



RTT's donation reveals wage solidarity issues

Christelle Chauzal-Larguier, Sébastien Rouquette

► To cite this version:

Christelle Chauzal-Larguier, Sébastien Rouquette. RTT's donation reveals wage solidarity issues. Les Cahiers du numérique, 2017, 13 (2), pp.75-104. 10.3166/LCN.13.2.75-104 . hal-01636382

HAL Id: hal-01636382

<https://hal.science/hal-01636382>

Submitted on 18 Jun 2020

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

RTT's donation reveals wage solidarity issues

Christelle CHAUZAL-LARGUIER¹ et Sébastien ROUQUETTE² *Revue Interdisciplinaire Management Homme et Entreprise* ; n°23, p. 87-101.

<https://www.cairn.info/revue-rimhe-2016-4-page-87.htm>

Abstract :

The mechanisms of the national solidarity activated by the State being judged insufficient, it is on the field that solutions are looked for and experimented. The gift of TOIL days is an example of wage cooperation based on the solidarity of a collective for one of them. Two cases catch our attention because they are strongly mediatized. The first one concerned employees of the private sector in 2009 and is perceived as pioneer and remains often quoted as reference. The media coverage has begun after the first case. This mediatization has widely contributed to the starting up of the legislative work. The second case was mediatized for lack of a specific application decree in the public sector in the end of May, 2015. What forms of solidarity are committed here and in what context do they intervene? What mechanisms of solidarity are implemented? How did websites and Facebook pages, created in support of these actions, make operations of wage solidarity easier ?

Key words: Gift of working time reduction days, cooperation, solidarities, testimony, digital social networks.

The problem of accompanying a seriously ill family member by an active person is addressed by the parental presence leave for the parents of a seriously ill child (article L. 1225.62 et seq. of the Labour Code), family solidarity leave, family support leave (article L. 3142 et seq. of the Labour Code) and the allowance for accompanying a person at the end of his or her life, in particular. However, these measures are all based on the welfare state model, which compensates for part of the salary lost by taking leave. While it is laudable in spirit to assist a person confronted with the illness of a loved one by granting partial compensation, today such schemes are proving increasingly unsuited to personal situations. The field is also mobilizing to look for new solutions. The donation of Reduced Working Time Days (RTT) is an illustration of the solidarity of employees for the benefit of one of them. The main reason given by P. Salen, the Member of Parliament sponsoring the bill in favour of the RTT donation, is the financial difficulties caused by partial loss of income.

This development is taking place in a twofold context. On the one hand, in the shadows, there are employees who spontaneously unite in companies to help a colleague who cannot resort to existing schemes due to lack of financial resources. On the other hand, beneficiaries of these impulses of solidarity, faced with the illness of their children, and who mediate their personal situation to publicize and, in the cases studied, speed up the legalization of this form of mutual salary assistance, thus facilitating its generalization.

It is this wage solidarity based on donations from RTT, which is now regulated by law, that we are going to look at: What forms of solidarity are involved here and in what context? What mechanisms

¹ Maître de Conférences en Sciences de gestion, Université Clermont-Ferrand 2, *Communication et sociétés* (EA 4647)

² Professeur des universités en Sciences de l'information et de la communication, Université Clermont-Ferrand 2, directeur du laboratoire *Communication et sociétés* (EA 4647).

of action are claimed in the press? How and why are these donations publicised through personal situations? How have the websites and Facebook pages created in support of these actions facilitated these wage solidarity operations?

An inductive approach and an exploratory study are favoured in order to better understand the consequences of such cooperation in a context where both theoretical and empirical knowledge is fragmented and scarce.

As far as the field of study is concerned, this work focuses on cases of particularly high-profile RTT donations. These are quite numerous, more than twenty to date, and not all of them have been the subject of similar media coverage. Two come off. One is the "Badoit" case, the first high-profile case that triggered the legislative work. And on the other hand, the case of "the policeman of Nancy" whose media coverage was concomitant with the vote and the coming into force of the law, also initiating the extension of the possibility of the donation of RTT within the State bodies.

Mutual wage support through RTT's donation is a multi-stakeholder issue. The analysis of the feedback proposed here will focus on the identity of the internal actors within the company who express themselves on this subject, the arguments put forward in their speeches and the framework in which this wage solidarity initiative takes place.

These cases were also promoted online via a website (Badoit case) and digital social network pages (Nancy case) created by the parents who received the donations. They were also the subject of 23 articles and reports from 2009 to 2015. These contents were subjected to the following two methodologies. The first analyses relate to the sites and pages put online about these donations. In order to measure the impact of these promotional actions on the implementation of wage solidarity, these contents have been studied on their interactive dimension: What is the success of these pages (number of participants)? Do Internet users actively participate in the published content? If so, what is the impact: do they enrich these pages, preferably with other testimonials, advice, messages of support (Rouquette, 2009)?

The second grids used look at articles and reports on these donations. The employees benefiting from the program are interviewed to explain their feelings, their difficulties and the value they place on these solidarity initiatives. This research focuses on the place and legitimacy accorded to them. A question that must be able to be subdivided into multiple queries and partial verifications: how do these beneficiary employees talk and in what form (especially in television reports)? Who are the main people interviewed by the journalists: employee donors, beneficiaries, friends, political representatives, company managers? Which interventions last the longest in reporting? Employees and parents as actors or victims of what happened to them? This set of questions borrows from the analysis of print media discourse (Esquenazi, 2002) and television programmes (Duccini, 2005).

We will present and explain two types of results. First of all, those who study how employees, through the RTT donation, propose a personal approach to employee cooperation. We will see how these actions value a particular form of mechanical solidarity that we will call interpersonal solidarity based on that would not work for someone we do not know, or who is not from our company (part one). The second shows how the promotion of these gifts on digital social networks and in the media accentuates and enhances the personal dimensions of these cooperations (second part).

1 - Wage solidarity based on RTT's donation

The notions of mutual aid and solidarity are inseparable from the work collective within companies. Indeed, "labour has historically been a strong place of solidarity, and of the demands of solidarity, whether it be the solidarity of workers opposing capital (...) or the technical interdependencies in the activities of production of goods and services" (Servet, 2010, p. 19). Workers' solidarity, as an expression of a demand towards employers, a classic of 19th century workers' movements, is in crisis (Cohen, 2006), which can be explained by various factors (individualisation of performance and modes of remuneration, the physical fragmentation of production sites, the fragmentation of tasks, etc.) (Servet, 2010, p. 19). Does this really sound the death knell for mechanical solidarity, based on the equality of people, as defined by Durkheim (1893)? RTT's donation bears witness to a wage mobilization that still exists and makes it possible to question the place of solidarity in today's company through the context in which it is set and the action records claimed in the press.

1.1 The context of employee-initiated cooperation

Let us first present the two cases selected in this study (Boxes 1 and 2). They both occurred prior to the passing of the RTT Donation Act and share similar contextual elements despite the fact that implementation was made impossible in the second case.

Presentation of the "Badoit" case

In order to stay at the bedside of her sick 11-year-old son suffering from liver cancer, a mother employed in the private sector is granted leave from work for "accompanying a seriously ill child" and then applies for leave on the same grounds entitling her to a parental presence allowance (€40 per day). As this allowance is only granted to one parent, after having exhausted all his paid holidays and RTT, the father, an employee of Badoit, in Saint-Galmier, went on sick leave for two months. But after this ruling, he is controlled by the Social Security, which requires him to resume his professional activity, removing his rights to compensation, on the grounds that the illness does not affect him personally ("ça n'était pas fait pour cela les congés maladies", L'OBS, Le Plus, 20.05.2015). At the initiative of his head of department and thanks to the solidarity of his colleagues, he was able to benefit in 2009 from 170 days of RTT collected in 15 days with the agreement of management.

Presentation of the case of the "Nancy police officer".

An 8-year-old girl with Shwachman-Diamond Syndrome, a rare genetic disorder that results in stunted growth and immune deficiency, is scheduled for a bone marrow transplant (March 2014). His father, a police officer, collects a donation of 160 days of RTT from his colleagues at the Nancy police station and asks his management to validate it. Seven months after the request of the Human Resources Department of the General Secretariat for Police Administration in Metz, a refusal was made in February 2014 on the grounds that "no legislative and regulatory provisions provide for the granting of days off between public servants" (Le Figaro, 20.02.2014). Successive solutions have been proposed to the police officer who refuses them because he cannot afford to lose his salary: accumulation of his RTT and leave, recourse to parental presence leave, or even a request for a transfer to Paris for the time of hospitalization. In the end, the Director General of the National Police granted 15 days of exceptional leave at the time of his daughter's operation, plus one day a week to be added to her cyclical rest for a year.

With regard to the two cases presented, it should be emphasized that the RTT gift emerged in a particular context defined by three major characteristics. Firstly, its interest has grown with the economic crisis, making the unpaid or low-paid leave offered by the State insufficient in the eyes of employees who have resorted to alternative solutions in order to be able to assume financially at best a personal situation that generates additional costs to be borne by the family (accommodation, catering, etc.).

Secondly, the RTT donation takes place in a local and personalised context based on a collective of colleagues, where the notion of proximity to the employee affected by the family problem plays an important role. The aim is to provide concrete help in an emergency situation affecting one of them.

Thirdly, until 2014, RTT donations, which could not be dated and quantified, were not legally regulated and were based on a tacit agreement, in most cases, between the employees and the employer: this was a matter for internal management. In the absence of written documents, particularly legal ones, and not always feeling legitimate to intervene in matters relating, even partially, to the private lives of its employees, the company has paid little attention to this issue, with a few exceptions (Société Merial SA, 1991; Peugeot Citroën Automobiles SA, 2008). In the end, while some companies improvised a solution acceptable to all, not hesitating, in some cases, to donate RTT themselves to the employee in need, others even refused the idea. While the private company in question chose to take a proactive stance, siding with the employees, the police refused because there was no legislation in force recognizing RTT's donation. The various state bodies responded on a case-by-case basis. Thus, "faced with the lack of a framework for the RTT donation, some local authorities did not follow up, while others did so knowing that they were not fully in line with the legislation", observes J. Theuret, Deputy Director General in charge of human resources in Clermont-Ferrand (La Gazette.fr, 03.06.2015).

Paradoxically, the prefecture of Meurthe et Moselle expressed itself in the press contrary to the management of Badoit (wishing to leave the employees as the only bearers of this initiative in the company so as not to be accused of communication of recovery...) in order to justify its position, questioning the necessity of this statement: defusing a potential conflict with the donors? Explain his entrenchment to the police officer in question? Legitimizing a long-awaited position?

The wage solidarity of RTT donations was expressed in both cases (170 days offered in the Badoit case, 160 in the police officer's case). Theoretically, even if this form of solidarity seems to be moving away from the context of the labour movements highlighted earlier, they are both based on the notion of the collective, even if some nuances need to be added. If in historical cases, the workers' collective was opposed to management and had the objective of changing the working conditions of all, here the collective does not have a strong climate of opposition with management (the latter sometimes contributes financially to the system). It is not the company's internal management and operating rules that are being called into question here. The collective is being formed in order to find a palliative solution, which is necessary in view of the range of existing aids proposed by the State. The collective being aware that, in the end, a problem threatens them all. Thus Bischoff (1988, p. 10), through his study of Montreal moulders at the end of the 19th century, points out that "worker solidarity is expressed when workers become aware of their community of interests and the need for unity of action to collectively defend or promote those interests. This community of interest

interviewed here expresses itself differently, it is based on the collective's desire to defend the RTT donation initiative, to which they have contributed financially, and which corresponds to "an expectation both of parents and colleagues. In Nancy's story, the officers were disappointed that they couldn't help their colleague," says C. "They were disappointed that they couldn't help their colleague. Deroche, Senator rapporteur of the bill on the RTT donation (Est Republican, 02.05.2014). More specifically, this form of solidarity is a return to the mechanical solidarity identified by Durkheim (1893), which results from the proximity of individuals living together in (working) communities, where the weight of the group is very important and where employees share very strong common values: collective awareness is high. It is this solidarity by similarity that we have been able to identify here. RTT's donation is therefore indeed a form of mechanical solidarity, but whose context and mechanisms of action are in line with the concerns and communication technologies of the 21st century. Indeed, these values are based less on the idea of shared values and common professional work references than on the idea of action commonly judged to be right as a person (as a parent, as knowledge).

1.2 The mechanisms of wage solidarity

Today, if wage solidarity is moving away from the feeling of demand of workers' struggles, it is largely based on emotions, emotional feelings, the expression of which is an integral part of the media coverage of these actions of mutual aid.

However, contributors and beneficiaries (potential in the latter case) have different reactions in their relations with the media. Why? To better understand, we will compare the arguments of donors and donees published in the press. Elements of response can be sought in the solidarity mechanisms mobilized in RTT donations. These are primarily emotional, both for fellow donors and for the people for whom they are mobilizing, but these emotions are expressed differently.

Initially, the implementation of the RTT donation in the company takes place according to an often similar scenario. A close person in the work sphere (whether or not occupying the same functions, whether or not linked by a hierarchical relationship) affected by the distress of his colleague will submit the idea to the hierarchy of an RTT donation, as confirmed in Box 3, sometimes even without warning the potential beneficiary of his approach.

The implementation mechanism of the RTT grant in the Badoit case
"It's a company on a human scale, I would even say on a family scale. We are 182 employees, we all know each other, so they had heard about my situation. So I explained to them the refusal of the social security inspector to let me go on sick leave and the exhaustion of all my days off. That's when my boss got the idea to give me his RTT days. He talked to management, wanted to know how to transfer his hours to my account. After the agreement of the superiors, each one could give, on an anonymous voluntary basis, the number of hours or days he wished" (L'OBS, Le Plus, 25.05.2015).

Generally speaking, employee donors prefer to remain in the shadows and do not wish to promote their work in the media. Their role is limited to intrinsic solidarity (implementation, management,

membership) and to the relationship maintained with the colleague, both personally (from individual to individual) and collectively (reinforcing the feeling of cohesion of the group in order to surround the colleague on his return to the company). The arguments to justify the gift of RTT revealed in the press insist on the closeness with the colleague and the understanding of the situation encountered as they project themselves into their role as parents (Table 4). It shows the collective's interest in one of them where the choice of people with whom we wish to show solidarity is clearly claimed.

Table 4: The arguments of employee donors in the press

Arguments given by employee donors in the press	The gesture of a colleague and friend for more than twenty years of Mathys' father, Anthony (France Bleu, 29.04.2014). Identifying himself: "as a father of two children, I find it normal to be in solidarity with the other parents", an employee of the company (Le Figaro, 02.05.2014).
---	---

RTT's donation here illustrates Ravat's (2007, p. 88) position that "collective action is not only the result of the cognitive activity of rational and calculating agents: it also emanates from a coordination of emotions". This coordination is an important element of the collective's strength in launching and generating support for the solidarity movement thus generated, confirming that "the diffusion of emotions is an intrinsic characteristic of the group" (Sandelands and Saint Clair, 1993, p. 445).

The identity of the beneficiary is clearly established. The quality of the social link between the various donor colleagues and the recipient employee is an indispensable prerequisite for donation, as Lévi-Strauss (1958), Milon (1999) and Caillé (2000) have pointed out. The wage solidarity of RTT donations is a movement from the individual to the collective, from oneself to others characterized by the absence of immediate counter-giving. Personal profit-sharing is disappearing in favour of the construction of a collective and satisfaction with regard to the help provided. It is therefore a form of mechanical solidarity, but one that rests in RTT's gifts on a strong interpersonal relationship, typical "of forms of solidarity within units whose members know and recognize each other personally" (Servet, 2011, p. 7). Duvignaud (1986) relativizes the importance of social ties in the emergence of a solidarity movement, which is not an exclusive condition in cases of strong national mobilization following a particular event. This interpersonal dimension, which is highlighted here, is based on "a commitment made up of implications and memberships, of duties, embedded in moral or psychological relationships of trust" (Bocquet, 2014, p. 158) and founded on a feeling of belonging to a group (because a parent, because an employee) and which would not work for someone we do not know, or who is not from our company. While the forms of mechanical solidarity of the 19th century highlighted oppositions between people, those based on the gift of RTT are nourished by the values recognized as fundamental in the 21st century. Thus "this text is driven by a real expectation among the population, by a need for solidarity and mutual assistance (...)" according to Senator C. Deroche (Allodocteurs.fr, 30/04/2014).

At the same time, in the two cases studied, the fathers of the two sick children chose to mediate their personal story (the illness of a child) in order to highlight the help that their colleagues at work

have (or have proposed) to provide through their RTT donation. Their reasons for this media coverage are listed in Table 5.

Table 5: The arguments of the parents of sick children in the press

Tableau 5 : Les arguments des parents des enfants malades dans la presse

Arguments given by beneficiaries in the press	Recognition to fellow donors "The time I was given was gold", Mathys' father, (Paris-Normandie.fr, 17.04.2015). Mourning: "Looking back, we say to ourselves that we have done something that has brought us back" (France Handicap Info, 17.04.2015). "When I returned to work after 170 days of RTT, I felt surrounded and at home. I didn't know how to thank my colleagues" confides Mathys' father (L'OBS, Le Plus, 25.05.2015). Lydie (Mathys' mother), testifying to her story, describes her as follows: "When Christophe went back to work on Monday [after the occupational physician ended his sick leave], his colleagues were very surprised and then shocked. That's when his line manager suggested to his team - all friends, a big family with strong ties like the working class knows how to weave - offer him time off to give him time to turn around" (France Dimanche, 30.04.2011).
---	--

In the case of Badoit, the beneficiary employee wants his or her story to serve as an example and facilitate the generalization of the RTT donation. According to him, this mechanism provides concrete help in a context where State aid is no longer appropriate ("Admittedly, there is a glaring State failure. But, in the meantime, should we pretend that nothing happened at Badoit's? Should this gesture of solidarity that I have been able to benefit from be allowed to pass? "The father of the little boy concerned is hammering (My TF1 News.fr, 25/02/2012). To publicize one's story is to thank one's colleagues, which justifies a strong involvement with the media. Here again, it is the emotion provoked by the initiative of his colleagues that incites Mathys' father to move things forward so that others can benefit from it ("The occupational physician told us not to keep our story to ourselves, to spread it so that it can help others", L'OBS Plus, 25.05.2015).

In the case of the Nancy police officer, who was unable to benefit from the 160 days collected without being able to obtain a solution deemed satisfactory, the feeling of incomprehension dominates ("It is hard to understand why we are breaking this spirit of solidarity. I understand that we must always rely on these texts. We can't do just anything. But humanly, it is difficult to understand the decision of the administration" (RTL, 25.02.2014). His words underline how much he counted on the personal emotion that a child's health problems can provoke ("I don't know why but I didn't manage to touch the humanity of my interlocutors" (Est Républicain, 25.02.2014).

With websites and digital social networks, the wage solidarity of RTT's donations is defined by its local, personalised, concrete and internal company context and takes on another form (written, remote, accessible from anywhere outside the company, including from home).

2 - Interpersonal solidarity amplified in social networks and the media

These are being promoted online to make these stories better known and more compelling to the general public.

2.1 The impact of websites and social networks

Several of these operations have been relayed by websites, or even initiated on social networks in order to make RTT's donation part of a more general and long-term fight. Have digital communication technologies therefore facilitated these wage solidarity operations? Were they really used to publicize these actions? If so, is this specific to the case of RTT donations and the contributions of digital communication technologies (Figure 6)?

Illustration 6 - Websites and Facebook pages of parents of sick children.



<http://www.dunpapillonauneetoile.fr/>



Site created by the parents of Mathys [the Badoit case] <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/pages/Soutien-aux-parents-de-Eva-Grosjean/1397901430471040>

Facebook page set up by Eva's parents [Nancy's police case]

The vastness of the Internet favours the gathering of this information by a wide variety of digital actors, whether they are interested in patient care, labour law or selling health insurance. The contents published on these pages are, moreover, part of the journalists' sources of information. This observation should not be surprising and sheds light on one of the roles played by the Internet in promoting wage solidarity. This is not surprising both because digital social networks encourage the public dissemination of private commentary, i.e. personal content posted online that can serve as potentially interesting testimonials for journalists looking for illustrations of societal facts. Second, because these publications in a space that, according to Cardon's expression, is "neither entirely public nor entirely private" (2010) constitutes - for the interviewees - a first act of expression of a public opinion or emotion. It is a space that ensures a transition from the production of a private opinion to its public and assumed expression in the media.

However, even if these digital productions constitute new sources of information that journalists can use, they often only shed light on subjects already selected by the editorial staff. These sites and Facebook pages do not in themselves justify the writing of press articles. This is all the more so since the recognition of these donations owes - in the case of the national media - as much to their interest in the legislative debates on the RTT donation, to the national media coverage of the legislative agenda, as to the local actions themselves. From the point of view of media visibility, the promotion of these donations through Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) is therefore secondary. It is therefore not the role played by Facebook sites or pages as an accelerator of the media coverage of these actions that justifies the interest to be given to these digital promotional actions.

However, the consequences of these actions are not negligible. Indeed, these pages give the persons concerned the possibility of being able to testify about their situation in a space that they fully control (Rouquette, 2008). They decide on their own - without questioning the journalists - on the content of their remarks, the pace of publication of the information given, the tone, style and illustrations published (with or without photos of the sick children). These promotional tools allow stakeholders (parents) to develop their views more strongly and, above all, to benefit in return for their online investments from numerous testimonials of support. Such feedback from Internet users - from relatives and strangers alike - could be considered anecdotal in an area where it is not surprising that "posts" from parents about their children's struggle with a serious illness generate supportive comments. While it is enough to pay attention to the comments exchanged on these Facebook pages in particular to realize that this online promotion actually facilitates the development of two types of attitudes.

The first type is precisely the possibility given to readers to show solidarity. We need only consider J. House's (1981) typology of possible forms of support for a person in difficulty to see that each of the four types of support is found here. When some Internet users bring their emotional support to reassure, to comfort ("Come on, little fighter, I think very strongly of you, I wrote to you today, you should receive my card at the beginning of next week"), others bring advice, information ("Why not

set up a donation operation under an association under the 1901 law?"). It's legal "1 symbolic euro for EVA" "). Still others show support and appreciation ("A big thought for you parents, you're great too") and even, of course, instrumental support ("More sportsmen and women in the spotlight this week"). On Saturday 25th April, Eva kicked off 2 handball matches at a gala evening organised for the benefit of the I.R.I.S. association and to support the little princess "). However, on the social network, emotional support is paramount. Among the many comments posted (posts receive up to 300 comments from Internet users and several thousand others who check the "I like it" box), many want to testify about their thoughts for the health of the little sick girl. How can the numerical importance of these supports be explained? This is primarily due to the "technical" devices introduced on digital social networks since the display of these symbolic comforts is done at a lower cost. A simple click on "like" or "share" is enough. This is also due to the greater ease with which emotions can be expressed in a context that makes this expression propitious: the reading of other positive comments encourages and legitimizes the expression of one's own supportive comment.

The echo given to the emotional dimension of these solidarity actions through blogs and ICTs could still be considered as minor if we underestimate the place played by emotions in the genesis of a social mobilisation. An individual, whether an employee of a company or simply a Facebook contact, will only engage in a class action if he or she feels affected, concerned, by a subject. What's more, these emotions not only facilitate the transition to engagement, they sustain it during the social relationships woven during these movements. "The first [emotions] link the actors of a social movement together as it unfolds (through fraternisation), the second are oriented towards common aims, in the face of an external situation (hatred of the adversary, indignation, etc.). "(Deluermoz et ali, 2013). Far from being anecdotal, the social dimension of the digital promotion of these solidarity actions is therefore central.

It is all the more so because this mediation of digital social networks facilitates, secondly, the attitude of projection and rapprochement. The social dimension of the internet encourages the publication of testimonials from internet users justifying why they feel concerned by the actions carried out: "Big Kisses Eva. My daughter has the same kind of disease as you and she's 30 today. Viruses haven't spared her either. She was often hospitalized. I've often been afraid. But his body and his will prevailed over the disease. Cheer up, sweetie. » . Or a police officer's comment: "Courage, colleague, you have to hold on, it will work, I'm sure of it. These comments implicitly reveal one of the reasons for their reactions: these situations affect them because they concern someone close to them (family), their close environment (professional, neighbourhood) or because they remind them of similar situations experienced by acquaintances. Finally, one cannot really understand the impact of these comments if one does not take into account the observations made on individuals placed in partly comparable situations: viewers of television programmes calling for donations. In their study of the reception of one of these programs, Cardon, Heurtin, Martin, Pharabod and Rozier (1999) showed that viewers affected by this program are motivated to act by two types of motivations. Either they feel concerned because they project themselves (as if they were the sick themselves): they then transport themselves in thought, by imagination, into the situation of the one who suffers. Either they are touched after symbolically getting closer to those who suffer. By thinking of the people around them in the same situation as the sick people in the film (a neighbour's sister, a cousin's son), they build tenuous bonds that bring them closer to the sick and to the disease. They then more easily develop a feeling of sympathy towards them (Julien, François, 1995 cited by Cardon et al., 1999, p. 89). To the extent that the network of networks promotes the sharing of information

between "friends" and "friends of friends", it facilitates these receptions of Internet users based on a symbolic rapprochement.

Thus, while the use of ICTs does not offer a significant increase in media visibility, it does provide a comforting space for expression for those who put them online and an engaging one for those who receive them.

2.2 The advantages of testimonial legitimacy

Among RTT's donations, the two cases studied here have received a great deal of media attention at the same time. First observation: the parents of sick children are overwhelmingly judged to be the most legitimate to express themselves on the donation of RTT (Table 7).

Table 7: Who is interviewed in articles or audiovisual reports?

	Relatives	Colleagues	Relatives (from outside the company)	Trade union delegates	Company hierarchy	Elected officials (deputy, senator)	Number of articles and reports
Cas Badoit	7	3				5	11
Cas Nancy	9	1		2	4	2	12
Total	16	4	0	2	4	7	23

This observation is fully in line with an evolution of the media space that gives witnesses a predominant place. The witnesses bring to the stage the authenticity of their life experiences, their feelings, their difficulties, their emotions. "Personal experience becomes an argument and a benchmark for societal reflection" (Mehl, 2003, p. 496). An experiment that no one can dispute. While witnesses do not seek to generalize their cases, to speak for a larger group - in other words, to make them "general" - they nevertheless wish to defend a cause and have a law or decree passed.

But the apparent neutrality of this selection is not. Favouring testimony means putting forward personalities who - tending to - defend a point of view oriented by their own difficulties, their situations, their objectives (solving their problem as a priority, all the more so as the problem is acute). This majority choice implies that all other potentially legitimate actors have only a marginal place. This is particularly the case for the hierarchy of the companies or local authorities concerned, whose lighting is not requested. This is also the case for experts, whether doctors to deal with the medical aspect of these cases or, even more so, legal specialists to deal with the legislative ins and outs of this issue (by recalling, for example, the history of social rights in which the RTTs are part).

It is also a way of promoting a concept of solidarity that gives pride of place to the experience and points of view of employee witnesses directly involved in cases covered by the media. One only has to look at the form and type of arguments given by the employees who benefit from these donations to see how much the witness position offers unquestionable advantages.

On the one hand, they argue as parents of sick children. As such, they show the importance and diversity of the type of help they need: financial support, time, presence ("The fact that both parents are there at the child's side, it is extremely beneficial for the child to feel surrounded in this extremely difficult situation"). Witnessing one's distress, expectations and hopes here can, of course, inspire feelings of compassion or sympathy. These testimonials touch, in a different way from digital social networks, the emotion of the viewers/readers. Emotions expressed - whether positive (pleasure, satisfaction) or negative (distress, confusion, upheaval, shock) - that are known to be among the most important reasons for action. For this reason, emotion is an inescapable fact of public life and public media space (Paperman, 1992).

However, relatives - and friends - witnesses do not just present testimony. As their points of view establish, they defend a philosophical point of view on the idea of solidarity. A point of view which considers that the end - to be available for one's child - fully justifies the means, namely the activation of solidarity based on individual relations even if it means putting oneself outside or at least alongside the organization and foundations established by the so-called corporatist welfare state. Basically, without really evoking, let alone discussing in most of the articles, a solidarity from the state to individuals based - in the case of a so-called corporatist welfare state - on the idea of universal redistribution to a system of interpersonal solidarity.

This extension of factual competence to ideas without real public discussion by potential opponents is facilitated by the mastery of witnesses of the problematic framework (Memmi, 1989) given to RTT gifts. As their testimonies forcefully state, the real problem is - from their point of view - the question of the interests of the child, of the effectiveness of care reinforced by the presence of the parents. And this, apart from any other philosophical (what does it mean to "call upon the gift?") or legal (what does a TWR represent, does a day off give rise to a right that can be "given" to another beneficiary?) considerations. The seriousness of the medical issue basically overrides any other consideration.

In such a way that these practices of solidarity between employees have an echo in the press that is both very broad and almost without discussion of their ideological premises. RTT donations then belong - as with organ donations - to this category of "unopposed speech" (Juhem, 2001).

In conclusion

The first result relates to the awareness-raising mechanism activated in response to the situations experienced by the people benefiting from this solidarity. Through RTT's donation, employees are renewing their approach to wage cooperation based on mechanical solidarity, putting into perspective the decline of the latter announced by Zoll (1998) in favour of solidarity, described as organic, based on diversity and difference. In the latter case, for Hondrich and Koch-Arzberger (1992, p.13), "solidarity is social bonds that exist in spite of difference, in spite of inequality, which therefore presupposes social differentiation". "The modern concept of solidarity that we think of does not require empathy or resemblance to the other with whom we are in solidarity. Solidarity, on the other hand, implies the ability to identify with the non-identical" (Cohen and Arato, 1992, p. 383). Isn't RTT's gift the return and revenge of mechanical solidarity over organic solidarity?

All the more so as these salary solidarity benefits from two forms of promotion outside the company: online (social networks, sites) and media (articles, reports). These promotions are different. The social dimension of digital promotion encourages the expression of encouragement from friends and colleagues who donate, emotions shared online that not only facilitate the transition to

commitment, but also maintain the commitment born during the social relations woven during these solidarity movements. The media promotion of these two cases of RTT mainly collects the opinion - as a witness - of the parents receiving these donations. A testimonial mechanism that favours the expression of arguments based on their point of view and their sensitive experience.

However, these two forms of promotion differ in that both potentially facilitate the activation of the following awareness mechanism: attention to the difficulties of others is facilitated by triggering a mechanism known as "symbolic rapprochement". She then more easily develops a feeling of sympathy towards the latter (Julien, François, 1995 cited by Cardon et al., 1999, p. 89).

However, by displaying and promoting the expression of personal emotions, websites, digital social networks and also press articles dedicated to these donations provide sufficient detail about the experiences of witnesses and their living conditions to facilitate - potentially - this type of symbolic rapprochement.

Academic research on the gift of RTT is still in its infancy and the prospects for research are broad. The exploratory nature of our work presents methodological limitations that will need to be overcome in future, more in-depth studies. It will be necessary to take into account other cases of RTT donations and to vary both the source and the nature of the information collected in order to allow data triangulation. The addition of primary data, particularly through interviews, will make it possible to be more comprehensive about the variety of actors involved in the RTT grant.

The lack of hindsight on the system raises the question for the company to respect the principles of impartiality (easier to organize for an employee working independently for example), equity, ... The gift of RTT framed by the law supposes on the part of the company a new organizational learning where its freedom to manage the situation is less. More generally, RTT's donation raises the question of how the management of societal problems affects the company. Forced to renew its social commitment far removed from its economic concerns, the company is particularly challenged by the ageing of the population and the role of family caregivers.

Références

Anspach M.K. (2002), *A charge de revanche, figures élémentaires de réciprocité*, Paris, Editions du Seuil.

Bischoff (1988), La formation des traditions de solidarité ouvrière chez les mouleurs montréalais : la longue marche vers le syndicalisme (1859-1881), *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 21, p. 9-43.

Bocquet (2014), Les fondements de la responsabilité sociétale des entreprises et de sa communication, *Communication et organisation*, n°46, p. 145 à 162.

Caillé A. (2000), *Anthropologie du don*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer.

Caire G. (2002), *Économie de la protection sociale*, Paris, Bréal, Collection Amphi économie.

Cardon D., Heurtin J.-P., Martin O., Pharabod A.-S. et Rozier S. (1999), Les formats de la générosité. Trois explorations du Téléthon, *Réseaux*, n°95, p. 15-105.

Cardon D. (2010), *La démocratie internet*, Paris, Seuil.

Cohen D. (2006), *Trois leçons sur la société post-industrielle*, Paris, Seuil.

- Cohen J. et Arato A. (1992), *Civil Society and Political Theory*, Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press.
- Deluermoz Q., Fureix E.I, Mazurel H., Oualdi M. (2013), Écrire l'histoire des émotions : de l'objet à la catégorie d'analyse, *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*, n° 47, p. 155-189
- Duccini H. (2005), *Télévision mises en scène*, Paris, Armand Colin.
- Durkheim E. (1893), *De la division du travail social*, Paris, Félix Alcan.
- Duvignaud J. (1986), *La solidarité : Liens de sang et liens de raison*, Paris, Fayard.
- Esquenazi J.-P. (2002), *L'écriture de l'actualité : sociologie du discours médiatique*, Grenoble, PUG.
- Hondrich K.-O. et Kock-Arzberger C. (1992), *Solidarität in der modernen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Mains, Fischer.
- House J. (1981), *Work, Stress and Social Support*, Addison-Wesley, Boston.
- Juhem P. (2001), La légitimation de la cause humanitaire : un discours sans adversaires, *Mots*, n°65, p. 9-27.
- Levi-Strauss C. (1958), *Anthropologie structurale I*, Paris, Plon.
- Mauss M. (1924/1925), *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*, *Année sociologique*, Paris, PUF.
- Mehl D. (2003), Le témoin, figure emblématique de l'espace public/privé, repère pour la réflexion sociétale, in Cefaï D. et Pasquier D., *Les sens du public*, Paris, PUF, p. 489-502.
- Memmi D. (1989), Savants et maîtres à penser. La fabrication d'une morale de la procréation artificielle, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, n°76-77, p. 82-103.
- Milon A. (1999), *La valeur de l'information : entre dette et don : critique de l'économie de l'information*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- Paperman P. (1992), Les émotions et l'espace public, *Quaderni*, n°18, p. 93-107.
- Ravat J. (2007), Actions, émotions, motivations : fondements psychologiques du raisonnement pratique, *Le Philosophoire*, n°29, p. 81-95.
- Rouquette S. (2008), Les blogs « extimes ». Analyse sociologique de l'interactivité des blogs, *TIC et société*, URL : <http://ticetsociete.revues.org/412>, consulté le 20.03.2015.
- Rouquette S. (2009), *L'analyse des sites internet*, Louvain, De Boeck.
- Sandelands L. et Saint Clair L. (1993), Toward an empirical concept of group, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, vol. 23, n° 4, p. 423-458.
- Servet J.-M. (2011), Des valeurs : comprendre la solidarité, *Actes Université d'été régionale*, Pour notre monde : quelles solidarités, p. 6-16.
- Servet J.-M. (2010), Figures contemporaines et passées de la solidarité. Approches interdisciplinaires, *Finance & Bien Commun*, vol. 2, n°37-38, p. 8-27.
- Zoll R. (1998), Le défi de la solidarité organique : avons-nous besoin de nouvelles institutions pour préserver l'identité sociale ?, *Sociologie et sociétés*, vol. 30, n°2, p. 1-10.

