qu'il se passe, la mémoire collective privilégiera la similitude au changement afin de maintenir le groupe autour des mêmes intérêts et objectifs. Ceci expliquerait pourquoi certaines réformes sont passées presque inaperçues chez les français. D'autre part, réformer n'est pas toujours une nécessité pour assurer la continuité de notre société. En effet, comme l'a bien dit Halbwachs, pour qu'une société et plus particulièrement l'Etat durent avec quelques consistances, ils doivent assurer une certaine stabilité et de continuité à ses membres composants pour que ces derniers puissent y fixer leur mémoire collective. Ainsi, tout Etat doit se persuader et persuader ses membres qu'il ne change pas ou peu et qu'il dure. Dès lors, si un Etat passe son temps à se réformer, cela reviendrait à fragiliser la stabilité et la continuité indispensable pour la survie d'un Etat et à mettre en péril les rapports qui lient l'Etat à ses membres. De ce point de vue, la question est de savoir si l'Etat peut-il réformer.

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WORKING PAPER

Le management en réseau au secours de l'hôpital

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Introduction

Sauver des vies, accompagner la fin de vie, donner la vie : tels sont les mérites de l'hôpital, qui consistent à soulager la douleur, tout en épargnant des peines ou des chagrins. Derrière cette vocation remarquable, l'hôpital est confronté, comme toute organisation publique et non marchande, à de multiples difficultés techniques et humaines pour rendre service aux malades. Il doit rendre des comptes à la tutelle publique et aux organismes sociaux sur l'utilisation des ressources. Il fait face à des revendications sociales parmi le personnel pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail. Dans le même temps, le citoyen est toujours plus exigeant, à l'écoute des techniques médicales innovantes, qui laissent augurer pour demain une médecine personnalisée, réparatrice, et même de « santé augmentée » d'après le courant transhumaniste (Ferry, 2017) !

Les défis de l'hôpital

Plus précisément, pour effectuer ses missions, l'hôpital fait face à trois défis majeurs : la transition énergétique qui consiste à protéger la planète dans les activités de service public ; la transformation digitale qui consiste à tirer parti de la dématérialisation des informations et de la désintermédiation dans l'offre de service public (Rifkin 2005) ; la mutation économique dans la fonction publique qui oblige à produire plus de service avec moins de ressources. Pour relever ces défis, la réponse tient en une formule : le travail en réseau. Ce n'est pas une vaine formule de style, mais un véritable enjeu de société (Assens 2016) ! Pour faire plus avec moins sur le plan économique, tout en personnalisant les services médicaux sans détruire la planète, il est nécessaire de gérer l'hôpital à travers de multiples collaborations, pour lesquelles la confiance doit se substituer au management bureaucratique-hiéralchique.

Le réseau : une structure de collaboration durable

Un réseau est un mode d'organisation, plus ou moins formel, capable de créer des passerelles pour nouer des collaborations entre partenaires indépendants : individus et/ou institutions. Dans un réseau, l'initiative de collaboration part du terrain au contact le plus proche des réalités, vis-à-vis des consommateurs du service public par exemple. C'est la raison pour laquelle les multiples strates hiérarchiques et bureaucratiques, sont traditionnellement remplacées par des intermédiaires fiables de confiance.

Ce changement permet de passer d'une logique verticale de planification et de contrôle des tâches à une logique horizontale de prise de décision (Enjolras 2010). Dans un réseau, les intermédiaires sont choisis d'abord parmi les partenaires-membres suivant la métaphore du « renvoi d'ascenseur » théorisée par Mauss (2007) dans son ouvrage sur le don contre don, selon laquelle la confiance se construit dans la réciprocité des liens sociaux. En cas de conflit d'intérêt entre les partenaires ne permettant pas la mise en œuvre de cette réciprocité, un intermédiaire favorisant la collaboration peut alors être choisi en dehors du

réseau, par cooptation. Cet intermédiaire joue ainsi le rôle d'un tiers de confiance, neutre et bienveillant.

En d'autres termes, la collaboration dans un réseau peut fonctionner sans intermédiaire si le niveau de confiance est suffisamment élevé entre les partenaires, ou grâce à un intermédiaire choisi en raison de sa notoriété pour mettre en relation des partenaires isolés, voire avec un tiers de confiance extérieur au réseau choisi en raison de sa neutralité pour réconcilier des partenaires qui s'ignorent.

Le management en réseau à l'hôpital

Dans ce cadre général, il existe plusieurs catégories de réseaux dans l'hôpital pour résoudre les défis de gestion : les réseaux internes et externes.

Les réseaux internes à l'hôpital

Le premier niveau de collaboration dans l'hôpital est interne. Il concerne celui les communautés professionnelles au sein du personnel soignant et des administratifs. Une communauté professionnelle est un réseau qui regroupe naturellement des acteurs qui partagent les mêmes préoccupations de carrières, les mêmes statuts de la fonction publique, les mêmes revendications syndicales parfois, les mêmes codes de langage et les mêmes conventions de pratique professionnelle. Si l'on établie la cartographie sociologique d'un hôpital, on va se rendre compte qu'il existe de multiples communautés professionnelles au sens de (Wenger et al. 2002) : les aides soignants, les médecins hospitaliers ayant tel statut ou telle ancéneté, les administratifs de telle catégorie, etc. Le premier problème de management à l'hôpital consiste à fédérer et à faire collaborer ces communautés, alors qu'elles ont tendance à se replier sur elles mêmes pour se protéger des procédures, ou pour revendiquer contre le pouvoir central. Pour améliorer la coordination des soins et le bien être au travail pour le personnel, il faut donc manager par la confiance en favorisant le travail en réseau par des intermédiaires ou des tiers de confiance cooptés par les acteurs de terrain eux-mêmes ! Il s'agit d'un vaste programme, utopique diront certains, qui consiste à placer le patient au centre de l'organisation, à la place du pouvoir des règles ou de la hiérarchie !

Le réseau de santé mentale Prepsy

A titre d'exemple, le service d'accompagnement personnalisé des malades en santé mentale dans la structure Prepsy-samsah créée par le Dr. Guy Gozlan est une bonne illustration des vertus du travail en réseau dans le domaine médical (Gozlan 2015). Pour proposer une offre de soin « sur-mesure » aux patients tout en conservant une maîtrise des coûts standards, la structure modulaire Prepsy s'appuie d'abord sur un premier réseau constitué par le personnel spécialisé en place : psychiatre, neuro psychologue, aide soignant, éducateur spécialisé, assistant social, pair aidant, ergonome, etc.. Ces spécialistes travaillent en mode projet dans un cadre de confiance pour trouver une solution au cas par cas auprès de chaque patient. Il n'y a pas de hiérarchie formelle ni de procédure standard de contrôle au sein de Prepsy afin de ne pas allourdir les coûts de coordination et de contrôle. Le réseau interne active ensuite un deuxième réseau de partenaires en externe avec lequel il a tissé des liens de confiance et qu'il coordonne dans la durée pour les besoins de chaque patient : médecins scolaires, hôpitaux, pédiatres, psychiatres, infirmières libérales, associations de patients, pharmaciens, etc.

Les réseaux externes à l'hôpital

Comme le souligne l'exemple du réseau modulaire Prepsy, l'hôpital doit être en mesure également de prolonger les ramifications des réseaux à l'extérieur de ses murs, pour exercer ses missions tout en répondant aux nouveaux défis de gestion. Sur la question de la transition énergétique, l'hôpital doit travailler en collaboration étroite, dans une logique de réseau avec des partenaires logistiques, industriels et pharmaceutiques pour que les flux d'énergie, de ressources, de matière première, de médicaments deviennent les maillons d'une économie circulaire. Le plus souvent possible, les matières consommées doivent provenir de l'économie verte et les déchets doivent retournés dans l'économie circulaire à travers le recyclage.

Sur la question de la transformation digitale, l'hôpital doit travailler en réseau avec les autres maillons du service public, dans le domaine de la santé, et au delà. Sur le principe du guichet unique, les administrations publiques doivent harmoniser leurs systèmes d'informations (dossier médical unique) et mutualiser leurs bases de données informatiques. Avec la révolution numérique, le guichet unique médical doit être étendu à tous les domaines (impôt, caisse d'assurance familiale, sécurité sociale, etc.). Il s'agit de mieux informer le citoyen sur ses droits, et d'écourter les procédures dans la prise en charge des demandes de service public.

Sur la question de la maîtrise des dépenses publiques dans le domaine de la santé, l'hôpital doit à nouveau travailler en réseau avec des partenaires externes à commencer par les autres hôpitaux de proximité et les cliniques privés situés sur le même territoire. C'est un enjeu par exemple pour désengorger le service public des urgences, en orientant des patients vers le secteur privé dont la capacité d'accueil n'est pas saturée en matière d'urgences. Plus généralement, il s'agit de mutualiser un certain nombre de dépenses logistiques, d'approvisionnement et de réaliser des économies d'échelle dans la réalisation des soins, au sein de chaque territoire. À cette échelle, pour que la mise en réseau des hôpitaux avec les parties prenantes soit effective, il faut dépasser les mécanismes de régulation par l'Etat, qui enferme la collaboration dans une vision hiérarchique, ou par le marché qui confine à la logique du chacun pour soi.

Le bien commun du territoire

Dans le domaine des réseaux de santé, la tentation est grande pour l'Etat, à travers l'agence régionale de santé, de maîtriser les dépenses publiques tout en conservant un pouvoir d'influence politique. L'idée consiste généralement à garder la main mise politique en contrôlant les initiatives de travail en réseau sur le terrain, pour éliminer les doublons et réaliser des économies d'envergure. Or, la création de grands ensembles de réseaux pilotés verticalement n'est pas efficace en matière de santé publique, car la redondance et la variété sont nécessaires pour la souplesse d'adaptation sur le terrain (Assens, Courie 2015). Il faut laisser le citoyen arbitrer sur l'utilité des réseaux de santé publique, et éviter de rationaliser ou fusionner à des fins d'affichage politique. L'Etat doit accompagner la transformation horizontale des hôpitaux, sans vouloir l'enfermer dans une vision politique trop verticale et centralisatrice.

Par ailleurs, si l'hôpital gagne en autonomie par rapport aux autorités de tutelle, il doit être en mesure de co-construire la confiance avec des partenaires de proximité publics et privés au sein du territoire. Il s'agit d'éviter la « logique de marché » consistant à rivaliser avec les cliniques privés sur les offres de soin les plus prestigieuses, ou les moins onéreuses, et

d'éviter aussi la guerre de position entre hôpitaux publics pour percevoir des subventions publiques ! Dans le monde agricole, les coopératives sont bien capables de défendre le bien commun d'un territoire par la mise œuvre de stratégies en réseau. Il doit être possible de réaliser la même chose dans le domaine de la santé.

Conclusion

L'hôpital est soumis à des objectifs souvent contradictoires : de réduction des coûts avec la standardisation des procédures médicales et d'amélioration de la qualité des soins avec un suivi personnalisé des patients ; d'ancrage régional dans l'offre de soins avec une capacité de veille internationale pour innover ; de rapprochement public-privé sous l'égide de la tutelle politique.

Ces objectifs contradictoires peuvent être réconciliés dans une organisation en réseau, tirant partie du maillage des collaborateurs de l'hôpital avec les différentes parties prenantes. Dans le cadre de cette mise en réseau, le malade doit être placé au centre du maillage pour en évaluer la pertinence et l'efficacité, en lieu et place de la surréglementation bureaucratique, de la bataille d'ego des chefs de service, de la tutelle politique éloignée des réalités ou du rôle corporatiste des syndicats.

Pour mettre en place une organisation en réseau à l'hôpital, il est nécessaire de déconstruire en grande partie le pouvoir vertical, et d'instaurer la confiance horizontale, suivant trois modalités :

- le réseau piloté : il comporte un pilote central avec une performance qui repose sur la légitimité de ce pilote pour coordonner les partenaires et réguler le maillage : il peut s'agir de réseaux fondés sur l'expertise technique du pilote comme dans le cas Prepsy par exemple.
- le réseau administré : sa performance est liée aux modalités de co-gouvernance entre représentants élus et membres non élus dans le réseau, avec un soucis d'équité dans le partage de la rente relationnelle : il peut s'agir des réseaux d'établissements sur un territoire partageant une charte de gouvernance commune, comme dans l'économie sociale et solidaire à l'image des coopératives agricoles.
- le réseau distribué : il fonctionne en l'absence de pilote ou de charte de gouvernance, et dont la performance est liée aux mécanismes d'autogestion pour éviter la dissolution du maillage ou le besoin d'autorité : il peut s'agir des groupes-projets de 15 à 20 personnes centrés sur le patient et fonctionnant sur le principe de la réciprocité et du don contre don.

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Le business de l'éducation

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Pour répondre aux limites de la massification de l'enseignement public, l'incursion du secteur privé dans l'accompagnement scolaire devient un phénomène de plus en plus répandu. Est-ce que cette intrusion des entreprises privées préserve les missions du service public, sur l'égalité des chances, la continuité et la mutabilité de l'enseignement ? Cet article expose les enjeux historiques dans l'évolution de l'enseignement, en mettant en perspective la montée en puissance du secteur privé, renforcé par la transformation digitale comme un « nouveau phare d'Alexandrie », qui attire les jeunes générations d'élèves comme des papillons de nuit désorientés par la lumière artificielle des écrans d'ordinateur !

L'éducation à l'école se déroule comme un passage de relais entre les jeunes générations et les plus anciennes, pour acquérir le savoir nécessaire avant de prendre à son tour les commandes de la société ! De ce point de vue, l'éducation joue plusieurs rôles à la fois : le transfert de la conscience collective entre les générations, la socialisation au contact des autres, le rite d'initiation pour faciliter l'entrée dans la vie active, l'ouverture sur le savoir obligeant à réfléchir sur soi suivant la formule célèbre de Socrate « connais-toi toi-même » !

De ce point de vue, l'éducation est une activité trop universelle pour être considérée comme une activité purement marchande. Elle figure la plupart du temps comme un bien public d'intérêt général, qui ne doit exclure ni mettre en compétition les jeunes générations par rapport aux précédentes, pour accéder au savoir. Dans cette mesure, la formation à l'école est une activité quasi-régaliennne de l'Etat, au même titre que la santé ou la sécurité, car elle fait sens dans la société pour rendre les citoyens libres et égaux en droit.

Ces beaux principes sont néanmoins battus en brèche avec la crise du modèle social en France et ailleurs. En effet, depuis une trentaine d'année, la France comme d'autres pays est soumise à des évènements majeurs : la mondialisation de l'économie qui fait perdre de la richesse face à des pays plus agressifs sur le plan économique ; la crise énergétique obligeant à réfléchir sur un modèle de société plus économique en ressources naturelles ; la transformation digitale poussant vers la dématérialisation du savoir.

Pour protéger le modèle social français dans la mondialisation, les choix des politiques publiques, de droite ou de gauche, consiste à renforcer les moyens mis à disposition de l'école pour améliorer la réussite scolaire¹⁸. La France n'a pas de pétrole, c'est la raison pour laquelle elle doit absolument développer ses ressources en matière grise avec l'éducation !

¹⁸ Lors de la remise du rapport Thélot " Pour la réussite de tous les élèves ", Jean-Pierre Raffarin, Premier ministre, déclare que la réforme de l'école est l'une des trois priorités du " Contrat France 2005 " ; il annonce une loi d'orientation et de programmation qui s'inscrit dans le prolongement de la loi d'orientation de 1989 mise en place par Linoel Jospin, avec pour objectif principal de lutter contre l'échec scolaire (" 100 % des élèves devant obtenir une qualification "). Principales propositions du rapport Thélot : scolarité obligatoire à cinq ans ; acquisition par tous les élèves d'un " socle commun des indispensables ", y compris l'anglais (initiation dès le CE2) et la pratique informatique, par des apprentissages personnalisés et des parcours diversifiés en trois cycles (apprentissage de base, approfondissement, diversification) ; orientation à la fin de la classe de 3e et diversification des filières dès la seconde (voies professionnelles, vers des études supérieures courtes, vers des études supérieures longues).

Durant ces trente dernières années, l'endettement public devient chronique pour équilibrer les comptes sociaux sur la protection solidaire (maladie, santé, éducation, retraite, formation, emploi) mais aussi pour développer les moyens mis à la disposition de l'école, en laissant le soin aux futures générations de trouver une solution de financement viable de réforme à long terme.

Le mythe de l'égalité des chances

La politique de l'école est tournée vers la massification de l'enseignement, avec le taux de réussite au baccalauréat atteignant 78,5% pour une classe d'âge en 2016, assez proche de l'objectif fixé en 1989 par la loi Jospin qui prévoyait 80% de réussite en l'an 2000 ! Pour la tutelle publique, il s'agit d'allonger la durée des études le plus longtemps possible pour le plus grand nombre possible, pour favoriser l'insertion professionnelle et la lutte contre le chômage, mais également pour de ne pas aggraver les statistiques du chômage pendant la durée du mandat électoral.

Cette politique de massification de l'enseignement n'est pas une réussite, d'après le rapport d'évaluation publié le 27 septembre 2016 par le Conseil National d'Evaluation du système Scolaire (Cnesco). Sur les trente dernières années, l'école française est devenue la plus inégalitaire de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE). Avec une baisse des résultats des élèves défavorisés et une amélioration du niveau des élèves de milieu favorisé, le fossé se creuse. D'après l'étude, pour réduire l'échec scolaire, la France a toujours avancé les mêmes recettes par-delà les alternances politiques : plans de relance de l'éducation prioritaire, dispositifs dits de « compensation » des notes, ou encore formes diverses de soutien individualisée. Peu efficaces, ces aides ont été malgré tout reconduites dans le temps, faute d'évaluation.

A titre d'exemple, près des deux tiers des élèves qui ont passé le Brevet des collèges en 2014 n'ont pas obtenu la moyenne à l'épreuve finale de mathématiques.

Au classement PISA « *Program for International Student Assessment* » c'est-à-dire le « Programme international pour le suivi des acquis des élèves », la France obtient des mauvais résultats par rapport à d'autres pays de niveau de vie comparable. En dépit des moyens mis en œuvre, la France est alors pointée du doigt comme l'un des systèmes scolaires les plus inefficaces inéquitables en Europe car il creuse les inégalités sociales, donnant du grain à moudre pour renforcer la démocratisation de l'enseignement. De ce fait, la politique publique de l'enseignement entre alors dans un cercle vicieux démagogique, qui affaiblit depuis de nombreuses années la crédibilité de l'école. L'objectif quantitatif s'effectue en effet de plus en plus au détriment de la réussite qualitative des élèves.

Le virage du secteur privé

Partant de ce constat, l'école perd une partie de sa légitimité dans l'esprit de certains parents d'élèves. Elle semble ne plus pouvoir jouer son rôle d'ascenseur social entre les générations, en creusant les inégalités entre les élèves de milieu modeste et les élèves de milieu favorisé. Une première brèche dans le système public scolaire apparaît alors avec l'essor de l'enseignement privé à la fin du XXe siècle, autorisé toutefois en France depuis 1850 avec la loi Falloux. Pour les parents concernés par le secteur privé, il s'agit d'une part d'échapper au dogme du « nivelingement par le bas » consécutif à la massification de l'éducation, et d'autre part d'échapper à l'instruction laïque en prônant un enseignement d'obédience catholique par exemple.

Aujourd'hui, 2 millions d'élèves sont scolarisés dans le secteur privé à travers quatre modalités : établissement privé sous contrat avec l'Etat, établissement privé sous contrat

simple, établissements privé hors contrat, enseignement familial hors établissement¹⁹. En proportion, 17 % des élèves français étaient scolarisés dans un établissement d'enseignement privé pendant l'année scolaire 2011-2012, dont 98 % de ces élèves qui étaient scolarisés dans un établissement sous contrat d'obéissance catholique. Enfin, on note que l'enseignement privé est particulièrement présent dans l'enseignement agricole, dans l'enseignement secondaire et beaucoup moins dans l'enseignement primaire.

La massification de l'enseignement provoque ainsi un schisme dans le milieu scolaire, en renforçant le repli sur soi dans des communautés bien distinctes : le secteur public pour les classes défavorisées et moyennes, le secteur privé pour les classes aisées. Dès lors, le système scolaire offre un « menu à la carte », qui au lieu de corriger les biais dans l'égalité des chances, entretient l'autoreproduction sociale !

Il perd son caractère universel de bien public d'intérêt général, pour entrer progressivement dans une logique marchande. Les écoles privées acceptent en effet le principe de concurrence pour attirer les meilleurs élèves, afin de cultiver une notoriété dans l'excellence au sein des grandes métropoles, alors que dans les petites villes ces écoles participent surtout à l'aménagement du territoire. Pour les plus sélectives d'entre elles, elles mettent en évidence les résultats scolaires obtenus dans des classements pour attirer et sélectionner d'autres élèves méritants, et entretenir une rente par l'image de marque sur le marché de l'enseignement.

Dans ces conditions, les parcours sélectifs tendent à devenir l'apanage du secteur privé. Sans être caricatural, l'excellence au mérite existe aussi dans le secteur public, dans les collèges et les lycées, mais elle s'affiche de façon moins ostentatoire, comme une entorse au dogme sur l'égalité des chances. Elle relève alors du parcours d'initié, dont les enseignants du secteur public connaissent les codes !

Faire entrer l'école à la maison !

Ceci étant, que ce soit dans le public ou dans le privé, les enseignants exercent leur métier avec passion et un engagement formidable dans des conditions difficiles, confrontés d'une part au comportement consumériste de certains élèves du privé, et d'autre part au manque de moyens et au déficit de considération de certains élèves du public. Il ne s'agit pas d'opposer les deux modèles mais de considérer qu'ils se complètent : la standardisation de l'apprentissage dans le secteur public est complétée par la segmentation de l'offre d'enseignement dans le secteur privé.

Ces modèles se complètent d'autant mieux, qu'ils sont confrontés aux mêmes difficultés pour transmettre un savoir académique dans des classes où le cours magistral ne fait plus recette !

Le modèle de l'école est en effet remis en question par les jeunes générations d'élèves qui souhaitent devenir acteur dans l'apprentissage, co-producteur de savoirs, et bénéficier d'un accompagnement personnalisé dans leur parcours scolaire. La massification de l'enseignement sous statut public ou privé ne parvient pas à résoudre cette équation !

Une seconde brèche est alors ouverte dans laquelle s'engouffrent d'autres entreprises comme Domia Group (ex-Acadomia), Groupe Complétude, Alma Learning Group, Anacours, Domicours, Educlever, Go & Live, Cned, Ionis Up, Méthodia, pour faire entrer l'école à la maison ! Les associations de quartier fournissent également beaucoup d'aides aux devoir ; c'est un secteur supplémentaire qui s'ajoute à tout cela et fort développé. Certaines

¹⁹ Bien que marginal, le « Home Schooling » est en pleine expansion. Ce phénomène concerne plus de 5% des élèves aux USA. En France, le principe d'éducation à la maison a pris tellement d'ampleur qu'il fait maintenant l'objet d'un séminaire commun entre l'Espé de Versailles, l'université de Cergy-Pontoise et l'EMA (Ecole mutation et apprentissage).

associations sont gratuites et d'autres payantes.

Dans ces conditions, la France devient le premier marché de soutien scolaire privé dans l'union européenne avec, en 2011, un volume d'affaires de 1,5 milliard d'euros, d'après une note du Centre d'Analyse Stratégique datant de janvier 2013, avec une croissance du marché de 10% par an en moyenne. Cela représente un million d'élèves et 40 millions d'heures de cours dispensés chaque année par le soutien scolaire privé.

Le business du soutien scolaire

L'entreprise Acadomia est le leader français du soutien scolaire privé (aide aux devoirs, cours particuliers, accompagnement sur les méthodes d'apprentissage, orientation et coaching scolaire), réalisant un chiffre d'affaires de 120 millions d'euros en 2013 auprès de 100 000 élèves. Une heure de cours particulier coûte en moyenne de 30 à 60 euros, selon le niveau scolaire de l'élève. Chez Acadomia les cours sont facturés 44,50 € l'heure + 29 € par mois de frais de dossier avec un engagement contractuel sur 20 heures au minimum. Le budget annuel moyen d'une famille concernée par le soutien scolaire s'élève à 1500 euros sur une année.

Dans ce contexte, la société Acadomia collabore avec 25 000 enseignants de niveau minimum bac+ 3, à travers le maillage de 115 agences de proximité. La qualité des services proposés par Acadomia est certifiée par l'organisme de certification indépendant SGS. En conséquence, ce n'est plus l'Etat le garant du dogme sur la pédagogie, mais une officine privée qui valide les procédures d'enseignement d'autres officines privés... Le bien public de l'éducation sort pour partie du giron de l'Etat.

Néanmoins, le modèle d'affaire d'Acadomia repose paradoxalement sur l'aide financière de l'Etat, sous prétexte de réduire les inégalités d'apprentissage que la massification de l'enseignement public a engendré. Ainsi, tous les coûts –le salaire et les charges de l'enseignant sélectionné par Acadomia, mais également la part facturée par Acadomia aux parents d'élèves– bénéficient d'une aide de l'Etat sous forme d'un crédit d'impôts correspondant à 50% des montants concernés, dans la limite de 12000 euros par an. Le modèle d'affaire d'Acadomia n'est donc viable économiquement que grâce au crédit d'impôt, qui se justifie politiquement pour faire face à la crise du système scolaire. La solidarité nationale s'exerce donc sur le marché du soutien scolaire !

En effet, d'après un rapport réalisé en 2010 par l'Inspection générale de l'Éducation nationale (IGEN), le système scolaire français "produit encore 50 % à 60 % d'élèves dont les résultats sont satisfaisants ou très bons, 20 % à 30 % dont les résultats sont insuffisants et 15% à 20 % en grande difficulté scolaire". La France se place ainsi parmi les pays développés, celui dont les élèves en difficulté sont les plus nombreux ! Le soutien scolaire privé n'est pas forcément en mesure d'inverser cette tendance générale, même s'il s'inscrit dans le phénomène en vogue de « l'éducation de l'ombre » ou du *Shadow Education*.

En effet, le recours à un système d'enseignement parallèle avec le soutien scolaire privé s'est fortement développé à partir des années 80-90, partout dans le monde. Au Japon et en Corée du Sud, on estime que 9 élèves sur 10 prennent des cours de soutien privés à un moment ou un autre de leur scolarité. En Europe, chaque année plusieurs milliards d'euro sont dépensés dans le soutien scolaire privé (Bray, 2011)²⁰, surtout en Europe du Sud. En France, le pourcentage d'élèves qui ont recours au soutien scolaire est important et en forte croissance. Dans d'autres pays en retard dans le domaine éducatif, la dépense des familles en soutien privé atteint même le niveau de la dépense publique d'éducation comme en

20 Bray, M. (2011). The challenge of shadow education : Private tutoring and its implications for policy makers in the european union. Technical report, European Commission.

Turquie ou en Corée du Sud où elle atteint 2,9 % du PIB d'après les travaux de Dang et Rogers (2008).²¹

Pour autant, le principe du *shadow education* ne contribue pas à améliorer les résultats globaux du système, même s'il rassure les parents. En effet, d'après le rapport réalisé en France par Galinié et Heim (2016) ²² à partir d'une étude statistique sur un échantillon représentatif d'élèves dans le secondaire :

« Les cours de soutien privés ont un impact positif et significatif en 6e, notamment sur les compétences en mathématiques, en compréhension de texte et en "culture générale". Ainsi, si les élèves concernés sont au départ plutôt plus faibles, le fait de bénéficier de cours de soutien privés leur permet de progresser. Cependant, les capacités en raisonnement logique sont négativement affectées par les cours de soutien privés, ce que nous interprétons comme le produit d'un travail davantage axé sur la préparation d'exercices types, la reproduction de contenu pédagogique, etc., au détriment de résolution de problèmes ou d'autres activités développant la logique. En revanche, en 4e/3e, la plupart des estimations sont imprécises et n'excluent pas l'absence d'effet. À nouveau, seules les compétences en raisonnement logique sont négativement et significativement affectées par le soutien scolaire. Au total, la sélection des élèves qui prennent des cours privés est telle qu'il est difficile de mesurer de façon certaine les effets moyens de tels cours. Les différentes méthodes que nous avons mises en œuvre donnent à penser que les effets sont probablement assez faibles, avec ponctuellement quelques effets positifs et négatifs, en 6e seulement, et pour certaines compétences très scolaires. »

Autrement-dit, le soutien scolaire privé n'est pas efficace pour améliorer les performances scolaires, mais il contribue surtout à accentuer les inégalités entre les élèves des milieux sociaux favorisés et défavorisés, point faible bien connu du système éducatif français. En effet, d'après un rapport récent établi par le CNESCO, conseil national d'évaluation du système scolaire :

« Les résultats des études françaises montrent que les inégalités scolaires se sont creusées en France. Ainsi, en 2012, les évaluations de la direction de l'évaluation de la prospective et de la performance révèlent que les élèves des établissements les plus défavorisés ne maîtrisent que 35 % des compétences attendues en français en fin de 3e, contre 60 % en 2007. En parallèle, les élèves des établissements les plus favorisés maîtrisent au moins 80 % des compétences requises. Les études les plus récentes montrent que ces phénomènes s'inscrivent bien dans la durée. En ce qui concerne la maîtrise de la langue, selon la dernière enquête du cycle des évaluations disciplinaires réalisées sur échantillons (Cedre) en 2015, a été renouvelée pour le collège et interdit une comparaison avec les résultats de 2003 et 2009, mais les élèves d'éducation prioritaire ont toujours des résultats très inférieurs aux autres : 27,4 % d'entre eux sont en grande difficulté, voire en très grande difficulté (contre 14,9 % hors éducation prioritaire) et les disparités restent liées à l'origine sociale des élèves. En mathématiques, entre 2008 et 2014, la corrélation entre la réussite scolaire et l'origine sociale des élèves s'est renforcée, sans fléchissement des résultats des collèges les plus favorisés. »

²¹ Dang, H.-A. et F. H. Rogers (2008, February). How to interpret the growing phenomenon of private tutoring : human capital deepening, inequality increasing, or waste of resources ? Policy Research Working Paper Series 4530, The World Bank.

²² Galinié A, Heim A (2016), Inégalités scolaires : quels rôles jouent les cours privés ?, Comment l'école amplifie les inégalités sociales et migratoires, rapport du CNESCO.

Au delà des limites d'efficacité, le soutien scolaire privé souffre également d'un problème de rentabilité économique qui empêche son développement de façon durable sans l'aide publique. Paradoxalement, sans les subventions de l'Etat sous forme de crédit d'impôt, le soutien scolaire privé ne peut pas être pérennisé !

A titre d'exemple, en 2011, Acadomia frôle la liquidation de bilan en raison de difficultés économiques importantes consécutives au plafonnement des aides de l'Etat. La société fait ainsi face à la hausse de la TVA réduite, relevée de 7 % au lieu de 5,5 % le 1er avril 2012, et elle est confrontée à la loi de financement de la sécurité sociale (PLFSS) en 2013. Cette dernière supprime le régime du « forfait », qui permettait aux parents d'élèves de payer les cotisations sociales des enseignants d'Acadomia sur la base du Smic, alors même que l'enseignant à domicile était (souvent) rémunéré au-delà...

Dans ces conditions, l'entreprise Acadomia sort de la cotation sur le marché libre en Bourse à Paris pour être racheté par un fond d'investissement, Metric Capital Partners- MCP Education, qui investit 14 millions d'euros pour redresser les comptes. MCP Education est un investisseur paneuropéen fournissant des solutions de financement « sur-mesure » à des PME de croissance comme Acadomia. MCP Education détient à ce jour 95,6% du capital de la Société Acadomia qui n'est plus côtée en Bourse.

Cette restructuration majeure sur le marché du soutien scolaire répond au besoin de taille critique face à une nouvelle concurrence dans le secteur privé en provenance des cours en ligne et de l'accompagnement scolaire sur Internet.

Aujourd'hui, il n'est plus suffisant de faire entrer l'école dans la maison, je suis persuadé qu'il faut faire entrer l'école dans la poche de l'élève dans les applications de son téléphone portable, en tout lieu et à tout moment ! C'est un changement d'habitude profond dans l'accès au savoir, sous une forme interactive et dématérialisée.

À partir de ce moment, le problème dans l'enseignement n'est plus de réfléchir sur les vertus du statut public - privé, ou sur les avantages fiscaux du suivi scolaire à la maison, le problème consiste à capter l'attention de l'élève dans l'univers des écrans, en concurrence avec les divertissements et l'implication dans les réseaux sociaux !

Faire entrer l'école dans « la poche de l'élève » !

On entre dans une approche 2.0 de l'enseignement, avec une approche plus interactive adaptée à la « génération Y » des élèves soucieux de consommer des services de formation à la carte. C'est totalement différent de l'approche d'Acadomia dont le *business model* était tourné vers les parents-prescripteurs des élèves issus de la « génération Y », avec l'argument du crédit d'impôt d'un service soumis à une faible TVA !

Tout d'abord, les “*digital native*” ont proscrit les médias traditionnels (TV, radio, presse écrite) de leurs sources d'information. Cette génération délaisse également les canaux traditionnels de communication, au profit quasi exclusif d'Internet. Dans les usages quotidiens, tous les médias traditionnels comme la radio, la TV ou la presse, sont remplacés par les médias sociaux à l'image de Facebook, pour plusieurs raisons. Il semble que le média social remplace le média traditionnel avec la capacité de rendre les messages plus faciles d'accès et plus attractifs en combinant le texte, le son et l'image. C'est le principe de convergence technologique.

Par ailleurs, le média social offre un espace de liberté sans précédent par une interaction directe entre l'émetteur et le récepteur d'un message, sans passer par le filtre des journalistes ou d'autres relais comme les enseignants. Enfin le média social repose sur un

principe de "gratuité" dans l'accès à l'information en se rémunérant uniquement sur la publicité, à la différence de la presse traditionnelle par exemple.

Ainsi, les adolescents s'approprient en priorité un savoir qui ne vient plus de l'école. Ce que dit l'enseignant en classe peut être contesté à tout moment par n'importe quel message provenant d'Internet, même si ces messages sont d'ailleurs erronées la plupart du temps. Dans ces conditions, la légitimité d'une connaissance n'est plus établie exclusivement par l'école et les passeurs de savoir, mais dorénavant par les nouveaux médias interactifs. A partir du moment où une information est relayée d'écran en écran, elle devient authentique, à l'image de ces légendes urbaines qui se propagent au gré des rumeurs, des superstitions et des croyances en tout genre !

Les adolescents s'engoufrent ainsi dans une brèche laissée vacante par les institutions : les réseaux d'information en ligne. Ce n'est plus l'élève qui fait la démarche de remonter à la source du savoir comme le saumon dans le lit de la rivière, c'est le savoir qui doit capter l'attention de l'élève, déjà sollicité par des centaines de micro-activités de divertissement et de communication.

Il y a bien sur de nombreux îlots de résistance face à cette tendance générale, sans parler des « collèges numériques » dans le secteur public, comme le précise un enseignant d'histoire du Lycée Hoche à Versailles : "*mes élèves de ces 2 dernières années, s'ils sont bien des nouvelles générations ouvertes aux écrans et aux réseaux sociaux, en ont un usage très distancié, modéré et raisonnable, ne sont pas dupes, ont toujours recours aux supports traditionnels, la presse et le livre en particulier, et non seulement ne rechignent pas au cours magistral mais en sont même demandeurs, s'il est bien entendu riche et nourri de réflexion et de sens. Qu'ils ne soient pas en échec scolaire, et se contentent d'un enseignement traditionnel et public n'est sans doute pas sans rapport.*"

Au-delà de cet exemple, l'école demeure enfermée dans une vision normative de ses missions, en délivrant des diplômes comme sésame à l'insertion professionnelle, et avec une pédagogie de retard sur l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies. Pour des raisons bureaucratiques et idéologiques, l'école n'est toujours pas en mesure d'intégrer les nouvelles techniques de transmission du savoir, en restant dans une approche standardisée et massive de l'enseignement, alors qu'Internet offre un apprentissage "sur mesure" qui se déroule de manière interactive.

Il y a un fossé comblé pour partie par des entreprises de soutien scolaire en ligne, comme *livementor* qui invente le rôle de l'enseignant de demain : un enseignant capable d'effectuer un accompagnement personnalisé et à distance de l'élève hors des murs de la classe, fondé sur l'acquisition de savoirs par l'interaction et non par l'écoute passive, en cherchant à développer des compétences pratiques, propres à chacun, par du *coaching* mental. D'autres entreprises utilisent Internet pour favoriser l'orientation des étudiants comme la plate-forme *MasterBooking* du groupe privé Eduniversal qui propose un classement de l'offre de formation à l'image des comparateurs de prix qui existent dans la grande consommation.

Le business en ligne du soutien scolaire

D'après une étude récente du cabinet Xerfi Recherche²³, la transformation digitale tend à modifier en profondeur le business du soutien scolaire.

Les positions commerciales des enseignes historiques du soutien scolaire sont particulièrement menacées par la vague du *e-learning*. Acadomia, Complétude ou Cours

²³ Xerfi Research (2016), Le marché du soutien scolaire, Pure players, plateformes de mise en relation, etc. : quels impacts sur le jeu concurrentiel et l'activité des acteurs historiques à l'horizon 2017 ?, Référence 6SME65/XR-, 166 pages.

Legendre, qui se sont développés par un maillage territorial à travers un réseau d'agences physiques, sont confrontés à l'émergence de nouveaux concurrents, proposant une offre fondée sur les outils numériques : cours en vidéo, fiches synthétique en ligne, suivi personnalisé par un enseignant. La question n'est plus d'être implanté physiquement à proximité de la maison de l'élève, mais de devenir une plateforme de mise en relation à distance d'enseignants et d'élèves, en jouant sur les codes de l'économie collaborative par la construction d'une relation de confiance entre le maître et l'élève. Des sociétés comme Superprof, My Mentor, LiveMentor, Maxicours, Paraschool, Educastream, etc. deviennent ainsi les « nouveaux gardiens de la confiance » sur des plateformes de soutien scolaire à distance, en proposant une aide sur mesure, flexible et moins onéreuse pour les élèves.

La connaissance devient ainsi accessible en tout lieu et à tout moment, en s'adaptant sur-mesure aux besoins de l'élève. D'après Mark Bray²⁴, titulaire de la Chaire Unesco sur l'éducation comparée, il ne s'agit donc plus de répondre au décrochage scolaire, mais d'accroître l'avance des meilleurs d'entre eux en recourant au soutien scolaire, sous toutes ses formes, dont le numérique.

Pour le *world economic forum*, les compétences nécessaires pour réussir à entrer dans un monde du travail très concurrentiel, devenant complexe et incertain (65% des enfants en primaire pratiqueront un métier qui n'existe pas encore) relèvent de :

- la résolution de problème complexe
- la pensée critique
- la créativité
- le management et la coordination d'équipe
- l'intelligence émotionnelle

Autrement-dit, l'éducation de demain doit centrer sa mission pour aider l'élève à cultiver des compétences qui ne sont pas accessibles aujourd'hui aux algorithmes et aux robots dotés de l'intelligence artificielle, c'est-à-dire des compétences fondées sur la créativité et l'imagination, alors que dans le même temps les élèves sont attirés par les écrans pour appuyer sur des boutons afin d'accéder à la connaissance sans produire le moindre effort intellectuel.

En effet, le côté ludique de l'apprentissage interactif rend les élèves plus dépendants de la technologie mais aussi de ses limites... La technologie ne peut pas faire preuve d'intelligence critique à la place des utilisateurs. Dans ces conditions, le rôle des enseignants n'a pas disparu, mais il doit évoluer pour rendre les cours plus interactifs, tout en demeurant gardien du temple vis-à-vis de l'apprentissage sous forme écrite.

En étant immergé dans une culture de l'image, il est en effet plus difficile pour les élèves d'entretenir leurs facultés d'abstraction et de concentration pour rester imaginatif, et garder une longueur d'avance face à la concurrence à venir des robots intelligents et des algorithmes sur le marché du travail ! Les écrans nécessitent moins d'effort d'abstraction et davantage de conformisme social, ce qui pousse à cultiver des compétences standards que les robots dotés d'une intelligence artificielle seront en mesure de remplacer.

²⁴ Bray, M. (2000). The shadow education system : Private tutoring and its implications or planners. fundamentals of educational planning no. 61. paris : Unesco international institute for educational planning. International Review of Education 46(6), 641–644.

Bray, M. (2011). The challenge of shadow education : Private tutoring and its implications for policy makers in the european union. Technical report, European Comission.

Bray, M. (2013). Shadow education : comparative perspectives on the expansion and implications of private supplementary tutoring. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences (77), 412–420.

L'enjeu dans l'éducation ne relève donc plus d'une dualité entre la massification de l'enseignement dévolue au secteur public et l'accompagnement personnalisé offert par le secteur privé, mais sur la manière de guider l'élève entre les écrans et les livres, pour lui permettre de préserver des capacités d'abstraction et d'innovation.

Conclusion

Nous assistons à une transformation profonde de notre société avec la révolution digitale et le besoin d'interactivité. L'école n'échappe pas à cette vague de fond de grande ampleur avec l'attrait des élèves pour un apprentissage en ligne diffusé à travers les "réseaux sociaux".

Dans le domaine de l'éducation, les élèves s'approprient ainsi en priorité un savoir qui ne vient plus d'en haut, de la famille ou de l'école, mais qui est co-produit à l'horizontal entre élèves. Dès lors, ce que dit l'enseignant en classe peut être contesté par n'importe quelle source d'information provenant d'Internet, même si ces informations sont erronées ou relèvent des théories fantaisistes du complot par exemple. Par exemple, les sources bénévoles auxquelles puise l'encyclopédie en ligne wikipedia ne sont pas toujours fiables.

Dans ces conditions, il y a une dérive dans l'apprentissage des jeunes qui utilisent Internet sans méfiance leur faisant perdre tout esprit critique, et une remise en question profonde de l'école et du rôle de l'enseignant au sens classique du terme.

D'après moi, nous entrons à l'ère du digital, dans une « société à la carte », dont le HomeSchooling et le business du coaching scolaire ne sont que les prémisses. Dans l'éducation, l'enjeu ne consiste plus à instruire l'élève de manière passive, pour lui permettre d'atteindre le niveau des programmes scolaires, mais d'apporter un enseignement sur mesure et de masse, en présenciel et à distance, pour répondre partout, et à tout moment à la demande d'apprentissage.

C'est une vrai révolution à laquelle on assiste avec la dématérialisation du savoir et le partage du savoir en réseau, pour lesquelles le clivage de l'éducation sous statut public / privé semble aujourd'hui dépassé.

L'institution scolaire, publique ou privée, doit se remettre en question en transformant en profondeur les pratiques pédagogiques, notamment en plaçant l'enseignant à l'interface de l'école et des réseaux sociaux, et en imaginant un socle de connaissances qui évolue au gré des ruptures technologiques.

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