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Spiritualreligiosity in the Workplace between Media and Organizational Logics: A French Perspective

Mihaela-Alexandra Tudor

IARSIC-CORHIS EA7400, Paul Valéry University Montpellier 3, FRANCE

Abstract: This exploratory research focuses on how mainstream media apprehends religion in the workplace in the specific French socio-cultural and ideological framing through the media coverage analysis of the French Observatory of Religious Phenomenon in Organization's annual survey, published in September 2018. Findings reveal that media operates with a meaning of religion still subject to a conception of *laicity* that corroborate antagonism between science and religion on the one hand, and, secularization as an indicator of transition from traditional society to modern society on the other hand. Managers and companies implicitly use a more elastic meaning, in accordance with the specificities of the workplace and labor market that has integrated a more deinstitutionalizing vision of religion, in the context of the emergence of new religious representations in touch with alternative spiritualities.

Keywords: French Observatory of Religious Phenomenon in Organization, French socio-cultural framing, laicity, mediatization, spiritualreligiosity, workplace

Introduction

The relationships between religion and work are not new. The idea of labor was rejected by religion and was considered a punishment inflicted on the individual by the divinity, imposed upon to atone for sin; this was later re-instated by the Protestant Reformation who opposed the value of the contemplative life and thus, eventually, work has become gradually a sign of human dignity and a value given to the human being by the divine. Max Weber's (2017) The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism, which seeks to show the Protestant origins of the capitalist labor ethic, is a salient illustration of the reconsideration of the historical relationship between labor and religion. Today, these relationships are studied through a set of disciplines at the crossroads of the fields that have invested the various objects of study associated with religion and work. It is an accumulation of research resulting in a solid state of the art (new/public/ management, sociology of religions, public economics, religious studies, organizational studies, etc).

In this context, the present exploratory research focuses on a les discussed aspect which falls within the field of mediated communication: the mediatization of subjects related to

Address for Correspondence: Mihaela-Alexandra Tudor, email: Mihaela.tudor.com[at]gmail.com
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religion and spirituality in the workplace. More specifically, it is a question of determining how the logics of secular and religious media shape and mediate communication about religion in the workplace in the specific French organizational and cultural framing. We examine how the media deals with religion at work during the media coverage of the French Observatory of Religious Phenomenon in Organization's Annual Survey (OFRE, in French), published in September 2018 about management and religion in the workplace. The main question is to show how the media logic is different from the organizational logic concerning the survey results and the report findings at the time when the media was covering the public release of the OFRE report. This research is anchored in the theory of mediatization, the institutionalist tradition. The institutionalist lineage of mediatization (Mazzoleni and Schulz 1999; Schulz, 2004; Hjarvard, 2008; Strömbäck 2008) has its sources in the studies on journalism and political communication (Bratosin, 2016). It approaches mediatization as a multidimensional concept that relies on the domination of the media logic. This perspective is based on the presupposition that media dominates the other logics of the society such as organizational, political, economic logics, etc.

The media coverage analysis of the OFRE survey was taken into consideration based on the online press articles published in September 2018 when the OFRE findings[1] entered the public discourse, which reveals that French press operates with a meaning of religion still subject to a conception of secularism based essentially on a rigid perspective of the term. This perspective is liable to the "negative" approaches of secularism that corroborate antagonism between science as an expression of rationality and religion as an expression of irrationality, on the one hand, and secularization as an indicator of transition from traditional society to modern society, on the other hand. Instead, the French companies and managers implicitly use a meaning more in line with the specificities of the workplace and labor market that has integrated and facilitated a more deinstitutionalized vision of religion, within the framework of the emergence of new representations and religious expressions getting in contact with alternative spiritualities.

In order to explain these media representations we delimited in the first part of this article the approaches and perspectives on the conceptualization of religion and spirituality and their impact on organizational and labor studies. Then, we presented the methodological design of media coverage analysis, highlighting the narrow view about religion employed by French media, and underscored the understanding of religion in the workplace according to the results of OFRE's inquiry. Findings and discussion of the results confirmed the scenario stated above.

[1] Note here that the OFRE enquiry, based on a questionnaire survey, was conducted between March and June 2018. The questionnaire was administered online on a sample of 25.000 executives and managers working in France, non believers and believers including 49.5% Catholics, 27% atheists, 10.5% agnostics, 8.5% Muslims, 2% Protestants, 2% Jews, 1% Buddhists. 1453 complete questionnaires were collected of which 1111 were taken into account. The error margin is 2.94% for a 95% confidence interval. Data mining was completed using SPSS and XLStat software (OFRE 2018, p. 30). This quantitative data was supplemented with qualitative data gathering based on the conduct of interviews and observation of real situations. The dimensions questioned are: the frequency of religious facts in the workplace, the typology of religious facts, the casuistry linked to religious facts, blocking and/or conflictual cases, the density of religious facts (variables measured: frequency of occurrence of religious facts, evolution of this frequency over time, importance given to the religious fact in the workplace, diversity of the facts, diversity of the categories of facts - blocking or not), the religious fact in the company: what is acceptable and what is not, religious fact and behavior, the religiosity and impacts on labor relations, the religious conflict, the management of religious issues at workplace. Additional data was cited in the results and discussions section. For further details, see the report.

Spiritualreligiosity: a pitfall-based approach

The conceptualization of religion is not about the study of faith, of any transcendence and its existence, but a research that addresses religion as a fact. Defining religion is equivalent to defining the religious fact (Willaime, 2010) in order to determine the limits of what we could now consider not religion, especially in the context of the mutations suffered under the impact of secularization and critics of the secularization classical theory and the reversal of religion as spirituality coupled with the directions anticipated by George Simmel (1997-2010) in his work (a precursor synthesis of the approaches developed by Luckmann insofar as it combines perspectives specific to the theory of individuality and to the analyzes of the logic of fully differentiated societal spheres). More exactly, it is all about understanding religion as a historical and social fact at the intersection of four angles of approach: religion as a collective fact (study of the actors), as a material fact (material sources), as a symbolic fact (study of representations and meaning) and as an experiential/sensitive fact (aspects of acting) (Willaime, 2010).

The definitions of religion generally focus on the institutional aspects of the sacred, the real correspondent of religion being henceforth the ecclesiastical institution/organization and not the transcendent, the divine, the absolute, etc. (Zinnbauer et al., 1999). This predilection is due to the decline of religions, directly proportional to the death of God and the advent of secularization. The death of God, this Nietzschean provocation in the Gay Science (Nietzsche, 1950), is equivalent to the disappearance of the transcendent correspondent, an epistemological ideal in the explanatory picture of the world. As such, secularization becomes the denunciation of the set of norms and religious institutions and represents the birth and the development of a society not only without God, but without religious institutions participating in the public debate and interfering in citizen activities, political decisions, the workplace and business sphere. Classical theories of secularization from Durkheim and Max Weber to modern authors (Berger 1967, Dobbelaere, 1981, Bruce 1992, 2002, Pickel 2012) therefore rely on the thesis that more modernity means less of religion. The classical sociological approach addresses secularization as a model which explains the loss of social relevance of religion through the prism of three factors of modernity: a) social differentiation (functional perspective), b) societalization (the shift from the community to the society), and c) rationalization (a rational idea about the conception of the world and action). More precisely, secularization corresponds to the loss of economic, social and political relevance of religious institutions in modern societies (Tudor and Bratosin, 2018; Tudor, 2021).

Nonetheless, the classical theory of secularization has been challenged from within. The notion of “invisible religion” (Luckmann, 1967) decisively impacts the classical theory of secularization which considers secularization as a characteristic of the most developed modern societies. This questioning by the introduction of the thesis that the sacred cosmos of industrial societies is not rationally disenchanted with religion, but populated by believing micro narratives, disconnected from the macro narratives of the religious institutions and major religions, opens the way towards taking into account more complex logics that govern and regularize the belief. The invisible religion makes it possible to entangle thematic and symbolic legacies of historical religions, modern themes of self-expression and self-realization, new spiritualities based on mini-transcendences corresponding to the advent of individualism beyond of any traditional denominational religiosity. This shift of the classical objective approach of secularization (Berger, 1967; Dobbelaere, 1981; Bruce, 1992), brings out a new paradigm on religion through the contributions of Berger (1999, 2001) who revises his initial positions and advances the thesis of a “desecularization of societies” and of religion as a major player in all domains of society (cultural, social, political, economic Berger revised theory is focused on the shifting role of religion as a social actor and on the fact that

contemporary religion has opened up to other forms of faith and practices. These two major contributions made possible to understand the expansion of the ultra-modern concept of the sacred beyond the borders of the institutionalized religions. Each individual has direct access to the treasure of sacred symbols to build their transcendences and systems of meanings in order to give meaning to the world. Luckmann and Berger seized on the shift in understanding of religiosity towards another type of encoding, non-institutional, non-denominational and non-directive. Religiosity represents a spiritual-religious encoding that the individual tinkers with and appropriates, thus becoming his/her new frame of reference in spiritual matters.

This revision amounts to an "expurgation" of the notion of "religion" in favor of the use of the notion of "spirituality". Spirituality currently has the ascendancy over religion in all areas, being not only more positively perceived, but more positively connoted in the literature. Transcendence, super consciousness, etc. become spiritual correspondents for the individual, part of the personal experience of the human being (Pargament, 1997). Malraux's commentary in an interview published in 1946 in Preuves takes this turn: "The critical problem at the end of the century will be the religious problem – in a form quite different from the one we know, just as Christianity was for ancient religions". It poses in nuce the problem of the change of referent and the distinction between religion and something else that does not say its name and which today is referred to as "spirituality". The individualism and the new relationships with "self", the development of the new practices related to the sacred, in the context of the consumer society, the globalization and the digital revolution—all have contributed towards this turning point triggering the replacement of the religious with the spiritual.

The interest for the spiritual is interlaced around several needs:

a) to build an identity operating in all areas of life: in the private and public sphere, in everyday life and at work. This identity, fragmented by globalization, migrations and successive mixing, is being re-created through the spiritual quest in the form of a private identity, uprooted, but which is expressed and lived in a community of affects and emotions (Bratosin, 2018). The identity at work, this center of a secondary socialization according to Sainsaulieu (2014), is being sought from a spiritualreligiosity (Camus and Poulain, 2005), rooted in the personal spiritual experience, an inward search that wants to be connected to the external world by spiritual values and practices that are not separated from natural (ecologism), supernatural, religion, magic or esotericism (River, 1997; Champion, 2000; Camus and Poulain, 2005).

b) to seek and meet the absolute through small narratives of legitimacy, the foundations of the new spiritualities. The collapse of the great narratives of legitimacy, the prerogatives of monotheistic religions, and the end of the "religious" which is institutionalized opened the way to postmodern diluted individualized, "tinkered" religiosity, (Hervieu-Léger, 1999). A religiosity of "poor thinking" (Vattimo, Rovatti and Amoroso, 1983), of multiplicity, of difference and the deconstruction resting on micro narratives, new strategies of the individual and the contextual to support the incommensurable (Lyotard, 1979) and fill the need for meaning. These micro narratives convert the religious into a postmodern spiritual. They are the raw material of the new religious movements, of all forms of spirituality centered on authenticity, knowledge and self-transcendence (Calhoun, 2011) and development and self-improvement programs, very popular in the trainings offered by organizations.

c) to have access to the therapeutic knowledge that gives meaning. The increased fragmentation and specialization of knowledge is driving the individual to look for ways to manage the meaning of life in a comprehensive way. It is all about fulfilling the need for total knowledge that brings order, promotes homogeneity and offers an integrative perspective. For this, the contemporary human beings have advanced the "spiritualities of technique" – yogas, sophrology, rebirthing, bio-energies, etc.— powers of the wisdom (Abel, 1989). Campbell (2007) explains this turning point by examining the context of the 1960s, marked by the civil rights movement, the reaction to the Vietnam War, and the proliferation of a variety of subcultures as well as a counterculture in Europe and North America. It highlights that new institutional and ideological spaces in the West begin to incorporate a variety of beliefs, practices and cosmologies such as the spiritualities of technique. These spiritualities, according to Campbell, lead to a process of marginalization and even replacement of the characteristics of Western civilization with those associated with Eastern civilizations. The West is "orientalized" by the younger generations who carry the values[2] of these Eastern cultures.

d) to have a morality that harmonizes and brings into coherence work, family, society, ecology, etc. The imperatives of total transparency, of equal and free access to everything, the neoliberal model based on the performativity and competitiveness that has taken hold of the whole of life (Foucault, 1994, 2004a, 2004b) – are all part of it.

Moreover, we note that the "no religion" majority in France, reaching more than 50% of the population (Pew Research Center, 2018a), attach themselves to a "floating religion" that refuse the institutionalized inheritance of the great religious narratives, but not the spiritual element, the religious as such. Empirical research conducted through extensive surveys has shown that there are groups of people who claim to be "spiritual but non-religious" (Pew Research Center, 2018b; Pew Researcher Center, 2017), "non-practicing and non-religious" – nevertheless believing in a spiritual force, in a higher power – or even "non-practicing Christians" who believe in a God but who do not resemble the one described by the Bible or by the Church (Pew Research Center 2018a). Even if these categories of the population present symptomatic tendencies for a split between religion and spirituality, ranging from meaning to practices, customs, attitudes and behaviors, it is also to be considered, according to the same studies, that there are two plausible significant interlacing hypotheses relating to André Malraux's commentary: that of an evolution of the religious and an awareness of the religious by other forms, expressions, and representations, etc. more or less unconventional (Hill et al., 2000), and that of a permanence of elements specific to religion. Recent studies in the fields of socio-anthropology of work, religion and organizations have documented the existence of a new career profile synthesized in the concept of "new careers" (Al Ariss, 2010; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). The highly educated population of Europe is particularly impacted by this emerging profile. Opposed to the "traditional careers" of the Fordist and Taylorist period, new careers are characterized by many changes throughout the life of individuals, both in the organizations and in the fields in which they work. These new careers imply a different approaauthorch to religion. Their generational[3] evolution occurs in a flexible economic environment that pushes individuals to be autonomous, creative and assume the need for continuous change (Bauman, 2013), which leads them to focus on a perpetual discovery of the many facets of their

[2] See the discussion on value as dogma and deliberation developed by Dacheux and Goujon (2020).
[3] See the synthesis of Rožukalne (2020) on the concept of "generation".

strengths and interests. They manage the meaning of life so that at the same time they can rebuild the unity of themselves, despite the fragmentation they adopt and practice. Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) describe this new logic of career building, simultaneously rooted in self-retreat and the search for religious without religious affiliation, but believing and clothed with uncertain religiosity, such as "the new spirit of capitalism". This spirit opens up to a private religiosity, not only as a mean of production of meaning for economic endeavors, but more precisely, it explains this paradoxical cohabitation of the weakened traditions and the new spiritualities consolidated on the "most vivid imaginations" (Abel, 1989). The erosion of traditional religious forms has generated other forms of religiosity in contrast to the established religion based on the consolidation of traditions. In the new spirit of capitalism, the most memorable and solid traditions are not being reinforced, they rather overlap with the spiritual experience of the most profound religious "off track" (Lambert, 2000).

Research conducted in management and organizational studies focusing on spirituality and religion highlights the same questions about the intertwining and schisms of the religious and spirituality. This occurs regardless whether it is about topics related to what religions say about work (discursive approach), or it is about religious phenomenon in organizations and its influence on the management and the organizational functioning (Ashmos and Duchon, 2000; Karakas, 2010; Galindo and Surply, 2010; Honored, 2014), or it is about organizational spirituality and spiritual leadership (Fry, 2003; Voynnet Fourboul, 2016). Markow and Klenke (2005) have inventoried more than seventy definitions of spirituality in the workplace, all of which refer to criteria common to religion. We highlight the definition adopted by Fahri Karakas (2010) following his study of a corpus of 140 articles about spirituality at work. He defines spirituality "as the journey to find a sustainable, authentic, meaningful, holistic and profound understanding of the existential self and its relationship/interconnectedness with the sacred and the transcendent. Spirituality is distinguished from institutionalized religion by being characterized as a private, inclusive, non-denominational, universal human feeling; rather than an adherence to the beliefs, rituals, or practices of a specific organized religious institution or tradition" (Karakas, 2010, p. 95). This definition highlights the same pitfall characteristic of the conceptualization of the religion-spirituality duo, that is to say the problem of the separation. Many theoretical and empirical research findings show the difficulty of separating the two naturally, even if there is an explicit intention to reduce the scope of religion (Hill et al., 2000; Voynnet Fourboul, 2011). We also observe the epistemological impossibility of defining spirituality without appealing to elements of the order of the sacred which are part of the institutional meaning of religion (for example, certain practices present in the way of experiencing the spiritual and the relations with the transcendent such as prayer, meditation, celebration of the sacred time, etc.).

Starting from these theoretical perspectives that fuel the polarizations in the conceptualization of the religion and spirituality, with effects on the understanding of the sacred even in the sense of the risk of its complete dissolution in ideologies, we put to the test—through a practical context that articulates the media treatment of religion in the workplace and investigation of the religious phenomenon in organizations—the hypothesis that there is a meaning entanglement of the spiritual and religious and that the French media favors a rather narrow meaning of religion, historically inscribed in the French concept of secularism and in the logic of secularization as a passage to modern society where more modernity means less religion and more rationality (Willaime, 2006). This working hypothesis is also supported by contrasting approaches to secularization, classic theses (Berger, 1967; Dobbelaere, 1981; Bruce, 1992, 2002; Pickel, 2012), based on the loss of relevance of the religion in society, and anti-theses, based on a revised vision that points to the polysemy of the secularization and its ideological connotations, where modernity does not mean renunciation of religion and where religion plays an important role in society, else –

since it is being experienced differently than before—it is taking different forms than before (Martin, 1969; Berger, 2001; Beyer, 2016) (see discussion above).

Methodological clarifications

We conducted a content analysis of online press coverage of the French Observatory of Religious Phenomenon in Organization and the Randstad Institute survey, on the one hand, and of the survey per se as it appears in the report by OFRE, on the other hand. The corpus was constituted primarily of the data drawn from the content of the French online mainstream press (laic and religious), published in September 2018, and then secondarily from the data from OFRE's survey, The media corpus includes nine articles published in nine online newspapers: Les Echos, Marianne, La Croix, La Dépêche, Le Parisien, Le Figaro, L'info Évangélique, Aleteia and Le MuslimPost. The main criterion used for the choice of the nine online newspapers was the representativeness in terms of: a) institutional and political orientation of the media[4], b) geographic coverage (regional and national), c) media practices and d) social, societal and institutionalized functions of the media (secular and religious). This criterion was retained because we were mainly interested in how the media logic shapes the coverage of the OFRE study. The media logic intervenes mainly: a) in the selection and accommodation of the news according to the presentation and interpretation schemes and b) in the adaptation of information to media form and content (Altheide et al. Snow 1979). Regarding the corpus of articles, the choice was made according to three aspects simultaneously taken into account: 1) avoiding redundancy (elimination of the short articles, press releases or notes which reproduced the same framework and which did not engage the editorial team and the journal), 2) selecting representative articles that present developed analyzes of the survey, and 3) selecting articles that present broad comments on the study results.

The data has been analyzed by using a qualitative methodology – the qualitative content analysis – allowing comparisons (delimitation, search for analogies by resemblance-dissimilarity, identification of elements having something in common) and categorizations (tracking of constants redundant themes, relationships, comprehensive syntheses) to clarify the relationships between data (media publications and survey results), themes (religion-spirituality) and the hypothesis to be tested (Tesch, 1990). Content analysis is focused on the "production/reception" of the media message content as a universe of production of meaning (Wolf 1992) and allows a better understanding of the differences between the specific ways in which the religious/spiritual issues in the workplace are being mediatized in different countries and their impact on the public representations of these issues.

The content analysis was preceded by a pre-analysis phase, which primarily included the choice of the corpus by means of a floating reading in order to understand the documents and delimitate the field of research (Robert and Bouillaguet, 1997; Savoie-Zajc, 2000; Bozorova, 2019) and, subsequently by formulating the hypotheses, the objectives and the indicators (Bardin, 1977).

The chosen indicators for examining the articles included: the title of the article, the topics covered (the objects of media coverage), the framing (the way the media chooses to present the survey, and the aspects they choose to discuss and emphasize) and the character of the coverage (critical, neutral, positive). The interpretative approach used was aimed primarily at decontextualization by identifying topics and contents for a recontextualization

[4] The notion of media here refers to the written press (online version). Media in the broadest sense includes old media - television, radio - and new media, i.e. all digital media.

by positioning with a view aimed at identifying and interpreting the meaning produced by the media and concluded by the OFRE survey. This approach also aimed to grasp the discursive issues in the socio-communicative construction of reality (through content analysis) as well as to apprehend the "secular" sociological reasoning of the media through which they produce their universe of understanding and interpretation (Goffman 1973; Garfinkel 2008) of the religion at work in the workplace.

Results and discussions

The results show the following trends:

a) the titles of the articles are mainly positive, resuming, as such, the salient results of the OFRE survey (for example: "Employees no longer hesitate to ask for holidays during religious celebrations"—Le Figaro, "Religion at workplace: a study which dismantles the preconceived ideas"—La Dépêche, "Religion becomes ordinary in organizations – La Croix). All of the religious media formulate titles that highlight the positive results of the study: "Religion, a reality that is commonplace in companies" – Aleteia, "Companies have become accustomed to religions" – Le MuslimPost, "France: religion becomes a routine at workplace, according to a study" – L'info Evangélique. A single article, published by Marianne, "Religion at workplace is commonplace and conflict cases increase", is built on an opposition without nuances. Les Echos title "The management of religion remains a challenge for managers" by putting forward the idea of a potential conflict, without being critical.

b) the objects of the media coverage generally revolve around the "banalization" of religion in the workplace, that is to say that religion has become a reality like all the others in the organizations (Le Parisien, La Croix, Le Figaro, La Dépêche, Le MuslimPost). Les Echos and Marianne are exceptions to this trend. They emphasize the theme of conflicting consequences caused by the presence of religion in the workplace. Representative excerpts: "Increase in conflict cases. The share of 'conflictual' cases is however increasing, with 9.5% of 'observed religious facts' in 2018, against 7.5% in 2017 ("Religion at work 'becomes commonplace' and conflictual cases are increasing", Marianne, September 26, 2018).

"In the vast majority of companies, expressing religious affiliation in the workplace is not a problem. And in nine out of ten cases, it does not interfere with its proper functioning. This is the main lesson of the sixth edition of the annual study on the religious fact in the workplace (...) ("Religion becomes commonplace in the workplace", La Croix, September 26, 2018). "However, what was still exceptional a decade ago has now become commonplace. What are the consequences? How do these facts and behaviors impact the functioning of the organization, the performance of work and the relationships between employees? A first important element which emerges from the survey carried out is that the religion in the workplace is not very confrontational and disrupts little the functioning of companies" ("Religion in companies, is not problematic for the most part", Le Monde, September 26, 2018).

c) framing focuses on the two dual categories of the manifestation of the religious affiliation established by the survey: a) the personal facts, non-disruptive facts of the operation of the organization, and b) the transgressive facts with disruptive potential. Only Marianne and Les Echos focus more on the transgressive aspects and attribute to

them a particular importance which is, moreover, very nuanced by the results of the OFRE survey.

Representative excerpt: “For the third consecutive year, the rate of people questioned who have already observed the existence of religious facts in their workplace during the year has stabilized at 65%. These 'facts' include requests for absence for religious holidays, prayers during breaks, wearing religious symbols, refusing to perform a task or work with a woman…” (“Religion at work 'becomes commonplace' and cases of conflict increase”, Marianne, September 26, 2018).

d) the attitude with respect to the objects of the media coverage is, as a rule, positive. Two articles are rather neutral (Le Parisien, Les Echos), one is critical (Marianne), six are positive (Le Figaro, La Croix, La Dépêche, L’info Évangélique, Aleteia and Le MuslimPost).

Representative excerpts: “In the vast majority of companies, expressing religious affiliation in the workplace is not a problem. This is what the sixth edition of the annual study on religious fact at the workplace, conducted by the Observatory of Religious in Organization (OFRE) and the Randstad Institute, and published by La Croix on September 26, estimated. (“France: religion becomes commonplace at work, according to a study”, L'info Évangélique, September 27, 2018).

“According to the Observatory of Religion in Organizations (OFRE) and the Randstad Institute, cases relating to religion in the workplace are still rare in companies. The expression of religious affiliation in the workplace is not a problem for the majority of companies and nine out of ten companies claim that this does not interfere with the proper functioning” (“The companies have accustomed to religions”, Le MuslimPost, September 26, 2018).

“Time off requests for religious holidays dethroned the wearing of visible religious symbols in the classification of the main manifestations of religion in the workplace. This is one of the findings of the latest study, published on Wednesday, by the Observatory of Religion Phenomenon in Organizations (OFRE) and the Randstad Institute. ‘Unlike in previous years (2016 and 2017), the wearing of visible religious symbols in the workplace is no longer the most common manifestation of religious affiliation (19.5%). It gives way to requests for leave for religious reasons (21%)’, notes the study. According to the authors of this survey, time-off requests, like the wearing of visible signs, fall into the category of ‘personal facts’ characterized by the individual behaviors that express the religiosity of the employee without disrupting the functioning of the company. They oppose to the 'transgressive facts' which disrupt or call into question the functioning of the company (refusal to work with a woman or under her orders, refusal to carry out tasks, proselytism ...” (“Employees no longer hesitate to request time off during religious holidays”, Le Figaro, September 26, 2018).

The OFRE survey operates with a definition of religion which relies on a phenomenological approach, but which nevertheless admits its limits. Religion, according to the report, resides in a) the manifestations of personal facts (individual behaviors that express the religiosity of the employee without disturbing the functioning of the organization such as the wearing of religious symbols, time-off requests, arrangement of working time, prayer during breaks, cf. OFRE, p. 10) and b) the manifestations of transgressive facts (facts that disrupt or call into question the functioning of the organization: refusal to work with a woman or under her orders, refusal to perform tasks, proselytizing, prayers during working time,

idem). Nevertheless, the study recognizes that "the behaviors of the individuals who express their religiosity at workplace are more nuanced and more varied than this dual classification. For example, the wearing of a religious jewel may be the expression of the person's religiosity, the affirmation of a community belonging, a habit or a way to remember a loved one. Depending on the reactions it provokes, on the part of managers and colleagues of the employee in question, depending also on the position of the latter – the same fact may generate very different situations" (Idem). The practical context leaves outside a set of aspects and important elements that do not fit into this definition. The OFRE perspective of religion relying on the dualist approach of religion, however, highlights the fact that this perspective is not sufficient to account for the diversity of expression, representation and manifestation of religiosity today which is freed from institutional authority especially with the advent of the digital emerging media (OFRE, 2018; Tudor and Herteliu, 2017; Tudor, 2021). Therefore, the OFRE study underlines that religiosity is a more complex phenomenon, not limited to institutional and institutionalized manifestations, thus joining the characterization of the current religiosity made by Beyer according to which religion "(…) can be and is increasingly multi-formed, multi-modelled, and multi-present: it takes more forms that are lived by, institutionalized, and recognized than before; it comes in different strengths in each of those different forms; it can be clearly institutionalized or less clearly institutionalized and still it could be lived and recognized as religion; it can be sensate, cognitive, performative, or any combination of these in different proportions; it can be clearly bounded and exclusive, or not" (Beyer, 2016, p. 247). Consequently, in the discussion of the findings, the OFRE survey takes into account the contemporary transformations of religion, the shift towards an individualistic religiosity that is individually built and "tinkered" with the most diverse borrowings. The increasing favorable percentage concerning the presence and expression of religion in the workplace in France (71% of respondents cf. OFRE, 2018, p. 8) and, therefore, its "banalization", i.e. no longer considering religion fact as an exceptional phenomenon in French companies (cf. OFRE, 2018), could be explained through the prism of the integration and acceptance of new forms of religiosity in the workplace, now not limited neither in the imagination of employees nor in the imagination of management to institutionalized and institutionalist religious practices and symbols of traditional religions. This result of OFRE could be considered as symptomatic for a beginning of the emancipation of French employees from a certain vision of French secularism (laïcité) which is based on the rejection of all religious expression in public spheres (organizational, media, institutional, agoric, etc.). Nevertheless, the mediatization of the OFRE study shows that the media logic does not overlap with the organizational logic concerning religiosity as revealed by the findings of the survey presented above. The media corpus analyzed tends to treat the religiosity at workplace through the prism of a conception of the modern French secularism where the public spheres (organizational in this case) should exclude any expression and representation of the religious/spiritual. From this perspective, the religious and the spiritual are exclusively relegated to a practice in the private sphere. However, secularism has evolved since relations with the religious/spiritual have changed in the context of the contemporary ultra-modernity (see above). The public spheres are not reduced to the domain of the sovereignty and state regulation; they include not only all groups in society, but also all forms of expression and manifestation of the religious/spiritual and the secular (Willaime, 2009). The mediatization logic of the OFRE survey operates with the same restrictive sense of secularism which is limited to a narrow representation of secularism (Bratosin and Jauffret, 2018) depending on the circumstances, concerns and interests (Baubérot, 2014 ; Bianco and Euvé 2017). This is a secularism with two facets: the ignorance (Lauret, 2015) and the forbidden (Baubérot, 2014). The secularism of ignorance is hostile to religion; it excludes it and ignores all that is at once, spirituality and religion altogether. The secularism of the

forbidden is also stigmatized, discriminated against and excluded in terms of effects, but it is rather a response to Islam. It is not a laicity "without culture", but a laicity of the prohibition of "wearing" of religious signs and of the judgment upon all that has to do with proselytism. The mediatization of religion, and particularly of religion in the workplace, rests upon these two exclusive representations. During the media coverage of the OFRE survey findings, the French media logic operates implicitly with a narrow understanding and sense of religion, inheriting the legacy of two models: the French secularism, and the classic secularism, where religion and society are incompatible and where there is a tension, a conflict (quite perceivable) between the logic of rationality and the aspiration to spirituality (Voynnet Fourboul, 2011). There seems to be a lack of interest for examining the new manifestations of religion or its emancipation from the religious institutions (the current trends), especially in the context of the rise of digital media, and the reorganization of religions getting exposed to new forms of spirituality. Therefore, we do not observe any openness on the part of the media – based on the results of the survey – for a proper discussion of religion (and the religious phenomenon) at workplace in the context of new emerging spiritualities, as different forms that are being transformed and updated by religious expression.

The media reports the results of the survey highlighting with one or two exceptions, (Marianne being the illustration of the negative framing through a rigid vision of secularism that highlights the transgressive aspect of religion at workplace although diminished by the study), that religion is not a frequently conflicting subject in the workplace (the most conflicting being politics and working conditions). At the same time, these framings tacitly promote interpretations and symbolic constructions of religion that maintain an institutional perspective regarding its elements (prayer, signs and religious symbols, religious holidays, etc.). Nevertheless, these same elements are currently deprived of their institutional character because they have become cultural symbols (religious holidays as pointers of culture), spiritual symbols (prayer, religious signs), or rationalized spiritual forms stripped off their solid tradition by the growing offer of the market of spiritual products (Hill et al., 2000; Beyer, 2016). This dissolution of religion towards other forms and expressions inheriting the language of religious institutions, but with modified contents, is not captured in the media analysis, but it seems present, always implicitly, in the precautions (quite weak) that the coordinators of the study undertook and in the very results of the survey that reveal a paradox. Indeed, the "banalization" of religion in the workplace as well as the acceptance of the existence of the religious practice, explicitly considered as private, but tacitly accepted to occur "in public", in the public sphere of the social ties which is the organization, expresses a paradox. Religion, an always embarrassing and "bad" question in terms of public display (the principle of secularism at work and a vision of secularization that cleanses the society of religion), is less and less problematic and therefore non-transgressive and "not bad" to become a sort of "banalization of evil" when it comes to the corporate experience. This paradox, ignored by the media, but which seems implicit if one looks closely at the results of the survey, is likely to be explained by the transformations religion is undergoing, particularly in contact with the offer of the liberal spiritual market (Beyer, 2016) and the permeabilization of organizations to the spiritual offers originating from new forms of successful spirituality (Oriental beliefs, yoga practices, Feng-shui, bioenergy, holistic medicine, New Age, sophrology, etc.). To illustrate this, we are referring here to the demand for religious holiday leave or the request for organization of working time, which is not considered a disruptive factor at workplace (OFRE, 2018), whereas the holiday is traditionally a religious pointer of institutional nature (materialized in the ecclesiastical calendar of the sacred time) more than the prayer or the wearing of a religious sign. However, we consider that this evolution of religion in contact with spirituality (also intimate in nature, but privileged because it exists without normative and legal prescribers) as well as what the spiritual markets are offering

(rich, multiform, favoring an imbrication between religion and spirituality) make possible this new configuration, without any underlying tensions, and explain the craze for the spiritual in the workplace (see the explosion of alternative forms of religiosity mentioned above, the increase of organizational trainings focused on personal development and scholarly interest in the study of spirituality at work). Religion and spirituality are intertwined because every form of religion involves the spiritual, every form of spirituality and religion appears in a social context, and any form of religious and spirituality supposes the search for the sacred (ultimate divine being, ultimate truth, ultimate reality as perceived by the individual) with emotions, thoughts, experiences, and behaviors specific to the sacred (Pargament, 1999; Hill et al., 2000).

The empirical studies demonstrate that even though, in general, individuals see spirituality as an individual, non-institutional, less rigid and less formal form of the sacred, they do not make absolute separation between religion and spirituality. They are entangled, especially given their complexity (Pargament, 1997; Hill et al., 2000). More precisely, the spiritual also encapsulates a deinstitutionalized, reorganized religion, a religiosity of postmodernism (Allen, 2005; Dreher, 2003). In the organizational context, the discussion is even more complex because it is about new self-practices as well as new (invisible) forms of spirituality that are part of the tendency to articulate a new type of neoliberal governance becoming widespread in the world through forms of cultural and economic globalization. The new forms of “private” or “invisible” religiosity, which have emerged in the recent decades throughout Western Europe, tend to model themselves on consumer culture and to mimic the horizons of individualistic ontologies developed in postmodern societies with renewed meanings of religion.

The mediatization of OFRE's survey with a tendency to privilege the factual, the meaning given to religion in the French context of secularism and the difficult relationship between intimacy/private and public management, focuses on an interpretation limiting religion to work as compared to the one used in the survey. The media framing, phenomenologically staged, considers the process of religious individualization as a positive and emancipatory process insofar as it has generated an autonomous personality capable of constructing its own objective, thus enabling the individual to determine his/her sphere of privacy and live his/her transcendences in accordance with a prescribed, normative, legal framework that firmly separates public and private. The framing of the corporations encompassed by the survey is biopolitical (a term borrowed from Michel Foucault). Religion ceases to be a social issue and has a critical impact on the way of life. The organization’s approach is implicitly influenced by the new expressions of spirituality, inscribed in the cultural narratives and transformations aimed at promoting a specifically entrepreneurial value system, as well as ideologies centered on transcendence and amplification of the self—a crucial element of the consumerist culture (Calhoun et al., 2011). As Foucault (2001) suggests in The Hermeneutics of the Subject, new self-practices are radically different from both the ethics promoted by traditional Christianity (emphasizing lifestyle changes and opposition between moral and immoral behavior) and the Protestant ethic analyzed by Weber (2017), according to which daily self-restraint is the catalyst for capitalism (Dardot and Laval, 2014). The self-promotion by the neoliberal corporate logic is proactive and competitive, centered on the evolution of an entrepreneurial subjectivity that is deeply atomized; it never produces an integrated religious community and social cohesion based on religion. This could explain the rejection of any transgressive (wrong) behavior at work, not in the name of secularism as the French media framings are inclined to suggest, but for the sake of its proper functioning – an indicator that is also taken into account by the survey (OFRE, 2018). This could also explain the rationale for the increase in the percentage of religious phenomena, which according to OFRE, no longer

produces tensions at workplace and would elucidate why the "banalization of the religious evil" is not a very sensitive point.

Focusing on the psychology and individualization of the religious experience, organizational religiosity is based on individual techniques founded on a complex motivational and communication apparatus that helps the individual to develop an entrepreneurial spirit capable of raising entrepreneurial challenges. This clarifies, moreover, certain results of the investigation (which are not necessarily discussed as such). The focus is all about the fact that religion is less confrontational as opposed to organizational behaviors, work ethics, working itself, and politics.

Conclusions

We examined in this article the mediatization of OFRE survey findings by French mainstream online newspapers. We have found that there is a looming propensity for media discourse (even if it reflects positively and factually the results of the survey) to approach religion both in direct connection with the institutionalized religion and in a relationship with a negative vision of secularism. This vision operates with the intimate/private-public dialectic, it empties the public sphere of religion (whereas religious personal events occur in the very space of the social bonds within the organization) and it is indebted to the "restrictive" approaches that combine opposition between religion, society and secularization. Although OFRE's survey itself retains a narrow definition of religion, it notes that there is an expansion of the religious phenomenon that can take into account the spiritual and the transformations of developed religiosity in contact with alternatives forms of religion. But it does not name it explicitly and the media coverage does not analyze it either. The analysis of media content also shows us that the central and sensitive point when we talk about religion is always its institutional and confessional aspect, without any reference to the current transformations of religion in terms of practices and forms of belief. This is the case for organizations if we consider the results of the OFRE survey, but less so for the media logic on the principle of secularism, and more for the prescriptive, normative logic of the law governing the institutionalized religion at workplace (French El Khomri law). A survey, conducted in 2015 on a sample of 5,764 people in search of spirituality in France, led by the GERPSE (Study Group on Emerging Spiritual Research and Practices), illustrates a certain need to get out of this dialectic. It shows precisely that out of 100 people in active spiritual pursuit, 25 consider themselves outside any religion and 60 consider themselves Christians (claiming to belong to a culture or spirituality but not to a particular church). This, as the study indicates, "blurs" the traditional landmarks: "Henceforth religions, religious, spiritual are presented in a new way, blurring the traditional landmarks" (Quête spirituelle, voies singulières, 2015).

In this context, our exploratory study could be a basis for questioning the media treatment of religion at workplace—since by its educational vocation—the media is better placed and expected to conduct the necessary work of updating the information on the issues in question with the most recent developments and trends. At the same time, it could constitute an opportunity for a revision of the correspondents of religion in the workplace through the prism of profound transformations related in particular to the new neoliberal order and the impact of the digital revolution, bringing with it the liquidity of institutions and organizational flexi-structures (Bauman, 2013). Empirical studies show that the permeability of organizations and institutions to these transformations has given way to a mutation of the interest for religion, differently reconstructed, emancipated from the institution, more centered on the self, without duty and moral obligation, compatible with the spiritual because

it finds itself connected with a feeling of transcendence, with a deity or many, with an initial emotion (Breton and Le Breton, 2009).

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