

RESEARCH

Stephanie Kurschus

European Book Cultures

Diversity as a Challenge



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Frankfurt, Deutschland

Die vorliegende Arbeit wurde vom Fachbereich 05 – Philosophie und Philologie der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz im Jahr 2013 als Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.) angenommen.

Referent: Prof. Dr. Ernst Fischer
Korreferent: Prof. Dr. Christoph Bläsi
Tag des Prüfungskolloquiums: 20. September 2013

ISBN 978-3-658-08059-4 ISBN 978-3-658-08060-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-08060-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014957490

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Preface

With regard to the field of book studies, the present work addresses two topics which have previously not often been discussed. For instance, it applies the transnational approach to book studies; an approach that is frequently used in the context of economics. The present work attempted to dissolve the established national perspectives, that are often the basis for studying the book, and to follow the example of recent studies, such as *Reading Beyond the Book*¹, which focused on the UK, USA and Canada. Secondly, the combination of theoretical and statistical analyses is new to books studies: statistical methods to understand and to analyse book culture have never been applied before, especially since there has been no common concept of book culture.

Since the completion of this work in the February of 2013, two major developments have taken place, which would have had an impact on the results of the analyses. The special status awarded to books within the European Unions member states has recently been illustrated by developments in France. As its second largest book store chain Chapitre had to declare bankruptcy, the French government decided to augment the already comprehensive programs for the promotion of books and the book industry: Within 2014, it has announced to additionally reduce the value added tax on books and to endow the program offering loans to book stores with more funds.

Furthermore, in 2013, Croatia has joined the European Union as a full member. In consequence, any future analyses of European book cultures will have to include the new member state. Other developments could only be explored on the surface due to the limited scope of this work, for example the consequences of the financial crises, especially in the Southern European states, and their impact on the programs for book promotion as well as on the book industry in general. However, these points serve to stress the importance of a continued monitoring of the development of the different factors of book culture.

This work would not have been possible without the continued and loving support of a great number of people. First, I want to thank my advisors Prof. Dr. Ernst Fischer and Prof. Dr. Christoph Bläsi for their patience and ready exper-

1 Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo (2013): *Reading Beyond the Book. The Social Practices of Contemporary Literary Culture*. Routledge Chapman & Hall.

tise, especially in assisting to obtain the sponsorship of the Stipendienstiftung Rheinland-Pfalz. The Stipendienstiftung Rheinland-Pfalz I would like to thank for their sponsorship and, especially, Waldemar Kowalczyk for his advice in all things practical. For his active support in the realization of the statistic analyses and for explaining the statistical 101, I want to thank Prof. Dr. Hanno Beck. For inspiration, many brainstorming sessions and patient listening I want to thank Dr. Juliane Schwoch, Dr. Anke Vogel, Dr. Corinna Norrick, Laura Neuhaus and Markus Resch. Last but certainly not least, thanks to my family for their continuous support.

Stephanie Kurschus

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List of Abbreviations

ACTA	Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement
ADLEC	French Association for the Promotion of Booksellers
AIE	Italian Publishers Association
APBAD	Portuguese Association of Librarians, Archivists and Document Professionals
BIEF	International Office of the French Edition
BGN	Bulgarian Lev
BMF	German Ministry of Finance
CDCC	Council for Cultural Co-operation (of the European Union)
CDCULT	Former Steering Committee for Culture (of the European Union)
COBISS	Library Information Systems and Research Information Systems Network
DRM	Digital Rights Management
EC	European Commission
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ERICarts	European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research
ETHZ	Swiss Federal Institute for Technology
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IBBY	International Board on Books for Young People
ICORN	International Cities of Refuge Network
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
i.e.	that is
IFLA	International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
IP	Intellectual Property
ISBN	International Standard Book Number
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
LEG	European Leadership Group
LR	Public Lending Remuneration
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PMV	Flanders Participation Company

PLR	Public Lending Remuneration
RPM	Resale Price Maintenance
RNBP	Portuguese National Reading Plan
SAT	Scholastic Assessment Test
SFr	Swiss Franc
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TEU	Treaty on the European Union
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPS	Uninterrupted Power Supply
VAT	Value Added Tax
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization

Country Abbreviations

BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
CZ	Czech Republic
DK	Denmark
DE	Germany
EE	Estonia
IE	Ireland
EL	Greece
ES	Spain
FR	France
IT	Italy
CY	Cyprus
LV	Latvia
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
HU	Hungary
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
AT	Austria
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
FI	Finland
SE	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom
CH	Switzerland

1 Book Culture – Approaching an Elusive Concept

The history of the book has been inextricably linked with the development of civilizations for more than two thousand years. With regard to aesthetics and practicality, the book is still considered to be the perfect form for the dissemination of information. Yet the recent media revolutions have challenged the book and it has lost its role as the primary medium. Is the culture of the book outdated, to be replaced by a net culture?

The future of the printed book is discussed emotionally in newspapers, at conferences or on any other occasion. Often, the participants of the discussion feel threatened by the internet and its possibilities. Book culture, the book as a medium and its advantages have never been reflected and discussed as intensely as today – paradoxically, it was the digital media revolution itself which has generated the increased interest in the printed book and its future. The faster such cultural change is conducted and the more people feel threatened by the loss of their cultural and individual identity, the more they will hold on to traditional values and the symbols of these values.² The printed book is one of these symbols. Nevertheless, there is neither a comprehensive definition of the book nor of book culture. Instead, there seems to be a preconception of both that is shared by the participants in the discussion. It is one of the aims of this study to substantiate the concept of book culture. This preconception of the book and book culture is complemented by a number of other preunderstandings and prerequisites which make up the framework of this study. These will be introduced in the following.

A second preconception is the existence of a ›Western‹ or ›European‹ book culture. Yet Europe, especially cultural Europe, equally is a difficult and abstract concept. One of the objectives of this study is the identification of what comprises this European book culture. To avoid an arbitrary approach to book culture, a concept of culture was chosen that is based on the concept employed in ethnological and social studies. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, culture may be described as a blend of values, rituals and traditions as well as institutions upholding and developing this specific culture.³ The first part of this study centers on this developed concept including the current challenges posed to book culture.

2 Burke, Peter (2005): *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity, p. 65.

3 Kroeber, Alfred Louis; Kluckhohn, Clyde (1952): *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers 47.

This work will provide an overview of European book culture and how it is protected and promoted. Therefore, it will go beyond a Central or Western European perspective. The political manifestation of the European idea is the European Union. In consequence, this study will include all member states of the European Union. To illustrate the aspects of book culture presented within the context of this work, examples from the member states will be provided. Switzerland completes the sample, since, on a small scale, the country is challenged by what a European cultural policy and a common approach to book promotion will face: different languages, different cultures and values, which have to be considered and incorporated in a book policy that allows for adaptations to the need of the individual communities. In theory, Switzerland provides an ideal example for book promotion that integrates as well as fosters.

The book as a medium is fraught with positive and a few negative attributes. Overall, its image and the image of reading are positively connoted throughout Europe. Thus, the image of the book is no longer discernible from its actual functions. These, though, have become limited in the course of the digital revolution. For instance, the book has lost its role as the primary medium of information. The characteristics attributed to the book are rooted in traditions and a complex value system. Hence, the concept of book culture, as established in this work, is based on the function of the book not only as a technical medium for the storage of information but also on its important role in constructing identity. Given the current status of technical innovation, the book as a storage medium may very well be obsolete soon. However, the attached value system may probably not allow a quick substitution of the book by the digital communication and storage technologies. The values, and perhaps, myths, ascribed to the book by the individual European nations and the role, which has been played by book culture in the construction of national identities, will be presented. These values and roles explain the various measures employed by governments, lobby groups and independent organizations to save the value system ›book‹ from the substitution by other media.

The increasing mediatization of everyday life changes the structures of human interaction and, thereby, the structure of society and culture.⁴ Book culture is a part of media culture and, as such, a part of the changes and developments in communication. According to Hepp, there are individual national media cultures. Of these, the national book culture is a sub-culture. Regarded as a heterogenic

4 The term mediatization reflects the increasingly complex media environment. The importance, the number of media and the potential for communication increases as the functions of the old media change. In consequence, the human relationships also change. Krotz, Friedrich (2006): »Konnektivität der Medien: Konzepte, Bedingungen und Konsequenzen.« In: Andreas Hepp et al. (Eds.): *Konnektivität, Netzwerk und Fluss. Konzepte gegenwärtiger Medien-, Kommunikations- und Kulturtheorie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden (Springer-11776 /Dig. Serial]), pp. 21–41. Here: p. 33.

but in some characteristics as a unified whole, European book culture can be described as deterritorialized.⁵ As a consequence of globalization, »European« culture has become an identification factor complementary to those of national cultures or book cultures. According to Hobsbawm, national cultures and identities were created and emphasized »to fill the emotional void left by the retreat or disintegration, or the unavailability of *real* human communities and networks, but the question still remains why, having lost real communities, people should wish to imagine this particular type of replacement.«⁶ National cultures and identities have gained importance in creating a feeling of belonging. On a meta-level, they have been complemented by what is perceived as European culture. Therefore, cultural policies supporting the book and book culture in its manifestations have become increasingly important. In consequence, the politics and book policies of the individual member states have to be a part of this study.

Based on the preconception of a common European book culture with shared characteristics, the harmonization efforts of the European Union to create a single internal market as well as a common legislative basis seem sensible. Yet cultural policy and therefore book policy are within the responsibility of the individual member states. This situation leads to a scattered approach to book policy. With a view to a shared European book culture, a subsequent harmonization of book policies within the member states of the EU should also be advantageous, particularly with regard to the increasing internationalization of the book markets. While the book markets have remained language markets, the publishing houses and distributors, which were formerly active on the national markets only, have become global companies to some extent. There are still small national publishers but the media conglomerates, which operate across borders and have interests in a multitude of countries as well as in the film, publishing and music business, have gained influence. Similarly, in the distribution sector the independent booksellers have been losing ground to major chain stores and to the online distributors like Amazon. As the markets are developing towards increasing concentration and globalization, the national policy makers arrive at the limits of their influence. Book policy should be effective on a transnational level – in theory, the developments can be balanced and counteracted more efficiently this way.

5 For the definitions of local, that is national and territorialized, cultures as opposed to translocal and therefore deterritorialized cultures, see Hepp, Andreas (2006): »Translokale Medienkulturen. Netzwerke der Medien und Globalisierung.« In: Andreas Hepp et al. (Eds.): *Konnektivität, Netzwerk und Fluss. Konzepte gegenwärtiger Medien-, Kommunikations- und Kulturtheorie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden (Springer-11776 /Dig. Serial]), pp. 43–68. Here: p. 56.

6 Hobsbawm, Eric John (2006): *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 46.

The relationship between book culture and the book market is ambivalent. The book market may be seen as the economic dimension of book culture. It can have detrimental as well as beneficial effects on book culture as a whole. On the one hand, the free market economy favors the development and amplification of negative trends such as a focus on literature of dubious quality and a consolidation in the distribution sector. On the other hand, the market is the part of book culture that is easiest to quantify and thereby allows to draw conclusions on the overall situation of the book in a given country, for example with regard to book sales and the categories of books that are sold. The market is governed by the dynamics of supply and demand which may initiate an advancement of book culture. Georg Jäger even claims that there is no cultural theory without a complementary monetary theory.⁷ The centrality of the book market is further emphasized by the fact that measures which promote the book and book culture often concentrate on the market participants. To exclude the book market and its participants from a concept of book culture is therefore inadvisable.

However central the book market may be to book culture, market trends and the digital media revolution have resulted in developments that make state intervention in the book market seem expedient. Therefore, book promotion measures such as a reduced value added tax on books are applied by all member states of the European Union. These measures and projects are considered to balance detrimental market effects such as a loss of diversity because of consolidation. Thereby, they address the ambivalent nature of the book as a product and a cultural asset. In this study, the range of these promotion measures is presented and the problems inherent in book promotion are assessed. If shared characteristics of a common European book culture can be identified, adequate and efficient projects from all European member states could be selected to form a recommendation for European book policy.

Based on these assumptions of a common ›European‹ book culture that integrates the book market as an essential aspect and employs book promotion as balancing instrument, the scope of this work has been set. First, the elements and characteristics of book culture will be identified. The resultant concept of book culture is expected to be quite complex. Subsequently, the current challenges to book culture will be presented as well as its legal and economic framework within the European Union. To put this concept of book culture on a sound basis, it will be reduced to a number of variables. These are collected for all member states and Switzerland. By statistical analysis, in this case clustering, the shared characteristics of European book culture should be identified.

7 Cf. Jäger, Georg (2005): »Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie.« Grundlegung einer Theorie des Buchverlags. In: Monika Estermann et al.(Eds.): *Buchkulturen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literaturvermittlung: Festschrift für Reinhard Wittmann*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 59–78.

Yet it is expected that no common European book culture is discernible. Rather, a number of different types will emerge during the course of the analysis. For example, these types could be based on shared characteristics or on a certain regional development of book culture. For the European book markets, Appelman and Canoy have identified a similar typology in their essay »Horses for Courses: why Europe should not harmonise its book policies.«⁸ If the analysis results in the identification of different types of book cultures, there are consequences for book promotion, too. A certain type of book culture will require a specialized set of measures for an adequate promotion. It could be advisable to form diverse models of book policies, which are adaptable to the individual requirements and objectives of the given book cultures.

The second statistical analysis continues with a focus on book promotion. By regression analysis, the effectiveness of book promotion measures on book culture in general will be analyzed. Such an analysis is necessary since, up until now, book promotion projects have been assessed for their direct effects only. For example, a well-developed author grant system may support a higher number of authors. The indirect effects for book culture, such as a greater variety in the title production, are hardly quantifiable, not only because book culture has so far remained such an elusive concept.

1.1 Literature and Sources

With regard to the concept of book culture, no comprehensive scholarly work has been published yet. Instead, the term book culture is often used without an explanation.⁹ This necessitated a diversified approach to the topic, which is mirrored in the wide range of literature and sources. Four works are exemplary for this wide range: Ernst Fischer recapped different measures, such as a reduced VAT and a fixed book price, and highlighted the difficulty in deciding on a European book policy in his article »Buchpolitik in europäischer Perspektive«.¹⁰

8 Appelman, Marja; Canoy, Marcel (2002): »Horses for Courses: Why Europe should not harmonise its book politics.« In: *De Economist* (150,5), pp. 583–600. Available online <http://www.springerlink.com/content/q743463q628x4m54/>, last retrieved January 5th 2011.

9 For example by Jeannette Böhme in her work *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*. Even though book culture is mentioned in the title, she neglects to give a concise explanation of book culture. Böhme, Jeanette (2006): *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur. Medientheoretische Begründungen schulischer Bildungsarchitekturen*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

10 Fischer, Ernst (2008): »Buchpolitik in europäischer Perspektive. Das Buch und die Neuen Medien.« In: Monika Estermann et al. (Eds.): *Parallelwelten des Buches. Beiträge zur Buchpolitik, Verlagsgeschichte, Bibliophilie und Buchkunst. Festschrift für Wulf D. von Lucius*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 99–144.

The importance of a concerted approach to book politics to balance the effects of the free book market was emphasized by André Schiffrin in his two works, *The Business of Books*¹¹ and *Words and Money*¹². He cautions European policy makers against the developments that have taken place in the American publishing industry during the last decades. He describes how the increasing conglomeration and consolidation of the market have resulted in a loss of diversity. Although an overall European perspective seems prudent, Miha Kovač pointed out the necessity to include the smaller European nations in an overview of European book culture in his article »Small is Beautiful«¹³, since the book market and book culture have particularly close relationship in these countries. In addition, his trenchant monograph *Never Mind the Web* examines the role of the book in the current society.¹⁴ All in all, the topic book culture can be approached from a number of perspectives: cultural theory, media theory, history, economy and so forth. A selection of the literature and sources used within the context of this work is presented hereafter.

For the development of a new concept, the definition and concepts of culture provided a starting point. Peter Burke's work on the theory of culture and cultural exchange provided a starting point.¹⁵ The concept of culture employed in this study was based on Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn's fundamental work of 1952: *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*.¹⁶ Bettina Beer's article on »Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur« added a comprehensive list of the characteristics of culture, such as culture being learned.¹⁷

The theoretical concepts of culture were complemented with media theory, for example by the general work *Theorien der Medien. Von der Kulturkritik bis zum Konstruktivismus*, edited by Stefan Weber.¹⁸ More perspective was provided by Matthias Karmasin and Carsten Winter in their work *Kulturwissenschaft als Kommunikationswissenschaft. Projekte, Probleme und Perspektiven*.¹⁹ As the

11 Schiffrin, André (2000): *The Business of Books: How International Conglomerates Took Over Publishing and Changed the Way We Read*. New York: Verso Books.

12 Schiffrin, André (2010): *Words and Money*. New York: Verso Books.

13 Kovač, Miha (2010): »Small is Beautiful: The Role of the Book Industries in Small European Countries.« In: *Knygotyra* 54, pp. 279–290. Available online <http://www.leidykla.vu.lt/fileadmin/Knygotyra/54/279-290.pdf>, last retrieved May 17th 2010.

14 Kovač, Miha (2008): *Never Mind the Web. Here Comes the Book*. Oxford: Chandos Publishing.

15 Burke, Peter (2005): *What is Cultural History?*

16 Kroeber, Alfred Louis; Kluckhohn, Clyde (1952): *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers 47.

17 Beer, Bettina (2003): »Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur.« In: Hans Fischer, Bettina Beer (Eds.): *Ethnologie. Einführung und Überblick*. 5th revised edition. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 53–72.

18 Weber, Stefan (Ed.) (2009): *Theorien der Medien. Von der Kulturkritik bis zum Konstruktivismus*. 2nd edition. Konstanz: UVK Verl.-Ges.

19 Karmasin, Matthias; Winter, Carsten (Eds.) (2003): *Kulturwissenschaft als Kommunikationswissenschaft. Projekte, Probleme und Perspektiven*. 1st edition. Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl.

current development of book culture is influenced by the new media, media theory with a focus on the information society was included, too. For example by the vital works of Manuel Castells (*The Rise of the Network Society; The Information Society and the Welfare State*)²⁰, and by the excellent overview work by Andreas Hepp et al. on current theories on the relationship of media, communication and culture²¹. The role of the book in communication theory was illustrated by Ursula Rautenberg and Dirk Wetzel in *Buch. Grundlagen der Medienkommunikation 11*.²²

Works on book culture in general are virtually non-existent. An exception is the critical approach to book culture that has been taken by Michael Giesecke in his work *Von den Mythen der Buchkultur zu den Visionen der Informationsgesellschaft*.²³ Although his criticism sometimes appeared overwrought, his monograph on the myths of book culture was a useful corrective lens in a discussion that is often without objectivity, ideologically colored and led with an undue personal involvement.

Starting from these general works on the book, media relationships and on culture, a perspective on past book cultures was supplied by the following works: Jack Goody evoked *The Power of the Written Tradition*²⁴ throughout time and emphasized the importance of documentation and the book for the development of humankind. The book culture of Antiquity was described, for example by Horst Blanck's *Das Buch in der Antike*²⁵ and Otto Mazal's *Griechisch-römische Antike*²⁶. The Middle Ages were at the center of attention in the compilation edited by Stolz et al. *Buchkultur um Mittelalter*²⁷ and of Malcom Parkes' monograph *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation*

20 Castells, Manuel; Himanen, Pekka (2002): *The Information Society and the Welfare State. The Finnish Model*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. And Castells, Manuel (2000): *The Rise of the Network Society. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. 1. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

21 Hepp, Andreas et al. (Eds.): *Konnektivität, Netzwerk und Fluss. Konzepte gegenwärtiger Medien-, Kommunikations- und Kulturtheorie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden (Springer-11776 /Dig. Serial)].

22 Rautenberg, Ursula; Wetzel, Dirk (2001): *Buch. Grundlagen der Medienkommunikation 11*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

23 Giesecke, Michael (2002): *Von den Mythen der Buchkultur zu den Visionen der Informationsgesellschaft*. [Trendforschungen zur kulturellen Medienökologie]. Frankfurt am Main: [Suhrkamp] (stw, 1543).

24 Goody, Jack (2000): *The Power of the Written Tradition*. Washington: Smithsonian Inst. Press.

25 Blanck, Horst (1992): *Das Buch in der Antike*. [Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek]. München: C.H. Beck.

26 Mazal, Otto (1999): *Griechisch-römische Antike*. [Geschichte der Buchkultur, 1]. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.

27 Stolz, Michael et al. (Eds.) (2005): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

and Dissemination of Medieval Texts.²⁸ The transition to the book culture of the Early Modern Period and the importance of the book for movements such as the Reformation and the Enlightenment were described by Elizabeth Eisenstein's important work on *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.²⁹

Based on its history, the different roles and functions of the book emerged. These were elaborated on by Eric Hobsbawm, who viewed the book as an integral vehicle in the formation of national identities and nation states.³⁰ Ursula Rautenberg, on the other hand, described the book as an aspect of everyday culture in her article *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur* which was published in *Buchkulturen* by Monika Estermann et al.³¹ The fact that the book has become part of everyday culture was supported by the role of the book within the religions, as David Jeffrey points out in his work *People of the Book. Christian Identity and Literary Culture*.³² During the process, the book become more than its content and material form, as Margaret Bridges explains in her article »Mehr als ein Text. Das ungelesene Buch zwischen Symbol und Fetisch.«³³ Just as book culture has developed historically, so has the literary scene as a participant thereof. Its actors create and communicate trends. An exemplary description of the German literary scene is presented by Heinz Arnold and Matthias Beilein in their revised edition of *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*.³⁴

Sources for the manifestation of book culture in the various European member states complemented the literature on the role of the book in general and other aspects of book culture. For example, Miha Kovač described the role of the book and the publishing industry as identity-establishing for the small Eastern European nations.³⁵ Ann Kennard also focused on the Eastern European states in *Old Cultures, New Institutions. Around the New Eastern Border of the European*

28 Parkes, Malcolm Beckwith (1991): *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. London: Hambledon Press.

29 Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. (1997): *Die Druckerpresse. Kulturrevolutionen im frühen modernen Europa*. Wien: Springer.

30 Hobsbawm, Eric John (2006): *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

31 Rautenberg, Ursula (2005): »Das Buch in der Alltagskultur. Eine Annäherung an zeichenhaften Buchgebrauch und die Medialität des Buches.« In: Monika Estermann et al. (Eds.): *Buchkulturen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literaturvermittlung*; Festschrift für Reinhard Wittmann. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 487–516.

32 Jeffrey, David L. (1996): *People of the Book. Christian Identity and Literary Culture*. Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

33 Bridges, Margaret (2005): »Mehr als ein Text. Das ungelesene Buch zwischen Symbol und Fetisch.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Eds.): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 104–121.

34 Arnold, Heinz Ludwig; Beilein, Matthias (Eds.) (2009): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik.

35 Kovač: *Small is Beautiful*.

Union.³⁶ Aile Möldre, in turn, presented the situation in Estonia³⁷, while Fritz Panzer and Elfriede Scheipl describe the book market in Austria.³⁸ More articles on the individual states are supplied by *The Oxford Companion to the Book*; however, these center on the history of the book in the given states.³⁹

In order to broaden the perspective after a review of the individual nations, information on the European Union was collected. General sources, for example, for cultural policies, legislation and treaties are found on the excellent information websites of the European Union: EUR-Lex⁴⁰, Europa – Summaries of EU Legislation⁴¹, the website of the European Commission⁴² and culturalpolicies.net⁴³. Secondary information was provided by Paul Craig and Gráinne de Búrca and their work *EU Law. Text, Cases, and Materials*.⁴⁴ For individual aspects of EU legislation, specific works were consulted. Among them were, for example, Benjamin Apt's essay »On the Right to Freedom of Expression in the European Union«⁴⁵ and Yolande Stolte and Rachael Craufurd Smith's article on *The European Union and Media Ownership Transparency: the Scope for Regulatory Intervention*.⁴⁶

Whereas the legislative and economic framework of the European Union is defined and extensively documented, the question of a cultural Europe is intensely discussed. The German *Institute for Foreign Relations (Institut für Auslands-*

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- 36 Kennard, Ann (2010): *Old Cultures, New Institutions. Around the New Eastern Border of the European Union*. Berlin: LIT. Available online http://deposit.d-nb.de/cgi-bin/dokserv?id=3479607&prov=M&dok_var=1&dok_ext=htm, last retrieved February 22nd 2011.
- 37 Möldre, Aile (2005): *Publishing and Book Distribution in Estonia in 1940–2000*. Ed. by Tlū Kirjastus. Tallinn. Available online: <http://www.tlulib.ee/files/arts/95/moldrf036803013949a37f18cd57653194624.pdf>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. See also: Information Spreadsheet Estonia: Annex, p. A-40.
- 38 Panzer, Fritz; Scheipl, Elfriede (2001): Buchverlage in Österreich. Marktteilnehmer – Buchproduktion – Umfeldbedingungen. Forschungsauftrag des Bundesministeriums für Verkehr, Innovation, Technologie. Sektion V: Innovation und Technologie. Wien: Buchkultur-Verl.-Ges.
- 39 Suarez, Michael; Woudhuysen, H. R. (Eds.) (2010): *The Oxford Companion to the Book*. 2 Vols. Oxford, USA: Oxford University Press.
- 40 *EUR-Lex*. Available online eur-lex.europa.eu/de/index.htm, last retrieved January 21st 2013.
- 41 *Europa – Summaries of EU legislation*. Available online europa.eu/legislation_summaries/index_en.htm, last retrieved January 21st 2013.
- 42 *European Commission*. Available online ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm, last retrieved January 21st 2013.
- 43 *Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. Available online www.culturalpolicies.net, last retrieved January 21st 2013.
- 44 Craig, Paul. P.; De Búrca, Gráinne (2005): *EU Law. Text, Cases, and Materials*. 4th edition. Oxford University Press.
- 45 Apt, Benjamin L. (1998): »On the Right to Freedom of Expression in the European Union.« In: *4 Columbia Journal of European Law* 69.
- 46 Stolte, Yolande; Craufurd Smith, Rachael (2010): *The European Union and Media Ownership Transparency: the Scope for Regulatory Intervention*. Open Society Media Program. Available online: <http://mediapolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/the-european-union-media-ownership-transparency.pdf>, last retrieved August 22nd 2012.

beziehungen) in cooperation with various foundations regularly publishes reports on the concepts for a cultural Europe, for example the series *Culture Report Progress Europe*. The 2010 edition of the report focused on literature and the book in Europe.⁴⁷ Among others, it featured articles by authors from all over Europe, like Ulrike Draesner and her essay »Old but not necessarily clever«, in which the author presents her take on the development of a cultural Europe.⁴⁸

With regard to the economy, one of the most important achievements of the European Union was the creation of the internal market. The book markets of the European Union, however, have remained national, language-based markets so far. How book markets in general function is presented by Marcel Canoy et al. in their paper *The Economics of Books*.⁴⁹ Information on the book markets and the publishing industry of the European Union are provided by a variety of sources, for instance, by the Federation of European Publishers⁵⁰ as well as the European Commission⁵¹. Rüdiger Wischenbart puts the European markets into an international perspective in his article »The Global Ranking of the Publishing Industry 2009«.⁵² His work is complemented by the very thorough study of the European market by the Media Group from the Turku School of Economics in Finland. This study, which was conducted in cooperation with the consultancy Rightscom Ltd., included an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the European publishing industry.⁵³ The book sector was granted an individual report.⁵⁴

47 Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.) (2010): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. [Culture Report Progress Europe, 3]. Stuttgart: ifa. Available online <http://www.ifa.de/en/pub/kulturreport-fortschritt-europa/literatur/>, last retrieved October 14th 2011.

48 Draesner, Ulrike (2010): »Old but not necessarily clever.« In: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. [Culture Report Progress Europe, 3]. Stuttgart: ifa, pp. 118–124. Available online <http://www.ifa.de/en/pub/kulturreport-fortschritt-europa/literatur/>, last retrieved October 14th 2011.

49 Canoy, Marcel et al. (2005): *The Economics of Books*. [CESifo Working Paper No. 1414]. Ed. by CESifo. Available online http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=730523, last retrieved January 7th 2011.

50 The Federation of European Publishers. Available online <http://fep-fee.eu/>, last retrieved January 21th 2013.

51 For example, with the report European Commission (Ed.) (2007): *The Publishing Industry*. Brussels. Available online <http://www.euractiv.com/en/infosociety/publishing-industry-archive/article-148754>, last retrieved May 28th 2008.

52 Wischenbart, Rüdiger (2010): »The Global Ranking of the Publishing Industry 2009.« In: *Publishing Research Quarterly* (26), pp. 16–23. Available online <http://www.springerlink.com/content/840756605153361n/>, last retrieved January 7th 2011.

53 Media Group Turku School of Economics; Rightscom Ltd (Eds.) (2005): *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*. Brussels: European Commission. Available online http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media_taskforce/doc/pmw_20050127.pdf, last retrieved January 3rd 2011.

54 Media Group Turku School of Economics; Rightscom Ltd (Eds.) (2004): *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2: Book Publishing*. Brussels: European Commission. Available online <http://www.rightscom.com/Portals/0/European%20Book%20Publishing%20Report.pdf>, last retrieved December 10th 2010.

These reports provided background information on the situation of the European book markets. For the statistical analysis of book culture, the collection of data not only on the book markets but also, for example, the public libraries as well as contextual information was necessary. The difficulties inherent in this collection of statistical data have been described in detail by Rüdiger Wischenbart and Holger Ehling in their reports *A Methodology to Collect International Book Statistics. Framework – Indicators – Methodology & Strategies – Groundwork for a Test Run*⁵⁵ and *A Study on International Book Statistics*⁵⁶. The statistical data for the work at hand was acquired first and foremost from the statistical institute of the European Union, eurostat. For instance, the publication *Cultural Statistics*⁵⁷ contained valuable information on the publishing industry; contextual information was supplied by the *Population Statistics*⁵⁸ and by the statistics on the spending on education within the EU.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the *Book Production Statistics* that were published by the UNESCO were outdated since the most current information dates to 1998 or 1999.⁶⁰ With regard to the role of books and book reading, the European Commission's Special Eurobarometer 278 on the *European Cultural Values*⁶¹ demonstrates the advantage of trans-national surveys. The questionnaire was identical throughout Europe and delivered comparable results. This is especially important since the *Cultural Values* survey provided the number of readers and the number of individuals considering literature to be part of culture for the regression analysis. Statistics on the number and the use of public libraries are made available by the *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* (IFLA)⁶² as well as by the Council of Eu-

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- 55 Wischenbart, Rüdiger; Ehling, Holger (2008): *A Methodology to Collect International Book Statistics. Framework – Indicators – Methodology & Strategies – Groundwork for a Test Run*. Wien/Frankfurt am Main: UNESCO.
- 56 Wischenbart, Rüdiger; Ehling, Holger (2008): *A Study on International Book Statistics. Framework – Approaches – Solution Strategies – Outlook*. Deliverable 02. Wien/Frankfurt am Main.
- 57 eurostat (Ed.) (2007): *Cultural Statistics*. [Pocketbooks].Luxembourg: European Commission. Available online http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-77-07-296/EN/KS-77-07-296-EN.PDF, last retrieved December 8th 2010. And the new edition: eurostat (Ed.) (2011): *Cultural Statistics*. [Pocketbooks].Luxembourg: European Commission.
- 58 eurostat (Ed.): *Population Statistics*. Available online <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/data/database>, last retrieved November 21st 2011.
- 59 eurostat (Ed.): *Statistiken zu den Bildungsausgaben*. Available online http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Educational_expenditure_statistics/de, last retrieved October 17th 2012.
- 60 UNESCO (Ed.): *Book Production Statistics*. Available online <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/tableviewer/document.aspx?ReportId=143>, last retrieved November 21st 2011.
- 61 European Commission (Ed.) (2007): *European Cultural Values. Special Eurobarometer 278/ Wave 67. – TNS Opinion and Social*. Brussels. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc958_en.pdf, last retrieved November 5th 2012.
- 62 International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. Available online <http://www.ifla.org/>, last retrieved January 21st 2013.

rope via the portal *culturalpolicies.net*.⁶³ Additional statistical information on national book markets was supplied by the respective statistical institutes and professional associations.

Additional sources provided information on the various measures of book promotion employed within the member states of the European Union. Cultural policy is the key to book policy and to book promotion. As in some countries there exists only a general cultural policy without specific regard to book policy, an analysis of the cultural policies of all European Member states was conducted. The series *Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* made available the necessary basic information on the legislation, the organizational structure as well as the individual programs.⁶⁴ The web edition is constantly updated and, in addition, provided the opportunity to compare countries or structures easily. However, as the gaps in some of the overview tables show, not all countries were able to supply the full information, for example on the individual budget items. These reports were complemented by articles on book promotion in individual countries, such as the study on book promotion measures in Switzerland⁶⁵ that was supplied by the working group *Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik*.⁶⁶ Individual measures were described and critically assessed by works such as Marc Baruch and Jean Richard's *The Book Sector and the State: Relationships in Change*.⁶⁷

In the end, all book promotion measures and all collections of statistics are futile, if new ideas on the future of the book are not incorporated into the policies. There were several works that provided inspiration and scenarios for potential futures of the book. Rafael Capurro in his work *Buchkultur im Informationszeitalter* (Book Culture in the Information Age)⁶⁸, Wunderlich and Schmid in their

63 *Trends in Visits to Libraries and Reading*. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/comparisons-tables.php?aid=70&cid=45&lid=en>, last retrieved April 12th 2012.

64 Council of Europe (Ed.): *Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php>.

65 Information Spreadsheet Switzerland: Annex, p. A-104.

66 Arbeitsgruppe *Selektive Förderung* (2010): *Buch- und Literaturpolitik – Selektive Förderung. Schlussbericht der Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung*. Ergänzt durch Überlegungen des Bundesamts für Kultur und Pro Helvetica. Bern and Zürich. Available online <http://www.bak.admin.ch/kulturschaffen/04240/04242/index.html?>, last retrieved May 30th 2011.

67 Baruch, Marc; Richard, Jean (2000): *The Book Sector and the State. Relationships in Change*. Ed. by Culture Youth and Sport Environment Cultural Policy and Action Department DG IV: Education of the Council of Europe. Brussels [Electronic Publishing, Books and Archives Project, 11]. Available online <http://www.coe.int/culture>, last retrieved June 20th 2011.

68 Capurro, Rafael (1984): *Buchkultur im Informationszeitalter. Überlegungen zum Bezug zwischen Bibliotheken, Datenbanken und Nutzern*. [Vorträge in der Badischen Landesbibliothek]. Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek.

work on the future of the Gutenberg Galaxy⁶⁹ as well as Michael Roesler-Graichen (*Gutenberg 2.0*)⁷⁰ and Tobias Hierl (*Gutenbergs Zukunft*)⁷¹ suggested future developments of book culture. Maryanne Wolf and her study on the reading brain (*Proust and the Squid*)⁷² added the neuroscientific context for some of the ideas presented by the authors above. Geoffrey Nunberg's *The Future of the Book*⁷³ contributed valuable insight into alternative values and functions of the book (for example Debray's *The Book as Symbolic Object*⁷⁴ and Paul Duguid's *Past and Futurology of the Book*⁷⁵) as well as statements on the book's future.

Based on this wide range of sources and literature, a characterization and classification of book culture was conducted. A detailed presentation of the specific national characteristics of book culture in Europe would have gone beyond the scope of the work at hand. Nevertheless, information sheets with the most important facts regarding the individual book cultures are provided in the annex.

1.2 Methodology

Book culture is an elusive concept. For its characterization, the subordinate concept of culture needs to be examined. Starting from the different concepts for culture, a basis is to be built for the development of a concept of book culture. When a list of characteristics of culture is identified, evidence of their existence is provided by examples from all European member states. The resulting concept is expected to be complex and to reflect the diversity of book culture. In a second step, the role of books in current society is examined to understand the imperative to preserve book culture. This preservation, or promotion, has become necessary as book culture has to meet the challenges of the digital revolution and, at the same time, preserve its diversity and individual national manifestations. With

69 Wunderlich, Werner; Schmid, Beat (Eds.) (2008): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. [Facetten der Medienkultur, Vol. 7]. Bern: Haupt.

70 Roesler-Graichen, Michael; Schild, Ronald (Eds.) (2008): *Gutenberg 2.0. Die Zukunft des Buches; ein aktueller Reader zum E-Book*. Frankfurt am Main: MVB Marketing- und Verlags-service des Buchhandels.

71 Hierl, Tobias (Ed.) (1999): *Gutenbergs Zukunft. Buch und Lesen im 21. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Buchkultur.

72 Wolf, Maryanne (2008): *Proust and the Squid. The Story and Science of the Reading Brain*. New York: HarperCollins.

73 Nunberg, Geoffrey (Ed.) (1996): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

74 Debray, Régis (1996): »The Book as Symbolic Object.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 139–152.

75 Duguid, Paul (1996): »Material Matters: The Past and Futurology of the Book.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 63–102.

regard to the book market, there are other trends, such as an increasing consolidation, which are perceived to affect book culture negatively. Following this characterization of book culture and its role, the framework of book culture within the European Union is outlined.

To supplement the theoretical examination of book culture and book promotion, empirical methods were introduced. By statistical analyses, the common European book culture is to be identified and the effectiveness of book promotion is to be assessed.⁷⁶ The basis for these analyses is the concept of book culture which has been developed in the first main chapter. This complex concept has to be reduced to a number of variables to enable a statistical analysis. Examples for a selection of indicators have been provided by Wischenbart and Ehling⁷⁷, Kovač⁷⁸ and Appelman and Canoy⁷⁹ in their analyses of book markets. Yet as the aim is to examine book culture, the number of variables was extended to include cultural indicators in addition to the general market variables. To collect the data on book culture proved to be difficult. There are no standardized methods of collection and in some cases, there is no consensus as to the definition, for example what constitutes the number of public libraries. The difficulties described by Wischenbart and Ehling, for example, could not be satisfactorily resolved.⁸⁰ In consequence, the analyses conducted within the context of this work have to be considered a statistical experiment to demonstrate the potential inherent in the analysis of a reliable, differentiated data basis. For the analysis of the collected data, two well-established descriptive statistical methods were chosen: clustering and regression analysis. Both methods are documented extensively and comprehensibly. They are part of the descriptive statistics toolkit used to uncover hidden structures in large quantities of data.

The data used as basis for both analyses constitutes a one year sample. For potentially more conclusive results, a time series analysis would be necessary – however, most countries have only made available data from the 1990s on. To ensure the reliability, the year 2007 was taken for the provision of the sample. Further difficulties included the different ways data is collected, which obstructs country comparisons.⁸¹ Detailed information on the data basis is available in

76 Prof. Dr. Hanno Beck from the FH Pforzheim assisted in the set-up and the implementation of both statistical analyses. Two different software packages were used: for the clustering, the IBM program SPSS and for the regression analysis, the open source software *gretl*.

77 Wischenbart; Ehling: *A Study on International Book Statistics*.

78 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*.

79 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*.

80 The very extensive description of the difficulties encountered in the compilation of statistics on book markets has been presented by Rüdiger Wischenbart and Holger Ehling in their report *A Study on International Book Statistics*.

81 Media Group: *Publishing Market Watch*. Sectoral Report 2, p. 7.

chapter 3.3.1 and in the overview tables of the annex⁸². As book culture is formed by cultural and economic aspects, both were included in the analysis. This called for a combination of hard facts, that is easily quantifiable information such as the turnover of the book industry, and soft facts, that is, for example, hardly quantifiable information such as the role books played in the construction of a given nation's national identity. Therefore, the analysis represents a compromise that takes the different aspects of book culture into account.

The time frame of the analysis excludes any developments in consequence of the financial crisis that began in 2008. However, developments for the cultural sector had not been positive before, especially with regard to budget cuts in government programs for cultural promotion. If the situation of 2007 was far from adequate, one must assume that it has deteriorated ever since. This provides even more reason to identify effective promotion instruments that will maximize efforts with minimal financial involvement.

To identify the common characteristics of a European book culture, cluster analysis was applied. Cluster analysis is a statistical data analysis which is used to discover structures within data. It cumulates in an abstraction from the individual data sets. The clustering can be achieved by a number of algorithms. These differ according to the notion of what constitutes a similarity and a difference between data sets.⁸³ A cluster analysis assigns a set of given objects; in this case the 27 member states of the European Union and Switzerland, into groups. Related data sets and less related or unrelated sets are grouped together. The greater the similarity or difference between the data sets, the more distinct is the resultant clustering.⁸⁴ The groups form so-called clusters. They are constructed of similar data sets and are joined on subsequent levels by the next similar data set, in this case countries. This clustering is achieved by a number of distance computations. The result is best visualized by a so-called dendrogram which resembles a tree with twigs branching out. A dendrogram not only illustrates the similarities but also the distances at which the differences are to be found. A scale above the lines of the dendrogram shows at which distance the groups exhibit no more differences, the longer the lines, the greater the difference.

82 The overview tables are found from page A-3 onward in the annex.

83 Wiedenbeck, Michael; Züll, Cornelia. (2001): *Klassifikation mit Clusteranalyse: Grundlegende Techniken hierarchischer und K-means-Verfahren*. (ZUMA How-to-Reihe, Nr. 10). Mannheim: Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen. Available online: <http://www.wip-online.org/public/13/clusteranalyse.pdf>, last retrieved November 18th 2011. Here: p. 2.

84 »Cluster Analysis: Basic Concepts and Algorithms.« In: Tan, Pang-Ning et al. (2005): *Introduction to Data Mining*. Addison Wesley, 7th edition, p. 487–568. Here: p. 490. The chapter gives a more complete overview on the definition of clustering and the different methods which can be employed. It is available online <http://www-users.cs.umn.edu/~kumar/dmbook/ch8.pdf>, last retrieved November 22nd 2011.

Based on the results of the cluster analysis, the requirement of an effective and balanced book promotion has been identified as different types of book cultures require an individualized approach to book promotion. To identify effective measures, an overview of book promotion is presented which is followed up by an analysis of the efficiency of book promotion. To analyze the effects and the efficiency of book promotion and environmental conditions such as the level of education on book culture, a regression analysis was chosen. It focuses on the relationship between a dependent variable and a varying number of independent variables. In this case, the dependent variables are selected indicators of book culture whereas the independent variables are the measures of book promotion and environmental conditions. The regression analysis is employed to understand how the value of the dependent variable is affected when one or more of the independent variables are changed. It provides a simple method for the investigation of functional relationships but it does not infer causal relationships.⁸⁵ The result of a linear regression analysis is a function of the independent variables. The function represents a straight line with the least possible distance from the points representing the relationship of dependent and independent variables within a coordinate system. The results of the regression analysis could suggest a more efficient book promotion that balances the demands of culture and economy, producers and recipients, and preservation and innovation.

The statistical analyses are expected to reveal interesting aspects of book culture and the relationships between the indicators. Conclusions on the diversity of book culture in Europe, the efficiency of book promotion measures and the consequent challenges for book policy may be drawn. However, the analyses remain an experiment, which cannot answer questions beyond a certain point. Instead, a concept of book culture has to establish a much broader basis to reflect its inherent diversity. Therefore, at the beginning, a survey of the different concepts of culture is indispensable.

85 Chatterjee, Samprit; Hadi, Ali S. (2006): *Regression Analysis by Example*. 4th edition. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, p. xiii. The authors describe the basic model of a regression analysis as well as alternatives and applications.

2 A Concept of ›Book Culture‹

»What role can literature play in European relations? The answer can be summed up in a single sentence: Literature provides an opportunity to explore the many faces of normality that people who speak a different language and who live in a different region experience.«⁸⁶ Literature and book culture serve as a form of identification for European values and enable a formation of national and individual identities. Yet book culture is a difficult concept to grasp. To describe European book culture is to generalize the individual national manifestations of book culture. Such a description must start with a definition of the two components of book culture: culture and the book.

To define ›culture‹ is a task of monumental complexity, a task which has not yet been accomplished. The definition of culture and the way it is constituted vary depending on the branch of science that is asked to define it. One basic concept is most common: fine arts and humanities are often identified as constituting culture. The term ›culture‹ is considered to describe a degree of taste and refers mostly to high culture in contrast to mass culture. Culture may also be used to describe a common set of attitudes, beliefs, and values of a specific group of people or even a company (i.e. corporate culture or business culture). Another basic concept describes culture as a pattern of knowledge, behavior and belief. All three concepts are frequently used and are sometimes intermingled in the public discourse on culture. An extensive discussion on the concepts of culture and their historic origin would require a far deeper analysis than this study is able to offer. Indeed, the concepts of culture are complex and in constant redefinition. Therefore, the following chapters shall only provide a short overview and a systematic presentation. It is to be the basis of a concept of book culture.

2.1 Definitions of ›Culture‹

The usage of the term culture in an abstract context was established by Cicero. He employed the expression *cultura animi* to describe an individual's education in

86 Grill, Andrea (2010): »Like colleagues, at least.« In: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. Stuttgart: ifa [Culture Report Progress Europe, 3], last retrieved October 14th 2011, pp 164–168. Here: p.165.

philosophy.⁸⁷ Not until the 18th and 19th century did the term culture come to describe a collective of individuals. It was then adopted to define human civilization in contrast to nature. With the rise of anthropology in the beginning of the 20th century, culture attained a far more complex meaning. Talcott Parson described culture in his 1949 *Essays in Sociological Theory* as consisting »in those patterns relative to behavior and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes.«⁸⁸ Anthropology started to define culture as a representation of all aspects of the human being which are not determined by genetics; that is objects, symbols, the meaning of these symbols, norms, values and beliefs that constitute social interaction. Language is recognized as the essential carrier of culture.

2.1.1 Different Concepts of Culture

This view is reflected in current academic definitions of culture. Rudi Renger and Michael Giesecke, for example, define culture in a similar way: Renger describes culture as being comprised of tradition, habitus, way of life, and the memory of societies.⁸⁹ Giesecke defines culture as »die Werte, Überzeugungen, das Wissen und die Routinen, die unser Handeln lenken.«⁹⁰ A widely recognized and often repeated definition of culture was given by Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.⁹¹

87 Beer, Bettina (2003): »Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur.« In: Hans Fischer and Bettina Beer (Eds.) *Ethnologie. Einführung und Überblick*. (5. Vollständig veränderte Neufassung) Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 53–72. Here: p. 61.

88 Parsons, Talcott (1964): *Essays in Sociological Theory*. Glencoe: Free Press. Revised edition, original was published in 1949. Here: p. 8.

89 Renger, Rudi (2009): »Kulturtheorien der Medien.« In: Stefan Weber (Ed.): *Theorien der Medien. Von der Kulturkritik bis zum Konstruktivismus*. 2nd edition. Konstanz: UVK Verl.-Ges., pp. 154–179. Here: p. 155.

90 Giesecke: Von den Mythen der Buchkultur, p. 226.

91 Kroeber, Alfred Louis; Kluckhohn, Clyde. (1952). *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers 47, p. 357.

Current academic definitions, as exemplified by the three quotations above, transcend the simple contrast of nature versus civilization or genetics versus learned abilities and thought patterns. Apart from these academic concepts, there are three additional ways of defining culture, as well as a fourth, slightly different one:

- a. Culture as a common corpus of the arts and humanities (this definition incorporates in great part what is defined as culture in public discourse and cultural politics)
- b. Culture as a set of static and clearly differentiated characteristics that define people with a common heritage (this definition originates from Herder and is no longer used since culture is now seen as being in constant change and development).⁹²
- c. Culture as a social category which defines the way of life of a specific group
- d. Culture as an academic concept, especially in anthropology and ethnology⁹³

The third definition is in accordance with the subject of the so-called culture studies which identifies culture as a shared pattern of behavior and interactions within a social group. This group is formed not only by a common ethnic background but may also be shaped by a common taste in art, music, film, food, sports, clothing or hair style. The concept is used to describe sub-cultures and popular or mass culture.

The fourth concept does not refer to a single academic definition of culture but to a multitude of concepts that differ according to the objective and the subject of the research. Some scholars of anthropology or ethnology even try to eliminate the concept of culture from their studies.

Culture as an academic concept depends on the context and the focus of the study.⁹⁴ Bauer, for example, describes culture as a »kommunikatives Konstrukt, es

92 Johann Gottfried Herder developed, esp. in his work *Ideas on the Philosophy of Mankind*, the concept of individual cultures which is characterized by three elements: social homogenization, ethnic consolidation and intercultural delimitation. Cf. Welsch, Wolfgang (1999): »Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today.« In: *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. Ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash. London: Sage, pp. 194-213. Available online http://www.westreadseast.info/PDF/Readings/Welsch_Transculturality.pdf, last retrieved May 20th 2012. Here: p. 194.

93 These four basic concepts are described by Beer: *Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur*, p. 60f and Krotz, Friedrich (2003): »Kommunikationswissenschaft, Kulturwissenschaft. Glückliches Paar oder Messalliance.« In: Matthias Karmasin and Carsten Winter (Ed.): *Kulturwissenschaft als Kommunikationswissenschaft. Projekte, Probleme und Perspektiven*. 1st edition. Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl., pp. 21–48. Here: p. 23. He cites Chris Jenkins' work *Culture* (1993) Routledge, London.

94 Hammel, Lina (2007): »Der Kulturbegriff im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs und seine Bedeutung für die Musikpädagogik. Versuch eines Literaturberichts.« In: Jürgen Vogt (Ed.). *Zeitschrift für Kritische Musikpädagogik*. Available online <http://home.arcor.de/zfkm/07-hammel1.pdf>, last retrieved January 24th 2012.

bildet und versteht sich im Modell der Kommunikation, es bewahrt (symbolisch) Vereinbarungen zur Realität.«⁹⁵ Saxer, with reference to the theoretical context of functional-systems, defines culture as a functional system, »das für die mentale Strukturierung der Gesellschaftsmitglieder verantwortlich ist, indem es die verhaltenssteuernden Orientierungsmodelle hervorbringt.«⁹⁶ Bauer and Saxer both represent the structuralist approach to defining culture. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, there are other types of defining culture in an academic context – enumerative and descriptive. Both focus on the characteristics of a certain culture; the historic, which emphasize the tradition and learning of culture; the normative, with a focus on the internal rules of a certain culture; the psychological, in terms of adapting to a given environment; the structural, such as Bauer and Saxer, with a high degree of abstraction; and the genetic definitions, which focus on the origins of culture.⁹⁷

In summary, while there is no accepted definition of culture that has been agreed upon, there are a number of characteristics of the concept of culture that have been consented upon. They are principally based on the definition by Kluckhohn and Kroeber. Bettina Beer lists these characteristics according to their frequency within academic concepts: culture is learned; it is part of a group and not an individual; it is historically developed and subject to constant change; it is a structured whole of knowledge and habits; it is hardly delimitable, yet heterogenic and an abstract.⁹⁸ In consequence, each culture is structured by a set of values and traditions, which are on the one hand historically developed but on the other hand in change. The individual culture is both kept alive by rituals and habits as well as through institutions that celebrate these actions and values attributed to that given culture.

Two aspects of culture will be important for this study. The first one is the concept of culture as a »set of attitudes, beliefs, customs, values and practices which are commonly shared by a group.«⁹⁹ This concept relates to a description of what constitutes book culture. The description will be based on a set of values, on the rituals, traditions and actions relevant to book culture, and on the institutions upholding, preserving and developing them.

95 Bauer, Thomas A. (2003): »Vom Strukturblick zum Kulturblick. Entwürfe zu einem Blended Theory-Modell.« In: Matthias Karmasin and Carsten Winter (Eds.): *Kulturwissenschaft als Kommunikationswissenschaft. Projekte, Probleme und Perspektiven*. 1st edition. Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl., pp. 127–167. Here: p. 153.

96 Saxer, Ulrich (2010): »Buchwissenschaft als Medienwissenschaft.« In: Ursula Rautenberg (Ed.): *Buchwissenschaft in Deutschland. Ein Handbuch*. Berlin: de Gruyter [Vol. 1: Theorie und Forschung], pp. 65–104. p. 82.

97 Varieties of definition are related according to Beer: *Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur*, p. 81–140.

98 Beer: *Ethnos; Ethnie; Kultur*, p. 66f.

99 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 2.

The cultural sector is the second important aspect. In defining the cultural sector and the market for cultural products, the term culture is employed as an adjective to describe activities that »involve some form of creativity in their production; they are concerned with the generation and communication of symbolic means; their output potentially embodies at least some form of intellectual property.«¹⁰⁰ The European Union defines culture in more pragmatic terms. This working definition agreed upon by the Member states of the European Union is relevant as the basis for a cultural policy and promotion within the European context. The EU definition as well as a selection of national definitions will be presented in the following chapter.

2.1.2 Working Definitions

Alongside the discourse on culture and its abstract definitions, there are several working definitions of those who pursue cultural policy. These definitions are not necessarily philosophic but pragmatic:

Owing to the lack of a robust definition of culture (or to an over-abundance of definitions), the pocketbook [the statistical pocketbook edited by the European Statistical Institute eurostat] relies on the pragmatic definition generally agreed upon during the earlier work by the European Leadership Group (LEG).¹⁰¹

This definition by the Statistical Institute of the European Union encompasses artistic and monumental heritage, archives, libraries, books and press, visual arts, architecture, performing arts and audiovisual/multimedia art. There are other working definitions such as the ones set by the *World Conference on Cultural Policies* (Mexico 1982), the *World Commission on Culture and Development Report* (1995) and the *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* (Stockholm 1998.)

The 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies agreed on the following definition of culture:

That in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. That it is culture that gives man the ability to reflect upon himself. It is culture that makes us specifically human, rational beings endowed with a critical judgment and a sense

100 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 2.

101 eurostat: Cultural Statistics, p. 5.

of moral commitment. It is through culture that we discern values and make choices. It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognizes his incompleteness, questions his own achievements, seeks untiringly for new meaning and creates work through which he transcends his limitations.¹⁰²

Later conferences did not change this essential definition of culture but focused on the objectives and recommendations for cultural policy.¹⁰³

While at an international level the definition for culture has to be broad to encompass all national characteristics or peculiarities, on a national level there may be differing definitions. Most countries, such as the United Kingdom¹⁰⁴, do not have an official definition of culture: »British culture, with its national, regional and linguistics distinctiveness and multi-cultural diversity, is not regarded as a single entity.«¹⁰⁵ Others employ more than one definition, such as Finland¹⁰⁶, where culture is described, in a broad definition, as the product of all cultural industries irrespective of content, professional education in the arts as well as all museums, scientific libraries and archives. The narrower definition covers

first the arts, which means creative and performing arts, the work of individual artists and related branches of the cultural industries (fiction publishing, feature film production, classical music recordings, and record industry, broadcasting, video and multimedia production) with sufficiently high level of cultural contents.¹⁰⁷

It also includes the main domains of the so-called cultural services such as libraries, heritage and international cultural co-operation. The individual national definitions of culture of the European member states have been collected in the table below.

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- 102 UNESCO (1982): *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*. World Conference on Cultural Policies Mexico City, 26 July–6 August 1982. Available online: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/35197/11919410061mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf. Last retrieved January 23rd 2012. Here: p.1.
- 103 The results of the 1998 Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development are summed up in the final report by the UNESCO (1998): *Final Report*. Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development. Stockholm 30 March – 2 April 1998. Available online <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001139/113935eo.pdf>. Last retrieved January 23rd 2012.
- 104 Information Spreadsheet United Kingdom: Annex, p. A-101.
- 105 Fisher, Rod; Leyssen, Ledy (2008): *Country Profile United Kingdom*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/unitedkingdom>, last retrieved July 12th 2011. Here: p. 8.
- 106 Information Spreadsheet Finland: Annex, p. A-95.
- 107 Mitchell, Ritva; Heiskanen, Ilkka (2008): *Country Profile Finland*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/profiles-download.php?pcid=1280>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 22.

Following the broader concept of culture, the next chapters shall focus on the specific subculture of books and reading. The definition of culture as a concept which encompasses values and traditions as well as a way of life common to a specific group of people which is upheld by certain institutions will serve as the working basis of this study. Book culture, as a subculture, derives from this concept of culture. It is, in a manner of speaking, a subsystem of the cultural concept of the European Nations. According to Jutta Gallenmüller-Roschmann, cultural concepts are social constructs and are communicated subjectively with symbols and representatives.¹⁰⁸ When examining book culture as a concept of constructs, symbols and representatives, this definition is validated.

Table 1: National Definitions of Culture

Country	National Definition of Culture*
Belgium	1971 third constitutional review: culture covers the fields of protection and illustration of language; encouragement of researcher training; fine arts (incl. theater and cinema); cultural heritage, museums and other cultural scientific institutions; libraries; radio and television broadcasting; youth policy; continuing education and cultural animation; physical education, sport and outdoor life; leisure and tourism
Bulgaria	All activity and the results of this activity which are related to the creation, study, dissemination and protection of cultural values
Czech Republic	Culture is defined as supporting intellectual, emotional and moral development. It also integrates an individual into society. First and foremost it creates the individual's identity. → very abstract
Denmark	Four concepts of culture: as humanistic concept of art and enlightenment; as anthropological and sociological concept, as experience economy and as national identity
Germany	»The term ›culture‹ today, thus encompasses contemporary creative and artistic activity (both inside and outside the framework of the traditional cultural institutions) as well as the culture of everyday life.« ¹⁰⁹

108 Gallenmüller-Roschmann, Jutta; Wakenhut, Roland (2001): »Kulturelle Identität: Einführung und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Entwicklung kultureller Identitäten in Italien.« In: Jutta Gallenmüller-Roschmann (Ed.): *Kulturelle Identitäten in Italien*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, pp. 11–56. Here: p. 18.

109 Wagner, Bernd; Blumenreich, Ulrike (2009): *Country Profile Germany*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels. (Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe). Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/profiles-download.php?pcid=1280>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 12.

Table 1: National Definitions of Culture (continued)

Estonia	Culture as the Living-Space of Estonian-ness → mostly national identity aspect
Ireland	No official definition of culture, though the arts are defined in the 2003 Arts Act as »any creative or interpretative expression (whether traditional or contemporary) in whatever form, and includes, in particular, visual arts, theatre, literature, music, dance, opera, film, circus and architecture, and includes any medium when used for these purposes.« ¹¹⁰
Greece	No official definition of culture though there are indirect references which include the establishment of freedom of artistic expression
Spain	No national definition of culture
France	No national definition of culture since this would be excluding, elitist and totalitarian
Italy	No national definition of culture
Cyprus	--
Latvia	»Culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. Despite the all embracing definition, the Ministry of Culture takes responsibility only for the particular art fields, such as copy-right, architecture, libraries, museums, music, fine art, folk art, theatre, literature and books, film arts, cultural education, and the protection of monuments and archives.« ¹¹¹
Lithuania	No national definition, covers traditionally as fields of artistic creation and presentation
Luxembourg	--
Hungary	No national definition of culture
Malta	National definition is oriented along the descriptions offered by UNESCO and Council of Europe
Netherlands	Culture is understood to include the arts (visual arts, design, architecture, film, performing arts, amateur arts and arts education); cultural heritage (museums, historic buildings and sites, archaeology, archives) and the media (broadcasting, printed media) and literature and libraries

110 Fitzgibbon, Marian (2010): *Country Profile Ireland*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online www.culturalpolicies.net, last retrieved March 31st 2010. Here: p. 4.

111 Tjarve, Baiba (2009): *Country Profile Latvia*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/latvia.php>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 13f.

Table 1: National Definitions of Culture (continued)

Austria	No national definition of culture; various definitions in the individual Bundesländer »usually highlighting the regional specificity of those cultural activities which are to be promoted.« ¹¹²
Poland	Official definition in discussion, unofficially two aspects of culture: social life which helps to create values and artistic creation
Portugal	Culture essential for development of intellectual capabilities and key instrument for critical understanding → this is NOT a definition
Romania	Pluralistic definition which includes culture as a factor in social development and instrument for the accomplishment of economic and social objectives
Slovenia	Defines only cultural activities not culture
Slovakia	No national definition of culture, but an official document defines culture as »involving knowledge, faith, art, law, morals, customs and any and all other abilities and traditions which humanity has acquired during its historic development.« ¹¹³
Finland	No national definition but for the sake of statistics there are a narrow and a broad definition: narrow .s text and broad also .s text.
Sweden	»Culture is viewed as a public benefit uniting society, a central condition for democracy and a basic resource for individual well-being and collective welfare, which should be distributed and enjoyed on equal terms throughout the nation.« ¹¹⁴ → entertains a certain quality expectation and excludes commercial mass culture from state support
United Kingdom	No national definition of culture
Switzerland	Culture is defined as permanent effort to keep the diverse cultural aspects of country alive

*Source: If not otherwise indicated, all definitions are taken from the *Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe* Series.

112 Cf. Ratzenböck, Veronika et al. (2010): *Country Profile Austria*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Policy and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/austria.php>, last retrieved October 4th 2012. Here: p. 4.

113 Smatlák, Martin (2007): *Country Profile Slovakia*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/slovakia.php>, last retrieved July 5th 2011. Here: p. 3.

114 Harding, Tobias (2010): *Country Profile Sweden*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online http://www.culturalpolicies.net/down/sweden_122010.pdf, last retrieved June 20th 2011. Here: p. 4.

2.2 Describing Book Culture

Similar to cultures and sub-cultures in general, the concept of book culture is complex and in constant development. Moreover, book culture is a blend of individual national cultures and media culture. It is in part trans-national, for there are aspects to book culture which are common to all countries. For example, the values attributed to a book are shared by all European book cultures. At the same time, book cultures are local as they are intertwined with the national culture and identity of any given nation. Therefore, the description and structure of book culture, as it is presented in this chapter, cannot claim to be all-encompassing since national book cultures may feature unique characteristics.

A description of book culture has to start with defining its key medium. However, this is where the first obstacle presents itself. The definition of ›book‹ is under constant discussion. A former consensus, such as the UNESCO definition¹¹⁵, has often been agreed to be outdated and incomprehensive. The varying definitions shall not be put here in detail at this point, but it has to be noted that

Wenn wir heute das Wort Buch verwenden, können verschiedene Formen seiner körperlichen Erscheinung gemeint sein. In jeden Fall reden wir aber über einen Inhalt, den man sich auf unterschiedliche Weise aneignen kann und der in unterschiedlichen Formen vermarktbar ist.¹¹⁶

A book can be much more than its material whole: »Zierliches Objekt der Sammelleidenschaft, quasi-erotischer Fetisch, Wertgegenstand, modisches Accessoire, Bestandteil von juristischen und anderen Ritualen – all das vermag ein Buch oder Schriftstück unabhängig von seinem schriftlichen Inhalt zu sein.«¹¹⁷

Vincent Kaufmann tries to define the book in its complexity with a list of characteristics that are part of its uniqueness. According to this list, the book is unique because it uses one language, one form of writing, one storage medium

115 The UNESCO defines non-periodical publications with more than 49 pages as a book. Cf. UNESCO (1964): Section 6(a). Recommendation concerning the International Standardization of Statistics Relating to Book Production and Periodicals. Available online: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13068&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, last retrieved January 24th 2012.

116 Bluhm, Detlef (2009): Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten. Kleine Geschichte der Buchkultur. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, p. 20.

117 Bridges, Margaret (2005): »Mehr als ein Text. Das ungelesene Buch zwischen Symbol und Fetisch.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Ed.): Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 104–121. Here: p. 121. Bridges refers to the role of the book in the Middle Ages. How these role attributions are still effective today is emphasized in Ursula Rautenberg's 2005 article »Das Buch in der Alltagskultur«. In: Monika Estermann; Ernst Fischer; Ute Schneider (Eds.): Buch Kulturen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literaturvermittlung; Festschrift für Reinhard Wittmann. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 487–516.

(paper), one format, one binding and fixation, one means of printing. These are all material aspects, but Kaufmann extends his list by adding abstract features as well. The book is also defined by its advantages of structure; of having institutions who decide on the publication process; of its author; of the market it is determined for and of the institutions of the market.¹¹⁸

The material aspects turn the book into a marketable good, as well. In these terms, the book is an experience good whose quality can be discovered by the buyer only after he has consumed it.¹¹⁹ There are other consequences of the book being marketable – for example, there is a whole industry thriving on the production and sale of books. However, the book is set apart from average goods: In consent, the Council of Europe has acknowledged the book as a cultural good.¹²⁰ Yet there are economists, who argue in favor of the book being treated as a regular good. Canoy, for example, argues that a book is reproductive and easy to spread. In contrast to a visit to the opera, a book is not a luxury good; and the social aspect in promoting and subsidizing the book is not as high as in supporting theater and opera since the book is readily available to everyone through libraries.¹²¹

Whenever a state intervention to subsidize the book in all its forms is discussed, the dual nature of the book as a cultural and material good is used by both sides of the argument. The book is to be distinguished from the general economic product »by the wide variety of forms, as testified by the considerable number of titles published in most European countries.«¹²² Richard Baruch adds that the book's main asset »is its almost universal nature, its ability to reflect a municipality of opinions, attitudes and expressions and therefore its capacity to become a fundamental vehicle for the promotion of cultural diversity.«¹²³ In his description, Baruch stresses the cultural aspect of the book while Miha Kovač

118 Kaufmann, Vincent (2008): »Der Parameter der Autorität.« In: Werner Wunderlich and Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 33–47. Here: p. 37f.

119 Lengsfeld, Jörn H. B. (2008): »Das Fernsehen als Medium der Verlagswerbung.« In: Werner Wunderlich and Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 131–146. Here: p. 133.

120 »Culture constitutes a final product of consumption, which is either non-reproducible and aimed at being consumed on the spot (a concert, an art fair, an exhibition) or aimed at mass reproduction, mass-dissemination and export (a book, a film, a sound recording) .« KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p.2.

121 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 17.

122 Baruch; Jean: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 1.

123 *Ibid*, p. 1.

states that the dichotomy between market and cultural aspect is »something the book was born with.«¹²⁴

Even though some economists argue in favor of treating the book as any other product of the experience economy¹²⁵, just with its special set of characteristics, some cede that there are characteristics that make the book unique. Canoy adds the possibility of cross-subsidizing one product by another as equally unique. Although, »these potentially welfare-enhancing cross-subsidies can be thwarted by non-branch shops (typically supermarkets) which might use books as a [regular] sales product.«¹²⁶

Not only the afore mentioned material aspects set the book apart. Reading is regarded as a cultural activity as well as entertainment and is thereby seen less as consumption and more like a private investment in one's own advancement and within culture. Similarly, public good nature can be associated with the cultural values of books. Canoy describes these values as national identity, social cohesion, national prestige, the development of criticism and experiments. »None of these values are (fully) reflected in the price, so that indeed the total value of books is higher than the sum of its prices.«¹²⁷ The values attributed to the book and book culture shall be presented in the following paragraphs.

Sometimes, the term book culture is used to negate the economic aspects of the book. This will not be the object of this study. To the contrary, the economic side of the book and the book industry will be treated in detail in the chapter on the structure of the European book market¹²⁸. As related above, the definition of culture depends on the focus of its description – this study shall at least attempt to describe all major aspects of book culture. One of these aspects is the role of the book and book culture in our society. The evolution of writing and the subsequent introduction of the printing press provided the foundation for the development of human civilization – documentation, codification, organization of knowledge and information and consciousness of oneself and others. With the printing press, the democratization of knowledge progressed even more rapidly.

124 To emphasize his theory that this dichotomy has always been part of the book, Kovač relates the shared responsibility of the initial printing enterprise between Gutenberg (cultural) and Fust (purely financial interest). Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 27.

125 The term ›experience economy‹ was coined as the concept following the agrarian, the industrial and the current service economy, thereby describing the predominant sector of the industry. In the experience economy, events and the memory of experiencing these events create value. That is the case for education, concerts and many other sectors, such as tourism. The first in-depth description of the experience economy may be found by Joseph Pine and James Gilmore (1999): *The Experience Economy*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

126 Canoy: *The Economics of Books*, p. 11.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

128 See chapter 3.2.

2.2.1 *A Brief History*

A culture of books had already emerged in antiquity. The amassing of knowledge in Alexandria's famous library, as one of its highlights, and the appearance of the codex are important focal points of the book cultures of Greece¹²⁹ and Rome. The history of book culture is very much the same as the history of the book: In order to understand current book cultures, it is necessary to take the aspects and developments of book culture in antiquity into account – by then, the book had already started to influence the lives of humans and the development of humankind in general.

The materiality of the book has always been an important aspect of book culture. It is reflected in the aesthetics of the book today and is one of the central values attributed to the book. From the start, the materiality of the book also always reflected the changes and developments in book culture. From the clay tablets of Mesopotamia to the E-Book, the materials that make a book mirror the technical development and innovation of humankind. Even the etymology of the term ›book‹ is based on its materiality. Supposedly, the term is similar to the word for bast fiber in Sanskrit, which is regarded as one of the earliest writing materials. However, wax or wooden tablets are more evidence of early writing materials. With the development of the Greek civilization, the scroll became the primary material form of texts.

2.2.1.1 Antiquity

For all the countries that were to become part of the European Union, ancient Greece is the cradle of their respective book cultures. The technique of writing existed long before Greek civilization in East Asia or in the Mesopotamian cultures where materials such as bark and clay tablets were used to record poetry as well as administrative texts. With the introduction of the Greek alphabet and the establishment of a public education (although not in a school environment but rather as private tutorship) by the 7th century BC, the foundations of the ancient book culture were laid.¹³⁰ Even though some people, even the likes of Socrates, disapproved of writing by regarding it as a threat to the traditional oral teaching and learning, the new cultural techniques of writing and reading succeeded. Institutions for education by reading and writing emerged, the so-called gymnasiums,

129 For information on modern Greek book culture, cf. Information Spreadsheet Greece: Annex, p. A-46.

130 Blanck, Horst (1992): *Das Buch in der Antike*. Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek. München: C.H. Beck, p. 23.

which granted access to book collections and were often sponsored by wealthy citizens for the public good.¹³¹ With the spread of education, private collections of books were established, a prerequisite for a book trade in ancient Greece. During the time Greece was governed by foreign rulers such as the Ptolemies from Alexandria, these private collections were integrated into larger collections such as the famous Library of Alexandria.¹³² Other great libraries in Greece, for example the collections of Antioch and Pergamum, became Roman war loot.¹³³

The downfall of the Greek book culture is paralleled by the rise of the Roman Empire. During the 3rd century, the Roman society developed an interest in Greek culture. At the same time, the foundations of the Roman literary tradition were laid.¹³⁴ These developments are connected as literature was created either by Greeks in Rome or by Greco-Romans, whose poetry was subsequently produced in Latin. Roman civilization remained bilingual and Roman libraries were usually divided into a *bibliotheca graeca* and a *bibliotheca latina*. During the reign of Augustus and his descendants of principates, Rome superseded Alexandria and Pergamum as the cultural center of antiquity.¹³⁵ In Rome, private collections were complemented by public libraries. The first was founded by Gaius Asinius Pollio succeeding where Gaius Julius Caesar failed, as Caesar died before his library plans were put into construction.

Copies of handwritten texts of antiquity were made by slaves or professional scribes, either for private collections or for institutions such as libraries, booksellers and, much later, cloisters. Only during the Early Modern period and after the invention of the printing press, the writer's importance diminished.¹³⁶ In consequence, no work from Greece or Rome is, apart from a few exceptions, available as an autograph.

Roman book culture was enlivened publicly with readings in libraries by reading circles or by authors themselves. Booksellers functioned as nodes of social life. With the downfall of the Roman Empire, the first public book culture disappeared. The public libraries, the open readings, and the first systematic book trade perished and it would take a few hundred years until such an encompassing culture

131 Mazal, Otto (1999): *Griechisch-römische Antike*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt [Geschichte der Buchkultur, I], p. 38.

132 For detailed information on the most famous of ancient libraries, see Luciano Canfora's *The Vanished Library: A Wonder of the Ancient World*. Canfora includes a detailed discussion on the destiny and the often disputed date of the final destruction of the collection.

133 Mazal: *Griechisch-römische Antike*, p. 51.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

135 Mazal: *Griechisch-römische Antike*, p. 49.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

would flourish again. For the time being, the church and its cloisters kept the tradition of the book and monopolized social and spiritual education.¹³⁷

The downfall of the Roman book culture and the emergence of the codex overlap. The latter may not have been induced by the first, however Roman book culture was inseparably connected with the scroll as the major material form of a book. With the disappearance of the Roman culture, the scroll vanished. Scrolls were made of papyrus, leather or parchment and allowed a great variability. They had an average length of six to ten meters and an average width of 25 to 30 centimeters.¹³⁸

Book culture appears to be tied to a certain material form of the book and the transitions from one form of book culture to the next are marked by technical innovation that invariably lead to the formation of a new form of book culture. The codex as a book form had already existed in ancient Greece. It was made up of different wax or wooden tablets. Yet the form was more often used in Rome. From the 4th century onward, the codex became the primary book form and symbolized a step into a new era: the Middle Ages.

2.2.1.2 The Middle Ages

A book of the Middle Ages was first and foremost a product of craftsmanship.¹³⁹ More than today, representative aspects dominated the book culture of these centuries. The book was part of their rite and tradition and was used to represent the wealth of its owner as well as his authority.¹⁴⁰ It only functioned in part as an assistant to memory. The two more important functions were: first, the advancement of the Christian religion by creating an object that directly represented God and His words on earth. Second, the book functioned as a legitimization of authority as well as an object of self-representation. In religion, the book was subjected to ritual reverence, as it, in the eyes of the mostly illiterate and uneducated worshippers, »magische Bedeutung gewann.«¹⁴¹ As part of religion it was the

137 Bluhm: Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten, p. 36.

138 Mazal: Griechisch-römische Antike, p. 101.

139 Bridges, Margaret (2005): »Mehr als ein Text. Das ungelesene Buch zwischen Symbol und Fetisch.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Eds.): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 104–121. Here: p. 104.

140 Stolz, Michael et al. (Eds.) (2005): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, p. 5.

141 Bruggisser-Lanker, Therese (2005): »Ritus und Memoria. Die Musik im liturgischen Buch.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Eds.) (2005): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 18–41. Here: p. 18.

bearer of heavenly revelation.¹⁴² To fulfill the function of representing the wealth of the members of nobility, literacy of the intended audience was not a necessity. Indeed, book ownership and literacy did not usually go together,¹⁴³ neither were cloisters, as a refuge of faith and knowledge, free from the desire for representation. Monastery libraries were as much a shelter for knowledge as they were treasure chests. Some abbeys even kept separate accounts for sales, acquisitions and the making of books.¹⁴⁴ The roles and function of the book in the Middle Ages may in part be rediscovered by regarding the functions we assign to the book in society today. The book can be an object of collector's passion and an object of value but at the same time also a fashion accessory as well as an integral part of legal and religious rituals. All these functions are independent of the actual content.¹⁴⁵

During the 12th and 13th century, literacy expanded and, therefore, initiated a change in the book production and book culture.¹⁴⁶ Amateur scribes began producing books and the scriptoria in the monasteries were expanding as well.¹⁴⁷ By the late 14th century, the demand for books was nearly impossible to satisfy. By introducing paper instead of parchment as a material for writing, and later printing, the book lost part of its exclusivity and its sacred aura. It developed into the medium of the growing urban elites, who on their part started to free themselves from the paternalism of the clerics.¹⁴⁸ Reading was no longer an elite practice; the spreading literacy also led to a socio-cultural differentiation in different reader groups. The professional reader was a scholar, a man of letters, mostly found in church circles but in the first universities and among the nobility. The cultivated reader read purely for pleasure and recreational purposes. Last among them was the pragmatic reader who needed literacy and writing abilities to conduct business transactions.¹⁴⁹ Malcolm Parkes pinpoints the emergence of a general reading public as early as the 13th century: »What ever date one wishes to assign to the emergence of the general

142 Mettauer, Adrian (2005): »Orthokratie und Orthodoxie. Der Dagulf-Psalter als Geschenk Karls des Grossen an Papst Hadrian I.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Eds.) (2005): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 41–65. Here: p. 61.

143 Bridges: *Mehr als ein Text*, p. 107.

144 Kock, Thomas (2002): *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna. Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*. 2nd revised edition. Frankfurt am Main: Lang [Tradition – Reform – Innovation. Studien zur Modernität des Mittelalters, 2], p. 17.

145 Bridges: *Mehr als ein Text*, p. 121.

146 Dondi, Christina (2010): »The European Printing Revolution.« In: Michael Suarez, H. R. Woudhuysen (Eds.): *The Oxford Companion to the Book*. 2 Vols. Oxford, USA: Oxford University Press, pp. 53–61.

147 Kock, Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna, p. 10.

148 Bluhm: Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten, p. 48.

149 Parkes, Malcolm Beckwith (1991): *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. London: Hambledon Press, p. 275.

reader, the process began in the 13th century, when the pragmatic reader began to look beyond his immediate professional horizons.«¹⁵⁰

2.2.1.3 The Early Modern Period and Changes in Book Culture

The growing demand during the transitional phase between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period was a prerequisite for innovations in book culture such as Gutenberg's printing press with moveable types.¹⁵¹ Whereas the early printers tried to imitate handwritten scripts¹⁵², the advantages of printed over handwritten productions were quickly identified. The printed book allowed a nearly unlimited print run with undistinguishable features.¹⁵³

The printing press offered chances not only for the reproduction of single sheet prints, a major characteristic of the reformation. Another characteristic of the printing revolution was the development of national, even regional languages, and at the same time the development of standardized language.¹⁵⁴ The need for standardization became evident with a growing customer base and trans-regional trade. The language used in books could no longer use arbitrary grammar or only reflect local dialects.

Despite the innovations achieved by the spread of literacy and knowledge, not everyone embraced this progress wholeheartedly. One of the most prominent critics of the print culture was Abbot Trithemius of the Monastery of Sponheim, who lauded the beneficial effects of handwriting in his essay *De laude scriptorium*. He considered the printed book to be the downfall of book culture, since printing produced cheap mass material.¹⁵⁵ His claim should seem familiar to those following the debate on the modern book culture, especially with regard to the e-book. Similar to the difficulty people experience today with adjusting to

150 Parkes: *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 297.

151 Cf. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. xx and Bluhm: *Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten*, p. 60.

152 Braun, Hans C. (2005): »Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch.« In: Michael Stolz et al. (Eds.): *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 225–250. Here: p. 233.

153 Bluhm: *Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten*, p. 67.

154 Hartweg, Frédéric (1981): »Buchdruck und Druckersprachen der frühneuhochdeutschen Periode.« In: Hans-Joachim Köhler (Ed.): *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit. Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposium 1980*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta [Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 13], pp. 43–64. Here: p. 43.

155 Braun: *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, p. 234 and Bluhm: *Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten*, p. 76.

digital texts and the possible domination of e-books over printed books, the acceptance of the new medium ›print‹ in part depended on age.¹⁵⁶

There are other factors that influenced the progress of printing. According to Michael Giesecke, the emergence of a free market, the generation of more knowledge to be disseminated, alternate production forms of information by authors as well as – one of the most important factors – the alphabetization of the general public led to the development of a book market that catered not primarily to institutions but directly to the buyer (and therefore, to the reader).¹⁵⁷ With new audiences, new types of literature came into existence.

Carla Hesse summarized the print and book culture of the Early Modern period:

Print culture, that is, the stabilization of written culture into a canon of authored texts, the notion of the author as creator, the book as property, and the reader as an elective public – *were not* inevitable historical consequences of the invention of printing during the Renaissance, but, rather, the cumulative result of particular social and political choices made by given societies at given moments.¹⁵⁸

Certainly, there is more to the history of the book and book culture than can be relayed in this context. However, it is important to note the continued development of book culture. It developed away from a medieval culture of the handwritten, sumptuously illustrated text that was used for representation and worship just as much as it was necessary for education and the conservation of knowledge and tradition. In the Early Modern period, the book functioned as a communication and discussion forum of scientific discourse and self-education. The book has gone a long way from the papyri of the Roman elite to the medium of the masses. With technological change, a new stage in the life-cycle of book culture has been reached.

This brief diachronic reflection of book culture has made apparent that book culture has never been a static concept. Its history is characterized by a continuous development. Book culture adapted to a broad range of changes: the material form of the book has developed from scroll to codex, the social groupings participating in book culture have changed and a variety of genres has been estab-

156 »During the early years of the sixteenth century, the readiness of many people to accept and use the new medium of printing depended in part on one's chronological age.« Cole, Richard G. (1981): »The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes.« In: Hans-Joachim Köhler (Ed.): *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit. Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposium 1980*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta [Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 13], pp. 139–162. Here: p. 141.

157 Giesecke: Von den Mythen der Buchkultur, p. 57.

158 Hesse, Carla (1996): »Books in Time.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 21–36. Here: p. 21.

lished. Throughout time, book culture has reflected and absorbed societal trends, such as secularization. The values attributed to the book represent these trends in great diversity. Similarly, the principle of diversity becomes manifest not only in the diachronic examination of book culture but also in its horizontal study within the European Union.

2.2.2 *Values Attributed to the Book*

Culture is determined by the traditions, values and beliefs that have been attributed to it. The book as the central object of book culture is associated with a number of values, too:

An das Buch knüpft sich, wie an jedes Medium, ein komplexes Geflecht von Zuschreibungen und Wertungen, die individuell, sozial und kulturell bedeutend sind. Diese erwachsen aus erlernten Vorstellungen über den Wert und die Bedeutung eines Mediums, aber auch aus dem alltäglichen Umgang mit diesem, den Erfahrungen, die nicht nur mit seinem Informationsangeboten gemacht werden, sondern auch den Bedingungen, unter denen diese Informationsentnahme möglich wird.¹⁵⁹

The question arises what values or value patterns are. Based on the systems theory, Georg Jäger defines them as »generalisierte und symbolische Versprechen, weil sie für ein noch nicht näher bestimmtes zukünftiges Handeln stehen.«¹⁶⁰ Values are not necessarily qualities or characteristics of an object, but are a part of structuring an action. There is a hierarchy between values attributed to the book as an object, to the content of a book and to the book as an object to obtain a certain value, such as prestige.¹⁶¹ Only by communication and institutionalization (in case of the book by authors, libraries and critics) these values become characteristic to a specific culture.¹⁶² Canoy establishes that a book may have »aesthetic, decorative, spiritual, social identity, historical or symbolic value.«¹⁶³ Indeed, there may even be more values attributed to the book.

159 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 490f.

160 Jäger, Georg (2005): »Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie. Grundlegung einer Theorie des Buchverlags.« In: Monika Estermann et al. (Eds.): *Buch Kulturen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Literaturvermittlung; Festschrift für Reinhard Wittmann*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 59–78. Here: p. 61f.

161 Cf. the theory of utility and value as presented by Faulstich, Werner (2002): *Einführung in die Medienwissenschaft. Probleme – Methoden – Domänen*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, p. 307.

162 Jäger: *Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie*, p. 62.

163 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 20.

2.2.2.1 Aesthetic Value

When considering the material aspects of the book and book culture aesthetic and decorative values are the focus. As tastes differ, the aesthetic value of a book can hardly be judged objectively. However, the aesthetic aspects of the book's materiality are an important part of book culture. This is not only emphasized by those who identify the uniqueness of the book in part by its materiality (such as Vincent Kaufmann who was quoted above in the paragraph defining the book) but also by the prizes awarded to the most beautiful or to the best designed book of the year in some countries. Examples of these competitions are the *25 Best Designed Estonian Books*¹⁶⁴, the *British Book Design and Production Awards*¹⁶⁵, which also focus on various aspects of book design, and the *Swiss Federal Design Awards*¹⁶⁶. The materiality of the book, especially when compared to the heretofore rather drab designs offered by e-books, is one of the advantages of the printed book.

The aesthetics of the book address all senses, as detailed in the following chapter on the sensuality of books. They are also divided in two approaches. On the one hand, the aesthetic of a book is based on the technical functionality. A book may have aesthetic value because its design follows specific rules and allows the functions of the book to be fulfilled. On the other hand, the aesthetics of the book are directorial in an overabundance of materials and an elaborate design.¹⁶⁷ Haptics, odor and sound, the rustling of pages for example, are a part of these aesthetics and may be designed accordingly. The most common aesthetic aspects of the book are found in visual design. Cover, bractlet, binding, and perhaps an ex libris represent the visiting card of a book. The typography is essential to the comfort of reading and may convey additional information by choice of setting and font. The effects different qualities of paper and font may achieve are exemplified and detailed, for example, by Hans Peter Willberg in his work *Lesetypographie*¹⁶⁸.

The aesthetics of a book are also reflected in the spaces designed for books. The interior design of libraries as well as their architecture is an important indi-

164 An illustrated list of the winners of 2010 is available online: *25 Best Designed Estonian Books*. <http://www.nlib.ee/15638>, last retrieved March 5th 2012. Information Spreadsheet Estonia: Annex, p. A-51.

165 More information and categories: *British Book Awards*. <http://www.britishbookawards.org/2011/categories.aspx>, last retrieved March 5th 2012.

166 More information on the category *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books* is to be found on <http://www.swissdesignawards.ch/beautifulbooks/2010/about/index.html?lang=en>, last retrieved March 5th 2012.

167 Cf. Fischer, Ernst (2009): »Von der Schönheit des Buches. Elemente anspruchsvoller Buchgestaltung, am Beispiel der ›Anderen Bibliothek‹.« In: Renner, Gerhard et al. (Eds.): *Buch- und Provenienzforschung. Festschrift für Murray G. Hall zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wien: Präsenz-Verlag, pp. 77–96.

168 Willberg, Hans Peter (2005): *Lesetypographie*. 2nd edition. Mainz: Schmidt.

cator of the status awarded to the book. Since the development of the first book cultures, the architecture and interior design of the libraries reflected the usage and the status of books. The knowledge stored in these representative buildings signified power. Accordingly, library buildings tended to have an imposing architecture. The interior designs of the *Anna Amalia Library* in Weimar and the *Trinity College Library* in Dublin represent the classic ideal of splendor. They are both exemplary in their rows of shelves filled with beautiful leather bound books complemented by dark wood shelving and marble busts. The intent of the design not only serves as a space of collection but displays the collection to its best advantage at the same time. Library buildings with a modern construction look comparatively drab, as the design often follows function rather than aesthetics. The age of imposing library architecture appeared to have passed. However, projects such as the impressive new national library building *Castle of Light*¹⁶⁹ in Latvia¹⁷⁰ give evidence to the contrary. Another dazzling example of new library architecture are the plans for the new Czech national library. The design is to represent the freedom of ideas and the democratic values of the Czech Republic.¹⁷¹ Current developments which focus on the social capital of libraries as well as their new functions of collectors of books and digital data will influence the future architecture of libraries.¹⁷²

When considering a book purely for its decorative value, the book may be substituted for empty volumes with nice bindings. Books are perceived as decorative objects because they have a nimbus; they are attributed to values and function as symbols for a certain kind of lifestyle. If the book's value lay only in the way it makes a living room look good, we would no longer need it and could substitute it for the empty shells of furniture stores. Nevertheless, the aesthetic aspects of the book cannot be underestimated. There may be tendencies to choose a printed book over an e-book for the aesthetic harmony of paper, typography and content. Isolated and reduced to its aesthetic aspects, however, the book will become a designer object or a collector's item. None of these functions are compatible with the aspiration of being the medium of the masses.

169 A presentation from blueprint to the building site as well as extensive information on the project may be found on the *Castle of Light* webpage by the Ministry of Culture. Available online <http://www.gaismaspils.lv/gp/index.php?l=en>, last retrieved October 4th 2012.

170 Information Spreadsheet Latvia: Annex, p. A-60.

171 The plans for the new building have been stopped due to irregularities in the architectural competition. In 2009, the architect of the winning design, Jan Kaplický, died. Nevertheless, pictures of the winning design may be viewed on the architectural Wiki, available online http://en.wikiarquitectura.com/index.php/National_Library_of_the_Czech_Republic, last retrieved October 4th 2012. The Information Spreadsheet Czech Republic: Annex, p. A-32.

172 An exhibition in the Pinakothek der Moderne in Munich illustrated the history and architecture of library buildings: Nerdinger, Winfried (Ed.) (2011): *Die Weisheit baut sich ein Haus. Architektur und Geschichte von Bibliotheken. Publikation zur Ausstellung des Architekturmuseums der TU München, in der Pinakothek der Moderne 14. Juli–16. Oktober 2011*. München: Prestel.

2.2.2.2 Sensuality

In its materiality and fixity, the book appeals to our senses as well as to our mind and heart. The haptics of a book is an important factor in the appeal of the book beyond its content. The very real boundaries of a book's materiality stand in contrast to the unlimited existence of the internet. The existence of a concrete object leads to an experience of sensuality but it can also lead to an idealization of this materiality.

Two forms of idealization are connected haptics according to Landow: People beyond a certain age tend to idealize the book for its offered sensual pleasures of »the well-designed, well-printed, well-bound morocco volume of our ideal.«¹⁷³ This ideal of a book seldom exists in the bookshelves of the average reader; still, our ideal of the sensual book is usually defined by well-designed pages and the smell of leather. On the other hand, the generation of digital natives¹⁷⁴ does – according to Landow – consider books to be »ill-designed, short-lived objects [...] They have lost much of the experience of the book as we recall – and occasionally idealize – it.«¹⁷⁵

For people not of a digital generation, the book is not only a sensual experience, as Ursula Rautenberg puts it¹⁷⁶, but it also provides a form of emotional security. Régis Debray describes the origin of this perceived emotional security:

And it is perhaps also because the text could take the rigid form of an architectural enclosure, be closed up into an ordered and clearly demarcated rectangle, because it could be held and weighed in the hand, leafed through by thumb and forefinger, be prominently displayed in its place for all to see, become a permanent fixture, be hoarded, incorruptible, spatially delimited that the order of books was able for so long to provide so much emotional security.¹⁷⁷

Apart from the emotional security and the haptics which appeal to the sensuality of the reader and buyer, the book may also offer a form of respite. It is, on the one hand, the experience of sole reading where one is allowed to progress at the

173 Landow, George P. (1996): »Twenty minutes into the future, or how are we moving beyond the book?« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 209–238. Here: p. 211.

174 *Digital natives* are the generation of children and young people who have grown up with the possibilities and opportunities of the internet. The term was coined by Marc Prensky in his essay *Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants in On the Horizon*. MCB University Press, Vol.9 No.5, October 2001. Available Online <http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf>, last retrieved January 31st 2012.

175 Landow: *Twenty Minutes Into the Future*, p. 211.

176 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 511.

177 Debray, Régis (1996): »The Book as Symbolic Object.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 139–152. Here: p. 144.

pace comfortable to one's individual understanding of the text. On the other hand, it also is the concept of the book as »a rare advertisement-free oasis in the highly commercialized world of contemporary media«¹⁷⁸ which offers a form of recreation appreciated in the television world of ten minute breaks between every thirty minutes of plot development. To experience the content in a linear, structured and non-interrupted whole may become one of the luxuries of our time.

There are more aspects of a book's materiality that appeal to our senses. A book's history may manifest itself in the condition of the book itself; signs of handling, symptoms of decline, side notes, ex libris, the cover – all these converge to impress a book with its individual characteristics.¹⁷⁹ Also, Landow already mentioned the smell of a book that stimulates our senses, either with its newness or the smell of leather or must in very old books. How much the smell of books may appeal to our senses is certified by the creation of a perfume named *Paper Passion*, which was presented at the design fair in Milan.¹⁸⁰ The fact that a commercial exploitation seems to be promising to the stakeholders of the project (among others, Karl Lagerfeld and the publisher Gerhard Steidl) does not only speak volumes about how many potential consumers may appreciate the content but also about the sensual aspects of a book. Heribert Tenschert, a dealer of antique books, summarized his experiences with the sensual appeal of books in the following quotation:

So sehr ich Walter Benjamin schätze, muss ich ihm doch widersprechen: Je länger das Zeitalter der technischen Reproduzierbarkeit des Kunstwerks andauert, desto mehr gewinnt die Aura des Originals an Wirkkraft. Deshalb muss man es so radikal sagen: Das E-Book ist ein Buch ohne Sinnlichkeit, ohne Geschichte, ohne Leben. Es ist das ausgezehrtete Buch, das sich denken lässt, die Reduktion der Reduktion.¹⁸¹

2.2.2.3 Prestige

The decorative and sensual values go hand in hand with the prestige a book offers to its owner – or to its author. The book »represents a relatively cheap means

178 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 131.

179 Schmitz, Wolfgang (2008): »Die Bibliothek in der Gutenberg-Galaxis.« In: Werner Wunderlich, Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 149–159. Here: p. 158.

180 »Der Duft der Bücher.« (20. April 2012) In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Online Edition. Available online <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/stil/weltweit-erstes-parfuem-mit-papiergeruch-der-duft-der-buecher-1.1337832>, last retrieved April 23th 2012.

181 Spiegel, Hubert (August 10th 2012): »Haben Sie Angst vor dem E-Book, Herr Tenschert? Gespräch mit einem Antiquar.« In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Online Edition. Available online: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/buecher/gespraech-mit-einem-antiquar-haben-sie-angst-vor-dem-e-book-herr-tenschert-11851232.html>, last retrieved August 13th 2012.

to confer a certain intellectual status.«¹⁸² How much prestige can be contributed to having written and published one's own work is illustrated by so-called celebrities of show business or politics who have either published their biography or some kind of guidebook to how they have attained their current position.¹⁸³ Prime examples for the prestige (and, of course, profit) gathering segment of C-list celebrities, who were never associated with books or literature before and after, are Katie Price (United Kingdom, model, singer, and already an author of two autobiographies) and Gracjan Rotocki (Poland¹⁸⁴, singer, comedian, advertisement star). Being a writer legitimizes their career and position; publishing an autobiography adds seriousness to their otherwise frivolous life styles. These people emphasize the concept of utilizing the authorship of a book to gain prestige: »Unverkennbar ist der Stolz, Autor zu sein. ›Autor‹ definiert sich hier als Mitglied kunsthandwerklicher Zirkel und lebt von der Aura, mit der unsere Gesellschaft Künstler umgibt.«¹⁸⁵

There are other aspects of prestige that can be represented by books. Participating in book culture is considered a prestigious way of life. The possession of books represents a symbol of this lifestyle, since it hints at learning and at knowledge acquired by reading all of these books displayed on the shelves. A private collection expresses a cultural standard.¹⁸⁶ The e-book does not threaten these ›status books‹ as these do not to represent their content but the owner and his cultured mode of living: »[...] Luxury – and a preference for luxury is *often* a preference for an older, handmade product without any prejudice toward the general utility or inevitability of mass-produced goods [...].«¹⁸⁷ Also giving a book as gift illustrates how pertaining to book culture represents a certain way of life. To give a book may, on the one hand, be a sincere gift to a friend, but on the other hand, adds to the prestige of the giver and receiver, since both move in circles where books are considered to be adequate, intellectual gifts.

This notion is also supported by George Landow when he states that garnering support for the book is difficult since one has to keep in mind that the book, as it is presented by bibliophiles and cultural crusaders, does not correspond to

182 van der Weel: *Covergence and its Discontents*, p. 150.

183 Cf. Wunderlich, Werner; Schmid, Beat (2008): »Von Gutenberg zu Gates.« In: Werner Wunderlich; Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 11–24. Here: p. 13.

184 Information Spreadsheet Poland: Annex, p. A-81.

185 Göbel, Wolfram (2009): »Die neue Vilefalt.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold and Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. München: edition text + kritik, pp. 279–291. Here: p. 284.

186 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 501.

187 O'Donnell, James J. (1996): »The Pragmatics of the New: Trithemius, McLuhan, Cassiodorus.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 37–62. Here: p. 42.

the reality of a younger generation. He claims that the book is often depicted as venerable leather bound tome, artfully crafted and an aesthetic object in itself. The reality for the majority takes the form of cheaply bound paperbacks that are only produced to be sold and read once:¹⁸⁸ A material good not worth protecting.

However, there are trends reinstating the book and its values of aestheticism and prestige: »Inmitten der digitalen Revolution kehrt sie [die Buchkultur] zu ihren Anfängen zurück. Das Buch wird wieder, noch einmal zum auratischen, zum kostbaren Gegenstand.«¹⁸⁹ Freund's opinion is corroborated by Carlos Ruiz Zafon's description of the cemetery of books in his widely acclaimed novel *The Shadow of the Wind*:

Welcome to the *Cemetery of Dead Books*, Daniel. [...] Every book, every volume [...] has a soul. The soul of the person who wrote it and of those who read it and lived and dreamed with it. Every time a book changes hands, every time someone runs his eyes down its pages, its spirit grows and strengthens.¹⁹⁰

It is not the poetic description of the book having a soul.¹⁹¹ This, at least, may be expected from an author with Zafon's quality of language. It is the fact that a neuroscientist like Maryanne Wolf quotes this author's words in order to underline the importance of the book.

Rudi Renger concludes from this continuing emphasis on the aesthetics and prestige of the book that it may be regarded in part as a reaction to the increasing globalization and internationalization of what is perceived as culture. In his opinion, the concept of having book culture has returned into public awareness and discussion only because its loss has become imminent.¹⁹² Peter Burke agrees with Renger when he states that an accelerated cultural change with its pandering to the loss of identity accounts for an increasing interest in and a clinging to traditions.¹⁹³

188 Landow: *Twenty Minutes Into the Future*, p. 210.

189 Freund, Wieland (2010): »Alle Bücher werden Zauberbücher.« In: *Die Welt*. Online Edition (14.03.2010). Available online <http://www.welt.de/die-welt/debatte/article6764224/Alle-Buecher-werden-Zauberbuecher.html>. Last retrieved October 14th 2012.

190 Quoted by Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 139.

191 Couriously, Prof. Vincent Kaufmann from the University of St. Gallen gave a lecture on the soul of a book at the annual conference of the International Society for Book Studies in Munich in 2012.

192 Cf. Renger: *Kulturtheorien der Medien*, p. 156.

193 Cf. Burke: *What is Cultural History?* p. 65f.

2.2.2.4 Structure

Among a book's most recognized values are the nimbus and prestige it may offer. Yet another important value of the book is the structure it introduces. For the first time, the book allowed to structure an argument, making it reproducible and comprehensible for others. This is especially true for the origins of scientific literature, which was characterized by detailed descriptions and anticipatory formulations, ensuring comprehension and contradicting possible objections, as well as the development of more complex scientific illustrations.¹⁹⁴ Printing also led to scientific results being made comparable and discussable for a broader audience, making it possible to correct mistakes made by another scholar in his studies.¹⁹⁵ Elizabeth Eisenstein also adds that the innovations brought by printing primarily benefitted the comfort of the reader by using chapter headings, and superscripts as well as footnotes and other forms of references.¹⁹⁶

Scientific discourse and popular discussion have left the realm of the book, first by being spread through the newspapers and now embracing the internet as the ultimate space for discussion. Yet the book will remain

ein Medium [...], das zutiefst menschlichen Bedürfnissen entspricht. Das spezifisch menschliche Verlangen nach einer überschaubaren Welt, nach klaren Strukturen und Ordnungsmustern kann vom Buch, gleichviel in welcher Erscheinungsform, am ehesten befriedigt werden.¹⁹⁷

The linear form of argumentation, with its consistency and clear demarcation, added speed and accuracy to a budding scientific discourse. »A new balance was established between the fluidity and fixity of texts.«¹⁹⁸ Texts were made easily comparable and far more durable than before. This allowed for a better readability and a dialogue on their content. However, this balance between fixity and fluidity (a book's fluidity lies in the possibility to correct mistakes in new editions) as well as its other crucial attributes, linearity and demarcation,¹⁹⁹ are substituted by the constant fluidity text on the internet offers. It creates connections between singular elements of knowledge through links that only become effective when used to navigate. The links between two elements only exist for a short period of time thereby eradicating demarcation, linearity and fixity.

194 Ibid, p. 67.

195 Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. (1997): *Die Druckerpresse*. Kulturrevolutionen im frühen modernen Europa. Wien: Springer, p. 48.

196 Eisenstein: *Die Druckerpresse*, p. 21.

197 Wunderlich; Schmid: *Von Gutenberg zu Gates*, p. 19.

198 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 23.

199 Cf. Bazin, Patrick (1996): »Toward Metareading.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 153–168. Here: p. 158.

The clearly demarcated structure of a book and its content serve as a comfort zone for those becoming increasingly embedded in the fragmented reality of the digital world:

Deshalb bin ich davon überzeugt, dass das, was ein Buch ausmacht, nämlich seine Linearität, Endlichkeit und Abgeschlossenheit gegenüber anderen Diskursen (zumindest im Moment, in dem wir lesen und im Roman versunken sind), zunächst einmal nichts ist, das veraltet und deshalb verbessert gehört.²⁰⁰

The book may no longer serve as the primary medium for scientific discourse or for the publication of research, but the value inherent in its clear structure still serves a purpose: the book provides a fixed node in this world of constant change. The ordered hierarchy of beginning and end, of cover, chapter and page may allow a respite from the fluent qualities of hypertext: »There is something about a book that fits the eye, the hand – the mind,« Jacques Barzun told a Boston audience in 1976. »It has achieved perfect form, which cannot be transcended.«²⁰¹

2.2.2.5 Constructing Authority and Veracity

Based on its history and the values associated with the medium, for a long time the book was the dominant medium of scientific and public discourse. Newspaper and TV may have damaged its key role, but only since the digital revolution the book has lost its primary role: Information is gathered on the internet – a place where both public as well as scientific discourses take place. Kaufmann declares that the book has slipped from an »Autoritätsfunktion in eine Unterhaltungsfunktion.«²⁰² How its role has altered is demonstrated by the changed and changing reading habits in countries such as Latvia and Estonia. There, the act of reading books has long been regarded as a means of social improvement, just as it used to be in Finland during the Swedish occupation.²⁰³ Since the Baltic States achieved their objective of integration within the European Union and the

200 Hettche, Thomas (2012): »Von der Notwendigkeit des Buches. Wahre Literatur ist rücksichtslos.« In: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Online Edition of June 4th 2012). Available online <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/urheberrecht/die-notwen...>, last retrieved June 4th 2012.

201 Cf. Jacques Barzun's speech »The Bibliophile of the Future: His Complaints about the Twentieth Century.« [Boston: Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston, 1976.] quoted by Clark, Bernadine (1993): *Fanfare for Words: Bookfairs and Book Festivals in North America*. Derby, PA: Diane Publishing, p. 10.

202 Kaufmann: Der Parameter der Autorität, p. 39.

203 Hobsbawm: Nations and Nationalism since 1780, p. 118.

European markets and currency²⁰⁴, leisure habits have changed. The book has now fulfilled its function to provide social improvement and has been transformed into a form of entertainment. As a form of entertainment, however, it has to compete with television and the internet. This fact explains the constant decline in readership in the Baltic States during the last decade.

A further quality and value attributed to the book has lost its standing amongst the population of the Baltic States – namely, the book as a medium of resistance, propagating the truth. During the occupation, readers could rather access different truths than the official version of the truth propagated by the governments. Vihailemm describes it as a compensatory function rather than a value attributed to the book: »For people deprived of political and economic freedom, reading books, as well as the cultural press performed an important compensatory function [...]«²⁰⁵ This belief in the book and in its message is anchored in the tradition and the materiality of the book.

Ursula Rautenberg attributes the trust the book evokes to its role as a reliable written record, of which its content is public and also publicly assessable.²⁰⁶ Giesecke calls this aspect the innate veracity of typography: detection and revision of mistakes and the reproducibility of results have become possible due to the wide dissemination of printed works.²⁰⁷ The veracity associated with printed books no longer carries its original weight, but the trust in the book has remained.

That is especially true when the book is compared to the digital medium of the internet. While publishing houses have a vested interest to publish good quality works (however it is really achieved in the end), »on the Net, there is no strong material or economic incentive to rule out prolixity or to window redundant postings, and the breadth and openness of the discussions and the interest in quick turnaround militate against the screening for accuracy.«²⁰⁸ It is not only Cornelia Funke, a renowned German children's book author, who considers the process of the editorial office necessary for the genesis of a good book.²⁰⁹ Paul Duguid also defines the cycle of production and distribution of a book as a form

204 Estonia introduced the Euro as currency on January 1st 2011.

205 Vihailemm, Peeter (2006): »Media Use in Estonia. Trends and Patterns.« In: *Nordicom Review* 27 (1), pp. 17–29. Available online http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/publ_pdf/226_vihalemm.pdf, last retrieved January 7th 2011. Here: p. 22.

206 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 496.

207 Giesecke: *Von den Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 142.

208 Nunberg, Geoffrey (1996): »*Farewell to the Information Age*.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 103–138. Here: p. 127.

209 Heinemann, Christoph (2010): »E-Book und Internet als Chance. Autorin Cornelia Funke über die Zukunft des Buches.« *Deutschlandradio*, 23.04.2010. Available online http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/interview_dlf/1169203/, last retrieved April 23rd 2010.

of purification, since private manuscripts lack form and are not considered to be generally consumable by him.²¹⁰

Apart from the quality of language of a produced book, there are other qualities that are affected by an editorial process as well:

On the Web, that is, you can never have the kind of experience that you can have with the informational genres of print, the experience of interpreting a text simply *as* a newspaper or encyclopedia article without attending to its author, its publisher, or the reliability of its recommender.²¹¹

Geoffrey Nunberg explains in detail that the material form of a document on the net is insufficiently informative in order to judge the quality of its content. He claims that with time and the adequate skills, every page may look official.²¹² For the sake of argument, he omits the fact that printed books are not immune to manipulation either. Apart from printing false facts, and thereby manipulating content, it is also easily possible to manipulate the material of a book by making it look either official or like an antique edition.

Structure and order imposed on the book by its material form are a part of the values appreciated by its audience. Due to the long tradition of learning and research accepted as the book's innate history by the public, the book and its content possess veracity and a certain authority.

2.2.2.6 Symbolism and Constructing Identity

This category encompasses two aspects of book culture. A book is attributed a number of values and, at the same time, serves as a symbol for these very same values: »Thus, a book is both less and more than its contents alone.«²¹³ The least of these symbolic qualities is connected to the previously mentioned value of prestige. While the book, the reading of books but foremost the possession of a book was part of the habitus of a certain social strata, the book is currently used differently, too. In its physical, printed form, the book is still a part of a gesture of differentiation: »Andere Menschen hingegen kokettieren mit diesen Dingen.

210 Duguid, Paul (1996): »Material Matters: The Past and Futurology of the Book.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 63–102. Here: p. 81.

211 Nunberg: Farewell to the Information Age, p. 127f.

212 Ibid, p. 127.

213 Cummings, Brian (2010): »The Book as Symbol.« In: Michael Suarez, H. R. Woudhuysen (Eds.) (2010): *The Oxford Companion to the Book*. 2 Vols. Oxford, USA: Oxford University Press, pp. 63–65. Here: p. 63.

Sie begreifen jeglichen mobilen Krimskrams als Teil ihres Styles und geben sich alle Mühe, diesen zu kultivieren: Das aus der Parkatasche ragende Foucault- oder Jack Kerouac-Buch.«²¹⁴ Rautenberg describes the book as an accessory, a fashion statement. It is part of the »Abzeichen einer Gruppenidentität«²¹⁵. The reader, who strives to display a form of intellectualism and retro-style, is a part of such a group. Whether this style is conveyed by a certain style of glasses or by the cloth binding of one's current reading material does not matter. It is not the book that conveys prestige; it is merely an accessory to the overall picture that imparts a certain group identity. Geoffrey Nunberg agrees with Rautenberg. He claims the new function of expressing an identity will prolong the book's life:

Social practice has turned the physical properties of the book – its bulk, its palpable inscription in space, its materially discrete pagination, its covers – into both interpretive and social resources. In fact, [...] the book may have a long life left in it.²¹⁶

The role of the book as a symbol for one's identity – or at least the part of one's identity one wishes to convey and demonstrate to others – is not a new one. It has just been reactivated in our times of a digital change. More than showing off an unchanging iPod, the book is, with its multitude of covers, able to show without explicitly telling. By using a small, coverable book shelf during the Biedermeier period women were given, »eine Möglichkeit, Stimmungen und Wünsche zu formulieren, ohne dass die Dame sie explizit ansprechen müsste.«²¹⁷

Above all, the book is attributed a key role in the formation of national identities, since the history of the printed book is so closely related to the formation and standardization of national languages. Regional language varieties were first recorded in works by individual printers, and then disseminated by readers. Standardizations became necessary to make books available and understandable for the greater masses, while opening the market for a broader mass of customers and differentiating one group from another at the same time. As it has played a central role in the Reformation, the book is linked and interlaced with the movements of the National Awakening that spread across Europe in the late 18th and 19th century. National languages became significant especially for those ethnic groups that perceived themselves to be under a foreign rule. The Baltic

214 Lauenstein, Mercedes (2012): »Zeig her deine Wasserflasche.« In: *Jetzt-Magazin der Süddeutschen Zeitung*. Online Edition. Available online <http://jetzt.sueddeutsche.de/texte/anzeigen/551348/Zeig-her-deine-Wasserflasche>, last retrieved July 20th 2012.

215 Rautenberg: Das Buch in der Alltagskultur, p. 508.

216 Nunberg, Geoffrey (1996): »Introduction.« In: Geoffrey Nunberg (Ed.): *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 9–20. Here: p. 15.

217 Alphonso, Don (2010): »Der kleine Giftschränk der feinen Damen.« In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Online Edition (June 6th 2010). Available online <http://faz.community.faz.net/62650.print.aspx>, last retrieved June 6th 2010. Here: p. 4.

States which were ruled in turns by Germany²¹⁸, Sweden²¹⁹ and Russia, but also emerging nations such as Slovenia²²⁰, serve as an example. Indeed, Slovenia honored the book's contribution to the formation of its national identity and finally recognized these achievements by introducing the *Publishing Law of 1978* which »attached special social importance to publishing and included the right to subsidization.«²²¹ Vida Zei literally claims that »book publishing contributes enormously to the sense of Slovene national identity.«²²² Miha Kovač corroborates this assessment of the book's role in establishing Slovene national identity: the book took on the role of a »carrier of national identity and a medium with a subversive social and political potential.«²²³ In continuing, he emphasizes this statement by describing the book as a »bastion«²²⁴ of the national identity. This can be especially accounted for small language communities – that is as true for today's globalized world as it was in the course of history, when small language communities were only a part of larger multilingual empires.

Other nations, who assign a special role to the book, are Austria²²⁵, which justifies its fixed book price with the »besonderen Status des »Kulturguts Buch««²²⁶; or Spain²²⁷ which claims among its cultural objectives to »promote reading, to defend cultural diversity in order to provide mechanisms which guarantee a plural supply of publishing companies and bookshops, and to adapt the book concept to changes facilitated by the new technological changes.«²²⁸ Being so closely associated with the construction of national identity has led to a curious identity crisis for the book itself. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent phase of nation building, the book has lost its role in society. At the same time it has been privatized in global publishing and has been protected as a cultural good by the European Union and the national governments: »This

218 Information Spreadsheet Germany: Annex, p. A-37.

219 Information Spreadsheet Sweden: Annex, p. A-98.

220 Information Spreadsheet Slovenia: Annex, p. A-90.

221 Zei, Vida (2004): »Slovenia.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publ., pp. 214–224. Here: p. 217.

222 Zei: *Slovenia*, p. 217.

223 Kovač: *Small is Beautiful*, p. 280.

224 Ibid, p. 280.

225 Information Spreadsheet Austria: Annex, p. A-78.

226 Panzer, Fritz; Scheipl, Elfriede (2001): Buchverlage in Österreich. Marktteilnehmer – Buchproduktion – Umfeldbedingungen. Forschungsauftrag des Bundesministeriums für Verkehr, Innovation, Technologie. Sektion V: Innovation und Technologie. Wien: Buchkultur-Verl.-Ges., p. 17.

227 Information Spreadsheet Spain: Annex, p. 49.

228 From the *Act for Reading, Books and Libraries*, passed in June 2007. Villarroya, Anna (2010): *Country Profile Spain*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/spain.php>, last retrieved June 28th 2011. Here: p. 49.

rather controversial process of simultaneous enthronization and protection created an identity crisis that has not yet been fully and successfully resolved.«²²⁹ To the contrary, the crisis has been reinforced by the digital shift. As for the values as a symbol attributed to the book, Miha Kovač introduces his remarks on the history and future of the book by stating that the book »can be defined as unique symbol[s] of intellectual and cultural continuity in Western civilisation.«²³⁰

There are far more denotations of the book as a symbol. For some, the book in its capacity for linearity and the choice of the individual's reading tempo is also the symbol for a certain mode of temporality, for reflection upon action.²³¹ Taken out of context of the constant flow of information, the reader is able to reflect and transcend. This leitmotif is taken up by a more spiritually colored symbolism. Debray relates this spiritual aspect of the book as being enforced by the religions of the book; Judaism, Islam and Christianity.²³² Debray claims that »to believe in the book was to believe in God.«²³³ Debray's concept may have been overcome by the overall loss of followers of the great world religions. However, the concept of the holy book is still anchored in religions of the book. It is an object to be revered as the word of God himself. That this concept does not protect all books is demonstrated by such recurring events as the burning of books. For example, versions of the Qur'an or Bibles, which are not considered as truthful, are burned by fanatic religious groups today.²³⁴

Birgit Dankert lists a variety of positive concepts linked to and symbolized by the book. In her essay she claims that books offer worldly wisdom, imagination, ideals, conflict resolution, self-discovery and help in a self-identification process, distance, causality and a structured world and quality language.²³⁵ Yet this list is more an idealistic concept than the reality of the book. For instance, Dankert does not distinguish between characteristics of content and of medium. While the book in its material form may support some of these notions, such as structure or quality language due to an editorial process, these are by no means concepts that apply to the book alone.

There are two quotations that conveniently mirror the two sides of the discussion on the future of the book. This future is essentially tied to its symbolic values and functions. Ursula Rautenberg diagnoses a rather bleak reality and a

229 Kovač: *Small is Beautiful*, p. 280.

230 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 10.

231 Hesse: *Books in Time*, p. 27.

232 See chapter 2.2.3.

233 Debray: *The Book as Symbolic Object*, p. 141.

234 For example, the Amazing Grace Baptist Church in North Carolina holds an annual book burning on Halloween. The «event» is announced and commented on their website: Amazing Grace Baptist Church. <http://amazinggracebaptistchurchkiv.com/Download100.html>, last retrieved February 1st 2012.

235 Dankert: *Bücher sind doch öd und langweilig*, p. 19.

correspondingly bleak outlook: »Die gegenwärtige Realität des Buchzeichens ist sein schöner Schein.«²³⁶ According to her, the book is reduced to its functions as an accessory and conveys a certain lifestyle and definition of identity. Werner Wunderlich contradicts this outlook in his essay on the future of the Gutenberg Galaxy. He claims that the printed book will maintain its »außerordentliche Bedeutung für Kultur und Zivilisation auch unter veränderten technologischen Vorzeichen [...]«.«²³⁷

There is a third concept related to Wunderlich's assertion that the book will maintain its extraordinary status. Freund declares the book to have emerged as the loser of a competition among the media. At the same time, he announces that there is a new function: »Wenn Bücher aber gegen Computerspiele helfen, erscheinen sie nicht mehr als Medien, sondern als Anti-Medien.«²³⁸ Freund's concept of the book as an anti-medium is supported by the notion of the book as a respite in the world of constant acceleration and a constant flow of information.

2.2.2.7 Generation and Dissemination of Knowledge

Books are linked to a generation and dissemination of knowledge yet are also associated with its destruction and manipulation. While the monks of the Middle Ages preserved a great number of texts from Antiquity, at the same time they destroyed countless other texts written on reused parchment. Sometimes, manuscripts were destroyed or texts manipulated, because their impact on humankind was feared. The generation of new ways of thinking and researching becoming available with the printed book was more significant than the keeping of a tradition of knowledge from Antiquity. Elisabeth Eisenstein's work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* enlarges upon the effects of that particular invention in great and unsurpassed detail. Others have discussed the development as well: Jeanette Böhme considers the introduction of typographic writing to be the prior condition to the process of generating meaning and relevance.²³⁹ Maryanne Wolf agrees that

the evolution of writing provided the cognitive platform for the emergence of tremendously important skills that make up the first chapters of our intellectual history: documentation, codification, classification, organization, interiorization of language, consciousness of self and others, and consciousness of consciousness itself.²⁴⁰

236 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 515.

237 Wunderlich: *Von Gutenberg zu Gates*, p. 18.

238 Freund: *Alle Bücher werden Zauberbücher*, p. 2.

239 Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 51.

240 Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 221.

Printing took the development one step further: not only the need to formulate for one recipient but a multitude of possible readers made it necessary to add extensive descriptions. For a full understanding of the topic discussed, validation and visualization were essential as well.²⁴¹

During such a century-long development, a typographical main memory had been created which, on principle, allowed access to everyone independent of their status, profession, or moral attitude and so forth.²⁴² Unprecedented quantities of text had been made available. The book allowed a democratization of the knowledge generated due to its ability to be disseminated easily and – due to the early scholarly language of Latin – to be read.

While a generation and dissemination of knowledge, but more so of information, has been adopted by the new media such as the internet, the book has preserved its tradition of reflection and critical analysis. Miha Kovač even describes the book as a unique symbol »of intellectual and cultural continuity in Western civilization.«²⁴³ Wolf fears for loss of the ability to analyze critically, she writes »that many of our children are in danger of becoming just what Socrates²⁴⁴ warned us against – a society of decoders of information, whose false sense of knowing distracts them from a deeper development of their intellectual potential.«²⁴⁵

Josef Trappel deems that the most important value of the book is the analysis of and dispute with and about a living environment²⁴⁶ One of Europe's most renowned authors and critical thinkers agrees with Trappel: Umberto Eco pronounces books to be »machines that provoke further thoughts, they improve and challenge memory.«²⁴⁷

There are more opinions that support the argument of Trappel and Eco. Sarah Wollberg delineates the consensus on the book's value from the *National Book and Reading Symposium (VII Forum Nazionale del Libro e della Promozione della Lettura)*:

241 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 67.

242 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 97.

243 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 10.

244 Wolf refers to the well-known reservations Socrates' expressed in his *Phaidros* against the introduction of written texts. He claimed the written word to be inflexible, allowing only for a superficial understanding since the context of sound, intonation, melody etc. was missing. He also feared the destruction of memory and the loss of control over language which would lead to an uncontrolled access to information conveyed, even though some readers might not have the intellectual ability to understand it correctly. Socrates' concept of criticism was adapted for example by Abbot Trithemius who warned against printing and abandoning the virtues of handwriting in his work *De laude scriptorum manualium* (1492). A digitalized version is available online [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-e-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00037424_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-e-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00037424_mets.xml).

245 Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 226.

246 Dankert: *Bücher sind doch öd und langweilig*, p. 17.

247 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 296.

dass Bücher zu jeder Zeit wichtige Lebensgefährten sowie Begleiter bei individuellen und gesellschaftlichen Wendepunkten sind, dass sie zur tiefen Selbstanalyse dienen und die Kraft haben eine Vorstellungswelt zu evozieren, die weit über die Enge unserer eigenen Welt hinaus führen kann.²⁴⁸

Luisa Marquardt adds that reading should not be taught for the sake of reading a book but also for the sake of establishing a habitual, critical and conscious conduct.²⁴⁹ Maryanne Wolf voices the apprehension that searching for deeper levels of meaning in the text has become anachronistic, because the internet offers information with immediacy and seeming comprehensiveness that is available without apparent critical effort. She asks »whether our children are learning the heart of the reading process: going beyond the text.«²⁵⁰ Rephrased and applied to students she explains:

Many students who have cut their teeth on relatively effortless Internet access may not yet know how to think for themselves. Their sights are narrowed to what they see and hear quickly and easily, and they have too little reason to think outside our newest, most sophisticated boxes.²⁵¹

Even though the values claimed by Eco, Wolf and others revolve around the concept of critical thought and reflection, some have not abandoned the idea of the book as a medium for knowledge dissemination. Miha Kovač links economic success in today's knowledge-based economy to the number of readers in an individual country. He identifies books as a motor for innovation.

The fact that book reading is most prevalent in competitive environments could therefore be seen as evidence that the book still plays an important role both in the dissemination of information and in the education of individuals who can most successfully play their professional roles in knowledge-based economies.²⁵²

Since all European societies are gradually becoming information societies, based on knowledge, the above aspect of the book should not be underestimated.

248 Wollberg: *Leggere per Crescere*.

249 Marquardt: *Die Netzwerke der italienischen Schulbibliotheken*.

250 Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 225.

251 *Ibid*, p. 225.

252 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 93.

2.2.2.8 Timelessness

The materiality of the book, although criticized for its lack of immediacy, timeliness and quick modification or adjustment, does have an advantage over the digital storage of data:

Even if printed on acid paper, which lasts only seventy years or so, they are more durable than magnetic supports. Moreover, they do not suffer power shortages and blackouts, and are more resistant to shocks.²⁵³

Umberto Eco's statement from 1996 originates from the ›middle ages‹ of the computer. The internet had just reached the average user and only gave a hint of its capability of incomparably rapid dissemination within a few years. Data was stored on magnetic tapes, which were susceptible to changes in different environmental conditions. Data storage has changed profoundly within the last years and gigantic server farms are now less susceptible to damage. Power shortages have lost their threat owing to the development of UPS (uninterrupted power supply) devices. Even though, the differing developments in data formats as well as the power of commercial companies, who control data streams, have led to a continuing uncertainty.

The book, it seems, still has some strengths left in it. The experienced timelessness of information printed on paper is linked to the authority and veracity attributed to the. Once printed, a text is unchangeable – at least in the one edition. Later editions may correct many a mistake or censor content, but the original still remains. Thereby, an aura of permanence has been created around the printed book. It suggests a sustainability of content that is an illusion.

2.2.2.9 Reality or Myth – The Book and Its Value System

This chapter listed some, but certainly not all, values that are attributed to the book. Some are connected with the materiality of the printed book; others are attributions rather associated with the text, the content, than with the book as a medium. It appears to be difficult even for scholars to differentiate between attributes of the book and of the content. Some values, such as timelessness, are difficult to verify in reality and belong to the so-called myths of book culture. Michael Giesecke criticizes these myths to be prevailing in the debate about the future and the advantages of the book. There is a tendency by scholars and the participants in the discussion on the future of the book to include only positive

²⁵³ Eco: *Afterword*, p. 299.

associations with the book. An objective argument is not possible if ideology and prejudice prevail.

It is an inherent characteristic of culture to exist in the exclusion or marginalization of others. Often, groups define themselves by differences, not common ground. Book culture is sometimes presented as an elitist culture. Values attributed to the book, like aesthetics and prestige, emphasize such a view. Therefore, a critical debate on the values associated with the book and book culture is essential. Nevertheless, the empowering effects of the book, for instance in facilitating the access to information and the development of social cohesion, contrast the former and point to a democratic culture that allows the participation of everyone.

The overabundance of values attributed to the book is symptomatic of the need of a modern society to sacralize the objects attached to cultural memory. As literature and the book are closely linked to the creation of national identity and, therefore, cultural memory, the sacralization of the object ›print book‹ can in part be made responsible for the emotional chargedness of the debate on the future of the book. However, the future of the book will focus on values such as aesthetics, the sensual aspects of a book. So far, the haptic of paper cannot be substituted by a screen. Other aspects of book culture and the book are more clearly associated with the book itself. For example, the material form of the book is the focus of the rituals and traditions.

2.2.3 *Between Spiritualism and Pragmatism – Traditions and Actions*

Traditions and rituals are an important part of every description or analysis of culture. Some of the traditions and rituals linked to book culture are a part of larger contexts – such as, for example, the celebration of the anniversary of a certain author, which is a part of the larger context of national culture and identity. Others are linked with the values attributed to the book and have been presented in the previous chapter.

The examples presented in the following chapters are a selection only. Often, the presentation of the rituals, traditions and actions of book culture focuses on positive aspects. Yet there are rituals and actions that are perceived as negative: Alongside the urge to preserve the book, there has always been the corresponding urge to destruction.²⁵⁴ Book burnings are an example. Although the burning of books is certainly a condemnable act, it emphasizes the symbolic quality of a book at the same time. The material book stands in lieu of its content, which is considered to be worthy of destruction. Censorship is another action that is employed within the context of book culture. There are different

254 Cummings: *The Book as Symbol*, p. 64.

forms of censorship, for instance there is political, clerical and self-censorship as well as a new form, the corporate censorship²⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the positive associations with the book predominate in Europe. Books are even perceived as an element in cure²⁵⁶ and as a means of bettering criminals.²⁵⁷

An example for a ritual centered on the book is the so-called Bibliomancy: the practice of opening a book at random to foretell the future. Some are inclined to attribute the practice to St. Augustine. In a moment of desperate indecision he is supposed to have heard the voice of a child instructing him to ›take it and read it‹. St. Augustine took an edition of scripture, opened it at random and supposedly found guidance. But it is not only the Bible which was and is used to tell the future or seek guidance for difficult decisions:

For centuries, men and women had randomly opened revered cultural texts such as the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* as oracles of wisdom. In many Christian countries, including the United States, this practice of haphazardly opening a book came to center primarily on the Bible. Such randomly chosen passages were believed to have an almost magical power to reveal the future and answer difficult questions.²⁵⁸

Other rituals and traditions focusing on the book have a similar symbolic quality. As in Bibliomancy, books are attributed to a supreme form of knowledge and authority. These attributes are founded on the role of the book in the major religions and on the authority attributed to legal documents throughout the Middle Ages.²⁵⁹

255 Corporate censorship is introduced in chapter 2.4.4 as one of the challenges to book culture.

256 Books are used in Bibliotherapy to help patients with mental issues. More information: Lehr, Fran (1981): »ERIC/RCS: Bibliotherapy.« In: *Journal of Reading* Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 76–79. Available online <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40030504>, last retrieved December 18th 2012.

257 A German judge has been assigning books to juvenile offenders. The titles focus on issues similar to the offences committed. A summary and a report on how the book concerns their deeds are a part of the penalty. More information: Widmann, Marc (15. April 2010): »Leviten lesen. Strafmaßnahmen für Jugendliche.« In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Online Edition. Available online <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/strafmassnahmen-fuer-jugendliche-leviten-lesen-1.13883>, last retrieved December 18th 2012.

258 Jonassen cites Paul Gutjahr, p. 41 from Gutjahr, Paul C. (1999): *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

259 The concept of authority developed during the Middle Ages. First, auctoritas meant the dignity of a person, later the person him/herself. Finally, auctoritas also referred to the author of a written record. Cf. »Autoritäten.« In: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Available online <http://u01151612502.user.hosting-agency.de/malexwiki/index.php/Autorit%C3%A4ten>, last retrieved November 15th 2012.

2.2.3.1 Scripture Religions – The People of the Book

Religious texts are the basis of almost all religions. Some of these are the so-called scripture religions which focus their beliefs and teachings on one central text. For Judaism, it is the Torah, for Christians the Bible and for Islam the Qur'an. The term ›People of the Book‹ is used in Muslim teachings to designate non-Muslim adherents to faiths which are based on a scripture older than the Qur'an. The same term is used in Judaism to refer to Jewish people, the Torah and the written Jewish law. While the Catholic Church prefers the term ›Religion of the Word of God‹, other Christian denominations have adopted People of the Book for their followers.²⁶⁰

Frank Peters describes the Islamic concept of a People of the Book as a notion

that goes back to the Qur'an [and] lies at the heart of the Muslims' successful creation of a political society that was understood in the first instance as a community of believers, but also included within its expanding frontiers significant religious diversity.²⁶¹

A more detailed survey of the concept of the People of the Book may be found in the Encyclopedia of the Qur'an.²⁶²

The vocabulary used in a religious context clearly emphasizes the importance and the centrality of the book that is the revealed word of God. The Bible is also called the ›Holy Book‹ or the ›Book of Books‹. The last term was not originally used in a comparative way, but it refers to the fact that the Bible is ›after all an anthology, a book composed of many books.«²⁶³ Even the term Bible itself has its origins from the word book: *tā biblia* in the Septuagint Greek of Daniel 9:2 refers to *the books*, which is to be understood as the general body of Jewish scriptures.²⁶⁴ According to Jeffrey, the subtle shift from books to the book took place as late as the 13th century, when the Latin neuter plural *biblia* became the feminine singular *biblia*: “an almost unnoticed shift from ›the books‹ to ›the Book‹ in the textual tradition of western tradition.«²⁶⁵

260 ›People of the Book.« In: *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. Online available http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People_of_the_Book, last retrieved April 25th 2012.

261 Peters, Frank (14. December 2009): ›People of the Book.« In: *Oxford Bibliographies*. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780195390155-0059, last retrieved April 23th 2012.

262 Sharon, Moshe (2004): ›People of the Book.« In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, Vol. 4. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 36–43.

263 Jeffrey, David L. (1996): *People of the Book. Christian Identity and Literary Culture*. Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Here: p. xii.

264 Cf. Jeffrey: *People of the Book*, p. xii.

265 *Ibid*, p. xiii.

In time, the attribute ›holy‹ was added to emphasize the central position of the Scripture. For the authors of the following centuries, the Bible became simply the Book. Chaucer is quoted as referring to »oure Book, the foundation text which gives rise to a whole world of books.«²⁶⁶ Translations of the Bible are available in more than 2100 languages, a result of the missionary efforts to reproduce the language of the local people, of Africa or Asia for example, to provide a written translation of the Bible. For missionaries the book itself became a unified locus of authority, and unsurprisingly, according to Jeffrey, *People of the Book* »translates in many an early vernacular name for Christian missionaries among African, Asian, and Native American people.«²⁶⁷

The role played by the Scripture in the Christian faith is mirrored in the central meaning of the Torah and the Qur'an for the other monotheistic as well as some polytheistic world religions. All these are based on a book of scripture. In nations, in which the cultural tradition is rooted in either of these religions, the book is naturally held in a high regard. The cultural and religious identity of these nations is fundamentally based on the Torah, Qur'an or the Bible, allowing a natural focus on the written – and later printed – word. The Bible has become the founding text of many a national literature. That is especially true for those nations in which a written language was not used before the advent of the Christian mission. The continuing importance of the Bible as the book of books in all nations with a Christian tradition is reflected in the fact that the Bible was among the first printed works and other religious texts as well as those needed for the study of religious texts (Latin study books). For example, the ensuing Reformation and Counterreformation ensured a continued demand for more reading material, setting in motion a development that would cumulate in modern book culture over time.

The cultures and traditions of Western Europe are deeply influenced by the Christian faith, explaining the long-time focus on the Bible. With their need for differentiation and the subsequent decision to reproduce the Scripture in the form of the codex, the early Christians even influenced the modern material form of the book.²⁶⁸ The written word of the Bible may no longer be the locus of God's authority; and society no longer attributes the book the status of divine revelation and complete inerrancy as the logocentrists would do. As religion has lost its appeal, so has the printed book, especially in comparison to the dazzling possibilities of the digital world.

266 Geoffrey Chaucer, quoted by Jeffery: *People of the Book*, p. xiii.

267 Ibid, p. xiv.

268 Mazal: *Griechisch-römische Antike*, p. 132.

2.2.3.2 Taking a Corporal Oath

Intimately connected with the sacred status of the book in the major religions of the world is the book's role in the ritual of taking an oath. People are required to take on oath in legal proceedings, as a sign of fealty or an investiture in an office for example. An oath is a statement or promise that calls in something that is sacred to the promise maker. As such, it is older than the Christian tradition and may be found in various other cultures.

A corporal oath is a bodily oath as opposed to a »mere declaration by word of mouth, and also to a mere written testimony.«²⁶⁹ While taking an oath, the promise maker swears on something that is sacred to him: »The essence of a divine oath is an invocation of divine agency to be a guarantor of the oath taker's own honesty and integrity in the matter under question. By implication, this invokes divine displeasure if the oath taker fails in their sworn duties.«²⁷⁰ To symbolize this pledge, a physical object standing in place of the divine agency is touched. In Western societies with a Christian tradition, this is often a book of Scripture.²⁷¹

For people of the Christian tradition, the Bible is not only the written word of God. It also symbolizes the hope of salvation after death. In the case of perjury, the oath taker would forfeit eternal life. The Greco-Roman tradition knew the corporal oath for investiture. Rome adopted the Christian tradition of swearing on the Scripture. The Christian tradition itself was probably adopted from the Jewish ritual of laying a hand on the book of the Law to ensure a binding oath – it is important to note that touching the Torah is forbidden for lay men in the Jewish tradition; oaths were sworn on the Book of Law. The adoption of the Christian tradition within a Roman practice may have established a standardized practice of oath-taking.

A variation of the traditional oath taken with a hand on the Bible was recorded in the late Middle Ages. Laying a hand on the Scripture and swearing was only completed by kissing the book. »Kiss the book« even became proverbial for taking an oath as shown by the Middle English dictionary, which lists the entry *kissen bok* for taking an oath.²⁷² The usage of the proverb has been documented; one example may be found in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in a scene of mock

269 Tyler, James Endell (1834): Oaths, their Origin, Nature, and History. London: John W. Parker, p. 310.

270 »Oath.« In: Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Available online <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oath>, last retrieved April 24th 2012.

271 »Corporal oath.« In: Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Available online <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corporal%20oath>, last retrieved April 25th 2012.

272 »Kissen.« *The Middle English Dictionary*. Available online <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED24356>, last retrieved April 26th 2012.

swearing of fealty between Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano.²⁷³ To escape the binding oath, people have been known to kiss the thumb of the hand holding the book instead of the book.

Until recently, an oath on the Bible was a common practice in civil, criminal and international law. There have been controversies on the practice, since some courts had required witnesses to reveal their religious belief when they had refused to swear on the Bible.²⁷⁴ In the case of taking an oath, the book involved is a symbol of a higher or divine power. The ritual emphasizes and explains the values of authority and veracity that are attributed to the book. Even though the oath is often replaced by a solemn affirmation today, the image of the oath taker with a raised hand and a second hand on the Bible is deeply engrained in the Western pop culture due to the frequent usage of this image in films.

Taking a corporal oath has lost its importance just as the book as medium has lost its nimbus of authority. Institutional religion is replaced by individualized sets of belief. Regardless, the ritual is still part of book culture and was an important milestone in consolidating the status of the book in the Western society.

2.2.3.3 School Education and the Textbook

Even though the texts that were intended for education had already existed in Antiquity, it was the printing press and its ready supply of Latin grammar books like *Ars Minor* (which had, in fact, existed a long time before the printing press) that had founded a century-long tradition of teaching from textbooks. Even in today's age of digital technology, the textbook still is an integral part of each student's learning activity. Associating learning and school with books may not always be a positive experience, but it paves the way to a close association with books. Textbooks both serve as initiation into book culture as they introduce children into adult worlds.²⁷⁵ Surprisingly, the history of textbooks – except for some individual titles – is not covered in book history or the history of pedagogics very well. A short overview is provided in the following paragraphs.

Before the era of printing, textbooks often consisted of an original text with a glossary, a commentary, and annotations. Students were required to supply themselves with textbooks, usually by writing down the lectures of their teachers. It was only with the shift from an individual tutoring to classroom work,

273 Shakespeare, William: *The Tempest*, Act II, Sc. 2, ll. 125–130.

274 The Guardian author Aidan C. O'Brien also criticizes this revealing of faith in his appeal to replace the oath in court by an affirmation. Aidan C. O'Brien (2012): »Nothing but the truth.« In: *The Guardian* (Online Edition). Available online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/belief/2012/may/22/abolish-oaths-court>, last retrieved October 31st 2012.

275 Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 37.

which made use of textbooks, they became an instructional aid for teachers (such as alphabet books) or tools for an individual self-instruction.

There were different styles of textbooks; the earliest were intended to teach literacy:

One very popular style – apparently invented by Aelius Donatius in the fourth century A.D. – was question and answer in the form of a catechism. A teacher would read a question and the students would recite the answer, both of which were found in the text.²⁷⁶

Standardized textbooks developed with the introduction of compulsory education and the need to develop shared characteristics, knowledge and manners among students from different social backgrounds.²⁷⁷

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term textbook did not acquire its modern meaning until the end of the 18th century, when the books were in the hands of teachers as well as students. Since the 19th century, textbooks have been and still are a primary teaching instrument. Current textbooks serve as medium in the sense of an agent and a mediator: they, on the one hand, introduce students to the medium book and, on the other hand, they also confront the learned with knowledge and the didactic principles of an individual author.²⁷⁸ Modern education is on the verge of embracing digital technology such as whiteboards, laptops or touch pads into a class environment. At the moment, teachers still have to resort to and to rely on textbooks for teaching. Current textbooks are a combination of object teaching, inductive questioning and exercises mixed with an exposition. Inferences are either to be made through direct experience or what has been experienced in the form of narration, illustration or example.²⁷⁹ The diversity of textbooks has cumulated to the fact that making a critical selection almost seems impossible for teachers, especially when considering the fact that textbooks often have an, albeit hidden, agenda.²⁸⁰

276 Wakefield, John F. (1998): *A Brief History of Textbooks: Where have we been all these years?* Paper presented at the Meeting of the Text and Academic Authors (St. Petersburg, FL, June 12–13, 1998). Available online <http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED419246.pdf>, last retrieved April 26th 2012. Here: p. 5.

277 Wakefield: *A Brief History of Textbooks*, p. 21.

278 Cf. Borck, Karin (2001): »Der Micha vom Prenzlauer Berg«. *Prophetenbilder in Religionsbüchern der Sekundarstufe 1*. Dissertation im FB Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin. Available online http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_00000000383/1_METHODODIK.pdf?hosts=, last retrieved April 26th 2012. Here: p. 11.

279 Wakefield: *A Brief History of Textbooks*, p. 12.

280 Borck: *Der Micha vom Prenzlauer Berg*, p.10.

The textbook continues to be the central element of school education, even though multimedia now dominates our everyday life. Jeanette Böhme describes this situation as the outdated education monopoly of the book, since the forced typographic monomediality prohibits an active and critical examination of subjects, questions and problems of the trans-medial network society.²⁸¹ Then again, she acknowledges Neil Postman's position that the textbook serves as a ritual of initiation into book culture and as a method to interpret and understand the adult world.²⁸²

Considering the increasing multimediality of everyday life, the textbook will need to and has already adapted to the changing situation. Therefore, Wakefield considers the future of the textbook to be secure:

As the situations and problems have changed [meaning in the classroom], so have textbooks. In themselves, textbooks have not resolved these problems, but they have been written, edited and marketed as teaching and learning aids. They represent a genre of writing that through a combination of practical use and market forces must respond to a particular kind of situation.²⁸³

He imagines that future textbooks will adapt and specialize in teaching information management and critical assessment of information. Further insights might be gained through the studies of the history of schoolbooks undertaken by the *Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook History (Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung)*²⁸⁴ and by the development of new variations of textbooks which will primarily function on tablet computers or e-reading devices – a welcome respite for the backs of millions of school children who sometimes carry backpacks that seem heavier than themselves.²⁸⁵

Textbooks are in some cases a child's first introduction into the world of books. Depending on the textbook – and, of course, the teacher – the experience

281 Cf. Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 7.

282 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

283 Wakefield: *A Brief History of Textbooks*, p. 23.

284 Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung. More information available online <http://www.gei.de/wissenschaft/arbeitsbereich-gtm/geschichte.html>, last retrieved April 23rd 2012.

285 Movement recently came into the market with the announcement of the collaboration between Microsoft and American bookseller chain Barnes & Nobles: MS will invest heavily into B&Ns e-reader *Nook* focusing on the lucrative textbook market. As a result, the regular brick and mortar book shop business of B&N is worth almost nothing while stock value of the e-book department soared. More information: Piper, Nikolaus (May 1st 2012): »Microsoft steigt ins E-Book-Geschäft ein.« In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. (Online Edition). Available online: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/gemeinsam-gegen-Amazon-microsoft-steigt-ins-e-book-geschaef-ein-1.1345997>, last retrieved May 2nd 2012.

may vary in quality and, thereby, affect the future reading habits. Through its exposure to books and the critical assessment of texts, school education stands in the tradition of book culture – a tradition which will have to adapt in order to achieve the best possible education of future readers.

2.2.3.4 Reading to Children

There is another tradition associated with the book that, on the one hand, allows for the comfortable well-being of childhood memories and, on the other hand, has very real effects: reading out to children. The nightly ritual of one story before bedtime is one of the fondest memories recited by adults. The book and the act of reading it aloud are associated with a sense of security, with parental attention, and beloved stories. Maryanne Wolf supports this thesis: »Decade after decade of research shows that the amount of time a child spends listening to parents and other loved ones read is a good predictor of the level of reading attained years later ... [A child] can learn to associate the act of reading with a sense of being loved.«²⁸⁶ In addition, there is a very real benefit to reading aloud to one's children. Studies have shown that children who were read to have a bigger chance of becoming readers themselves and are also more likely to succeed in school. One of these studies is the *Vorlesestudie 2011* commissioned by the German *Stiftung Lesen* in cooperation with other companies such as *Deutsche Bahn* and *DIE ZEIT*. The study's central result attributes reading aloud to children with positive indications such as pleasure, forming own reading habits, likeliness to enjoy exercise, likeliness to be creative or musical, and success in school.²⁸⁷

Being read to is of great significance to a child's development and its preferences as an adult. The act of reading as such is one of the central aspects of book culture. While the book stands for the primary medium and the material aspects, reading is the integral activity– without the ability to read one may not participate in book culture. Other activities associated with book culture are public readings, interpretation and criticism. However, all these are connected with the central act of solitary reading.

286 Wolf: Proust and the Squid, p. 82.

287 *Vorlese Studie 2011* (2011). Ed. by Stiftung Lesen; Deutsche Bahn; ZEIT. Die Bedeutung des Vorlesens für die Entwicklung von Kindern. Available online <http://www.stiftunglesen.de/vorlesestudie>, last retrieved February 2nd 2012. Here: p. 7.

2.2.3.5 Reading as the Key Action of Book Culture

Reading is one of the most important aspects of book culture, sometimes the act is even used as a synonym for the book and vice versa. Reading has its own symbolism and iconography. Selected aspects associated with reading and the book shall be presented. After all, the values attributed to reading are subjective and vary from individual to individual and from culture to culture accordingly.

Naturally, the act of reading is no longer limited to the book. Reading is not only required for the decoding of information in print but also in a digitalized form. It is the basis of new media literacy as it remains the basis for a classic literacy.²⁸⁸ Therefore, reading and the ability to understand what is read are still considered among the most important skills. Reading is regarded as one of the so-called basic competencies essential to participate in public, social and cultural life.

The act of reading is defined as an active reconstruction of the meaning of a text as opposed to the passive reception of information.²⁸⁹ The act follows a fixed pattern of letter, word, sentence and line. Its characteristics are irreversibility, sequence and linearity. Thereby, reading achieves a classification and segmentation of information that culminates into a hierarchy and evaluation.²⁹⁰

As mentioned above, reading is an integral part of social integration. Panzer regards the reading of fiction or autobiography texts as a form of socialization. Reading can assist in expressing or finding the adequate vocabulary for one's own emotions. He claims that media such as TV or the internet cannot perform this integration. Panzer's argument has to be regarded with a grain of salt: there also are books which do not promote an adequate way of handling emotion and feeling.²⁹¹ Maryanne Wolf supports Panzer's thesis in general. She explains in detail that books and stories teach children a repertoire of emotions:

[...] through stories in books we can learn what it feels like. In this process we step outside ourselves for ever-lengthening moments and begin to understand the ›other‹, which Marcel Proust wrote lies at the heart of communication through written language.²⁹²

288 Cf. Kontiainen, Kristiina; Sulin, Hannu (2006): »Finland's Public Library Strategy implemented in Projects.« In: Barbro Wigell-Ryynänen; Tarja Mäkinen (Eds.): *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, Vol. 39 No. 2. Helsinki: Nordic Public Library Authorities. Available online http://www.splq.info/issues/vol39_2/04.htm, last retrieved February 19th 2008. Here: p. 2.

289 Cf. Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 79.

290 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

291 Cf. Panzer: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 211.

292 Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 86.

She adds that

while reading, we can leave our own consciousness, and pass over into the consciousness of another person, another age, another culture. [...] reading enables us to try on, identify with, and ultimately enter for a brief time the wholly different perspective of another person's consciousness.²⁹³

Reading enlarges our world and our repertoire almost automatically – not only in terms of emotion but also with additional vocabulary and grammatical structures. Böhme, on the other hand, explains that in order to benefit from the initiation reading may provide, one has to learn it first. She considers the introduction to book culture a method to open doors into the adult world – a method, however, that needs an able door opener in contrast to television. An agent, such as a teacher, is necessary, since children will not learn to read by themselves.²⁹⁴

Apart from learning to read in order to understand and cope with the adult world, there are other aspects of reading that are as important for a successful integrating into society. While, as Bazin explains, book culture

that is, a certain way of producing knowledge, meaning and sociability – is quite definitely fading a little further from view with every passing day. From another perspective, the syndrome of textuality and its corollary, reading, is becoming omnipresent.²⁹⁵

The ability to read is, therefore, becoming more important than the choice of which medium to read. Panzer explains how the promotion of reading is an integral part of media competence in general. He regards the reading of books and how intensive and extensive this reading is done as an indicator for how active and information-oriented the user will employ all media. He claims that »mit steigender Buchleseintensität werden alle Medien häufiger genutzt und ihre Informativen und bildenden Funktionen überdurchschnittlich wahrgenommen.«²⁹⁶ To Panzer's assessment of reading, Marquardt adds that reading should not serve as a function only but should be learned as a habitual, critical, and conscious behavior.²⁹⁷

There are aspects to the act of reading, which are not agreed upon to be generally positive. It is often criticized that reading is a solitary occupation. The act of reading is not shared with a community or is even communicated at all. Gunhild Kübler describes reading quite esoterically as a return to the inner self,

293 Ibid, p. 7.

294 Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 37.

295 Bazin: *Toward Metareading*, p. 153.

296 Panzer: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 217.

297 Cf. Marquardt: *Die Netzwerke der italienischen Schulbibliotheken*.

the fulfillment of wishes, the conquest of new worlds, or the embrace of a stranger.²⁹⁸ More pragmatic, Michael Giesecke claims that the information and communication media of book culture only address an individual. In the end, it is the individual who learns or is entertained by a book.²⁹⁹

The solitary experience of reading is contradicted by current trends, however. Reading groups have been popular in the United States for some years and the phenomenon has spread to Europe, as well. Reading becomes more communicative – whether in the reading group at the local café or in internet forums. As the book becomes more and more of a ›lifestyle‹ object, the act of reading has equally developed into a public action. The iconography of reading has changed, too. While the readers of past centuries were depicted as solitary figures, deep in contemplation inside their rooms or in a natural environment, the current reader is amongst people ready to communicate about what has been read. Testimonial to that need to celebrate the book and the act of reading are picture blogs such as *bookshelfporn.com*³⁰⁰ or the blog *People Reading*³⁰¹. Solitary reading no longer dominates the approach to literary texts. In consequence, literary texts and books may change.³⁰²

A second aspect of reading that is often criticized is the attitude of ›reading for reading's sake‹. This attitude may be frequently encountered in the discussions on the book and its demise as well as in general debates on the downfall of society. Representatives of this opinion often express ideas such as: if children would read more than spend time sitting in front of the TV/the computer etc. This attitude towards reading is criticized as having an idealized vision of reading as a remedy against societal ailments or the behavioral problems of children.

One of these attitudes, which are especially encountered in discussions about the digital change and consequent developments, Freund presents as the following: »So mancher Verteidiger der Gutenberg-Kultur legt heute eine Wagenburg-Menta-

298 Kübler, Gunhild (2008): »Was ist ein Buch?« In: Werner Wunderlich; Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 25–32. Here: p. 28f.

299 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 426.

300 *Bookshelfporn* collects pictures of book shelves from all around the world. The aesthetic values of these pictures lies in the depiction of various forms of book collections, quantity and arrangement are central to these pictures. The blog was created by Anthony Dever at the beginning of 2009. <http://bookshelfporn.com/>, last retrieved March 7th 2012.

301 The blog *peoplereading.blogspot.com* collects pictures of people reading as well as the books they read, pictures are mostly from the West Coast of the USA. A more classic approach is taken by the photographers submitting their pictures to the category *Menschen lesen* at *fotocommunity.de* – here, pictures of the solitary reader dominate.

302 Wegmann, Thomas (2002): »Zwischen Gottesdienst und Rummelplatz. Das Literaturfestival als Teil der Eventkultur.« In: *Lesungslabor.de* Available online <http://www.lesungslabor.de/html/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=16>. Last retrieved May 5th 2012.

lität an den Tag. Nicht erst seit dem Pisa-Schock gilt ihm das Lesen als Wert an sich, als gäbe es nicht Abertausend schlechte Bücher.«³⁰³ Grond supports Freund's statement by attesting that the literary field has a tendency to appoint itself as the warden of enduring values.³⁰⁴

The reader becomes an idealized character, a stereotype that embodies values and characteristics belonging to a pre-digital era. For some, this is mirrored in the retro-appeal of reading a book. Reading is not practiced in a solitary seclusion but in public; the book is displayed as an accessory proclaiming the reader to belong to a certain type: the intellectual. The intellectual elite styles the reader to be »widerstandsfähig gegen die totalitäre Unterhaltungs- und Kriegstechnologie, gegen Mediendemokratie und Versachlichung.«³⁰⁵

These stereotypes and prejudices are nourished in the ideological debate on the printed book and its future. Idealized characteristics do not assist the debate nor do they foster a factual and objective discussion of the consequences of the digital shift. As has been ascertained by the last chapters, the book and the act of reading are fraught with a multitude of values, symbolic meanings and thereby, with a multitude of emotions that make an objective discussion difficult. There is no such thing as the stereotypical reader. It is certainly true that reading can foster language abilities supporting critical thinking and a more tolerant approach to different world views. It depends, however, on what is read. And as Freund already pointed out with Umberto Eco agreeing in his Afterword to Geoffrey Nunberg's *The Future of the Book*: there are millions of bad books out there that are printed without care and are only focused on generating a quick profit.³⁰⁶ In order to assure the beneficial effects of reading postulated by the representatives of book culture, certainly the act reading itself needs to be promoted. A book, that is not read, cannot affect. Yet the quality of available books also, and maybe even more so, matters.

The act of reading does have a future. This has certainly become clear through the statements of Maryanne Wolf and Patrick Bazin, who claim that reading, on the one hand, shapes our brain and enlarges our emotional and verbal repertoire while, on the other hand, has become even more important due to the

303 Freund: Alle Bücher werden Zauberbücher.

304 Cf. Grond, Walter (2004): »Kein Denkverbot, kein Spielverbot. Über den angeblichen Verfall des Lesens.« In: Anja Hill-Zenk; Karin Sousa (Eds.): *To read or not to read. Von Leseerlebnissen und Leseerfahrungen, Leseförderung und Lesemarketing, Leselust und Lesefrust*. München: iudicum Verlag GmbH (Publications of the Institute of Germanic Studies, 83), pp. 100–107. Here: p. 104

305 Grond: Kein Denkverbot, kein Spielverbot, p. 100.

306 Eco states: »There are too many books. [...] If the computer network succeeds in reducing the quantity of published books, this would be paramount cultural improvement.« Eco: *Afterword*, p. 301.

textuality of the internet. How a prospering future for book culture and the act of reading can be ensured by employing promotional measures shall be explored in the chapters on Promoting Book Culture.³⁰⁷

2.2.4 *Institutions of Book Culture*

Book culture is, on the one hand, molded by the state and its political choices. On the other hand, tradition and the historical status of the book influence the characteristics of a given nation's book culture. Furthermore, the various groups of readers, with their differing tastes and participation in the cultural life revolving around books, are a factor in the formation of book culture. Lastly, book culture is also defined by the institutions who offer the possibility to participate in this very culture – independent from wealth, political intention and interest in profit. The role of the state and its regulations shall be presented in detail in later chapters, as well as the book market and its actors. This chapter shall present the institutions that participate in the creation, dissemination and promotion of books.

The institutions of book culture function on different levels. There is the state level that encompasses the ministries, which agree on and implement a cultural policy. A part of this very basic level is also the education system, comprised of all institutions that initiate children into the world of books by teaching them to read. The public library system is an integral element of this level. A little more than a decade ago, censorship institutions were similarly a part of the state institutions of book culture in some European countries. The study at hand, however, focuses on the present book culture. As school education and state regulations as well as a cultural policy are presented in different contexts within this study, the public library system was selected as an example of a governmental institution of book culture.

The second level of the institutions of book culture is made up of non-governmental organizations. A variety of foundations is active on this sector. Often, the focus is not primarily on the book or reading promotion but on broader cultural goals. The *Society of Swedish Literature in Finland* (*Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland*)³⁰⁸, which preserves, develops and mediates the Swedish cultural heritage in Finland, is an example of a cultural institution that employs author scholarships and publication aids without focusing on the book primarily. Two examples shall illustrate the great variety of institutions active on this level.

The third level encompasses those active in the literary scene. Of course, some of the non-governmental institutions that are active in the promotion of

307 Cf. chapter 4. onwards.

308 Information on the *Society of Swedish Literature in Finland* is available online <http://www.sls.fi/index.php>, last retrieved October 5th 2012.

books are also a part of the literary scene. For example, some foundations organize literary events or are represented on book fairs and festivals, the level of institutions closest to the reader. The literary scene consists of a variety of actors: authors, publishers, critics as well as houses of literature, magazines discussing literature etc. Literature and book culture are inextricably linked. The producers, distributors, and receptors of literature, therefore, are of equal relevance. The literary system as a part of book culture envisions its participants to adhere to the

ideals of the autonomous, self-creating and self-governing, property-owning individual, universal access to knowledge, and the assurance of cautious public reflection and debate. What we must determine, then, in the remaking of the literary system in the electronic age, in our choice to either challenge or affirm those ideals through the legal, political, economic, and institutional policies we implement, is what kind of cultural agents we envision for the future.³⁰⁹

Book culture is developed and kept alive by its institutions. Their diversity is essential, as is the range of approaches they take towards the promotion of books and reading.

2.2.4.1 Governmental Institutions: The Public Library System

»Libraries [...] exist to serve the public and guarantee free unlimited access by citizens to the full spectrum of humanity's recorded knowledge and information.«³¹⁰

National libraries are a nation's window display illustrating its respect for knowledge and cultural memory. However, it is the public library system with its unrestricted access that allows each and every inhabitant of a given nation to read and to expand his or her knowledge by reading books – or at least to be entertained by them. Public libraries have to fulfill a difficult role description: on the one hand, they have an education mandate but, on the other hand, they need to cater the wishes and whims of the public. Otherwise, there would be a decline in visitors.

However, as the »peoples' universities« and »idea stores« libraries are an essential component in providing access to knowledge and learning which fosters a creative and democratic society, enabling nations and individual citizens to devel-

309 Hesse: *Books in Time*, p. 28.

310 IFLA (Ed.) (2010): *The IFLA Position on Public Lending Right*. Available online <http://www.ifla.org/en/publications/the-ifla-position-on-public-lending-right>, last retrieved October 2nd 2012.

op.«³¹¹ But there is more to a library than simply storing knowledge. The intercultural work of libraries empowers a multicultural society and its members. How such libraries can make their existence a success is exemplified by the *International Youth Library* and other European public libraries, which are engaged in integration projects. Yet libraries do not only focus on the integration of new members of the society. Sometimes, especially when taking the economic crisis of recent years into account, there are those members of society who may be left behind, since they cannot afford an access to education, knowledge and information. It is the libraries' task to enable an equal access to information and all services of the information society, providing everyone with the means to acquire knowledge. Education cannot and should not be library's task. Yet in cooperation with schools, efforts may be united in order to reap the effects of synergies.

In all these respects, the public library system is one of the integral institutions of book culture. It is not just a venerable luxury for municipalities, but one of the nodes in the network of information exchange and knowledge generation. Modern societies do not only need these nodes to function properly, but also to build a stable social cohesion, from which they are able to draw strength in times of a crisis.

Along with the digital shift and the sudden availability of information on the internet, libraries as information brokers have seemed to have lost their legitimization. The readership has decreased all over Europe and the book has lost its role as the primary medium – libraries lending books to avid and casual readers needed to redefine their role in this modern information society. Yet only libraries provided an uncontested access to books for those who could not or would not buy them: In Finland, »only about one [book] in four had been bought.«³¹² While such a description of the lending versus buying situation may not be applicable to all European countries – it depends on the infrastructure of the library system and the history of library usage – it certainly shows how much libraries had previously relied on their main ability to provide readers with books.

By now, the function of libraries has been changing. This change was necessary to retain their role in society and to adapt to the new demands of their services. Public libraries now serve as local centers for culture; they have to be

311 IFLA (Ed.) (2005): *IFLA and the Access to Knowledge (A2K) Treaty: Statement by IFLA*. Geneva. Available online: <http://www.ifla.org/publications/ifla-and-the-access-to-knowledge-a2k-treaty-statement-by-ifla>, last retrieved March 28th 2012.

312 Eskola, Katarina (1994): »Reading and Reading Studies in Finland.« In: Stiftung Lesen (Ed.): *Reading. An International Comparison. A Research Report, 2/6*. Mainz: Stiftung Lesen. [Stiftung Lesen Documents on Reading Promotion and Reading Research, 2], pp. 297–316. Here: p. 307.

gateways to access the accumulated cultural and scientific capital, as Hobohm declares.³¹³ Mäkinen goes even further and claims that

to legitimize their existence, libraries must take part in the mobilization of the people in the great international competition of nations, which entails that public libraries must show a respectable and serious image, not being merely ›lending libraries of light novels‹ but focal points of information retrieval.³¹⁴

Apart from Mäkinen's almost martial claim to mobilize citizens to an international competition of nations, the roles of libraries need to be redefined for the information society. Discussions of this new role have been carried out in all publications of librarianship, on conventions and symposia. Of the alternative roles libraries were advised to take on, three examples of a successful new function shall be presented.

*New Roles of the Public Library in the Information Society:
Community Shop Windows*

Public libraries are mostly financed by local communities. As such, the local community should take advantage of this partnership and turn libraries into »a local authority's shop window to the community«.³¹⁵ While Bundy is to be taken quite literally on this – he refers to the aesthetic of the buildings and how much a well-tended building adds to the image of a municipality, there are other meanings that can be attributed to a shop window. A well-stocked library shows an investment in a well-educated populace; a library used for community meetings, giving inhabitants the opportunity for civic participation, will allow more social cohesion and, thereby, improve living conditions: »As community network partners, libraries sometimes serve as physical headquarters, training centers, or places for housing equipment, and may provide public access terminals (thus providing access to those who lack it) along with meeting space.«³¹⁶

313 Cf. Hobohm, Hans-Christoph; Busch, Rolf (Eds.) (2005): *Finnland. Bibliotheken der Welt*. Ed. by Finnland Institut. Bad Honnef: BOCK + HERCHEN Verlag, p. 10.

314 Mäkinen, Ilkka: »The Golden Age of Finnish Public Libraries: institutional, structural and ideological background since the 1960s.«In: *Finnish Public Libraries in the 20th Century*, pp. 116–150. Available online <http://www.uta.fi/kirjasto/oppimiskeskus/verkkoaineisto/inf/makinen.pdf>, last retrieved February 18th 2008. Here: p. 133.

315 Bundy, Alan (5–6 February 2004): *Places of Connection: New Public and Academic Library Buildings in Australia and New Zealand*. A paper for the Library Buildings Conference Bournemouth UK. Available online www.library.unisa.edu.au/about/papers/default.asp#ab, last retrieved February 12th 2008. Here: p. 15.

316 Pettigrew, Karen E. et al. (1999): »Approaches to Studying Public Library Networked Community Information Initiatives: A Review of the Literature and Overview of a Current Study.«In: *Library & Information Science Research*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 327–360. Here: p. 331.

While many mainly perceive libraries as a book provider and a lender of other media, the libraries' focus has shifted during the last decade. Pavla Petrová describes the situation in the Czech Republic: »Libraries have been the engine of the information society in the field of culture since the mid-1990s.«³¹⁷ As such, they have been among the first public institutions to embrace the possibilities of new technologies with the aim of innovating public information services. The communities depend on public libraries for these services. The role public libraries play in striving to offer all inhabitants an access to all of these services and to the vast information space of the internet shall be detailed later.

New Roles: Education Enhancement

One of the most important roles libraries have always fulfilled was to offer opportunities to foster one's education. The Bulgarian³¹⁸ *Chitalishte* network, a mixture of community culture club and public library that is deeply rooted in the Bulgarian tradition, strives to cooperate with schools: »Public libraries will thus complement the educational system by helping children and young people acquire basic knowledge and skills of searching for and analysing information.«³¹⁹ The eleven regional, 16 municipal and 40 larger *Chitalishte* libraries are to »overcome the information inequality among the inhabitants of Bulgaria,«³²⁰ since the »early acquisition of skills of self-learning in libraries will give children a more complete education and additional skills that will enable them to study alone as they grow up.«³²¹

While public libraries by no means have the resources to substitute a formal education, they may serve as cooperation partners for schools by providing them with materials, space and a new input for the teachers and students. As mentioned before, this is not an entirely new role for the public libraries. In times of budget cuts at schools as well as at libraries, making do often means expanding cooperation, providing for those who are socially underprivileged.

New Roles: Libraries as Integration Helper in a Multicultural Society

Books and reading are universal and can serve in creating social cohesion. Discussing books in a friendly environment after participating in a language class

317 Petrová, Pavla (2010): *Country Profile Czech Republic*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/czech>, last retrieved April 27th 2011. Here: p. 30.

318 Information Spreadsheet Bulgaria: Annex, p. A–29.

319 Tomova, Bilyana; Andreeva, Diana (2010): *Country Profile Bulgaria*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/bulgaria.php>, last retrieved April 20th 2011. Here: p. 31.

320 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 31.

321 Ibid, p. 31.

may just be one of the projects that work best in creating solidarity among new citizens of a given nation.

The report *Frirum til integration* (2001) substantiates the fact that the libraries play a very decisive role in relation to minorities and that their services encourage the integration process by strengthening the individual's educational and linguistic competencies. Something to be proud of indeed. If one compares the achievements of the public libraries with those of other cultural institutions, the report *Kulturinstitutionernes bidrag til det kulturelt mangfoldige Danmark* (2001) shows that the libraries can be seen as innovators, able to inspire other cultural institutions.³²²

Denmark³²³, often cited as a model state when describing a public library system, has recognized the crucial role public libraries play when integrating new Danes. In consequence, the library system has expanded: »Since 2008, libraries have had the opportunity to start state financed community centres in areas with a high degree of new Danish citizens.«³²⁴

In her article for the *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, Dorte Skot-Hansen also cautions that accepting a quiet role and simply underlining the government's official policy for multiculturalism cannot be the objective when trying to achieve true diversity. Bringing together different ethnicities is not enough. Libraries should be

paving the way for a true cosmopolitanism which allows us not only to view between integration and cultural diversity others as ›exotic‹, but which also encourages us to examine ourselves – so that we discover that we ourselves are ›others‹ amongst others.³²⁵

Her case could also be read as directing libraries to facilitate the formation of a true European community. She suggests to »concentrate more on choice of materials and a policy for activities and events so that fusions in literature, music, the visual media and not least youth culture become visible in the library's mediation practice.«³²⁶

322 Skot-Hansen, Dorte (2002): »The Public Library Between Integration and Cultural Diversity.« In: *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, Vol. 35 No. 1. Available online http://www.splq.info/issues/vol35_1/06.htm, last retrieved March 29th 2012.

323 Information Spreadsheet Denmark: Annex, p. A-34.

324 Duelund, Peter; Valtysson, Bjarki (2010): *Country Profile Denmark*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/denmark>, last retrieved October 2nd 2012. Here: p. 45.

325 Skot-Hansen: The Public Library Between Integration and Cultural Diversity.

326 Ibid.

Scandinavia is well-known for its innovative public libraries, but there are good practice examples to be found elsewhere, too. The Czech Republic launched the European Strategy in Multicultural Education with a project called *Libraries for All* in 2002. Partner organizations from Austria, Germany and Sweden helped to design projects with the objective to adapt local library services to effectively help migrants coming to the Czech society.³²⁷ There are other projects for libraries that are aimed at facilitating immigrants an entrance into society, too. Among these are the *Libraries as Gateways to the Integration of Immigrants* in the EU and the prequel project *Diversity in Libraries*. Both are supported by various partners from countries such as Poland, the Netherlands³²⁸, Denmark, and the European Commission itself. An older project example is Vantaa City Library's *Languages Aloud (Kieletäänessä)* »in which children and youth with different native languages gather together for multi-cultural illustrative and story sessions. In combined gatherings, youth have translated Finnish storybooks into Kurdish and younger children have illustrated them.«³²⁹

With libraries and their integration projects, book culture can become an agent of social cohesion just as it is an agent for the construction of a national culture. As such an agent, book culture is extremely valuable for the formation of an open, tolerant and democratic society. With the help of libraries, their trained personnel and their opportunity for discovering new worlds and languages and socializing at the same time, book culture can offer an avenue of integration. Without doubt, there are other integration projects that work well, too. As it is society as a whole and not only those in need of integration profit from a well-developed library infrastructure and well-stocked shelves and databases. The promotion and maintenance of effective and comprehensive library networks has to take precedence in cultural policy. Libraries have a social capital and it should not go unused.

A part of the achievements of social cohesion is also the protection and promotion of languages. Especially for small nations, the systematic acquisition and collection of original works is a necessity. Kontiainen explains that in Finland – with a mere five million native speakers – »the public library is the only place where literature is systematically acquired, collected and kept for the use of its citizens.«³³⁰ While for private reading purposes the Finnish people tend to buy original literature from other countries as well as Finnish fiction, it is the public libraries that focus on the collection and provision of Finnish and Swedish literature.

327 Cf. *Multicultural Center Prague*. Available online <http://www.mkc.cz/en/libraries-for-all.html>, last retrieved March 29th 2012.

328 Information Spreadsheet Netherlands: Annex, p. A-75.

329 Kontiainen; Sulin: Finland's Public Library Strategy Implemented in Projects, p. 3.

330 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

For all its importance, integration is not the primary objective of libraries. Dorte Skot-Hansen aptly points this fact out in her article on the enhancement of cultural diversity through library projects: »The real challenge will be to find a balance which will not allow integration, social work and enlightenment to smother the development of cultural and artistic diversity in the library space.«³³¹

New Roles: Libraries as a Gateway for Equal Access to Information

In 1994, the first European library went online – in Finland, one of the most technology-affine countries in Europe. Since 1994, a lot has changed. Today, European libraries have developed their role from providing information in books to providing an access to information within the classic printed media, audio-visual media, databases and the internet in general. The *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* (IFLA) formulates the objective of libraries as the following: »Human beings have a fundamental right to access to expressions of knowledge, creative thought and intellectual activity.«³³² The commitment to an intellectual freedom is a core responsibility for libraries; that also means to guarantee and to facilitate access while respecting the privacy of users at the same time. The IFLA further states: »Libraries shall ensure that the selection and availability of library materials and services is governed by professional considerations and not by political, moral and religious views.«³³³ The IFLA informs librarians that if they feel there is a conflict of loyalty for them, the user's privacy and guaranteed access shall always take precedence.

While the public libraries in many Western European countries are expected to serve as access points to the internet for those who cannot afford this access at home, reality is more complex. If there is a public library in any given town in Western Europe, it will probably provide internet access to its patrons. The quality of access and the number of patrons who may be served are often limited however. Additionally, the trend is to close many small town libraries due to budget cuts.

Today, it is the public libraries in other European countries that foster the equality of access to information. For example, in Portugal³³⁴, the *Knowledge Network in Public Libraries* strives to make a fast internet access available to all patrons. It »includes widespread free broadband access to the Internet in public libraries, as well as a web portal with access to all the resources, technical infor-

331 Skot-Hansen: The Public Library Between Integration and Cultural Diversity.

332 IFLA (Ed.) (1999): *Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom*. The Hague. Available online: <http://www.ifla.org/publications/ifla-statement-on-libraries-and-intellectual-freedom>, last retrieved on March 28th 2012.

333 IFLA: *Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom*.

334 Information Spreadsheet Portugal: Annex, p. A-84.

mation and catalogues of those libraries.«³³⁵ Bulgaria is supported in providing its public libraries with access points by the project *Glob@l Libraries Bulgaria*. The nationwide project is financed in part by the *Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation* (with 15 million US-Dollar), a software donation from *Microsoft Corp.*, and contributions from central and local government agencies matching the donations. It is designed to »facilitate access to information, knowledge, communication, e-contents and community services through the public library network.«³³⁶ The project will ensure a free internet use and necessary equipment for 900 public libraries in Bulgaria. There are plans to mobilize funds for equipping an additional 700 libraries and »approximately 3,000 library workers from 1,600+ libraries will be trained in IT skills, provision of modern library services and library management.«³³⁷

Once the public library networks in all European countries are equipped to allow their patrons a broadband internet access and are able to afford an access to other databases too, the public library may well function as a gateway to an equal access to information for all citizens. »In any case the public library has retained its image as an oasis of freedom«³³⁸ and the library can provide its patrons an access to knowledge and culture, thereby helping along the integration of these into a democratic process. Karen Pettigrew puts it as the following: »In a world characterized by the use of rapidly advancing technology, public libraries are championing the rights of the individual to equitable public access to information provided over the Internet.«³³⁹ In addition, libraries and their trained staff may help to navigate the vast amount of information accessible. Hobohm describes libraries as pearl-fishers who build ways to different sources of information and function as a filter or screen for relevant information.³⁴⁰

In order to justify their continued existence and to introduce the range of services they are able to provide, libraries need to reach out to communities. Due to recent budget cuts and the political intent to minimize a state involvement, most public libraries are struggling to fulfill their classic role: providing a sensible selection of books and other media to their patrons. The following chapter will focus on the current situation of public libraries all over Europe and present Denmark and its model public library network as an example. For even in Den-

335 João Lima, Maria; Gomes, Rui (2010): *Country Profile Portugal*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/portugal.php>, last retrieved June 15th 2010. Here: p. 18.

336 Tomova, Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 31.

337 Ibid, p. 32.

338 Mäkinen: *The Golden Age of Finnish Public Libraries*, p. 143.

339 Pettigrew et al.: *Approaches to Studying Public Library Community Information Initiatives*, p. 327.

340 Cf. Hobohm; Busch: *Finnland. Bibliotheken der Welt*, p. 21.

mark, where communities are obliged by law to supply their inhabitants with a public library, the situation has deteriorated.

Public Libraries throughout Europe

The European public libraries have experienced a diverse set of problems based on economic difficulties, construction or administration reforms, and a decrease in users. A few examples shall be introduced to present a kaleidoscopic picture of the European public library systems and their current situation. While Latvia is currently fulfilling its populace an old promise by ruining the state's cultural budget in building a new national library, there are other countries which have to establish a national library yet. Among those is Slovenia, where the national library project has been stopped in its infancy in 1999, due to political quarrels and an exploding budget.³⁴¹ Yet the Latvian example shows, how the establishment of a national library can evoke emotions and a feeling of unification.

Public libraries are financed in most European Member states with a state cultural budget. There are special allocations for national institutions and the major scientific libraries. The local public libraries are mostly financed by individual municipalities. One of the examples for this system is the Netherlands, where public libraries are entirely within the financial responsibility of the municipality. »Central government only supports libraries by funding an expertise centre.«³⁴² The expertise center organizes conferences and seminars, provides library information services, such as the Netherlands Bibliography Weekly *Out Now*, and offers assistance with issues of digitalization and preservation.³⁴³

In most European Member states the number of public libraries is decreasing due to budget cuts or municipality reforms, but there are other states which strive to develop their library infrastructure. With the *Librarianship Act* of 2001, Slovenia formulated objectives based on an obligation to all municipalities to provide a library access for their citizens. Municipalities may either obtain this access by establishing their own library or by founding a branch on a contract basis with the nearest library. If an independent library is established, it is required to provide a capacity for at least 10000 inhabitants. The act also aims to regulate a stable funding with the help of the municipalities involved and to establish a uniform system with a professional service. In addition to building a

341 Cf. Čopič, Vesna (2009): *Country Profile Slovenia*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/slovenia.php>, last retrieved June 30th 2011. Here: p. 7.

342 van Hamersveld, Ineke; Bina, Vladimir (2008): *Country Profile The Netherlands*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/netherlands>, last retrieved May 27th 2011. Here: p. 7.

343 Cf. Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Ed.): *For Libraries – Information Infrastructure*. Available online http://www.kb.nl/menu/speciaal_bibliotheeken-en.html, last retrieved April 12th 2012.

basic infrastructure, the national bibliographic service COBISS needs to be developed further.³⁴⁴

Closing branch libraries is a method that has been debated on in many states that have experienced a decrease in usage. Visiting numbers of libraries have – in accordance with overall reading trends – decreased during the last decade. However, trends show that this is not true for all member states. While there has been a significant decrease in Slovakia³⁴⁵, Spain, and Lithuania³⁴⁶, the decrease has only been slight in other states. On the contrary, the visitor numbers have mostly remained steady over the last five years or have even shown a slight increase such as in Austria, Hungary³⁴⁷, and Slovenia.³⁴⁸ There was no comprehensive data available for Portugal, but Maria João Lima feels it is possible

to note an increase in the numbers of those that use libraries. This is undoubtedly due to the dynamism generated by the *National Public Library Network* (RNBP) and the *Readership Promotion Program* (integrated with the National Reading Plan in 2007).³⁴⁹

Since the regular survey on library usage was suspended in 2004, there is no current data to support this statement. However, the *Portuguese Association of Librarians, Archivists and Document Professionals* (APBAD) have been struggling to maintain this trend by countering the European directive that calls for a mandatory payment of dues on the loan of works from public libraries. They argue that dues would »undermine the vitality of public libraries in Portugal, which are struggling with severe economic constraints in order to fulfill their social function.«³⁵⁰

Economic constraints, either due to the economic crisis or new focal points in cultural funding, are the main reason for problems within the European public library systems. In search for an adequate funding for the libraries and their acquisition budgets, new projects have been launched. Among them is the *In Aid Of Libraries* program of the *National Book Center* in Bulgaria. It was launched in 2004 when it became evident that most of Bulgaria's public libraries had not purchased books the previous ten years due to the limited budget allocated by the state. »The programme enables libraries to select books they would like to ac-

344 Čopič: *Country Profile Slovenia*, p. 55.

345 Information Spreadsheet Slovakia: Annex, p. A-93.

346 Information Spreadsheet Lithuania: Annex, p. A-63.

347 Information Spreadsheet Hungary: Annex, p. A-69.

348 Cf. Comparative table *Trends in Visits to Libraries and Reading*. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/comparisons-tables.php?aid=70&cid=45&lid=en>, last retrieved April 12th 2012.

349 João Lima; Gomes: *Country Profile Portugal*, p. 34.

350 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

quire, but covers only half the cost necessary for their purchase – the other half they should source themselves.«³⁵¹ Unfortunately, there was no data available on the results of the program. It is to be expected that the sourcing of the required other half of the funds – possibly through private and company sponsoring – had met some difficulty.

The smaller nations and Eastern European states are no longer the only ones experiencing difficulties in maintaining and properly equipping their public libraries. In a comparatively wealthy state like Germany, only one third of municipalities with up to 10,000 inhabitants provide their citizens with a public library. Generally, there are public libraries in municipalities of more than 50,000 inhabitants; however, these have experienced the consequences of the budget cuts of recent years. According to Spreckelsen, a quarter of these institutions may have spent less than one euro per inhabitant on annual acquisition.³⁵²

Denmark – A Model Library System?

The first state to come to mind when asked to name the best public library system is usually Denmark. It is considered to be among the best equipped and best organized. At first glance and also with a second, more scrutinizing look, the Danish public library system seems exemplary, and even ideal. Danish legislation is similar to the legislation of Sweden, where »since the introduction of general library legislation in January 1997, (*Bibliotekslagen, Swedish Code of Statutes 1996:1596*) municipalities have been obliged by law to maintain a public library and to refrain from levying any direct charge for its loans to members of the public.«³⁵³ The principle of at least one public library in each of the 275 municipalities has been much admired. Since 2000, all Danish libraries are obligated to enable the patrons' access to the internet from within the library.³⁵⁴

The Danish government feels that libraries will play a crucial role in making published information available in the future when electronic papers may replace books and magazines. A conclusion to that effect was already drawn in 1994 with the publication of a report called *Info-Society 2000*; in consequence, the government established that libraries should fulfill a central mediation function to support a free access to information.³⁵⁵ Legislative work was undertaken and, in 2000, the *Library Act* was passed that created »the frames for the national

351 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 68.

352 Spreckelsen, Tilman (2010): »Die andere Bibliothek. Unterfinanziert.« In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Online Edition).

353 Harding: *Country Profile Sweden*, p. 25.

354 »Denmark.« In: *Nordic Public Libraries. The Nordic Cultural Sphere and its Libraries*. Ed. by Jens Thorhauge et al. Danish National Library Authority, 2002. Available online http://www.bs.dk/publikationer/english/library_policy/html/chapter02.htm, last retrieved April 11th 2012.

355 Cf. Denmark, *Nordic Public Libraries*.

strategy: the libraries are hybrids. [...] The national search and order facility, bibliotek.dk, is the backbone of the hybrid library – and must continue to develop.«³⁵⁶ It included the obligation to offer an access to musical recordings, the internet and digital multimedia.³⁵⁷

While the loans, even interlibrary loans, are required to be free of charge, libraries may charge for special services »such as instruction, courses and other learning activities, more extensive information searches and news surveillance.«³⁵⁸

To ensure the best service for users, the libraries have cooperated in order to create synergies. There is also a support program for librarians. Apart from the general further education and special training in the new technologies there are also study visits and the possibility to visit international conferences so to remain up to date with current developments.³⁵⁹

Duelund describes the public library system as the »jewel of Danish cultural policy since the end of the absolutist monarchy in the 1848 constitution.«³⁶⁰ However, the system is not without its problems. A definite decline in the visits to the public libraries has been noted since 1984: »From 1983 to 2006, lending rates dropped from 87.9 million to 48.6 million books. In the same period, budget for book acquisitions were cut by nearly 40%.«³⁶¹ In 2000, the statistics of the Danish Public Library Authority still maintain an average of 14 media units loaned per inhabitant annually. However drastic the decline of the last two decades is for Denmark, it still has one of the highest lending rates in Europe. The Danish cultural habits survey of 2004 discovered that as much as 66 % of Danes had visited a public library at least once the previous year. More encouraging: »Non-ethnic Danes used public libraries more than ethnic Danes. Thus, 9% of ethnic Danes used libraries almost every week, 20% of immigrants with a western background were weekly users, while 37% of immigrants with a non-western background used public libraries weekly.«³⁶² It seems that the potential role as an integration helper has been admirably fulfilled by the Danish libraries and their staff.

There are other problems apart from the decline in lending and visiting rates. A reform of the municipalities has resulted in the close-down of 240 libraries.³⁶³ Budget cuts compel the remaining libraries to cooperate, on the purchase of material to supplement each other for example. Cooperation is a necessity and one of the strengths of the Danish library system.³⁶⁴ There are a number of pro-

356 Ibid.

357 Cf. Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 58.

358 Denmark, Nordic Public Libraries.

359 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 23.

360 Ibid, p. 58.

361 Ibid, p. 58.

362 Ibid, p. 28.

363 Cf. Ibid, p. 58.

364 Denmark, Nordic Public Libraries.

jects which could not be maintained by an individual library: the electronic ask-a-librarian service, internet guides, virtual libraries, an author encyclopedia and, last but not least, the special services provided for immigrants, which make the Danish libraries so attractive for new Danish citizens.

New Roles for European Libraries

The overall objective for a public library strategy has to be to »integrate the library's culture and information offers more closely into the everyday lives of professional information users as well as citizens.«³⁶⁵ Concerted information politics on which services are available to users represents an integral part of this strategy. It is especially important now, since the internet has taken over the role as a first consultant for all informational needs and »libraries exist as only one among many distinct access points through which individuals might obtain CI [digital information].«³⁶⁶ How the public library can help to navigate and filter the relevant information needs to be communicated in order to be retrieved by patrons.

There are challenges other than raising public awareness of the services offered by libraries. One of the most challenging present and future battlefields is the electronic media and copyright matters that are concerned with it.³⁶⁷ The importance of copyright and electronic media has increased in importance since, today, the collections and services of a library are no longer restricted to its physical space.³⁶⁸

The public library system is a vital institution for book culture. In order to strengthen its infrastructure and its position within society, combined efforts are needed. Three of the manifold tasks of the public library system have been presented in this chapter. All three are essential to book culture, but are even more so essential to a functioning and healthy society. Social cohesion is based on integration as much as understanding; both are fostered by a solid education. Promoting each aspect is within the ability of a well-equipped and well-staffed public library. However, the public library system in most European countries struggle with budget cuts, closing branches and the legal implications of the digital shift. Promoting the public library system has to be one of the priorities of book politics and overall cultural politics.

365 Ibid.

366 Pettigrew et al.: *Approaches to Studying Public Library Networked Community Information Initiatives*, p. 330.

367 Eric Steinhauer provides an overview on the subject of data and e-books and the legal consequences for German libraries in his essay on copyright in digitalized libraries. He criticizes how libraries are forced to make individual contracts for each provider of e-books and journals for the lack of comprehensive legislation and rules. Steinhauer, Eric W. (2011): »Das Urheberrecht als Benutzungsrecht der digitalisierten Bibliothek.« In: *Kodex – Jahrbuch der Internationalen Buchwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 1*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. pp. 103–113.

368 Cf. Hohohm; Busch: *Finnland. Bibliotheken der Welt*, p. 10.

2.2.4.2 Independent and Non-Governmental Organizations

When the governments of Europe reduce their efforts to promote the book and book culture, non-governmental organizations such as the German *Stiftung Lesen* try to fill the void. Their commitment to books and literature may come from different directions and be expressed in a variety of projects. These range from financial support projects, such as publication aids, to public awareness campaigns, such as the *Reading Aloud Day (Vorlesetag)*³⁶⁹. Fortunately, these efforts have become widespread and so diverse in range that it is impossible to provide a detailed picture within the context of this study. One initiative shall be presented to serve as an example.

The International Board on Books for Young People – IBBY

IBBY is an international network, which promotes an international understanding with children's books and a universal access to quality books. Its work is by no means limited to Europe, on the contrary.

The *International Board on Books for Young People* was established and registered as a non-profit organization in Zurich, Switzerland, in October 1953. The founding congress held at the *Swiss Federal Institute for Technology (ETHZ)* assembled famous participants such as the authors Erich Kästner and Astrid Lindgren, illustrators Alois Carigiet and Hans Fischer, publishers Hans Sauerländer and Bettina Hürlimann and the research specialist Richard Bamberger. They followed an idea presented to them by Jella Lepman, a journalist, who had immigrated to London and was naturalized as a British citizen. She had previously committed herself to the provision of books to children in post-war Germany to foster an international understanding and peace. To Lepman, children's books with a high literary and artistic standard were essential to encourage a child to become an enthusiastic, informed and critical reader. Her vision and commitment led to the founding of the *International Youth Library* and, consequently, the *International Board on Books for Young People*.³⁷⁰ The professionalization of IBBY continued through the 1970s when it became evident that the organization could no longer entirely rely on voluntary work. Only in 1974, a permanent office in Basel was established, the IBBY Secretariat. Today, there are seventy national sections.

369 The term is awkward to translate; on a nationwide basis book shops, schools, libraries as well as other institutions cooperate in propagating parents' reading to their children. Since studies have shown the positive effects of such habits, the day was introduced to raise public awareness.

370 Detailed information on the founding and history of IBBY can be found on the IBBY website: <http://www.ibby.org/index.php?id=398>, last retrieved April 13th 2012.

One of IBBY's most prominent projects is the International *Children's Book Day*, which has been organized since 1967. It is held on April 2nd, the birthday of author Hans Christian Andersen and is celebrated as »to inspire a love of reading and to call attention to children's books.«³⁷¹ Themes are set; and renowned authors and illustrators, from the IBBY National Section to sponsor the day of that year, are asked to design a poster and create the motto of the day to be distributed. Events are held in all countries in cooperation with libraries or book shops.

To foster children's books especially by supporting research effects in that field, IBBY publishes the *Journal of International Children's Literature*. There are also other events such as workshops and the biennale congresses that aim for professional exchange. IBBY awards the *Jella Lepman Medal* for a lasting contribution to children's literature and the *Hans Christian Andersen Award*, which is given biennially to authors and illustrators for an outstanding work in children's literature. The first award for writing was received by Eleanor Farjeon in 1956; the most recent receivers are Jürg Schubiger (2008, Switzerland), David Almond (2010, United Kingdom), and Maria Teresa Andruetto (2012, Argentina). Illustrators who received the award in recent years were Roberto Innocenti (2008, Italy)³⁷², Jutta Bauer (2010, Germany), and Petr Sís (2012, Czech Republic).

The members of IBBY view the book as a vehicle to promote understanding and peace among young people – thereby working for a better future. Book culture is not among their first priorities, but its promotion is at the core of IBBY's work.

2.2.4.3 The Literary Scene – Agents and Promoters of Book Culture

Apart from the presented initiative, there are countless other projects, programs and institutions which promote book culture through their work. The literary scene is created by the interaction of authors, publishers, critics and readers and the media communicating about literature. Institutions such as literary houses and other foundations are also a part of the literary scene. In recent years, literary agents have increased their influence on the literary scene and the book market.³⁷³ Festivals and fairs serve as shop windows to the literary scene. As such, they function as meeting places for the actors of the literary scene and, at the same time, as nodes of generating a public awareness.

371 *International Children's Book Day*. Available online <http://www.ibby.org/index.php?id=269>, last retrieved April 13th 2012.

372 Information Spreadsheet Italy: Annex, p. A-55.

373 The rise of the literary agents and the influencing role they play in the book market is discussed in the work *Literarische Agenturen – die heimlichen Herrscher im Literaturbetrieb?* Ed. by Ernst Fischer (2001). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Literature or book festivals as well as the regular book fairs are institutions of book culture. As such, they allow an intimate encounter with both authors and newly published books. They are supposed to quicken the appetite of potential readers. Meeting one's favorite author may be one of the arguments to visit a fair; listening to readings of yet unknown books as well as the communal experience of books may be others.

Book festivals and fairs offer a meeting point, a space for discussing books and book culture. When strolling over the great book fairs of the world, book culture comes alive. It is surprising: each year, the book festivals and fairs proclaim new records in attendance. Was book culture not supposed to be on the decline? On the contrary, institutions such as these community events make book culture adaptable to the public.

Book Fairs as Shop Windows of the Literary Scene

Storytellers make their magic. Writers clear their throats. Tall tales and short stories dance to the music. Booksellers adjust Babar's pose [protagonist of a children's book] while costumed characters queue up for hugs. Publishers host literary treasure hunts. Panelists debate the future of the printed word and people hold sausage sandwiches while munching on poetry. From highrise and from hinterland, they come: pint-sized bookworms, unabashed bibliophiles, closet romantics, linguists and literati communing with books. They come to make a fuss. And in the midst of all the rumpus is the unmistakable sound of a reader turning a page.³⁷⁴

Bernadine Clark's lively description of book fairs may seem clichéd. Accurately enough, however, she describes the emotion at the base of the entire rumpus: book culture seems to be nowhere more alive than in the halls of a book fair. There are thousands of visitors pushing through the aisles to get a look at their favorite author and the newly published works.

There are different kinds of book fairs. Looking for Clark's kind of book fair in Bologna, visitors would feel lost, for example. The world's biggest children's book fair is for professionals of the business only. The masses in Bologna consist of publishers, booksellers, agents and authors.³⁷⁵ Even though most book fairs derive from this professional trade show background, many are now open to the public at least part-time.

Book fairs are described as a boost for reading and book culture – a way to take pride in celebrating the book and step outside the solitary experience of

374 Clark: *Fanfare for Words*, p. 7.

375 The admission to the Bologna Children's Book Fair is restricted to professionals only. For more information see: *Book Fair Bologna*. Available online <http://www.bookfair.bolognafiore.it/en/visita/visita>, last retrieved May 30th 2012.

reading. These public displays of affection for books no longer fit the stereotype since »static book displays and exhibitors hawking titles not only doesn't begin to describe the phenomenon [of book fairs], in some cases distorts it.«³⁷⁶ Buying and selling licenses at professional shows or selling books at the public shows are not the major means of profit for participating publishers. Local, regional and even a lot of national fairs – such as the *Helsinki Book Fair* – are fairs with a less professional outfit, as they focus on the average reading population. These are »tailored by local sponsors to meet local needs, such celebrations re one of the most effective ways to promote reading and the idea that books make a difference – to individuals and society.«³⁷⁷

An increasing number of school book fairs are used by textbook and children's book publishers to target their customer audience directly. The UK publishing house *Scholastic Ltd* even offers whole book fair packages including tips for running a fair for schools and teachers. To coerce teachers into holding such a fair, Scholastic offers a reward for every book sold at the event.³⁷⁸ The objective, of course, is to provide teachers »with the very best books to sell to your pupils to help them develop a life-long-love of reading.«³⁷⁹ Textbook publishers have discovered the importance of a direct customer acquisition and retention.

The diversity of existing fairs reflects the appeal of books: fairs as such and, consequently, their offerings take what Clark calls the »mixed salad approach«³⁸⁰. The juxtaposition of bestselling authors, high quality literature versus smaller names and books versus events, such as cooking shows, is intended. Some of the book fair organizers that Clark interviewed regard this juxtaposition as the charm and chance of a book fair. And however crowded, the book fairs are able to reach out to individuals thereby supporting the grassroots appeal of book culture.

As mentioned before, it is neither the rights trade nor the book sales that make it worthwhile for publishers to participate in a book fair. Criticism has been voiced, describing book fairs as »little more than fan occasions for best-selling authors and lightweight titles, where ›real‹ literature rarely sees the light of day.«³⁸¹ Statements like this stand for the still present conviction that book culture is some form of an elitist culture. Book fairs as such, however, give evidence of the opposite: Fairs do generate some worth for publishers and for book culture in general. During fairs, synergies are created with newspapers running

376 Clark: *Fanfare for Words*, p. 8.

377 Cole, John Y. (1993): »Preface.« In: Clark, Bernadine. *Fanfare for Words*. Bookfairs and Book Festivals in North America. Derby, PA: Diane Publishing, p. 5.

378 *Scholastic Ltd*. Available online <http://bookfairs.scholastic.co.uk/>, last retrieved May 5th 2012.

379 *What is a Scholastic Book Fair?* In: Scholastic Ltd. Available online http://bookfairs.scholastic.co.uk/what_is?nt=t, last retrieved May 5th 2012.

380 Clark: *Fanfare for Words*, p. 12.

381 Clark: *Fanfare for Words*, p. 12.

supplements, TV shows on site, interviews and documentaries. This additional public awareness generates gigantic marketing possibilities with TV and radio spots, leaflets, posters and free giveaways. Holger Ehling claims that at the world's largest and most famous book fair in Frankfurt »the media also make their mark at the event, with more media professionals on hand than at either the Olympic Games or the soccer World Cup.«³⁸²

In Germany, the book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig are the highlights in the calendar of readers. Extensive newspaper inserts, radio shows and television coverage carry literature to the majority of the population. The annual presentation of the renowned *Peace Prize of the German Book Trade (Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels)*³⁸³ is one of the institutions of German book culture that honors traditions but also establishes new trends. The opportunity to present book culture as positive is invaluable.

Literature Festivals – Meeting Places with Potential

Literature festivals are complementary to book fairs in the literary marketing mix and, as such, in the marketing of book culture. Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between the two, as book fairs have increasingly developed an encompassing program of signings, readings and other events. At least the festivals on the other hand tend to offer the books of participating authors for viewing and buying. Certainly, large professional book fairs are different from festivals just, as they are different from fairs intended for the public only – the latter two, however, have developed into a similar direction while at the same time differentiating themselves into specialized events which focus on certain topics.

Organizers of both festivals and fairs hope for an economic boost and claim to have opened new ways for authors and books to find readers. Festivals are advertised as being able to offer literature that is set in a modern context and as able to blur the lines between solitary reading, entertainment, education and social interaction. The classic public reading has experienced a transition into an event, a festival. An individual writer with his work has been substituted by a flurry of readings, signings and performances. Sometimes the line between book, content, reality and fantasy starts to blur as well, for example with cosplayers – people dressing up in the costumes of the favorite manga character. This group represents one extreme of the shared reading experience.

382 Ehling, Holger (2011): *Frankfurt – The mother of all book fairs*. In: dw.de Available online <http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15449502,00.html>, last retrieved May 5th 2012.

383 A comprehensive overview on the influence of the *Peace Prize* has been published by Stephan Füssel (Ed.) (2009): *Widerreden: 60 Jahre Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels*. Frankfurt am Main: Marketing- und Verl.-Service des Buchhandels. In addition, the *Börsenblatt*, also published by Marketing- und Verl.-Service des Buchhandels, annually features a special insert on the prize.

According to Thomas Wegmann, the oldest form of a public reading may be found in the liturgical tradition of the catholic mass.³⁸⁴ He acknowledges, however, that the liturgical reading does not fulfill the same function as the modern concept of a reading: in a liturgical context, there is no author attendant to present his or her text, neither is the text new for the audience. Instead, Wegman identifies that to be a part of the audience as the most important aspect.³⁸⁵ Certainly, the liturgical reading is a long standing ritual. The public reading or, more appropriate, the declamation of a text can be traced to the classical Antiquity. While the issue is in debate, there is a widely acknowledged standard view that literature of ancient Greece and Rome was meant to be declaimed and listened to instead of being read in silence.³⁸⁶

Wegmann regards the origins of the reading festival as having derived more in the tradition of markets and fairs than in church rituals. He compares the festivals with its fixed location and time to a market and the ideal visitor of such a festival to the market visitor: similar to a kid on a fair, dazzled by the display of sweets and treats and the carousel rides. Literature festivals, in his opinion, serve the same purpose by confronting the visitor with the diversity of literature leaving him dazzled and with only a vague memory of the texts he has listened to; an

Anästhetikum gegenüber einer boomenden Literatur, an der Besucher von Literaturfestivals in kleinen Dosen partizipieren können, ohne selbst sämtliche saisonale Höhepunkte lesen zu müssen, von denen die meisten in der nächsten Saison doch wieder vergessen sind. Das Literaturfestival ist somit ein kultiviertes Autodafé einer an Literatur interessierten und gleichzeitig von Literatur überlasteten Gesellschaft.³⁸⁷

The dazzling characteristics of a literature festival become evident in one of the most famous and biggest festivals in Europe: the *Edinburgh International Book Festival*. Each year, more than 750 events take place within a time span of two weeks. Readers are given the opportunity to meet writers, illustrators and other participants of the creation of books. The book festival is complemented by a number of parallel festivals of film, music and arts, thereby, increasing the market atmosphere for the more than 200,000 visitors.³⁸⁸

384 More information on the book in a religious context was presented in chapter 2.2.3.

385 Cf. Wegmann: *Zwischen Gottesdienst und Rummelplatz*.

386 Gavrilov, A.K. (1997): »Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity.« In: *The Classical Quarterly*. New Series, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 56–73. Available online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/639597>, last retrieved May 7th 2012. Here: p. 56.

387 Wegmann: *Zwischen Gottesdienst und Rummelplatz*.

388 Sutton, Frances (27th August 2012): *Edinburgh International Book Festival Reports an Exceptionally Successful Year*. Press Release by the Edinburgh International Book Festival. Available online: http://www.edbookfest.co.uk/uploads/pressreleases/2012/Edinburgh_International_Book_Festival_Reports_Exceptionally_Successful_Year.pdf, last retrieved September 9th 2012.

A second function of the literature festival is its volatility, which stands in a stark contrast to the proclaimed timelessness of literature and the book. The ensuing tension especially exists in the immediacy of presentation, which allows a more direct connection with modern culture than the pursuit of values that is attested to literature.³⁸⁹ This immediacy also creates the success of literature festivals and readings in general: visitors should feel as if they are missing out on something if they do not participate. The example of the *Edinburgh International Book Festival* proves the point: no visitor is able to attend all of the 750 events during the 17 days of the festival. A selection needs to be made, thereby heightening the sense of missing out and creating the wish to return in the following year. The concept is developed, for example, with regards to a trend of even more spectacular and extraordinary settings that are loudly announced when the event is marketed. Within the context of festivals, readings are held at places which are not ordinarily associated with literature. Circuses, zoos, hairdressers, or the tram are examples of such settings.³⁹⁰

As part of the literary marketing mix, book festivals [...] offer publishers the opportunity to promote their authors and sell their products. Such locations also provide physical and sociological spaces in which readers encounter writers and literature, and become book consumers. Book festivals/towns have clear links to regional economies, and are heavily used in the promotion of tourist destinations [...]. As part of this process, concepts of cultural identity³⁹¹ are forged and commodified, conjoining literature to cultural heritage, the creative industries and political ideology.³⁹²

Contrary to this assessment of literary festivals, critics proclaim festivals are often only seen as a means to boost a city's image by proclaiming it to be a book town or literature city. According to Bernadette Quinn, it is the social dimension of festivals that should be emphasized: they celebrate diversity and art, while at

389 Cf. Kohl, Katrin (2007): »Festival, Performance, Wettstreit: deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur als Ereignis.« In: Saul, Nicholas; Schmidt, Ricarda (Eds.): *Literarische Wertung und Kanonbildung*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann GmbH, pp. 173–190. Here: p. 184.

390 Cf. Wegmann: Zwischen Gottesdienst und Rummelplatz.

391 The link between books and the formation of a cultural identity will be presented in chapter 2.3.1.

392 Project on Literature Festivals and their impact, the focus is on the mother of all literature festivals in Scotland and other British and Scottish festivals. The objectives are to »analyze the physical and sociological spaces in which audiences and consumers encounter literature, books and authors; assess the contribution and impact of book festivals/towns to/on regional and national economies, specifically in terms of tourism and retail; interrogate the commodification of literature and narratives of cultural and political identity enacted by book festivals/towns;« Available online <http://www.bookcultures.stir.ac.uk/sample-page/>, last retrieved May 5th 2012.

the same time animating communities and improving the quality of life.³⁹³ The different assessments agree on the focus that literature festivals provide, whatever the outcome in real sales may be: a festival provides a focus for the attention of an audience, the press and potential sponsors.

For book culture, a literature festival functions as a public manifestation, a public commitment to books, literature and culture with benefits for all interested parties. As for book fairs, literature festivals allow a public display the reader, thereby accommodating the desire for publicizing one's tastes and actions. For authors, on the other hand, the festival as well as the fair allow an encounter with his or her readers and the development of the public's knowledge of the author's work – only if the author is adept at cultivating his image. Book culture in general profits from the synergies that can be created: a raised public awareness and a focus of the media. As a consequence, the development of diversity is fostered by specialization and the new festivals that have begun to appear due to the success of others.

As the discussion on an absolute definition of book culture is moot, a valid point has to be awarded to Ilczuk's statement: »In reality, the problem is not the definition of culture, but the scope of state responsibilities for culture [...]«³⁹⁴ While his statement was supposed to be applied to culture in general, it may be applied to book culture, too. One of the most important points in the discussion on book culture is the question whether it is to be supported and promoted by the state. In consequence, it has to be determined how such a promotion might be justified or whether there is support for such an intervention within the society of a given nation. Political intent is not the determining factor of book culture. As important as state support can be for the development for book culture, the societal environment and the attitude towards book culture are the crucial points in determining book promotion. In order to judge this topic, a more in-depth understanding of the role of the book in our society is needed.

2.3 Why We Need Book Culture – The Role of Book Culture in Society

»Buchkultur und die damit verbundene Wahrnehmungs-, Denk-, Präsentations- und Verständigungsprozesse können die Informationsgesellschaft nicht adäquat beschreiben, prägen aber unsere Gesellschaft seit der Frühen Neuzeit.«³⁹⁵ Ac-

393 Cf. Quinn, Bernadette (2005): »Arts Festivals and the City.« In: *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42 No. 5–6, pp. 927–943.

394 Ilczuk, Dorota et al. (2010): *Country Profile Poland*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved June 8th 2011. Here: p. 6.

395 Giesecke: *Von den Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 19.

according to Giesecke, our society has been influenced by book culture ever since the Early Modern Period. Yet he criticizes the retaining of outmoded values and traditional objectives as impeding the transition into a new system dominated by the new, digital media.³⁹⁶ He is contradicted by Cristina Mussinelli who fears ›the risk of a general impoverishment in the use of technologies, which will become a pure instrument and not a possible medium to enrich our life as well as stimulus for creativity and innovation in all areas of social life, public and private life‹³⁹⁷ – if we lose the abilities taught by the book and its usage.

These two statements reflect the positions in the ongoing debate on the book. The arguments on both sides have become highly emotional. An impartial collection seems almost impossible, because the debate has become charged ideologically. Those already proclaiming the end of book culture are offset by Miha Kovač. He identifies the main asset that distinguishes the book from the new media: the book is free of advertisement.³⁹⁸ He considers the low production costs of a book (due to digital printing) to be a real chance for the book as a medium of entertainment– especially when compared with movies. The common denominator, which has to be found in order to make an entertainment product profitable and able to attract a mass audience, does not have to be as small for a book as for a movie. Kovač concludes: ›The abundance of books clearly indicates that book audiences – with the exception of readers of bestsellers – differ from mass media audiences.‹³⁹⁹ Kovač's declaration that a book audience differs from a mass audience, only with the exception of the readers of bestsellers, is mirrored in the developments of the market. The trend in all the European book markets has been pointing towards a more internationally marketable bestseller that, by definition, needs the lowest common denominator in order to be successful.

Duguid adds that a claim to a supersession – either of the book by the e-book reader or the e-book reader by the multitasking pad or tablets – are no more than a ›marketing ploy‹.⁴⁰⁰ The rapid evolution of technology is reality; and the supersession of formats, memory capacity and computing power cumulates into one fact: we always have to buy a new device. And all older formats, gadgets etc. have immediately become worthless in terms of prestige if not of usability.

That the book is a commercial-free respite in the advertising infested world of online information is indisputable. Other characteristics that claim the book to be essential to our society are harder to corroborate. For example, Kovač re-

396 Ibid, p. 40.

397 Mussinelli, Cristina (2009): ›Digital Generation: Overview of Cultural and Entertainment Content Usage in Italy.‹ In: *Publishing Research Quarterly* (25), pp. 94–100. Available online <http://www.springerlink.com/content/k451460377n21748/>, last retrieved January 7th 2011. Here: p. 100.

398 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 131.

399 Ibid, p. 131.

400 Duguid: *Material Matters*, p. 68.

counts Stephen King's first attempt at publishing one of his books on the internet only. During the 1990s, the experiment did not prove as successful as King had expected. Kovač sees the reason for the failure

[...] in trying to do away with the communication circuit of the book, King significantly reduced the sales potential of his book because along the way he reduced the number of sales channels and eliminated all those gate-keeping mechanisms that help his book to navigate successfully through a large sea of other titles and find their way to the readers.⁴⁰¹

Meanwhile, the role of the classic gate-keeping mechanisms of the book market has been diminished. In today's reality, Stephen King's book would probably realize all its sales potential due to promotional help either by Amazon or simply by his reputation. Although, the dread of e-book-publishers remains: the copying pirate, who would probably make the book available for free within hours of its first release.

Another statement difficult to corroborate is the claim that books are paramount to diversity, the freedom of expression and indispensable for public and political debate. Contributions such as these are hard to substantiate and are incomparable neither for an individual state nor for a group of nations. Natascha Just defines these as the boundaries of the media-economic analysis.⁴⁰² The contribution of books to a public debate may not be quantifiable in statistics, but there are means to trace the effects of a specific book. There are more than a few examples of those books which still have an impact today – either as the initiators of a debate⁴⁰³; as the distilled essence of a debate or as being responsible for the feelings of a whole segment of society; or as fueling a recent debate with more information. In the case of Stéphane Hessel's essay *Indignez-vous!*, the book sold more than a million copies within the first six months. Hessel's essay on the endangered values of civilization stroke a chord within highly fragmented protest movements such as Occupy Wall Street and in regular citizens who felt threatened by the economic crisis and political decisions that are well beyond their grasp. The pamphlet distilled the feelings of a scattered movement, thereby

401 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 51.

402 Cf. Just, Natascha; Latzer, Michael (2009): »Ökonomische Theorien der Medien.« In: Stefan Weber (Ed.): *Theorien der Medien. Von der Kulturkritik bis zum Konstruktivismus*. 2nd edition. Konstanz: UVK Verl.-Ges., pp. 81–107. Here: p. 97.

403 The function of the book as a medium of debate was a central topic of a conference held by the *Institute for Book Studies* at the University of Mainz in 2008. More information on talks and the discussion are available online: <http://freunde.buchwissenschaft.uni-mainz.de/aktuellesfreunde/detail/datum/2008/01/25/xiii-mainzer-kolloquium-das-buch-als-debattenmedium.html>, last retrieved May 30th 2012.

broadening the debate by taking it from the internet and the streets to the realm of a cultural debate.

Other books have a similar effect, however; a book that can start a debate has become rare. Books have rather the potential to provide the reader either with concise background information for one side of an argument or they serve as a platform for the opinion of a single actor in the debate.

The information society which determines our reality at the moment is knowledge-based. Knowledge creates wealth and competitiveness. Miha Kovač has identified the book as a motor of this competitiveness and innovation. He concluded in his analysis *Never Mind the Web* that reading and book usage are more prevalent in a competitive environment. He interprets his findings as the evidence a still important role of the book in the dissemination of information and in the generation of knowledge.⁴⁰⁴ Generating knowledge from the information provided is the key to innovation and progress. Umberto Eco adds that ›books will remain indispensable not only for literature, but for any circumstance in which one needs to read carefully, not only to receive information but also to speculate and to reflect about it.«⁴⁰⁵ Eco's and Kovač's point of view is shared by the *Italian Publishers Association* who is delighted to pronounce a rise in book sales especially during a time of economic and political difficulty:

It must be noted that books – especially in a picture of greater economic difficulty – are often a good alternative as a gift. Moreover, in a social context (domestic and international) marked by uncertainty, books represent a response to a demand for knowledge and more in-depth investigation into the news, events, and issues proposed by the daily press or television.⁴⁰⁶

Nunberg agrees with this assessment and adds that the reading experience on the internet especially of informational genres can never be the same as one has to attend to the participants of the production of the text to judge its reliability.⁴⁰⁷ Both statements are illustrated by the developments in the Italian book market. During Silvio Berlusconi's reign as prime minister, small publishers achieved a standing in the market through investigative books, although or because Berlusconi controlled national television, newspapers and the biggest publishing houses. Media pluralism, and the pluralism of opinions necessary for the functioning of a democratic society, were maintained by books.

404 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 93.

405 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 300.

406 Associazione Italiana Editori (Ed.) (2005): *The Italian Book Market. Report 2005*. AIE. Available online http://www.mcu.es/libro/docs/MC/CD/Italian_Book_Market_2005.pdf, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 30.

407 Nunberg: *Farewell to the Information Age*, p. 127f.

The opinions presented above all agree that the book is still needed to acquire an in-depth knowledge and to understand of complex issues. The values of authority, the veracity attributed to the book and the structured – that is linear – form of presenting information may account for this assessment. For digital immigrants, these values and the linear structure represent a familiarity and, therefore, an environment that facilitates learning. Digital natives, however, do not rely on the linear structure of information presentation. They are not as susceptible for the partly idealistic images conveyed of the book. Hence, it stands to reason that the position currently taken by scholars will change with the next generation. Publishing in the sciences has already migrated to the internet. Information is still presented in articles that are orientated along a linear structure and a classic argumentation line. But the new possibilities of cross-referencing and linking to other information sources have been adopted and may improve the reading and learning experience. Using the book to effectively learn and disseminate trusted information may soon become a characteristic of an anachronistic generation.

2.3.1 *Contribution to National Culture*

Whereas knowledge dissemination, scholarly discourse and authorized information distribution soon may no longer rely on the book as the primary medium, there is one aspect of book culture that remains in focus: In European history, the states, their national identities and their development were linked with the book in varying degrees of intensity.⁴⁰⁸ Miha Kovač places the book at the center of the development of concepts like a »national community, democracy, tolerance and pluralism.«⁴⁰⁹ He claims that the prophesied death of the printed book due to the digital change »could only happen if national, cultural and political identities and social institutions as we know them today go through significant modifications.«⁴¹⁰ This role of the book, in fact, is one of the pillars of cultural policy that all European Member states agree upon. The argument is used as a justification of state intervention within the book market either by the regulation of competition or by other means of promotion.

»Newspapers, books, and, to a lesser degree, magazines, are considered as core media serving the freedom of expression and the democratic – and cultural – exchange of information, ideas, and views in an open society.«⁴¹¹ The exchange of

408 Giesecke: *Die Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 227.

409 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 38.

410 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

411 Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 116.

information and opinion as well as a public discourse on planned reforms or economic crises, they all play an essential part for any society to function. This information exchange is even more important for current information societies, as these depend on the availability, access to and discussion about information to generate the knowledge on which their economies are based.

Furthermore, the book is essential to these nations, as it is one of the keepers of national identity and culture – in addition to contributing to a national prestige.⁴¹² Literature and famous authors are used when marketing a nation's image in order to create an appeal for tourists as well as for its own people. Without books, there is no memory of history, no tradition of cultural values, no systematic processing of the present and no in-depth communication on the future. The Swiss book lobby organization summarizes: without books, there is no consciousness of society as a whole.⁴¹³ Böhme assesses reading and the encyclopedic storage of knowledge (as in libraries) to be, in addition to critical thinking and consequentially the ability to analyze, the pillars which continue to sustain the hope of democratizing society and a relativizing socio-cultural differences in education.⁴¹⁴ Less emotional and more scientific is the evaluation by Gabrielle Hogan-Brun: She argues that the availability of and adequate access to mass media – printed as electronic – is a significant factor for the support of language and culture of ethnic communities.⁴¹⁵ In this statement, she includes printed as well as electronic media and, thereby, anticipates a trend in Europe: while McLuhan's global village is becoming reality for more and more people, regional and local identities take on a new importance in establishing an individual's identity.

Locality and national identity have become focal points in a more and more globalized world where national boundaries are less important than they used to be, especially in the context of economy and, to a certain degree, in politics. In order to create and construct an identity for the individual, but also on a societal level, national culture has become increasingly important. A defined or, at least, describable common national identity and culture are essential for the integration of people from other cultural or societal backgrounds and, therefore, for the national social cohesion. European Member states have become aware of that. Cultural policy, with a regard to books but also to other aspects, has been implemented on the political agenda of all states. That is especially evident in the Eastern European states, who struggle to establish an independent national iden-

412 Cf. Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 11f

413 Cf. Buchlobby Schweiz (Ed.) (2008): *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz. Stand: Januar 2008*. Zürich: Buchlobby Schweiz. Available online http://www.buchlobby.ch/pdf/Verlagsfoerderung_Konzept_2008-01-13.pdf, last retrieved January 7th 2011. Here: p. 4.

414 Cf. Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 67.

415 Cf. Hogan-Brun; Ramonienė: *Emerging Language and Education Policies in Lithuania*, p. 40.

tity at the same time as adapting to the demands and regulations of being a Member State of the European Union. Poland, for example, has relied on the film industry by supporting script writing, production and distribution, thereby creating new conditions for funding. With the ascension of Waldemar Dąbrowski as minister of culture in 2002, the focus broadened. In her overview on cultural policy in Poland, Dorota Ilczuk mentions »promoting books and reading especially among children; emphasizing the role of reading in the cultural formation of society; supporting cultural periodicals and literature [...]; highlighting the mission of the public media and its contribution to national culture [...].«⁴¹⁶

Even though culture is identified as an important aspect of national identity, it is, at the same time, an important aspect of the economy, too. Cultural life is a part of an economic process and cultural autonomy is an expensive affair according to Friedrich Krotz.⁴¹⁷ Yet investing into the cultural economy does have some advantages. The *Media Group* from the *Turku School of Economics* in Finland identifies creativity as being at the basis of this potential:

Paradoxically, whereas creativity constitutes a response to some of the economic challenges raised by globalisation, it requires initiative and organisation at a local level. To put it another way, creativity is both global and local – hence the term »glocality«. This feature of localisation is a positive aspect of creativity; not only does creativity nurture economic competitiveness but it helps to retain talent (and corresponding jobs) locally.⁴¹⁸

While the film industry, as in the case of Poland, has been the sector of the cultural industries receiving the major part of public funding throughout the last years, the publishing industry is the biggest sector of the European cultural industries.⁴¹⁹ Even in countries where the book industry is not as large or as well established and connected as in the United Kingdom or Germany its relevance is recognized: »The book industry may not be large but a free, vibrant and commercially healthy book sector is not only one of the best guarantees of written national cultural identity, it is essential for a nation committed to social, political and economic reform.«⁴²⁰ David Kingham's arguments are only one justification of state intervention within the book industry. The Swiss organization *Buchlobby*

416 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 3.

417 Cf. Krotz, Friedrich (2006): »Konnektivität der Medien: Konzepte, Bedingungen und Konsequenzen.« In: Andreas Hepp et al. (Eds.): *Konnektivität, Netzwerk und Fluss. Konzepte gegenwärtiger Medien-, Kommunikations- und Kulturtheorie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften | GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden (Springer-11776 /Dig. Serial]), pp. 21–41. Here: p. 37.

418 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 38.

419 For detailed facts and figures of the cultural industries in Europe, Cf. eurostat: *Cultural Statistics*.

420 Kingham: *Bulgaria*.

calls for the support of publishing houses, calling it an integral part of book promotion. And book promotion is justified by the specific attributes of the different book groups: non-fiction books present a topic so accurately and in much detail which other media, such as television, are not able to achieve; literary books are the embodiment of the cultural accomplishment of the author; children's books and books for the youth represent steps in creating a personality.⁴²¹

The arguments presented by the *Buchlobby* represent an idealized view of the attributes and achievements of the book. Their view is expected, since it is expressed by a lobby organization. What was to be established was the contribution of the book to the construction of national identity and culture. The book's role in the construction is substantial; even though it may diminish or develop differently during the upcoming years. Hence, book promotion cannot be regarded as an established system and remain unchanged for the next decades. Any book promotion scheme that is justified by the contribution of books to a national culture has to be subjected to a regular review and to the adjustment of promotion according to the current situation and contribution of books and literature for a national culture.

2.3.2 Other Perceived Assets of the Book

There are several assets claimed to be lost once the book has been substituted completely. Wulf D. von Lucius argues that the direct interaction of the author and the reader/user, possible on the internet, is no more than a utopic assumption of web enthusiasts. With the loss of the editor and other instances of publishing and book selling, there will be no quality assurance, no consistency checks, no accumulation of metadata and no long term availability.⁴²² Miha Kovač lists other aspects of book culture he feels would be lost:

clarity and transparency of intellectual debates; responsibility for the public word; culture/market dichotomy in the character of the book that [...] formed the backbone of the gatekeeping role of publishers, booksellers and librarians; and a standardized framework for discussion.⁴²³

421 Cf. Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 4.

422 Cf. von Lucius, Wulf D. von (2008): »Bericht eines Verlegers aus der Gutenberg-Galaxis.« In: Werner Wunderlich, Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 119–129. Here: p. 124.

423 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 168f.

The expected loss of authority is both attributed to the integral anonymity of the internet as well as to the constant changeability of texts, which thereby lose the ability to be critically received. That, however, is not necessarily a fixed consequence of the digital revolution. In accepting the rules of the internet and not trying to change them essentially, new forms of authority may develop. New forms of criticism have already developed. While forums and newsgroups have come into disrepute for irrelevant discussions and caustic manners, websites like *Wikipedia* ideally depict the discussion and criticism on a subject that only happens in the background (i.e. invisible within the article), while at the same time presenting an article to the average user. *Wikipedia*'s model is not perfect, but it represents a way of taking a public discourse on the internet, even if new rules have to be established. And it is hard for some to forgo the familiar terrain of articles and monographs and their presumed structure. These specific characteristics of the book – authority, structure, and the medium of a public (and civilized) debate – are usually listed when promoting and protecting the book. Von Lucius adds that the book should not mimic characteristics of the internet but rather should emphasize its own uniqueness.⁴²⁴ Here, Lucius and Kovač both agree on the subject, as Kovač states: »But until then, if it were not for the printed book, the Internet civilisation would simply have to invent it. At least for those rare occasions on which it wished to say something serious.«⁴²⁵

In addition to authority, veracity, and structure, Margit Böck names individuality and flexibility as two of the assets that make the book indispensable.⁴²⁶ According to her, the great diversity of titles allows individual choices. Marc Baruch and Richard Jean relate this statement by declaring that the book distinguishes itself »by the wide variety of forms, as testified by the considerable number of titles published in most European countries.«⁴²⁷ These arguments, however, are grounded on the assumption that there is a great diversity of titles, thus ignoring the potential of the internet to individualizing titles even more. For example, personalization can be achieved by the use of vanity publishing or companies that offer to substitute character names for the ones chosen by the customer.⁴²⁸ A diversity threatened by concentration and internationalization is one of the major problems of the book market.

424 Cf. von Lucius: Bericht eines Verlegers aus der Gutenberg-Galaxis, p. 129.

425 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 169.

426 Cf. Böck, Margit (1999): »Leselust – Leseerfahrung. Die neuesten Untersuchungen zum Thema Lesen.« In: Tobias Hierl (Ed.): *Gutenbergs Zukunft. Buch und Lesen im 21. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Buchkultur, pp. 48–55. Here: p. 53.

427 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 1.

428 A vanity press is a publishing house which is paid by authors themselves to publish their works. Vanity publishers are, for example the American Biographical Institute and Xlibris. Titles published with such houses do not aim at making a profit but have to be regarded as more

The second aspect of the reception being flexible does certainly hold true for paperback books, which can easily be transported, and it is also for the e-book. Baruch and Jean add that the book has a universal nature: »its ability to reflect a municipality of opinions, attitudes and expressions and therefore its capacity to become a fundamental vehicle for the promotion of cultural diversity.«⁴²⁹

Giesecke disagrees to declare the book as the only reliable medium in discourse. He regards the book as a standardized and logical form of perceiving and experiencing information, a form that can easily be substituted by technology.⁴³⁰ There are aspects, however, that contradict Giesecke's forecast and speak for a survival of book culture. Reading books has, as discussed before, become a form of distinction. Peter Burke quotes Pierre Bourdieu on this: with a distinctive habit of through consumption, individuals try to distinguish themselves from other persons, groups or social classes.⁴³¹

While the act of reading functions as a classifier of a certain social group, book culture may function as a distinguishing marker on a national or regional level. Andreas Hepp describes modern media cultures as focused on territory, even though the territory does not necessarily represent actual ›home territory‹ in the sense of real space.⁴³² Instead, a territory becomes a disembodied entity that may include home and other places as well as other aspects of interest that have become incorporated within a constructed concept. According to Hepp, book culture may either survive as a strongly territorialized, national media culture, or it may develop into a trans-local media culture, which centers on common aspects. A possible example would be book culture centering on a specific asset of the book or on a specific type of book. Media cultures like these already exist, those who focus on collecting books for example.

As has been argued before, the act reading and the book are supposed to convey an elemental media competence by demanding critical thought and an active analysis of the information of a text. If there is no alternative established to teach media competence, »we will face the risk of a general impoverishment in the use of technologies, which will become a pure instrument and not a possible medium to enrich our life as well as stimulus for creativity and innovation in all areas of social life, public and private life.«⁴³³ Musselini also concludes from

of an indulgence or a hobby – even though authors may feel differently. Companies such as *The Book Company* offer services from customizing books such as individual covers or the insertion of promo pages (<http://www.thebookco.com/customizing.cfm>). *Personalnovel* allows for choosing customized character names (<http://www.personalnovel.de/romane/>).

429 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 1.

430 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 11.

431 Burke: *What is Cultural History?* p. 85f.

432 Hepp: *Translokale Medienkulturen*, p. 57.

433 Musselini: *Digital Generation*, p. 100.

her own studies of Italian media habits that people who read regularly have a more profound understanding of culture and the media. She continues:

If it is true that the people with more cultural knowledge are the ones which make a better, creative, conscious and more advanced use of the technologies, then it is necessary to trigger a virtuous circle, in which families, schools, universities and in all the places where training is provided, need to promote a correct and integrated use of the technologies.⁴³⁴

She especially refers here to the concept of a conscious and successful interaction with the internet and its possibilities.

The objective, therefore, may not only be to promote the act of reading and books but rather to promote a conscious and critical approach to any media and its content, allowing users to weigh authority, veracity and information content themselves without favoring one medium. However, book reading is not simply a cultural technique. Geoffrey Nunberg argues: »Social practice has turned the physical properties of the book – its bulk, its palpable inscription in space, its materially discrete pagination, its covers – into both interpretive and social resources. In fact, [...] the book may have a long life left in it.«⁴³⁵ And Miha Kovač adds that people have produced and traded information and new ideas in the format of a book for a long time. He claims that these practices have developed into traditions and, therefore, have become deeply embedded in the different cultural patterns. In consequence, the book is a part of the different identities of European nations.⁴³⁶

In regard of these statements, Ursula Rautenberg concludes: »Es steht aber außer Frage, dass es der Buchbranche wie kaum einem anderen Wirtschaftszweig bisher gelungen ist, im öffentlichen Bewußtsein und medial präsent zu sein.«⁴³⁷ At least for the German book industry where events such as the *Frankfurt Book Fair* generate a large public awareness, her statement can be acknowledged to be valid. In other countries the situation is rather different. The book industry cannot generate as much public attention due to the lack of funds and other reasons.

The question still remains whether the book is really essential for our culture and necessary to comprehending and working responsibly with all types of media. If this is so, book politics need to counter the developments that are currently challenging book culture. The objectives of book politics, therefore, should entail the promotion of reading, the promotion of books (literature and especially a great diversity of titles) and an extensive network of booksellers, as

434 Ibid, p. 100.

435 Nunberg: *Introduction*, p. 15.

436 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 55.

437 Rautenberg: *Das Buch in der Alltagskultur*, p. 490.

is necessary for the promotion of book culture in some countries.⁴³⁸ What has to be kept in mind, while discussing what is essential for the promotion of the book, is the fact that the status quo of book culture is not only essentially influenced by a historical tradition but also by current social factors. These factors affect the real and potential size of book markets and, thereby, determine which environments can be book-friendly. Miha Kovač identifies these social factors as »the level of education of a population and the effectiveness of educational systems, competitiveness and the role of other media.«⁴³⁹ Since Kovač has identified book reading as being an essential determining factor for competitiveness, a competitive nation has to be book friendly in order to keep its position within the world trade. If a consensus is reached on the necessity and irreplaceability of book culture, politics as well as the institutions of book culture have to face the current challenges and deal with the problems that have arisen.

2.4 Current Challenges and Problems

Scholars such as Michael Giesecke predict the substitution of the printed book and the end of book culture. He states that the end of the industrial society will bring an end to its main medium, the book, and the culture evolving around it.⁴⁴⁰ He claims that the book can no longer fulfill the role of constructing identities for the modern information society. Instead, this task is allotted to the paraphernalia of the computer generation such as screens and chips.⁴⁴¹ This substitution is an example for the rapidly evolving environment of the information society – an environment in which the book has held its ground so far. Helene Karmasin, however, supports Giesecke in stating that the products created for a given society always mirror the ideals of this society: she proclaims that other products are considered useful for the information society than they were for the industrial society.⁴⁴²

For some, there is no doubt that the book has lost its role as the primary medium. It is one of the central challenges for book culture: new functions and new roles have to be created for the book, while old habits and values are being substituted. The values associated with book culture have been discussed before; among them were the values of veracity, authority, linearity and structure as well

438 Cf. Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 584.

439 Kovač, Never Mind the Web, p. 6 and van der Weel: *Covergence and its Discontents*, p. 149.

440 Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 12f.

441 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

442 Cf. Karmasin, Helene (2003): »Merchants of Meaning. Der Beitrag von Kommunikations- und Kulturwissenschaften im Bereich des Marktes.« In: Matthias Karmasin, Carsten Winter (Eds.): *Kulturwissenschaft als Kommunikationswissenschaft. Projekte, Probleme und Perspektiven*. 1st edition. Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl., pp. 81–105. Here: p. 87.

as the aspects of a public accessibility and a generality that allows for understanding detailed information on a worldwide basis. The information society, however, has established a set of additional new values. Among them is the possibility of an instant update of information.

2.4.1 *Substitution of the Book as Primary Medium*

The readiness, with which new technologies are embraced, depends in part on the age of the people involved. That was true for the people of the sixteenth century and the »readiness of many people to accept and use the new medium of printing.«⁴⁴³ It is still true in regards to the new media of the digital era. Symptomatic for the situation is the evoked conflict between digital natives, digital immigrants and those who were hopelessly left behind. The last group is comprised of those who are of the opinion that the internet cannot be allowed to become a lawless space.

Instead of elaborating on a partly ideological debate or describing the consequences of readily embracing new media, a more detailed look at the origins and the implications of the so-called digital revolution needs to be taken. During the course of this revolution, the book needed to relinquish its role as the primary medium of society. It has been substituted by the computer and the internet as its main communication mode – although only in part. In retrospect, some claim to have announced the decline of the book with the advent of the radio and television. These types of media were regarded as having replaced the book as the primary mass medium.⁴⁴⁴ Others have identified the beginning of the end at an even earlier point than that: Pias, for example, claims that the introduction of photography marked the end of the era of the book.⁴⁴⁵ The computer began to play an expanding role in an everyday life already by the 1980s⁴⁴⁶, but only by the end of the 1990s the digital text was seen as an alternative to the book.

Different than other revolutions in media of earlier times, the content of a book can detach itself from its primary medium – from paper.⁴⁴⁷ Even though the book still can be described as the medium that carries or introduces major debates, there is no doubt that debates themselves will be no longer centered on the

443 Cole: *The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes*, p. 141.

444 Böhme: *Schule am Ende der Buchkultur*, p. 24.

445 Pias, Claus (2009): »Poststrukturalistische Medientheorien.« In: Stefan Weber (Ed.): *Theorien der Medien. Von der Kulturkritik bis zum Konstruktivismus*. 2nd edition. Konstanz: UVK Verl.-Ges., pp. 277–293. Here: p. 290.

446 Motyka, Werner (1989): *Druckereierzeugnisse und neue Informations- und Kommunikationstechniken. Eine Analyse der Substitutionsbeziehungen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 13.

447 Bluhm: *Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten*, p. 230.

book. Freund states: »So unverdrossen das Buch auch weiterhin Themen setzt – dass es noch ein Leitmedium sei, behaupten nur unverbesserliche Optimisten.«⁴⁴⁸

There are several problems presenting themselves when considering the shift from the printed book to the digital text or to the internet. It has become obvious that there is a relocation of focus from the author of a text or a piece of information to the user, who consumes and interacts with a text respectively.⁴⁴⁹ Whoever has produced the data is to become less important – however, this aspect not only questions the concept of authority but it challenges this authority in terms of veracity and reliability of data at the same time. Once it is no longer evident who the author of a specific piece of information is and on which knowledge his information is based or from which perspective he/she is writing, there is no reliability of the correctness of information except for the meta-reliability of the website, on which the information was found.

Another problem is the intensifying mediatization of society. With an increasing communication and media consumption, the media system is becoming more and more complex. At the same time, the potentials of the new media lead to a change in the function of old media, such as the book. For society, in general, and for each individual, the relevance and importance of media has expanded. As Krotz explains, new media brings about the development of new communication forms and, thereby, changes human relations. Thereby, the everyday life has changed, as the structure of society and of cohabitation has altered. This also has an impact on the construction of an identity, of a society and culture.⁴⁵⁰ Giesecke sees cause and effect as interchangeable. He argues that the societal structures have changed within the last decades. These changes demand a new culture of communication.⁴⁵¹ Detlef Bluhm quotes Manfred Schneider on the same topic and declares that the book has been forced into the shadow of certain new gods: Speed, timeliness and multimedia.⁴⁵² His opinion is supported by Giesecke, who analyzes how the book has lost its appeal as a medium for con-

448 Freund: Alle Bücher werden Zauberbücher.

449 Giesecke: Von den *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 247.

450 Cf. Krotz: *Konnektivität der Medien*, p. 33.

451 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 11.

452 Schneider and Bluhm refer especially to the decisions of encyclopedia publishers such as *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Brockhaus* to make their content available online. These decisions were made because of the options of update and timeliness the internet could offer, but even more so because the online encyclopedia *Wikipedia* was taking away customers. Cf. Bluhm: *Von Autoren, Büchern und Piraten*, p. 217. In March 2012 Encyclopaedia Britannica announced the complete stop of the print edition: »Encyclopedia Britannica stellt Print ein.« In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Online Edition). Available online <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/encyclopaedia-britannica-stellt-print-ein-angekommen-im-digitalzeitalter-1.1308518>, last retrieved March 13th 2012.

structuring an identity. This role has been adopted by the accessories of the information society: screens, touchpads, and smartphones.⁴⁵³

As a direct consequence of a changing communication culture and the loss of its role as the primary medium, the book is heavily affected by the change in extreme complexity. While, on the one hand, the media world is becoming more and more complex with expanding information channels and the overall abundance of information, the messages and information conveyed by the new media, on the other hand, are constructed of simple bites. Mazenauer diagnoses: »In an era of information overload there is a limit to how much people can truly absorb and process, and the dynamics of this ›attention economy‹ mean that it is often crude sensationalism and simplistic messages which attract the most attention.«⁴⁵⁴ He concludes that the problem of the book is in part a problem of form of content: most literary texts try to avoid simplistic messages and, thereby, often lose the competition for attention.

However pessimistic Mazenauer's outlook for the book as a medium may be, reading as a cultural technique will gain more importance. Hierl describes reading as the basic competence of the information society and states that there is a development of an independent reading culture.⁴⁵⁵ Although, one has to keep in mind that Hierl is a journalist and not an expert on medial development. However, new forms of a reading culture may certainly be an interesting subject for further research. The changes in the reading habits of Europeans that have already taken place will be discussed as one of the challenges of book culture.

The substitution of the book as the primary medium has led to a series of subsequent problems. The political focus has shifted in terms of legislation and funding. Other problems experienced by book culture have thereby increased. A selection of these problems – some of them well known, and some have only developed recently – shall be presented in the following chapters. One of the liveliest and most persistent discussions revolves around the question whether the book is to be considered a cultural or an economic good.

453 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 218.

454 Mazenauer, Beat; Biamonte, Francesco (2010): »Learning from the Swiss. A tiny land with many languages: Switzerland demonstrates how a common culture does not have to be haled back by language boundaries. What is the best way to promote multilingual literature?« In: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. Stuttgart: ifa [Culture Report Progress Europe, 3], pp. 82–85. Available online <http://www.ifa.de/en/pub/kulturreport-fortschritt-europa/literatur/>, last retrieved October 14th 2011. Here: p. 82.

455 Hierl, Tobias (Ed.) (1999): *Gutenbergs Zukunft. Buch und Lesen im 21. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Buchkultur, p. 7.

2.4.2 Double Nature of the Book and the Legitimization of State Intervention

At the basis of all the debate on the advantages or advisability of state intervention within the book market, there is always the question of whether the book should be regarded as product or as cultural good. Especially in view of the possibilities that new technologies allow the distribution of content, the question of whether the printed book has a special status as cultural good is important.

As the difficulty of defining what a book constitutes has already been addressed, this section shall only serve as a brief reminder that there are issues concerning the book that have gone unresolved for a long time. At the moment, these issues impede an open discussion on copyright legislation and question how far state intervention may be used to regulate the book market. It is the nature of the public good that is associated with the cultural value of the book, such as the construction of national identity, the support of social cohesion, the generation of national prestige and the development of criticism and experiments, to justify state intervention: As Marcel Canoy states: »None of these values are (fully) reflected in the price, so that indeed the total value of books is higher than the sum of its prices.«⁴⁵⁶

Apart from the question whether the book is to be awarded a special status and, in consequence, accept state intervention in order to allow a diversified book culture, there is a more basic problem: the assumption that a cultural Europe needs to be sponsored and promoted. Ulrike Draesner states:

[...] flawed thinking underlies the idea of a cultural Europe so long as this Europe is thought of in terms of the predominantly economic and political organizational unit of the same name. In this sense, ›cultural Europe‹ was only ever meant to exist in order to glamorize this political and economic unit behind a modest veil of culture.⁴⁵⁷

Her statement is basic to one of the major problems of book promotion: there is yet no cultural unit of that can be called ›Europe‹ – instead there is a plethora of individual cultures and approaches to a cultural promotion that depends on the historical and political views. An individual chapter will address this problem and will attempt to define a typology of book cultures that may allow a concerted approach to book promotion.

456 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 12.

457 Draesner, Ulrike (2010): »Old but not necessarily clever.« In Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. Stuttgart: ifa (Culture Report Progress Europe, 3), pp. 118–124. Available online <http://www.ifa.de/en/pub/kulturreport-fortschritt-europa/literatur/>, last retrieved October 14th 2011. Here: p. 119.

2.4.3 Internationalization and Concentration

The globalization of the international markets has been passed on to the book market. Notwithstanding, book markets are still considered to be language markets. The potential of a title to sell equally as well in each individual national market used to be considered to be little. However, reality has bypassed theory. National publishing houses have been acquired either by internationally active media companies, which also own television channels and magazines, or by conglomerates, for which publishing is only a part of an extensive portfolio that could as well include oil and automotive parts. André Schiffrin has elaborated on these developments for the North-American book market in his work *The Business of Books* of the year 2000 and later in *Words and Money*. One has to conclude that the processes of a market consolidation by mergers and buyouts, as he had described the situation in North America, have already taken place in the European markets, too. Among the markets that have been mostly affected by these developments are the Italian and the British publishing market; but France⁴⁵⁸, Germany and Spain have also experienced the same problems: established publishing houses have become imprints of bigger houses and then, as in the case of Pantheon as described by Schiffrin, they lose their individual programmatic signature and are either eventually assimilated to the general company profile or discontinued.

For the Italian book market, Gaffeo noted that

the publishing industry is notoriously highly concentrated, in terms of market shares of both publishing firms and titles. Just 220 publishers issued more than 50 titles in 2003, four large publishing groups (Mondadori, Rizzoli, De Agostini, Messaggerie Italiane), plus 50 middle size publishers covered around 90% of the whole market if measured by total book sales.⁴⁵⁹

In 2010, Carla Bodo has concluded that »concentration seems to be less appalling but quite noteworthy also for the publishing industry.«⁴⁶⁰ Her concerns, however, center mostly on newspaper and periodical publishing when she points out that »the publishing of newspapers and periodicals is mainly in the hands of an industrial oligopoly, and that the largest publishing company of books and periodicals in

458 Information Spreadsheet France: Annex, p. 52.

459 Gaffeo, Edoardo et al. (2008): »Demand Distribution Dynamics in Creative Industries. The Market for Books in Italy.« In: *Information Economics and Policy* (20), pp. 257–268. Available online http://www.rcefa.org/RePEc/pdf/wp09_08.pdf, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 5.

460 Bodo, Carla; Bodo, Simona (2010): *Country Profile Italy*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/profiles-download.php?pcid=1280>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 29.

the country, *Mondadori* – as well as Einaudi, Electa, etc. – belongs, like *Mediaset* to *Fininvest*, the holding owned by Italy's Prime Minister.⁴⁶¹

The development of the Italian market is not an isolated one within Europe. Mateo states that Spain is a highly concentrated market dominated by foreign firms since, of 2,000 publishing houses, 25 % belong to main conglomerates.⁴⁶² Foreign ownership is recognized as a problem in Poland, where »little systematic research on media concentration is published«⁴⁶³. However, by 1998, forty-one of the ninety leading publishing houses »were controlled wholly or partly by foreign owners (of these, fifteen had exclusively foreign owners).«⁴⁶⁴ Since Mateo and Jakubowicz reported about their respective national markets in 2004, the consolidation can be expected to have continued and the concentration to have intensified.

The Scandinavian countries, often pronounced as being a model of library usage, reading and the overall book culture, have struggled with a continuing concentration of their book markets. Hultén reports for Sweden that there are no more medium sized publishing firms: There are four big companies and a number of small publishers.⁴⁶⁵ The same is true for Finland and, as Mortensen states, for Denmark: The three dominant publishing groups Bonnier, Gyldendahl and Egmont already controlled 80 % of the market in 2004.⁴⁶⁶

In the Eastern European states of Hungary and Bulgaria, the situation is even more drastic. Péter Inkei and János Szabó describe the concentration tendencies in publishing as being of a much smaller degree than in any other country. There is a greater concentration among book shops where the »Alexandra chain is increasingly dominant.«⁴⁶⁷ László Simon states that, with media conglomerates owning book shops, publishers and the warehouses of the distribution system at the same time, the market has become »so distorted [...] that cultural publicity in Hungary is at

461 Bodo; Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 29.

462 Mateo, Rosario de (2004): »Spain.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publ., pp. 225–236. Here: p. 228.

463 Jakubowicz, Karol (2004): »Poland.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publ., pp. 169–179. Here: p. 170.

464 Jakubowicz: Poland, p. 170.

465 Hultén, Olof (2004): »Sweden.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publ., pp. 237–248. Here: p. 241.

466 Mortensen, Frands (2004): »Denmark.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publ., pp. 43–53. Here: p. 45.

467 Inkei, Péter; Z. Szabó, János (2010): *Country Profile Hungary*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/hungary.php>, last retrieved May 23rd 2011. Here: p. 14.

risk.«⁴⁶⁸ This development in combination with the newly introduced media legislation by Victor Orban makes the outlook for Hungarian cultural diversity seem dismal. For the Bulgarian market, Diana Andreeva and Bilyana Tomoya note that an assessment of the degree of concentration is made difficult due to the fact that there is no public register for the ownership of companies, making the Bulgarian book market absolutely not transparent.⁴⁶⁹

The continuing internationalization through consolidation is yet another development. Smaller European nations such as Slovenia, Slovakia, Latvia or Estonia, who have only established a privatized book market in the 1990s, have experienced a buyout of the more profitable indigenous companies when first economic difficulties became evident. This occurrence has resulted in fewer investments into the regional infrastructure, in a dominance of translated titles and in a loss of trust, especially for the press, which was now owned – as in the case of Estonia – by the Swedish media company Bonnier. Miha Kovač describes the similar effect of a foreign dominance in small markets in his work *Never Mind the Web*: »By the end of the 20th century, English became the globally dominant language of business and scientific communication. Throughout this process, Anglo-Saxon book industries became globally dominant and as such heavily effect small language communities in East Europe.«⁴⁷⁰ That is especially true for the textbook and academic book markets, but affects the fiction and non-fiction segments as well. Rüdiger Wischenbart has analyzed a number of book markets according to their bestseller lists for his *Diversity Report*.⁴⁷¹ He tried to discover whether the purported dominance of Anglo-Saxon translations is mirrored in bestseller rankings. Wischenbart detected that in most markets there is a healthy balance between imported and indigenous titles – however, the bestseller lists depict only one aspect of the market and do not allow a general overview of the title range. For Hungary, László Simon has experienced that the balance between foreign and original fiction is severely uprooted:

Works by foreign authors are taking up more and more shelf space in bookstores. More than half the titles last year were foreign and made up 75 percent of sales. While the book market may be decreasing overall, the market share of Hungarian authors is shrinking disproportionately.⁴⁷²

468 Simon, László L. (2010): »A Delayed Intellectual System Change.« In: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen et al. (Eds.): *Europe Reads – Literature in Europe*. Stuttgart: ifa [Culture Report Progress Europe, 3], pp. 96–99. Here: p. 98.

469 Cf. Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 26.

470 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 279.

471 Cf. Wischenbart: *Diversity Report 2008*.

472 Simon: *A Delayed Intellectual System Change*, p. 98.

There is, of course, only a certain degree to which concentration is possible, and indeed lawful. Since 1988, Austria, for example, has employed the *Austrian Cartel Act*, which states that mergers between media companies may be forbidden if the media diversity is threatened by them.⁴⁷³ However, there is no definition of the media diversity given by the Act. In fact, mergers of media companies have not often been discussed in public; only the attempted merger between Reed Elsevier and Wolters Kluwer in 1998 was received in the press for the impact and consequences it would have had on scientific publishing.⁴⁷⁴ In Germany, the antitrust division (*Bundeskartellamt*) intervened in the acquisition of *Wilhelm Heyne Verlag GmbH* by the publishing group *Random House GmbH*, a *Bertelsmann* subsidiary. Originally, the acquisition of the complete *Ullstein Heyne List* publishing group was intended. After the *Bundeskartellamt* voiced its concerns regarding plurality, »Random House refrained from acquiring large parts of Ullstein Heyne List making up around 40 per cent of the original project and withdrew all parts of its notification other than the acquisition of Heyne.«⁴⁷⁵ The *Media Group of the Turku School of Economics*, however, sees an obvious link between diversity and healthy competition on the book market:

Regulators intervened against mergers or takeovers that would have resulted in predominance of specific market segments (e.g. paperback, or local newspaper advertising markets) or in the vertical integration of a sectorial market (e.g. by combining book publishing, distribution and retail). These decisions were influenced by the need to ensure diversity as well as competition, demonstrating the link between the two.⁴⁷⁶

A loss of competition may, therefore, result in a loss of diversity, but the debate is still undecided if a gain in scale (that is concentration) necessarily brings about a loss of creativity and diversity. The authors of the *Publishing Market Watch* have reported to execute caution against jumping to conclusions, especially when regarding the threats of concentration. Regardless, internationalization and consolidation of the book market are perceived as being among the major threats to a diversified and living book culture. One of the consequences of the formation of monopolies is its potential for nurturing censorship. Censorship in Europe today

473 Cf. Ratzenböck: *Country Profile Austria*, p. 24.

474 For more information on the proposed merger and its consequences see Hannay, William (2001): »The Publishing Merger That Failed.« In: *The Acquisitions Librarian*, Vol. 13, No. 26. Available online http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1300/J101v13n26_11?journalCode=wzsz20, last retrieved October 4th 2012.

475 Bundeskartellamt (Ed.) (2003): *Random House's acquisition of Heyne cleared after partial withdrawal of the original notification*. Available online http://www.bundeskartellamt.de/w/Englisch/News/Archiv/ArchivNews2003/2003_11_25.php, last retrieved October 4th 2012.

476 Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch*, p. 119.

is not as blatant as the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*⁴⁷⁷ or as it may be under different regimes around the world. It has taken on a more subtle coloring.

2.4.4 Corporate Censorship

Internationalization and concentration has indirectly led to a more subtle but still existent danger for book culture. How endangered the diversity and freedom of book culture already is, apart from program and staff cuts due to economic issues, becomes clear when taking a look at the e-book market. Amazon's *Kindle* is high on the list of sold e-book readers. However, some users underestimate the difficulties of accepting the business terms and conditions along with their new reading device.

Telepolis author Peter Köllner was ready to bid farewell to his collection of printed books and to welcome his new *Kindle*. He duly registered it with Amazon.com and obtained a number of books and subscriptions to magazines. Discovering that a great number of books available on Amazon.de and Amazon.es were not available to customers registered to Amazon.com, he proceeded to re-register with one of the previous. Amazon then kindly informed him that he would lose his subscriptions, previous issues and all his books. His experiences with corporate censorship in its easiest, maybe even accidental form, led to an outraged essay in the magazine *Telepolis* and his vow to return to buying printed books.⁴⁷⁸

Köllner has described a form of corporate censorship that is employed when titles are actively withheld. There are more subtle effects that have led to a limited variety of books. They consist of simple economic instruments. For example, the big book shop chains with their great buying power are able to negotiate far more profitable deals with the great publishing companies than small independent booksellers are able to. In addition, the big chains will no longer take on books from independent publishers, since no profit can be expected and their shelf space is much too valuable. A third component is added to the mix: the big chains charge publishers for a prominent display of their books in shop windows or next to the cashier. The Italian market leader *Feltrinelli* charges up to 10,000 EUR for displaying one title in the shop window of every chain store.⁴⁷⁹ As a consequence of this environment, the selection of books in big chain stores is

477 The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was the catalogue of books prohibited by the Catholic Church. Its first edition was published in 1559. Due to an agreement by the Second Vatican Council it was abolished in 1966.

478 Köllner, Peter (2012) »Adieu Kindle.« In: *Telepolis*. Available online: <http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/36/36328/1.html>, last retrieved February 2nd 2012.

479 Cf. Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 10.

limited to those from publishers, who could negotiate favorable trading conditions. At the same time, independent booksellers may be forced out of business, thereby limiting the range of available titles even more.

On the level of publishing conglomerates, further action against diversity is taken in the form of corporate censorship. Schiffrin explains that within publishing houses, the situation has changed:

the pressure is to produce fewer books, concentrating on those with the highest sales potential, eliminating vast areas that used to be the hallmark of many of these houses. In the past I have joked that publishers progressed from infanticide, neglecting the new books that show no sales promise, to abortion, canceling existing contracts of books no longer thought to be financially worthwhile. The goal now is contraception, preventing such titles from ever entering the process at all.⁴⁸⁰

Miha Kovač agrees in general with Schiffrin when he states that »without a touch of cynicism, one could say that prior to the digital era, in democratic and market societies, all books that were fit to print were published and only insignificant ones were doomed not to appear in public.«⁴⁸¹ However, Kovač's description of the publishing situation in the pre-digital era seems rather idealized – to conclude that only insignificant works remained unpublished is a free assumption, even though it is made for the sake of debate. Apart from the fact that censorship is and was enacted by publishing companies, due to their internal and maybe even irreproducible aesthetic and economic guidelines, there is a positive effect to it: »limited shelf space and high fixed cost as cultural filters had their own corrective in the form of publishers' ambitions to look for new market niches with unconventional titles that would generate extra profit.«⁴⁸² Indeed, this corrective has provided a diversified title range. Today's digital publishing, with the options of book on demand, the services of countless vanity publishers and the possibility to merely self-publish an e-book version of a text, contrasts Schiffrin's perception of a market governed by a publisher's rigid contraception method. The selection of texts available on a distributor's website, on the other hand, reminds one of the potential for corporate censorship and Peter Köllner's experience with Amazon's business practice. Slaatta and Rønning have warned their readers about the potential of monopolies that are not created by publishing houses but by a limited number of distributors, especially in the online market.⁴⁸³ Van der Weel adds that the enormous number of titles available online represents

480 Schiffrin, *Words and Money*, p. 6.

481 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 13.

482 Ibid, p. 13.

483 Cf. Slaatta, Tore; Rønning, Helge (2011): »Digital Challenges to Bibliodiversity.« In: *Bibliodiversité* Vol. 1, pp. 96–103. Here: p. 101.

»an embarrassment of choice.«⁴⁸⁴ The web is vast and in order to effectively find books outside the influence of large distributors we need guidance – independent, tailored to our tastes and at best at no charge – is this illusion?

2.4.5 The Copyright Discussion

Undoubtedly the technological progress, both represented by the internet and digital technology as a whole, calls for an adjustment of current copyright provisions. Old copyright agreements, such as those represented in the chapter on legal provisions for the book trade in Europe, no longer suffice to protect the writers when considering the changes brought by e-commerce and, last but not least, the e-book.

Emotions rose high in 2011/12 with the propositions of the *Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement* (ACTA), a trade treaty which was aimed at establishing an international legal framework to abolish counterfeit goods. While it was primarily directed toward the illegitimate copies of purses, T-shirts or pharmaceuticals, it would also have affected the copying of digital goods such as music, movies and books. Activists felt that data protection and, ultimately, their right to access the internet (in case of a conviction of product piracy) was threatened. They also criticized the secret nature of the negotiations, which excluded developing countries, non-governmental organizations and the general public. Due to worldwide street protests, several European countries refrained from signing the ACTA and decided to postpone any further action until a decision has been made by the European Parliament.⁴⁸⁵

Not only on the streets has the debate on copyright become emotional. Some of the involved people have been protesting the vocabulary that was not only used by the protesters but also by the press and politicians as well. Kilian Kissling, a publisher of Argon audio books, has claimed that the vocabulary and phrases used in the debate, such as content industry, content mafia, book industry, exploitation of rights industry, has presented a wrong take on the situation. He claims that apart from multinational media conglomerates the term ›industry‹ does not adequately describe how publishers work – he denies to have been exploiting the granted copyrights but stresses the fact that publishing has been

484 van der Weel: *Covergence and its Discontents*, p. 152.

485 The official wording of the agreement may be found on the website of the European Commission (<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/de/11/st12/st12196.de11.pdf> – German version), the arguments against ACTA are collected, for example, on the website of *Knowledge Ecology International*, a non-governmental organization dedicated to the management of knowledge resources (<http://www.keionline.org/acta>).

enhancing works.⁴⁸⁶ Before turning to the further current discussions, a brief description of what the copyright encompasses and from where the present problems have arisen will be presented.

The definition of copyright may be reduced to

the cornerstones of the exclusive rights of the copyright holder are the right to decide about making a copy, in other words, copying, either altered by any technology or unaltered, as well as the right to make the work available to the public by distributing copies among the public or displaying it publicly.⁴⁸⁷

The objective of copyright is not to protect ideas but the manifest of these ideas in a material form. For example, a literary work is protected by copyright 70 years after the death of an author, even though the copyright is often no longer held by the author him/herself but has been sold to, for example, a publishing company or has been transferred to another person. The long period favors the interests of the rights holder above public access.

Copyright legislation needs to carefully balance very differing interests. The monetary as well as philosophical interests of the author, publisher and reader are to be taken into consideration. The author naturally wishes to earn an adequate profit to finance his or her life and to be able to finish his next creative project. The publisher wishes to recover his investment and preferably to profit on some extra return. The reader wishes to buy an affordable book that he may resell in case he or she does not like it. Maybe he or she would like to share its content with friends. For printed books the current legislation may seem adequate. Without taking the digital possibilities into account, copying of an entire book would only occur rarely; except in the context of libraries or other centers of education. Provisions were made for this exception. The situation is very different for e-books that have already been digitized.

How impossible the current legislation is for some becomes clear when one considers the situation of libraries as presented in chapter 2.2.4: Since there are no standard contracts for licensing e-books, libraries have been forced to negotiate individual contracts with each publishing house. Great differences in terms and pricing have been the consequence since the bargaining power of smaller

486 Cf. Kissling, Kilian (2012): *Wir sind keine Verwerter und erst recht keine Industrie*. Argon Verlag Website. Available online <http://www.argon-verlag.de/2012/04/keine-verwerter-industrie-urheber-recht-verlag/>, last retrieved May 7th 2012.

487 Saarinen, Lauri et al. (2003): *Book 2010. Development Trends in the Book Trade – Summary*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä [Research Centre for Contemporary Culture Publication Series, 70]. Available online <http://www.jyu.fi/nykykulttuuri/Kirja2010/book2010.pdf>, last retrieved October 4th 2012. Here: p. 85.

libraries is quite limited.⁴⁸⁸ Owners of e-book readers feel similarly abandoned when encountering difficulties with the individual terms and conditions of business of the various distribution platforms.⁴⁸⁹

Unresolved issues include the terms and conditions for private copies, for example for data safe-keeping and lending. Other issues include the vast availability of pirated copies on internet platforms. Also a reformed differentiation between commercial and non-commercial use of a work is being debated. The often cited *fair use doctrine*⁴⁹⁰ or the habits of collecting societies may in part serve as models for how a solution to these questions could look like. *Open Access* may be a solution for scientific works and studies initially funded by the state – the scientific publisher would, at least in some variations of the model, cease to exist.

Philosophical Concept and a Short History of Copyright

When talking about the copyright law and its implications, a distinction has to be made. Copyright is just one of a set of exclusive rights that are granted to an owner of intellectual property. Intellectual property also includes trademarks, patents, and industrial design rights. In the current discussion on copyright, the concept of intellectual property is not entirely the focus of attention. Rather, it is the concept of copyright and its actual implementation that is the center of this discussion.

Copyright as an aspect of intellectual property law, covers every copy and the dissemination of these copies. Philosophically, there are two possible justifications for having a copyright and adhering to it. On the one hand, there is the deontological view, which considers copyright to be a matter of right and duty. It is considered to be morally correct to adhere to a copyright and grant the owner of the intellectual property his natural right.⁴⁹¹ On the other hand, there is the consequentialist view, which is based on the desired effect of the protection of intellectual property through copyright. For example, in protecting intellectual property through copyright, the owner of the said property may profit from its distribution – this serves as an incentive for the creation of more works.⁴⁹² How-

488 The situation libraries face is professionally explained and analyzed by Eric Steinhauer in his essay on copyright in digitized libraries. Steinhauer, Eric W. (2011): »Das Urheberrecht als Benutzungsrecht der digitalisierten Bibliothek.« In: Christiane Haug; Vincent Kaufmann (Eds.): *Die digitale Bibliothek. Kodex – Jahrbuch der Internationalen Buchwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 1*, 2011. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 103–115.

489 Köhler: *Adieu Kindle*.

490 A so called fair use doctrine allows works such as photographs to be copied if these copies are not intended for commercial use.

491 The concept of natural rights is based on John Locke's philosophy of natural rights, which includes intellectual property.

492 Cf. Dutfield, Graham; Suthersanen, Uma (2008): *Global Intellectual Property Law*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 51–75. Here: p. 52.

ever, consequentialists also hold the belief that laws should not produce the best result for an individual but for society in general; aspects of copyright that do not directly benefit the owner of intellectual property but society as a whole would therefore be acceptable. The concept of copyright as we know it has only surfaced with the emancipation of artists during the 19th century.

This philosophical view is mirrored by the position economists hold. They believe that without copyright various intangible assets would be under-produced for the lack of incentives. Without the prospect of profit, commercial organizations would not produce intangible assets such as music. Supposedly, a strong copyright is successful in creating a wide variety of products, especially with regard to works which require significant labor and capital.⁴⁹³ Some countries have recognized the use of a *fair use doctrine*, which allows works such as photographs to be copied if these copies are not intended for commercial use. The same applies to the private copy allowed for purchasers of a music CD.

Current Problems and Discussions

Rainer Kuhlen identifies a shift of balance as the main problem of copyright. While copyright was originally designed to balance the rights and needs of the author and user, it has degenerated into a trade law.⁴⁹⁴ Court decisions that have favored major intellectual property owners, such as the film industry, have created the perception of copyright being unjustified. Copyright is perceived as »being gradually extended from the protection of creative work to the protection of investments.«⁴⁹⁵ Technological developments, such as the quick availability of content able to be downloaded from the internet in an instant, have increased pressure to adapt copyright legislation to current conditions. In addition to the availability of content on the internet, there is also the internationality of the network environment and, consequently, the difficulty to monitor rights in such an internationalized environment that needs to be taken into account.⁴⁹⁶ As the business practice has shown, domains offering pirated copies tend to move to servers physically standing in countries where copyright is not liable to be enforced, or any other legislation, for that matter.

493 William Fisher cites Neil Netane who has declared copyright to be essential not only for the creation of a variety of works but to be also responsible for the functioning of a democratic society in his essay *Copyright and a Democratic Civil Society*. Fisher, William (2000): »Theories of Intellectual Property.« In: S. Munzer (Ed.): *New Essays in the Legal and Political Theory of Property*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available online <http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/ffisher/iptheory.html>, last retrieved October 4th 2012.

494 Kuhlen: Sind Regulierungen für Umschichtungen auf den Informationsmärkten nötig? p. 202.

495 Saarinen et al.: *Book 2010*, p. 111.

496 Saarinen et al.: *Book 2010*, p. 92.

The advent of the information society and its key medium, the internet, has necessitated a development of copyright legislation, especially with regards to the e-book. Saarinen states that »current problems are mostly connected to the digital technology, the internationality of the net environment and the difficulty monitoring these rights.«⁴⁹⁷ Within this context, there is also the problem of publishing houses that have yet to find a profitable and realizable business model for the internet. While advertising may have been a short term solution for online editions of newspapers, it is by no means a solution that presents itself for fiction publishers – at least not in the form that is undertaken at the moment. However, scientific publishers are in part quite content with the success of their internet platforms, where customers may purchase installments of magazines, single issues or individual articles. This business model concedes with Saarinen’s statement that »information society networks environment gives the copyright holders an opportunity to exploit the work, which was earlier ›sold‹ as a whole, in small slices and efficiently control their use.«⁴⁹⁸

This kind of usage is seen as problematic by users and some institutions, such as the *International Foundation of Library Associations and Institutions* (IFLA), who have skeptically received court decisions in favor of the copyright owners: »The monopolisation of information via restrictive intellectual property rules in both the print and digital environments.«⁴⁹⁹ Saarinen’s visions of future content sales through user licenses fulfill the IFLA’s concerns:

In future, most of the information commodities like newspapers, magazines, books, music, films and computer programs will be licensed directly to the users. Thus, the legal relationship between the copyright holders and consumers will be arranged, for the central parts, with the help of agreements. If the consumer will not accept the terms of the agreement, his access to the services will be blocked by technical protection mechanisms.⁵⁰⁰

The IFLA recognizes this situation as an imbalance »in favor of rights holders and to the detriment of users.«⁵⁰¹

Some expect a boost to the industry through a stronger protection of intellectual property »by establishing technological solutions to protect content from

497 Ibid, p. 92.

498 Ibid, p. 85.

499 IFLA: IFLA and the Access to Knowledge (A2K) Treaty.

500 Saarinen et al.: *Book 2010*, p. 113.

501 IFLA: IFLA and the Access to Knowledge (A2K) Treaty.

being freely distributed. Namely digital rights management (DRM).⁵⁰² DRM, however, has been criticized as being too restrictive, limiting the usability of legally purchased content as is for example known for CDs that cannot be played on computers. For e-books, the restriction so far is applied by proprietary data formats, which can only be read on readers purchased from the same distributor. That is true for Amazon, Barnes & Noble as well as for Apple. There are efforts to introduce a common data format such as epub to allow users to choose freely from where they can purchase their books.

Of course, there is more to the current discussion and debate on reforming the copyright and other intellectual property rights. As there is a flurry of developments, there is no up-to-date picture to be presented within the context of this work. Yet the traditional manifestation of book culture, which is focused on the printed book as the primary medium, is only peripherally affected by the debate on a copyright reform. To underestimate the debate and the necessity of a reform of copyright would, however, be a mistake. Libraries were described as vital institutions of book culture. If the current precarious situation continues, forcing libraries to spend major shares of their acquisition budgets on obtaining digital rights and binding a high count of personnel in such negotiations, libraries will not be able to provide an excellent service to their customers. A weakened library system is a threat to the vitality of book culture. Similarly, as publishers are forced to find new business models to survive in the digital environments, diversity and the self-sufficient market book culture is relying on are in danger. A comprehensive reform of the copyright legislations would provide a certain security and a stable business environment. Book culture and its development could only profit.

2.4.6 *Changing Reading Habits*

One of the major issues in the debate about the end of the book – or its future – is the state of affairs of people's reading habits. During the last decades, the people's reading habits in all European Member states have supposedly changed or have shown a steady decline. For instance, the time spent reading printed media decreased from 4.6 hours per week in 1995 to 3.8 hours in 2005 in the Netherlands.⁵⁰³ Some countries have recorded a more significant decrease; reading habits have stagnated in others. There also are a few startling examples of positive developments within some groups of readers. While it will not be possible to

502 European Commission (Ed.) (2007): *The Publishing Industry*. Brussels. Available online <http://www.euractiv.com/en/infosociety/publishing-industry-archive/article-148754>, last retrieved May 28th 2008. Here: p. 2.

503 van Hamerseveld; Binka: *Country Profile The Netherlands*, p. 51.

describe the reading habits of every nation of the European Union in detail, there shall be examples given to illustrate the general trends. A table at the end of this chapter will include more data on the numbers of readers and the so-called avid readers for all countries, in order to give an overview.

Before turning to the changes of the absolute numbers of readers, it needs to be observed that the environment of reading has also changed. As has been mentioned in the chapter on reading as main action of book culture, more than ever the act of reading has become a symbol which conveys a certain set of values. There have been developments influencing the reading situation as well. In the discussion on book culture, these changes tend to be overrated; especially when participants claim a deterioration of the reading situation, due to reading on screens for example. Van der Weel claims that »the appeal of conventional book reading *for its own sake* is diminishing.«⁵⁰⁴ Yet Hintermeier correctly points out that the act of reading has been in a constant development over the centuries and has ever since been affected by fundamental changes— a fact that tends to be overlooked in the heat of the debate. He quotes Frühwald and states

dass der Akt des Lesens sich abermals verändere: Habe man früher Folio-Ausgaben im Stehen lesen müssen, sei man durch die Einführung der Quartformate im achtzehnten Jahrhundert zum Sitzen übergegangen. Frühwald: ‚Gelesen wird jetzt im Sitzen oder sogar – Sie wissen es – im Liegen.⁵⁰⁵

The need for an evaluation of the situation should not be colored by an ideological debate. Changes of reading habits have frequently occurred and are not by default negative.

However, there have been developments in the individual nation's reading habits, which cannot be described as positive at all. For example, Lepik states how the vulnerability of reading traditions is revealed when regarding the recent developments in Estonia.⁵⁰⁶ Evidently, Estonia used to be proud to describe itself as the nation with the highest book per capita rate in the European Union,⁵⁰⁷ but has since experienced a development towards the negative. In the past two decades, reading has undergone profound changes: During the Soviet regime, reading was considered as a form of resistance and a support of an Estonian national identity. After the independence of Estonia and its subsequent accession to the

504 van der Weel: *Convergence and its Discontents*, p. 151.

505 Hintermeier, Hannes (2010): »Mehr scannen, weniger lesen. Zukunft des Buches.« In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Online Edition). Available online <http://www.faz.net/>, last retrieved May 27th 2010.

506 Lepik, Aira (1995): »Reading and Readers in Changing Estonia.« In: *International Information and Library Review* (27), pp. 25–36. Here: p. 36.

507 Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 37.

European Union, reading became a form of ›catching up‹. Non-fiction books and professional literature were to pave the way for education and economic development, making it possible to obtain a similar status of living as the Western European nations. When this objective seemed to have been achieved – Estonia is now a fully-fledged member of the EU as well as the Euro – reading underwent a change again. It has become a recreational activity and, subsequently, had to compete with other leisure activities such as television and the internet. This change may not only be observed in the overall readership numbers, but also in the change of the nation's title range. Fiction titles now dominate, especially imported and translated fiction, and are read as a light form of entertainment.

One has to consider, though, that European book reading habits are as diverse as the book cultures they are embedded in. Estonia may prove as an example for the rapid changes reading habits may be subjected to within the course of a few years. For example, the popular comparison of North versus South yields the following result: »In 2002, for example, 67% of the Portuguese population answered ›no‹ when asked if they had read any books for reasons other than work or study in the last 12 months, while 72% of the Swedish population answered ›yes‹ to the same question.«⁵⁰⁸ Unfortunately, during later years there is only the total percentage of readers available without a differentiation between work and leisure lecture. According to the respective ministries of education, 50% of the Portuguese and 87% of the Swedes considered themselves to be readers. With this percentage of inhabitants claiming to be readers, Sweden is among the top reading nations. In Europe, the reading verve of the Swedish is surpassed only by the Swiss who claim to have a population of 88% of readers. In the top group of the book and reading-affine nations there are also Denmark, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, and Germany. Malta⁵⁰⁹, Portugal and Cyprus⁵¹⁰, in contrast, make up the rear. Reading habits have to be seen as a piece of the jigsaw puzzle of the overall book culture; however, the countries at the top and the end of the list correspond with those who come up when looking for well-developed and diversified versus budding or less-developed book cultures.

With the rise of the computer and, foremost, the internet, our ways of obtaining information have changed. Maryanne Wolf describes and criticizes the decreasing attention span school children have exhibited in summer camps. Not only the generation of digital natives will demand for other ways to edit information and seek for different formats than those of the classic linear argument of

508 Kovač, Miha; Kovač Sebart, Mojca (2006): »Books, Reading and Book Usage in the European Union.« In: *Publishing Research Quarterly* 22 (2), pp. 55–63. Available online <http://www.springerlink.com/content/dwjef4tg4qqk19p2/>, last retrieved March 21st 2011. Here: p. 55.

509 Information Spreadsheet Malta: Annex, p. A-72.

510 Information Spreadsheet Cyprus: Annex, p. A-58.

the book. It is also the generation of digital immigrants, which has been affected by a change of reading habits that cannot be necessarily expressed in absolute numbers. Saarinen claims that reading has changed to become more superficial and quicker in both, informative and fictive texts.⁵¹¹ And Weise has asked whether reading in the digital world has not changed our habits and intellectual assets by making us less able to read intently, meaningfully, and absorbedly. He fears that readers have mutated into »Häppchenjäger im Meer des Wissens und der Weltliteratur«⁵¹² and will therefore be unable to comprehend complex texts.

New research technologies, like the eye tracker, will simplify studies in this field. Subjectively, our reading patterns have changed just as our viewing habits have been affected by the way information has been presented on websites: clear and optically structured texts that are never longer than the average screen length and quick to disperse the essential information. Television programs have replied to such changing habits by introducing split screens, more rapid cut techniques and documentaries that are structured by topic sessions that are no longer than ten minutes. Books that develop a plot over a hundred pages instead of plunging into action on the first ten are apt to be disregarded by the masses. Books from the mid-19th century are sometimes experienced as tedious, especially with regard to excessive and detailed descriptions. While all these are more of a subjective impression than have been scientifically founded, a few first findings have contributed to this impression. When working with children, neuroscientist Marianne Wolf, for example, views the decline in verbal SAT scores among American children one of these indicators, as children are accustomed to the effortless access to information the internet provides without identifying the underlying meaning of texts.⁵¹³ How much average reading patterns or the attention span will have changed will only be able to be shown by future studies – preferably in a concerted effort of all European member states that will be similar to the Eurobarometer surveys.

How much the concerto of the new media has been influencing the reading experience is depicted by Julie Bosman and Matt Richtel in an article for the New York Times. In the United States book market, the e-book is a by far a more important market segment than in Europe. Authors have described the results of exchanging the solitary reading experience of printed books with the connected tablet reading experience. According to Bosman and Richtel, reading on a tab-

511 Saarinen et al.: *Book 2010*, p. 46.

512 Weise, Tamara (2008): »Goethe fürs Handy. Lesen in digitalen Welten.« In: Michael Roesler-Graichen; Ronald Schild (Eds.): *Gutenberg 2.0. Die Zukunft des Buches; ein aktueller Reader zum E-Book*. Frankfurt am Main: Börsenblatt; MVB Marketing- und Verlagsservice des Buchhandels, pp 85–90. Here: p. 88f.

513 Wolf: Proust and the Squid, p. 225.

let⁵¹⁴ »adds up to a reading experience that is more like 21st-century cacophony than a traditional solitary activity.«⁵¹⁵ They attribute this change to services such as E-Mail, Twitter, social networks and Netflix – the next distraction is only a click away. Bosman and Richtel conclude: »And some of the millions of consumers who have bought tablets and sampled e-books on apps from Amazon, Apple and Barnes & Noble have come away with a conclusion: It's harder than ever to sit down and focus on reading.«⁵¹⁶ On the other hand, the content of what has been read has gained even more importance. Reading is developing into a marker of social categories: Reading and the ability to use vocabulary that one has acquired through reading is a social distinction.⁵¹⁷

There is a discrepancy that has been developing with a regard to reading. On the one hand, the classic reading of a book has lost its status as the number one leisure activity. The overall number of readers has been decreasing, especially the number of avid, or heavy readers. That is of consequence for the book market and book culture in general, since it is the group of avid readers who buys the most books.⁵¹⁸ The book has been challenged to find new functions, such as a conscious opting out of the constant media information flow and a conscious solitary experience to reverse this development, for example. On the other hand, the ability to read has become even more important, as the new media requires a degree of literacy. Education and knowledge are central to the information society and reading may provide both – although this may be achieved independent from reading a book. To sum it up, one may agree with Rüdiger Wischenbart that people are »not necessarily reading ›less‹ but differently, for different purposes, in different contexts, based on different economic rationales.«⁵¹⁹

514 N.B.: not an e-book-reader with e-ink display, which has no other features besides displaying text and pictures

515 Bosman, Julie; Richtel, Matt (4. March 2012): »Finding Your Book Interrupted... By The Tablet You Read It On.« In: New York Times (Online Edition). Available online http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/05/business/media/e-books-on-tablets-fight-digital-distractions.html?_r=3&hp&pagewanted=all, last retrieved March 5th 2012.

516 Bosman; Richtel: Finding Your Book Interrupted...

517 Böhme: Schule am Ende der Buchkultur, p. 65.

518 AIE Research Department (Ed.) (2009): *Books and Publishing Content: The State of Publishing in Italy in 2008*. Summary. Associazione Italiana Editori. Available online www.aie.it/SopraLeftMenu/LeftMenuEnglish/English/PUBLISHINGINITALY.aspx, last retrieved June 25th 2010. Here: p. 1.

519 Wischenbart, Rüdiger (2010): »The Global Ranking of the Publishing Industry 2009.« In: *Publishing Research Quarterly* (26), pp. 16–23. Available online <http://www.springerlink.com/content/840756605153361n/>, last retrieved January 7th 2011. Here: p. 23.

Table 2: Number of Readers

Country	Readers (2007)	Avid Readers (2007)
Belgium	65%	33%
Bulgaria	58%	30%
Czech Republic	82%	41%
Denmark	83%	56%
Germany*	81%	45%
Estonia	79%	50%
Ireland	75%	39%
Greece	59%	22%
Spain	59%	23%
France	71%	42%
Italy	63%	20%
Cyprus	56%	20%
Latvia	75%	50%
Lithuania	64%	37%
Luxembourg	72%	39%
Hungary	78%	39%
Malta	45%	19%
Netherlands	84%	55%
Austria	79%	35%
Poland	64%	33%
Portugal	50%	17%
Romania	58%	23%
Slovenia	72%	37%
Slovakia	80%	43%
Finland	79%	32%
Sweden	87%	60%
United Kingdom	82%	55%
Switzerland	88%	33%
EU27 average	71%	37%

* The survey has differentiated between East and West Germany. The value presented in the table is the average. While the difference in readership for readers was only one percent, the difference for avid readers was greater: 39% in East Germany and 46% in West Germany.

Source: European Commission (Ed.): *Cultural Values Survey, Special Eurobarometer 287, 2007.*

2.5 Book Culture is ...

Culture has been described as a learned concept that is part of a group. Culture is historically developed and an ever-changing concept. As a structured whole, culture is heterogenic and abstract. For the study at hand, the abstract book culture has been substantiated. The underlying structure of values, rituals, traditions, actions and institutions has been described.

In summary, book culture exhibits all characteristics of culture. It is learned, for instance within the context of school education or from role models, such as reading parents. The discourse within book culture, as represented by the literary scene, is an essential element not only of its historical development but also to the constant change culture has to undergo. The development and change of culture are hardly better illustrated than by book culture which has, in some form, existed for thousands of years.

The values attributed to the book, as they have been described by the previous chapters, seem sometimes curiously outdated or unrealistic. Therefore, a definition of the concept ›book culture‹ cannot be constant but has to allow an incorporation of new ideas, new sub-cultures and new aspects. The concept has to exclude aspects that no longer hold true for the reality of the majority of book readers. Timelessness, the ability of a text, once printed, to exist unchanged throughout time, is such a value that is rather a myth than reality. For in reality, a printed text may be changed in the next edition. While other values and ideas centered on the printed book are certainly not to be underrated, reality has changed. The rituals and traditions connected to the book have lost their appeal and their status within everyday life. The challenges to book culture, however, are increasing. The book as a medium has lost some functions, such as the role as primary medium. Other functions, for instance its role of presenting new modes of thinking and supporting cultural exchange, are still valid. The new role of the public library in the integration of new citizens illustrates this function. Social cohesion and democratic empowerment are still linked to the book. These are among the values propagated by the European Union and the book, therefore, retains a status worth of protection within the EU.

As old functions are substituted or newly emphasized and values attributed to the book are contested, it becomes clear that book culture is in transition. The development initiated by the digital technologies provoked this change. Cherished privileges, roles and the status in society may be lost. This recent development is reflected in the substitution and changes that took place during the passage from the role to the codex and from the handwritten to the printed book. These transitions were connected to similar debates on the deterioration of values and the negative consequences of society as a whole. Nevertheless, there are

chances inherent in this emerging new book culture. As a reminder, culture is subject to constant change and so is book culture. Nations in their need to define national identity, in order to retain some security in a more globalized world, use the book and the literature it represents as one of their identifying factors. That is one of the reasons why book cultures differ from state to state, and from region to region. When differences are already as obvious within the European states, an even greater variance can be expected for book cultures in the Americas, in Africa and in Asia. Which book cultures are prevalent in Europe shall be explored later in this study; for the moment a general concept of book culture was the focus. The result is a pattern common to book culture and other forms of culture: It encompasses values, tradition, and the institutions, which are communicating and building on these values and traditions, as well as key actions associated with the book.

3 European Book Culture – Framework, Indicators and a Typology

There are two statements that aptly describe the situation one encounters when trying to identify European culture – and European book culture. Ulrike Draesner openly criticizes those who wish to establish a fixed concept for a Cultural Europe; the concept itself is an illusion in her opinion. Yet her assessment of Cultural Europe fits perfectly with the findings of this study: »Cultural Europe is not a solid house; it is not even a house but a non-effective and non-rationalised room. It provides space for small things; whoever wants to can sit here, all alone on his mountain or his dyke, separate and unique.«⁵²⁰ Cultural Europe is diversified and open to all subjective interpretations. A second factor adds to the heterogeneity expected when regarding European book cultures:

Consequently, people have produced, consumed and traded information and ideas in book format for more than 500 years, and these practices became deeply embedded not only in different national histories, but also in the different cultural patterns that form the different identities of European nations. The pace of these processes and their forms differed in various parts of Europe. Therefore, the differences among contemporary models of book production, dissemination and consumption have their historical roots and are as such closely related to the specific role that print and the book played in the standardisation and formation of national languages.⁵²¹

Based on this statement by Miha Kovač, it should be possible to identify different types of cultures. These types should reflect the historical background and the role of the book in the development of a given nation's identity.

In a first step, the notion of a typical or singular ›European‹ book culture as, for example, opposed to an ›African‹ book culture, has to be discarded. The European nations differ greatly and cannot be condensed into one culture. There may be characteristics identified as markedly European, or even Western European versus Northern European. Such characteristics are suggested by the former attempts at categorizing European nations or book markets and will be described in more detail in chapter 3.4 on a typology of European book cultures. For in-

520 Draesner: *Old but not necessarily clever*, p. 120.

521 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 55f.

stance, the regions of Europe are expected to be reflected in the different types of book cultures. In terms of a concept of ›European‹ culture, there is a set of values as well as a conceptualization of a culture common within the European Member states. As the Eurobarometer 287 survey revealed, the common denominator for a concept of culture in Europe involves the arts in general, that is performing and visual arts as well as literature and languages/traditions/customs.⁵²² Culture as a whole is considered to be important by 77% of the Europeans. More than 50% value the cultures of their neighboring states and other European and world nations. In contrast to an opinion voiced by Ulrike Draesner, 67% of the European citizens think there is a distinct European culture in comparison to other continents. At the same time, the diversity acknowledged for cultures and book cultures by Kovač and others is recognized by Europeans as well: »over three-quarters agree with the sentiment that it is the existence of this diversity that gives European culture its unique flavor and enhances its value.«⁵²³

Book markets and book culture are language-based. They evolve around literature, poetry and prominent author figures. The distinctive preference for literature and language as markers of a European culture shows the importance and the influence of book cultures as a part of European and other national cultures. The question arises whether nations sharing the same language show similar traits in their book culture. Other common denominators could lead to similar book cultures, too. All European book cultures are embedded in a legal framework that allows for and even fosters freedom of expression and the free flow of cultural goods across national boundaries. The book market, as an integral part of book culture, has become European rather than national, as developments show an intensified trend towards an internationalization of publishers, booksellers and also of reading habits.

To make national book cultures recognizable and comparable, they have to be reduced to a set of variables comparable by statistical analysis. In the process they are simplified. There is no model that can represent reality and the subtle characteristics of the culture in a given country in its entirety. Yet even as a reduced representation, the results of creating a typology of book cultures can give valuable insights. The characteristics chosen to represent book culture are listed from chapter 3.3 onwards. The results of the clustering employed to detect potential relationships will be presented thereafter.

Before turning to the distinct characteristics of book culture, the environment of this culture has to be established. Regulations, laws and treaties have an

522 European Commission (Ed.) (2007): *European Cultural Values*. Special Eurobarometer 278/ Wave 67. – TNS Opinion and Social. Brussels. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc958_en.pdf, last retrieved November 5th 2012. Here: p. 83.

523 European Commission: *European Cultural Values*, p. 83.

influence on the book market and, therefore, on book cultures in Europe. Often, these are not specific to EU law but, as for example the right of freedom of expression, govern law- and policy-making in all nations that are part of the United Nations. These regulations and rights are factors which have to be taken into consideration when describing the status quo and the make-up of the book, its cultural standing and market economy. The book market and its agents are another part of the environment of a book culture; to a certain point, they are a part of the book culture itself. In consequence, the European book market will also be briefly introduced before turning to the variables describing book culture.

3.1 Legal Framework and International Treaties

»The EU, in fact, is not an international, but a supranational organisation, which sets forth practical law in a broad range of policy sectors. It is estimated that nearly two thirds of all legal provisions in the area of the EU now is stemming from the Union.«⁵²⁴ All nations of the European Union are sovereign in the design of their legislation, especially with regard to cultural policies and politics. Trade within the European Union is shaped by national legal norms based on EU law. The doctrine of supremacy of EU law means that EU law prevails over national regulations.⁵²⁵

While the European Court of Justice has to frequently decide on national law restricting the free trade among the Member states of the European Union, the proceedings in dealing with laws that are reflected in national or regional cultural values have so far been cautious.⁵²⁶ The rights of freedom of expression and information as well as the articles of the European Cultural Convention touch on some of these regional cultural values. Both are not a part of EU law, but they are reflected in policy and law-making within the European Union and the nation states, therefore they are presented in this context. The Florence Agreement and the Berne Convention are not as relevant to the creation and the promotion of literature and books as the former two. Their area of relevance is the book markets of Europe, in which they influence the production and distribution of books. These four aspects of the legal and treaty framework of book cul-

524 Benedikter, Thomas (2006): *Minorities in Europe. Legal Instruments of Minority Protection in Europe – An Overview*. Bozen: Society for Threatened Peoples. Available online <http://www.gfbv.it/3dossier/eu-min/autonomy-eu.html>, last retrieved August 22nd 2012.

525 For a comprehensive study on EU law and its implications see Craig, Paul. P. and De Búrca, Gráinne (2005): *EU Law. Text, Cases, and Materials*. 4th edition. Oxford University Press.

526 Apt, Benjamin L. (1998): »On the Right to Freedom of Expression in the European Union.« In: 4 *Columbia Journal of European Law* 69. Here: p. 69.

ture are by no means a comprehensive list. Yet they are representative of the different areas of law and regulation that impact book culture.

The recent discussions on the necessity of revising the existing copyright legislation and on future actions of balancing the trend of excessive consolidation within markets are symptomatic for how the reality of book culture is affected by laws, regulations and policies. There is no separate cultural sphere. Book culture is affected by the realities of the market economy and the legislation on an international and national level. Instead, book culture is embedded in the context of our society and the rules that govern it. Primary among these rules is the right to inform oneself and to express one's opinion freely.

3.1.1 *Fundamental Principles*

Book culture and books themselves are nothing without the content they transmit and disseminate. Whether it is scientific breakthroughs, investigative journalism or a crime novel – there are fundamental principles guiding the creation and publication of books. The principles presented in the following chapter are content-related. There is the principle of freedom of expression which is only limited by personality rights, such as privacy and human dignity. A third fundamental principle is the protection of minors and minorities, which is solved by the prohibition of certain texts in some countries. The fourth principle is cultural diversity and the promotion of culture as set down in the European Cultural Convention.

3.1.1.1 Right of Freedom of Expression

As people express themselves, make music, create works of art, sing, gossip, converse, accuse, deny, complain, celebrate, enthuse, boast, and parody, they continually add something to the cultural mixture in which they live. They reshape, however imperceptibly, cultural conventions about what things mean, what is proper and improper, what is important and less important, how things are done and how they are not done. Through communicative interaction, through expression, through exchange, individual people become the architects of their culture, building on what others did before them and shaping the world that will shape them and those who follow them. And through this practice of interaction and appropriation, they exercise their freedom.⁵²⁷

527 Balkin, Jack M. (2004): »Digital Speech and Democratic Culture: A Theory of Freedom of Expression for the Information Society.« *Faculty Scholarship Series*. Paper 240. Available online http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/240, last visited 7. September 2011. Here: p. 5.

The right of freedom of expression is a part of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union as well as the United Nations and all national constitutions of European Member states. In the Charter, it is laid down in Article 11, which corresponds to the tenth article of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Charter defines the freedom of expression and information as follows:

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected.⁵²⁸

However, there is no individual right of freedom of expression within the legal system of the European Union: Neither the treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty) nor the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) »explicitly guarantee [...] a subjective right to freedom of opinion or free speech.«⁵²⁹ In the cases concerning the freedom of expression, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) is guided by the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights; both are outside the European Community's legal order. On an EU level, a part of the right of free expression is included in the Directive 2006/515/EC,⁵³⁰ which states the protection and promotion of cultural diversity.

Despite the absence of formal codification, freedom of expression, both personal and political, has been steadily built up as a distinctive Community right. The main agency for its introduction has been the ECJ. The existence of the right can be proved by reviewing the history of relevant opinions – that is, by treating ECJ decisions as a form of Community »common law«.⁵³¹

Even though the EU law does not formally recognize the freedom of opinion as a part of the Treaties, the citizens of Europe recognize it as one of the most important values promoted and protected by the European Union, second only to peace.⁵³²

The book as a means of dissemination and generation of information and knowledge is dependent on the freedom to receive and impart information, ideas

528 The complete text of the 11th Article of the *EU Charter of Fundamental Rights* is available online: http://www.eucharter.org/home.php?page_id=18. Last retrieved July 23rd 2012.

529 Apt: On the Right to Freedom of Expression in the European Union, p. 69.

530 »Council Decision 2006/515/EC of May 2006 on the conclusion of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.« In: *Official Journal of the European Union L201/15*. Available online: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:201:0015:0030:EN:PDF>, last retrieved November 5th 2012.

531 Apt: On the Right to Freedom of Expression in the European Union, p. 69.

532 European Commission: *European Cultural Values*, p. 77.

and opinions. The freedom of expression is not only essential to the book trade and the free flow of information across borders but also to the diversity and vitality of book culture. In a regime, that censors information and opinion, book culture cannot realize its potential. »The diversity of sources of knowledge and information is an essential prerequisite for cultural diversity, creativity, prosperity and the development of societies worldwide.«⁵³³ By distributing the works of the mind and providing access to information and knowledge, publishers as well as librarians function as one of the sources for unbiased and objective knowledge, but also contribute to the public debate. As institutions of book culture, they »play a central role in the development and maintenance of intellectual freedom and help to safeguard democratic values.«⁵³⁴ Without the national and international legislation that safeguards the right of expression, authors, publishers and librarians would be inhibited in their work; and so would be the development of book culture. The right to freedom of expression and information is, therefore, an essential characteristic of an environment that is book-friendly and encourages the development of book culture.

3.1.1.2 Privacy Rights and Protection of Human Dignity

The right to freedom of expression is one of the fundamental principles governing democracy. Books in their informative function depend on the adherence to this principle. Yet the right to freedom of expression and opinion is limited by the personality rights of the individual. Vice versa, personal rights such as privacy are recognized as essential to a democracy. At the same time, the right of privacy is limited by the freedom of expression and the rights of others: a difficult balance has to be achieved. For book publishing, this means that the author and the publisher have to consider the potential impeachment of the personality rights of those, who are, for example, mentioned in the context of an autobiography.

The right of privacy, any other related rights and human dignity (on which the personality rights are based) are recognized as fundamental rights within the European Union. They are a part of the personality rights which include »inter alia the rights to life, physical integrity, bodily freedom, reputation, dignity, privacy, identity (including name and image) and feelings (sentiments d'affection) [...]«⁵³⁵ In 1995, the European Union Directive on Data Protection set up a regulatory frame-

533 IFLA (Ed.) (2002): *Joint Statement on Freedom of Expression*. Available online <http://www.ifla.org/publications/joint-statement-on-freedom-of-expression>, last retrieved July 19th 2012.

534 IFLA: *Joint Statement on Freedom of Expression*.

535 Neethling, Johann (2006): »Personality Rights.« In: Jan Smith (Ed.): *Elgar Encyclopedia of Comparative Law*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, M.A. pp. 530–547. Here: p. 530.

work to strike a balance between »a high level of protection for the privacy of individuals and the free movement of personal data within the European Union.«⁵³⁶ The directive mandated that each nation had to pass a national privacy law, to create an agency to enforce this law, investigate attacks on it and to generally protect the citizens' privacy.

Although the current debate often focuses on privacy rights and data protection, as it is relevant in the context of social networks, the collection of consumer data by corporations and the data preservation by federal agencies, the recognition or infringement of personality rights is also an issue in publishing. Generally, magazine and newspaper publishing experience more problems with the infringement of personality rights because of the publication of information on a short-term basis. Yet there are regular occurrences of book editions that have to be withdrawn because they infringe personality rights. For example, the singer Tarkan brought proceedings against a Turkish publisher, whom he regarded as having infringed his personality rights as the book not only reported about the development of his stardom but also included brief passages that speculated about Tarkan's sexual inclination. In consequence, the court ordered the book to be taken off the market. Ultimately, however, the complaint of the publisher against the proceedings was heard. The court found that the blacklisting of the book could not be considered necessary in a democratic society.⁵³⁷

If personality rights have been infringed, the individual can approach a court of law and receive restitution either through injunctive relief, correction of false statements, public apology and publication of the court's decision, or a form of monetary compensation.⁵³⁸ Many legal systems in the European Union demand personality infringement to be serious or to have particular gravity so as not to interfere with the freedom of opinion and artistic freedom. Article 8 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms lists the exceptions to the right to privacy:

There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the

536 »Protection of Personal Data.« In: *EUROPA. Summaries of EU Legislation*. Available online http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/information_society/data_protection/114012_en.htm, last retrieved August 21st 2012.

537 »Sapan v. Turkey. Application No. 44102/04.« In: *Netherlands Institute of Human Rights Database*. Available online: <http://sim.law.uu.nl/SIM/CaseLaw/Hof.nsf/e4ca7ef017f8c045c1256849004787f5/80d06225caef813ec125773b003068ff?OpenDocument>, last retrieved November 22nd 2012.

538 Neethling: *Personality Rights*, p. 533.

country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.⁵³⁹

For publishers, this means that personal data, as defined in Opinion 4/2007 of EC Article 29 Working Party, cannot be processed – that is adapted, disseminated or otherwise made available – without the consent of the individual.⁵⁴⁰ Such personal data includes all information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person: factors specific to his or her physical, physiological, mental, economic, cultural or social identity. Generally, the publishers of non-fiction, such as biographies, and also of fiction that mimics reality are faced with problems concerning the infringement of personality rights. Often, an all persons fictitious disclaimer with varying content, such as the generic ›all characters appearing in this work are fictitious‹, is included in the publication: Any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental. A variation of this generic disclaimer is provided by Bantam in Simon Beckett's *Written in Bone*: »This book is a work of fiction and, except in the case of historical fact, any resemblance to actual persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental.«⁵⁴¹ The wordings of a disclaimer may differ as its legal effectiveness varies.

There are three main cases of personality rights infringement a publisher might face.⁵⁴² There is defamation, which is a false statement about an individual within a book. If the individual described is a public figure, authors are allowed more creative freedom. The second aspect is a violation of privacy rights. Personal data, such as medical or financial information about an individual cannot be published without his or her consent. The third aspect is publicity rights. Publishers or anyone else are not allowed to use anyone's name or likeness in advertising without the explicit permission of the said individual.

A very good summary of the situation in the Member states of the European Union, with regard to their individual national concept of personality rights such as privacy, is available through a comparative study published by the European Commission.⁵⁴³ The descriptions are limited to civil law, which would be appli-

539 8th Article of the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1950). The complete text of the convention is available online: <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/005.htm>, last retrieved August 21st 2012.

540 »Opinion 4/2007« of *EC Article 29 Working Party* is available online: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/privacy/docs/wpdocs/2007/wp136_en.pdf. Last retrieved August 22nd 2012.

541 Beckett, Simon (2008): *Written in Bone*. London: Bantam Press.

542 Zaharoff, Howard (2005): »Common Publishing Legal Issues.« In: *Inside the Minds: Winning Legal Strategies for Publishing*. New York: Aspatore Books.

543 The University of the Basque Country/mainstrat (2008): Comparative Study on the Situation in the 27 member states as regards the Law Applicable to Non-Contractual Obligations Arising Out of Violations of Privacy and Rights Relating to Personality. [JLS/2007/C4/028. Annex III – EU 27 National Reports]. Brussels: European Commission. Directorate General Justice and Home Af-

cable in the case of publishing, although personality rights also are a part of criminal law in some systems.

3.1.1.3 Protection of Minors and Minorities

In terms of the fundamental principles of the European Union's legal framework, there are further content-related aspects which have an impact on book publishing and book culture. The protection of minors and minorities has become an important issue in the development of the legal framework of the European Union, especially with regard to the media.

The information services have developed away from the standard model of mass media, which allowed the consumer to choose between watching a program or reading a paper or not. The developments lead towards an »editorial model«, in which the consumer selects from a wide choice of informational services. With this development, the protection of children from harmful content has become more difficult.⁵⁴⁴ The legal and constitutional provisions of the European Union and on national level are a balance between the freedom of expression and the restriction of that freedom in favor of the protection of minors following the principle of proportionality,

i.e. the acid test of conformity between any restrictive measure and the basic principles as set out in the Convention. Europe therefore has a joint approach - the principle of free expression and the test of proportionality. Beyond this common basis, the current systems in the Member states vary considerably, reflecting differences in cultural and moral standards.⁵⁴⁵

Essentially, all Members States strive to protect children from harmful influences of the media. Among these influences, there can be pornographic material and excessive violence, depending on the national legal framework and moral standards. In 1998, a Recommendation adopted by the Council of Europe aimed at providing guidelines for the development of national self-regulation. It was suc-

fairs. Directorate C: Civil Justice, Rights and Citizenship. The study is available online: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/doc_centre/civil/studies/doc/study_privacy_annexe_3_en.pdf, last retrieved August 22nd 2012.

544 »Protection of Minors and Human Dignity in Audiovisual and Information Services: Green Paper.« In: EUROPA. Summaries of EU Legislation. Available online http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/audiovisual_and_media/l24030_en.htm, last retrieved August 22nd 2012.

545 Protection of Minors and Human Dignity in Audiovisual and Information Services: Green Paper.

cessfully implemented by all Member states.⁵⁴⁶ As a result, the principle of protection of minors has been integrated into general provisions, while other States have developed provisions specific to individual media. In all cases, it is a question of balance: protecting minors from harmful material while authorizing access to adults at the same time.

The European Union legal framework has established protective regulation and measures not only for children and young adults but also for national and ethnic minorities. The United Nations define minorities as communities settled on the territory of a given state consisting of a smaller number compared to the rest of the population. Members of minorities are citizens of this given state and have »ethnic, linguistic or cultural features different from those of the rest of the population.«⁵⁴⁷ The community can only constitute a recognized minority if its members strive to safeguard their distinguishing features. Within the European Union, a differentiation is made between national minorities and ethnic minorities.

A minority is designated as national if it shares its cultural identity (culture, language) with a larger community that forms a national majority elsewhere. National minorities in this sense are, for example, the Germans in Denmark, the Danes in Germany, the Hungarians in Romania, the Romanians in Hungary etc.⁵⁴⁸

In comparison, ethnic minorities do not form their own national state elsewhere. Examples for ethnic minorities within the EU are Gaelic-speakers, Frisians and Rhaeto-Romanianic speakers. To avoid the implications of differentiation, the term ›linguistic minority‹ is often used, although the term implies a reduction of complex cultural traditions to one singular feature of language.

Still, the measures for the protection of minorities, implemented within the legal framework of the European Union and its Member states, focus very much on language. For the total of 187 minorities in the European Union, language is the main distinctive feature.⁵⁴⁹ Its promotion and protection are, therefore, of the utmost importance, especially if the European Union wishes to preserve the diversity of its peoples. The Convention for the Protection of National Minori-

546 Media Group Turku School of Economics; KEA European Affairs (Eds.) (2007): *European Publishing Monitor Italy*. Brussels: Council of Europe. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media_taskforce/doc/publish/italy_en.pdf, last retrieved June 25th 2010. Here: p. 85.

547 Pan, Christoph; Pfeil, Beate S. (2003): *National Minorities in Europe*. Vienna, ETHNOS 63, p. XV.

548 Benedikter: *Minorities in Europe*.

549 Benedikter: *Minorities in Europe*.

ties⁵⁵⁰ and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages⁵⁵¹ define the legal basis of minority protection within the EU. The *Compendium Series* on national cultural policies addresses specific provisions for national, ethnic and linguistic minorities within the legal and political framework of the individual Member states in the chapters on language issues and politics as well as in the chapters on cultural diversity.⁵⁵²

Regardless of the provisions within the individual Member states, collective minority rights should include the right to use one's own language in the public sphere, the right to education in that language as well as the right to establish separate organizations including political parties. Minorities claim the right to maintain contacts with the kin-state or persons and institutions who share the same culture. Most importantly from the perspective of publishing and the book sector, minorities also claim the right to exchange information and mass media in their native languages.

Often, national or ethnic minorities are underestimated as potential customers in the book market. In consequence, these readers satisfy their demand with legal or illegal import of books from their kin states (in case of national minorities). For example in Latvia, with its big Russian population, there are few publishers catering in Russian publications. But now the market is picking up. In Finland, on the other hand, a bookshop has been established which supplies Russian books, magazines and musical scores.⁵⁵³ Ethnic minorities are often neglected as customers except in the case of recognized linguistic minorities. For Gaelic-speakers, for example, the Irish state has implemented a support for authors as well as a publication support scheme.⁵⁵⁴

The protection of minorities is not only a content-related aspect of book culture. The efforts to promote minority languages and cultures are complemented by publication aids as well as author grants. In maintaining the diversity of European cultures, the diversity of book culture is preserved at the same time. Cultural promotion does not end with the promotion of minority languages but encompasses the whole of cultural policy in Europe. To that effect, fundamental principles of cultural policy have been established by the European Cultural Convention.

550 The full text of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* is available online: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>, last retrieved August 24th 2012.

551 The full text of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is available online: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm>, last retrieved August 24th 2012.

552 Current issues in cultural policy are discussed in chapter 4 of the country profiles; the general objectives, such as diversity, are listed in chapter 2.

553 For more information, see *Ruslandia.com*. The shop in Helsinki is the brick and mortar shop window of a successful online shop and is valued as such by the company.

554 See Information Spreadsheet Ireland, p. A-54.

3.1.1.4 Cultural Policy Principles: The European Cultural Convention

On a European level, the *European Cultural Convention*⁵⁵⁵ is an important part of the basis of cultural legislation and promotion. In December 1954, it was signed by the members of the Council of Europe in Paris. The signatories of the convention agreed to safeguard and develop each nation's contribution to the common European heritage, as stated in the Article 1. A part of achieving this objective is the promotion of studies and activities that have a European interest as well as the promotion of a cultural exchange and the cooperation between all states. The European Cultural Conventions functions as the »prime instrument through which the European States expressed their commitment to cultural co-operation. It continues to provide a legal framework for the Council's action in fields such as education, culture and heritage.«⁵⁵⁶ Consequently, the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) was established. It is responsible for setting the agenda in the field of culture, education and the media. In 2001, the Council was divided into four steering committees. Among them there was the Steering Committee for Culture (CDCULT), which henceforth focused on a cultural policy development, its implementation and standardization among the European Member states.

The work of the councils is basic, especially with regard to introducing and communicating examples of best practice in cultural politics, including book politics. The National Cultural Policy Reviews⁵⁵⁷, the Compendium series as well as the establishment of *CultureWatchEurope*⁵⁵⁸, a platform to enhance creative dialogue between governments, non-governmental organizations and cultural professionals, are invaluable in providing information on cultural policies in Europe.

Without cultural cooperation and sound cultural policies, European book cultures remain national cultures only. They would be lacking input; new programs and projects would not be introduced. Cultural cooperation facilitates such input. When monitoring the recent trends in cultural cooperation within the context of the European Cultural Convention, often unspecified cultural cooperation is listed. Mostly, the export of cultural goods is mentioned as focus and the important role

555 Full text of the *European Cultural Convention* is available online <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/018.htm>, last retrieved September 7th 2011.

556 »Council of Europe.« In. *Culturalpolicies.net*. Available online: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/coe.php>, last retrieved July 23rd 2012.

557 *Cultural Policy Review Programme*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Available online http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/reviews/default_en.asp, last retrieved November 22nd 2012.

558 *CultureWatchEurope: Cultural governance observatory*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Available online http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cwe/default_en.asp, last retrieved November 22nd 2012.

of the cultural industries in this respect. However, the film and music industries or international festivals are listed.⁵⁵⁹ Book publishing seems to be neglected.

Within the framework of the European Cultural Convention, the three programs *Raphaël*, *Kaleidoscope* and *Ariane* were established in 1997. *Ariane* focused on the translation, the promotion of books and on reading projects. *Ariane* was organized around three fields of action: the first was assistance in translations, which aimed at encouraging a broader knowledge and the circulation of contemporary literary works of high quality and reference books. The second field of action focused on cooperation projects, which were designed to improve public access to books and reading. The third objective was to promote training projects for professionals in the field of book publishing and selling.⁵⁶⁰ From 1997 to 1999, *Ariane* supported 474 projects with a total of 4.1 million EUR.⁵⁶¹ In the following years, the three separate programs were superseded by the *Culture 2000* and the *Culture 2007* programs which did not distinguish between fields of action.

The European Cultural Convention provides a legislative base for cultural cooperation and the promotion of culture in Europe. It was an important step towards the development of cultural policies based on experience and best practice. While national cultural policies still are a part of national policy making and legislation, the Cultural Convention proved that successful projects can also function on a trans-national level. There are suggestions to merge cultural policy making, and therefore book policy, on a European level to create a unified policy for all European Member states. The identification of the characteristics and necessities of the book cultures of the individual European nations, for instance, would be prerequisite to such unification.

The right to freedom of expression, the protection of privacy and the protection of minors and minorities are fundamental principles applicable to all areas of life. The Cultural Convention is applied to cultural policies and promotion in general, therefore, the following chapters will focus on the regulatory framework of the book trade. This framework is essential to a functioning flow of cultural goods on a national and international level.

559 For example: Trends and objectives in French cultural policy. *European Cultural Convention: Promoting Cultural Cooperation in Europe*. http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/files/92/en/Monitoring_the_European_Cultural_Convention.pdf, last retrieved November 5th 2012. Here: p.3.

560 *Ariane Program 1998* (January 1999). Press Release. Available online <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/99/5&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>, last retrieved July 23rd 2012.

561 »Ariane.« In: *Culture Archive*. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/archive/culture2000/historique/ariane_en.html, last retrieved July 31st 2012.

3.1.2 *Horizontal Regulation*

Book culture is not only defined by the cultural characteristics of the book but also by its economic facets. The book market is an integral part of book culture.⁵⁶² A part of the European Union is a regulatory framework that applies to all markets. The following chapters will introduce the basic legal and regulatory principles guiding the book markets. Among those are labor laws which have to be respected by all actors on the book market.⁵⁶³ More importantly within the context of book culture there are competition laws, free trade laws as well as copyright provisions. Complementary to the regulatory framework of the European Union, there also are national provisions applicable to the book market of individual countries. A detailed account of the individual provisions would go beyond the scope of this work. However, within the chapters there are references to national legal provisions. Generally, these national provisions do not differ substantially; however, it has proven difficult to harmonize some of them, for example the provisions of the transparency of media ownership.

3.1.2.1 Competition Law and Media Ownership Transparency

Diversity as one of the key objectives of book culture politics and book promotion is challenged by the developments of the book market. Concentration and internationalization are not only detrimental to content diversity but also to a pluralistic and self-sufficient production and distribution sector. The availability of information from a number of different sources is central to decision making and, consequently, to democracy. Therefore, there are legal provisions to maintain a certain degree of diversity in Europe's markets. In general, the markets are governed by a competition law that is to prohibit the development of monopolies and other detrimental structures. With regard to the media, there are efforts to establish media ownership transparency. Both aspects, pluralism and transparency, are requirements of diversity.

Competition Law is intended to protect media pluralism by preventing collusive practices or mergers which could restrict consumer choice. The European Court of Justice applies the restriction of mergers on a case by case basis. It is applicable with a high threshold as it only applies to mergers with a community dimension. However, stricter national legislation may apply to mergers affecting

562 See chapter 3.2: The Book Market as the Economic Dimension of Book Culture.

563 A comprehensive overview of the labor laws of the EU is provided by Europa – Summaries of EU Law. Available online http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/index_en.htm, last retrieved February 6th 2013.

media pluralism (art 21 (4))⁵⁶⁴. Media pluralism is essential in protecting and promoting the fundamental principle of freedom of expression⁵⁶⁵:

Accordingly, in ensuring the exercise of the fundamental market freedoms, the ECJ [European Court of Justice] has guaranteed also the respect of the fundamental right to freedom of expression and the maintenance of media pluralism connected to it.⁵⁶⁶

Yet competition law is a limited tool in the preservation of pluralism. Other measures include favoring liberalization, preventing the abuse of dominant market positions (as the chain book stores are often criticized as doing when negotiating favorable discounts), tackling horizontal and vertical concentration, which restricts access to the market for new players, and, lastly, removing obstacles to access content and different platforms (which is especially true for the digital books market).⁵⁶⁷ The application of competition law is also limited by the lack of a definition and a method of quantifying of pluralism and diversity.

As is often the case, national legislation differs with regard to mergers. In Italy, for example, law n. 249 of July 31st 1997 for the protection of competition and the market established the Italian Communications Authority, which deals with anti-competition practices in the publishing sector. Antitrust investigations in general are carried out by the Italian Competition Authority. »In the past decade, no significant merger and acquisition operations in the press and book publishing sector have been blocked by the Competition Authority.«⁵⁶⁸ Yet the concentration in the Italian publishing sector is assessed to be very high.⁵⁶⁹ As in Italy, merger regulations of other European Member states often focus on the daily press and on broadcasting, less on book publishing. To harmonize the existing national legislation, a Green Paper on Pluralism and Media Concentration in the Internal Market was introduced in 1992. It proposed the adoption of a directive with the objective of harmonizing disparities among national regulations. However, the initiative was not passed.

564 Refers to »Article 21« of the *Council Regulation No 139-2004* of January 2004, the so-called EC Merger Regulation. The text of Article 21 is available online: <http://www.jusline.com/index.php?cpid=f92f99b766343e040d46fcd6b03d3ee8&lawid=15&paid=21>, last retrieved August 27th 2012.

565 See chapter 3.1.1 on the freedom of expression.

566 Barzanti, Fabrizio (2012): *Governing the European Audiovisual Space: What modes of governance can facilitate a European approach to media pluralism*. EUI Working Papers RSCAS 2012/49. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. The Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom. Available online: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/23914/RSCAS_2012_49.pdf?sequence=1, last retrieved August 22nd 2012. Here: p. 13.

567 Barzanti: *Governing the European Audiovisual Space*, p. 15.

568 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *European Publishing Monitor Italy*, p. 84.

569 Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 29.

With regard to the transparency of media ownership, there is equally no unified approach within the national regulations of the Member states. The European Union has adopted two Recommendations, but these are not legally binding. Because of the increasing complexity of media ownership through mergers and the introduction of new imprints, readers could profit from media ownership transparency rules. Recommendation Cm/rec(2007)2 acknowledges the need for transparency »not only for the regulatory authorities that are required to monitor media markets, but for the public as well.«⁵⁷⁰ Furthermore, a European Parliament Resolution of 2008 »specifically states that it encourages the disclosure of ownership of all media to help achieve a greater transparency regarding the aims and background of the broadcaster and publisher.«⁵⁷¹

As of today, there have not been any further efforts to harmonize the different national legal provisions, but there are a number of potential legal bases for an intervention by the European Union. Information on the grounds of an intervention has been provided in the essay »The European Union and Media Ownership Transparency« by Yolande Stolte and Rachael Craufurd Smith of the University of Edinburgh. Additional information is provided by the different national editions of the *Compendium Series*. Chapter 4.2 of each report on national cultural policy focuses on media pluralism and content diversity. Neither diversity nor book culture are limited to national markets. The free flow of books and literature from one nation to the other is essential to the advancement and development of book culture.

3.1.2.2 Free Trade, the Single Market and Its Predecessor

The free trade among its Member states was one of the founding principles of the European Union. The development of trade is an opportunity for growth – not only economic but also cultural growth. New ideas, and new research results reach nations from neighboring states. This free exchange of ideas by books, and today also by the digital media, is one of the factors of cultural development. Book culture had already profited from the flow of information and knowledge in the Middle Ages and even more with the rise of Humanism.

EU legislation covers all areas of trade: exports, imports, and commercial defense such as anti-dumping measures and protection against trade barriers. A

570 Stolte, Yolande; Craufurd Smith, Rachael (2010): *The European Union and Media Ownership Transparency: the scope for regulatory intervention*. Open Society Media Program. Available online: <http://mediapolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/the-european-union-media-ownership-transparency.pdf>, last retrieved August 22nd 2012. Here: p. 6.

571 Stolte; Craufurd Smith: *The European Union and Media Ownership Transparency*, p. 10.

part of the legal provisions are also multilateral agreements, for example the Trade Framework of the World Trade Organization. There is a common commercial policy for external trade and a general framework covering the Internal Market – the single market created in 1993 »in which the free movement of goods, services, capital and persons is ensured and in which European citizens are free to live, work, study and do business.«⁵⁷² Books are part of the free movement of goods, but there are no specific legal provisions, except for those of the intellectual property rights, as will be related in the next chapter on copyright provisions of the EU.

Before the creation of the Internal Market in 1993, there already were multilateral agreements in place. These were intended to protect the free flow of ideas through books and magazines as well as pieces of art. The so-called Florence Agreement is among the most important treaties. It shall serve as an example of legislation that specifically provides for the free trade of books and magazines. The agreements recognized these types of media as the carriers of ideas and cultural products, therefore as worthy of protection and promotion. In contrast, the legal provisions of the Internal Market of the European Union apply to products in general.

The Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, also called Florence Agreement, was signed in Florence, Italy, on June 17th of 1950. It was sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which initiated the treaty in accordance with its objective to facilitate the exchange of knowledge, information and art. A less restrictive protocol was added in 1950 (the Nairobi Protocol), which included the needs of the developing countries. Most of these had just gained national sovereignty and were in need of an easy and cheap access to information and publications which could spread the knowledge for the development of stable democracies and economies.

For the sake of this work, only the part of the Annex which applies to books and other printed publications shall be presented. Apart from books, the Florence Treaty also applies to audiovisual material, scientific equipment, musical instruments, works of art and the assistance pieces needed by the visually impaired.

The Florence Agreement applies to books as defined in Annex A, points (i) to (viii). This includes newspapers, periodicals and printed books, book duplicated by other processes than printing. The overall aim of the Florence Treaty is to allow an unrestricted exchange of ideas and knowledge and »in general, the widest possible dissemination of the diverse forms of self-expression used by

572 »Internal Market.« In: *EUROPA. Summaries of EU Legislation*. Available online http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/internal_market/index_en.htm, last retrieved August 28th 2012.

civilizations.«⁵⁷³ The contracting parties of the treaty deem these to be »vitaly important both for intellectual progress and international understanding, and consequently for the maintenance of world peace.«⁵⁷⁴ Since this interchange of knowledge and ideas is accomplished »primarily by means of books, publications and educational, scientific and cultural materials«⁵⁷⁵, the international trade of these materials is not to be restricted by custom duties, internal taxation or other charges.

The treaty does regulate the exchange of all forms of material goods. What is missing in the digitalized world, however, is an article that concerns itself with the free exchange of information on the internet. Ratification parties of the treaty should also refrain from restricting access to the world's biggest collection of information and trivia. Another protocol is needed that is complementing the Florence Agreement; one that takes the changed characteristics of the international media environment into account.

3.1.2.3 Intellectual Property Rights and Copyright Law

The Florence Agreement was an important step towards facilitating the free exchange of ideas worldwide. For the European Union, its existence is only secondary to the creation of the Single Market. Such an exchange has to consider the rights of authors, too. To this effect, the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works was instituted long before the Florence Treaty. It was drafted in September 1886; the latest Amendment was added in September 1979.

There are further national provisions regarding the copyright of the individual Member states. Additionally, the European Union has made arrangements to provide

an incentive for the creation of and investment in new works and other protected matter (music, films, print media, software, performances, broadcasts, etc.) and their exploitation, thereby contributing to improved competitiveness, employment and innovation.⁵⁷⁶

573 *Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials*, with Annexes A to E and Protocol annexed 1950. Preamble. Available online http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12074&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html#SIGNATURE, last retrieved September 6th 2011.

574 *Ibid.*

575 *Ibid.*

576 »Copyright and Neighbouring Rights.« In: *The EU Single Market*. Ed. by the European Commission. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/copyright/index_en.htm, last retrieved August 27th 2012.

A comprehensive overview of the European legal provisions regarding intellectual property rights and copyright may be found on the information page by the European Commission. Here, the enforcement of copyright, resale rights and especially the issue of copyright in the information society are explained.⁵⁷⁷

As in the case of the Florence Agreement, the copyright provisions within the EU legislation came into being with the creation of the Single Market. The Berne Convention as a multilateral agreement provides artists with an international protection of their rights and encourages the creation of more artistic and cultural works. The Berne Convention represents one of the first efforts to harmonize differing national provisions and to establish an international framework for the protection of intellectual property. Within the scope of this work, the complexity of the legal provisions on a national and European level cannot be completely presented, the Berne Convention, as one of the first, albeit international, treaties on copyright, shall serve as an example. European legislation was based on the provisions of the Berne Convention. Yet with the changing media environment, the Berne Convention, the European legal framework as well as the national provisions have to be adapted and developed. To adapt the legislation to an altered media environment is one of the challenges for current law-makers but also for book culture and its agents.

As national and European legislation is being changed, basic international treaties, which were the starting points and origins of copyright law shall be presented briefly. The Berne Convention is an integral part of the *World Intellectual Property Organization* (WIPO) Treaties. The WIPO started in 1884 with the Paris Convention, which set up a treaty to protect patents, trademarks and other industrial designs on the emerging international market. The international bureau set up in the course of the enforcement of the Paris Convention represents the origins of the WIPO. Copyright protection for creative works such as literature, music as well as other fine arts (painting, drawing, sculpting, and architecture) was instituted as a part of the Berne Convention of 1886.

The respect for the individual author's copyright as well as his right to license this right is the core of a functioning international book trade. Since book markets are mostly language markets, books from a certain language will have to be translated. In consequence, authors' as well as translators' rights need to be safeguarded in order for trusted business relationships to form and function. However, the latest amendment to the Berne Convention was introduced in 1979. As for the Florence Agreement, the rapid and fundamental changes that have since made an impact on the traditional book markets call for an adaptation of the fundamental legal mechanisms governing the book markets. Copyright law

577 Copyright and Neighbouring Rights.

has undergone some significant harmonization »to reduce barriers to trade and to adjust the framework to new forms of exploitation. Common ground is also needed with respect to the rules on the enforcement of rights, i.e. on access to justice, sanctions and remedies regarding infringements.«⁵⁷⁸

The international treaties and the examples of legal provisions of the EU, as presented in these chapters, do not represent the entire scope of EU laws applicable to the book and the book market. In addition to the legal provisions within the framework of the European Union, there are national regulations that are applicable to the book, its content, production and distribution. Legislation specific to the promotion of books and reading, such as resale price maintenance or reduced value added tax on books, are presented as a part of book promotion later on. Furthermore, there are trade laws, such as those protecting the diversity of the market against monopolies, and others that complement copyrights, such as management and licensing of rights. As book culture is diverse and multi-faceted, so are the laws and regulations applicable to the aspects of book culture. Book culture cannot thrive without a certain substructure, such as the recognition of the right of freedom of expression or as the regulation of a transnational book trade.

3.2 The Book Market as the Economic Dimension of Book Culture

In the description of book culture, the emphasis was on cultural aspects such as values and traditions, but there is a fundamental part of book culture which is based on economic principles – the book market. The book market as a whole with its various agents cannot be excluded when defining book culture. While there may be opinions stressing the cultural assets and merits of the book, it cannot be negated that the book is a marketable product, too. In reality, the topic of cultural assets of the book has been removed to theoretical and ideological debate while the material side of the book has gained dominance and the ambivalent relationship between market and culture has been stressed. At the same time, the book has lost this very dominance to the internet and the television in the mass market of information and entertainment. The ideological, or stereotypical, values attributed to the book often fail in the market economy. The book market has become part of the cultural industries⁵⁷⁹ and the rules and developments of

578 *Copyright and Neighbouring Rights*. The discussion on a new legal framework for intellectual property rights and, most importantly, the copyright, has been briefly introduced already in chapter 2.4.5 as one of the current challenges to book culture.

579 Cultural industries are a part of the economy of culture but are not active in the core art field (that is artistic creation such as painting or performing arts). These companies are »oriented towards the mass-reproduction and mass-distribution of goods that are entirely ›cultural‹ such

these industries apply as well. To comprehend book culture as a whole, a presentation of the European book market is necessary. While the book cultures of Europe have retained their national characteristics, the book markets of Europe have rapidly been merging and adjusting, not forming a European but a globalized cultural industry. Such a market with its strengths, weaknesses and opportunities as well as the influences on the development of the market will be presented in the following chapters.

3.2.1 *The Current European Book Market*

In describing the national book markets of Europe, scholars have attempted to group these markets into models. Such a model can facilitate an approach; it may explain patterns, differences as well as common ground. A functioning model also allows an easier determination of how book promotion affects the market and the book culture of a given nation. The European book market as a whole shall be the focus, since the developments of recent years, which included an increasing internationalization of the publishing industry, led to the creation of a European market. Books are still sold chiefly in the language market they were written and produced for. Yet the developments make an assessment of the European market as a whole possible. Its characteristics and size are determinable due to the data gathered by various study groups and the European Union itself. These are complemented by extensive data collections on national markets which are mostly provided by several national publishers associations. The data is reliable but not fully significant since these associations only collect data of their members. In the opinion of the Media Group from the Turku School of Economics, this leads to a general underestimation of the size of local markets.⁵⁸⁰ It is important to keep in mind that the book publishing industry has individual strengths and weaknesses, according to each sector and to each individual country. In addition, the various competing firms form a specific combination.⁵⁸¹ Therefore, an overview will only serve its meaning, which is to give an overview. This chapter will start with a look at Appelman and Canoy's model of the European book markets from an economical point of view.

It is necessary to group European book markets (and book cultures) to be able to compare the measures in order to promote the book. The model most

as books, films, music, etc.« KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 45.

580 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 15.

581 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

often described is the one developed by Marja Appelman and Marcel Canoy in their essay »Horses for courses. Why Europe should not harmonize its book politics«, which was published in *De Economist*. Appelman and Canoy used their model to reason why there should not be a development of a common strategy for the promotion of books. While the conclusion of the study is confirmed by the results of the cluster analysis conducted within the context of this work⁵⁸², there are some points about the methodology of Appelman and Canoy's study which need to be approached first.

To group the markets, Appelman and Canoy used the markers of population density, computer and internet use, number of speakers of the national language, literary titles per million inhabitants and book readers per 1,000 inhabitants. From these markers they developed four categories. First and foremost, the variables used to build the categories are sound if focused on the markets only. As the authors themselves explain, population density has consequences for the distribution network of the book market. A country with a low density cannot support a dense distribution network of wholesalers and bookshops, but rather relies on online shopping opportunities. Therefore, the lack of a dense population may be compensated by the use of ICT. Therefore, internet and computer usage were taken into account, too. The number of persons speaking the national language is important, since book markets are language markets. The more speakers to a language the more the publishing risk may be induced by a greater mass of potential buyers. This correlates to the number of readers. The more readers there are, the less the publishing risk is, since the general attitude on book reading determines the market outcome and how close the market comes to achieving cultural objectives.⁵⁸³ Appelman and Canoy created four distinctive groups: Scandinavia and the Netherlands, Southern Europe, The Big Three, and countries that share the language of a larger neighbor.⁵⁸⁴

In favor of the model, one has to concede that a grouping of countries is necessary. To determine the effectiveness of book promotion, measures may be deduced from the performance and the category the country belongs to. In theory, if two book cultures share certain characteristics, both could employ the same measures to protect and promote the book. From the viewpoint of an economist, choosing variables that describe the book market and its environment is reasonable. To describe book culture, more variables are needed.⁵⁸⁵

However, there are other aspects of the model that are dissuaded from applying it in this study. The first point has already been made: the factors em-

582 See chapter 3.4 onwards.

583 Cf. Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 595.

584 Ibid, p. 584.

585 A list of potential variables is provided in chapter 3.3.

ployed for grouping the markets are effective in describing mere economical entities but are not sufficient in describing a more complex cultural universe. Even though the analysis did include cultural and political intentions, these are not sufficient for the objectives of this study which aims to uncover the workings of book promotion measures.

Additionally, Appelman and Canoy only included the Western European countries and Japan. The Eastern European countries with their very diverse and lively book markets are missing. A model of European book markets is sadly lacking if a large part of the European Union is not included within the analysis. Andrea Grill, an Austrian author, summarizes the situation of smaller Eastern European countries as such: »It's as if they didn't exist. Literature is sometimes an excellent reflection of politics.« Her description applies to characters in European novels from these countries but may well be applied to the countries themselves.⁵⁸⁶

There have been other studies on the European book market apart from Appelman and Canoy. Miha Kovač from the University of Ljubljana described the consequences for smaller markets in his essay »Small is beautiful«, an essay published in *Knygotrya*.⁵⁸⁷ Another model to group and regroup European book markets has been introduced by the *Publishing Market Watch*, a study undertaken by the University of Turku. Similar to Appelman and Canoy, it took economic factors into account, focusing on the performance of book markets and conducting a so-called SWOT analysis. This includes an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to a specific market.⁵⁸⁸ The SWOT analysis will be discussed in the following section on the factors influencing the book market. First, a more detailed look shall be taken at the structure of the European book market in general.

There are some who wish to stress the cultural aspects of the book and indeed, these aspects serve as justification for the interventions in the book market by national governments as well as the European Union. But the book is part of the economy like every medium.⁵⁸⁹ It is a good to be traded. There are third party

586 Grill: Like colleagues, at least, p. 166.

587 Kovač: Small is Beautiful.

588 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2.*

589 See for the definition of a publishing house by Jäger to understand the double nature of a book as a cultural and economic good. Jäger's definition is based on the systems theory by Luhmann: Buchverlage sind Organisationen, die das Medium des »kulturellen Treuhandsystems«, Wertbindungen (*commitments*), in das Medium des Wirtschaftssystems, Geld, konvertieren. Sie verknüpfen den Selektionstransfer des Mediums Wertbindung aus dem kulturellen Subsystem mit dem Selektionstransfer des Mediums Geld aus dem wirtschaftlichen Subsystem der Gesellschaft. Sie realisieren diese Medienkonvertierung in Gestalt einer Doppelcodierung. Auf diese Weise entsteht das gedruckte Buch, das auf der einen Seite seinen kulturellen (oder im engeren Sinne literarischen, wissenschaftlichen etc.) Wert und auf der anderen Seite seinen wirtschaftlichen Wert hat.

interests in people buying this commodity, in reading and most certainly in buying the next edition.⁵⁹⁰ Yet different from other economics, the economics of the book are also determined by cultural objectives.

The book industry itself is divided into four major groups: consumer publishing that is trade publishing or the so-called belles lettres, educational or school publishing, academic publishing (sometimes, these categories are merged to form a single category of scientific and educational publishing) and business or professional publishing.⁵⁹¹ It is important to differentiate between these four. The last three categories make up the major part of production and turnover, but the public and scholarly discussions often focus on consumer publishing. While the data provided for the European book markets, which is included in this study, encompasses all aspects of the book publishing, book promotion efforts also focus largely on consumer publishing. There are, however, specific publication aids which foster the publication and translation of scientific books.⁵⁹²

The key business issues characteristic of the book industry in Europe, are the following: The book industry is doing well, turnover and number of titles are stable and in some countries are even increasing steadily. Even though there is no evidence for a dramatic decline in book purchases, statistical analysis suggests a steady decline in reader numbers. The Media Group report judged the European book industry to be a mature market. That means there is less potential for development and innovation. Alternative ways to expand sales and to encourage consumption have to be found. Also, the concentration in retail channels, as in publishing, and the resulting loss of bibliodiversity should be of the highest concern.⁵⁹³ In order to preserve a healthy (that is stable and diverse) industry without developing monopolies in distribution or production, book promotion is another key factor. As Baruch states, books are first and foremost economic products and changes in the sector are, therefore,

consistent with the general trends towards rationalisation, standardisation and concentration (both vertically, through the creation of multimedia enterprises controlling the whole integrated chain of production and distribution of books and related cultural products, and horizontally, through the grouping of sectorial processes like book chains) which characterize production processes in all European economies.⁵⁹⁴

Der kulturelle (bzw. literarische, wissenschaftliche) Wert wird in der Kritik, der wirtschaftliche auf dem Markt festgestellt. Jäger: Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie, p. 69.

590 Krotz: Konnektivität der Medien, p. 36.

591 Cf. Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *European Publishing Monitor Italy*, p. 48.

592 More information on publication aids is provided in chapter 4.4.4.

593 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 9.

594 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 1.

The above presented characteristics may apply to all kinds of markets, to all kinds of goods. Yet there is one distinguishing aspect of the book market which separates it from other markets: Book markets are most assuredly national and language markets. Among the European Member states the trade in finished goods, that is printed books, is limited: »i.e. one does not buy a Finnish novel in Portugal just because Portugal has a more book-friendly regime«⁵⁹⁵ and the prices there are lower. For copyright and simple monetary reasons, the book may not even be available there (with the possible exception of online book shops). Indeed, more than 90% of the books published across the European Union have only a national relevance and were not intended to be sold across the border.⁵⁹⁶ The notion of book markets being language markets is emphasized by the fact that booksellers have traditionally not had »the business organizational structure to operate in other countries; therefore, they only sold books published within their own borders.«⁵⁹⁷

On a more general scale, the properties of the European book market consist of an uncertain demand, a short period of profitability, an infinite variety in the goods produced, a vertical differentiation in the production companies, i.e. publishing houses, and a traditional chain supply system that consists of production, wholesale, distribution and retail. The substantial differentiation among all agents of the supply chain generates niche markets. The book industry is a high risk industry, since new products require investment and innovation by the publisher. On the other hand, books as products do not allow a consumer lock-in, since these may easily change to another variation of the product. Canoy further explains that books are experience goods – a risk factor for the consumer, who will only be able to judge the quality after consumption – but the information system on the quality of a book works well via »reviews, author reputation, book clubs and word of mouth.«⁵⁹⁸

However, there also are other characteristics which point away from a purely economic point of view. The printed book as a medium is a public good. There is a so called non-rivalry, since the book is a product that may not only be consumed once, but for an almost indefinite number of times. In fact, until the material gives way. There is also an instance of non-exclusiveness. Due to the fact that, in the European Union, almost everybody is literate, a book is a product that may be consumed by everyone. According to Just, this non-exclusiveness

595 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 583.

596 Lubiana, Lucio; Gammon, Julia A. (2004): »Book Selling – Book Buying. The European perspective of the online market.« In: *Library Collections, Acquisitions, & Technical Services* (28), p. 373–396. Here: p. 375.

597 Lubiana, Gammon: *Book Selling – Book Buying*, p. 375.

598 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 9. See also: Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*. p. 585.

and the characteristics of an experience good lead to a market failure and necessitate the intervention of the state by regulation and promotion.⁵⁹⁹ Appelman, however, sees no reason why the book market should fail, but

the need for government intervention can be traced to the notion that European governments see books as merit goods. Governments aim at more reading of books, more production of books and a more extensive network of booksellers than the market would produce by itself.⁶⁰⁰

Canoy agrees with Just, concluding that the market is dependent on the information flow between consumer and producer as described above. As counteragents of market failure, he names book reviews by independent experts, best-seller lists, the strong word-of-mouth culture and the prizes and awards which transmit information on the quality of a book.⁶⁰¹ If this communication flow is disturbed or damaged by a loss of trust, the market system will fail. Canoy adds that another reason for market failure could be the decreased life-cycle of a book: If a book does not perform, the retailer would want to get rid of it as quickly as possible. The market solutions up to now were second hand sales shops, a scaling down to a paperback edition of the title, and smoothing risks by pricing strategies.⁶⁰² This would result in risk sharing between publisher and retailer. In the current market environment, this strategy no longer works due to the politics of retail chains as well as the title decisions of publishers. Titles with such a risk are no longer taken on by major retailers and, therefore, are no longer taken on by publishers either.

Before turning to the national markets and their characteristics, a closer look at the European book publishing industry as a whole is warranted. In figures, the book publishing industry in the European Union accounts for 0.5% of the gross domestic product of the EU. There are 55,000 to 64,000 companies employing 750,000 persons.⁶⁰³ The major players within the EU market are Bertelsmann, Hachette and Pearson.⁶⁰⁴ Overall, there is a relatively high number of companies but with a much lower number of employees per firm (on average below seven)

599 Just; Latzer: *Ökonomische Theorien der Medien*, p. 89.

600 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 585.

601 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 16.

602 Ibid, p. 14.

603 *The Publishing Industry*. (2005, updated 2007): Ed. by European Commission. Brussels. Available online <http://www.euractiv.com/en/infosociety/publishing-industry-archive/article-148754>, last retrieved May 28th 2008. Here: p.1f.

604 De Prato, Giuditta; Simon, Jean-Paul (2011): *The Book Industry*. MCI Workshop 2, IPTS Seville. Available online <http://is.jrc.ec.europa.eu/pages/ISG/MCI/documents/09.GDepratoMC1271111bookv32.pdf>, last retrieved December 7th 2012. Here: p. 5.

than, for instance, in the US market (on average more than 100 employees).⁶⁰⁵ According to the European Union's statistical service eurostat, the turnover of the publishing industry was a total of 118 million EUR in 2004, with a value added of 44,000 million EUR. Of these, »publishing of newspapers contributed the most value added: 42%, compared with 33% for periodicals and 25% for books.«⁶⁰⁶ Regarding these figures one could deduce that »[...] the direct political impact of the book industry, its economic strength and its role in national economies is relatively small, not only in comparison with other industries, but also inside contemporary content industries.«⁶⁰⁷ Yet the book publishing industry carries significant weight in the European Union.⁶⁰⁸ According to eurostat, the turnover in publishing, between 2002 and 2007, grew faster than the turnover in the manufacturing sector in countries such as Bulgaria, Cyprus, Ireland⁶⁰⁹, Denmark and France. There only was one exception: within the same period, »the United Kingdom experienced an average annual decline in publishing turnover.«⁶¹⁰

Current statistics suggest that the countries with the largest title output represent also the largest domestic markets. In 2008, reporting the countries with the largest title output were »the UK (120,947), Germany (83,381), Spain (42,592), France (38,354) and Italy (36,409).«⁶¹¹ The title output refers to the production of all titles, not only new titles. The three major markets (Germany, France and the UK) account for over 50% of the total.⁶¹² Due to the characteristics of language markets, the book markets of the European Union are often dominated by translations. Miha Kovač here quotes Hemmings Wirten. Wirten presented UNESCO data from 2004, which stated that 50% of all translations were made from English into other languages, vice versa it were only 6%.⁶¹³ These figures may aptly describe an industry but without a diachronic or synchronic analysis they do not allow an in-depth understanding of the structure or problems of a given market.

605 Ibid, p. 14.

606 eurostat: *Cultural Statistics*, p. 75.

607 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 57.

608 De Prato; Simon: *The Book Industry*, p. 11.

609 Information Spreadsheet Ireland: Annex, p. A-43.

610 eurostat: *Cultural Statistics*, p. 88.

611 Turrin, Enrico (2010): *European Book Publishing Statistics 2008. Executive Summary*. Ed. by Federation of European Publishers. Brussels. Available online http://www.fep-fee.be/documents/EUROPEANBOOKPUBLISHINGSTATISTICS2008_000.pdf, last retrieved May 17th 2011.

612 De Prato; Simon: *The Book Industry*, p. 5.

613 Miha Kovač here quotes from Hemmings-Wirten (2007): »The Global Market 1970–2000: Producers.« In: *A Companion to the History of the Book*. Ed by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose. Malden: Blackwell Publishing). Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 125.

3.2.2 *Influencing the Book Markets – Problems, Changes, Tendencies*

A SWOT analysis⁶¹⁴, as conducted and elaborated in the *Publishing Market Watch* report, lists a number of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the European publishing industry. In the case of the European book publishing industry, the Media Group assessed the following strengths: One of the great advantages of the book industry is that book buying and book reading are deeply embedded in the cultural landscape of the European Union. They are regarded as the source of many important ideas as well as a channel for both information and entertainment.⁶¹⁵ Another advantage is the high level of literacy and that the book is seen as an essential tool for education.⁶¹⁶

The book industry is substantial and has a great international reach but there also are large local markets to rely on in times of a crisis. It can rely on a well-developed and robust distribution chain that allows niches to accommodate diverse companies. Due to the positive reputation of book publishing, the companies are able to attract quality personnel. Even though most of the companies are financially strong and highly experienced, there is always a potential for new enterprises and imprints due to the low entry cost to the market, the high diversification, and the strong flow of available content. The innovative approaches to marketing and promotion as well as a reduced pressure on the market, due to a number of well-established promotion schemes such as the fixed book price, allow an even greater diversity.⁶¹⁷

Yet none of the factors named as weaknesses or threats in the analysis, such as the introduction of digital technologies, is inherently only negative. To the contrary, it offers chances for innovation and development at the same time. The following chapters elaborate on these tendencies in the European publishing market. As the markets are an element of book culture, the developments that take place there will have an effect on the development and adaptation abilities of book culture in general.

614 A SWOT-Analysis scrutinizes the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to a certain industry, for example the book industry, thereby reflecting in part the situation of the book cultures in the given countries.

615 See chapter 2.3.1 on the book and national identity.

616 See chapter 2.2.3 on the role of the book in school education.

617 For a more in-depth discussion of the strengths, see for Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 64f.

3.2.2.1 Impact of ICT – How Digital Technologies Change the Market

The problems presented in this chapter are not solely market issues but also developments that have changed the environment of the market. According to Rüdiger Wischenbart, the book industry has completely changed its face in the last few years. This is especially true with regard to what Wischenbart defines as »professional information.«⁶¹⁸ It has developed into an immaterial good: »This wealth of information is predominantly born digital, distributed digitally, and not available anymore by item – or volume – in a book store near you.«⁶¹⁹ The change described by Wischenbart is a part of the impact of ICT and e-commerce on the book market. It led to changing media consumption patterns, to shifts in the advertising expenditure – which endangered a number of print magazines – to increased media fragmentation, and the entry of new players into the digital publishing market. In addition, ICT has also had an impact on publishing for schools, since it questioned the traditional way of teaching and learning at schools.⁶²⁰

The development in technology is accompanied by a change in the social environment. For example, statistical evidence that suggests that people, especially young people, read less.⁶²¹ That is in part due to the increased competition among media for leisure time and information habits: »Reading itself is becoming a matter of increasing concern across Europe as newspapers and, to a lesser degree, books are less likely to reach younger audiences, who are more interested in spending their ›media time‹ on television, games and the internet.«⁶²² And it is related to the development of new reading habits among the new generation of the so-called digital natives.⁶²³ The book industry was and partially still is slow to respond to the opportunities and threats of digital technologies, particularly the internet. This correlates with the decline in book reading numbers. In fact, most Europeans read one book or less per year. Additionally, book readers are often not book buyers. It is difficult for publishers to know their end users. Readers, on the other hand, especially of academic books, have little brand recognition and will buy whatever interests them with a rare regard to a certain series.⁶²⁴

Additionally, the digital technologies open the way for new competitors to enter the market. New competitors are, for example, global players in the distri-

618 Wischenbart: *The Global Ranking of the Publishing Industry 2009*, p. 22.

619 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

620 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 258.

621 See chapter 2.4.6 on changing reading habits as one of the challenges to book culture.

622 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 117.

623 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 155.

624 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 65 and 66.

bution market like Amazon. The company offers authors the possibility to publish directly with Amazon as a service partner, thereby excluding conventional publishers. So do Google and Apple. The three internet companies form a serious competition to conventional publishers, at least on the online market. At the same time, publishing houses have become vulnerable to digital piracy. The illegal up- and downloading of e-books and the difficulty of enforcing copyright provisions across the continents increase the uncertainty of market developments and result in the necessity to revise current copyright legislation. This applies to e-books, to the possibilities of content usage on the web, as well as to a general necessity to rebalance copyright legislation, which has degenerated into more of a commerce legislation than one that is balancing interests of authors, distributors and publishers.⁶²⁵

However, there are also chances and opportunities for the book market inherent in these changes. The slowness of some publishing companies in their reaction to the technological changes was listed as one of the weaknesses of the industry. In changing this behavior, publishers may develop opportunities; for example in creating new tie-ins with other media, such as interactive educational material, or by using the internet as direct sales channel by trying out new marketing strategies. There also are strategies to include content for mobile devices in the publishing portfolio. Some of these opportunities are already used by publishing companies: For example, the German publisher Schnell + Steiner, who specializes in art and architecture books, developed an application called *Art-guide* for mobile devices. It displays information on architectural or historical landmarks in German cities.⁶²⁶

This matches the suggestion by the Media Group to find opportunities by developing new categories of books, which are aimed at people who are not currently buying books, and to use a print on demand technique to publish low-demand books. Both measures could increase bibliodiversity and enhance publishing house programs without investing and tying a large amount of capital.⁶²⁷

The web may be used as a promotion tool for publishers and retailers by using classic strategies, such as print advertising, or new approaches, such as viral marketing. The lack in the performance of e-books that used to be due to the »lack of market familiarity, and in part due to the lack of a platform that is accepted as

625 Kühlen: Sind Regulierungen für Umschichtungen auf den Informationsmärkten nötig? p. 202.

626 »iPhone App «Artguide» gewinnt Mobile Innovation Award.« In: *buchreport* (Online Edition). Available online <http://www.buchreport.de/pressemitteilungen/pressemitteilungen/datum/2011/02/03/iphone-app-artguide-gewinnt-mobile-innovation-award.htm>, last retrieved November 2nd 2011.

627 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 67.

being as convenient and high-quality as the traditional book«⁶²⁸, has already been consolidated and presents the book market with even more challenges.

3.2.2.2 Diversity versus Globalization – The Dynamics of Concentration

A development that has been endangering the diversity of the market can be stated in the fact that the strongest dynamics in the industry originates from mergers and acquisitions. This has led to a »considerable consolidation in a traditionally highly-fragmented industry.«⁶²⁹ Concentration tendencies not only affect competition but also the plurality of opinions and the diversity of titles.⁶³⁰ Concentration and internationalization are a threat, especially for smaller publishing houses. There is

hardly any opportunity for a small local Central European publisher, who may have discovered and published a future best-selling writer, to hold onto his global translation rights. This type of intellectual property is dealt with through a small number of major global actors and platforms, like major agents and book fairs, notably Frankfurt and London.⁶³¹

The increasingly restricted retail channels dominated by the large book shop chains have led to a restriction for the publishers, too. For example, small firms are finding it harder to place their products into the sales channel, especially as large retailers can dictate the conditions. Large retail chains like Feltrinelli in Italy charge for the placement of books in prominent spots, such as in shop windows or next to the cash register.⁶³² Innovation is limited in such a mature market and there is no immediate drive for change. In addition, it is extremely difficult for publishers to determine which titles are going to be successful. Although the large retail chains have been losing ground in recent years, the problem persists as the retail channels are increasingly dominated by the online distributors.

André Schiffrin identifies the concentration tendencies as one of the reasons for the book industry being hit hard by the economic downturn. According to him, »a diversified, independent publishing field with many smaller firms might

628 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 62.

629 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 118.

630 Just: *Ökonomische Theorien der Medien*, p. 92.

631 Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 54.

632 According to André Schiffrin Feltrinelli charges up to 10 000 EUR for the display of a title in the shop windows of all its chain stores. Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 10.

well have survived more successfully. But the conglomerates, with their high profit expectations, have acted in the hope of preserving those profits rather than publishing the best possible books.«⁶³³

These developments jointly lead to a loss in diversity and independence as Schiffrin describes in his analysis of the American and Western European book markets *Words and Money*. He claims that the »pressure to earn at least 10 to 15 percent, if not more, profoundly altered the output of the major publishing houses.«⁶³⁴ The consequence is »to produce fewer books, concentrating on those with the highest sales potential, eliminating vast areas that used to be the hallmark of many of these houses.«⁶³⁵ This leads to an abolishment of the old principle of 80/20 as Baumhöver describes it, and in part to a loss of the self-image of the publisher:

Zwei Drittel unsere Arbeit dienen dazu, zu bewahren, zu erhalten, zu stärken, ein Drittel der Daseinsvorsorge. Unternehmerisch gilt das Prinzip 80/20. Das heißt: 80 Prozent der Inhalte und Autoren werden von 20 Prozent mitfinanziert. Wir sehen, es ist das alte Solidaritätsprinzip. Beide genannten Prinzipien sind zurzeit im freien Fall. Beide Prinzipien werden von keiner Unternehmensberatung der Welt verstanden oder akzeptiert, sondern eher als Kuriosum belächelt.⁶³⁶

The danger inherent in this development is the loss of the argumentative basis used to defend the fixed book price. Jäger supports this: »Sollte sich in den Verlagen eine Führungskultur herausbilden, die über Programme und Titel ausschließlich nach wirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten entscheidet, so wäre der Preisbindung die Legitimationsgrundlage entzogen.«⁶³⁷ However, »even the most culture-loving publisher wants to use opportunities of money making to compensate for the failings; otherwise the publisher simply does not survive.«⁶³⁸ The *Buchlobby Schweiz*, a Swiss organization of publishers, booksellers and other interested parties, has extensively been lobbying for a reintroduction of a fixed book price. Their argumentation focused on the image of cultural publishers whom they described as magnets, catalyzers and transformers »die Projekte initiieren, Themen und Autoren suchen, Bedürfnisse von Forschung und Wissenschaft befriedigen und auch komplexe Sachverhalte für ein allgemeines Publikum aufbereiten las-

633 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. xv.

634 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. vii.

635 Ibid, p. 6.

636 Baumhöver, Claudia (2009): »Ohrenbetörend.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold, Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik, pp. 263–278. Here: p. 277.

637 Jäger: *Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie*, p. 72.

638 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 13.

sen.«⁶³⁹ Yet the image of the »uneigennütigen Kulturmenschen, der mehr oder weniger gezwungen ist, sich auch mit schnöden wirtschaftlichen Belangen auseinandersetzen«⁶⁴⁰ is no longer true for all publishers. Another reason for the development of concentration and internalization is that English has developed into the »globally dominant language of business and scientific communication. Throughout this process, Anglo-Saxon book industries became globally dominant.«⁶⁴¹ This has affected small, local companies such as publishing houses in small language communities. And in part, this development will result in a potential readjustment of the description of book markets as language markets.

However, criteria such as diversity, freedom of opinion or the participation in political discussion are not factors to be quantified easily. This is where economic analysis reaches its limits, according to Just.⁶⁴²

Diversity, as plurality, is a part of the politically desired market outcome. Additionally, the diversified sector is to develop into a self-sufficient industry independent of state provisions. As Miha Kovač suggests⁶⁴³, diversity may be seen as a combination of the number of published titles and by the number of how many companies who published these titles, but the definition may also be extended to include criteria such as number of literary titles versus scientific titles. Diversity is not solely achieved by quantity but it also is a question of quality, as Umberto Eco states: »The quest for a new and surviving literacy ought not be the quest for a preinformatic quantity.«⁶⁴⁴

It has also to be kept in mind that diversity may come at a certain cost for all parties involved. Canoy states that it is not the publishers who occupy niches but individual books. The portfolio created by a single publisher may occupy a number of niches in order to achieve a reduction of risk. In addition, books currently have a very short life-cycle. To maintain diversity, a high number of titles have to be issued continually – a practice that is criticized, among others, by Umberto Eco. Canoy concludes that, when trying to occupy niches, »publishers may face a trade-off between risk smoothing and specialisation that is a publisher specialised in science fiction may have a competitive edge to non-specialised publishers, but may face the extra risk that science fiction lovers switch to video games.«⁶⁴⁵

New kinds of books, for example personalized editions, and new publishers have contributed to this. Among them are the so-called vanity publishers who

639 Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz, p. 4.

640 Panzer, Scheipl: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 37.

641 Kovač: *Small is Beautiful*, p. 279.

642 Just: *Ökonomische Theorien der Medien*, p. 97.

643 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 128.

644 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 302.

645 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 10.

allow regular citizens to see their own work published in print.⁶⁴⁶ Other chances opening up for publishers and retailers could be publishing and selling books for ethnic minorities. It

may grow as a niche opportunity in view of the numbers of immigrants who may be expected to enter Europe to fill both existing and anticipated labour and skill shortages: it may though, be easier and cheaper to import books from the home country rather than to publish within the EU.⁶⁴⁷

The book sales and the title production represent a kind of pulse, an indicator for the vitality of book culture. Yet the developments of recent years and the trends apparent in the market demonstrate the need for book promotion. A functioning model of book cultures, similar to the one attempted by Appelman and Canoy for book markets, would facilitate the selection and implementation of effective book promotion. Such a model has to be based on a number of variables representing book culture. These are chosen from all aspects of book culture.

3.3 Indicators of Book Culture

Both concepts, European Culture and Cultural Europe, are readily filled with life in debates, but they do not have a fixed definition. As Kennard states, »Europe does not **need** a single identity, indeed its informal motto is ›unity in diversity‹ which seems to encapsulate the idea of retention of other whilst accepting the European idea as an umbrella.«⁶⁴⁸ Kennard's statement can be expanded to include all the sub-cultures of that Cultural Europe. Book culture in itself is one of the sub-cultures; it is one of the common cultural nodes in Europe. A singular European book culture cannot be identified. To discover whether there are discernible types of European book cultures, a general overview of the characteristics of the national book cultures is essential. The following chapters will try to introduce a model to describe book cultures. It is based on variables. It cannot provide a complete picture of book culture, since some aspects of culture are hardly quantifiable. Yet it presents a combination of cultural and economic aspects which make up a book culture.

646 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 45.

647 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 60.

648 Kennard, Ann (2010): *Old Cultures, New Institutions. Around the New Eastern Border of the European Union*. Berlin: LIT. Available online http://deposit.d-nb.de/cgi-bin/dokserv?id=3479607&prov=M&dok_var=1&dok_ext=htm, last retrieved February 22nd 2011. Here: p. 190.

The book market will be part of this model. André Schiffrin claims that » [...] one of the reasons the development of publishing throughout the world is so interesting is that it is truly a microcosm of the different societies in which it exists [...].«⁶⁴⁹ Miha Kovač identifies the fascination with the book in general as the controversial setting between simultaneous privatization through the publishing industry and protection through book promotion: »this rather controversial process of simultaneous dethronization and protection created an identity crisis that has not yet been fully and successfully resolved.«⁶⁵⁰ In accordance with Kovač's and Schiffrin's findings, similarities and differences in Europe's book cultures should emerge.

Yet simplifications need to be made to examine the European book cultures and to arrive at a model worthy of representing them. Starting with some exemplary analyses by, for example, Miha Kovač and Appelmann and Canoy⁶⁵¹, the range of variables has been extended considerably. That is true also with regard to the indicators selected by Rüdiger Wischenbart and Holger Ehling for their book statistics project.⁶⁵² Quantifiable factors were chosen to represent book culture. Some of these factors seemingly do not apply to book culture or are of no relevance to culture at all – such as the gross domestic product per capita. Yet to put figures, like the spending on book promotion, into perspective, and also the turnover of the publishers, the GDP was included as a corrective. Other variables represent characteristics that are not quantifiable – such as the role of the book in society. To allow the non-quantifiable variables to be included into the analysis, values such as high, medium and low were substituted by 1, 0.5 and 0. For the sake of the statistical analysis, all other variables were also converted by the program into values between 0 and 1.

The variables presented were used in two types of analyses and an initial test for correlations between the variables. A cluster analysis has been used to identify different types of book cultures in Europe. An additional regression analysis further examined some of the significant correlations found for the variables of readers, persons considering literature to be part of culture and title pro-

649 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 1.

650 Kovač: *Small is Beautiful*, p. 280.

651 Miha Kovač made a basic analysis of readership, internet usage and the competitiveness of some European countries. It is part of his work *Never Mind the Web*. Appelmann and Canoy attempted to identify different types of book markets. Their results are presented in the essay *Horses for Courses*.

652 Rüdiger Wischenbart and Holger Ehling selected the following indicators to collect data on the international book markets: Number of titles, categories of books by subject, number of publishers, turnover of the publishers and the publishing markets, exports, number of book stores, book sales, imports, number of libraries, number of library books and number of library users. Wischenbart, Ehling: *A Methodology to Collect International Book Statistics*, p. 7.

duction to test the efficiency of book promotion measures.⁶⁵³ All correlations are presented in the general correlation table in the annex and further explanations are given in the following chapters along with the description of the individual variables.

3.3.1 *Data Basis for the Analyses*

The statistical analyses described in the following chapters are based on data collected on all nations of Europe, with the addition of Switzerland. This does not encompass all countries that are a part of the ›geographical‹, but those that are the political union of Europe, which is the European Union. The distinctively defined set of countries allows for a better comparability. The book markets in these countries are operating in similar conditions, and the trade, as well as the politics follows common guidelines established by the European Union.

Gathering data on the individual book markets and book cultures of the Member states of the European Union and Switzerland proved to be difficult. There are some excellent and reliable sources. Yet not all information could be supplied for all countries. Other data represent a less valid basis, since the methods of collection vary from country to country. Inconsistency occurs in the definition of the book, of which titles are to be included and other levels.⁶⁵⁴ Statistics ›are gathered by diverse institutions [...] ranging from trade industry associations to government bodies to service institutions such as ISBN agencies or market researchers, NGOs and supra-national institutions.«⁶⁵⁵ These variables with unreliable data are still presented within this study, as they are relevant to the characteristics of book culture. However, they were excluded, wherever possible, from the statistical experiment. The following paragraphs briefly describe the sources of data and information for the conducted analysis.

A good start for an international overview on topics such as culture and education provide the databases of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). There are some surveys on literature, reading and title production available online. The accessible data turned out to be dissatisfactory as it was outdated. For example, the comprehensive overview on title production lists figures from 1999.⁶⁵⁶ In consequence, other reliable sources had to be found, and the figures made available by the UNESCO were used as orientation.

653 The regression analysis is presented in detail in chapter 4.6.

654 Wischenbart, Ehling: *A Study on International Book Statistics*, p. 7.

655 Wischenbart, Ehling: *A Study on International Book Statistics*, p. 4.

656 The book production statistics may be viewed as a customized table online: <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/tableviewer/document.aspx?ReportId=143>, last retrieved November 21st 2011.

3.3.1.1 Eurostat and the Cultural Values Survey

The statistical institute of the European Union (eurostat) has made a number of cultural and economic statistics available which were essential to this study. The eurostat database was consulted for population statistics⁶⁵⁷ needed to calculate the variable values per thousand inhabitants. This was done to ensure the comparability of the involved data. The statistical pocketbook publication on cultural statistics made reliable data on the level of education, the turnover of the book publishing industry and the GDP (gross domestic product) of the European Member states for the year 2007 available. The publication draws on data available from the eurostat database but also from additional information provided by the UNESCO and the Eurobarometer surveys. For the purpose of this collection, ›culture‹ was broken down into eight domains (artistic and monumental heritage, archives, libraries, books and press, visual arts, architecture, performing arts and audiovisual/multimedia).⁶⁵⁸ For the purpose of this study, the data provided about the sector books and press was of relevance, especially since individual information was provided about book publishing.

Equally relevant was the Special Eurobarometer 278 survey, *European Cultural Values*, conducted by the eurostat institute in 2007. It asked for information on cultural participation and on the definition and the constitution of culture to measure the public opinion on culture and its associated values in Europe. For the survey, 26,755 citizens of the EU were interviewed in all Member states; the methodology is explained in the appendix of the survey.⁶⁵⁹ Most important for this study were the answers to the questions concerning reading habits (Questions QA 4.10 and QA 4.6) and the answers to the question on the aspects which are to be considered a part of culture (Question QA2).⁶⁶⁰ The Eurobarometer survey also gives interesting insights into the understanding of and the relevance attributed to European culture, a subject that regrettably could not be studied further in the context of this work.

657 These statistics are available online <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/data/database>, last retrieved November 21st 2011.

658 eurostat: *Cultural Statistics*, p. 5.

659 »Appendix and Methodology.« European Commission: *European Cultural Values*, p. 85 onward.

660 The complete Eurobarometer 278 survey *European Cultural Values* and its results are available online: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc958_en.pdf, last visited 21. November 2011. Question QA4.6 is found in the Annex on page 118, QA4.10 on p. 122; QA2 is found on page 111.

3.3.1.2 Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe

Information on the budgets for libraries and book promotion could be gained from the detailed cultural policy profiles made available on the web as part of the *Compendium*⁶⁶¹ series. The *Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* series is a web-based and permanently updated information system on the national cultural policies of Europe. All states, and their policies, cooperating within the context of the European Cultural Convention⁶⁶² are introduced within the context of this project. The editors are the Council of Europe and the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (ERICarts), an independent non-profit research institute that specializes in large-scale trans-national comparative research.⁶⁶³

The *Compendium* country profiles provide information on the cultural policy priorities, on the organizational structures and the legal framework, on the financing and the historical development of policies as well as on current projects and basic data. The individual country profiles are authored by independent experts and are created in cooperation with ministries, non-governmental organizations, statistical institutes, and documents and reports from governmental, independent or lobby groups. The *Compendium* series thereby provides excellent and reliable overview information, especially with regard to cultural diversity, the intercultural dialogue and cooperation, and the status of artists. All of the above are important aspects for book culture, and although the information provided by the *Compendium* is general, there are sector-specific chapters focusing, for example, on the legislation of libraries and publishing.

3.3.1.3 National Statistical Institutes and Other Sources

The information of the eurostat institute was complemented by a variety of other sources, such as the national statistical institutes, the ministries of education and culture, the national and European publishers and booksellers association as well as – for all information concerning the public library system and statistics – the *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* (IFLA). Unfortunately, the IFLA's sources are the library associations of the countries themselves and this makes the information listed less reliable. The individual library associations use a different definition of a number of libraries, some counting

661 The *Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* series is available online and continuously updated: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php>, last retrieved November 22nd 2011.

662 The *European Cultural Convention* and additional information were presented in chapter 3.3.1.

663 For more information on the work of ERICarts, see ericarts.org.

only administrative entities, some every single branch of the libraries. Some associations even include school libraries as public libraries. Thus, the acquired information was listed in the overview-table included in the annex but was not employed in the statistical analysis.

While the IFLA materials are focused on libraries and their specific problems worldwide, the information on the book markets of Europe is far more diversified. The publishers as well as the booksellers associations have already been mentioned in this context. There is also the *Publishing Market Watch* report by the Turku School of Economics and Business Administration and Rightscom Ltd. The report includes several figures and illustrations on the book market in general but also gives an outlook on key issues such as structural changes, diversity and the sustainability of the publishing sector. No data from the report has been included in the statistical analyses conducted within the context of this work, since the sources of the *Publishing Market Watch* report date from 2002. However, inspiration for the data relevant for book markets was derived from this report.

3.3.2 Contextual Information

The reading habits or the turnover of the book publishing industry are important markers of book culture. Yet without context and perspective, these figures fail to signify any connections nor is the comparison of a number of countries possible. As important contextual data, two factors have been included, for the purpose of this study: the gross domestic product and the level of education. For a survey on a larger scale, the number of speakers of a given language could also be included, which was not possible within the scope of this work. As publishing markets and, thereby, also book cultures reflect the socioeconomic parameters of a country, they can be »correlated in meaningful ways with population size and GDP per capita.«⁶⁶⁴ For instance, the comparison of the turnover of the publishing industries in Europe fails to lead to conclusions if the population size and the gross domestic product are not considered. A country with a large population and a high GDP may have a high turnover of the publishing industry. A second country may have a similar turnover. Without the additional context of a smaller population and a smaller GDP, the significant difference between the two publishing sectors will not become evident.

664 Wischenbart, Rüdiger (2012): *Drawing the Global Map of Publishing Markets 2012. An Experimental Introduction*. Available online http://www.wischenbart.com/upload/Drawing%20the%20Global%20Map%20and%20top%20Publishing%20Markets%202012_final.pdf, last retrieved January 4th 2013. Here: p.4.

3.3.2.1 Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

The Gross Domestic Product was, as has been explained above, included in order to put spending on book promotion or the turnover of publishers into perspective. The GDP represents the market value of all goods and services produced within a given country during a specific period, usually a year. Calculated per capita, the GDP is considered to be an indicator of a given country's standard of living. There are varying approaches to how the Gross Domestic Product is calculated. In theory, the result of all three approaches (expenditure approach, income approach and production approach) should be the same. There is an international standard, SNA93, for the calculation of the GDP. The relevant GDP figures and the GDP per capita were taken from the statistical pocketbook published by the European Union's statistical institute.

The correlation analysis of all factors pointed to a strong correlation (0.608) between GDP per capita and the number of internet users in the countries analyzed. As the statistical methods do not suggest a causal relation, but merely a correlation of any kind whatsoever, the correlation could be a secondary effect of the correlation between the level of education of a country's population and the number of readers. Pointing towards this indirect correlation is the fact that Luxembourg⁶⁶⁵ constitutes an exception. The country has the highest GDP per capita of all European Member states in 2007, yet the reading numbers and the number of internet users are comparatively low (the GDP is 275 whereas the EU 27 average is 100 and there are only 72% readers). One could argue that this exception is not due to the unrelatedness of GDP and reading, but rather to the GDP above average of Luxembourg. The value of the GDP is mostly created by the high number of banking enterprises with a multitude of international employees which were naturally not surveyed in the Eurobarometer.

The GDP significantly correlates with the turnover of book publishing and the level of complexity of the distribution channels, too. There is a positive correlation with the ratification of the Florence Treaty. All of the above are economic factors; a correlation between the GDP and these aspects of book culture is not a surprise. The economic situation of a given country is also reflected in the turnover of the publishing industry and to what extent companies invest in the distribution of their goods (level of complexity of distribution channels).

665 Information Spreadsheet Luxembourg: Annex, p. A-66.

3.3.2.2 Level of Education

For this study, the number of persons having completed an education on the ISCED-Level 3⁶⁶⁶ has been included as one of the characteristics of book culture. Kovač found that the countries with the highest number of persons having completed an upper-secondary education (ISCED-Level 2) have, in average, the lowest percentage of non-readers as well as the highest percentage of avid readers.⁶⁶⁷ To verify his conclusions, the number of persons having completed an ISCED Level 3 education was taken into account for this study. Furthermore, the Italian Publishers Association concluded from a study about readers (people having read at least one book per year) that the spread of reading increases with the amount of schooling: For instance, among the readers questioned in 2005, 22.1% had completed primary school, 28.3% had completed middle school, 50% had completed secondary school and 73.6% were university graduates.⁶⁶⁸

Essentially, the results of the study at hand agree with the initial theory based on the findings by Kovač and the Italian Publishers Association. There is a strong correlation between the level of education and the number of readers. Reading promotion as well as teaching of general media literacy remains an important task of school education. The positive correlation with the number of loans from public libraries may point towards the cooperation of libraries and schools, not only in reading promotion but also in a variety of other projects. The level of education is also positively correlated with the role of the book in culture and national identity on a significant level.

3.3.3 Media Habits

The media consumption and the reading habits of a given nation are naturally a sign of the status of the book. Countries with a high readership are potentially the bigger book markets. On the other hand, a high TV consumption or high internet usage would, in theory, point towards the necessity of a book and reading promotion program. The relationships are not as simple as that, as a closer look at the data and the general correlation table will show.⁶⁶⁹

666 The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) Levels have been established by the UNESCO. Level 2 corresponds with a completed secondary education; level 3 corresponds with completed upper-secondary education. UNESCO (Ed.) (2011): *International Standard Classification of Education: ISCED 2011*. Available online http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Documents/UNESCO_GC_36C-19_ISCED_EN.pdf, last retrieved July 13th 2012.

667 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 102.

668 Associazione Italiana Editori Reserch Department: *Books and Publishing Content*, p. 20.

669 The General Correlation Table is found on page A-11 of the annex.

3.3.3.1 Number of Readers and Number of Avid Readers

The second and third factors that have been surveyed as essential aspects of book culture: the number of readers and the number of avid readers. One of the assumptions is that »[...] the most competitive European economies were those that were most able to use knowledge to create wealth.«⁶⁷⁰ The second assumption continues that knowledge is created through reading and processing information. Given the fact that modern information societies⁶⁷¹ are knowledge-based, the act of book reading remains important in competitive environments. Miha Kovač interprets his findings as evidence that the book still plays an important role in the dissemination of information.⁶⁷² However, the fact that reading is prevalent in competitive societies and those with a tendency for a higher GDP should not be over-interpreted in favor of the book. Reading does not necessarily mean book reading, but it can be reading of information in general – on the Internet as well as in magazines. However, the number of readers as surveyed for the Eurobarometer 287, from which the figures for this analysis were taken, explicitly asked for book reading. Therefore, the correlations can be taken, with small limitations, at face value.

Two problems remain for interviews on reading habits. On the one hand, reading is a socially desirable behavior. Interviewees tend to answer questions positively. Yet in reality, socially desirable habits and the actual behavior often diverge. The percentages of readers or avid readers, therefore, have to be taken with a grain of salt.⁶⁷³ Additionally, »the Cultural Values survey asked how many books respondents had read in the last 12 months, without making the distinction between leisure and school/work reading.«⁶⁷⁴ This led to a high per-

670 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 93.

671 Definition of the Information society: the »creation, distribution, diffusion, use, integration and manipulation of information is a significant economic, political and cultural activity in information societies.« (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Information_society, last retrieved July 12th 2012). According to Manuel Castells, information societies around the world have common structural features. They are based on knowledge generation and information processing, with the help of micro-electronics based information technologies; [they are] organized in networks; and [their] core activities are networked on a global scale, working as a unit in real time thanks to the infrastructure of telecommunications and transportation. Cf. of his trilogy *The Rise of the Network Society*. Castells, Manuel; Himanen, Pekka (2002): *The Information Society and the Welfare State. The Finnish Model*. For a more in-depth presentation of Castells' theory of the information and network society, see also the first tome Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 3.

672 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 93.

673 Moser, Doris (2009): »Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend. Literarisches Leben zwischen Kultur- und Künstlersozialversicherung.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold, Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik, pp. 375–409. Here: p. 394.

674 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 84.

centage of readers, especially in the age group of 18–24, in which people predominantly read because it is an educational requirement.

In average, in the European Union 71% of the population are constituted of readers – that are individuals, who answered that they had read at least one book in the previous year.⁶⁷⁵ Malta (45%) and Portugal (50%) are registered on the lower range. The low percentage of readers in Portugal is surprising, since the country had the highest number of publications per 1,000 inhabitants in 2007. At the opposite end of the range, Switzerland with the number of 88% and Sweden with 87% of the population proclaiming to be readers lead the way before the Netherlands (84%), Denmark (83%), the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic (each 82%), Germany (81%) and Slovakia (80%). The top ten is completed by Finland and Austria (and Estonia, 79% each). Appelman and Canoy postulated in their essay »Horses for Courses« that the Southern European book markets traditionally have a lower readership.⁶⁷⁶ At the first glance, that statement is supported by the evidence of the gathered data.

Readers are not necessarily book buyers, but the more readers there are in a given country, the bigger the potential in the book market can be.⁶⁷⁷ Therefore, the positive correlation of number of readers, the level of complexity of the distribution system and the turnover of the book publishing industry is consistent. Furthermore, a high number of readers have the potential for ensuring the diversity of a given book culture and its adaptability to new environments. The more people are a part of book culture, the higher the chances for development and change. The correlation between the number of readers and the percentage of persons who perceive literature as a part of culture is therefore consistent. The same is true for the correlation of the number of readers with the importance of the book in constructing a national identity. This is important to note, since the promotion of reading is perceived, at the moment, as being legitimized by itself and by the positive effect it has on the education level of young readers. The potential for the preservation and development of book culture is even higher. Therefore, book promotion must have the ultimate objective of not only fostering diversity in book culture but also of supporting reading, however indirect the method.

A third aspect of the high readership in a given country is provided by the correlation with the number of visitors of public libraries and their effect on the public lending systems. The more readers there are in a given country, the higher the potential not only for book buying, as established above, but also for book

675 There is some difficulty in defining what constitutes a ›reader‹. For this analysis, the definition used by the Eurobarometer 287 survey has been adopted. It was necessary because the individual European member states use different definitions for national surveys.

676 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 585.

677 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 81.

lending. In consequence, a public lending remuneration system has to be established to balance the effect of high lending numbers. It would be interesting to take a closer look at those relationships; yet the analysis of one single year cannot provide enough details: does reading only have an impact on the turnover of the book publishing industry in countries with a high GDP, suggesting a wealthier population? At the same time, do countries with a low GDP but high reading numbers establish a better public library network and do these libraries experience more usage? Here, Slovakia provides an example. The country has a lower medium GDP while, at the same time, a high percentage of readers (80%). The turnover of the book publishing industry is second lowest only to Cyprus. In terms of the number of loans and the number of visitors of public libraries, Slovakia is only in the middle field, yet the number of public libraries is comparatively high. It may be concluded that in view of a struggling publishing industry, libraries were supposed to fill the gap. The infrastructure was established but other information retrieval and leisure possibilities have prevailed: while TV consumption is at the lower medium range, Slovakia is in the top ten with the number of its internet users.

The number of avid readers was included in the data base but was not a factor in the statistical analysis. Indeed, the correlation between readers and avid readers emphasizes the close relation between both figures and warns against including both factors into the analysis. Otherwise, undue emphasis would be put on readership. On the other hand, book reading can be perceived as being such an essential aspect of book culture that an emphasis could be intended. Such alternative models are of interest, but could not be included in the presented analysis, since it would go beyond the scope of the work.

In addition, the definition of ›avid‹ readers is rather difficult and can vary. For the purposes of the Eurobarometer survey, the definition was: a person reading more than five books per year. At first glance, that would hardly characterize as avid. Other studies, such as the *Lesen in Deutschland 2008* survey by the Stiftung Lesen, define avid readers as those consuming more than 50 books annually.⁶⁷⁸ This provided an additional reason to exclude the variable avid readers from the analysis. A standard definition and a survey of the number of avid readers, however, are desirable, because those ›heavy users‹ buy the most books.⁶⁷⁹ On the other hand, there is no need to target avid readers through book promotion measures – even though the encouragement to consume a diverse title range might not be amiss; especially, because avid readers often specialize on a limited

678 Stiftung Lesen (Ed.) (2009): *Lesen in Deutschland 2008*. Mainz: Stiftung Lesen. Available online <http://www.stiftunglesen.de/lesen-in-deutschland-2008/>, last retrieved July 12th 2012.

679 Associazione Italiana Editori Research Department: *Books and Publishing Content*, p. 1.

topic range.⁶⁸⁰ The factor avid readers has correlated with the same factors as the number of readers. This correlation is much more significant.

There are a few noteworthy comparisons between the number of readers and the number of avid readers. Lithuania, which ranges below average in general readership of books, is slightly above average in number of avid readers. In contrast, Finland, which is among the top ten of reading nations, seems to be a nation of casual readers. Sweden has the highest number of avid readers (60%); Denmark (56%), the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (55%) follow.

3.3.3.2 Number of Internet Users

Similar to television, the internet is often portrayed as a competitor for the attention of potential readers. In addition, the participants of the discussion on a decreasing readership and the inherent threats to the printed book have identified the internet as the representative of detrimental developments. The availability of e-books and the migration of a major part of the scientific publishing market, as well as the quasi-extinction of printed encyclopedias have reinforced this perception. Others regard the internet as a great source of marketing potential, as a distribution opportunity for books and especially an opportunity for those books that are otherwise economically unprofitable.⁶⁸¹ The problem with these positions is the tendency to regard the internet as »an amorphous whole, neglecting the fact that individuals make very different uses of this [...] medium.«⁶⁸² The Eurobarometer 287 survey emphasizes the potential for culture, and book culture, to be realized on the internet:

This disparity in cultural participation between groups could well be narrowed by access to the Internet, which is transforming the cultural sphere in different ways.

680 Moser, Gerda (2012): »Im Wechselspiel von Spannung und Entspannung – Zum Erfolg von Thriller- und Ratgeberliteratur aus vergnügungstheoretischer Sicht.« In: *Bestseller und Bestsellerforschung. Kodex – Jahrbuch der Internationalen Buchwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 2*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 123–139.

681 So, for instance, Canoy et al., who list the advantages of internet bookshops. Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 15. And also Jörn Lengsfeld, who stresses that the internet is even better in supporting impulsive book buying than some bookshops. Lengsfeld, Jörn H. B. (2008): »Das Fernsehen als Medium der Verlagswerbung.« In: Werner Wunderlich and Beat Schmid (Eds.): *Die Zukunft der Gutenberg-Galaxis. Tendenzen und Perspektiven des Buches*. 1st edition. Bern: Haupt [Facetten der Medienkultur, Band 7], pp. 131–146. Here: p. 145.

682 Dhavan V. Shah et al. (2001): »«Connecting» and «Disconnecting» With Civic Life: Patterns of Internet Use and the Production of Social Capital.« In: *Political Communication*, 18, pp. 141–162. Here: p. 142.

For some, it allows for cultural activities to be researched and planned. For others, the Internet forms a direct channel through which culture can be accessed.⁶⁸³

In figures, the European average percentage of internet users is 67%. The lowest percentage is given by Romania⁶⁸⁴ with (36%), followed by Greece (44%), Bulgaria (45%), Portugal (48%) and Italy (also 48%). The countries with the highest percentage of internet users are Sweden and the Netherlands with almost 91%. In Finland, the UK, Luxembourg and Denmark, more than 80% of the population is an internet user.

The number of internet users correlates with GDP, the turnover of the book publishing industry and the level of complexity in the distribution channels. The general correlation table also shows a correlation with the number of visitors and the number of loans from public libraries. The latter correlations can possibly be explained by the fact that in countries where a private internet access is not widespread, the public libraries offer an access to information and databases on the internet.⁶⁸⁵ Potentially, this service helps to overcome the inhibitions of lending other media.

3.3.3.3 TV Consumption

The competition for the leisure time of Europeans is fierce. Television is perceived as the natural enemy of book reading. To verify this well-known assumption, TV consumption in hours per month was included into the statistical analysis. Viewing habits, which were acquired in watching TV, may as well influence reading habits – both in turn are influenced by the information we receive via the Internet. Shorter sequences and cuts at a faster pace than before are among the consequent changes on the television screen.

TV consumption was excluded from the cluster analysis. However, the negative correlation exhibited in the general correlation table confirms the position: the more TV is watched the fewer books are read in a given country. Countries which already experience problems with a low readership are the same countries in which the time spent watching TV is highest. The TV consumption is highest in Hungary, followed by Greece, Romania, Estonia and Poland. The comparison shows that those are by no means the countries with the lowest readership (Malta, Portugal and Cyprus). Greece and Romania, with less than 60 % of readers,

683 European Commission: *European Cultural Values*, p. 83.

684 Information Spreadsheet Romania: Annex, p. A-87.

685 See for chapter 2.2.4: Institutions of Book Culture. Here, the new roles of the libraries in providing information access are described.

confirm the thesis that a low readership equals high TV consumption. Poland is also below average. In Estonia (79%) and Hungary (78%), however, readership is above the European average (71%). One reason for the exception of Estonia and Hungary could be that TV consumption functions as a leisure habit and for relaxation, while book reading still is a form of social betterment.⁶⁸⁶ The decline in readership noticed for Estonia and Hungary in the last years suggests assimilation to the situation of Greece and Romania, if no countermeasures are taken.

In addition to having a detrimental effect on readership, TV consumption is clearly negatively correlated with the gross domestic product of a given country. It also correlates negatively with internet usage. Reading and internet usage are supposed to impact on the competitiveness of the country and also reflect the level of education (which, in fact, does not directly correlate with the GDP). As a result of the statistical correlations discovered, it could be argued that a higher TV consumption is detrimental to the economy of a given nation.

Book promotion measures show a negative correlation with TV consumption. Unfortunately, the correlation is not significant. However, it is suggested that book promotion measures may indirectly support reading by discouraging TV consumption. In his study on reading in Europe, Miha Kovač concluded there is a parallel between the high levels of reading and the overall competitiveness of a country.⁶⁸⁷ Higher competitiveness eventually leads to the generation of a higher GDP as innovation and research are promoted. As an aside, the statistical correlation between reading and a higher GDP could point towards the verification of one of the values attributed to the book: books are regarded as motor of innovation and the generation and dissemination of knowledge.⁶⁸⁸

3.3.3.4 Number of Daily Newspapers

The number of dailies published in a given country does not allow any direct conclusions regarding the status of the book and book reading. In the context of media consumption, however, the correlation between book reading and newspaper reading is significant. Miha Kovač found that for the countries he analyzed, a slight correlation could be found comparing the numbers for non-readers and the circulation of daily papers. Countries with a circulation of daily papers below 150 per 1,000 inhabitants had more than 50 % of non-readers. If the circulation rose above 272 per 1,000 inhabitants, the percentage of non-readers would

686 See chapter 2.4.6 on changing reading habits.

687 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 92.

688 See chapter 2.2.2 on the values attributed to the book.

be below 40.⁶⁸⁹ Unfortunately, Kovač neglects to give an interpretation of this correlation. However, starting with his analysis and taking a look at the data gathered for this survey, another picture emerges. Significant correlations are found between the reduced value added tax on books and the level of complexity within the distribution channel – yet those are negative correlations. With many other of the analyzed factors, the number of daily papers correlates negatively, too – but these are not on a significant level and, therefore, not conclusive. The massing of negative correlations suggests a rivalry between a strong press sector and the book publishing industry.

The number of daily papers in circulation could be discovered for all countries analyzed. The figures dated from 2002. Since the newspaper markets in most countries experienced a heightened consolidation within the last years, the factor was excluded from the analysis. The change in media consumption is evident and newspaper reading has declined in favor of internet news pages. The correlation between reading books and newspapers may therefore have significantly changed.

3.3.4 *The Role of the Book in Society*

The role of the book in a given society is difficult to assess. A number of factors have to be taken into consideration – none of them are based on ›hard‹, or quantifiable, facts. The book has developed its status in a given nation, for example, through its historic development and its association with a given religion and moral values. Which values and traditions are predominant is hard to define and is the topic of a number of surveys, which attempt to conceptualize and to reduce the concept to figures. Similarly, the role of the book in a given country's society has been reduced for this analysis and two variables have been developed. One of the variables was part of the Eurobarometer survey of cultural values and, therefore, produced a quantifiable result. The second is a subjective assessment based on a number of parameters deduced from the literature on the book culture of an individual nation.

3.3.4.1 Literature as Part of National Culture

There has not been any survey yet that focuses exclusively on the role of the book in a given society. The Eurobarometer survey of 2007 presented a first step in this direction. Taken into account for the purpose of this analysis was the

689 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 109.

question of what constitutes culture. The question allowed for multiple answers. The percentage of persons who answered ›literature and poetry‹ reflects upon the status of books and literature in a given society.

When comparing the results of the Eurobarometer survey, there are some unexpected figures to be found. In average, 24% of the population of a given nation considers literature to be a part of culture. The highest percentage is reached in Hungary, where 43% of the individuals consider literature as an essential part of culture. Slovenia and Estonia with each 38% and Germany with 37% follow at a small distance. The majority of countries range from 20% to 32%. Only three countries registered below 10%: Malta (4%), Cyprus (9%) and the United Kingdom (9%). It is surprising that the UK as one of the biggest book markets in the European Union registers with only 9% of the population regarding literature as part of culture. There are several possible explanations: the multiple choice question is inherently difficult, as some of the interviewed may have understood it as only allowing one choice. Then, books read on an everyday basis might not be considered as having any cultural value – in fact, this item addresses the dilemma of whether literature and poetry are part of an elitist concept of culture. There are ample readers in the UK; with 82% of the population proclaiming to be readers, the UK ranges at the top. Malta and Cyprus, on the other hand, have only a readership of 45%, and 56% respectively – their results in this category come as no surprise. The publishing industry of the United Kingdom is a strong and internationally active sector – the book market and culture may be perceived as being separate. There can be no satisfying explanation given for the results; a more thorough survey on the British book market could discover reasons or point to the flaws of the Eurobarometer questionnaire.

Incidentally, the percentage of individuals defining literature as a part of culture correlated highly with the following assessment of how important the nation's book culture was for the national identity of its people. As the assessment was based on third-party statements and subjective opinions, the results of the Eurobarometer survey will be included in the cluster analysis.

A further correlation is of interest in the context of this work: the percentage of persons who consider literature to be a part of culture correlates positively with TV consumption. While the negative correlation of TV consumption and readership was expected and can be explained by the competition for leisure time, the positive correlation of TV consumption and literature as being a part of culture is unexpected. A possible explanation is offered by the fact that readers need to be made aware of what they are reading. Literature has to be communicated as being culture. This communication has in part migrated from the cultural section of the newspapers to the TV and the internet. TV coverage of book fairs, literature festivals, and review shows concentrating on literature seem to have an impact on the conscious recognition of literature as culture.

3.3.4.2 Role of the Book in National Identity and Culture

The role of the book in the construction of the collective cultural and national identity of a given nation has an impact on the current status of the book. The nations, whose formation is based on the introduction of literature in their own native language, or the nations, whose populace experienced the book as the medium of resistance, formed a closer and more stable relationship to the book. In turn, these nations will more readily support book promotion and the aids directed to the creation of literature in order to preserve and develop this important part of their identity and culture. The book is at the very base of European moral values because of its connection to Christian tradition and of its role as the medium of the Enlightenment.⁶⁹⁰

The assessment of the role of the book in a given nation's culture is based on third party statements, on historical fact and on subjective impressions. Based on all of the above, the following picture of the role of the book in Europe had emerged and was translated into values between 0 and 1 for the sake of the analysis: Countries, whose national identity and culture are based to a very limited extent on the book and literature, received a 0; a medium role of the book received 0.5; and an extensive involvement of books and literature in the construction of a nation's national identity and culture received 1. These attributed values are open to debate as they are based on subjective opinion to some extent. Therefore, they have not been included into the analysis.

A glance at the general correlation table reveals that the book is firmly rooted in the national identities of the majority of the European countries. Only five were assessed to grant the book a limited role in the construction of national identity: Malta, Cyprus, Ireland, Greece and Italy. Except for Ireland, all of these countries struggle with low readership numbers. A medium role of the book was identified in the following countries: the United Kingdom, Poland, Spain, Luxembourg, Belgium⁶⁹¹, Austria, Romania, Germany and Switzerland. The book is an important factor in the formation of the national identities of the following countries: the Netherlands, Lithuania, Portugal, Latvia, Finland, Denmark, Bulgaria, Sweden, France, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Estonia, Slovenia and Hungary. To relate the basis on which a given country was attributed these values would go beyond the scope of this work. However, additional information is given on the Information Spreadsheets in the annex.

The percentage of persons who consider literature to be a part of culture showed few correlations with the other factors. Noteworthy were those with the role of the book in constructing national identity and with TV consumption. The

690 See chapter 2.2.3.

691 Information Spreadsheet Belgium: Annex, p. A-26.

factor role of the book within national identity and culture correlates with several factors. On the one hand, it correlates positively with the number of loans from libraries and the number of their visitors and the establishment of public lending remuneration to support artistic creation. At the same time, the expenditure for book promotion is positively correlated. It also has an impact on the number of publishers in a given country. The variable supports the thesis that a stronger role implies more involvement in book promotion, the book market and the institutions of book culture. There is one significant negative correlation that contradicts this assumption: the amount the value added tax is reduced by is negatively correlated with the role of the book in a given culture. The theory that a strong role implies interest in the preservation of the book and encouragement of reading does not entirely apply here.

3.3.5 *The Public Library Network*

The public library network is one of the institutions of book culture in any given European country.⁶⁹² As the libraries face manifold tasks today, their most important objective remains to supply readers with literature and to promote and spread reading. The *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* claims that countries with a well-developed public library network are endowed with a greater number of prospective book buyers – in addition to the libraries themselves being major customers to publishing houses.⁶⁹³ In theory, the public libraries are a welcome alternative to reach those readers, who cannot afford to buy a book. In practice, well-managed public libraries can become a node of social, cultural and political life.

Three variables have been included in the overview on book culture to allow an assessment of the situation of the public libraries in the analyzed countries: the number of libraries, the number of loans and the number of visitors.

3.3.5.1 Number of Public Libraries

The number of public libraries included in this study is based on the *Compendium* reports, on data by the national statistical institutes and on information from the International Federation of Library Associations. In the different surveys, the

692 See chapter 2.2.4 on the new roles of the public library network.

693 International Federation of Library Associations: *The IFLA Position of Public Lending Right*, p. 3. See also: Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 81.

number of libraries may vary as some countries have included all branches while others have referred to main libraries only.

The density of the public library network is illustrated by the number of libraries per thousand inhabitants. Latvia is clearly the number one with 0.89 libraries per one thousand inhabitants. The Czech Republic with 0.53, Lithuania and Estonia with both 0.41 and Finland as well as Slovakia with 0.39 each follow behind. The lowest ratio is found in Slovenia, Luxembourg (both 0.03) and Greece (0.04).

The greatest surprise with regard to the ratio is Denmark. It has often been described and was, within the context of this work, presented as a model library nation. The ratio for Denmark is 0.09 libraries per 1,000 inhabitants – it ranks among the lowest. Yet the library network in Denmark is perceived to be very effective and successful in the fulfillment of its many tasks. There has been a decrease in the number of public libraries due to a municipal reform which may explain the ratio.⁶⁹⁴ Another reason for the low ratio might be their method of data gathering. As has been explained above, for some countries the number of libraries includes all branch libraries, for others only the administrative units. A third explanation points towards the organization and administration involved: a small network may operate very effectively while a large unorganized network with a low acquisition budget is not perceived as positive. The other two factors, number of visitors and the number of loans (each per 1,000 inhabitants), could put this ratio into perspective.

When the first lending libraries were established, the booksellers raised an outcry: they expected severe losses. Indeed, for 2007 there has been a negative correlation between the turnover of publishing houses, the level of complexity of the distribution channels and the number of public libraries in a given country. On the one hand, a dense public library system seems to impact negatively on the ›classic‹ book market, yet there is no negative correlation to the number of booksellers. On the other hand, libraries are also important customers to publishing houses, so the negative correlation with the turnover of publishers is unexpected.

3.3.5.2 Number of Visitors to Public Libraries

The number of public libraries is irrelevant if there neither are visitors nor loans. Therefore, those two factors have also been analyzed. The number of visitors was, as the other two factors, measured per 1,000 inhabitants to allow an easy comparison. Switzerland had to be excluded from this analysis, since data was neither available for 2007 nor for any following year.

694 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 58.

The European average is 369 visitors to public libraries per 1,000 inhabitants. Sweden and Finland have the highest number of visitors, Cyprus, Greece and Bulgaria the lowest. These numbers are confirmed by the number of loans and show a definite trend in those countries. In the group with the highest number of visitors there are also Denmark (3rd), the UK, Slovenia, the Netherlands and Estonia. Again, these correlate with the countries with the highest number of loans.

Latvia, which had an exceptionally high number of libraries and is also among those countries with the highest number of loans, only has visiting numbers which are marginally above average. One may conclude that there are a substantial number of avid readers and library users who lent a number of units above average per visit. Indeed, Latvia ranks among the highest in number of avid readers.

There are some expected correlations: the number of loans from public libraries correlated positively with the percentage of readers and with the number of visitors of the public libraries. There is also a positive correlation with the role of the book in a given culture and the level of education. Educated, book-affine people clearly tend to use the library system more than people in countries that hold the book in a less esteem. There is also a positive correlation with the expenditure for book promotion. This could also be an effect of the role of the book in a given nation's culture and identity construction. The general correlation table shows a strong correlation with the existence of bookseller subsidies. On the one hand, this could be the effect of an attempt at a balanced book promotion: if there is a high usage of public libraries, a state could feel obliged to promote classic distribution channels, such as booksellers. On the other hand, the correlation could be explained differently: If there is an affinity for book reading and the usage of public libraries in a given society, the public acceptance of cost-intensive promotion measures, such as bookseller subsidies, could be higher.

3.3.5.3 Number of Loans from Public Libraries

Among the three factors chosen to represent the public library networks as institutions, the number of loans from public libraries may be the most conclusive. For even in countries with a small number of libraries, the number of loans may be above average.

The European average of loans per 1,000 inhabitants is 4,980⁶⁹⁵. Five groups emerge when analyzing the number of loans. Group one consists of Poland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Italy and Bulgaria. In these countries, the loans are below 1 per inhabitant. With the exception of Bulgaria, the number of libraries is

⁶⁹⁵ The high result is essentially due to the very high lending rates in countries such as Finland, Denmark, Slovenia and Latvia which unbalance the overall average.

also low in all of these countries. Bulgaria ranks among countries such as Ireland and Finland in number of libraries, but seemingly fails in its outreach policy to users. The second group is comprised of Spain, Malta, Romania, Austria, France, Hungary and Switzerland. These range between 1.6 loans and 2.9 loans per inhabitant, still below the average. The third group consists of Ireland, Belgium, Germany, Slovakia, the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic. Germany, the UK and Belgium are among the countries with the lowest library per inhabitant ratio; they still manage above average loan numbers. This could be interpreted as a confirmation of the thesis that effectively organized library networks may supply the population without a great network density.

The fourth group is Lithuania, Sweden, the Netherlands and Estonia. All countries are perceived as reading nations and also rank high in visiting numbers. Yet they are surpassed by group five consisting of Slovenia, Denmark, Latvia and Finland. Here, the loans range from 11 to 13 per inhabitant. Even though Denmark did not rank high in terms of number of libraries, it is third in number of loans and third in number of visitors. Latvia and Slovenia represent the two extremes in terms of network density: Latvia with the highest, Slovenia with the lowest. Yet both countries achieved high loans and above average visiting numbers.

There is a positive correlation between the number of loans, the role of the book in a given nation's identity and culture and the number of internet users. There also is a confirmation of the correlation with the bookseller subsidies and the expenditure for book promotion. The correlation between the number of libraries and the turnover of publishers was negative, which suggests that library usage had a detrimental effect on book buying. Yet there is a positive correlation between the turnover of book publishers and the number of visitors of libraries. Possibly, books that have been lent before are bought afterwards. Only one of the three aspects of the public library network will be included in the subsequent analysis. As for readers and avid readers, an inclusion of more than one aspect would over-emphasize the factor of libraries in the overall analysis.

When taking a closer look at the three factors relevant to public libraries, a clear trend emerges. Even if the library network is not particularly dense (see Denmark and Slovenia – even allowing for a different method in data gathering, the number of public libraries is comparatively low), the number of visitors and the number of loans are high. This may lead to the conclusion that a network density is not significant for a healthy, well-used and developed public library network. As shown by the example of Denmark in detail⁶⁹⁶, there is a trend towards new roles and functions for libraries which are not simply fulfilled by providing books to all.

696 See chapter 2.2.4 which presents the Danish library system.

3.3.6 *The Book Market*

For the sake of this analysis, the book market as a part of the European book cultures is described by the following five factors: the number of publishing houses, the turnover of book publishing, the number of publications, and the number of booksellers. In addition, the manifestation of the overall distribution network is assessed. For the sake of completion and in order to allow a better perspective on the number of publications, the average print run was originally to be included in the analysis, too. Unfortunately, with the exception of a few countries like Germany, Latvia and Finland, the average print run is either not recorded or not published in the majority of European countries.

3.3.6.1 Number of Publishers

The number of publishers in a given country allows for one to draw a conclusion with regard to the diversity and the concentration in the market. Also, a self-sufficient market, which is one of the objectives of book promotion, should support a number of major and minor publishers. The number of publishers in a given country is usually associated with the ISBN sets or the members of the publishers associations. A clear assessment of the number of publishers is therefore difficult as there may be more publishers than members of professional associations and fewer active publishers than holders of ISBN sets.⁶⁹⁷

Again, to allow a better comparison, the ratio is publishers per 1,000 inhabitants. When considering the European markets, there are no great differences. Cyprus and Slovakia have the lowest ratio with 0.01 per 1,000 inhabitants. Germany, as the biggest interior market, has the third lowest ratio with 0.02, the same as Ireland, and is well below the European average of 0.07. At the other end of the range, Estonia and Hungary are among the highest with 0.10 and 0.13. There are two further exceptions: Hungary, with 0.20, and Sweden, with 0.28 publishing houses per 1,000 inhabitants, have an extraordinarily high ratio. The question arises whether these markets are more diversified than those on the other end of the scale. If so, the question remains how this diversity can be achieved. To put the results into perspective, the average number of publications per publisher would provide valuable information. However, this information is not obtainable for all countries. These questions illustrate how much must be left to speculation when necessary data is missing. A subsequent analysis with a broader data base could lead to more conclusive results.

⁶⁹⁷ Wischenbart and Ehling address the same problem in their *Study on International Book Statistics*, p. 18.

The general correlation table reveals only one positive correlation of the number of publishing houses in a given country: the number correlates with the role of the book in constructing the national identity and culture. Of course, the more individuals are interested in books as being a part of their lives, the more potential buyers can be found – the consequence is a market that supports a higher number of publishers. Nevertheless, this higher number of publishers could also be due to the amount of political intervention which is focused on maintaining the diversity of the publishing sector. For example, subsidies for publishing houses could preserve a larger number of smaller publishers than the market would normally support.

3.3.6.2 Turnover of Book Publishing Houses

As is true for the public library networks, the countries with a high number of publishers do not necessarily have a higher number of publications or a high turnover. The turnover of the publishing industry, therefore, provides a perspective and some additional understanding of the profitability of the publishing business in a given country. Of course, the turnover should not be confused with the profit of a company.

The turnover of the book publishing industry has been calculated per thousand inhabitants, too. The European average is 54,283 EUR per 1,000 inhabitants. The highest turnover, at least in 2007, was generated in Denmark (125,571 EUR) and the Netherlands (124,770 EUR). The book markets which were called The Big Three by Appelman and Canoy⁶⁹⁸, the United Kingdom (94,009 EUR), Germany (93,032 EUR), and France (84 782 EUR), rank 4th, 5th and 8th respectively in this analysis. Sweden, Switzerland and Belgium are also in the top group, followed by Spain, Finland and Italy. The smallest turnover in book publishing is generated in Cyprus (2,568 EUR) and Slovakia (4,449 EUR). Bulgaria and Romania are in this last group, too. The gap between this group and the next consisting of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia is relatively big, as there the ratio is 15,000 to 22,000 EUR per 1,000 inhabitants.

A look at the table of correlations reveals some surprising results. The correlation between the GDP, the number of readers and the level of complexity of the distribution system was expected. A well-developed distribution system in combination with many, presumably wealthy, readers (according to the GDP) furthers the economic success of publishers. This is supported by the correlation with the status of the Florence Treaty, since it facilitates book trade among countries. In addition, the turnover is positively correlated with other publishing aids

698 Cf. Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*.

such as loans. The first surprising correlation is found in the positive relationship with the existence of bookseller subsidies in a given country. They add to the complexity and diversity of the distribution levels and, thereby, benefit publishing companies. Libraries serve to entice potential readers. They not only compel former non-readers to try out books through a reading promotion, they also serve to introduce new series etc. to already avid readers. In consequence, the positive correlation between the number of libraries, number of visitors of libraries and the turnover of book publishers is explained. Adding to the positive relationship is the fact that libraries are major customers to publishing houses. The analysis also suggests a high correlation between the turnover of publishing houses and the number of internet users in a given country.

3.3.6.3 Number of Publications

With regard to the number of publishers and their turnover generated in 2007, the number of new publications, with which this turnover was generated, is of interest. The number allows a better perspective of the publishing sector, at least in part, as the turnover does not exclude the backlist. The European average ranks at 1.43 books per 1,000 inhabitants published in 2007.

The fewest books were published in Romania and Belgium with a ratio of 0.21 and 0.26 books per 1,000 inhabitants. The group with the highest ratio consists of Denmark (2.01), the UK (2.45), Estonia (2.54) and Slovenia (2.62). Portugal constitutes an exception with 5.98 titles per 1,000 inhabitants; an exception that is not easily explained. One could suppose that the well-developed export of books in the Portuguese language to Latin America is the reason for this high number of publications. Yet the UK and Spain, both with an equally high potential of export, rank 4th (2.45) and 7th (1.66). They certainly rank among the highest, but not with the same distinction as Portugal. In terms of turnover, Portugal ranks among the lower average and in terms of number of publishers it is also in the group below average. In percentage of readers, it is second lowest only to Malta. There have to be other reasons for the high count of publications, yet none seem to be apparent. For example, there could be explanations such as a Portuguese city being UNESCO World Culture Capital or World Book Capital.

The general correlation table suggests a significant correlation between the number of publications and the number of literary prizes awarded in a given country. The objective of literary awards in book promotion is to draw public attention to specific titles and books in general, to provide a guide within the plethora of titles published and to encourage quality production.⁶⁹⁹ By increasing the numbers

699 For more information on literary awards as an instrument of book promotion, see chapter 4.4.3.

of titles published, the objective of a better quality production may or may not be achieved – as Umberto Eco points out, the high number of publications have not necessarily lead to either quality or diversity.⁷⁰⁰ To ascertain, whether there is also a higher bibliodiversity in countries with a high number of publications, an analysis similar to the one applied by Benhamou and Peltier must be conducted.⁷⁰¹

3.3.6.4 Number of Booksellers

Publishing houses, their turnover and number of publications are indicative of the health of the publishing sector in a given market. Yet without the distribution network of booksellers, the publications would not reach their intended readers. The retail system of book shops and their qualified personnel is often considered to be one of the most important factors that characterize a book culture. While online booksellers, such as Amazon, increase their influence on the markets and while many independent booksellers are moribund, chain stores have continued to expand in 2007. The number of booksellers therefore will, in all likelihood, have decreased since that year. Nevertheless, by the end of 2012, chain stores have been experiencing difficulties, too. For instance, one of the major German bookseller chains, Thalia, has been decreasing the floor space of its individual sales outlets and has actually closed some outlets. Similarly, the French chain Fnac has been forced to reduce costs and Waterstones, the biggest book shop chain in Great Britain, has been sold to a Russian millionaire, who claims he will preserve the big network of book shops.⁷⁰²

In Europe, the average of booksellers per 1,000 inhabitants is 0.11 in 2007. The European nations present a close field in this respect. 15 of them range between 0.01 and 0.05. There is, however, a limitation to the validity of these results. Although the number of booksellers of a given country was mostly obtained from the national booksellers associations, the possibility cannot be eliminated that some countries included other stores selling books, such as department stores, in their data. For this variable, a consensus on the definition of ›bookseller‹ as well as a trans-national survey would be desirable to achieve conclusive statistical results. For their survey on international book statistics, Wischenbart and Ehling emphasize the problem:

700 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 301.

701 Benhamou, Françoise; Peltier, Stéphanie (2011): »How should cultural diversity be measured? An application using the French publishing industry.« In: *Bibliodiversité*. Ed. by pp. 11–27.

702 »Internationale Buchketten.« In: *buchreport* (Online Edition). Available online <http://www.buchreport.de/analysen/internationalebuchketten/europa.htm>, last retrieved December 3rd 2012.

Books are not only distributed through traditional retail channels which may be represented by national booksellers' associations, but, to a growing extent by department stores, non-book retail channels, direct sales of publishers, online book retail channels which often are not represented in available book sales data, and often are organized on an international scale ...⁷⁰³

When regarding the means available, it becomes obvious that the countries with the lowest value are Lithuania, Romania and Portugal. Lithuania and Romania may justify their lack of a dense book selling network with the aftermath of Soviet Occupation and the repercussions of having a state control of the distribution of books. Portugal, however, cannot argue with similar circumstances. The second major group ranges from 0.06 to 0.09 and includes Bulgaria, Germany, Poland, Estonia, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands. It is surprising to come upon Finland in this group, since the concentration and consolidation in the book shop business have been high there during the last decade.⁷⁰⁴ The Czech Republic (0.19), Greece (0.17), Austria (0.13) and Latvia (0.10) have the highest ratio of booksellers per 1,000 inhabitants. At the top of the list with 1.66 booksellers per 1,000 inhabitants is Spain. Similar to the case of Portugal and its surprisingly high number of publications, there is no obvious reason for this situation. There are no special promotion measures taken to support booksellers in Spain.

The statistical analysis shows a very slight positive correlation with the factor of a fixed book price agreement. However, the correlation is not significant and, therefore, the analysis does not suggest a direct correlation between a system of fixed book prices and the number of shops. Supporters of the fixed book price agreement claim that it keeps the retail system alive – the statistical evidence has not supported such an outcome so far.

3.3.6.5 Distribution Network

As the possibilities are limited when objectively judging the level of distribution density in a given market without extensive statistical inquiries, the assessments made within the context of this work are based on the number of publishers and booksellers as well as on statements by third parties regarding the level of distribution in a given market. This subjective assessment has proven to be correct once before, when the individuals considering literature to be a part of culture and the role of the book in constructing national identity were shown to correlate highly.

703 Wischenart, Ehling: *A Methodology to Collect International Book Statistics*, p. 14.

704 Cf. Kurschus (2008): *The Book in Finland – A Market in Transition*. Unpublished master thesis. Institute for Book Studies of the Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz.

In order to allow a statistical comparison, three levels of distribution networks have been introduced. The value 0 stands for a lack of infrastructure and a strong need for investments and development. A developing distribution network, with a small number of booksellers and publishers as well as intermediaries, such as wholesalers, literary agents, and associations, received the value 0.5. A complex distribution network with a multitude of agents received the value 1. Taking the abstraction to this level was necessary – a more complex variation would decrease the readability of results, even though this means that the results only suggested correlations.

The countries with the highest level of complexity in their distribution networks are in the majority. There are only four countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Romania and Bulgaria) which have been assessed with such a low complexity and lack of infrastructure in the distribution system that they were awarded a 0. Especially since the introduction of the internet and the increased speed of developments, it is certain that these countries' infrastructures have gained in complexity since 2007. Nevertheless, it may very well be that the developments have not taken place in the ›classic‹ book infrastructure, such as wholesalers and book shops, but online. A different quality of complexity may have evolved. The same is true for the countries with a medium complexity: Malta, Cyprus, Estonia and Poland. Especially Poland and Estonia have developed a complex market infrastructure; Poland being one of the most interesting book markets in Europe today with a lot of potential for further development. These assessments are by no means to be considered negative but to express a potential inherent in the markets that can be developed with the right policy and the right agents.

The statistical analysis showed a high positive correlation between the level of distribution network and the wealth of a state (as reflected in the GDP), the number of internet users and the number of readers. This suggests that the more people are reached due to a dense network of suppliers, the more people will eventually read. Therefore, it is a logical consequence that the level of the distribution network also correlates positively with the turnover of the book publishing industry. A negative correlation is found when looking at the number of libraries. The analysis suggests that a dense book industry network does in part substitute a library network. The negative effect on the number of loans, on the other hand, is statistically insignificant.

3.3.7 Book Promotion

The different book promotion schemes are a consequence of the important role attributed to the book in a given society. Therefore, to assess book cultures, book promotion must be an essential aspect of this evaluation. First, the state expendi-

ture for book promotion as well as the existence of an official book policy is evaluated. Furthermore, three promotion instruments, which have been established by legislation, are assessed. These are the fixed book price agreement, a reduced value added tax on books, and public lending remuneration to compensate authors for the lending of their works in public libraries. Other instruments, which are described in the later chapters on book promotion measures in more detail, are also a part of this analysis. However, as the differentiation was limited to existing or non-existing, the significance of some values is limited.

3.3.7.1 State Expenditure for Book Promotion

State expenditure for book promotion is an important indicator of the status of the book in a given nation. Cultural objectives such as diversity and reading promotion may often be only achieved with promotion methods. Book promotion is financially intensive; the amount spend by a given country is, therefore, indicative to the political intention toward the book. It is important to note that political intention, and not public opinion, is responsible for the budgets.

The percentage of overall state cultural expenditure, which is allocated to book promotion, was taken into account. The amount of cultural expenditure varies widely. Some states included the budget for public and scientific libraries into the budget item ›books‹, whereas others only included the funds for direct book promotion measures, such as publication aids and author scholarships. The result is data being biased, which is the reason for not including the amount of money earmarked for book promotion and its proportion of the overall cultural budget in the cluster analysis. It has remained in the overview table for future reference.

The state expenditure on book promotion was assessed based on its percentage of the overall cultural budget. The European average was 1%. The lowest budgets were allocated in Belgium (0.2%), Austria and Sweden (each 0.3%), the highest in Denmark (2.3%) and Finland (3.1%). Data was unavailable for Cyprus, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Romania, Portugal and the Czech Republic.

There is a significant correlation between the state expenditure on book promotion and the number of loans from public libraries, as well as the number of visitors of public libraries. Depending on the budget items are included in the calculation of the expenditure; this may include reading promotion programs in cooperation with libraries and the overall financing of libraries. The expenditure on book promotion also correlates with the role of the book in a given nation's culture and construction of identity. The correlation does not, in fact, suggest a causal relationship between the two factors, but it seems to be a consistent conclusion to assume that state expenditure for book promotion may be better legitimized when the book is deeply rooted within a given nation's image of itself.

A fourth positive correlation is found with the existence of bookseller subsidies. Again, the correlation does not suggest a causal relationship. Yet if the expenditure for book promotion is high, projects may be funded; thereby spanning the whole range of book promotion and including support to booksellers as well as ›classic‹ publication aids.

3.3.7.2 Official Book Policy

It is an important factor of a country's book culture whether or not the government has implemented a book policy. Some nations claim that there is no need for an explicit policy; others use the opportunity to explicitly express their cultural objectives with regard to the book. Most governments stress diversity and plurality as their most important objectives in book politics, others directly name projects and measures that are supposed to support the book.

The field of the European countries is roughly divided in two halves: one without an official book policy, the other with an official policy. The existence of such a policy does not necessarily mean that there are more projects of book promotion – countries without an official policy such as Finland or Switzerland, for example, employ a variety of measures for book promotion and are often described as model book cultures. Italy is an exception: the Italian book policy was not formulated in 2007 yet, so the country received a value of 0.5 instead of the value 0 (no official book policy has yet been implemented) or 1 (an official book policy has been established).

At first glance, the statistical evidence does not suggest that the existence of an official book policy has had any impact on the number of readers or any other factor of book culture on which data was collected. Nevertheless, in combination with the other factors of book promotion, it does have an effect. This illustrates that in order to achieve an effective book promotion, not one single measure can be applied but a number of measures have to be combined. The general correlation table, however, did not suggest any significant direct correlation.

3.3.7.3 Fixed Book Price Agreement

The Fixed Book Price Agreement is one of the most prominent measures in the catalogue of book promotion instruments. Either by law or by trade agreement, the price set by a publisher for a specific title is fixed.⁷⁰⁵ For the evaluation of the

705 A fixed price for books mirrors the greater importance attached by a given state to maintaining diversified and pluralistic book production and to emphasize the fact that books are regarded as

European book cultures, the countries were listed as employing a fixed book price either by law (1) or by trade agreement (0.5). Countries without fixed prices were listed with a value of 0 in the overview table. In 2007, there were fourteen countries that did not employ fixed book prices; in three, the book sector regulated the prices by a trade agreement (Switzerland, Luxembourg and Hungary). Ten countries employed a fixed book price.

In theory, if the fixed book price achieves its objectives of supporting a diversified book production and maintaining of a dense network of booksellers, there should be a correlation with both, the title production and the number of booksellers in a given country. In addition, a fixed price could influence the turnover of the book publishing industry. However, a significant correlation is not shown. This was not to be expected. There is a slight, but insignificant, negative correlation between the fixed book price agreement and the number of loans from public libraries and the number of visitors of public libraries. Such a correlation could support the claim that, in countries with an established FBPA, people take advantage of stable and – presumably – lower prices to buy the books they want instead of lending them. There are no significant correlations for this variable.

3.3.7.4 Reduced Value Added Tax

Like the fixed book price, the reduced value added tax is an established measure of legislative book promotion. It is legitimized by the classification of the book as a cultural good.⁷⁰⁶ There are only two countries in Europe, which do not employ a reduced value added tax on books: Bulgaria and Denmark. Both countries, however, have extensive public library networks to encourage book reading if not book buying. Ireland and the United Kingdom apply zero value added tax to books. This is interesting, since the extent of financial aids to publishers and booksellers has been very limited in both countries. In the case of the United Kingdom, there has been no state program for publication aids. On average, the VAT on books was reduced by 62% in 2007. Only Slovenia (37.5%) and Latvia (45.5%) employed less than a 50% reduction.

Surprisingly, there are only negative correlations on a significant level for the variable reduced value added tax. It correlates negatively with the number of loans from public libraries – since reduced VAT is to encourage book buying, this correlation suggests that there is an effectiveness of reduced VAT as a buying incentive in contrast to lending books. There is also a negative correlation with the number of daily newspapers, which hints at an existing rivalry between newspapers and books for reading time. The third and fourth negative correla-

cultural goods. Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 7. More information on this instrument of book promotion is provided in chapter 4.4.2.

706 Books are different from regular goods, as Canoy et al. explain: there are cultural values associated with the book such as national identity, national prestige, social cohesion, and the development of criticism and democracy. Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 11f.

tions are concerned with the role of the book in a nation's culture and with the existence of book selling subsidies. As the reduced VAT on books is supposed to be an instrument to encourage book buying, bookseller subsidies may not seem necessary for countries employing a drastically reduced VAT.

3.3.7.5 Public Lending Remuneration

The third legislative measure of book promotion is the public lending remuneration (PLR) system. Public lending remuneration is widespread among the European nations; actually, there is a directive by the European Commission that compels those countries without a system to introduce one.⁷⁰⁷ Countries which had not implemented PLR by 2007 were the Czech Republic, Romania, Greece, Cyprus, Belgium, Malta and Italy. Italy had introduced legislation on public lending which has not yet been implemented. Again, the system of 0 (no implementation), 0.5 (ineffective systems or systems that are not yet functioning) and 1 (a functioning public lending remuneration system) was applied. For instance, Portugal received a 0.5 for having legislation on PLR. Yet this legislation does not determine which amount is to be collected per loan, thereby rendering the system ineffective. Switzerland does not employ PLR and cannot be compelled by the EU to do so – there, book promotion focuses on other aspects. All other countries have implemented PLR, the various systems are described in chapter 4.4.2.

There is a significant positive correlation between the existence of public lending remuneration and the number of visitors of public libraries as well as the number of readers. Together with the third correlation with the role of the book in a given nation's culture and identity, a clear picture emerges: a high acceptance of the book which is reflected in its status in society, a high readership in combination with a high acceptance of libraries leads to the necessity of establishing public lending remuneration.

3.3.7.6 Literary Awards

The number of literary awards in a given country was taken into account because literary awards are an important means for book promotion. Literary awards serve a double function: on the one hand, they directly benefit the author with the financial endorsement allocated to the award. On the other hand, an award ceremony

707 Within the European Union, the 1992 *Directive on Lending and Rental Right* (Council Directive 92/100/EEC) established a framework for the recognition of authors' lending rights by member states. The implementation of this Directive in the individual states as well as additional information on the public lending systems are provided in chapter 4.4.2.

generates public attention, which may indirectly lead to more copies sold or other publishing houses being interested in taking on a work by the laureate. There is a great difference in the level on which these awards may have an impact: An author who has been awarded the *Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels* may expect more impact than someone who has received the prize awarded by a small literary society. Still, it is not possible to assess the direct impact of an award, no matter how much prestige it has garnered. For this reason, all literary awards documented in a country were taken into consideration. Probably, the final numbers may not be entirely correct and, therefore, emphasize the need for a comprehensive database to assess book promotion and book culture correctly.

The number of literary awards was calculated per 1,000 inhabitants. The European average is 0.005 per 1,000 inhabitants. Three groups emerge. Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary have the lowest ratio. In these countries, the state seemed to show a restraint in awarding prizes. This restraint may be explained by the historic background of the three countries: state propaganda used to exploit cultural ceremonies. On the other hand, countries with a similar background such as Estonia and Lithuania find themselves among the top group. Alongside these two, there are Luxembourg and Sweden. Portugal poses an exception to the number of literary prizes. This fact is worth mentioning, since Portugal also showed an exceptionally high number of publications. The statistical analysis for correlations presented a significant positive correlation between the number of literary awards and the number of publications. This correlation is exemplified by Portugal.

For literary awards as instruments for book promotion, this could mean that they not only benefit the authors directly by distributing purses and public attention but also indirectly by a rise in title production. In consequence, more authors are able to sell their books to a publishing house. Such a causal relationship, however, cannot be deduced by the analysis. The analysis merely points to a relationship between these two factors.

3.3.7.7 Author Grant System

Author grants are an established means of book promotion. The information available on the systems was not sufficient enough to make detailed distinctions between the systems in individual countries. Therefore, the existence or non-existence of a comprehensive author grant system on a state level was evaluated. Only Italy does not employ such a system on a state level, but on a regional level only. Therefore, the country received a 0.5.

Hypothetically, there was an expected correlation with the number of publications, because author grants could have an indirect effect on the title production. Yet the correlation table shows none. On the other hand, the author grant systems

are aimed specifically at aiding creation and, thereby, diversity – that would not have an impact on the analysis in the ways it has been conducted for this study. However, since Benhamou and Peltier introduced a method of quantifying bibliodiversity, the impact of author grants could be of interest in a future analysis.

3.3.7.8 Bookseller Subsidies

The information to distinguish between systems of bookseller subsidies was too scarce to allow a sound assessment. Therefore, only the existence or non-existence of such subsidies was recorded, as for the author grants and later the publication aids. The distribution of books is rarely subsidized. There are only three countries which employ this instrument: Slovenia, Denmark and Finland. France and Switzerland also have established projects which are aimed to support book shops but these are not as comprehensive. If any other countries have equally established projects to support the book trade, there was no information to be found for that.

Bookseller subsidies are designed to maintain a plurality in the distribution sector. They are to support independent book shops and preserve shops in rural areas. In theory, these subsidies should have a direct impact on the number of book shops. Indirectly, they should have an impact on the readership and the awareness of books. However, no such correlation could be detected. Instead, the existence of bookseller subsidies is correlated with the turnover of the publishing industry and with the number of loans and visitors of public libraries.

3.3.7.9 Publication Aids

A publication aid is the direct payments of an institution to a publisher. It is intended to support the publication of a specific title. Publication aids are a form of subsidy that is employed by all countries as a classic means of book promotion. One exception is the United Kingdom, where publication aids are not endorsed by the state but on a private level only. There were no significant correlations shown between publication aids and the other aspects of book culture.⁷⁰⁸ Instead, one must conclude, that publication aids remain instruments that affect not book culture in general but that support a specific title range

708 A more in-depth treatment of publication aids may be found in chapter 4.4.4.

3.3.7.10 Other Publishing Aids

The publication aids and the author grant systems are the most widespread form of direct support of the creation and production of books. In a more indirect approach, other publishing aids are employed to further the production of books. In countries such as Hungary, Slovakia, Belgium and Denmark, publishers may apply for other forms of support. The situation is similar in France and Austria, where funds were created to provide publishing companies that meet specific criteria with better loan conditions than they would receive from regular banks. There is a positive statistical correlation between the turnover of book publishers and the existence of publishing house support schemes, which is, however, no indication of a causal relationship.⁷⁰⁹

3.3.7.11 Florence Agreement

The Agreement on Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, also known as Florence Agreement, is an international trade agreement. In 1950, it was installed to protect intellectual property and to facilitate the trade in cultural goods.⁷¹⁰ Surprisingly, only a number of European countries have ratified the treaty in its entire extent. These received the value 1 in the overview table. Instead, the majority of countries such as Germany, Spain, Estonia, Lithuania etc. have signed a proclamation of accession with individual reservations, some only one of succession. These received the values 0.5 and 0 respectively. There are positive correlations between the status of the Florence Agreement in a given country and the GDP, as well as the turnover of the publishing industry.

3.4 A Typology of European Book Culture by Clustering

Kennard and Draesner agreed that European culture is a heterogenic field.⁷¹¹ Nevertheless, Europe's inhabitants subjectively experience the existence of a European culture, as found by the Eurobarometer 287 special survey.⁷¹² This study has

709 For more information on the criteria that have to be met to qualify for other publishing aids in these countries, see chapter 4.4.4.

710 Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, with Annexes A to E and Protocol annexed 1950. In: *Legal Instruments*. Ed. by UNESCO. Available online http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12074&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, last retrieved December 7th 2012.

711 Kennard: *Old Cultures, New Institutions*, p. 190 and Draesner: *Old but not necessarily clever*, p. 120.

712 European Commission: *European Cultural Values*.

shown a similar conception for book culture. The previous chapters focused on the different characteristics identified for European book culture, which is not only shaped by cultural but also by economic and political influences. Contextual data was to provide a framework and a perspective for the subsequent statistical analysis. Per data mining, that is through clustering, a typology of Europe's book cultures is to be identified. On account of a previous model of European book markets by Appelman and Canoy⁷¹³, the emergence of four to five groups is to be expected. If a coherent model of European book cultures can be identified, the book promotion measures, which have been applied by the individual countries in each group, can be analyzed. In theory, countries, which share a better performance regarding the variables chosen to represent book culture, apply the book promotion projects that are better suited for their specific requirements. Subsequently, these best practice methods for certain types of book cultures could be identified. The results of the typology of book markets by Appelman and Canoy led to the creation of four distinctive types. As Appelman and Canoy are economists, the model only included variables describing the book markets. Möldre, on the other hand, states that while the study of the

book publishing system in a certain country gives a picture of the society as a whole, the past and present situation in the various fields of economy, science, culture and their potential [...], a closer look at the publishing world and book production of a country presupposes the acquaintance with its political structure, educational system and the development of science and techniques.⁷¹⁴

As the following analysis will show, the book markets may be an integral part of book culture but they are by no means the dominating aspect, in agreement with Möldre. Even though the study cannot include all aspects listed by Möldre, some contextual information and cultural aspects was included. Before a description of the process of the analysis is presented and the results are described, the data selection on which the analysis is based will be presented.

3.4.1 Data Selection and Implementation

From the wealth of information collected, only a selection was used to conduct the cluster analysis. There are a number of reasons for using only a selection and not all collected data. For instance, data is usually not available for all years. A

713 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*.

714 Möldre, Aile (2005): *Publishing and Book Distribution in Estonia in 1940–2000*. Ed. by Tlū Kirjastus. Tallinn. Available online: <http://www.tlulib.ee/files/arts/95/molldr036803013949a37f18cd57653194624.pdf>, last retrieved June 23rd 2010. Here: p. 6.

time series analysis of data from the last 30 years would have been ideal for discovering correlations and would have delivered more reliable results. However, one might appreciate the difficulty in collecting this amount of information for 28 countries. There are countries which have no reliable statistical information predating the 1990s for political or technical reasons. Another reason is the minimization of errors when collecting of data: A specific selection could be rechecked and scrutinized for misleading sources and other data errors such as transposed digits.

A selection could also ensure that the method used in the collection and survey of the data was as similar as possible. The Eurobarometer survey offered the greatest advantages in this regard: for this reason, two of the questions and the corresponding answers were used as markers for book culture. The number of readers, for example, is concluded from questions posed quite differently in national surveys. Some define a reader as a person who has read at least one book per year, others only those that have read more than one book. There only is a slight difference in the wording of the question, but it has great consequences for the percentage of persons who consider themselves readers.⁷¹⁵ In taking the results of the Eurobarometer survey as a basis of the analysis, a better quality of results deriving from a reliable and identically collected data set could be expected.

The year for which the most complete set of data existed was chosen. In accordance with the results of the Eurobarometer survey and the fact that most preliminary estimates have been replaced by hard data after three or four years, the year 2007 was chosen. Additional data was supplemented from a span of two years prior and later, in order to allow a completion and to avoid a deformation of results due to missing data.

In consequence, all results by the cluster and the regression analysis⁷¹⁶ are to be regarded as a statistical experiment for the year 2007. It could be safely assumed that there are no great changes. However, the consequences of the 2008 economic crisis are expected to have an impact on the book market and on book promotion measures. In view of the enduring crises, the major budget cuts in all areas of state expenditure could lead to a slowdown of positive developments, even to a complete standstill and to deterioration, especially in the distribution and production sectors of the book market. The conclusions to be drawn from the

715 This is illustrated in the answers to question QA4.10 of the *European Cultural Values Survey*. The number of individuals who read more than one book is significantly less than those who read one book. For example, when asked how many times one has read a book the last twelve months, in Belgium 16% (EU-average 20%) have answered 1–2 times but 65% (EU-average 71%) have answered at least once. That rather seems like a socially accepted answer, but then the percentage of people who answered more than 5 times (in Belgium that was 33%, the EU average is 37%) is reassuring when considering reading habits. European Commission: *European Cultural Values*, p. 122.

716 The regression analysis and its results are presented in chapter 4.6.

analysis are not less valuable for these potentially negative developments but might even serve to analyze book cultures and markets before and after the crisis.

For the analysis of the data collected for this study, two well-established descriptive statistical methods have been chosen: clustering and a regression analysis. They were chosen from the vast methodological tool kit for statistical analysis since they offered an established method of testing and easily reproducible results. In addition, the software packet is freely available. Both methods are documented extensively and comprehensible and are part of the descriptive statistics toolkit used to uncover hidden structures in large quantities of data. The cluster analysis and its results are presented in the following chapter. The regression analysis will follow the description of the different book promotion measures employed in the European Union.

A cluster analysis is a statistical data analysis which is used to discover structures within data and to allow an abstraction from the individual data sets. It can be achieved by a number of different algorithms. The algorithms employed differ according to the notion of what constitutes a similarity and a difference.⁷¹⁷ The distance measurement used for this analysis was the squared Euclidean distance. A cluster analysis assigns a set of given objects; in this case the 27 Member states of the European Union and Switzerland, into groups.

The goal is that the objects within a group be similar (or related) to one another and different from (or unrelated) to the objects in other groups. The greater the similarity (or homogeneity) within a group and the greater the difference between groups the better or more distinct the clustering.⁷¹⁸

The clusters are constructed of two or more most similar groups, on the next level, the next most similar to this group is added. This is achieved by a number of distance computations. The visual effect is that of a tree with twigs branching out – a so called dendrogram. The dendrogram not only illustrates the similarities but also the distances at which the differences are to be found. The scale above the lines of the dendrogram shows at which distance the groups exhibit no more differences, the longer the lines, the higher the difference.

717 Wiedenbeck, Michael; Züll, Cornelia. (2001): *Klassifikation mit Clusteranalyse: Grundlegende Techniken hierarchischer und K-means-Verfahren*. (ZUMA How-to-Reihe, Nr. 10). Mannheim: Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen. Available online: <http://www.wip-online.org/public/13/clusteranalyse.pdf>, last retrieved November 18th 2011. Here: p. 2.

718 »Cluster Analysis: Basic Concepts and Algorithms.« In: Tan, Pang-Ning et al. (2005): *Introduction to Data Mining*. Addison Wesley, 7th edition, p. 487–568. Here: p. 490. The chapter gives a more complete overview on the definition of clustering and the different methods which can be employed. It is available online <http://www-users.cs.umn.edu/~kumar/dmbook/ch8.pdf>, last retrieved November 22nd 2011.

Clustering is used in various fields, such as in software development, biology and medical sciences, for the grouping of search results in the World Wide Web, in social sciences and in economic market research for market segmentation and customer groups.

3.4.2 Results of the Cluster Analysis: Major and Minor Groupings

The cluster analyses for this study were conducted with the program SPSS Statistics which works by a quantitative analysis of statistical data. For this study, two cluster analyses were conducted based on a predefined selection of factors. The first included all data gathered for book cultures. The second only included a number of variables which were selected beforehand, either as markers of book culture or as markers that do not correlate significantly with the other chosen markers. This was done to avoid an undue emphasis on certain factors. For example, since the variable the number of readers per thousand inhabitants was selected, the variable the number of avid readers per thousand inhabitants was not. Selecting both would have put an undue emphasis on the variables and distorted the results. If there were two variables as closely related as these two, the one providing more reliable data was chosen.

The objective was to form an alternative to the model developed and introduced by Marja Appelman and Marcel Canoy in their essay »Horses for Courses – Why Europe should not harmonize its book policies«. An alternative model was formed instead, which included all countries and broadened the approach by including more characteristics than those that would be used to describe a book market. The outcome was to be compared with the results for book promotion measures. The overall objective was to determine whether a certain mixture of measures worked well for a country with a corresponding set of characteristics. The results of the conducted analysis and the resulting model are presented below.

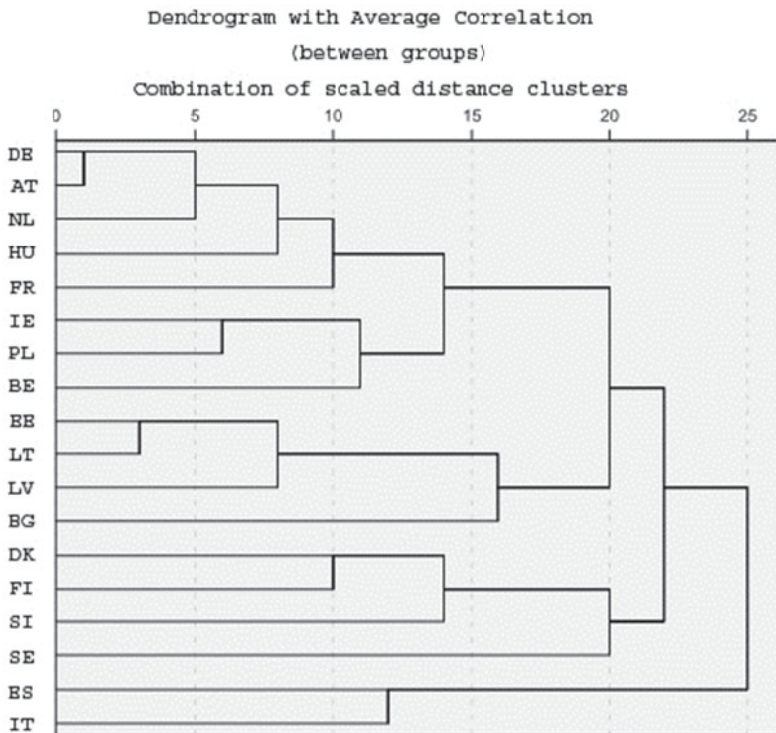
3.4.2.1 General Cluster Analysis

In theory, the cluster analysis should result in establishing four to five different types of book culture. Similar to the results of the analysis by Appelman and Canoy, these types were expected to be based on the geographic location. Supposedly, neighboring countries share a similar historical background and a common set of values. Therefore, the book cultures of neighboring countries are expected to be similar. In consequence, the typology of European book cultures was expected to mirror the concept of the Regions of Europe. For instance, the Scandinavian countries Finland, Sweden and Denmark were supposed to form

one group that could be completed by Estonia. A different set of expectations focused on the formation of a Southern European group that, similar to the analysis of Appelman and Canoy, included countries that are less book-affine. Italy, Romania, Malta and Hungary were candidates for such a group. Smaller nations with a strong attachment to the book, for example, were also expected to be grouped together: for example, Slovenia, Slovakia, and the Baltic States.

The first cluster analysis included all variables. All characteristics of book culture as collected in the overview table were included and resulted in the following dendrogram:

Figure 1: Dendrogram I: General Cluster Analysis



As can be observed in the dendrogram above, there is some expected clustering – for example, within the three Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – but there is no clear, observable group structure. Considering the number of variables taken into account for this analysis, the result was to be expected. Too many

variables as well as a distortion due to a too strong correlation between individual factors could not allow a usable result. Even though there was no viable result expected, the analysis was conducted to create a reference with which the outcome of the second analysis may be compared.

There are only 18 of the 28 countries listed in the dendrogram, since some countries lacked the full information for variables such as the turnover of book publishing houses, the number of library loans, etc. Unfortunately, the program discards all countries for which a complete set of data is unavailable.

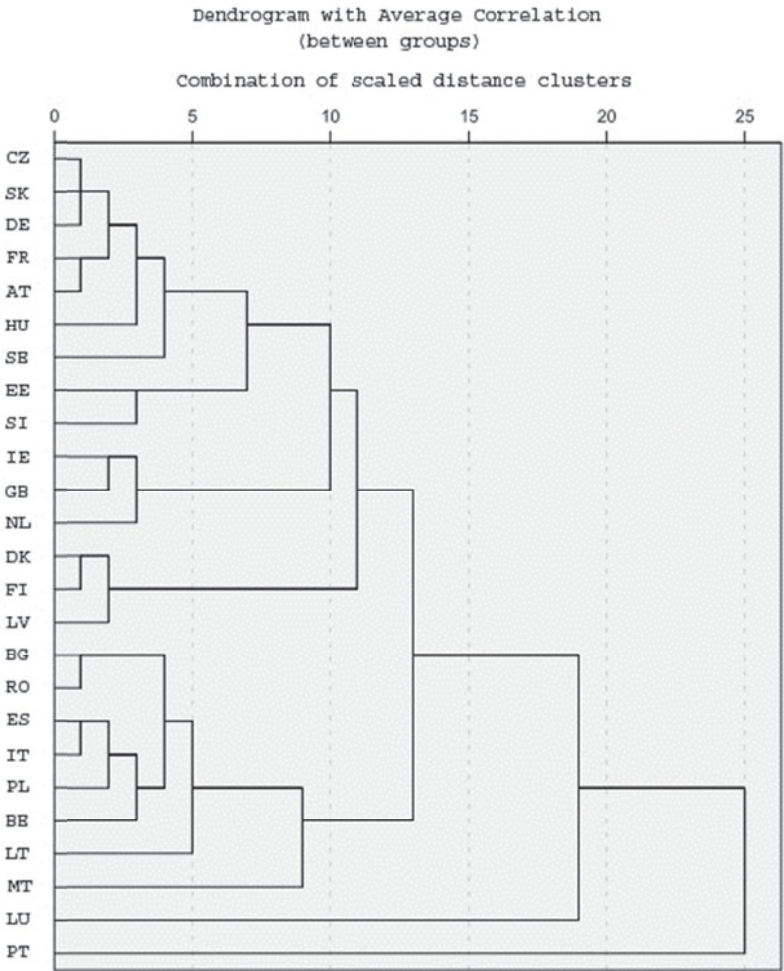
3.4.2.2 Alternative Clustering

For the second analysis, the variables gross domestic product per capita, the number of readers per thousand inhabitants, the number of library loans per thousand inhabitants, the number of persons per thousand inhabitants who consider literature part of culture and, finally, the number of published titles per thousand inhabitants were taken into account. The number of library loans was included instead of the number of libraries, since the method of data collection for the number of libraries varies from country to country. For example, some countries only count libraries that also are administrative units, thereby excluding branch libraries. Other countries include all libraries, branch libraries and the library buses, in the final number. The number of loans from public libraries, on the other hand, is an overall result regardless of how many libraries there are. Other variables, such as the density of the distribution network, were excluded due to the subjective assessment involved in the evaluation. The variables for the analysis are based either on data collected by the eurostat institute or are not affected by the different methods of data collection. Unfortunately, three countries had to be excluded due to a lack of information: Cyprus, Switzerland and Greece. Several inquiries at the relevant institutes remained without an answer and the missing information could not be compensated.

The difference to the first analysis is readily observable. The similarities within the clustered groups are stronger, but there is still no discernible model of four to five groups. The results of the clustering resemble what was initially expected: for example, Finland and Denmark are in one group joined by Latvia. These countries – with the exception of Latvia – were part of Appelman and Canoy's first group of Scandinavian markets. Sweden and Norway were included in this group as well. Since Norway is not a member of the European Union, it has been excluded from this analysis. Here, Sweden is not a member of a group formed by the Scandinavian or Northern States, but is grouped with Estonia, Slovenia, Hungary and a core group consisting of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Germany, France and Austria instead. The groupings into four groups are similar

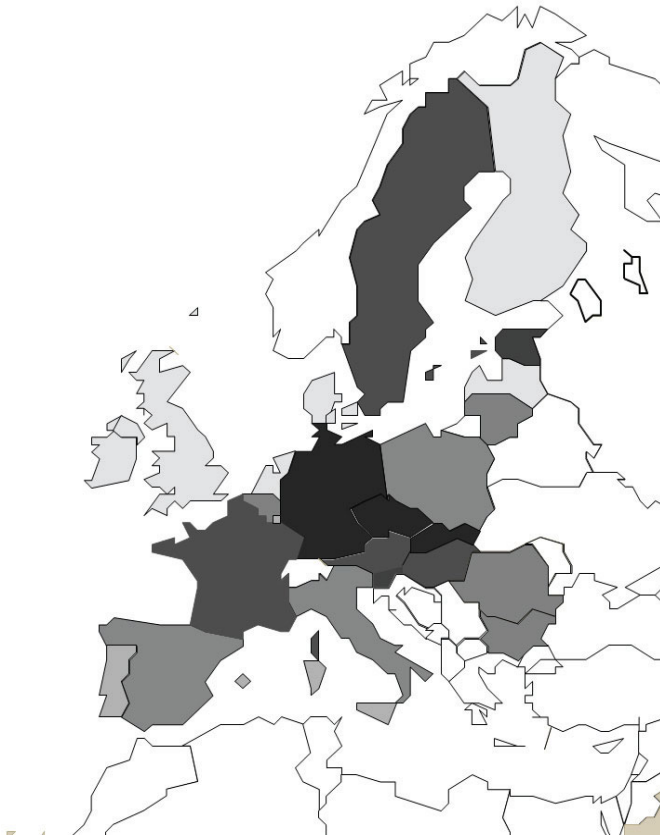
to the ones described by Appelman and Canoy in their essay (The Big Three: Germany, France and the UK; Scandinavian: Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway; Southern: Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece; and markets attached to bigger markets according to language: Switzerland, Austria) and are discernible only in part. Germany and France are grouped together only on a second level, the UK is clustered with them on several levels later.

Figure 2: Dendrogram II: Alternative Cluster Analysis



Luxembourg could not be found to be similar to other countries. This was expected as well, since the high difference in GDP in relation to readers would make the country stand out. The performance of Portugal, however, was not to be expected and at the moment, there is a lack of explanations for its singularity. Its outstanding position could be attributed to the extraordinary high number of publications and the ranking below average in terms of turnover, number of publishers and its low reading numbers.

Figure 3: A Map of European Book Cultures



Legend: Black and dark grey = Group 1; Medium grey = Group 2; Light grey = joins Group 1 after Level seven.

The map of Europe has been colored according to the results of the alternative cluster analysis. Countries within the same major group are colored similarly, however, they are not necessarily related on the first level. The countries which have been colored black and dark grey are part of the first major group, the two shades indicate the different distances of the relationship. The countries colored in medium grey are the second major group. The countries colored light grey belong to the first major group, too, but only from level seven onwards.

The dendrogram is a useful visualization of the relationships and links between the analyzed book cultures. The map, however, immediately illustrates that the groupings are scattered. A distinct model of three or four types of book cultures cannot be discerned. The following chapters shall focus on the various groupings; first the major ones as an overview and subsequently, level one, two and three groupings.

3.4.2.3 Major and Minor Groupings

When taking a closer look, there seem to be some other possible groupings, if one interprets the results more freely. Two large groups are discernible. The first includes all countries from the Czech Republic to Latvia; the second is formed by all countries from Bulgaria to Portugal. The first big group includes nine countries and is divided in three parts itself. Part one is formed by the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Germany, which are closely related on the first level. The second part is comprised by France and Austria. The two of them are related to the first part of the group on the second level. The five countries are joined on the third level. On a fourth, Hungary is added, while Estonia and Slovenia are only related on this fourth level. On level five, Sweden joins the main group followed by the pair Estonia and Slovenia.

Groups two and three are differentiated to a greater degree. Group two consists of Ireland and the United Kingdom (related on level two) and the Netherlands, which joins the group on level three. On a more distant level six, these countries merge with group one. Group three is comprised of Denmark and Finland, related on level one. On level two, Latvia becomes part of the group. As mentioned above, this group comes closest to what Appelman and Canoy have described as the Scandinavian book markets.⁷¹⁹ On level seven, these become part of group one.

The fourth group consists of seven countries. Bulgaria and Romania are closely related. The same is true for Spain and Italy who are joined on the second level by Poland and on the third by Belgium. On the fourth level, the first pair and the second part of the group merge to be joined by Lithuania on the fifth

719 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 595.

level. Malta joins this group on level six, the same level on which group two becomes part of group one. On level eight, all existing groups merge. Luxembourg and Portugal remain absent until levels nine and ten respectively.

It would be too soon to conclude that the second large group consists of low-performance book cultures only. Poland and Belgium have well developed markets, but possibly an overall weaker attachment to the book. However, this cannot be substantiated by the information from the overview table. On the contrary, some of the countries in the second group are among those with the strongest ties to book culture. For example, as the table shows, Hungary is on the top with 43% individuals considering literature to be a part of culture, whereas the United Kingdom shares a low value of 9% with Cyprus. Both are undercut by Malta with the lowest value of 4%. Subsequently, the groupings that have taken place on the levels one and two are presented in detail, since those relationships are close enough to allow a conclusion on the links between similar book cultures.

Groupings on Level One

Countries grouped on level one exhibit similar characteristics in their book culture – that is in the variables chosen to represent book culture for this clustering. There are five first-level relationships discernible.

The first is between the *Czech Republic*, *Slovakia* and *Germany*. Regarding the data collected for the analysis, similarities and differences emerge. All three countries share a high percentage of readers (CZ 82%, DE 81% and SK 80%) and are within the same range of avid readers (CZ 41%, DE 45% and SK 43%). The percentage of people who consider literature to be a part of culture is quite similar: CZ 32%, DE 37% and SK 33%. This fact is surprising when taking into account that watching TV is the number one leisure activity in all three countries.⁷²⁰

In general, a close relationship between Slovakia and the Czech Republic is expected, nevertheless. Both countries used to be a single nation: Czechoslovakia. The sovereign state had existed since its independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 until 1993, when the state was peacefully dissolved into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Consequently, both countries have a close relationship and share similar traditions and values. They are reflected in the emphasis of culture as a part of the national identity – which is also a significant characteristic of the German national identity.⁷²¹ A strong civic commitment to arts and culture is characteristic for all three countries. They also share a history,

720 Cf. Petrov: *Country Profile Czech Republic* and the Overview Tables on p. A-3f.

721 Slovakia emphasizes the national dimension of culture and its role »as a tool in creating and strengthening national and state identity.« Smatlk: *Country Profile Slovakia*, p. 2. The cultural policy of the Czech Republic follows the concept that culture creates the »essential identity of an individual.« Petrov: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 5. For Germany, Cf. Wagner; Blumenreich: *Country Profile Germany*, p. 2.

in which culture was utilized as an ideological instrument. In response to such abuse, the cultural policies of the three states focus on decentralization.⁷²² According to Petrova, a mass privatization and denationalization of the dense cultural network of Soviet times was enacted in order to prevent a possible abuse of culture in the future.⁷²³ In Germany, similar precautions were implemented. Cultural policy is decentralized and is within the responsibility of the Lander: »Hence, the Bundeslander are the main public actors in the cultural field and are responsible for setting their own policy priorities, funding their respective cultural institutions and for supporting projects of regional importance.«⁷²⁴ With regard to the book market, differences become obvious; especially the turnover of the book publishing industry differs greatly: DE 93,000 EUR per thousand inhabitants, CZ 48,500 EUR per thousand inhabitants and SK 4,449 EUR. Even though the German book publishers generate such a turnover, there are more publishers and more new books in the Czech Republic. While the book publishing industry in Slovakia is, in figures, less important than in Germany or the Czech Republic, the library system is well used in Slovakia. Czech citizens also use their well-developed public library system while Germany is last place in this group. The Czech book market has been described as slightly unstable due to a very high title production (of which 90% are new titles) and a quick remainder selling.⁷²⁵

In contrast to the results of the cluster analysis, Appelman and Canoy grouped Germany into a group they termed The Big Three⁷²⁶, together with the United Kingdom and France. Looking at the results of this analysis, France and Germany are certainly related but only on the second level. The United Kingdom is related with both on level six. A possible explanation for the different grouping is the subject of the analysis. Appelman and Canoy tried to create a typology of book *markets*, while this study intends to identify typical book *cultures*. The group comprised of Germany, the Czech Republic and Slovakia exhibits similarities in media use and the role of the book, while the book markets of these countries are very different. In the context of book culture this could mean that reading habits and the role of the book in a given society are more determining than the size or profitability of the book market.

The second group on level one consists of the country pair *France* and *Austria*. The similarities that led to the grouping of these two countries are harder to

722 For SK, Cf. Smatlak: *Country Profile Slovakia*, p. 7. For CZ, Cf. Petrova: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 2. For GER, Cf. Kleinsteuber, Hans J. (2004): »Germany.« In: Mary Kelly et al. (Eds.): *The Media in Europe. The Euromedia Research Group* [The Euromedia Handbook]. 3rd edition. London: SAGE Publishing, pp. 78–90. Here: p. 79.

723 Petrova: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 2.

724 Wagner; Blumenreich: *Country Profile Germany*, p. 5.

725 Cf. ulik: *Czech Republic*, p. 34 and Petrova: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 18.

726 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 597.

identify. Title production and the number of loans from public libraries are almost the same (FR 0.97 titles per one thousand inhabitants and AT 1; FR and AT both 2.4 loans per inhabitant). In terms of media habits, newspaper readership in both countries is strong.⁷²⁷ Also, the number of publishers per one thousand inhabitants is similar: FR 0.05 and AT 0.04. Both countries employ a fixed book price⁷²⁸, have public lending remuneration and support the creation and production of books. France and Austria both have ›classic‹ publication aids and additional support schemes to promote the production of books. Clear differences are discernible in terms of turnover – French book publishers generate more than double the amount than Austrian – and in the number of libraries: Austria has almost four times as many per one thousand inhabitants.

A common denominator may be found in the utilization of literature and authors to cultivate the national image of both, France and Austria. France has emphasized the authors' role through a range of renowned literary awards such as the *Prix Goncourt* and several support schemes for authors. Austria employs a differentiated author support system as well.⁷²⁹ The prestige gained through literature and book culture is important for cultural policy.⁷³⁰ The central role of the state in fostering book culture is also evident in the focus on diverse publishing support programs, which, contrary to other countries, are extensive.⁷³¹

Denmark and *Finland* comprise the third level one grouping. Appelman and Canoy included both of these countries in the group of Scandinavian book markets.⁷³² The countries show similarities in the percentage of readers (DK 83%, FIN 79%), the percentage of individuals considering literature to be a part of culture (DK 24%, FIN 21%) as well as the number of internet users (DK 86%, FIN 82%) and TV consumption (DK 175 hours and FIN 170 hours). Also, library usage is similar: 13 loans per inhabitant and around 70% visitors. Even though the GDP of both countries is similar (DK 123 and FIN 118), there are marked differences in the book market: Denmark's book publishing industry publishes more than twice the number of titles and the turnover is almost double the turnover generated by the Finnish book publishing industry. Possibly the

727 For France, Cf. Cahron: *France*, p. 66. For Austria, Cf. »Media Analyse: Im Jahr 2008 mehr Zeitungsleser (2009).« In: *Die Presse* (Online Edition). Available online http://diepresse.com/home/kultur/medien/464820/Media-Analyse_Im-Jahr-2008-mehr-Zeitungsleser, last retrieved November 23rd 2012.

728 In 1981, France introduced the *Loi Lang* (Delvainquièrre: *Country Profile France*, p. 2.) and Austria established the Federal Law on Fixed Book Prices in 2000 (Ratzenböck et al.: *Country Profile Austria*, p. 39.)

729 Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 399.

730 Ratzenböck et al.: *Country Profile Austria*, p. 3.

731 For Austria, Cf. Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 403. For France, Cf. the Website of the Centre National du Livre.

732 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 595.

fixed book price in combination with an official book policy ensure a positive difference for Denmark, even though both countries otherwise employ the same support measures for the book. However, both countries share the characteristics of a concentrated book market⁷³³ and an ever increasing importance of translations in order to broaden their small indigenous title range.⁷³⁴ As in the first group identified (CZ, DE and SK), the similarities are found in the media consumption habits and, additionally, in the library system, while the book markets differ in terms of turnover and titles published.

With regard to the environment for the book culture in both countries, it is important to note that Finland, as well as Denmark, are considered model welfare states.⁷³⁵ An important aspect of the welfare states is the education system and the access to information for all. The public library system is an essential element of the book culture and the welfare state of both countries. The public library system in Denmark has been described as the crown jewel of Danish cultural policy⁷³⁶; Finland has been called the country of lakes and public libraries.⁷³⁷ Both countries have developed new public library concepts in the recent years. While the public library has become an integral part of integration politics in Denmark⁷³⁸, Finland emphasizes the new multi-cultural structure of its society by establishing the Multi-Cultural Library.⁷³⁹ The well-functioning public library system, as being part of a modern welfare state that keeps pace with technical developments, is the common denominator of this group.

A fourth level one grouping is found in the country pair of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*. These countries share a history of occupation and have made similar efforts of reconstructing an independent publishing industry. Like Romania in its efforts to leave behind the so-called cultural dark ages of the Ceausescu era⁷⁴⁰,

733 For Denmark, Cf. Mortensen: *Denmark*, p. 45. For Finland, Cf. Saarinen; Koskimaa: *Book 2010*, p. 51.

734 Moster: *Die Finlandia-Kandidaten 2006*, p. 190 and Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 45.

735 For Denmark, Cf. Mortensen: *Denmark*, p. 43. For Finland, Cf. Castells; Himanen: *The Information Society and the Welfare State*, p. 81.

736 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 58

737 Leippert-Kutzner, Evelyn (2011): »Bibliotheken im Land der tausend Seen. Impressionen einer Finnlandreise.« In: *Bibliotheksforum Bayern 05*, pp 54–58. Available online http://www.bibliotheksforum-bayern.de/fileadmin/archiv/2011-1/BFB_0111_19_Leippert_V03.pdf, last retrieved December 7th 2012.

738 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 28.

739 Kontiainen, Kristiina; Sulin, Hannu (2006): »Finland's Public Library Strategy implemented in Projects.« In: Barbo Wigell-Ryynänen and Tarja Mäkinen (Eds.): *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, Vol. 39 No. 2. Helsinki: Nordic Public Library Authorities. Available online http://www.splq.info/issues/vol39_2/04.htm, last retrieved February 19th 2008. Here: p. 3.

740 Chelcea; Becut: *Country Profile Romania*, p. 2.

Bulgaria is »fiercely supportive of its culture«⁷⁴¹, even though funds are often lacking. Indeed, the GDP in both countries is similarly low (BG 40, RO 42). In terms of media usage, both countries have the same amount of readers (58%) and are close in the number of internet users (BG 44%, RO 36%) as well as the amount of TV consumption (BG 210 hours and RO 250 hours). The number of internet users is at the lower end of the European strata while the TV usage is more in the middle part to higher end. Both countries still experience difficulties in the development of their book markets: the level of complexity of the distribution system was rated 0 for both. However, David Kingham states for Bulgaria that it »has all the ingredients of a successful book industry, a high level of literacy, a strong tradition of book authorship, readership and ownership and entrepreneurs willing to take risks in a very difficult economic climate.«⁷⁴² All that is needed is a modernization of the infrastructure, as has been done in Romania. In the year of the analysis, the book publishing industry in Romania generated a slightly higher turnover than in Bulgaria. On the other hand, while there is a similar publisher per one thousand inhabitants' ratio in both countries (BG 0.03 and RO 0.05), Bulgarian publishing houses produce three times as many titles per inhabitants. The higher turnover of the Romanian book publishing industry can possibly be attributed to the greater number of loans from libraries. Even though Bulgaria has more public libraries, the number of visitors is slightly higher in Romania and the number of loans is more than twice as high. The high usage of libraries in Romania is contrasted by the number of dailies published and read in Bulgaria – the citizens of both countries attribute a great importance to the availability of news and information. The efforts into developing the markets and book cultures of both countries are illustrated in the programs to develop a modern public library network. In Romania, the *Biblionet* program aims to develop such a modern system by training the personnel and introducing an »integrated technological services in national and local libraries.«⁷⁴³ Bulgaria has obtained funds from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to start a nationwide program which is designed to »facilitate access to information, knowledge, communication, e-contents and community services through public library network.«⁷⁴⁴

A similar media usage and similar problems in the book publishing industry led to the pairing of these two countries in the cluster analysis. It would be interesting to research whether the past years and their efforts to modernize the book

741 Kingham, *Bulgaria*.

742 Ibid.

743 Chelcea; Becut: *Country Profile Romania*, p. 28.

744 Tomova: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 31.

market and public library infrastructure have led to a further assimilation of Romania and Bulgaria or whether new differences have developed.

An expected pairing is exhibited by *Spain* and *Italy*. Appelmann and Canoy identified both markets as being a part of the Southern European group. This group is supposedly characterized by a medium to low readership.⁷⁴⁵ Indeed, Spain and Italy both are in the top ten of lowest percentage readership of Europe (IT 63%, ES 59%), in terms of avid readers, the position is even worse (IT 20%, Spain 23%). Internet usage is also below the EU average of 66% (IT 48%, ES 61%). Both countries find themselves in the top ten of the highest amount of TV consumption: Italy with 226 hours and Spain with 227 hours.

With regard to contextual data, both countries are on the same level in GDP – 104 for Italy and 105 for Spain. They also have a similar level of education. In Italy, 51% have completed upper secondary education while in Spain 49% have completed this level. Spain has slightly more libraries per thousand inhabitants than Italy (ES 0.14, IT 0.11), the number of visitors is the same (29%) but the number of loans from public libraries in Spain is more than twice as high as in Italy. The book market's level of complexity is similar. In Spain, there are slightly more publishers (ES 0.05, IT 0.08), but the turnover does not differ greatly (IT 71,180 EUR per one thousand inhabitants, ES 78,314 EUR per one thousand inhabitants). There is a profound difference in the number of publications: IT 0.05 and ES 1.6 per one thousand inhabitants.

Overall, a conclusive picture emerges. While the media consumption habits and the contextual basis are the same, Spain's book promotion measures seem better coordinated and there is an official book policy. Even though both countries have invested a similar amount of their budget in book promotion (IT 0.05 and ES 0.06), Spain has significantly more library loans, its publishing industry generates a higher turnover and more titles are published in the country.

Spain and Italy, two distinctly similar countries with a shared experience of fascist regimes, have been grouped together. As a consequence of their history, both countries favor a massive decentralization of cultural politics with a low level of cooperation among the different regions.⁷⁴⁶ The slight difference of their performance may be attributed to the existence of an official book policy in Spain. It seems that the book policy allows a better coordination of book promotion measures, especially with regard to library usage. The positive results, as discerned by Villarroja, point towards a potential that is inherent in an efficient and coordinated book promotion:

745 Appelmann; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 595.

746 For Spain, Cf. Villarroja: *Country Profile Spain*, p. 5. For Italy, Cf. Bodo; Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 2.

Library visits have grown spectacularly. The proportion of people who have visited a library at least once in the past 12 months rose from 12% in 1997–1998 to 18% in the last period 2006–2007. Readership figures show a slight upward trend. [...] In spite of possibilities for improvement, these results show the positive action of the campaigns to encourage reading carried out by different levels of government.⁷⁴⁷

Contrary to the expectations prior to the cluster analysis, the groupings on the first level are not determined by geography. Nor is there a typology of book markets discernible, as Appelman and Canoy had established in their essay *Horses for Courses*. Instead, the countries grouped on the first level have different common denominators. The first grouping of Germany, the Czech Republic and Slovakia initially confirms a geographical connection following the Regions of Europe principle. However, when taking a closer look, the shared characteristics consist of media habits and the role of the book in society. The second group Austria and France have the differentiated book support system as a common denominator, including a range of publishing aids, which are not commonly available in the other countries. Denmark and Finland, on the other hand, share a very sophisticated and well-established public library system. The potential for both a development of the book market and a modernization of efforts in the public library infrastructure is a common denominator of Romania and Bulgaria. Italy and Spain are a pairing that has already been identified by Appelman and Canoy.⁷⁴⁸ Contrary to their findings, the differences between the two countries do not seem to be based on the export potential of Spanish language books – even though this might explain the higher title production in Spain. Instead, the differences might be based on the implementation of an official book policy in Spain. It remains to be seen, whether the identified common characteristics are emphasized in the groupings on level two.

Groupings on Level Two

On level two, four groupings were identified. The level one groups CZ, DE and SK and AT, FR are now merged. The United Kingdom and Ireland are paired as a new group. The level one group FI and DK is joined by Latvia; the group IT and ES is joined by Poland. The merger of the first two level one groupings will not be explained in detail as both groups have been described earlier. However, the prestige attached to book culture, as reflected in media habits and in the promotion schemes, is characteristic to all five countries.

On level two, Ireland and the United Kingdom have been paired. The similarities between the two countries are significantly fewer than among those of the first

747 Villarroya: *Country Profile Spain*, p. 66.

748 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 595.

level groupings. Ireland has a higher GDP, but in the book market the difference is vice versa. The turnover generated by the British book publishing industry is four times that of the Irish and the title production is twice as high. This can also be explained in part by the great export potential of British publishers and the fact that British publishers also dominate the Irish market to a great part:

The publishing industry in Ireland produces fewer titles per head of population than almost any country in the EU. This can be attributed to the penetration of British publishing houses, their success in attracting Irish authors, the huge mark-up by Irish retailers and the poor readership levels of Irish people. There have been calls for dedicated nurturing of Irish publishing to address these issues.⁷⁴⁹

In a direct comparison, Ireland has fewer readers, fewer avid readers and fewer visitors and loans from public libraries, but has a higher TV consumption. Interestingly enough, more promotion measures are employed in Ireland, at least on a state level. These, however, do not originate not from the wish to promote books in general but from fostering the Gaelic language. Book promotion and, in general, cultural promotion are managed quite differently in the two nations. As Great Britain incorporates the cultural wealth of Scotland, Wales, England as well as the different cultural backgrounds of immigrants from the Commonwealth, a centralized, state managed promotion does seem inadvisable. Instead, cultural and book promotion are achieved by a public/private sponsorship, thereby emphasizing the »national, regional and linguistics distinctiveness and multi-cultural diversity«⁷⁵⁰ of British culture, which is not regarded as a single entity. In contrast, the Irish book promotion measures reflect »the concern for the protection and promotion of the national identity«⁷⁵¹ and are therefore very centralized. All in all, the overall difference in the variables that appeared to be similar was too great to even achieve a first level pairing.

There have been reflections on the Baltic States articulating that they will become similar to the Scandinavian book markets. For Lithuania and Estonia, the statistical analysis has shown no evidence for such a development. Latvia, however, was grouped with Finland and Denmark on the second level. Taking a look at the data, there seem to be more discrepancies than similarities. Latvia's GDP is not even half that of Finland or Denmark, the turnover of Latvia's publishing industry is a mere fraction of that of the Danish. Yet the Latvian level of education is higher and so is the number of loans from the public library system. Compared to Finland and Denmark there may be only half the amount of visitors but they lent out the

749 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 14.

750 Fisher; Leyssen: *Country Profile United Kingdom*, p. 8.

751 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 5.

same amount of books as the Danish library users. The Latvian title production has surpassed Finland but not Denmark yet. When looking at the promotion measures and the funds spent for it, Latvia needs to improve. Nevertheless, the statistical evidence suggests that with the appropriate measures taken, Latvia will emerge to be a well-developed book culture with a competitive market.

With Latvia, the focus on the public library system in this group is emphasized. The comprehensive programs to foster the use of libraries from an early age make Latvia eligible for this group. In addition, the prestigious nation library project *Castle of Light*⁷⁵² emphasizes the focus on the library system all the three countries share. The Centre of Children's Literature – which was originally founded as the Latvian Children's Library in 1993 – focuses on library and information provision to children and adolescents under the age of 16.⁷⁵³

Italy and Spain are joined on the second level by Poland. When taking a look at the data overview table, similarities emerge. 18 to 20% of the inhabitants of all three nations consider literature to be a part of culture. Spain and Poland have been assessed to have a closer relationship with the book than Italy. Poland has more readers, more avid readers and a much higher percentage of people who have completed an upper secondary education. With regard to similar book cultures, these seem to group Poland with Italy and Spain even though Poland's GDP as well as the turnover of the book publishing industry are less than half that of Spain and Italy. There are less libraries in Poland and, compared to Italy and Spain, very few loans. Yet the percentage of visitors is higher (IT and ES 29%, PL 37%). The differences in the book economy are seemingly balanced by a higher readership and the more than double state expenditure for book promotion. This comparison points towards a potential inherent in Poland. With time, its book market, which is complemented by a stronger reader base, will have surpassed Italy and Spain, even though it may not match the Spanish export potential. The development of the book sector and the promotion of reading are among the priorities of the national cultural programs.⁷⁵⁴ If these are complemented by an intensified research in the cultural sector as well as the introduction of monitoring⁷⁵⁵, a positive development can be expected.

752 Tjarve: Country Profile Latvia, p. 30.

753 The center works »with the aim of promoting enjoying of reading and to attract new readers to library various events are held: tours for pupils, exhibitions of children's creative works, contests, book launches, meetings with authors and artists of the works, joint discussions with publishers on specific topics.« Latvian National Library Foundation (Ed.) (2010): *Centre of Children's Literature*. Available online <http://www.lnb.lv/en/about-nll/centre-of-childrens-literature>, last retrieved November 25th 2010.

754 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 4.

755 Comprehensive statistical data on the cultural sector of Poland is still missing as Ilczuk et al. criticize. Cf. Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 35.

Groupings on Level Three

Countries grouped on level three already share a lot less than those on the former levels. The biggest group so far, comprised of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Germany, France and Austria, is joined by Hungary on this level. A new pairing is found with Slovenia and Estonia. The second level group Ireland and United Kingdom is joined by the Netherlands and Belgium is added to the group formed by Italy, Spain and Poland.

Just as Slovakia, Hungary has not often been perceived as being such a well-developed book market that it could be grouped with countries like France or Germany. Since this study not only took into account markers relevant to the book market but also to overall book culture, a book market like Hungary's, which is still catching up in its developments, can – in combination with the other markers of book culture – exhibit emerging characteristics that make possible such a grouping. The Hungarian book market generates a higher turnover than Slovakia in the same group. The number of publishers per one thousand inhabitants is second only to the Czech Republic in this group. Within this group, Hungary has the highest state expenditure for book promotion. The media habits of the Hungarian population show the differences: Hungary does not have the lowest percentage of readers (as France in this group) or avid readers (as Austria in this group), but it is only second to France and Austria. On the other hand, literature is recognized as being a part of culture by the highest percentage of individuals (HU 43%, the highest percentage of all 27 EU Member states), which offers an explanation for the high level of state expenditure. With 0.17 % of the state cultural budget, Hungary is in the top five of all the European Member states. Yet the percentage of internet users is lowest in this group and TV consumption is significantly higher. These two variables could be the reason for Hungary only being related to the other countries of the group on the third level. The strong attachment to the book, on the other hand, is the common denominator for all countries in this group. Hungary fits perfectly into this group, even though it is a developing book culture in some respects.

Slovenia and Estonia form one group on this level. Both have a very strong attachment to the book as the basis of their national identity. In each country, 38% considered literature to be a part of culture. Both have developed a book market with similar structures in recent years. Peeter Vihalemm describes the media use in Estonia: »Looking back at the 1970s and 1980s, general media use in Estonia was among the most active in the Soviet Union.«⁷⁵⁶ The treatment of the book as medium and its history have acquired the highest priority during the Soviet Union: »the treatment of Estonian book history was of great importance in

756 Vihalemm: *Media Use in Estonia*, p. 17.

studying the national cultural heritage and for the preservation of national values, which were endangered by the policy of Russification.«⁷⁵⁷ Similarly, Slovenia recognized the importance of the book and book publishing; they considered them »to contribute enormously to the sense of Slovene national identity.«⁷⁵⁸ In consequence, »the Publishing Law of 1978 attached special social importance to publishing and included the right to subsidization.«⁷⁵⁹

When looking at the data from the overview table, the similarities seem less striking. In media consumption, the two nations are similar but not close. The book markets show almost the same titles per one thousand inhabitants for 2007, but the Slovenian book publishing industry had generated more than twice the turnover of the Estonian book publishers. Yet there are far more book publishers and booksellers in Estonia. There are also more libraries (EE 0.41 per one thousand inhabitants, SL 0.03 per one thousand inhabitants), which are visited by roughly the same percentage of persons in both countries (EE 51%, SL 53%). In Slovenia, the number of loans is significantly higher: EE 7.7 per inhabitant, in SL 11.8 per inhabitant.

For all the differences in the markets and library systems, the high status attributed to the book seems to define the statistical relationship between the two countries and explain their link on level three. It further emphasizes how important it is to go beyond the facts supplied by the markets, when considering how the typology of European nations is influenced by the status of the book.

Ireland and the United Kingdom are joined by the Netherlands on the third level. Except for the terms of level of education and the number of visitors to public libraries, the Netherlands are at a positive future stage of what Ireland and the United Kingdom were in 2007. The Netherlands have a higher number of readers, more avid readers, more internet users, and less hours of TV being watched. The turnover of the book publishing industry is higher (IR 22,956 EUR per one thousand inhabitants, UK 94,009 EUR per one thousand inhabitants and NL 124,770 EUR per one thousand inhabitants), the book market appears more diversified since there are more book publishers (IR 0.02, UK 0.04 and NL 0.07) and more booksellers per one thousand inhabitants (IR 0.04, UK 0.05 and NL 0.09). At the same time, the public libraries have more visitors and generate more loans. In contrast to the other two countries, there are extensive book promotion efforts in the Netherlands. Its cultural policy model represents a transition between the models of an intensive state involvement in Ireland and the model of

757 Möldre, Aile (2001): »The changing role of subjects connected with book history and publishing in the education of library specialists in Estonia.« In: *Information Research* 6 (3). Available online <http://informationr.net/ir/6-3/paper107.html>, last retrieved January 20th 2011. Here: p. 2.

758 Zei: *Slovenia*, p. 217.

759 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

restraint of the United Kingdom. Cultural politics in the Netherlands follow the motto »at arm's length where possible, but involved where necessary.«⁷⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the number for the amount of state expenditure for book promotion in the UK was not available. Since public spending on publishing is very small, it can be assumed to be less than the 0.05 % of Ireland's and 1.06 % of the Dutch cultural budget.

Belgium was added to the group consisting of Italy, Spain and Poland. As in the case of the Netherlands joining the pair of Ireland and United Kingdom, Belgium's book culture represents a positive step forward with regard to the data. Belgium has the highest percentage of readers in this group (BE 65%, IT 63%, ES 59% and PL 64%) and the same percentage of avid readers as Poland (both 33%). The percentage of internet users is significantly higher (BE 75%, IT 48%, ES 61% and PL 58%), while TV consumption is lower than in the other countries. The environment for books and reading in terms of media habits is, therefore, better than in the other countries. Additionally, slightly more people consider literature to be a part of culture (BE 22% versus 18% in PL, 19% in ES and 20% in Italy). The library system consists of fewer libraries than in Italy and Spain, but the usage (in number of loans) is significantly higher (BE 4.1 per inhabitant, ES 1.6 per inhabitant, IT 0.7 per inhabitant and PL 0.1 per inhabitant). The book market benefits from the highest GDP in this group and the book publishers generate a higher turnover with less publishing houses, less titles and less sales outlets and, additionally, less reduced VAT on books and no fixed book price.

The relationship between potential customers, that is the percentage of readers and the status of competitive media such as TV, and the turnover of the book publishing industry has already been identified in the general correlations table. The groupings of the cluster analysis confirm the positive correlation. Belgium's book publishing industry is able to generate a higher turnover than those of the other members of the group, since Belgium's population has media habits that are more favorable to book reading and book buying. The reason for these well-developed habits of reading could, in part, be attributed to the involvement of the linguistic communities in literature and book promotion. Language, literature and books are perceived as identity markers in each the Flemish, the French and German speaking communities. They are described as »elements which play a role in the definition of the cultural image of a community: as a status symbol, as an expression of a personal aesthetic taste or as a functional element.«⁷⁶¹

Until the states of the analysis form one group, there are ten levels of relationships with gradually less similarity to negotiate. Levels four to seven are not described in detail, since the information would for the most part be redundant

760 van Hamerseveld; Binka: *Country Profile The Netherlands*, p. 3.

761 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 65.

for relationships described on the first three levels. It is important to note that the majority of the countries have already merged on level eight. Two countries remain an exception. There is, on the one hand, Luxembourg which was already described as a difficult candidate for the analysis, since a lot of information is missing and the remaining data is quite extraordinary. For instance, the high GDP, which is due to the strong presence of a large international banking sector. For Portugal, the last country to join the main group, almost all data was provided with the exception of state expenditure. Even though the country has a medium and sometimes a below average readership and internet usage, and there are comparatively few publishers and even less booksellers, the title production in 2007 is exceptional. An explanation for Portugal's performance in the analysis could not be deduced from the available information.

Not only the extraordinary performance of Portugal but also the unexpected grouping of countries, such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Germany, make the cluster analysis worthwhile. Even though the analysis, with its focus on the year 2007, can only provide a snapshot in time, the relationships revealed in the clustering provide new insights into the book cultures of Europe. As the analysis of the groupings of the levels one to three revealed, book markets should not be overestimated in their impact on and their importance for book culture. Even an average developed book market can be balanced by a high readership, an appreciation of the book and well-developed media habits. However, as the fragmented visualization of the dendrogram and map illustrate, only smaller groups may be identified. Overall, there is too much heterogeneity to conclude a typology of European book cultures from this cluster analysis. Another analysis based on different variables and on data from more than ten years preferably could reveal more definite relationships and maybe even more conclusive groupings that could be interpreted as a topology of European book cultures.

3.4.3 *A Uniform ›European‹ Book Culture?*

The starting hypothesis was that a reformed and corrected model of the European book cultures could be found if more variables than the book market variables were taken into account for the analysis. Also, factors that were too highly correlated were excluded. The analysis was supposed to cluster the European book cultures into a recognizable model and allow a comparison of the book promotion measures employed. The two conducted analyses for clustering have shown no such clear results. There is some clustering in the second model which allows for an interpretation, as has been presented in the previous chapter. However, a distinct model with different types of book cultures cannot be concluded from the analysis – at least, not from the available data and the selection of factors

which were taken into consideration for the analysis. A different selection of factors may very well lead to another result but would need to be based on a different hypothesis.

At first glance, the result of the cluster analysis is a disappointment. There are no distinct groups and no clear clustering is observable. On the one hand, there are some basic groupings on the first level that suggest the existence of different types of book culture. For instance, Denmark and Finland are a form of ›library-centered‹ book culture. The group Czech Republic, Germany and Slovakia emphasizes the role of the book as essential in the creation of national identity. Here, book culture is ›identity-centered‹. Yet such a definite descriptive is not possible for all groupings especially when second and third level similarities and differences are added.

On the other hand, the conclusion suggests that the distinctive heterogeneity of European book cultures is itself a definite result of the cluster analysis. Apparently, their characteristics have more differences than similarities. Subsequently, one has to conclude that a general book policy for all Member states of the European Union is uncalled for within this context. Instead, book policy and book promotion need to be adapted to the individual environment. The heterogeneity of book cultures, therefore, reflects the development on the level of an individual person:

Their [members of the culturally interested public] receptiveness to a desire for participation in cultural activities vary and are highly individualized. As a result, urban cultural institutions, projects and events have multiplied and diversified to a hitherto unheard-of degree in the past two decades.⁷⁶²

Such a development may not only be observed in Germany but also in other European Member states. To a certain extent, the individualization has taken place on a national level, also on the level of the book industry as a whole, as the Media Group of the Turku School of Economic points out: each sector of the book publishing industry in the individual nations has specific characteristics that are formed by a unique combination of competing firms.⁷⁶³ In addition, Appelman and Canoy argue that if a nation is outlier in one, though common, dimension of book culture, it can make a difference in choosing the appropriate instrument.⁷⁶⁴ Forcing a unified book policy could lead to a disruption of local culture as well as an unbalancing of the competitiveness of the market.

762 Wagner, Blumenreich: *Country Profile Germany*, p. 16.

763 More information on the strengths and weaknesses of the European book industry was provided in the chapter on the structure of the European book market in: Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 14.

764 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 597.

4 Promoting Book Culture – Measures and Efficiency

Politicians, scholars and book lobby groups all agree on the necessity of book promotion to a diverse and living book culture. In consequence, cultural policies throughout Europe include book promotion and reading as a part of their objectives. These objectives of cultural politics have been criticized as being vague; the countries do not specify their intentions when intervening in the market in favor of cultural goods such as books.⁷⁶⁵ In theory, book promotion is needed to balance many factors such as the detrimental influences of the free market. At the base of this argumentation is the crucial differentiation between books and other goods. The subjacent tension between books being, on the one hand, cultural goods and instruments of culture and, on the other hand, »books as products of a profit-making business«⁷⁶⁶ is to be negotiated by book promotion.

Promotion measures are expected to provide the readers of any given country with essential aspects of a vital book culture: bibliodiversity, diversity in production and distribution, a self-sufficient industry and, at the same time, encourage reading. While diversity in production and distribution is based on the number of publishers and booksellers, bibliodiversity is an elusive concept. Indeed, Bibliodiversity is as difficult to define as book culture itself. In the 1990s the term was introduced to the discourse on book promotion by Latin-American publishers. Generally, bibliodiversity is considered to be the need for a variety in title production, similar to the term biodiversity in biology. Miha Kovač defines bibliodiversity in part as »the number of published titles, the number of titles in print (whether in traditional or Internet bookshops), and the number of publication companies as indicators of the diversity of book production.«⁷⁶⁷ It has been attempted by the French economists Françoise Benhamou and Stéphanie Peltier to give a more detailed definition of how bibliodiversity may be comprised.

In their essay »How should cultural diversity be measured? An application using the French publishing industry«, appropriately published in the journal *Bibliodiversité*, Benhamou and Peltier have presented their concept of bibliodi-

765 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 19.

766 Ibid, p. 2.

767 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 128.

versity. As an example to substantiate their definition, they have used a study of the French book market. Their concept is based on three factors: variety, balance and disparity. The term *variety* describes the absolute number of different titles published in a given country. *Balance* is determined by distributing these titles within certain categories – for books, these categories can be regarded as already being established by different merchandise groups into which books have been divided. The third factor of Benhamou and Peltier's concept is *disparity*. Disparity describes a calculated relation between variety and balance.⁷⁶⁸ In their essay, Benhamou and Peltier give caution that the multidimensional aspect of diversity has often been neglected. And, simply, a great variety of titles has been interpreted as diverse. Their definitions of variety, balance and disparity emulate Stirling:

[...] variety refers to the number of categories into which a quantity can be partitioned. Balance refers to the pattern in the distribution of that quantity across the relevant categories. Disparity goes beyond these measurement schemes by accounting for the nature of the categorization scheme and adjusting for the degree to which the categories are different from each other.⁷⁶⁹

Inherently, the concept of disparity had been limited by applying the classification scheme, and Benhamou and Peltier decided on using a definition of disparity that rather represents a weighted measure of balance.

How important it is to define bibliodiversity for book promotion is clarified when taking the desired effect of book promotion into consideration. Bibliodiversity as an objective of book promotion is mirrored in the objective of a diverse and living book culture. Both are mutually dependent on each other. The explanation of the concept by Benhamou and Peltier indicates the inherent difficulties: measures of promotion that aim at only one aspect of bibliodiversity, say variety, may have an overall detrimental effect.⁷⁷⁰ Instead, book promotion has to use a carefully balanced approach. For promotion instruments directed at diversity in publishing, for example, the same is true.

Yet book promotion should not be limited to diversity. Indeed, to ensure a vibrant book culture, there are more objectives when promoting the book. First and foremost, book promotion cannot neglect reading promotion. Readers are the participants and consumers of book culture, they are vital for its development. Equally important is the development of an independent and self-sufficient publishing and distribution sector. As David Kingham pointed out, a vibrant and economically healthy book sector is essential for the preservation and develop-

768 Cf. Benhamou; Peltier, How should cultural diversity be measured? p. 14.

769 Ibid, p. 14.

770 Ibid, p. 11.

ment of a nation's cultural identity and book culture.⁷⁷¹ At the same time as book promotion preserves diversity in a title range, it also forms a part within the greater context of promoting minority languages and ethnic groups. The diversity of European languages and cultures depends in part on the development within the book market and book culture.

Correspondingly to a balanced approach of promoting diversity and quality, it is of the same importance to keep in mind that a supplied diversity does not necessarily equal a consumed diversity.⁷⁷² Book promotion measures, therefore, need to include projects that encourage readers to work down a diverse reading list and furthermore publishers need to provide the titles for such a diverse list. Here, reading promotion measures and the instruments that are aimed to generate public awareness for the book and for cultural diversity in general have to be applied. In addition, not only does each book culture and book market have their individual characteristics and, therefore, require different book promotion measures, Marcel Canoy concludes that »each category of books has its own characteristics and warrants different treatment.«⁷⁷³ The focus of this study shall be on promotion measures for books in general. For instance, legal and market regulations apply to all books. However, aids to creation and publication often focus on the consumer publishing market. This market is perceived as representing the ›cultural‹ aspect of publishing and, therefore, to stand for book culture. Before presenting the measures of book promotion, which need to be individualized and adapted to their given environments, the arguments for book promotion and the intervention in the book market are to be assembled.

4.1 State Support for Culture: Financing Book Promotion

Recent budget cuts for sustaining a nation's cultural activity have fueled the debate on public and/or private sponsorship for culture. With increased regularity, the justification of public funding of cultural activities and promotion is contested. However, a lively and diverse cultural sector can only be achieved with some form of additional funding either with the help of the public or private initiatives. There is a political consensus in all Member states of the European Union stating that by preserving and developing a multi-faceted and lively culture one can justify the existence of such additional funding. The KEA Institute listed a number of reasons for the public support of culture: for example, access to culture results in a democratic empowerment.

771 Kingham: *Bulgaria*.

772 Benhamou; Peltier: How should cultural diversity be measured?, p. 12.

773 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 2.

Public intervention may be needed to ensure variety of offer. Indeed, one of the characteristics of cultural products is the high uncertainty attached to them. Hence a bias towards producing products whose success is almost guaranteed, to the detriment of the variety and richness of the offer.⁷⁷⁴

In addition, culture has a complex educational value, as it acts as a mind-opener and allows for the discovery of new perspectives; it develops and encourages tolerance. Culture may also reinforce one's identity and a sense of belonging. This sense is fostered in relation to its surroundings, the nation and supra-national references. A strong cultural sector may serve as a »cultural ambassador«⁷⁷⁵ and bearer of national and European values such as tolerance, democracy, free speech and peace. On a national level, providing access to culture for everyone will lead to social cohesion by integrating different strata of the population.

The expected high return on all investments is regarded as the economic legitimization of public intervention in the cultural sector: the outcome of cultural promotion is economic progress. This progress is not necessarily restricted to the cultural sector.⁷⁷⁶ Čopič supports this view: »Culture, as a value in itself, is expected to have multiple effects on the economy and on social cohesion. In former times, culture was subject to political factors; nowadays it is subject to economic issues.«⁷⁷⁷ Additional corroboration is provided by Chelcea: »Therefore, culture ceases to be a mere source of expenditure and is transformed into a dynamic public service, which contributes to economic growth on a substantial basis.«⁷⁷⁸ Chelcea concludes that one of the objectives of cultural policy has to be the support and promotion of creative and cultural industries, for those industries are connected to all other sectors of Europe's economy in many ways.

With regard to book promotion, the reports by KEA European Affairs and the Media Group have observed that return investments were realized that legitimize the initial high cost and complexity. The initial high cost has challenged the promotion of books and book culture and has proven to be an obstacle throughout all European Member states. Even though it is sometimes difficult to trace the exact costs since funds for book promotion come from a multitude of budgets, the last years have shown a definite downward trend in cultural spending on a federal level. On the one hand, this is due to the often cited economic crisis and resulting budget cuts, but on the other hand, also due to a trend in cul-

774 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 122f.

775 Ibid, p. 123.

776 Ibid, p. 123.

777 Čopič: *Country Profile Slovenia*, p. 8.

778 Chelcea, Liviu; Becut, Anda (2010): *Country Profile Romania*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels (Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe). Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved June 16th 2010. Here: p. 6.

tural policies that orientate themselves toward the Anglo-Saxon model of private cultural sponsorship. The transition from public to private funding has not yet been achieved – especially not in the realm of book promotion – and critics have already pointed toward the dangers inherent when relying on the whims of companies and private donors.⁷⁷⁹

Overall, however, no more than 4% of private support is added to cultural funds.⁷⁸⁰

Even though there is no law that encourages private sponsorship of culture in the United Kingdom, there is a well-established tradition to support the arts and culture. Also a *Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme* has been established. Over 540 million EUR were donated to exhibitions, dance, music, theatre, and other festivals during the period of 2004/2005.⁷⁸¹ Most countries do not collect data on the total amount of private sponsorship. Of those with available information Germany, Sweden and Switzerland rank highest in private funds supporting culture. Among those, Switzerland stands out. Especially when compared to Germany with 500 million private funds and more than twice the number of inhabitants, Switzerland sports a fund of 320 million Euros.⁷⁸²

Laws to promote private sponsorship of arts and culture exist in some countries. Surprisingly enough, those who were able to collect the highest support had not yet established a legal regulation for a private cultural promotion. Although there are incentives, such as in Germany, where tax breaks are given by a *Directive of the Ministry of Finance (BMF-Sponsoring-Erlass 1998)* when money has been donated. In addition, there are other incentive programs to garner business sponsorship for culture. The European Member states attempt to shift cultural funding by encouraging sponsorship by private persons and businesses in order to relieve the strained cultural budgets. At the same time, they strive to provide the population with a diversified cultural program. As a consequence, there is need for more effort in fund acquisition and coordination.

Since information on private cultural sponsoring is sparse, no overview table has been included in this study. However, the overview provided by *culturalpolicies.net* lists what information is obtainable. To efficiently work with and distribute existent funds and options, a comprehensive database will be integral. Coordination and full information disclosure would result in an optimized infor-

779 For more information on the problems of public/private sponsorship, see chapter 4.5.3.

780 Ibid, p. 128.

781 Table *Private Sector Sponsorship: laws, schemes and targets*, available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/comparisons-tables.php?aid=41&cid=46&lid=en>, last retrieved March 15th 2012.

782 The numbers are comparable since they both derive from a study undertaken by N. Sievers/B. Wagner and A.J. Wiesand for the German parliament in 2004.

mation flow. This would create the opportunity to adopt successful business incentive schemes from other countries.

At the moment, book promotion measures are for the main part financed by the state, sometimes on a regional, a nationwide or even a transnational level through European Union projects. A common system of procurement of funds does crystallize when researching book promotion in the European Member states. Even though funds are to come from the state cultural budgets, these funds are commonly extended if not even substituted through additional funding from specific levies introduced for the support of culture.

The *Culture Capital Foundation* of Latvia, which was established in 1998 to support author and publishers in their activities, generates its resources from the alcohol and tobacco excise duties which amounts to 3% of the sales value.⁷⁸³ Alcohol and tobacco duties are favored second only to lottery tickets. Poland, for example transfers funds from the lottery ticket sales to the *Fund for the Promotion of Culture* at the disposal of the Minister of Culture to support and promote, among others, »literary creation and periodical press as well as activities connected with the culture of the Polish language, development of reading habits, supporting cultural periodicals with low circulation [...].«⁷⁸⁴ Inkei and Szabó state that while the *National Culture Fund* of Hungary used to receive a cultural levy, this has been cancelled in January of 2010 and will be substituted by revenue from the lottery as well.⁷⁸⁵ Italy has expanded the funding through the lottery levies approach. The initial *Law 662/1996*, intended to extract a levy from the newly introduced Wednesday and the traditional Saturday lottery draws, was expanded in 2003 to include the performing arts and the film sector in support. Bodo and others such as Ilczuk and Gordon agree that lottery funding for culture has evolved »from an *additional* to a *substitutive* funding source [...].«⁷⁸⁶ In addition to funds from the lottery, Italy has introduced a new company in 2003, *ARCUS (Societa per lo sviluppo dell'Arte, della Cultura e dello Spettacolo)*, which is to manage funds collected through a 3% levy on expenditure for strategic infrastructure investments.⁷⁸⁷

For decades, financing of cultural activities has been more or less based on the principle of indiscriminate all-round distribution, or to put it more directly, funds have been distributed as untargeted subsidies. With decreasing budgets and the rise of quality assessment, cultural initiatives and projects have to compete for funding and are – in some countries – evaluated on their proceeds. As

783 Boguta: Policy Review of the Latvian Book Sector, p. 9.

784 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 46.

785 Inkei; Szabó: *Country Profile Hungary*, p. 27.

786 Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 38.

787 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Tomova and Andreeva describe, this principle has been established in Bulgaria: »Financing of the cultural activities of these institutions [is] on a competitive basis, which makes it possible to provide differentiated support to the individual cultural institutions, depending on their contribution to culture and the artistic and economic results of their activities.«⁷⁸⁸

Even before the economic crisis of 2008, the overall public spending for culture had been decreasing for some time. In order to substitute the decreased budgets, the European Member states strove to encourage public/private cooperation and private sponsorship of culture, and therefore, book promotion. The United Kingdom has served as an example. Even though there is no law to encourage private sponsorship that grants tax reductions, for instance, there is a *Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme* as well as a long tradition of private sponsorship of culture. During the 1980s, the government of Margaret Thatcher »required the arts and culture organisations to look for new sources of revenue to supplement their income.«⁷⁸⁹ The resultant *Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme* matched funds generated through business sponsors with government grants. During the 1990s, the next step led to the introduction of additional funds by way of the popular national lottery. Although business sponsorship is already well-established in the United Kingdom, new schemes for an individual support, so-called venture philanthropy schemes, have been developed.⁷⁹⁰

Funding for book promotion is still in the hands of the federal states in most European Member states. Additional funds are generated by levy taxes on alcohol, tobacco or the national lottery. Private sponsorship or business cooperation both exist within the context of cultural funding, but mostly in sectors like the performing arts and museum exhibitions. Literature and the book – at least in projects on a state level – seldom receive funds from private sponsors. As the allocation and generation of funds is, on the state level, essentially similar, so are the instruments chosen for the promotion of books.

788 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 4.

789 Fisher; Leyssen: *Country Profile United Kingdom*, p. 3.

790 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Table 3: Development of Direct State Cultural Expenditure by Sector

Countries	Years	Libraries/ Literature	Museums/ Archives
Austria	1997	8.9%	10.4%
	2000	4.2%	16.8%
	2002	4.4%	14.5%
	2003	4.2%	15.3%
	2004	4.0%	15.0%
	2005	3.7%	14.6%
	2006	3.4%	13.9%
Belgium Flemish Community	2005	-	2.2%
Belgium French Community	2005	2.9%	2.2%
Bulgaria	1997	4.2%	7.1%
	1999	2.8%	5.5%
	2001	3.1%	6.2%
	2003	0.9%	3.8%
	2004	1.0%	4.5%
	2005	1.0%	3.5%
	2006	0.8%	3.5%
	2007	0.9%	3.95%
Denmark	2005	22.7%	10.9%
	2006	23.6%	10.3%
Estonia	1996	15%	8%
	1998	14%	7%
	2000	14%	8%
	2002	9%	9%
	2003	8.7%	9.8%
	2004	8.6%	9.4%
	2005	7.2%	8.8%
	2006	6.6%	10.7%
	2007	6.0%	10.3%
Finland	1997	38.5%	14.3%
	2001	30.5%	16.9%
	2005	31.0%	18.4%
France	1993	20%	19%
	2000	9%	15%
	2007	8.3%	17.3%
Germany	1995	10.6%	15.7%
	2000	10.9%	16.6%
	2003	15.7%	16.1%
	2005	14.0%	18.0%
Greece	2001	2.0%	-
	2006	4.7%	59.1%

Hungary	2005	15.6%	19.9%
	2006	15.5%	19.8%
	2007	17.9%	20.5%
Ireland	2001	26.4%	-
	2004	5.5%	-
	2005	5.2%	-
	2006	4.5%	-
	2007	5.3%	-
Italy	2000	5.2%	5.6%
Latvia	2004	11.0%	13.0%
	2005	7.5%	14.8%
	2007	19.9%	14.3%
Liechtenstein	1999	10%	29%
	2007	5.2%	7.6%
Lithuania	2001	23%	12%
	2002	25.6%	14.8%
	2003	27.1%	12.7%
	2005	16.0%	14.1%
Malta	2004	1.4%	37.1%
	2005	0.8%	30.9%
	2006	3.8%	34.1%
	2007	4.5%	31.1%
	Netherlands	2003	13.3%
2004		15.1%	14.2%
2005		14.9%	-
2006		15.4%	14.6%
Poland		2000	9.2%
	2001	10.0%	27.4%
	2002	11.0%	28.4%
	2003	10.6%	30.4%
	2004	11.1%	33.6%
	2005	13.5%	34.3%
	2006	12.0%	30.4%
	2007****	10.1%	31.35%
Romania	2005	-	11.5%
Slovakia	2005	11.9%	15.2%
	2006	9.3%	15.0%
	2007	9.5%	14.9%
	2008	7.4%	15.6%

Slovenia	1994	-	-
	1996	-	-
	2003	6.6%	18.2%
	2005	6.6%	15.6%
	2006	7.2%	15.8%
	2007	6.4%	18.5%
Spain	2001	8.3%	26.3%
	2002	6.9%	26.6%
	2003	5.8%	33.7%
	2004	6.9%	30.6%
	2005	6.7%	28.5%
Sweden	1993/4	6.6%	13.6%
	1998	3%	17%
	2000	3%	18%
	2005	3%	19%
Switzerland	1990	12.6%	14.7%
	1995	12.9%	16.7%
	1998	11.9%	16.4%
	2000	10.0%	14.1%
	2001	9.1%	12.9%
	2002	9.7%	13.9%
	2006	9.0%	15.0%

Source: Council of Europe/ERICarts, *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, 10th edition, 2009.

Note: No monitoring data available for Portugal and the United Kingdom.

**** The presented data concern only the expenditure on the central level.

4.2 Arguments for Book Promotion

Subsidies serve to prevent the decline of an industry. According to Wischenbart, there is no reason why the book market should fail if there are no state subsidies: »most European book markets can look back at surprisingly stable market environments for books.«⁷⁹¹ However, even Appelman and Canoy, who agree with Wischenbart, acknowledge that »the need for government intervention can be traced to the notion that European governments see books as merit goods. The governments aim at more reading of books, more production of books and a more extensive network of booksellers than the market would produce by itself.«⁷⁹² In other words, European cultural policy expresses a need for a more

791 Wischenbart: *The Global Ranking of the Publishing Industry*, p. 22f.

792 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 585.

diversified book sector than a free market can provide. As cultural processes, such as the writing and the subsequent publication of a book, are a part of an economic process designed to generate profit, cultural autonomy is a costly affair⁷⁹³ and only achieved by using the instruments of book promotion. »Cultural diversity and cultural exception are thus closely dependent from an economic point of view, as they protect the diffusion of rare cultural goods that would otherwise be crushed by competition from consumer goods.«⁷⁹⁴

The *Buchlobby Schweiz* has assembled a list of reasons for the potential market failure of publishers, concluding a need for direct publishing promotion: The publishers experience an increased pressure, since concentration has led to a reduction in the numbers of independent booksellers. These usually tend to be more open to try out new titles or authors than established chains. In addition, chains utilize their market power to negotiate favorable discounts. Due to the same process of concentration within the newspaper sector, fewer papers review even less books and tend to focus on bestsellers, too. Lastly, the *Buchlobby* has identified budget cuts in libraries, schools and other institutions as one of the many problems publishers have to cope with.⁷⁹⁵ In consequence, publishers are less likely to take a risk with new authors.⁷⁹⁶ Book promotion cannot absorb the economic risk of launching a new author on the market completely, but it can minimize the financial risk, thereby creating an environment favorable to a greater variety of titles.

Whereas diversity used to be a convenient side effect of book promotion measures, for example publishing subsidies and of regulation measures, such as a fixed book price, »diversity has come to be considered as a value in itself, enhancing the overall stability of both a company and the publishing industry in general.«⁷⁹⁷ The report by the working group *Selektive Förderung* cautions that diversity is not to be compared to the quantity of individual titles. Real diversity is defined as offering titles for several very different tastes and standards.⁷⁹⁸ The definition of diversity as suggested by Benhamou and Peltier expands this basic definition.

793 Cf. Krotz: *Konnektivität der Medien*, p. 37.

794 Delvainquière, Jean-Cédric (2007): *Country Profile France*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved November 22nd 2011. Here: p. 18.

795 *Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 6.

796 Trappel, Josef; Uhrmann, Caroline (2006): *Buch- und Literaturlandschaft der Schweiz. Im Auftrag des Bundesamtes für Kultur*. Ed. by Universität Zürich. Institut für Publizistikwissenschaft und Medienforschung. Zürich. Available online http://www.buchlobby.ch/pdf/Studie-Universitaet_Zuerich.pdf, last retrieved January 7th 2011. Here: p. 17.

797 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 116.

798 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: *Buch- und Literaturpolitik*, p. 5.

Concentration trends in both publishing and book selling have led to less readiness to take risks and to less cross-subsidizing.⁷⁹⁹ As a result, high quality or more esoteric books that cater to niche markets will not be produced any longer.⁸⁰⁰ Canoy's statement is supported by observations from André Schiffrin in his publications *Words and Money* and *The Business of Books*, but also by the findings of the Media Group from the Turku School of Economics⁸⁰¹ and the Buchlobby Schweiz⁸⁰². The KEA report also supports this view:

Public intervention may be needed to ensure variety of offer. Indeed, one of the characteristics of cultural products is the high uncertainty attached to them. Hence a bias towards producing products whose success is almost guaranteed, to the detriment of the variety and richness of the offer.⁸⁰³

The relevance of the issue of diversity is reflected in the reality of the book market, as it is encountered especially in the smaller nations of the European Union.

Works by foreign authors are taking up more and more shelf-space in bookstores. More than half the titles last year were foreign and made up 75 percent of sales. While the book market may be decreasing overall, the market share of Hungarian authors is shrinking disproportionately. [...] So distorted has the market structure become that cultural publicity in Hungary is at risk.⁸⁰⁴

László Simon refers to the book market in Hungary, which is faced by an increasing concentration as media conglomerates operate bookstores, publishers and warehouses, thereby effectively controlling the market. This development is especially dangerous, since book culture and book market are linked to national identity. The most direct connection between them is language.⁸⁰⁵

Establishing diversity and plurality, both in the production and distribution of books, is one argument for book promotion. Complementing diversity is an independent and self-sufficient book industry that, in the long run, operates

799 As has been detailed in chapter 2.4 on the challenges to book culture and the book market.

800 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 18.

801 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 127.

802 The Buchlobby report claims that, due to concentration in publishing and trade, especially the larger chains rely on bestsellers and other ›safe‹ titles. Cf. Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 6.

803 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 122f.

804 Simon: A delayed intellectual system change, p. 98.

805 Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband (Ed.) (2010): *Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor Debatte im Nationalrat. Allgemeine Bemerkungen*. Zürich. Available online <http://www.sbv.ch/userfiles/file/Argumente%20f%C3%BCr%20die%20Buchpreisbindung%20ohne%20Ausnahmeregelungen.pdf>, last retrieved March 21st 2011. Here: p. 5.

without state subsidies. The Media Group deduces from its analysis that: »cultural diversity and economic competition form a dynamic balance essential for long term sustainability.«⁸⁰⁶ In order to develop competition and diversity, book promotion is needed, but, at the same time, publishers are supposed to adapt to the new market surroundings, created by digital technologies, and also to »innovate vigorously«⁸⁰⁷. As the report implied a limited culture of innovation amongst publishers, incentives for the development of new products as well as marketing techniques may be achieved through book promotion measures.

[...] the maintenance of publishing pluralism [is regarded] as the most reliable bulwark against the threat of cultural – and even ideological – uniformisation that would result from excessive concentrations (whatever their causes) in the publishing sector.⁸⁰⁸

Potential innovation is not limited to the publishing sector; it affects society and the economy as a whole. Books are supposed to impart the readers with media literacy and to stimulate creativity and innovation. Cristina Mussinelli recognizes this role and states that books to trigger a virtuous circle:

If it is true that the people with more cultural knowledge are the ones which make a better, creative, conscious and more advanced use of the technologies, then it is necessary to trigger a virtuous circle, in which families, schools, universities and in all the places where training is provided, need to promote a correct and integrated use of the technologies.⁸⁰⁹

With regard to innovation, the findings of the Italian Publishers Association correspond with Mussinelli's assessment that reading and other forms of cultural consumption influence the rate of innovation. The report by the publishers association claims that »the first group of countries that are champions of innovation – the United States, Finland, Sweden, Denmark (in this order) – are also leaders in terms of book consumption.«⁸¹⁰

It is obvious that, envisaged merely from the economic angle, the publishing sector is minor and scarcely seems worthy of attention or to deserve specific policies. Nevertheless, many countries have taken measures to promote the production and sale of books, sometimes long ago and often by devising machinery departing considerably from the traditional market systems.⁸¹¹

806 Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 127.

807 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

808 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 18.

809 Mussinelli: *Digital Generation*, p. 100.

810 Associazione Italiana Editori: *The Italian Book Market*, p. 7.

811 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 18.

Without encouraging readership and developing new reader groups, neither a self-sufficient industry will emerge nor will a newly produced diversity be consumed. Therefore, the public awareness of books has to be increased. Trappel suggests as a solution that more award or grant programs are not sufficient but that it is better to pursue a superior objective: He claims that, by intensifying the presence of books in public life, more interest for books and more support for promotion measures, such as author grants, may be achieved.⁸¹² Trappel fails to include another important aspect that may be a consequence of supportive behavior towards book promotion measures: Private sponsors tend to support cultural projects with the highest possible external impact. A public consensus on the importance of book promotion could generate more private sponsorship for individual projects.

Trappel's suggestions correlate with the findings of a report by the Swiss Bundesrat. In the report, the authors conclude that book culture may be promoted through an increase in public awareness and an appreciation of the book. At the same time, both marketing measures and events that allow a direct contact between the public, authors and books need to be supported.⁸¹³ The Media Group arrives at a similar conclusion, although their approach is focused on the book market:

substantial market growth in Europe as a whole will not be achieved without attracting a substantial number of people who do not currently buy books to become regular purchasers; this is likely to require innovation in both product and in marketing.⁸¹⁴

Books and literature play a crucial role in the creation of national identities.⁸¹⁵ A part of constructing national identity is also the protection of minority languages and ethnic communities within a given nation. Book promotion measures are not limited to the support of publications in minority languages but can create »availability of and adequate access to mass media, printed as electronic, [which] is a significant factor in the support of the language and culture of ethnic communities.«⁸¹⁶ The Media Group from the Turku School of Economics regards the role of the book industry in a similar way: the book industry is recognized by the European governments and industry actors themselves »not simply as an industry but as an essential element of the backbone of national (or regional) cultural

812 Cf. Trappel; Uhrmann: Buch- und Literaturlandschaft der Schweiz, p. 17.

813 Cf. Bundesrat der Schweiz (Ed.) (2006): *Bericht des Bundesrats. In Erfüllung des Postulats Po. Müller-Hemmi (04.3643), »Buch- und Verlagsförderung«*. Bern, p. 8.

814 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 77.

815 The overall role of book culture with regard to national identity has been presented in chapter 2.3.1.

816 Hogan-Brun; Ramonienė: *Emerging Language and Education Policies in Lithuania*, p. 40.

identity.«⁸¹⁷ Baruch regards the promotion of books and publishing as one of the responsibilities of a democratic state, and is supported in his view by KEA, which concludes that access to cultural goods such as books is a form of democratic empowerment. Participation and access both lead to a better social cohesion, to a better education and »reinforcement of identity building and of a sense of belonging; sense of belonging fostered in relation to surroundings, their nation and supra-national references.«⁸¹⁸ The *Buchlobby Schweiz* takes the argument one step further and concludes: »Ohne Bücher gibt es in der modernen Gesellschaft keine historische Erinnerung, kein Tradieren von kulturellen Werten, kein systematisches Aufarbeiten der Gegenwart, keine tief greifende Verständigung über die Zukunft – kein Bewusstsein der Gemeinschaft.«⁸¹⁹

4.3 Instruments of Book Promotion

As has been shown, there are good arguments for an efficient and balanced book promotion. Book policy makers and institutions interested in launching projects may choose from a vast selection of projects. Some of these are a part of a general market regulation approach; others aim more directly at the individual actors of book culture. For a third group, book promotion is a positive side effect of the initial reason for launching the project. Fortunately, the variety of book promotion projects has expanded during the last years. From trans-national projects to local initiatives, the programs and projects vary in extent and complexity.

Book promotion is implemented in a variety of models in the analyzed countries, though the instruments remain the same. There is the state administrative approach. The key role is played by state managed cultural institutions and the »state provides funds for the development of culture and art production, elaborates long-term conceptions and visions regarding artistic and cultural development.«⁸²⁰ Most states prefer a more decentralized model, in which state and regional cultural policies cooperate and co-fund regional and local cultural institutions. The liberal model is propagated by, for example, the United Kingdom, where market and private initiatives often act as regulators and initiators of culture. All European Member states employ the arm's-length principle in book promotion. That is, the institutions involved in the promotion of books are one step away from state politics to prohibit ideological or political tactics.⁸²¹

817 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 120.

818 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 122f.

819 Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 4.

820 Smatlák: *Country Profile Slovakia*, p. 7.

821 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

Hereafter, the instruments of book promotion employed in the various state models shall be listed and assessed. Most projects and measures to be introduced are publicly financed and conducted by state institutions. This selection has allowed for a better and fuller access to information on the projects as well as on the discourse concerning their efficiency and legitimization. Projects by private institutions are difficult to evaluate and information is often hard to come by. In the interest of a complete listing, it would have been imperative to include private projects also. Yet this undertaking is too complex for an individual study. More research is needed to fully evaluate book promotion projects throughout Europe. This study provides a starting point and reveals the potential and possibilities of further research.

4.3.1 *Book Policy and Cultural Legislation on Books*

As has been established before, the state functions as a patron for book culture. In all European countries there exists some form of state subsidy for books. Yet the legislative framework for book promotion functions only on a national level. There is an international and EU legislation, which applies to book culture, but this does not touch the Member State's sovereignty in terms of cultural legislation. Freedom of expression and the »unrestricted circulation of books and cultural products«⁸²², as constituted by the Florence Agreement and the Nairobi Protocol, as well as the intellectual property rights, are common to all European Member states.

On a national level, legislation concerning books and publishing is diversified and sometimes difficult to identify. Some European states feature a specific book policy but more often, legislation concerning books is part of an overall cultural policy with only vague references to the intent of promoting books and reading. For example, the decree, which created the Italian Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities, lists among other activities the promotion of reading, books and libraries as the objectives of the Ministry's work. The promotion of cultural diversity, on the other hand, is often laid down in the constitution. Switzerland's constitution, for example, prescribes the promotion and preservation of cultural diversity as one of the key objectives of policy making.⁸²³ To preserve diversity, quality and an independent industry, promotion measures for a diversified book culture and book market are necessary – and often enough, these provide a legitimization for book promotion.

822 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 3.

823 *Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 5.

The instruments and objectives of book promotion are often collected in an official book policy. According to a definition by the UNESCO, a book policy is »a political commitment to consider books as part of a cultural economical sector.«⁸²⁴ This includes a global conception of the book industry. Within the context of a national book policy, state and (ideally) non-governmental agencies as well as companies in the sector agree to stimulate literary creation. The state strives to create a fiscal and financial environment favorable to publishers. It should also favor trade and the distribution of books. According to the UNESCO, such instruments could include

Preferential postal rates and elimination of customs taxes or other import taxes; [to] strengthen distribution mechanism, modernisation of bookshops and support to nearby bookstores; [the]adoption of the sector of code of conduct in the field of commercial practices [and] measures to encourage export.⁸²⁵

A legal framework securing all measures concerning the book is to be adopted and the training for human resources in all book professions to be encouraged.

For those who have implemented a book policy, two types are discernible according to Richard Baruch. He distinguishes between what he calls the Anglo-Scandinavian model and the South European model, depending on which instruments are applied by the authorities in a given state. The prototype of the Anglo-Scandinavian model is the United Kingdom, where there is no retail price mechanism employed to regulate demand.⁸²⁶ At the same time, the importance of the public library network has been acknowledged and has experienced a high frequency of usage. »Consequently, compensation is considered payable to publishers and authors for works read free of charge, and the principle of the lending right on works held by libraries has long existed, attracting large sums which are then shared out between the producers.«⁸²⁷ Publishers are awarded virtually no support in this system. Baruch characterizes this model as possessing an economic clarity

as market forces can operate to the full, and as it concerns the Scandinavian countries, by its proportionally high cost to public funds, which have to offset, by budgetary means, any excessive concentrations in the publishing field that may result from the absence of internal regulation machinery.⁸²⁸

824 UNESCO (Ed.): »What is a national book policy?« In: *Books and Reading*. Available online http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=27521&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, last retrieved December 19th 2012.

825 UNESCO: What is a national book policy?

826 The fixed book price agreement in the UK was abolished in 1995.

827 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 16.

828 *Ibid*, p. 17.

In contrast, the South European model focuses on a fixed book price as a central aspect of book policy, while the public libraries are not seen as a major instrument of book promotion. Spain and Italy figure as Baruch's examples when he explains that »they also use the principle of subsidies, not only for publishing projects but also for publishing distribution and bookselling firms [...]«. ⁸²⁹

Baruch's attempt at distinguishing between two elementary models of book promotion is basically a distinction between countries with a fixed book price and those without. Yet the book policies of the European nations have become more complex. Countries without a fixed book price still subsidize publishing companies – except for the United Kingdom. Baruch's Anglo-Scandinavian model should therefore be termed as the Anglo-Saxon model with virtually no state intervention in the book market. Aids to literary creation are limited to private initiatives and to regional councils of the individual nations comprising the United Kingdom. According to Rod Fisher and Ledy Leyssen, the British cultural policy is the »archetypal ›arm's-length‹ model. [It is] essentially a ›convention‹ between government and the various cultural agencies, and the terms of these relationships are set down in management standards.« ⁸³⁰

Slovenian book policy serves as an example for a newly implemented and successful book policy. In its commitment to a diverse and living book culture within a small nation such as Slovenia, the Ministry of Culture has broadened its book promotion programs. Until 2003, the majority of support went to publishers in the field of literature and culture – as in most countries surveyed for this study – and »to a lesser extent also to projects in the areas of reading culture, promotional projects, literary festivals and international activities.« ⁸³¹ Since 2008, publication aids are no longer the sole focus. In response to a progressing concentration and an expansion of chain stores, a program for the support of quality booksellers has been launched, in addition to further projects in the field of reading culture and author support. »Those bookshops which can apply must offer a variety of literature from the fields of belles-lettres and humanist studies, whose trade is created mainly by sale of books, and which implement programmes by which reading is popularised etc.« ⁸³² The book shop program was further supported by the introduction of a special budget item in 2004 to stabilize the book shop network. Furthermore, the campaign »*An original Slovenian picture book for each newborn*« was implemented with the objectives of socializing family reading and raising an awareness of the importance of the book. In addition, the campaign provided direct support for the publication of original Slovenian picture books and their authors.

829 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 17.

830 Fisher; Leyssen: Country Profile United Kingdom, p. 5.

831 Čopič: Country Profile Slovenia, p. 27.

832 Ibid, p. 27.

To improve the coordination of these projects and to create a single budget, the *Slovenian Book Agency* was founded in 2008 by the adoption of the *Act on the Public Agency for Books (Official Gazette No. 112/2007)*.⁸³³ Other countries have followed suit and established Book Councils or similar institutions with the aim of coordinating national efforts for book and literature promotion.

For example, the new *Spanish Act for Reading, Books and Libraries* was passed in 2007, which established a dual system of fixed book prices and textbooks that are free of charge. The act also introduced the new *Reading and Book Observatory* »to promote reading, to defend cultural diversity in order to provide mechanisms which guarantee a plural supply of publishing companies and bookshops, and to adapt the book concept to changes facilitated by the new technological changes.«⁸³⁴ Italy created the *Center for Books and Reading* in 2006 as an arm's-length body of the Ministry for Heritage. Its mission is »the promotion of book publishing – through prizes, events, campaigns, both in Italy and abroad – and a better awareness of the role of reading for the building of citizenships.«⁸³⁵

Another Southern European country anticipated the Spanish and Italian initiatives: Malta created the *National Book Council* in 2005, which focuses on the repeal of the isolation of Maltese literature, due to a serious lack of translations.⁸³⁶ At the same time as Spain established the *Reading and Book Observatory*, Greece founded its *National Book Center*. It maintains

special programmes to promote reading among certain groups such as the establishment and operation of libraries in the Kassaveteia rehabilitation center of under-age prisoners and in the Aulona prison, a programme to support reading activities in 14 public libraries in the underdeveloped and multicultural prefecture of Evros in Thrace (in co-operation with local government), and a reading ›relay‹ competition involving more than 1,000 schools in all regions of Greece.⁸³⁷

The introduction of new legislation on the public library networks also forms a part of this new trend to establish official book policies. Libraries have been recognized as an important institution of book culture⁸³⁸ but at the same time they also play a decisive role in the promotion of books. For example, Bulgaria adopted a *Public Library Act* in 2009. The act serves to regulate

833 Čopič: *Country Profile Slovenia*, p. 22.

834 Villarroya: *Country Profile Spain*, p. 48f.

835 Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 46.

836 Attard, Anthony (2010): *Country Profile Malta*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved May 27th 2011. Here: p. 47.

837 Dallas, Constantinos (2007): *Country Profile Greece*. [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe] Ed. by Council of Europe, Brussels. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved May 17th 2011. Here: p. 35.

838 See chapter 2.2.4.

the conditions which public libraries need to meet, their financing, their governance and interaction in a national network. Unified standards for the work of the libraries and for the services they provide are introduced. The law envisages the creation of a National Library Council at the Ministry of Culture, which will prepare strategies for the development of library activities, measures for the preservation of the funds and for citizen access to cultural heritage.⁸³⁹

Libraries are a crucial element of book policy. The European Union may simplify the communication and cooperation in projects by creating common standards for all libraries. Bulgaria amended its *Public Library Act* with a special clause to preserve the inventory of its libraries: »The law envisages sanctions for those who lose, damage or destroy documents from the library fund and for officials who fail to secure conditions for their preservation. The envisaged fines range between BGN 500 and 2,000 (EUR 250 and 1,000).«⁸⁴⁰ Regulations or legislation concerning public libraries is an important part of book policy and also book promotion. Yet when discussing how and where books are supported in Europe, public libraries often only figure as a potential location for book promotion projects. Instead, it has to be taken into consideration that the existence, the endowment and professional management of a public library already are a form of book promotion.

Table 4: National Institutions Implementing Book Policy

Country	Name	Tasks	Website
France	National Book Center / Centre National du Livre, established 1946	Aids to publication, book export, author grants, booksellers, comprehensive program for the promotion of books and reading	www.centrenationaldulivre.fr
Ireland	Irish Language Books Board / Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge, established 1952, functions transferred to Foras na Gaeilge in 2008; the funds is now called Foras na Gaeilge	Supports publications in Gaelic, complemented by the Irish Literature Exchange	www.gaeilge.ie/Foras_na_Gaeilge/Clar_na_Leabhar_Gaeilge.asp

839 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 44.

840 *Ibid*, p. 44.

Bulgaria	National Book Center, established 1991, now: Books and Libraries Directorate	Promotion of national writing and the creation of quality works, facilitating exchange, aid of libraries	--
Slovenia	Slovenian Book Agency / Javna Agencija Za Knjigo Republike Slovenije, established 2008	Support to booksellers, representing Slovenia at book fairs, publication aids, promotion of reading, promotion of translations	www.jakrs.si
Spain	Reading and Book Observatory / Observatorio de la lectura y el libro, established 2007	Promote reading, defend cultural diversity and guarantee plurality in publishing and bookshops as well as technological support	http://en.www.mcu.es/libro/MC/ObservatorioLect/informacion.html
Italy	Center for Books and Reading / centro per il libro e la lettura, established 2006	Promoting book publishing and raising awareness of the book, promotion of reading and of Italian books, culture and authors abroad	www.cepell.it
Greece	National Book Centre / ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ, established 2007	Promote reading, promotion of Greek books abroad, support for authors and recording trends in the book sector via the Book Observatory	www.ekebi.gr
Poland	Book Institute / Instytut Książki © POLAND, established 2004	Popularizing Polish books and authors, promoting book reading, promoting Polish books abroad, promoting translations	www.bookinstitute.pl

Portugal	General Directorate for Book and Libraries / Direcção-Geral Do Livro E Das Bibliotecas, established 2008	Promotion of the publishing of books and magazines, support cultural institutions, foster reading and publishing in Portuguese-speaking African countries; technical support via Public Libraries Knowledge Network	www.iplb.pt
United Kingdom	Welsh Books Council / Cyngor Llyfrau Cymru, established 1961	Promotion of reading, provision of specialist services for publishers and booksellers (editing, design, marketing etc.), publication aids	www.cllc.org.uk
Literature Fonds/Promoting Literature			
The Netherlands	Dutch Foundation for Literature / Fonds voor de Letteren, established 1965	Encourage production of quality works in Dutch and Frisian, promote translations	http://www.fondsvoordelletteren.nl
Finland	Finnish Literature Society / Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, established 1831	Research and promotion of Finnish oral tradition, language and literature, support for translations and authors	www.finlit.fi
Estonia	Estonian Literature Center / Eesti Kirjanduse Teabekeskus		www.estlit.ee
Latvia	Latvian Literature Center / Latvijas Literatūras Centrs, established 2002	Promotion of translation, promotion of international cooperation, promotion of publishing and literary creation, information and education	www.literature.lv

Slovakia	Slovakian Literature Fonds / Literárny fond, established 1954	Promotion of literary creation, but also theater, film radio and television, promotion of translations	www-litfond.sk
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Prevalently, book policy is defined as the sum of all measures which try to »remedy the economic difficulties«⁸⁴¹ experienced by the book as a cultural product. It has to be taken into account that these measures run alongside a general legislation »designed to create a healthy economic environment from which all firms should benefit such as means of combating excessive mergers, fiscal incentives or aid programmes in favour of small or medium-sized firms.«⁸⁴² These may not be explicitly described as part of a book policy, but are nevertheless an intangible part of it. In all evaluated countries, these general economic regulations are complemented by subsidies which »exist for the publication of ›difficult‹ or ›quality‹ works designed to facilitate the publication of books which strict economic logic would condemn in the absence of commercial profitability.«⁸⁴³ Book policy does also include, however indirectly, legislation on copyright and reproduction rights such as compensation schemes for photocopying or lending from public libraries.

Typically, the decision for a book policy is made on a national level. However, André Schiffrin invokes the autonomy of regional, and even local, political authorities to deliberately decide in favor of book promotion. Especially, at the upstart of young publishing companies. Schiffrin here relates to small and idealistic publishers:

But the context in which these private decisions are made depends on political decisions. Governments can choose to help support their cultural infrastructure, as the Norwegian government has done. Regional entities, and towns and villages, can do the same, even when their national governments have followed the new neoliberal policy of allowing every decision to be controlled by profit.⁸⁴⁴

Whether nations refer to their policy regarding the book, and the book market, explicitly as a book policy, is not relevant. It may or may not be implemented and monitored by an arms'-length agency such as a Book Council or Book Agency, but all European Member states follow a cultural policy that includes the objective of promoting the book and reading and fostering a diverse book culture.

841 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 2.

842 Ibid, p. 2.

843 Ibid, p. 2.

844 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 114.

4.3.2 Market Regulating Mechanisms

Market regulating mechanisms are a part of the basic repertoire of book promotion. Even in states, which do not claim a heightened interest in the fostering of book culture due to neo-liberal tendencies in politics, books are often exempt from value added tax, or there is a lending remuneration scheme. The fixed book price agreement is also a part of market regulating mechanisms. It is only applied in some of the European Member states and is subject to avid discussions. The discourse on fixed book price agreements as well as advantages and disadvantages of all measures will be presented in the following subchapters.

In contrast to other book promotion measures, such as author grants or translation subsidies, market regulating measures do not require the state to set a budget or to render a direct financial involvement. While these measures gain a certain amount of attractiveness through their lack of direct financial requirements, they, at the same time, imply state intervention in the free market economy – depending on the political preference of a given nation, this can mean a lengthy and involved discussion as well as justification debates. One example for such a lengthy discussion and the emotions involved on both sides is the Swiss debate on fixed book prices, which has cumulated in a national referendum.⁸⁴⁵ The legal and market regulations introduced in this chapter are complemented by additional instruments, which did not warrant an individual chapter. Reduced charge for the mailing of books offered by some postal authorities is just one example. These are based on international postal agreements and, therefore, are mostly employed when international shipping rates are due. Nationally reduced postal rates may be found in Italy and Spain. In the Netherlands, the postage for the shipping of books in braille is free of charge.⁸⁴⁶

4.3.2.1 Reduction of Value Added Tax and Other Tax Exemptions

The value added tax (VAT) is a tax on the purchase price and, therefore, a form of consumption tax. It applies to all forms of goods and services. Contrary to a sales tax, the VAT taxes only the value added to a product by each stage of production. Within the book production chain that means VAT is collected at every point of transaction, for example when books are sold by the publisher to a

845 Fortunately, the Swiss debate also resulted in the publication of well-researched papers on book promotion and alternative measures even though the popular vote yielded a rejection of the fixed book price agreement. For more information on other book promotion activities in Switzerland, see the Information Spreadsheet Switzerland in the annex on page A-115.

846 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 10.

wholesaler, by the wholesaler to a book shop and at last by the book shop to a customer. Tax duties are thereby distributed evenly throughout the supply chain. In the European Union, general VAT rates range between 15% (for example: Luxembourg, Cyprus) and 25% (for example: Hungary, Sweden).⁸⁴⁷

In theory, a lowered or zero value added tax on goods encourages consumption. Lowering the VAT on certain goods is against EU regulations, which call for the same rate of VAT on all material goods traded.⁸⁴⁸ VAT is supposed to be indirect, neutral (no preference of customers vs. suppliers), generally applicable to all goods and proportional to the price of the purchased good. The reduction of VAT on books and, moreover, different rates of VAT on books and other cultural goods are only tolerated because they, on the one hand, serve the objective of supporting and promoting culture. On the other hand, different VAT rates do not lead to a competition within the EU due to the special characteristics of book markets. Book markets tend to be monolingual markets and, therefore, there is only a small chance of tax competition.⁸⁴⁹ For example, Germans are not likely to acquire books from the Czech Republic, because book prices there are lower due to a lower VAT, as it can be safely assumed that most Germans do not read in Czech. Therefore, neighboring markets do not compete with each other.

However, there is an ongoing review of existing legislation on reduced VAT rates initiated by the European Commission. EU legislation allows its Member states to apply reduced VAT rates in a limited context. These are set out in the *VAT Directive 2006/112/EC*⁸⁵⁰ – digital books, for example, are considered part of an online service and, therefore, reduced taxes do not apply. The initially simple rules on VAT in the EU (regular rate 15%, reduced rate 5%) are complicated by a variety of derogations:

These derogations were granted during the negotiations preceding the adoption of the VAT rates Directive of 1992 and in the Acts of Accession to the European Union. Overall, such derogations prevent a coherent system of VAT rates in the EU from being applied.⁸⁵¹

847 Individual general value added tax rates of all member states are listed in the EU Online Database *VIES*. Online available: http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/vies/lang.do?fromWhichPage=vieshome&selectedLanguage=EN, last retrieved September 1st 2011.

848 »Directive 2006/112/EC of 28 November 2006 on the common system of value added tax« In: *Official Journal of the European Union L 347/I*. Available online <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:347:0001:0118:EN:PDF>, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

849 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 587.

850 The complete Directive, including its previous versions, is available online: *VAT Directive 2006/112/EC*. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:347:0001:0118:EN:PDF>, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

851 *Taxation and Customs Union. VAT rates*. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/taxation/vat/how_vat_works/rates/index_en.htm, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

The adoption of reduced VAT for audio books, CD's, CD-ROMs and others that »predominantly reproduce the same information content as printed books«⁸⁵² was included in a proposal on the adoption of new VAT legislation.

Lowered VAT rates on books and other cultural goods are employed as a means of fostering cultural consumption in all countries of the European Union with the exception of Denmark. The wide variety of rates, as demonstrated in the following table, cannot be explained by fact-bound reasons. Instead, one must surmise that the different rates are partially historically evolved and partially motivated by other causes such as the special status of the book. The overall effect is detrimental to the increasing integration of the national book markets to form a European market.

Table 5: VAT Rates on Books

Country	General VAT Rate	VAT Rate on Books	Legislation	Remarks
Belgium	21%	6%	VAT Code of 1993	Reduced rate applies to cultural objects such as books, magazines, original works of art and services such as tickets.
Bulgaria	20%	20%	VAT Act, amended 2005	Existing exemptions to VAT were cancelled in 2005.
Czech Republic	20%	10%	Act on VAT of 2004	Reduced rate was raised from 9% as of January 2010. It applies to all artistic and cultural activities and objects.
Denmark	25%	25%	Law on Taxation of Cultural Fields of 2004	Artistic activities are exempt from VAT, but not the sale of such goods or artifacts.
Germany	19%	7%	No specific piece of legislation, multitude	Printed books

852 Ibid.

			of regulations	
Estonia	20%	9%, 0% on textbooks	Law on VAT, amended 2009	The reduced rate was raised from 5% to 9%. Applies to books, periodicals and certain concerts.
Ireland	21,5%	0%	VAT Law of 2003, amended 2009	Books as well as promotion of or admission to theatrical performances are VAT-free.
Greece	23%	6,5%	Tax Law of 2007	Reduced rate applies to books.
Spain	18%	4%	37/1992 Value Added Tax Act of 1992, amended in July 2010	Reduced rate applies to books, newspapers and magazines. Tickets to cultural events etc. have a lowered rate of 8%.
France	19,6%	5,5%	CGI, article 278 bis-6°	Reduced rate applies to cultural products such as books and tickets and to food.
Italy	21%	4%		Reduced rate applies to books and newspapers; admission to cultural events is taxed at 10%.
Cyprus	5%	15%		
Latvia	22%	12%	Law on Value Added Tax of 1995, amended 2009	Raised from 5% to the standard rate in January 2008, and then lowered again in August 2009. Reduced rate applies to books, textbooks, newspapers and periodicals.

Lithuania	21%	9%	Law on Value Added Tax of 1993, amended 2009	Raised from 5% in 2009; reduced rate applies to books and non-periodical editions.
Luxembourg	15%	3%		
Hungary	25%	5%	VAT Law of 2009	Reduced rate applies to books, textbooks, periodicals and licensed handi-craft products.
Malta	18%	5%		Reduced rate applies to cultural activities (except cinema admission), renting of space for cultural activities and to books and periodicals.
Netherlands	19%	6%		Low rate of 6% applies to books, periodicals and tickets.
Austria	20%	10%	Austrian VAT Law of 1994	Reduced rate applies to artistic activities, cinema, theatre and concert tickets, museum, botanical gardens, ORF services, books, magazines and dailies.
Poland	23%	5%	Act on Goods and Service Tax of 1993, amended 2007	As of January 2011, prior to that it was 0%. Poland was forced to raise the rate after a decision of ECO-FIN in 2007, which allowed the zero rate to be continued for three years. The reduced rate applies to books and special periodicals.

Portugal	23%	6%	VAT Regulation Code	Books purchased by non-profit or governmental institutions are VAT-free.
Romania	24%	9%	Fiscal Code	Reduced rate applies to books.
Slovenia	20%	8,5%	VAT Law of 1999	Reduced rate applies to books and tickets to cinema and cultural events.
Slovakia	20%	10%	VAT Law amended in 2008.	Lowered from standard in 2008. Reduced rate applies to books and music.
Finland	23%	9%	VAT Act of 2002, amended 2008	Rate was raised from 8%. Reduced rate applies to books, entrance fees to cultural events. Journals and Newspapers are VAT-free.
Sweden	25%	6%	Amended 2001	Rate on books lowered in 2001 from standard level after intense public debate.
United Kingdom	20%	0%		Zero rate applies to books only.
Switzerland	8%	2,5%	Value Added Tax Law (MWSTG)	

Figures represent the current situation. Source: *Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe Series*. 12th edition, 2012.

A lowered rate of VAT on books serves to encourage consumption and to entice people to read more.⁸⁵³ This is due to the fact that lower taxes lead to lower prices for end consumers and, at the same time, to a higher margin for all members

853 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 27.

of the supply chain. Therefore, lower VAT rates on books benefit end consumers (the readers) and foster production.⁸⁵⁴

The impact on a readership cannot be quantified but the impact on book sales becomes evident when looking at two examples from within the European Union: »History has shown that the reduction of the VAT on books has had an immediate effect on book sales. For example, on January 1, 2002, Sweden reduced its VAT on books from 25% to 6% and book sales soared.«⁸⁵⁵ The events occurring when Latvia raised the VAT on books from five to 21% due to the economic crises that started in 2008, serve as a similar example: »The sales result of the 12 biggest bookstores [...] show that book sales in January 2009 decreased by 29% in comparison to January 2008, while the decrease in February was 36.58%, and in March about 40%.«⁸⁵⁶ When in August 2009, intensive lobbying achieved a revocation of the measure; the decline in sales could be stopped effectively.⁸⁵⁷

The United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland remain the only Member states which apply a rate of zero percent on books and newspapers. Poland used to apply a rate of zero percent on books until 2010, but was forced to introduce VAT on books by a subsequent decision of the *European Economic and Financial Affairs Council* (ECOFIN).⁸⁵⁸ This was due to a preferential treatment of national publications (0% VAT) as opposed to 7% VAT on imported books. However, zero rates are still inconsistent with the EU regulations and are only tolerated.⁸⁵⁹

Other forms of tax exemptions are employed too. Tax deductions for donations for cultural purposes, grants, scholarships or the restoration of historical monuments are a popular form of cultural promotion in a number of Member states such as in Bulgaria, where deductions of up to 10 % are possible.⁸⁶⁰ Of course, tax exemptions and deduction are not necessarily employed for all cultural industries. In reality, mostly audiovisual or film industries are supported with these measures, for example in Belgium.⁸⁶¹ Malta, on the other hand, has

854 Smatlák: *Country Profile Slovakia*, p. 41.

855 Lubiana; Gammon: *Book Selling – Book Buying*, p. 376.

856 Tjarve: *Country Profile Latvia*, p. 25.

857 The Latvian Book Guild lists the activities in protest against the raise of the VAT on books on its website: »About Us.« In: *The Latvian Book Guild*. Available online http://gilde.lnb.lv/?page_id=2&lang=en, last retrieved December 19th 2012.

858 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 22.

859 Cf. Fischer: *Buchpolitik in europäischer Perspektive*, p. 103.

860 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 37.

861 Janssens, Joris; Lebon, France (2008): *Country Profile Belgium*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels [Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe]. Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/belgium.php>, last retrieved April 18th 2011. Here: p. 37.

introduced »fiscal benefits for qualifying costs to make it easier for eligible Maltese authors to publish their literary works (introduced in 2010)«⁸⁶².

A reduced value added tax on books serves to encourage book buying. In contrast to the application of a fixed book price agreement, this regulatory instrument of book promotion amounts to fiscal income lost to the state. A compromise could be suggested: the funds generated from taxing the sale of books could be directly invested in book promotion. Unlike for other instruments, a unified VAT rate on books does not serve to balance the markets, since tax competition is no issue in book sales. For a Europe-wide introduction of a fixed book price, however, supporters may be found among the European publishers associations.

4.3.2.2 Fixed Book Price Agreement / Resale Price Maintenance

»Books are different«⁸⁶³ – this is the underlying principle that justifies the intervention in the free market principles governing the European Union. It describes the essence of the Fixed Book Price Agreement installed in two thirds of the 27 Member states. Instead of the demand and offer regulating book prices, the state intervenes by allowing publishers to set a minimum resale price, which all sales outlets have to adhere to. Apart from general copyright regulations, no other book-related instrument has been discussed with such commitment. The verbal statements that warn against the abolition of the fixed book price vary from emotionally charged forebodings of the death of small publishers, booksellers and niche books⁸⁶⁴ to factual statements like that of the Media Group:

Fixed price measures, whether based on legislation or voluntary trade agreements, aim to provide a safety net for both small publishers of quality books and small and medium sized book shops which would otherwise find it hard to compete with the large publishing groups on the one hand and chain book stores able to offer deep discounts on the other.⁸⁶⁵

862 Attard: Country Profile Malta, p. 42.

863 The term was coined by Judge Buchley of the English Antitrust Courts when deciding on the special position of the book in commercial law, and thereby upholding the Net Book Agreement of 1962. Cf. Rautenberg, Ursula; Wetzel, Dirk (2001): *Buch. Grundlagen der Medienkommunikation 11*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, p. 63.

864 Cf. Florescu, Catalin Dorian (5. April 2012): »Was bleibt, ist Monokultur. Warum das Buch ohne Preisbindung nur verlieren kann.« In: *Börsenblatt. Wochenmagazin für den Deutschen Buchhandel*. 179. Jahrgang, 14/2012, p. 13.

865 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 43.

The different pro and contra arguments of the discussion on resale price maintenance will be discussed later in this chapter. Furthermore, three examples of the application of fixed book prices within Europe will be introduced.

When introducing a fixed resale price for books one has to define the term ›book‹ first, which is a project that has proven to be most difficult and is still in discussion throughout universities, law firms and legislation bodies. For the purpose of maintaining the resale price, the Swiss *Buchrat* has proposed the following definition of a book: Books are »Verlagserzeugnisse in gedruckter Form sowie ihre Abbilder in elektronischer Form und kombinierte Produkte, bei welchen das Buch in gedruckter Form die Hauptsache bildet.«⁸⁶⁶ This definition also results in applying the fixed book price to e-books and other forms of electronic text. The rigorous interpretation has been openly discussed as one of the reasons for the failure of e-books in the European markets.

Market freedom is one of the principles of the European Union; still, the resale price maintenance is tolerated for the reason that it »is based on the greater importance attached by a state to maintaining diversified and pluralistic book production.«⁸⁶⁷ The intervention in the market is conducted to achieve and maintain “a widespread network of book sale outlets, and above all bookshops are able to offer the public a wide range of books as well as appropriate services (bibliographic information, single-copy orders, literary events, etc.).«⁸⁶⁸ How the European legislation applies to national and supranational fixed book price agreements is introduced in the next section of this chapter.

EU Legal Framework

Resale price maintenance is against the free trade principles of the European Union. However, the European Parliament has declared that the »abolition of a system of fixed prices would jeopardise books as cultural assets.«⁸⁶⁹ In other words, the cultural characteristics of a book surpass its economic characteristics as a trade good. In 1997, when discussing fixed book prices, the culture ministers of the Member states urged the European Commission »die kulturellen Aspekte (lt. Artikel 128 § 4 des EU-Vertrags) der Buchpreisbindung für Bücher neben den wirtschaftlichen gleichwertig zu berücksichtigen.«⁸⁷⁰

In February 2001, the European Council issued a resolution declaring that the Member states are free to establish a national statutory or contractual fixed

866 Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband: Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor der Debatte im Nationalrat. Allgemeine Bemerkungen, p. 4.

867 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 7.

868 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

869 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 589.

870 Panzer; Scheipl: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 22.

book price system. Even though these national systems do not underlie the competition rules of the European Union, »they must respect the provisions of the Treaty, particularly as regards the free movement of goods.«⁸⁷¹ Supranational agreements are legal as long as they

do not significantly restrict competition in a way which does not provide benefit for consumers. The Commission has thus had to intervene in the case of price agreements between undertakings in the same language area for cross-border sales, for example between Belgium and the Netherlands or between Germany and Austria.⁸⁷²

The member states of the European Union may decide individually about applying resale price maintenance. Three examples shall be presented in the following section to outline the situation with and without fixed book prices. Of the three examples chosen for the presentation of all aspects of fixed book prices, Germany will serve as a model of fixed book prices embedded in a national legislation. Switzerland – although not a member state – is presented because of the recent intense discussion, the decision to abolish and then to reintroduce fixed book prices again. As a last example, a country without resale price maintenance will be presented.

One of the first countries with a fixed book price was Germany. There, the fixed book price agreement was established as a mutual trade agreement in 1888 as part of the Krönersche Reform by the Association of Book Publishers and Sellers (then the *Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler zu Leipzig*, today the *Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels*). It did not become a part of the official German legislation until 2002. The first paragraph of the *Fixed Book Price Law* states that

Das Gesetz dient dem Schutz des Kulturguts Buch. Die Festsetzung verbindlicher Preise beim Verkauf an Letztabnehmer sichert den Erhalt eines breiten Buchangebots. Das Gesetz gewährleistet zugleich, dass dieses Angebot für eine breite Öffentlichkeit zugänglich ist, indem es die Existenz einer großen Zahl von Verkaufsstellen fördert.⁸⁷³

871 *Legislation Applying to Books*. Available online http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/activities/books/book_legis_en.htm, last retrieved August 15th 2011. »Treaty« refers to the *Treaty of the European Union*. The full text of the resolution may be viewed online http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=32001G0306%2802%29&model=guichett, last retrieved August 15th 2011.

872 For a more detailed description of the judgment in the case of Germany and Austria, visit the *EU Law Blog*. Available online <http://eulaw.typepad.com/eulawblog/2009/05/fixe-book-prices-free-movement-of-goods-and-justification-case-c-53107.html>, last retrieved August 15th 2011.

873 Jäger: Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie, p. 70.

It clearly implies that resale maintenance is foremost an instrument of achieving the cultural objective of maintaining a diverse book offering and guaranteeing an access to this offering for the public by supporting a large network of book shops. According to the *Law on Fixed Book Prices*, publishers are to determine the sales price of a book including a value added tax (VAT). After the lapse of 18 months, fixed prices may be lifted – this is also the case, if a book is damaged, sold as second-hand or the title is part of a clearance sale. The fixed book price in Germany does not apply to imported books. Fixed book prices apply to e-books as well.⁸⁷⁴

Ensuing an intense discussion, Switzerland abolished fixed book prices in 2007. According to Fritz Panzer and Elfriede Scheipl, the following processes were put into motion as a consequence: an accelerated cut-throat competition amongst the book shops took place, during which the major chains could depend on their advantages of cheaper purchasing, higher sales margins and the synergies created by concentrated management. Therefore, the major chains were able to put pressure on the publishing houses in terms of purchasing and contract conditions. As a result, bestsellers became cheaper but – contrary to the hopes of the book shop chains – direct buying over the internet burgeoned as well. Overall, the number of titles produced in Switzerland was reduced.⁸⁷⁵

To sum it up, the consequences observed in Switzerland mirror all the dangers that have been articulated by fixed book price lobby groups. However, as Hulliger states, the rise in book prices cannot be attributed to the abolishment of fixed book prices: »Dieser dürfte aber in der ersten Linie auf den erhöhten Wechselkurs und eine (inoffizielle) Anwendung der damit verbundenen neuen Umrechnungstabelle ab Juni 2001 zurückzuführen sein.«⁸⁷⁶ The Swiss Parliament has passed a law reintroducing fixed book prices in March 2011. However, a group consisting of activists from all parties collected signatures to call for a referendum. In that case, the Swiss people made the decision.⁸⁷⁷ In March 2012, a majority of 56% decided against a fixed book price in Switzerland. The *Börsenblatt* points out that the majority of votes not in favor of a fixed book price originated in German-speaking

874 Cf. *Begründung des Preisbindungsgesetzes*. Available online <http://www.preisbindungsgesetz.de/downloads/PB-Gesetz-Begruendung.pdf>, last retrieved April 15th 2011.

875 Panzer; Scheipl: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 32ff.

876 Hulliger, Beat et al. (2008): *Erste Auswirkungen der Abschaffung der Buchpreisbindung*. Forschungsbericht der Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz. Kurzbericht. Ed. by Staatssekretariat Für Wirtschaft SECO. Basel. Available online <http://www.fhnw.ch/wirtschaft/forschung-und-entwicklung/ppt-projekte/auswirkung-buchpreisbindung?unitid=W>, last retrieved November 6th 2012. Here: p. 22.

877 Schweizerische Depeschagentur (18th March 2011): »Das Parlament sagt Ja zur Buchpreisbindung.« In *NZZ* (Online Edition). Available online: http://www.nzz.ch/nachrichten/politik/schweiz/das_parlament_sagt_ja_zur_buchpreisbindung_1.9940294.html, last retrieved August 15th 2011.

Switzerland. In Romany, where fixed book prices had been abolished some 20 years ago, the tendency was to reintroduce fixed prices.⁸⁷⁸

After introducing the fixed book price in the context of book shop regulations in 1908, Finland abolished the resale price maintenance in 1971. After joining the European Union, a reintroduction of the resale price maintenance was taken into consideration but was dismissed, due to the then satisfactory number of published titles and sold books. Ever since, the book market has been experiencing a series of transitions – none of which may singularly be attributed to the free pricing policy. Concentration within the book trade has been taking place, as well as a rise in book prices, especially those of non-bestsellers. Publishers work with ›recommended‹ instead of ›fixed‹ prices. The end price is determined by booksellers: »Some publishers sell at net price and it is up to the bookseller to price the book.«⁸⁷⁹ The rise in prices of titles other than bestsellers is attributed by Stockmann et al. to the fact that bestsellers are sold below net value and, therefore, margins gained from other titles are used to finance bestsellers.⁸⁸⁰

Table 6: Fixed Book Prices

Country	Fixed Book Price	Law or Trade Agreement	Duration of Fixed Book Price	Exemptions	Remarks
Belgium	No	--	--	--	In Discussion
Bulgaria	Yes	Law	--	--	-
Czech Republic	No	--	--	--	--
Denmark	No	--	24 months following publication	Maximum discount of 10% allowed; Schoolbooks, reprints, secondary editions	Trade Agreement since 1830, amended 2001, abolished as of January 2011

878 »Volksentscheid: Die Mehrheit sagt Nein.« In: *Börsenblatt* (Online Edition, 11th March 2012). Available online: <http://www.boersenblatt.net/521672/>, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

879 Stockmann, Bengtsson et al. (2000): *The Book Trade in Finland. From author to reader – support measures and development in the book trade*. Helsinki: Ministry of Education, Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy. Available online http://www.minedu.fi/export/sites/default/OPM/Julkaisut/2000/liitteet/opml_en_syksy2005.pdf?lang=fi, last retrieved November 6th 2012. Here: p.21.

880 Stockmann et al.: *The Book in Finland*, p. 28.

Germany	Yes	Law (Buch-PrG)	18 months following publication, publisher may choose to keep the price	Maximum discounts of 5% to academic and 10% to public libraries are allowed; Excerpts and Databases	Trade Agreement since 1888, replaced by Law in September 2002
Estonia	No	--	--	--	--
Ireland	No	--	--	--	Abolished 1995, re-introduction in discussion
Greece	Yes	Law	24 months following publication	Maximum discount of 10%, unlimited discount for non-profit-organizations (provided purchase is not for resale); schoolbooks	Law introduced 1997
Spain	Yes	Law (Book Act and Act for Reading, Books and Libraries)	24 months following publication	Maximum discount of 12% allowed, schoolbooks exempt	Law since 1975, amended in 2007
France	Yes	Law (Law n° 81-766, Loi lang)	24 months following publication	Maximum discount of 5% allowed; schoolbooks	Trade Agreement, replaced by Law in August 1981
Italy	Yes	Law (Article 11 of Law No. 62)	permanent	Maximum discount of 15% allowed; more to libraries, museums, education institutions	Law introduced first March 2001, became permanent in 2005
Cyprus	No	--	--	--	--
Latvia	No	--	--	--	--

Lithuania	No	--	--	--	--
Luxembourg	Yes	Trade Agreement	--	Imported Books	Domestic Books Only
Hungary	Yes	Trade Agreement	6 months following publication	--	Enacted since 1992; Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers Association lobbies for a legislative solution
Malta	No	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	Yes	Law (Wet op de vaste boekenprijis)	12 months following publication	Maximum discount of 5% to individual students allowed and scaled discount for bulk purchases; Schoolbooks, e-books, periodicals	Trade Agreement since 1923, replaced by law 2004, in effect January 2005; currently working on a statutory fixed price on e-books
Austria	Yes	Federal Law on Retail Price Maintenance for Books	24 months following publication	Maximum discount of 5% allowed, libraries may receive 10%; schoolbooks	Law introduced in 2000, amended 2007
Poland	No	--	--	--	--
Portugal	Yes	Law	18 months following publication	Maximum discount of 10% allowed, up to 20% for libraries and promotion of reading organizations; schoolbooks	Law introduced 1996
Romania	No	--	--	--	--

Slovenia	No	--	--	--	Law was in discussion but Parliament decided against introduction in 2006
Slovakia	No	--	--	--	--
Finland	No	--	--	--	Abolished 1971
Sweden	No	--	--	--	Abolished 1974
United Kingdom	No	--	--	--	Net Book Price Agreement in effect since 1900, abolished in 1995
Switzerland	Yes	Trade Agreement	--	--	Abolished 1999, re-introduced 2009

Resale price maintenance is a tool of indirect book promotion. A number of arguments for both sides of the discussion on the abolishment or instalment of a fixed book price shall be presented in this context. One of the core arguments for adversaries of fixed prices is the statement that fixed prices hinder competition and are against the principles of the free market economy. In protecting small and medium-sized booksellers, resale price maintenance also protects inefficient booksellers, because the fixed book price protects them from a price competition. Appelman and Canoy consider this to be positive from a cultural perspective, but it can potentially harm innovation and the overall efficiency of the system.⁸⁸¹

Additionally, the argument that publishing houses cross-subsidize titles by the high prices for bestsellers is vain, according to Appelman and Canoy, as well as to Panzer: »Die Praxis der Mischkalkulation und der Quersubventionierung von schwierigen Titeln, so Libro, hänge im wesentlichen von der Unternehmensphilosophie des Verlags und nicht vom Bestehen der Buchpreisbindung ab.«⁸⁸²

881 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 594.

882 Argumentation Libro AG within the context of the law suit against fixed book prices. In: Panzer; Scheipl: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 24f.

Jäger adds that the legitimization of resale price maintenance is moot if publishers decide on managing program and titles according to economic factors only.⁸⁸³ All in all, by cross-subsidizing other titles, resale price maintenance leads to overall higher book prices, which cannot be in favour of attaining the cultural goals of legislation. However, Neiger states that

Wichtiger als der Preis bliebe die Größe des Sortiments, eine übersichtliche Angebotspräsentation, die Qualität der Beratung sowie der Standort und die Ausstattung der Buchhandlung. In der Regel lassen sich Käuferinnen und Käufer nur dann vom Preis leiten, wenn Preisvorteile ohne nennenswerten Aufwand (Preisvergleich, zusätzlicher Weg etc.) genutzt werden können.⁸⁸⁴

He does not regard resale price maintenance as a threat to the cultural goals of states. In fact, booksellers or publishers cannot be committed to use the additional revenues »from higher margins for the benefit of cultural objectives.«⁸⁸⁵ On the other hand, resale price maintenance can directly reduce the risk of publishing a title. Thereby, a publisher may take on an additional number of new and perhaps unprofitable titles, which are good for the reputation of the company due to their high quality.⁸⁸⁶

The advocates of fixed book prices name a number of other arguments in their favour. According to them, resale price maintenance retains diversity in the market and allows for the publication of young or unknown authors by cross-subsidizing. Also, the *Swiss Booksellers and Publishers Association (Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband)*, for example, directly contradicts the argument of resale price maintenance that leads to overall higher book prices by declaring that fixed book prices are a guarantee that prices remain low throughout the range of books.⁸⁸⁷ They deny a hindering of market principles, because publishers have to take into consideration the price policy of their competitors when deciding on the sales price of a product:

Wenn ein Verlag Preise festlegt, macht er das nicht im luftleeren Raum. Er steht in direkter Konkurrenz zu vielen anderen Verlagen – und muss sich auch über den Preis positionieren. Die Buchpreisbindung verhindert einzig, dass der Buchhandel

883 Jäger: Keine Kulturtheorie ohne Geldtheorie, p. 72.

884 Neiger, Felix; Trappel, Josef (2001): *Buchmarkt und Buchpreisbindung in der Schweiz. Schlussbericht für das Bundesamt für Kultur. Kurzfassung*. Ed. by prognos AG. Basel. Available online <http://www.buchlobby.ch/pdf/Prognos-Kurzfassung-dt.pdf>, last retrieved August 15th 2012. Here: p. 7.

885 Appelmann; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 592.

886 Ibid, p. 592.

887 Cf. Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband: Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor Debatte im Nationalrat, p. 1.

den Preis als Marketinginstrument einsetzt und damit grossen Buchhandelsketten sowie branchenfremden Discountern Vorteile verschafft.⁸⁸⁸

In addition, the internal market of the European Union is not compromised, since those countries that apply a fixed book price are mostly monolingual and, thereby, do not infringe the rules of competition: »Therefore, in relation to the rules of competition laid down by the European Union within the internal market, this principle does not raise any practical difficulties.«⁸⁸⁹ The same is true for the book trade via the Internet. Enforcing the principles of the book price agreement on online market places should not be a problem, since the laws of their home country also apply on the Internet – except, of course, when an Indonesia based online shop starts selling German books, which will probably not work due a logistical problem.⁸⁹⁰

On an internal book market level, the fixed book price does indeed aim to regulate the different forms of competition. It

encourages the quality of book selections rather than the systematic search for the lowest price. As well as ensuring editorial diversity and creativity, the provision is aimed at reinforcing the bookstore network, thus ensuring that all citizens pay the same price for books throughout France.⁸⁹¹

This applies to all countries with a fixed book price.

At the same time as supporting the book shop network, the fixed book price sustains a diversified range of small and medium-sized publishers as well as a wide range of books in minority languages that would otherwise not be publicized as being subject to economic principles.⁸⁹² Regarding notoriously underfinanced cultural budgets the fixed book price displays another advantage: »Die Buchpreisbindung ist ein bestens bewährtes, unbürokratisches und ohne einen einzigen Subventionsfranken funktionierendes Instrument der Kulturförderung.«⁸⁹³

Switzerland has been discussing an abolishment and the reintroduction of fixed book prices for several years. To better understand the consequences and to make an informed decision, the Swiss Parliament instructed the consulting agency

888 Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband: Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor Debatte im Nationalrat, p. 5.

889 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 7.

890 Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband: Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor Debatte im Nationalrat, p. 2.

891 Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 37f.

892 Cf. Appelmann; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 590 and Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 116.

893 Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerverband: Argumentarium zum Thema Buchpreisbindungsgesetz vor Debatte im Nationalrat, p. 4.

prognos with a comprehensive study on fixed book prices in Switzerland. In the final report *Buchmarkt und Buchpreisbindung in der Schweiz*, the company states

dass die Nachteile einer Aufgabe der Buchpreisbindung (Preiserhöhung bei den meisten Titeln, Beschleunigung des Konzentrationsprozesses im Detailhandel mit Büchern, Abbau von Serviceleistungen im Zwischenhandel, Verschlechterung der Entwicklungsbedingungen für das einheimische Literaturschaffen, Unterlaufen der Preisbindungssysteme in Deutschland und Österreich) die Vorteile (sinkende Bestsellerpreise, Belebung des Wettbewerbs) überwiegen.⁸⁹⁴

This statement may be tailored to fit the Swiss book market and its environment, but it can also be translated to fit most other countries and, therefore, gives a definite argument for resale price maintenance.

However the argument develops and which solution a given nation prefers,

there is no single ›correct‹ answer to the question of whether or not fixed pricing helps or hinders competitiveness, nor if it enhances or restricts diversity. In non-fixed-price markets of the UK and Finland, for example, the number of titles published per million population is higher than it is on the fixed-price markets of Germany, France and Spain.⁸⁹⁵

A fixed book price is the most invasive regulatory measure to apply to a free market. Based on the assumption that books, as cultural goods, are different, this intervention is legitimized and has been introduced into the legal framework of, for example, Germany. It will be interesting to note the efficiency of the fixed book price in terms of the promotion of book culture. The following legal regulation only affects the book market indirectly. The focus of the public lending remuneration is on the creators and, in some cases, also on the producers of books.

4.3.2.3 Public Lending Rights Remuneration

Within the existing regulation and legal frameworks of the Member states of the European Union, the fixed book price may be the best-known as well as the most passionately discussed instrument for the promotion of books and the book industry. Comparatively, public lending remuneration (PLR) is a well-implemented measure which, according to a Directive of the European Commission, is to be introduced to all Member states.

894 Neiger; Trappel: *Buchmarkt und Buchpreisbindung in der Schweiz*, p. 9.

895 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 44.

The principle of public lending remuneration is to reimburse authors, illustrators and sometimes also publishers for the loss of potential buyers due to the availability of their works in public libraries. As public libraries are amongst the most important institutions of book culture, the acceptance and support of their work is essential. The reimbursement of the creators of books is required to grant libraries some support within the strata of actors and agents of the book.

Foremost entailed in the description of the public lending right schemes there has to be a differentiation between renting and lending which is the foundation of PLR: »As far as existing legislation is concerned, ›lending‹ is an activity which is not conducted for profit, whereas ›rental‹ is a commercial activity conducted for profit, thus ›lending right‹ is distinct from ›rental right‹ and the two terms should not be confused.«⁸⁹⁶

Another important characteristic of the PLR concept is the fact that it can only be applied to material goods and not to intangible ones such as database extractions.⁸⁹⁷ This leads to certain problems that arise with PLR concepts in the digital age and will be discussed later in the chapter. PLR may be – as in Germany – a part of the copyright legislation, as it is one of the so-called neighbouring rights. The owner of a protected work may authorize the lending of his work in exchange for a payment of royalties. These are usually collected and distributed by collecting societies such as the German *Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort*. A second concept is the implementation of PLR as a remuneration right »...which is the right of an author (not necessarily the copyright owner) to receive monetary compensation for the public lending of his or her work.«⁸⁹⁸

Origins of the Public Lending Right

The Public Lending Right originated from the 19th century movement of European writers and authors, who had argued for the introduction of a copyright and their recognition as the sole authors of a piece of work. As the European Commission puts it, »the concept of public lending is deeply rooted in the national cultural traditions of the member states.«⁸⁹⁹

896 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters (CLM) (2005): *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*. Ed. by International Federation of Library Associations. The Hague. Available online <http://archive.ifla.org/III/clm/p1/PublicLendingRight-Backgr.htm>, last retrieved August 8th 2011. Here: p. 3.

897 Cf. IFLA: *The IFLA Position on Public Lending Right*, p. 2.

898 IFLA: *The IFLA Position on Public Lending Right*, p. 2.

899 European Commission (2002): Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union. /*COM/2002/0502final*/. Ed. by EUR-Lex-Home. Brussels. Available online <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52002DC0502:EN:NOT>, last retrieved August 8th 2011. Here: p. 2.

In addition to a general strive for more author rights, the fast growing public library system has led authors to believe »that they were losing income from sales due to the availability of their books in the then burgeoning system of public lending libraries.«⁹⁰⁰ The growth of the library systems has been attributed to monetary support not only from private citizens but foremost from the state. The increase in lending opportunities has naturally led to an increase of loans. »This let authors to ask for remuneration for this increased use of their works.«⁹⁰¹

One of the first public demands for the remuneration of lending books was passed as a resolution of the *General German Writers Association (Allgemeiner Deutscher Schriftsteller-Verband)* in Darmstadt in September 1883. Ernst Wichert, member of the board of directors, claimed in his speech *Das geistige Eigentum und die Leihbibliotheken* the authors' right for compensation of money lost due to lending. His proposal of a law on the taxation of lending libraries led to a wide discussion and inspired articles such as the ones by Albert Last which were frequently published in the *Börsenblatt*.⁹⁰²

In Denmark, a similar discussion took place. »In 1917, Thit Jensen, a major Danish author, publicly claimed remuneration for authors for public library lending of books in a speech at the first annual conference of the Danish Library Association.«⁹⁰³ Jensen demanded a fee of five øre per loan of a book by a Danish author.⁹⁰⁴ There is no room for a more in-depth discussion of the arguments for and against the remuneration for public lending. However, the tone of the disputes was highly emotional, due to the moral world views involved.⁹⁰⁵

Eventually in 1946, Denmark, as the first European country, introduced the first legislation on public lending. Today, public lending »represents the most

900 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 2.

901 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2.

902 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 2 and Martino, Alberto; Jäger, Georg (1990): *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756–1914)* Band 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 579. One of Albert Last's petitions may be found in *Börsenblatt* Nr 19, January 1883, p. 339f.

903 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 2.

904 Stave refers here to Rasmussen, Henning (August 1979): *Public Lending Right (PLR): Its History, Development and Machinery in Denmark and Australia*. Master's thesis, Monash University.

905 Stave, Thomas. *Public Lending Right: A History of the Idea. Library Trends*. Nr 24 Spring 1981, pp. 569–582. Available online http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/7164/librarytrendsv29i4c_opt.pdf?sequence=1, last retrieved November 15th 2011. Here: p. 570.

significant funding of Danish literature.«⁹⁰⁶ Following the Danish system, PLR schemes were established in Sweden (1955), Finland (1961) and the Netherlands (1971). In all these states, PLR was introduced as a separate legislation, whereas in 1972, Germany integrated the PLR into its existing copyright legislation.⁹⁰⁷ The term public lending was not coined until 1959 when Sir Alan Herbert named it »after an analogy to the public performing right, and that phrase now enjoys the respectability of a subject heading in the English-speaking world.«⁹⁰⁸ In 1988 a Green Paper by the European Commission stressed the need for a harmonisation of the PLR legislation;

it was pointed out that, if rental and lending rights were not addressed together, the steady increase in the public lending activities in the music and film sector might have a considerable negative effect on the rental business and thereby deprive the rental right of its meaning.⁹⁰⁹

EU Framework

Currently, there is no international framework for a public lending scheme and, therefore, they are not part of any treaty. In 1992, the Directive 92/100/EEC⁹¹⁰ was adopted by the European Commission and, subsequently, had to be implemented by the Member states of the European Union by July 1st 1994.⁹¹¹ To date, it is the only piece of supranational legislation on the right of public lending. It defines lending as »making available for use, for a limited time and not for direct or indirect economic or commercial advantage, when it is made through establishments which are accessible to the public.«⁹¹² Public libraries as well as university libraries, archives, museums and all forms of educational institutions qualify as public establishments. Subsequent articles of the Directive grant the

906 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 58.

907 Cf. Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2.

908 Stave: *Public Lending Right*, p. 569.

909 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2.

910 The full text of the *Directive 92/100/EEC* is available online: <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31992L0100:EN:NOT>, last retrieved August 15th 2011.

911 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2.

912 IFLA: *The IFLA Position on Public Lending Right*, p. 4 and European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 3.

right of remuneration for public lending to authors, performers, phonogram producers and film producers.⁹¹³

Article 5 defines the framework for public lending schemes even closer. The Member states may determine the amount of remuneration »in accordance with their respective ›cultural promotion objectives.«⁹¹⁴ The article also allows for the derogation of the exclusive lending right and – under certain conditions – even the complete evasion of compensation. A second passage of the article may rather be interpreted by the Member states contrary to the intentions of the Directive: it permits Member states to exempt certain institutions from PLR. For example,

a broad exemption exists in Spain and Portugal for museums, archives, libraries, newspaper libraries, record and film libraries, which belong to public interest bodies of cultural, scientific or educational character without commercial purpose and for teaching establishments⁹¹⁵

and »Finland exempts all public libraries and those who serve research or teaching purposes.«⁹¹⁶

Operation and Examples for Public Lending

»There are considerable differences among them [the Member states of the European Union] in the way the public lending operates.«⁹¹⁷ Even though all member states have transferred the Directive into a national legislation, there is still a significant number of nations, which have not established an active PLR system. In consequence, these states »have been subject to infringement proceedings by the European Commission.⁹¹⁸ Belgium was fined, and there are current proceedings against France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain.

In established systems, that are already an inherent part of the state support for culture, funds usually are met centrally by the state or, in some cases, locally.

913 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2.

914 Ibid, p. 3.

915 Ibid, p. 5 and João Lima; Gomes: *Country Profile Portugal*, p. 22.

916 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 5 and João Lima; Gomes: *Country Profile Portugal*, p. 22.

917 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 2. Further implementation regulations and acts by individual member states as well as the path taken in the implementation may be found on pages 3 and 4.

918 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 5.

The Netherlands is an exception, where libraries and collecting societies agree on a contract to negotiate the terms of public lending. »If rights owners and user groups (libraries) cannot reach a common understanding, the independent chairman will make a decision, which is binding for all parties.«⁹¹⁹

The amount of payment due to collecting societies is calculated individually by each country. Rates are small and, usually, there is a fixed maximum amount to be paid annually. Remuneration may either be calculated on the basis of loans (amount per loan), as it is done in most countries, or on the number of copies held in stock (Denmark), the number of registered library users or by direct grants as implemented in the Finnish system.

Other established systems include a pension or health fund within their scheme as they do scholarship and emergency funds. For example, in Austria 50% of the funds go to a social fund; in Germany 55% are put aside for health insurance and emergency funds; in Slovenia 50% are reserved for scholarships; and in Sweden 66% of the fund are earmarked for pensions, long-term grants and emergency cases.⁹²⁰

In order to benefit from PLR, authors need to register themselves; in some cases the eligibility to register oneself is limited to a few by a numerous criteria such as residency in the said country, citizenship or publication in the said country's language. Even though the legitimacy of such restrictions is doubted by the European Commission, this is the case in most Scandinavian countries in order to prevent »the bulk of PLR payments going to foreign language (almost invariably English language) authors.«⁹²¹

To demonstrate the functioning of PLR and the amounts involved, a description of the system as effected in the United Kingdom shall be given:

Since 1982, the Public Lending Right Scheme (PLR) has given registered authors royalties from a central government fund (totalling GBP 7.4 million in 2005-6, increasing to GBP 7.6 million in 2006-7) for the loans made of their books from public libraries in the UK. Payment is made according to the number of times an author's books are borrowed (the rate per loan increased from 5.23 pence to 5.57 pence in 2005-6). Currently, over 34,000 authors are registered for PLR. The maximum yearly payment an author can receive is GBP 6,600 from 2006-7, increased from GBP 6,000; in 2005-6, GBP 6.5 million was paid out to 18,500 authors.⁹²²

919 *PLR International*. Available online <http://www.plrinternational.com/established/plradministrators/netherlands.htm>, last retrieved August 8th 2011.

920 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 10

921 *Ibid*, p. 7 and European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 5.

922 Fisher; Leyssen: Country Profile United Kingdom, p. 50.

Table 7: Public Lending Schemes

Country	Based on Legislation	Source of Funding	Method of Calculation	Requirements	Eligible Material	Eligible Contributors	Managed By	Institutions Covered	Other Uses of generated Funds
Belgium	Copyright Act of 1994; Royal Decree 2004	Community Government	Number of Registered Library Users	--	Printed and Audio-Visual Materials	All Rightsholders of Works lent	Reprobel (Collecting Society); Funds are further distributed by the individual Rightsholders societies	Public Libraries	--
Bulgaria	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Czech Republic	Act of Parliament 2006	National Government	Loans Based	Czech Nationals and authors of books written in Czech	Books	Authors, Illustrators, Photographers, Translators	DILIA (Collecting Society)	Public Libraries	--
Denmark	Amendment to the Public Libraries Act of 1942; Public Lending Right Act of 1992	National Government	Number of Copies in Stock	Danish Original Works	Books, Talking Books, Recorded Music, Art Works	Authors, Illustrators, Translators, Photographers, Composers and other artists	Public Lending Right Office (part of National Library)	Public and School Libraries	--
Germany	Copyright Law of 1972	90% National Government; 10% Federal Government	Loans Based	No restrictions, distribution to foreign authors via collecting societies	Books, talking books, audio-visual material	Authors, illustrators, translators, editors, publishers	Collecting societies VG Wort (authors), Bild Kunst (artists)	Public and scientific libraries	50% go to pension fund for authors
Estonia	Amendment to Copyright Law, 2000	National Government	Loans Based	Citizens or permanent residents of Estonia	Books and Audio-Visual Material originally published in Estonia	Authors, Translators, Illustrators, Editors, Publishers, Adaptors	Authors Remuneration Fund	Public Libraries	--

Ireland	Amendment to Copyright Act of 2007	National Government	Loans Based	Irish nationals everywhere and authors resident in EEA countries	Books	Authors, illustrators, translators, editors, photographers	Public Lending Right Office (part of Library Council)	Public Libraries	--
Greece	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Spain	IP Act of 1994, revised 2006	Local municipalities	Unknown	Unknown	Books	Authors	CEDRO (Collecting society)	Public Libraries	--
France	Public Lending Right Act of 2003 (implemented in 2005)	National Government and Library Suppliers	6% of purchases and 1,50€ per registered user	French authors and publishers; reciprocal agreements with a number of countries	Books	Authors, Illustrators, Publishers	SOFIA (Collecting Society)	Public Libraries	Pension Funds for Authors
Italy	Public Lending Right Law of 2006	National government	Unknown	Unknown	Printed works and audio-visual material	Authors, publishers and other Rightsholders	SIAE (collecting society)	State-funded and local government libraries	--
Cyprus									
Latvia	Copyright law of 2000, implemented 2004	National Government	7% of state expenditure on library stock + loans based	No requirements	Books, sheet music, phonographs, film	Authors, illustrators, translators, composers, film producers, adaptors, narrators	AK-KA/LAA (Collecting societies)	State-funded libraries	--
Lithuania	Copyright Law of 1999, implemented 2002	National Government	Loans Based	Lithuanian nationals and residents, foreign authors with reciprocal agreements	Books	Authors, illustrators, translators	LATGAA (Collecting society)	Public libraries	--
Luxembourg	Copyright Act of 2001	Libraries	Loans Based	Residents	Books, Audio-visual material, music	Authors, illustrators, translators, photographers, adaptors	LUXOR (collecting society)	Public Libraries	--

Hungary*	Amendment to Copyright Act of 2008 (to be implemented 2012)	National Government	Loans Based	Hungarian authors and reciprocal agreements for foreign authors	Books	Authors	MISZJE (Collecting Society for Literary Authors)	Public Libraries	--
Malta	No remuneration	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	Program since 1971; Copyright Law of 1988	Libraries	Loans Based	No restrictions	Books, Talking books, music, audio-visual material, works of art, magazines, CD-ROMs	Authors, illustrators, translators, photographers, adaptors, editors, publishers and other copyright holders	Stichting Leenrecht (Collecting society) in cooperation with LIRA	Public Libraries	--
Austria	Program since 1977; Copyright Act of 1993	National Government	Loans Based	EU-citizens and permanent residents of Austria	Books, Journals, Audio-Visual Material that contain Works of Literature	Authors, Translators, Publishers	Literar Mechana (Collecting Society)	Public and Scientific Libraries	26% of collected funds earmarked for social and cultural purposes
Poland	No remuneration	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Portugal**	No effective remuneration	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Romania	No remuneration	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Slovenia	Law on Authors' Rights 1995, last amended 2009	National Government	25% of funds for library stocks, loans based	Citizens of Slovenia	Books and audio-visual material published in Slovenia	Authors, illustrators, translators, composers, lyrics writers, screen writers and film directors	Slovenian Book Agency	Public Libraries	50% go to Scholarships

Slovakia	Copy-right Act of 1998	National government	Loans Based	--	Literary, dramatic, audio-visual, photographic and artistic works	Authors	LITA (Collecting society)	Public Libraries	--
Finland	Copy-right Act of 2007	National Government	Loans Based	Rightsholders resident in EEA countries	Books and other copy-right works BUT no films or software	Authors, Illustrators, Translators, composers, Designers and other Rightsholders except for publishers	Collecting Societies SANASTO (authors), KOPI-OSTO (artists), TEOSTO (composers)	Public Libraries	--
Sweden	State Decree of 1954	National government	Loans Based	Permanent residents of Sweden, authors writing in Swedish	Books	Authors, illustrators, translators	Swedish Authors Fund	Public Libraries	66% got to grants and other forms of author support
United Kingdom	Public Lending Right Act, implemented 1982	National government	Loans Based	Residents of EEA countries	Books, talking books and e-books	Authors, illustrators, translators, adaptors, editors, producers, narrators	Registrar of Public Lending Right	Public Libraries	--
Switzerland***	No public lending right	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

*not yet officially implemented according to <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/hungary.php?aid=534>, last chapter update: 22. January 2011

** the existing legislation exempts all public libraries from payment of remuneration, thereby making all provisions ineffective.

*** **Source:** Federal Institute of Intellectual Property (Ed): *Swiss Copyright.ch* Available online https://www.ige.ch/rev-urg/E/morgen/dum13.php?m=6&s=4#Public_lending_right, last retrieved September 20th 2011

Positions For and Against the PLR

The system of public lending remuneration has been subject of discussion in its very beginnings and still is today. For example, the *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* (IFLA) articulates its position on PLR rather strongly. According to the IFLA, PLR schemes »can jeopardize free access to the services of publicly accessible libraries, which is the citizen's human right.« Another statement by the IFLA determines »Public lending [to be] essential to culture and education and [it] should be freely available to all.«⁹²³ The IFLA demands for a scheme that benefits authors and respects their legal and moral rights without being detrimental to the society's need for knowledge. Therefore, the funds used for compensation should not be taken out of the libraries' already meagre acquisition budget. »However, public lending right, if separately funded, does provide support for authors without affecting public libraries' budgets.«⁹²⁴

The argument claiming that public lending is detrimental to primary sales remains unproven, according to the IFLA. To the contrary, the IFLA position paper claims that the encouragement of reading, as it is practised in public libraries, is key in »fostering the long-term development of a market for information products, especially for the local content industries. In the short term, libraries are using their purchasing power to support and encourage these industries.«⁹²⁵ In other words: »Thus many authors benefit significantly from the availability of their works to users free of charge through publicly accessible libraries in ways other than the immediate collection of royalties from primary sales.«⁹²⁶

However, the IFLA does not disregard the positive effects of PLR legislation on the situation of authors, as these systems are considered to »encourage the growth and development of national culture«⁹²⁷ with the economic support they provide. As the IFLA states »the »social security« provisions of many national schemes are seen as a vital safety net and for many authors PLR remuneration is a significant source of income.«⁹²⁸

Assessment of PLR

In 2002, the status of Public Lending Right schemes has been assessed by the European Commission as having achieved only partial harmonisation of the

923 IFLA: The IFLA Position on Public Lending Right, p. 2.

924 Ibid, p. 2.

925 Ibid, p. 3.

926 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 3.

927 Ibid, p. 2.

928 Committee on Copyright and other Legal Matters: *Background Paper on Public Lending Right*, p. 2.

national European legislation, since the measures that have been applied »still vary to a large extent.«⁹²⁹ In the view of a transparent situation, a harmonisation of all legislation seems to be desirable, especially with regard to the calculation of remuneration amounts. To take this harmonisation one step further, a union-wide remuneration fund could be introduced in order to allow a remuneration of national writers as well as authors from other European countries. The doubling effect of grants awarded from remuneration funds and also from other government funds set aside for this purpose would lead to more transparency, too. Another issue is the pressing need to adapt the Directive to the environmental demands of the digital age. As works may be less and less available in a material form in libraries, a new scheme has to be introduced in order to allow authors to collect a compensation for the lending of their digital works.

Legal regulations intervening in the market foster a book-supportive environment. States aim to balance the market conditions and requirements in order to promote a diverse and developing book culture. While legal regulations are primarily targeted at distribution, public lending is, in most cases, focused on supporting the creators of books. Authors are at the beginning of a book's life cycle. Their work is complemented by illustrators and made available to readers of other languages by the means of translators. These three creators of books and literary works are essential for a balanced selection of high quality titles in any given book culture. The support and promotion of their work is the focus of the next chapters.

4.3.3 *Aids to Creation*

Diversity is one of the central aspects of a vital book culture and, at the same time, is integral to its survival. Diversity retains the attraction of book culture and ensures development and debate. To achieve diversity in published books, aids to creation as well as aids to publication are employed. The main focus for projects that promote creation is on authors. The creative aspect of book publishing is not only limited to authors. This is reflected in promotion measures that are aimed at designers, illustrators, and translators. Aids to creation support the creative work of a writer, illustrator, or translator whose work provides the foundation of a book. Without a diversified creation, the investment into the distribution of literature and books is fruitless.⁹³⁰

929 European Commission: Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the public lending right in the European Union, p. 5.

930 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 4.

Diversity is just one of the aims of book promotion in the field of creation. Ineke van Hamersveld and Vladimir Bina describe the government's role as the following: »The main role of the government is to safeguard diversity, originality, impartiality and independence, quality and identity, accessibility, distribution and affordability.«⁹³¹ As van Hamersveld and Bina mention, independence and originality are among the objectives of book promotion in the field of creation. Publishers tend to take on titles that are similar to other, already successful titles.⁹³² Aids to creation can partially balance this tendency, as authors are allowed to have their originality in their work to set apart from the demands of the market – at least up to the point when they need to find a publisher who is willing to take on their book.

While van Hamersveld and Bina list a number of advantages of or objectives for aids to creation, there is one they generalize as ›identity‹. Aids to creation should especially support authors who contribute to a nation's literary heritage, culture and, therefore, identity. Aids to creation are able to fulfill an additional role in the formation and preservation of identity: regional and local support of authors focus on writers who apply their local languages or dialects, thereby maintaining the diversity of national book culture and literature.⁹³³ Funds for aids to creation may therefore be generated by generic book promotion budgets, but also from budgets reserved for the support of minorities.

In terms of funds, grants are certainly the main project, but there are other sources of income, too. The report *Selektive Förderung* includes book-signing-tours and performances at festivals among successful promotion projects. The authors of the report argue that earnings from such public appearances have become an indispensable source of income for all authors.⁹³⁴ In contrast the positive effects of these often steady and independent sources of income, Moser criticizes federal aids to creation such as grants, writers-in-residence-schemes, free admission to libraries and archives and providing opportunities for performances. She regards these as tempting authors to become self-referential and complacent. Grants and other aids should be a form of help when starting-off, not used for survival.⁹³⁵

Since public and private aids to creation are a tool for survival and, at the same time, a necessary counterbalance to the dynamics of the market, their efficiency and effectiveness needs to be evaluated. The report *Selektive Förderung*

931 van Hamersveld, Ineke; Bina, Vladimir (2008): *Country Profile The Netherlands*. Ed. by Council of Europe. Brussels (Compendium – Cultural Politics and Trends in Europe). Available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, last retrieved May 27th 2011. Here: p. 43.

932 As has been presented in detail in chapter 2.4 on the challenges to book culture.

933 Villarroya: *Country Profile Spain*, p. 62.

934 C. f. Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 14.

935 Cf. Moser: Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend, p. 378.

mentions several essential criteria for successful aids to creation: there needs to be a distinct distribution of roles among the different institutions of promotion in order to avoid lopsided or doubled promotion. The report calls for an additional clear distinction between grants allocated to enable the process of creative work and grants or awards that are to distinguish an already existing creative work. A third aspect is the amount allotted per grant. The authors of the report postulate that grants should cover the average cost of living based on the time allocated to the project they were awarded for.⁹³⁶

The demands made in the report *Selektive Förderung* are valid. Nevertheless, there is another aspect to be considered regarding aids to creation: To allow more transparency, a comprehensive database of either, available grants and author or others, which have already been supported, needs to be introduced in order to avoid individual artists to receive more than one grant at the same time.

The first scheme of aids to creation to be presented is that of author grants. These are employed by almost all European Member states as part of book promotion schemes to encourage more diversity, originality and independence.

4.3.3.1 Author Grants & Stipends

The theory behind the allocation of author grants for all kinds of aids to creation has already been put into detail in a general way. While the protection of diversity, originality and independence as well as the potential contribution to book culture and national identity are reasons for author grants, a prioritization in titles and authors needs to be supported. According to Baruch, priority is given to the support of »classical texts and important new literary works. Sales sectors, which are particularly difficult such as the publication of poetry and drama, may enjoy additional support [...].«⁹³⁷ He adds that, usually, such aids are »channeled through either national, regional or private institutions and often attributed by independent organisations guaranteeing the selection process.«⁹³⁸ The practice of author grants is best illustrated by examples from the European nations, analyzed in the course of this study.

Examples

Scholarship programs or grant systems are the most popular type of author subsidies. These are organized and financed by the state or by private institutions. Grant systems had been established as early as the 1950s with varying durations

936 Cf. Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 13.

937 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 14.

938 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

for individual grants. The allocation of grants is usually executed either by a federal arm's-length Literary Fund or by the Ministries of Culture. Funds for grant systems are often acquired by taxation of alcoholic beverages, cigarettes or lottery tickets.

In Portugal, the scholarship program is managed by the *Directorate-General for Books and Libraries (DLGB)*⁹³⁹, as in Belgium, where the *Flemish Literature Fund (Vlaams Fonds voor de Letteren)* awards grants to authors.⁹⁴⁰ In Poland, the *Fund to Support Artistic Creation* generates its funds in part through the sale of artworks, of which its copyright has expired. In addition, there are several federal programs which support creation, such as *Young Poland* and a program by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.⁹⁴¹ The *Author's Fund* in Sweden, as described by Harding, is

directed towards authors, translators, book illustrators, and cultural journalists. The Fund allocates state compensation for public lending at libraries. A portion of this compensation is given to the individual author, in direct proportion to the number of public loans of his / her work; another portion is transferred to the Fund itself, from which grants and scholarships are allocated to writers etc.⁹⁴²

According to Harding, more than 150 artists can thereby be guaranteed a minimum annual income.⁹⁴³

A guaranteed minimum wage is also the objective of Finland's policy of paying eminent writers a salary.⁹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the process of deciding who is to receive this salary is not disclosed, nor could it be ascertained whether the program is still in existence in the same form. The *Arts Council* of Ireland has chosen another option: The *Aosdána*, established in 1983,

is an honorary association of peer-nominated outstanding creative artists in Ireland (currently 240 members [2010]), the aim of which is to encourage and assist members to devote their energies fully to art. Members are eligible for a Cnuas (EUR 17 180 in 2010) or annuity payable for a period of five years and renewable thereafter. One hundred and forty nine artists benefit currently from the Cnuas.⁹⁴⁵

939 João Lima; Gomes: *Country Profile Portugal*, p. 32.

940 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 43.

941 Cf. Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 56.

942 Harding: *Country Profile Sweden*, p. 33.

943 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

944 Laitinen, Kai; Lehtonen, Soila (Eds.) (1988): *The Book in Finland. 1488–1988*. Helsinki: Univ. Libr, p. 49.

945 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 31.

Latvia has a similar honorary system. Outstanding artists may receive a lifelong scholarship after turning 65. The grant amounts to 241 EUR, and so far, 414 artists from all fields have been awarded the grant for their contribution to the Latvian culture.⁹⁴⁶

Honorary associations such as the *Aosdána* are commendable. However, they do not solve the problems of emerging authors and those writers, who have yet to establish their financial success as well as an artistic renown. Most countries rely on grants that cover periods from six months to three, or, in some cases, even five years. Whether this time span is sufficient to create a quality literary work is open to debate. Even then, the number of authors who may rely on grants is deplorably small. Hungary is able to support 18 writers and an additional number of four to ten artists from any field of creation.⁹⁴⁷ Others support about 70 authors.⁹⁴⁸ Comprehensive data on author grant systems on a national or private basis is often lacking. One laudable exception is France, whose *National Book Center* documents the number of grants and allocation of funds thoroughly and publishes the report on its website centrenationaldulivre.fr.⁹⁴⁹

In accord with promoting minorities and minority languages, there are grant programs, too. For example in Finland: Swedish is the second official language, but is only spoken by a decreasing number of people. »Funds promoting literature in Swedish have been awarded since 1923. [...] the real reason for setting up this funding system was the need to translate fiction and non-fiction from Finnish to Swedish.«⁹⁵⁰ The need for translation has receded but the grant system still supports Finnish and Swedish authors and translators. Nations like Belgium with its Flemish, French and German language communities, have established individual author support programs for each language, while striving for social cohesion by introducing the feeling of a shared national heritage and identity with the help of literature programs at the same time.⁹⁵¹

Apart from working grants, there are also travel bursaries or writers in residence schemes, which are a part of a direct aid to creation. The *Danish Arts Council*, for example, employs specific exchange schemes.

946 Tjarve: *Country Profile Latvia*, p. 42.

947 Inkei; Szabó: *Country Profile Hungary*, p. 35.

948 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 56.

949 According to Delvainquière, the *National Book Center* awarded 281 grants in 2001 with a total amount of 2.27 million EUR. These went to publishers and authors. Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 50.

950 Stockmann et al.: *The Book Trade in Finland*, p. 48.

951 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 56.

Support is provided to enable Danish authors to participate in literary festivals etc. abroad. Visits by foreign authors to Denmark for the same purposes may also be supported. The event organisers etc. may apply for grants covering fees and travel and accommodation expenses.⁹⁵²

Author grants are considered an effective aid to creation, even though there are several aspects that have been criticized. For instance, the number of grants to be allocated is limited. An extensive provision for all creators working in the development of books is not possible. Sometimes, grants are not sufficient to cover living expenses. Or they only cover a time span of six months. Yet authors are expected to succeed within these limits with their creative work. Of course, it is impossible to provide all authors with grants. This is not the intention of book promotion. Quality work and new talent are to be encouraged – yet often enough, those responsible for book promotion rest on their laurels of having established a promotion scheme in the first place. Necessary reforms or restructuring the system is unpopular.

In addition, the allocation of grants is often criticized as being opaque. Peer evaluation as is practiced in Finland, where authors apply for a grant and their projects are subsequently reviewed by a peer group, is the exception.⁹⁵³ Some countries, such as the Czech Republic, subsidize individual authors on a very limited level. Especially when one compares this support to the amount spent for the other cultural institutions. Yet support may be indirectly provided by publishing aids, adding to the overall opacity of the allocation process.⁹⁵⁴ In Italy, there is no legislation concerning state level author support (or support for book publishers). Authors are forced to rely on regional and local initiatives, adding to the overall opacity of the promotion system.⁹⁵⁵

A third aspect worries those who discuss the efficiency and effectiveness of book promotion measures. Since the introduction of the internet, authority has shifted from the individual, renowned author to the user. The content provider remains anonymous without surrendering his authority.⁹⁵⁶ Aids to creation, which focus on the classic author, may no longer be keeping up with the times. On the other hand, there are contemporary initiatives for author support that focus on the chances the new medium may provide for authors:

952 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 22.

953 Mitchell; Heiskanen: *Country Profile Finland*, p. 55.

954 Petrová: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 46.

955 Bodo: *Country Profile Italy*, p. 46.

956 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 247 and Kaufmann: *Der Parameter der Autorität*, p. 39.

The Digital Literary Academy, run by the Petőfi Literature Museum, is a unique endeavour that keeps digitised oeuvres of contemporary writers who make their works available on the Internet by contract. Created in 1998, it had the works of 71 authors in 2009. In return, authors receive a monthly allowance four times the value of the official minimum wage.⁹⁵⁷

Author grants are a traditional, established method of book promotion. They are complemented by prizes which are awarded by state institutions, municipalities and a variety of private organizations. Literary awards complement the author grant system, for they serve to generate more publicity for both established and upcoming authors.

4.3.3.2 Awards

Literary awards accompany book promotion. Prizes are awarded for a plethora of different reasons. They are to distinguish individual authors and their work from the mass of annually published books. On the one hand, awards serve to create public awareness for authors and their titles, or the publishers' awareness of young and upcoming talents. On the other hand, awards may also serve as an orientation for customers, who can choose to rely on the decision of a distinguished jury rather than their own when deciding what book they will read next. A third aspect is that literature prizes are often endowed with a bursary or complementary grant, which gives financial aid to authors as well as translators and illustrators.

The diversity of awards and literature prizes serves as example of how diversified the landscape of book culture is. Awards in the context of aids to creation usually refer to literature prizes awarded to authors. Yet with regard to book promotion, the field of awards broadens considerably. There are awards for the best designed books, for illustrators, for translators, for upcoming authors, or for an author's life-time achievement. Most European Member states award a prize on the national level, but there are numerous private organization or community awards.

Examples

Some countries have established a national award system. Greece has established an award scheme which has been recently reconstructed in order to acknowledge the work of emerging talents:

⁹⁵⁷ Inkei; Szabó: *Country Profile Hungary*, p. 20.

The national literary awards have been reorganised, to allow for both recognising the contribution of a writer in his or her lifetime (through the special ›great‹ literary prize) and the contribution of younger, less established writers, based on work published in the last twelve months.⁹⁵⁸

In Malta, for example, there is no indirect artist support but

other specific funds were created to support literary creations and cultural research through the Literary Awards Scheme where the best works of poetry, novel-writing, dramatic texts, researched material, translations and children's literature are awarded annually. The Ministry of Education allocates 24,000 EUR annually to the National Book Awards, Literary Award Scheme.⁹⁵⁹

While Greece, after severe criticism, has restructured the award system to allow the recognition of yet unknown authors, other systems have also been criticized for promoting only those who have already been established. The Italian awards *Premio Strega* and *Campielo* are, according to Karin Fleischanderl, not a federal book promotion but a bonus for authors who achieve high sales figures. She criticizes that, as there is no state promotion for the authors, they have to succeed in the market – which is often not a sign of high quality in their works but of good marketing tactics.⁹⁶⁰

Apart from those on the federal level, there are international awards such as the *Nordic Council⁹⁶¹ Literature Prize*. The prize has been awarded annually since 1962 and is endowed with a prize money of 47,000 EUR.⁹⁶² The prize is awarded for a work ›of imaginative literature written in one of the Nordic languages‹⁹⁶³ and is intended to ›increase interest in the literature of neighbouring countries, as well as in Nordic cultural fellowship.‹⁹⁶⁴

Awards on a national level often emphasize the achievements and contributions of the laureate to the nation's culture. For example, Bulgaria's state prize *Paisii Hilendarski*, which is awarded annually and has been established in 2000

958 Dallas: Country Profile Greece, p. 33.

959 Attard: Country Profile Malta, p. 57.

960 Fleischanderl, Karin (2009): »(K)ein Rädchen im Getriebe.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold; Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik, pp. 38–46. Here: p. 43.

961 The Nordic Council is an inter-parliamentary alliance and forum for the cooperation between the Nordic countries. The members are Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Greenland, Faroe Islands, Åland Islands, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It had been established after World War II to reinforce a Nordic cooperation. Amongst its many fields of interest, the Nordic Council also supports and develops cooperation in the field of literature and between libraries.

962 Stockmann et al.: *The Book Trade in Finland*, p. 72.

963 Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 20.

964 Ibid, p. 20.

as part of legislation on the protection of the Bulgarian culture, distinguishes eminent Bulgarian artists »whose work is of importance, or related to Bulgarian history and tradition.«⁹⁶⁵ The *Golden Age* prize, which is awarded annually on May 24th, the *Day of Bulgarian Education, Culture and Slavic Writing*, is based on the same concept. It is awarded for the »development and popularisation of Bulgarian culture.«⁹⁶⁶ The emphasis on the national aspect of an author's work is so strong that there have been scandals based on the jury decision for authors, who were not perceived to be rooted deep enough within a given country's culture in order to be awarded such a national prize.⁹⁶⁷

International awards such as the *Nordic Council Literature Prize* or renowned national awards such as the *Prix Goncourt* or the *Femina* in France are well-known. Yet there are many smaller prizes that authors may never learn about and, therefore, do not apply for. German authors are offered a comprehensive overview on all awards imparted in the cultural field through its *Handbuch Kulturpreise*, in which the more than 700 different initiatives, who award promotion in the field of literature, are listed.⁹⁶⁸ While France with its several hundred prizes awarded in the field of literature⁹⁶⁹ also offers authors a comprehensive list of awards on the website of the national book promotion center, there are other countries where it is more difficult to find the right award to apply for. For example, Ireland has no general database to be consulted.⁹⁷⁰ Authors as well as potential sponsors have to show individual initiative.

Awards enjoy an increasing prestige among sponsors: according to Dahnke, the amount of money involved (3.5 to four million EUR annually) and the number of prizes have increased in the last years.⁹⁷¹ The development is part of an unfortunate trend. Awards are chosen as an alternative to a more long-term commitment in the field and are regarded as a measure to attract positive publicity.

965 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 57.

966 Ibid, p. 57.

967 Cf. the scandal around the 2010 Finlandia awards, when the national press wrote about a laureate who not only wrote about Sweden but also lived in Sweden. Nummi, Jyrki (2007): »Die Finlandia-Preisrede 2006.« In: Hans Fromm et al. (Eds.): *Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen. Mitteilungen aus der Deutschen Bibliothek*, Bd. 39. Helsinki: Gummerus OY (39), pp. 192–195.

968 *Kulturpreise*. Available online <http://www.Kulturpreise.de>, last retrieved June 29th 2012.

969 Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 50.

970 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 31.

971 Dahnke, Michael (2009): »Auszeichnungen deutschsprachiger Literatur gestern und heute: Was wissen wir über sie?« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold; Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik, pp. 333–343. Here: p. 333.

Assessment

Literature prizes and other awards receive – depending on the renown of prize and/or jury – a tremendous amount of publicity. It is the first and foremost effect awards can achieve for book promotion and for book culture. Book culture profits from debates on laureates, on the jury and the books which were awarded.

The donator of the prize stands to gain from publicity as well. The aspect of image cultivation has encouraged sponsoring, as the public's view of a company, institution or city may well influence its economic destiny. In his article on literature prizes, Michael Dahnke cites an unknown blogger, whose opinion was that prizes are not awarded to honor the receiver but the donator.⁹⁷² Others criticize the not even remotely comprehensible landscape of awards of any given European nation. A third aspect of criticism has been mentioned before, in the quote by Karin Fleischanderl: awards tend to be given to authors who have already had a certain amount of success and have adapted to the market. Any financial gain is a bonus for their high sales figures.⁹⁷³

The financial gain from awards is minimal, but it may help the otherwise hard strained authors at least for a while. Especially if the awards that were given in the recognition of an author's or illustrator's work are tax free. That is the case in Denmark⁹⁷⁴ and in the Czech Republic⁹⁷⁵, for example. Canoy et al. do not share Fleischanderl's critical opinion of awards. They conclude that prizes encourage the quality rather than the quantity of books. And even more important, »they might guide the uninitiated reader to the most worthwhile books available on the market.«⁹⁷⁶

4.3.3.3 Translation and Translator Grants

Even though some tend to categorize translation as a part of the publication process and, therefore, translation grants as form of publication aid, this work emphasizes the creative aspect of translation. Hence, translation subsidies in all their forms are grouped with aids to creation and not publication. For book culture, translation grants serve a double role. On the one hand, translation grants encourage the broadening of horizons by introducing new works to a national book culture. On the other hand, national book cultures gain prestige by being represented in other book environments by their authors. The consequent com-

972 Dahnke: *Auszeichnungen deutschsprachiger Literatur gestern und heute*, p. 341.

973 Fleischanderl: *(K)ein Rädchen im Getriebe*, p. 43.

974 Cf. Duelund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 50.

975 Cf. Petrová: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 46.

976 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 28.

munication and exchange is vital for the development of book cultures. While it is important to foster creation within a given book culture, an interchange with other cultures should not be neglected. Cross-cultural aspects of any given book culture encourage the social cohesion within the country by promoting intercultural dialogue and understanding. This is not only important for the development of book culture but also for the legitimization of book promotion.

An overview on the situation of translations in Europe is difficult. Rüdiger Wischenbart explains the underlying methodological problems in his *Diversity Report 2008*. Based on data by the UNESCO *Index Translationem* and the national publishers associations, he summarizes that

For all of the quarter century between 1979 and 2004, the top 20 languages, including notably English, French, German, Russian, Italian, Spanish and Swedish, accounted continuously for over 90 percent of these translations, and among the strongest languages of origin, Russian, after 1991, is the only major language subject to a decline by over two thirds within only a few years.⁹⁷⁷

By now, English is the dominant language books are translated from, but only 3% are translated into.⁹⁷⁸

As is true for grants schemes and literary awards, all European countries feature some form of translation subsidy – even though in some countries these are granted by non-governmental organizations instead of the state. There are two forms of translation support. One encourages translation into the national language and/or minority languages that have been recognized; the second supports the translation of original, national works into other languages. The theory behind granting aids to publishers for the translation of specific works is a simple one: it is supposed to encourage a more diverse title range than the market would allow. Translations are expensive; publishers tend to shy away from taking the risk of additional costs for titles from Hungary, for example. With the help of translation grants, works from authors are introduced to the market, which would be considered as being too risky under ›normal‹, profit-oriented circumstances. To continue with the example of Hungary: Hungarian authors for the most part are not well-established or even known in most Western European countries. The sales potential of a translation from one of these authors is therefore pretty small. To encourage publishers to include titles from Hungary instead of Anglo-Saxon countries, the state, in its role as a patron of book culture, co-finances the publication of these titles by assuming the translation costs.

977 Wischenbart, Rüdiger (2008): *Diversity Report 2008*. Available online http://www.wischenbart.com/upload/Diversity%20Report_2008_final.pdf, last retrieved October 17th 2012. Here: p. 13.

978 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

An example for the second form of translation support is the work of the Lithuanian translation subsidy program. Annually, the institution decides on a selection of titles for which translation costs are covered – partially or completely. Eligible for such a support are original fiction, children's books, cultural theme books, and works from the humane disciplines (such as philosophy, literary sciences, media studies, history, etc.). Works of original fiction and those to be translated for the first time are preferred. The fund only supports works that have been published in Lithuania and whose translation can be completed within a four-month period.⁹⁷⁹ Aušrinė Jonikaitė criticizes that there are no funds available to allow visits to Lithuania and classes for potential translators, yet she concludes that the existing program is justified since »A book read is not a postcard about Lithuania. A book read opens completely different horizons.«⁹⁸⁰ Similar programs exist in Poland, where the *Book Institute* finances »translations of Polish literature into foreign languages in the framework of the Translation Programme © POLAND«⁹⁸¹, and in the Netherlands, where the *Foundation for the Production and Translation of Dutch Literature* (*Nederlands Literair Productie- en Vertalingenfonds*, founded in 1991) aims »to promote interest in Dutch-language (including Frisian) literature abroad. It maintains contacts with a large number of international publishers, and has a stand at major international book fairs.«⁹⁸² The Dutch initiative includes subsidy regulations for foreign publishers and writers in residence programs all over the world. France, the United Kingdom and Latvia have launched similar initiatives.

The first form of translation grant schemes has been employed by the *Ireland Literature Exchange*. The Exchange is funded by the *Arts Councils of Northern Ireland* and the Republic of Ireland, the *Irish Department of Arts, Sports and Tourism* and the *Irish Language Books Board* (*Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge*). Within the context of fostering a minority language, translation grants are offered to publishers to allow the translation of foreign works into the Gaelic language to be made possible. There is also a direct funding by the Arts Council for the translation of the works in either English or Irish.⁹⁸³

979 Cf. Books from Lithuania (Ed.) (2010): *Books from Lithuania. Übersetzungsförderung*. Available online http://www.booksfromlithuania.lt/index.php?page_id=39, last retrieved January 14th 2010. Here: p. 4.

980 Jonikaitė, Aušrinė (2008): »Translations of Lithuanian Literature, 2005–2008.« In: *Lithuanian Literature Today*, pp. 57–63. Available online http://www.booksfromlithuania.lt/images/source/attachments/BfL_lithuanianLiteratureToday_64psl.pdf, last retrieved December 7th 2010. Here: p. 63.

981 Ilczuk et al.: *Country Profile Poland*, p. 22.

982 van Hamersveld; Bina: *Country Profile The Netherlands*, p. 48.

983 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 15.

A most exhaustive treatment of translation support schemes has been presented by Slávka Rude-Porubská for German initiatives encouraging translations. For more detailed information on how the schemes work, which titles are selected and how the book and the publisher find each other, see her thesis *Förderung literarischer Übersetzung in Deutschland*⁹⁸⁴. As translation grants initiatives tend to use similar approaches, her comprehensive treatment may serve to exemplify the work of such initiatives.

Within the context of an effective promotion of book culture, translation grants fulfill an initially vital role in creating more bibliodiversity and encouraging intercultural exchange. For instance, in the German book market translations from Anglo-Saxon countries dominate the shelves rather than those from other countries. According to *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen*, the annual publication of book market statistics, 65% of the 11,439 titles translated into German during 2010 were original English titles. French follows in second place with 10.2%, Japanese is third with 5.8%. All other shares are below 3%.⁹⁸⁵ The necessity for opening the market for literature coming from countries such as Hungary or Latvia is easily concluded when observing these figures. Translation grants may cushion the risk of financial failure for publishers by assuming the costs of translation.

Yet difficulties remain as councils have to decide on the titles to foster. There are two approaches for selecting titles for translation subsidies. Decisions may be based on selective criteria such as the quality or the author's renown. The quality of the translator's work may also be a criterion of selection. On the one hand, quality assessment is highly subjective and is based on debatable aesthetic preferences.⁹⁸⁶ On the other hand, translation support can also be based on the success of a title – the grants are paid out after a certain amount of time has passed. This allows for the eschewal of debatable and subjective aesthetic judgment. Yet as translations, especially from smaller nations, are rarely a financial success, this does not seem like a feasible option.

Translation grants may succeed in creating a more diverse range of titles for readers in any given country. With regard to the dominance of titles in the English language in publishing programs throughout Europe, a balancing aspect is necessary even though it may not achieve a financial success for the publishers. When assessing the benefits of translation grants, one aspect should not to be

984 Rude-Porubská, Slávka (2013): *Förderung literarischer Übersetzung in Deutschland. Akteure – Instrumente – Tendenzen. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*. [Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. Also: PhD thesis, Institute for German Studies of the LMU Munich, 2011.

985 Cf. Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels (2011): *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen*. Frankfurt am Main: Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, p. 79.

986 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturförderung, p. 19.

neglected: while grants may influence publishers to develop more diverse programs, they cannot encourage readers to actually buy and read these books. Diversity in title selection is not and should not be considered equal to diversity in consumption.⁹⁸⁷ Therefore, translation grants are but one aspect of book promotion that needs to be balanced by the careful encouragement for readers to try new stories from countries and authors that are yet unknown to them. Book festivals and fairs may provide the complementing promotion measure. The chances for a cross-cultural exchange opened by translation cannot be neglected in the assessment of the importance of translation grants. Exchange leads to understanding, to integration and social cohesion. Books facilitate this exchange, and translations take on the role of the mediator.

Translation as well as author grants can provide a steady source of income for authors and translators. They encourage publishing houses to take on the works of both. Considering all arguments for and against subsidies, there remains one major flaw. Grants only provide a short term promotion and cannot cover all creative workers in need of a financial aid. While they excellently serve for short periods and for raising public awareness, an additional approach to the creative minds of book culture is needed. Providing those workers with a basic and comprehensive social security net that takes their special situation into consideration may be a possible solution.

4.3.3.4 Social Security for Artists

When considering book promotion and, specifically, aids to creation, the focus tends to be on the expansion of grant systems, on offering more travel opportunities and on developing a national literary elite that serves as image cultivation. Yet there are basic considerations that are seldom discussed in public or are part of the discourse on how to promote books and literature effectively. Grant systems are well-intentioned and an efficient method of short-term support for upstart authors. The question of what happens after a grant has run out and a subsequent financial support could not be obtained is often disregarded.

In most European states, the situation is similar to Denmark where, as Duellund describes, there is no special social security for artists aside from the normal unemployment and labor regulations.⁹⁸⁸ At first glance, normal unemployment regulations would provide artists with sufficient security. However, there are countries – such as Germany – where regular unemployment aids are paid out only if the concerned individual has been contributing to the fond for a cer-

987 Benhamou; Peltier: How can cultural diversity be measured? p. 15.

988 Duellund; Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 50.

tain amount of time (often more than one year of regular contribution). Regular contribution, however, is difficult for those authors who can rarely rely on a steady income apart from the money received from grants (which are often neither taxable nor do they include an amount deductible for social security fees). In Germany, the *Künstlersozialkasse* tries to fill this gap. Artists and journalists can apply for membership and get access to a regular social and medical security. The artists pay one half of the fees, the second half is provided for by the federal state and the companies, which profit from the artistic and investigative skills.⁹⁸⁹ In France, two sources are mobilized to establish a social security for artists: a withdrawal of 6 % of the purchase amount spent for acquisitions in lending libraries is combined with an annual lump sum payment by the state (1.5 EUR per registered user in public and private libraries, 1 EUR per registered user in libraries of higher education institutions with the exception of school libraries).⁹⁹⁰

Other countries have taken a different approach. In order to encourage employers to pay social security costs for their artists. However, often only the performing artists profit from this scheme. Employers are given a discount of the costs in Denmark. In addition, »child and holiday allowances for artists are paid by the federal government.«⁹⁹¹ The Danish regulation came into effect in 2003.

No specific social security provision for authors is the rule rather than the exception. Yet the potential for an aid to creation and, therefore, for book promotion is not to be underestimated. A secured medical as well as a social provision for times between grants could provide the necessary basic security for creativity to flourish.

4.3.3.5 Indirect Author Support

Direct author support is an important aspect of book promotion since it is visible. Indirect support schemes are equally as important, since they often constitute the major share of the authors' revenue. Social security provisions for authors are a part of such indirect funding for creativity. As most countries lack specific provisions for artists, other indirect provisions for the support of authors have gained importance.

989 *Die Künstlersozialversicherung*. Available online <http://www.kuenstlersozialkasse.de/>, last retrieved June 14th 2012.

990 Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 41.

991 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 35.

Table 8: Artist Social Security

Country	Social Security Laws / Comprehensive Public Schemes	Tax Measures: Income Tax Deductions	Tax Measures: Income Averaging	Unemployment Assistance	Pension Supplements
Belgium	July 2003 new measures to improve the social security system for artists were passed.	No	No	Yes	Yes
Bulgaria	<i>Ordinance on Social Security of Persons who Practice a Liberal Profession and of the Bulgarian Citizens Working Abroad</i> (2000)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Czech Republic	--	--	--	--	--
Denmark	No law for self-employed artists	No	No	No	No
Germany	<i>Artists' Social Insurance Act</i> (1981)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Estonia	<i>Act on Creative Artists and Creative Artists' Unions</i> (2004)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Ireland	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	No	Yes	No
Greece	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	No	No	Yes
Spain	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	Yes	No	No
France	<i>Social Security Scheme for Self-Employed Artists</i> (1977)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Italy	No law for self-employed artists.	No	No	No	No
Cyprus					
Latvia	Only for performing artists, adopted 2004	Yes*	No	No	No
Lithuania	<i>The Law on the Status of Art Creators and their Organizations</i> (2004)	No	No	No	Yes
Luxembourg	--	--	--	--	--
Hungary	The EKHO law (<i>Act CXX/1995</i>).	Yes	No	No	Yes
Malta	No law for self-employed artists.	No	No	No	No

Netherlands	<i>Artists Income Scheme Act (1998)</i>	No	Yes	Yes	No
Austria	<i>Law on Social Security for Artists (2001)</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes***	Yes
Poland	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	No	No	Yes
Portugal	No law for self-employed artists.	No	No	No	No
Romania	No law for self-employed artists.	No	No	No	No
Slovenia	There are some specific measures for self-employed artists.	Yes	No	No	Yes
Slovakia	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes**	Yes	No	No
Finland	<i>Act on the Pensions of Artists and Some Particular Groups of Short-Time Workers (1985, basically not for self-employed artists, who are expected to start working as entrepreneurs and register for the respective pension scheme).</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes****	Yes** ***
Sweden	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
United Kingdom	No law for self-employed artists.	Yes	Yes	No	No
Switzerland	No law for self-employed artists.	No	No	Yes	No

Source: Council of Europe/ERICarts, *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, 12th edition, 2011.

* The income tax excludes expenses that are connected with the creation and publication of art works, if the author receives payment for his work.

** Flat expenses 40% of income (copyright royalties).

*** Voluntary for freelance and self-employed persons in Austria; since 2008 the artists' social insurance also contains insurance on health and accidents.

**** Self-employed artists or grant receivers have had problems in proving their unemployment status.

***** There is an extraordinary pension system for artists and journalists; the pension is given selectively and must be applied for.

Some of these indirect support schemes have been mentioned earlier.⁹⁹² Library lending rights are arrangements that »have long existed for the compensation of authors and publishers for the loss of earnings resulting from the lending by a library of the same work to different people who might otherwise have purchased

992 For example, the Public Lending Remuneration schemes have been discussed in chapter 4.4.2.

it.«⁹⁹³ Since the European Commission has adopted a directive on lending remuneration, all European Member states are encouraged to establish a scheme for lending remuneration. States are free to adopt the specifics to their given book policy environment – this policy, on the one hand, allows for a speedy adaptation and, on the other hand, it also encourages the creation of loopholes.

Other sources of indirect author support are fiscal facilities, such as tax-exemption for grants and awards as well as schemes on a return of photocopying taxes. Collecting societies such as *Kopiosto* in Finland, the *VG Wort* in Germany, or *Asteras Collective Rights Management* in Cyprus, and the many different collecting societies in France are responsible for the redistribution of funds. The collecting societies are part of the legislation on copyright.

4.3.4 Aids to Publication and Distribution

As are the aids to creation, the aids to publication and distribution are intended to foster a diverse book culture within a fragmented and self-sufficient book industry. Aids for publication and distribution can be targeted at publishers, translators as well as booksellers and all others involved in the distribution of books. Reality, however, is less diversified and imaginative. Predominantly, aids for publication and distribution take the form of publication subsidies. Even though they are primarily aimed to support individual publications, they are an instrument for subsidizing publishing houses.

In countries such as Estonia, Bulgaria or Romania, these instruments serve as the basis for establishing an independent and self-sufficient publishing industry – especially during the 1990s and the early 2000s. Small nations such as Slovenia, Slovakia or Switzerland, Finland and Luxembourg employ publishing subsidies in order to preserve an independent and self-sufficient publishing industry – especially with regard to their small potential customer group.⁹⁹⁴ Publication aids are often aimed for national publishers and sometimes even include booksellers with additional budgets for public readings etc. Publication aids are legitimized by surveys and reports such as the *Publishing Market Watch*, in which the economists of the Media Group from the Turku School of Economics conclude:

The existence of a strong sector of small, specialist publishers can be a strong source of ideas, skills, trained people and new authors to the larger companies. They therefore form an important part of the 'ecology' of the book publishing industry.⁹⁹⁵

993 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 8.

994 *Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 7.

995 Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 44.

There is a whole range of publication and distribution aids, which are aimed for the exportation of books to other nations. The focus of this chapter is not on these measures, although they are an important aspect of international understanding and of diversifying book culture and title range of the importing countries. The French *National Book Center*, for example, has launched one of the most comprehensive programs in this respect. Books are the leading article of the French cultural exportation and they raise about 500 million EUR per annum. The promotion of French literature and books abroad – in addition to the publishing houses' presence at the major international book fairs – is led by the *International Office of the French Edition* (BIEF). Grants by the office may include assistance for transportation costs and insurance of exported books, assistance to booksellers abroad, and mostly for the translation from and into French. The office also »delivers events, presentations, finances studies, market surveys, reception of professionals and the creation of foreign booksellers.«⁹⁹⁶

Three promotion instruments targeted at creating a self-sufficient and pluralistic publishing sector will be introduced in the next chapters. They are complemented by support measures aimed at distributors.

4.3.4.1 Favorable Loan Conditions and Other Financial Aids

Supporting middle-sized and small publishing companies as well as booksellers has been formulated as one of the primary objectives of book promotion. They are the first to experience economic difficulties.⁹⁹⁷ Their size, both in sales and profit, does not allow for a favorable negotiation on conditions. Yet these companies are regarded as essential to an independent and diversified book culture. From a cultural viewpoint, such as represented by André Schiffrin, they are essential because they often show more entrepreneurial courage in taking on smaller titles and upstart authors.⁹⁹⁸ Others, such as the economists from the Turku School of Economics, regard them as necessary, because they provide the larger, less versatile and flexible companies with new ideas, skills and personnel.⁹⁹⁹ Having established the necessity of these companies for the book industry and book culture as a whole, a form of support is to be identified, which allows a transparent and balanced preservation and development of this sector of the book industry.

996 Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 40.

997 As has been stated in chapter 2.4.3 on concentration tendencies as a challenge to a diversified book culture.

998 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 51.

999 Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 44.

Traditionally, publishing support takes the form of publication aids. They are only granted for specific titles and the funds are rarely realized before the title has gone into publication. Therefore, these aids are not an applicable measure for long-term promotion. In addition, the obscure allocation of funds can be a problem, too. Publishers cannot assess the success of a title when there is a competition for publication aids.

The report by the Buchlobby Schweiz presents one best practice and one future project of publishing support in Switzerland. Both are designed to support small and middle-sized companies. The project *Publishing Bonus (Verlagsprämie)* was initiated by the foundation *Pro Helvetica* and the private foundation *Migros Kulturprozent*¹⁰⁰⁰. From 1999 to 2004, funds had been distributed to small, independent publishers from all of the language regions of Switzerland – with the exception of the Romansh, since there are no professional publishers that specialize on publications in this language. The funds were intended for the support and development of marketing and distribution models and were limited to kick-starting projects. They were explicitly not intended to substitute book export support.¹⁰⁰¹ The project is to serve as a best practice example, since the funds had allowed independent publishers to establish a distribution network abroad, to develop their public relations and to be represented at book fairs with an individual booth. The Swiss Bundesrat has especially emphasized the fact that the project had led to the introduction of professional websites for all participating publishers, thereby securing a potential for future success.¹⁰⁰² An online presence is vital especially to small, independent publishers, who can use it as a platform to communicate their program and concept as well as to collect new customers.

The positive results of the bonus program have led to the discussion on the question whether to maintain the program permanently. The Buchlobby has suggested several criteria for the selection of participating publishers: a professionally organized company with at least four years of publishing experience, a continuous publication record, regular distribution and advertising, a compliance to standards of business practice and communication with authors and translators, and in need of support, yet capable of surviving without it.¹⁰⁰³ The amount

1000 *Migros Kulturprozent* is a part of the cooperative Migros' cultural foundation. It supports projects and events but not individual publications. The foundation is part of the philosophy of sustainability of the cooperative's founder Gottlieb Duttweiler. More information on the Migros Kulturprozent is available online <http://www.migros.ch/de/ueber-die-migros/regionen/ostschweiz/kulturprozent.html>, last retrieved June 26th 2012.

1001 There are no book export support measures in Switzerland, as the country's publishers usually already have cooperation projects with larger publishers from neighboring language areas and do not produce exclusively for the Swiss market.

1002 Bundesrat der Schweiz: *Bericht des Bundesrats*, p. 6.

1003 Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 12.

of bonus is to be dependent on the turnover and to be allocated for several years in order to allow budget planning. Buchlobby concludes that the program is a best practice example, since the allocation of funds is based on transparent criteria and is not dependent on an arbitrary committee decision. In addition, the allocation is based on economically sound principles and promotes performance, growth, impact and the alignment with the wishes of the audience.¹⁰⁰⁴

The program certainly has achieved certain objectives and commends its continuation. Although the project supports the diversity and independence of the publishing sector, it does not support innovative concepts, as one of the conditions of receiving the bonus is to adhere to the distribution and advertising systems of the trade. New publishing projects are excluded as well, as four years of continuous publication practice need to be proven. However, it is not the aim of the program to support small publishers, who would not survive without subsidies. The objective of the program is to create an economically independent and diversified publishing sector.

The Swiss bonus program copies the Austrian publishing promotion, which was established in 1992. The program does not support individual projects but instead publishing companies as a whole. They have to prove that Austria is their main economic focus and give evidence of the publication of at least five books during the previous three years. Without access to a trans-regional distribution system, publishers are not eligible. A regularly and newly assembled committee decides on the allocation of funds for such publishers, who have created their programs to consist of literary titles, essays, children or youth literature, history, design, philosophy etc. Moser concludes that the program has permanently influenced the publishing sector in Austria, as many small and dedicated publishers were supported in the creation of professional business structures and in establishing a basis that allowed for their independent economic survival.¹⁰⁰⁵ Yet the evaluation of the program by the Institut für Kulturwirtschaft und Kulturforschung has identified negative side effects of the Austrian program. First, the allocation of funds, for those whose applications are granted and also in the amount received, is criticized as being obscure. Second, if a fairly high amount is allocated, the marketing and distribution efforts of the individual publishing houses are less marked, since the individual titles are regarded as being adequately funded.¹⁰⁰⁶ All in all, however, the authors of the evaluation come to the conclusion that publishing support is an important aspect of improving the publi-

1004 Ibid, p. 12.

1005 Cf. Moser: Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend, p. 403.

1006 Institut für Kulturwirtschaft und Kulturforschung (2009): Evaluierungsstudie Kunstförderungsinstrumente des BMUKK. Linz: Johannes Kepler Universität. Available online www.jku.at/kuwi/.../EvaluierungsberichtEndfassung_3-4-09.pdf, last retrieved December 19th 2012. Here: p. 19.

cation opportunities for Austrian authors. They also list suggested improvements, such as definite objectives and guidelines as well as transparent handling and decision processes, as well as a general encouragement of innovation.¹⁰⁰⁷

A second project from Switzerland presented by the Buchlobby report is the *guarantee fund (Bürgschaftsfonds)*, which allows smaller publishers to obtain loans at more favorable conditions than they would receive from a regular bank. Buchlobby claims that if the guarantee fund is managed carefully, the initial capital will remain intact while the revenue may be channeled into other support projects such as the *Verlagsprämie*.¹⁰⁰⁸ A guaranteed form, as suggested by the Buchlobby, has already been introduced in Belgium. It is not exclusively targeted at publishers but at companies from the Flemish language community, which are a part of the cultural industries. The underlying definition of cultural industries in this case is »producers or distributors of cultural products or services, the cultural content being of the utmost importance for the economic value of the products and / or services; where the actors intend to market the output and to realise a return.«¹⁰⁰⁹ The fund was introduced in 2006 and it developed a policy toolbox for companies (best practice in business) as well as three methods of support for companies: »project financing: short term and bridge financing for specific projects; growth capital: capital participation in more mature growth companies; and subordinated loans: quasi-capital as long-term investment in the companies belonging to the target sector.«¹⁰¹⁰ The fund has 21.5 million EUR at its disposal, the capital was financed by PMV (*Participatie Maatschappij Vlaanderen, Flanders Participation Company*¹⁰¹¹), on the one hand, and strategic partners in the private sector on the other hand. The participation of these partners has been in the »form of a bond loan under a 10-year stayed repayment system.«¹⁰¹²

So far, the presented projects have focused on publishing. This lopsidedness of book promotion in publication and distribution has often been criticized.¹⁰¹³ There is one initiative, however, which proves that publishing and bookselling can cooperate in order to support a diverse distribution system. A good distribution infrastructure is in the interest of publishers as well. They benefit from a multitude

1007 Ibid, p. 30 and p. 40. Alternatives to the existing publishing promotion and a complete list of suggested improvements are provided on page 56.

1008 Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz, p. 16.

1009 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 22.

1010 Ibid, p. 22.

1011 The *Flanders Participation Company* is a federal institution designed to help self-employed, professional people as well as business starters. The fund's objective is to provide financial, technical and administration services and know-how. More information is available online <http://www.fonds.org/en>, last retrieved June 25th 2012.

1012 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 23.

1013 The criticism of publishing promotion will be presented in chapter 4.5.

of independent book shops, which take on a more diverse title selection than the big chain stores. Chain stores are also able to negotiate for more discounts than are profitable for publishers. An example for bookseller promotion is the French organization *Association pour le développement de la librairie de création* (ADLEC). It was initially created by four major publishers and is funded by 0.15 % of their annual sales. More publishers and the major book club *Loisirs* have joined the initiative. The organization has raised a total of 23 million EUR, which were given as interest-free loans to more than 380 booksellers.¹⁰¹⁴

The Flemish and French initiatives demonstrate that identifying book promotion measures is not easy. The fund and its services are open to all companies from the cultural sector, thereby making it difficult to assess how much of its help promotes book culture and the book. Yet initiatives, which are aimed primarily or exclusively for the book sector, such as the Swiss projects, are often difficult to legitimize and to finance. Then again, as is shown by the successful project *Verlagsprämie* and the Austrian publishing promotion, they may allow the development and establishment of long-term structures that may not guarantee but at least facilitate future economic success independent from annual grants, such as translation subsidies and publication aids. Publishers receiving a form of long-term loan are allowed a planning security for more than one business year. A cooperation fund such as the Flemish project could certainly ensure that the financial risk is covered by more than one investor. At the same time, it could ensure transparency and a fair distribution of funds as more than one investor supervises the allocation practice.

4.3.4.2 Bulk Purchases

Bulk purchases are described as an indirect form of subsidizing publishers. The practice is less often implemented in the European Union than in developing nations. Bulk purchases combine a direct aid to libraries or education institutions with an indirect help for publishers. For instance, if a federal school board decides to include a certain title in their list of selected school books, the publisher may expect higher sales than in its initial calculations.

In Europe, bulk purchases often take place within the context of library board selections. That is the case when libraries have the factual freedom to decide which books they wish to acquire for their patrons but do not have the means to buy them according to the regular book purchasing schemes of the library systems. The Ministry of Culture of Greece uses bulk purchasing as an

1014 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 49.

indirect form of state support for literary works. For example, works which have received a literary award are purchased in bulk and then distributed among the public state libraries.¹⁰¹⁵ In Sweden, the government supports libraries and indirectly publishers with subsidies. These subsidies are part of a long-term support program to establish the quality production of books and periodicals.¹⁰¹⁶ In Slovenia, the acquisition budgets for public libraries are provided by the municipalities, as in most other European States. The federal state tries to encourage municipalities to develop and improve their library services by co-financing the annual purchase of books and the process of digitalization: »Out of 220 books per 1,000 inhabitants 90 of them were bought by state funds in 2005.«¹⁰¹⁷ In Finland, »a grant is awarded to public libraries in municipalities with fewer than 6,000 inhabitants for the purchase of books included in a list drawn up annually.«¹⁰¹⁸

Bulk purchasing, whether through the federal state, through municipalities or through non-governmental organizations is an indirect publishing aid and, at the same time, it supports those for whom the books were purchased. The report by the Buchlobby Schweiz regards bulk purchases as having a cultural as well as economic advantage.¹⁰¹⁹ On the one hand, publishers profit economically, as entire print runs are sold off – even if they have been sold to less favorable sales conditions than if the books had been sold individually. Culturally, publishers may profit from the appreciation of their program, and ideally from quality projects that are cross-financed by the profits from a bulk purchase. On the other hand, libraries and schools profit economically when having new books acquired for them. Culturally, the whole system may profit, as several negative aspects are rejected: the deliberate or subtle decrease in acquisition budgets for libraries, the abandonment of class lecture, the closing of school libraries, and the encouragement of photocopying instead of buying.¹⁰²⁰

Of course, it has to be considered that bulk purchasing is, in an economic context, not necessarily reasonable for the state. There may be possible discounts negotiated by the accumulated purchasing power of a nation state. Yet it is questionable whether those solitary measures are effective, which only take individual titles into consideration. The transparency of the decision for a certain title has to be taken into account, too. Libraries that may profit from bulk purchasing are at the same time limited in their free choice of titles which they may add to their collection. Bulk purchasing can therefore only remain an additional option for

1015 Dallas: Country Profile Greece, p. 33.

1016 Harding: *Country Profile Sweden*, chapter 4.2.3.

1017 Ibid, chapter 5.3.4.

1018 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 8.

1019 Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 17.

1020 Ibid, p. 17.

book promotion – for example for titles, which have won national literary awards and which would undoubtedly have been purchased by state libraries anyway, as is practiced in Greece. As a permanent instrument, bulk purchasing would limit diversity in libraries instead of supporting it.

4.3.4.3 Classic Publication Aids

The ›classic‹ publication aids are comprised of several grants that are awarded for the publication of individual titles. With these aids, publishers are encouraged to take on what is generally perceived as difficult titles, meaning a small print run and, possibly, even fewer sales. Publication aids may cover the cost of translating a specific title, they may cover the cost of marketing and distribution, or they may cover all costs of producing an individual publication. Their main objective is to expand the diversity of the title range by supporting quality publications. Indirectly, publication aids benefit authors and publishers, while it supports an individual publication directly. Authors benefit from being granted access to a publisher who may take on a second title. Publishers benefit at the same time from the coverage of cost (while being able to pocket the proceeds if it turns out that the title sells well) and from the image cultivation of developing a program of quality titles.

Publication aids are legitimized to support publishing houses oriented towards cultural themes. According to Buchlobby Schweiz, these publishers fulfill a role as a catalyst and a transformer. They enrich book culture by initiating projects, launching discussions on topics, and by discovering and introducing new authors.¹⁰²¹ Baumhöver adds that in two out of three parts a publisher's role consists of cultivating and preserving; only one part is dedicated to generating profit. In terms of composing a program, 80% of the titles are, according to Baumhöver, cross-financed by the other 20%. He claims that this principle of solidarity is, at the moment, in decline as regular business consultants cannot understand this fact and merely sneer at it.¹⁰²² According to Baumhöver and the Swiss Buchlobby, publishers are in need of support in order to maintain their business model. They claim this to be a sufficient legitimization for publication aids – yet there are a number of critics of this model.

Most examples for publication aids take the direct approach of financing specific publications. The *Book Support Program* of the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture, for example, ›co-finances about 100 publications each in contemporary Bulgarian writing and heritage and Bulgarian humanitarian and reference works

1021 Buchlobby Schweiz: Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz, p. 4.

1022 Baumhöver: *Ohrenbetörend*, p. 277.

with the objective of eliminating some major gaps in available Bulgarian literature.«¹⁰²³ Even though the program is judged to be inefficient, thus meaning that supported publications have very low print runs, the emphasis is laid on the gain in diversity for the Bulgarian book culture. The French *National Book Center* allocates grants to publishers under the supervision of the Directorate of Books and Readership.¹⁰²⁴ Also mentioned in the context of author support was the *Irish Language Books Board*, which provides production grants to publishers who apply for the publication of books in the Gaelic language.¹⁰²⁵ In Switzerland, the system also features a comprehensive program of publishing subsidies. Individual titles are supported by grants for production and translation costs. The report of the Arbeitsgruppe *Selektive Förderung* concludes that the allocation of such grants is perceived as a form of appreciation by the publishing houses. All in all, an annual amount of 2.35 million SFR is spent on such grants in Switzerland.¹⁰²⁶

These programs may successfully establish individual titles in the book market. Often, their effect is similar to the one observed in Bulgaria: small print runs and even fewer sales. There is a whole array of aspects which are criticized in publication aids. Panzer observes that publication aids may lead to an increase in title production but not in an increase of readers. He concludes that there is a greater diversity in the market, as the taste of select groups may be addressed. Yet he cannot deduce an improvement of the economic situation for publishers, instead he rather infers a distortion of economic realities.¹⁰²⁷

In addition to a potential distortion of the market, the lack of transparency in the allocation of funds as well as the general uncertainty, resulting from grants being allocated annually and by different institutions, have been criticized. The Swiss working group *Selektive Förderung* complains that publishers often urge authors to attract publication aids as a consequence of the allocation by a multitude of state and private institutions. The group emphatically demands that authors are not to be obliged to search for their means by their publishers.¹⁰²⁸ For Switzerland, a central coordination institution for the allocation of promotion grants has been suggested.¹⁰²⁹ Other European states experience similar difficulties as a central database for funding opportunities forms only an exception. Here, the internet may allow future improvements.

Publication aids are also criticized for compelling readers to pay twice for one book. In the first instance, readers finance publication aids through their

1023 Kingham: *Bulgaria*.

1024 Delvainquière: *Country Profile France*, p. 50.

1025 Fitzgibbon: *Country Profile Ireland*, p. 15.

1026 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: *Buch- und Literaturpolitik*, p. 15.

1027 Panzer; Scheipl: *Buchverlage in Österreich*, p. 152f.

1028 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: *Buch- und Literaturpolitik*, p. 14.

1029 Buchlobby Schweiz: *Verlagsförderung für die Schweiz*, p. 20.

taxes, which are subsequently allocated to different promotion measures. Then readers purchase a subsidized book at a regular price. Slovenia has introduced a solution to this dilemma:

Publishers [...] can sell subsidised book titles at subsidised retail prices, i.e. prices are set according to a special scheme and subsidies are taken into account in calculating the retail price. This means that subsidised books are sold at reduced prices.¹⁰³⁰

This solution is considered to be a fair compromise, even though the possibility of cross-financing titles that have not received grants from the proceeds of these sales is excluded.

4.3.4.4 Publications Aids and the Distribution Network

An aspect of publication aids, which is often neglected in the discussion, is the aid for distributors. Booksellers are seldom considered within book promotion schemes, yet they fulfill a crucial role in communicating books to potential readers.¹⁰³¹ André Schiffrin names several best practice examples for France, where booksellers are part of the overall book promotion scheme.¹⁰³² On a regional level, Schiffrin mentions municipalities and local councils, which have decided on providing book shops with a rent-free space to open.¹⁰³³ In times of a tight budget, empty lots can be filled this way with new life that is culturally worthwhile life. Another French initiative is to revive Parisian quarters with cultural life by renting out spaces to book shops and publishing houses at reduced rates.¹⁰³⁴

As has been stated before, the objective of publication aids is to foster the diversity and the quality of the available title range in a given book market. Yet it has to be taken into consideration that diversity and quality in a supply do not necessarily lead to diversity and quality in consumption. Publication aids need to be complemented by a network of quality book shops with qualified personnel, who assist readers in negotiating the available title range. France has recognized the

1030 Čopič: Country Profile Slovenia, p. 28.

1031 The authors of the *Ljubljana Resolution* even describe the booksellers as the foundation of the book market. Cf. UNESCO (2011): *The Ljubljana Resolution on Books*. World Book Summit. Available online <http://www.unesco.org/culture/cultural-diversity/2005convention/en/internationalcoordination/d/documentview/46/>, last retrieved January 30th 2013.

1032 Schiffrin explains these examples in the chapter »Helping the Bookstores« in Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, pp. 45–55.

1033 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 17f.

1034 Ibid, p. 45.

need for a complimentary program that fosters high quality book shops. Criteria for good book shops have been established (*labelle*). A recognized quality book shop enjoys some privileges »which lowers some of the taxes the bookstores pay and can open the way to additional help.«¹⁰³⁵ André Schiffrin recommends the program as a best practice example and suggests for an international implementation.

A comprehensive program for the support of independent booksellers has been introduced by the French *National Book Center (Centre National du Livre)*. There are zero-interest loans obtainable for the opening or reopening of a store. In addition to the loans, subsidies for the opening of a store can be applied for. There are also subsidies granted for projects establishing innovative distribution platforms and projects. With regard to the range of titles, booksellers may apply for subsidies for the creation of a diversified supply of quality books:

Cette aide vise les librairies de référence offrant l'accès à une création éditoriale diversifiée et de qualité au plus large public et doit permettre d'alléger les charges régulièrement consenties par le libraire pour illustrer la qualité de son assortiment et renforcer son rôle culturel.¹⁰³⁶

A quality distribution network communicates a diverse range of titles to its customers. As such, the booksellers function as pearl divers who swim through their overview of the available books. The algorithms of the online booksellers have yet to master the complexity of human selection and opinion; often, they suggest similar titles, thereby limiting the customer. To encourage diversified consumption, independent booksellers are essential. Other instruments promoting reading will be introduced in the following chapter.

4.3.5 Encouraging Consumption

The instruments of book promotion which have been discussed and introduced in the previous chapters focused on the production aspect of book culture. Certainly, diversity and quality are both needed in publishing, in authorship and in book selling in order to preserve an ever-developing book culture. Culture is an ever-changing concept. In order to adapt to the transitions and challenges that the digital shift has posed, book culture has to be revitalized and has to maintain a steady stream of new ideas, new authors, and new concepts in publishing and book selling.

1035 Ibid, p. 53.

1036 »Aides aux librairies.« In: *Centre National du Livre*. Available online: <http://www.centre-nationaldulivre.fr/?-Aide-aux-librairies->, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

As Benhamou and Peltier have stated in their article on bibliodiversity, diversity in the title range or diversity in the overall supply is not to be confused with diversity in consumption.¹⁰³⁷ Whichever promotion activities support the book industry, there is no way to force customers to buy exactly that translation from Slovenia which has been financed by a translation grant. Often enough particularly those titles that have been subsidized with translation or publication aids fail to satisfy sales expectations. In addition, attracting new readers is becoming increasingly difficult, as the Media Group points out:

substantial market growth in Europe as a whole will not be achieved without attracting a substantial number of people who do not currently buy books to become regular purchasers; this is likely to require innovation both in product and marketing.¹⁰³⁸

There are possibilities available to fill this gap. Reading promotion programs may encourage overall readership and also the reading of quality literature and literature from abroad. Festivals and fairs¹⁰³⁹ raise public awareness, not only for the book in general but also for literature that is hitherto unknown to the reader.

The following chapters shall therefore briefly introduce both options of encouraging diversity and the choice of quality works in consumption. Both are equally important not only in developing book culture but also for an independent and self-sufficient publishing industry.

4.3.5.1 Reading Promotion

Reading promotion is undertaken, as is book promotion in general, by the state and private initiatives. State reading promotion tends to include the public library system and education system, thereby often targeting only those children who are already familiar with reading and a book. Private initiatives such as *IBBY*¹⁰⁴⁰ and the *Stiftung Lesen* or Swiss projects such as the *Family Literacy* project aim at introducing those beginner readers – adult or children – to books, who have previously been unfamiliar with it. On the one hand, they are immigrants who are not altogether unfamiliar with reading but have problems with the language of their new home country. On the other hand, the target audience is comprised of children and adults who are illiterate. A more general approach is to start specific

¹⁰³⁷ Benhamou; Peltier: How should cultural diversity be measured? p. 15.

¹⁰³⁸ Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 77.

¹⁰³⁹ Introduced in chapter 2.4.4 as an essential part of book culture.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For more information on IBBY, see for <http://www.ibby.org/>.

projects that raise the awareness of reading as a central cultural technique and stress the importance of having reading role models.

Reading promotion plays a crucial role in encouraging the consumption of books. While reading is an activity not only limited to printed books because as a cultural technique it will be in demand for the decoding of e-books, hypertext as well as any other form of text in the digital future, reading is still the key activity around the world which centers on book culture.¹⁰⁴¹ Reading promotion has to create an active incentive for a person to open up a book, to make independent reading choices, to feel heightened by the experience of reading and to communicate this experience.

On a trans-national level, there is the *EU READ*, a task force for the promotion of reading. Founded in 2000, the consortium of European reading promotion organizations aims at providing a platform for the exchange of »knowledge experiences and concepts, and to jointly develop new strategies for the promotion of reading.«¹⁰⁴² At the moment, ten organizations are part of the EU READ forum: *Svět Knihy* (Czech Republic), *National Reading Plan* (Portugal), *The Swiss Institute for Children's and Youth Media* (Switzerland), *Stichting Leuen* (Netherlands), *Buchklub der Jugend* (Austria), *Zentrum Lesen* (Switzerland), *Leseforum* (South Tyrol, Italy), *Stichting Lezen* (Belgium), *Stiftung Lesen* (Germany), and *Booktrust* (United Kingdom). Providing a forum for exchange is one of the most important aspects of the EU READ. The range of projects within the participating organizations is wide, and best practice examples such as *Book Start* can be introduced to other countries. EU READ also provides non-participating initiatives and all other interested parties with material on reading promotion, in theory and in practice.¹⁰⁴³

Especially the Southern European countries are among those nations that have made reading promotion a part of their cultural policy. These countries have traditionally lower reading numbers and strive to introduce children to books early on in their schooling. To that effect, Portugal, for example, has implemented the *National Reading Plan* in 2006. It is

a government initiative, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, jointly with the Ministry of Culture and Minister of Parliamentary Affairs [...]. PNL is a response to the concern regarding the literacy levels of the population in general, especially that of young people, which is significantly lower than the European average. It is implemented through a set of strategies aimed at promotion the develop-

1041 See chapter 2.2.3.

1042 *About EU READ*. Available online <http://www.euread.com/about/>, last retrieved June 28th 2012.

1043 *EU READ Research*. Available online <http://www.euread.com/research/>, last retrieved June 28th 2012.

ment of skills in reading and writing, as well as the broadening and deepening of reading habits especially among school populations.¹⁰⁴⁴

Programs implemented within the context of the *National Reading Plan* are *Book Time* (which promotes reading in kindergarten and schools, and includes visits to book fairs, meetings with authors and several competitions), *Reading is Good for Health* (which targets children's nurses and doctors and supports them in their reading counseling to families), *Poetry Day* (a festival dedicated to poetry), *Reading Week* (creative events centered around the pleasure of reading aloud are staged during one week in March), *Digital Library* (launched in a cooperation with a computer distribution program in primary schools, introducing children to computer and books at the same time), *Theatre and Reading* (promotes reading practice as well as dramatic readings in groups), *Reading and New Opportunities* (aimed for adults to improve their reading skills and implemented by the *National Qualifying Agency*), *Reading More* (schools offer projects and reading events to include parents and their community to the reading experience), and *Sleep to Read* (in cooperation with the *Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology Center* to encourage healthy sleep routines as an essential element in learning).¹⁰⁴⁵

Reading promoting programs in other countries may not be as comprehensive as the approach taken by the *National Reading Plan* in Portugal. Yet there are a multitude of different projects which not only encourage reading but include the spread of adjoining media skills. For example, *Better off with a Book*, a strategy initiated by the Ministry of Culture of Romania in 2005, aims at increasing reading levels. At the same time, the project helps to develop the nationwide IT network in public libraries, including the building of the relevant IT infrastructure, the digitalization of cultural heritage literature and the mediation of »e-knowledge«.¹⁰⁴⁶ The same Ministry of Culture also launched the *Looking for Famous Readers* campaign in recognition of the importance of reading role models.¹⁰⁴⁷ A comprehensive overview of these and other reading promotion projects in Europe is provided by the website *Reading Worldwide*, on which information on projects, organizations and contact information is listed.¹⁰⁴⁸

As with other book promotion measures it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of reading promotion. Yet there are states like Italy which experience a marked increase in readership among the main target audience for reading pro-

1044 João Lima; Gomes: *Country Profile Portugal*, p. 36f.

1045 *National Reading Plan*. Available online <http://www.planonacionaldeleitura.gov.pt/index1.php>, last retrieved November 7th 2012.

1046 Chelcea; Becut: *Country Profile Romania*, p. 28.

1047 *Ibid*, p. 44.

1048 *Reading Worldwide*. Available online <http://www.readingworldwide.com/index.php?id=1>, last retrieved June 28th 2012.

motion: children. The increase of reading in the North as well as the increased propensity for women to read (40 to 50 %) after the start of nationwide reading promotion programs are a definite success.¹⁰⁴⁹ Still, at least in Italy, there remain problems: the North-South difference and a distinct break between reading in school and reading in adulthood need to be addressed. Also, reading promotion programs have increased the readership, but often enough, those who had been reading earlier read even more now.¹⁰⁵⁰ Nevertheless, one may conclude that all European Member states have realized the importance of reading as a cultural technique and as central aspect of a successful education and integration into society. There are reading promotion programs in all European Member states, often on a public as well as on a private level. Public libraries have proven to be a valuable partner, and so have health care institutions. The *International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions* has identified several best practices in reading promotion and has included them in a guide for associated librarians. Their meta-analysis has identified family literacy programs, story hours, author visits, content-specific literacy events (babysitting, job application etc.) and first and foremost contests in every form (poetry slams, writing, role-play as a character, summer reading, posters, etc.) as the most effective of the promotion instruments.¹⁰⁵¹

Book culture can only maintain its diversity, its vitality and continue its development when readers from all strata of the population are willing to participate. Reading promotion is an essential factor in spreading the key activity of book culture. It is a constant task and one that first and foremost needs to be performed by parents and the family unit. Reading socialization is the biggest factor for a future competence in reading. State and private institutions cannot substitute, but only complement parental role models.

Incidentally, the documentation of reading promotion is far more centralized and comprehensive than that of general book promotion measures. A network comparable to *Reading Worldwide* or EU READ would be a first step to coordinate nation-wide and trans-national reading promotion and to exchange knowledge about best practice.

1049 Associazione Italiana Editori: *The Italian Book Market*, p. 22f.

1050 Ibid, p. 22f.

1051 The guide lists a number of articles and essays on a good practice reading promotion as well as several articles and papers on reading promotion throughout the world. Cf. Farmer, Lesley; Stricevic, Ivanka (2011): *Using research to promote literacy and reading in libraries: Guidelines for librarians*. IFLA Professional Report No. 125. International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. Available online <http://www.ifla.org/files/hq/publications/professional-report/125.pdf>, last retrieved June 28th 2012. Here: p. 14.

4.3.5.2 Generating Public Awareness and Appreciation

A best practice in projects aimed at generating an appreciation for the book and raising public awareness of reading is difficult to assess since awareness is not quantifiable. The accompanying press coverage about a book event such as a fair may be one aspect of public awareness, but otherwise, it is hard to define. Public awareness is achieved by communicating a topic to the public through a variety of means. It is to be considered different to advertising, which concerns individual titles and aims at generating sales, marketing (the general definition of all undertakings of a business to generate sales), and to public relations, which aims at cultivating the image of a company or institution. It could be argued that book promotion, which aims at raising public awareness, inherently contains aspects of advertisement and public relations. That is especially true for public awareness campaigns, because they are often sponsored by companies with a business interest in the field. There are, for example, trade advertising campaigns such as *Research is Life* – by the pharmacy companies that do research. In the field of promoting public awareness of the book, business interests are involved and cultivating the image of whole nations is a central aspect.

There are projects which take a general approach by encouraging book reading and the contact with books – festivals, fairs and promotional activities like giving away free books. An example for such a project is the *World Book Day* designated by the UNESCO for the celebration of books and reading.¹⁰⁵² On this occasion, reading promotion initiatives around the world launch campaigns. In 2012, the German *Stiftung Lesen* initiated the project *LeseFreunde* (Friends of Reading). After registering with the website of the project, a number of people (the limit was set at 33,333) could select one among a list of 25 books. On *World Book Day*, they were given 30 copies of their selected title to give away for free to friends and strangers alike.¹⁰⁵³ The titles were sponsored by the respective publishing houses.

A second category addresses specific groups such as the French Belgian program that introduces writing and literature to underprivileged students. Another project focuses on Belgian Francophone literature:

Writers, aiming at students, have drawn up programmes of sensitisation to Belgian Francophone literature. Pilot projects develop collaborations between schools and public libraries. Schools are also associated to yearly events, such as ›la fureur de lire‹ and ›la langue en fête‹.¹⁰⁵⁴

1052 For more information on the *World Book Day* see <http://www.worldbookday.com/about/>, last retrieved November 7th 2012.

1053 *LeseFreunde teilen LeseFreude*. Available online <http://www.welttag-des-buches.de/de/470021>, last retrieved August 1st 2012.

1054 Janssens; Lebon: *Country Profile Belgium*, p. 63.

The Flemish community in Belgium has launched a similar program, which introduces literature and the book as a part of a cultural image of a community, and »as a status symbol, as an expression of a personal aesthetic taste or as a functional element.«¹⁰⁵⁵

This second category also includes festivals which are targeted at writers not readers. Although the intended readers do not participate, there is press coverage and often an accompanying program of events. Therefore, the objective of raising public awareness is achieved even though it was not the primary goal. An example of such an event is the international writer's festival which was primarily aimed at authors:

In June 2009, MoCNIH [Ministry of Culture] supported The Romanian Writers Union in organising the sixth edition of the International Festival called »Days and Nights of Literature«, having also as collaborators the Romanian Cultural Institute and the Mangalia town hall. The aim of this event was to bring together international literary figures and to provide them with the opportunity to discuss.¹⁰⁵⁶

Raising public awareness for books is only a positive side effect of the following projects. They have primary and secondary goals, which coincide with those of promoting book culture. Promoting books is merely an additional benefit.

Examples for this third facet of raising public awareness are the SMART cards in Malta and the *Cities of Refuge* for persecuted writers program. SMART cards work like

a debit card system, whereby a monthly stipend provided by the state is given to post-secondary and tertiary education students for educational purposes. In 2007, the centre [St. James Cavalier Centre for Creativity] has also welcomed more than 12 000 students for the creativity programmes, ranging from story-telling, film and literature programmes to drama and music performances.¹⁰⁵⁷

While the cards are not explicitly intended to draw students to literary programs, it is a welcome side effect for an overall awareness of cultural activities.

The *Cities of Refuge* for persecuted writers wishes to raise an awareness of books only on a secondary, maybe even third level. On a first level, it provides a safe working and publishing space for authors persecuted in their home country, thereby addressing the situation of the given country.¹⁰⁵⁸ Even though the book is not at the center of this program, it serves to remind people that books are a me-

1055 Ibid, p. 65.

1056 Chelcea; Becut: *Country Profile Romania*, p. 44.

1057 Attard: *Country Profile Malta*, p. 62.

1058 Duelund, Valtysson: *Country Profile Denmark*, p. 68f.

dium of debate and can freely express one's opinion. Currently, the *International Cities of Refuge Network* (ICORN) lists 40 cities participating in the program, most of them in Scandinavia.¹⁰⁵⁹

Raising public awareness through campaigns or events is often either executed by major institutions (on a nationwide level) or smaller, local institutions. Individual publishers and booksellers are rarely equipped with the means to launch major campaigns that are not explicitly part of a marketing or commercial campaign.¹⁰⁶⁰ The individual actors of the book industry are limited to events such as readings and signing tours – the classic external signs of book culture in countries such as Germany, France and England.¹⁰⁶¹ These events raise public awareness, not for the promotion of books in general but for an individual title and author. Yet one should not entirely dismiss the positive effect they have for book culture. Readings and signing tours are advertised – and these advertisements may trigger the appetite for any book.

Book promotion through programs, which aim at fostering diversity and quality with aids to creation, publication and distribution, is a cost-intensive enterprise. The range of instruments the European nations choose from is similar. The results of the cluster analysis suggest, however, that a more individually adapted approach to book promotion could be necessary. The results from Benhamou and Peltier's assessment of diversity in the French book market suggest a similar strategy. To establish diversity, a carefully balanced approach to promotion has to be taken. Measures that disproportionately favor one aspect of book culture or the book market or one aspect of diversity may cause more harm than benefit.

Moser suggests that a broad approach to book promotion, which not only includes federal and regional institutions but non-governmental agencies as well, will guarantee the development of a heterogenic book culture with a multitude of different aesthetic or qualitative principles.¹⁰⁶² Her assessment of the need for diversity, also in institutions that promote book culture, is certainly a valuable suggestion. Yet this principle of an indiscriminate all-round distribution of funds for book promotion, which is practiced in practically all European Member states, has disadvantages, too. Some of them are to be presented in the next chapter.

1059 *ICORN – International cities of refuge network*. ICORN Cities. Available online <http://www.icorn.org/cities.php>, last retrieved June 29th 2012.

1060 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 11.

1061 Moritz, Rainer (2009): »Ein Forum für die Literatur.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold; Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text+kritik, pp. 123–129. Here: p. 123.

1062 Cf. Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 404.

4.4 Criticism and Problems

It is the distinctive function of and challenge for a book policy to decide on realistic, objective and economically adequate measures for the book trade on the basis of the desired future book and reading environment of any given country.¹⁰⁶³ The actual decisions made by book policy makers are often criticized. Even though there are some forms of book promotion, or at least literature promotion, in all European Member states, state intervention in the book industry is not undisputed. Criticism has been voiced by economists, publishers and scholars on the subject of subsidies for the book trades, even by those who are generally in favor of subsidies.

Book promotion measures are meant to counteract the dangers perceived, on the assumption that globalization, internationalization and the subsequent consolidation are a threat to smaller competitors. On the basis of this assumption, the book market needs to be regulated in order to foster a diverse book culture and an independent book industry. However, critics claim that:

so far, the debate is still undecided if in culture and content industries, economies of scale actually are more successful than more fragmented landscapes of cultural production, or if a gain in scale necessarily brings about a loss of creativity and thus puts limits on the competitive edge of a company.¹⁰⁶⁴

Even though, the economists from the Turku Media Group state that the influences of consolidation and globalization are as negative as proclaimed. However the stance of economists and others may be the promotion of books and book culture is based on a strong consensus:

Since there is not one homogeneous approach to these issues throughout the European Union, mostly due to differences in national and regional cultural traditions and habits, the strongest foundation to all these elements and policies is the broad consensus between public authorities, industry actors and large parts of the audience about the necessity of protecting a highly diversified and rich book culture against restrictions that might arise from a purely commercial approach.¹⁰⁶⁵

It is laudable that politicians, actors of industry and the audience are able to agree on the importance of a highly diversified book culture. Quality production and an independent publishing scene are set against the totality of commercialization. Yet there is a negative side to this consensus: Against the backdrop of

1063 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 3.

1064 Media Group Turku School of Economics: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 126.

1065 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

this globalized industry, which disclaims all cultural skills and reduces them to their efficiency, the literary field ignores all hybrid ideas or outlooks and appoints itself to be the guardian of enduring values.¹⁰⁶⁶ Grond criticizes this position as being conceited.

The individual points of criticism focus especially on the allocation of funds, on the problems encountered in launching trans-national projects and on the inefficiency of chosen instruments. Opacity of the overall promotion and the lopsidedness of the distribution of funds are accompanied by a general criticism of the indiscriminate all-round distribution¹⁰⁶⁷ employed by some states. Enrique Banús identified a quantification of culture which encourages such all-round distribution: the number of projects and the number of project partners are the decisive factor, instead of urgency and a content review of the projects. Additionally, his criticism of indiscriminate all-round distribution concludes: »There is not much to give, but it is given to many.«¹⁰⁶⁸

Marcel Canoy also sides with the general critics of book promotion measures when he argues that »Globalisation and the Internet allow economies of scale and reinforce the capacity of the global book market to produce diversity and variety.«¹⁰⁶⁹ What is more, he criticizes that none of the countries of the European Union has specified »the objectives for interfering in the book market explicitly.«¹⁰⁷⁰ Furthermore, Canoy points out that “subsidies for authors, translators, bookshops and publishers are paid for by ordinary people who may not be interested in the more culturally valuable books or high-quality bookshops.¹⁰⁷¹ He adds that an efficient market that creates diversity and high quality – in whichever way – is nevertheless in a serious crisis of legitimization, if people become increasingly unfamiliar with the culture of the written word.

4.4.1 Opacity

While criticism is often generalized, there are some scholars who take an issue with specific aspects of book promotion. For example, book promotion measures are criticized specifically for their opacity.

1066 Cf. Grond: Kein Denkverbot, kein Spielverbot, p. 104.

1067 Indiscriminate all-round distribution is a principle of allocating subsidies. Decisive factors for the allocation of funds are neither urgency, nor date of application, content or the actual demand but the amount requested. In favor of the principle are (theoretically) the elimination of partiality and a lesser extent of bureaucracy.

1068 Banús: Key Element or Ornament? p. 65.

1069 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 19.

1070 Ibid, p. 19.

1071 Ibid, p. 19.

The *Publishing Market Watch* analysis arrived at the conclusion that the promotion of books through a reduced rate of value added tax (VAT) is, on the one hand, an example of opacity and, on the other hand, also an example for a biased action. Fiscal rules and regulations, such as the possibility of a reduced VAT on individual products, were introduced to keep abreast of the economic reality of products which are »regarded as essentials or in the general interest of society.«¹⁰⁷² As such, the reduced VAT on books is worth to be defended. However, Baruch criticizes the broad variety of tax reductions on books within the European Union: this variety goes »against the general assumption that VAT must be applied neutrally and equitably throughout a particular industry.«¹⁰⁷³ To resolve Baruch's point of criticism, a generalized and possibly reduced VAT rate on books would have to be introduced to all Member states of the European Union. The practicability of Baruch's recommendation was examined in chapter 4.4.2 on VAT reduction as a measure of book promotion.

Support for the publishing industry continues beyond fiscal regulations. In most Member states of the European Union, it is intertwined with a wide range of awards, grants, and other aids. These are sponsored both publicly and privately and may be applied for by writers, translators and publishers: »As a result, a clear distinction between support for writers (creators), for literature, for reading or for publishing is almost impossible.«¹⁰⁷⁴ Two examples shall emphasize the resulting opacity for the public as well as for potential sponsors.

In an assessment of existing book promotion projects in Switzerland, the authors of the report *Buch- und Literaturpolitik* have arrived at the conclusion that the projects are faced with three obstacles: the amount of money allotted to individuals is too small; there is a high bureaucratic expense; and, lastly, transparency cannot be achieved since promotion measures often overlap. Authors may receive grants from different projects and the result can for example be an unwanted focus on well-known names.¹⁰⁷⁵

In his report on book promotion in Switzerland, which included an outlook on other models such as Austria, Sweden and France, Georg Trappel has identified similar problems. He criticizes that promotion measures may result in an economic dependency of both, authors and publishers. At the same time, receiving funds may result in remoteness from the market, as publishers create programs to generate promotion funds not regular buyers. Trappel's last and major

1072 Baruch; Richard: *The Book Sector and the State*, p. 6.

1073 *Ibid*, p. 6.

1074 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 45.

1075 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: *Buch- und Literaturpolitik*, p. 9.

point of criticism is the obscure allocation of funds through commissions, government agencies or private associations.¹⁰⁷⁶

The criticism voiced about book promotion measures in Austria and Switzerland exemplifies the situation in all European Member states. Comprehending which standards were applied in granting funds is difficult and sometimes even impossible. In addition to the opacity in the allocation of funds, there is a second problem of confirmability. The *Publishing Market Watch* report observes that »the impacts of these schemes and their impact on competitiveness are hard to assess: a detailed analysis of each scheme would need to be undertaken to determine whether the publishing industry would change significantly if any particular subsidy system was changed.«¹⁰⁷⁷

It is not only a question of transparency but also of efficiency if investments in book culture are to be effective. The question of efficiency shall be addressed in chapter 4.6. Meanwhile, there are other obstacles for a successful book promotion. Among them are difficulties associated with cross-national projects.

4.4.2 Problems of Cross-European Projects

Marc Baruch claimed that in order to justify a reduced VAT rate on books, the same rate had to apply in all European countries. This may seem a simple solution – but only at first glance, for »Europe is a hermeneutic being. A continent of non-implicit understanding«¹⁰⁷⁸ as author Ulrike Draesner puts it her essay on the idea of a cultural Europe. Her statements can be understood as a warning against over-simplified solutions for complex problems, such as bridging the different cultural traditions in Europe. Her view is supported by the findings of the work in hand as well as those of the *Publishing Market Watch* report: »Each sector of the book publishing industry in each country has its own characteristics and its individual strengths and weaknesses. Each sector has a unique combination of competing firms.«¹⁰⁷⁹ The report addresses the differences in the markets only, but as Draesner states, this is true for cultures, too. Appelman agrees and states that the characteristics of the book markets and political preferences »differ quite substantially, which makes a single book policy ill-advised.«¹⁰⁸⁰

1076 Cf. Trappel; Uhrmann: Buch- und Literaturlandschaft der Schweiz, p. 22f.

1077 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 45.

1078 Draesner: Old but not necessarily clever, p. 120.

1079 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Sectoral Report 2*, p. 14.

1080 Appelman; Canoy: *Horses for Courses*, p. 583.

Even if there are countries with similar characteristics – as they have been identified by Appelman and Canoy in their article *Horses for Courses* – a uniform book policy or a uniform approach to book promotion may not be sufficient. Being in the same group of nations with one nation being the outlier can make a difference, as does the confrontation of similar characteristics with different political goals do the same.¹⁰⁸¹ In the end, the consensus of cultural policies concerning the book in Europe is rather vague: it is agreed that there is a double nature of the book which is both cultural asset and product. A second aspect of the consensus is that the book is to be promoted. However, within the context of EU legislation, the states are to develop and implement national cultural policies. International cooperation is encouraged and advised but often difficult.¹⁰⁸²

One of the problems encountered within cross-European projects, once they have been agreed upon and implemented, is the language barrier. Mazenauer admits to the difficulty of promoting literature, and therefore the book, across linguistic barriers. According to Mazenauer, the difficulty lies in the language of literature »which is distinct from other languages in its everyday and artistic usage. The example of multilingual Switzerland provides a look at how these mechanisms play out, but also of how the obstacles can be overcome.«¹⁰⁸³ A second difficulty arises with the financing of projects. For »even when the same categories of activities can be identified across the different national budgets, the amount given by the various sources is often based on different definitions.«¹⁰⁸⁴ Frequently, these same categories do not exist, and budgets are notoriously strained in any case.

If policy makers agree on a common policy or project, the problem of language barriers may be overcome by following good examples, such as Switzerland. The difficulties in funding, by contrast, are more challenging. Even if these obstacles have been overcome, cross-European projects to promote books face differing cultural traditions and book cultures. Over-simplified measures that neglect the individual characteristics of national cultures will fail. The report by the Turku School of Economics draws the conclusion that »forcing any given entity to adopt patterns and framing conditions opposed to its traditions brings a high risk of disrupting entire cultural structures and may threaten both cultural diversity and the economic competitiveness of the cultural industry in a country or a region.«¹⁰⁸⁵ In her essay, Ulrike Draesner goes beyond the assessment of the Turku report and claims that

1081 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 597.

1082 Cf. KEA European Affairs: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 204.

1083 Mazenauer; Biamonte: *Learning from the Swiss*, p. 82.

1084 KEA European Affairs: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 124.

1085 Media Group Turku School of Economics et al.: *Publishing Market Watch. Final Report*, p. 126.

flawed thinking underlies the idea of a cultural Europe so long as this Europe is thought of in terms of the predominantly economic and political organisational unit of the same name. In this sense, ›cultural Europe‹ was only ever meant to exist in order to glamorise this political and economic unit behind a modest veil of culture.¹⁰⁸⁶

Her opinion is certainly discussible and her view on the status of cultural Europe may be described as extreme. However, her argumentation points out one of the major difficulties facing cross-European projects: there is not one cultural Europe but a multitude of cultures, national, regional and other. Enrique Banús agrees with Draesner and with a focus that goes beyond nationalism but also beyond a monolithic Europe he sees in the so-called ›Europe of Regions‹ the future of cultural politics.¹⁰⁸⁷

4.4.3 Problems in Public/Private Sponsorship

Governments and European institutions face the above listed obstacles when forming a coherent book policy for Europe. Budgets as well as political intentions and cultural differences may stand in the way of a consensus. Meanwhile, private sponsorship is encouraged to fill the void, either by completely financing private institutions or by supporting public projects with funds. The best-developed system of public-private partnership in cultural funding can be found in the UK. The Nordic countries also have a strong tradition of fostering the adoption of governmental initiatives by private businesses. The new European Member states, by the way of re-shaping their overall cultural policies after 1989, have aimed at decreasing the state's direct involvement in culture by encouraging private cultural sponsorship through fiscal incentives.

Public/private partnerships have thus been encouraged to develop at a faster rate than in ›Western‹ countries. In the last few years, countries such as Latvia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Romania and Slovenia have adopted regulations on sponsorship as well as tax incentives to promote private support for culture.¹⁰⁸⁸

This way, roughly 4% of the private support is added to the cultural funds. Apart from this yet low percentage, there is a second problem identified in the context of public/private partnerships: private sponsors tend to support large and well-established organizations or projects, and not new talents or ventures.¹⁰⁸⁹ That is

1086 Draesner: *Old but not necessarily clever*, p. 119.

1087 Cf. Banús: *Key Element or Ornament?* pp. 69–70.

1088 KEA European Affairs: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 128.

1089 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

especially true for book promotion which is not very prestigious for private sponsorships itself, except when it is within the context of book fairs, festivals and publications associated with the sponsor. For example, funds that have been generated in the UK mainly go to exhibitions, dance, music, theatre, festivals or heritage projects – book promotion measures do not rank in this list. The United Kingdom is no exception: Even though a lot of states encourage private sponsorship for culture and some even make legal provisions to attract sponsors, there is only one state, which explicitly names the publication of literature among the projects supported by private sponsorship – Bulgaria.¹⁰⁹⁰ Others name the film industry as the profiteer of private sponsorship initiatives.¹⁰⁹¹ And there are some states which generate only little philanthropic support for the arts, even though extensive tax exemptions schemes have been established. Inkei, for example, claims that the bureaucratic regulations attached »render donation complicated both for the donator and receiver.«¹⁰⁹² Bulgaria is among those countries that have attracted private sponsorship to culture most successfully. In a study conducted by the *Soros Arts Center* in 2000, 65% of Bulgarian and foreign companies in Bulgaria have answered they were providing support for culture. According to Tomova and Andreeva, these private funds mainly go to music projects, literary publications and the theatre.¹⁰⁹³ Thirdly, making culture dependent on the whims of companies cannot be the only option without complementing state measures.

Crowdfunding initiatives may set an example for new ways of funding individual publications and/or projects but certainly not large nation-wide or cross-national programs. The Crowdfunding network *startnext.de* lists best cases from the USA as examples of successful Crowdfunding of literary projects. Mathematician Tom Henderson gathered over a thousand supporters for the publication of his book *Punk Mathematics*. Instead of the initial 2,400 US\$ he estimated as his budget, he collected more than 28,000 US\$. The network lists the gimmick of combining punk and mathematics. Yet especially his creative and funny video is the main reason for the success of the project.¹⁰⁹⁴ Other successes included a book on real sex and the production of new episodes for the popular 50s crime

1090 There is a comprehensive overview on legal provisions, government schemes to encourage sponsorship, the main sectors attracting sponsors and the estimated value of private sponsorship provided by the Compendium – Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. The table is available online <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/comparisons-tables.php?aid=41&cid=46&lid=en>, last retrieved June 26th 2012.

1091 Petrová: *Country Profile Czech Republic*, p. 46.

1092 Inkei, Szabó: *Country Profile Hungary*, p. 23f.

1093 Tomova; Andreeva: *Country Profile Bulgaria*, p. 54.

1094 Cf. »Best Cases – Literatur, Hörspiel und Hörbuch.« In: *startnext.de*. Available online <http://crowdfunding.startnext.de/Literatur.html>, last retrieved October 16th 2012.

radio play *Richard Diamond*. A very recent project was initiated by Dirk von Gehlen, who used Crowdfunding to finance his next book *Eine neue Version ist verfügbar*. He was able to collect twice the intended sum for the project.¹⁰⁹⁵

André Schiffrin presents an alternative approach to cross-European or national programs. In his opinion, it is the regional and the local aid that can be most effective »because in these difficult economic times not much can be expected from hard-strapped and often conservative national governments.«¹⁰⁹⁶

Public/private partnerships may be presented as a solution to the dilemma of underfinanced book promotion and, at the same time, be criticized as making promotion dependable on private notions of what is to be supported. There is the additional problem of private sponsors who favor large, visible events and well-known names per way of cultivating the company's image. In consequence, book promotion would become lopsided.

4.4.4 Lopsidedness

There are critics who argue that book promotion is already lopsided. Miha Kovač, for example, declares book promotion to be biased, when one does not promote the unique information architecture of the book but instead the printed platform only; especially when this promotion is justified by defining the book as a cultural asset. Denying a CD-ROM or an e-book with *Anna Karenina* stored on it to possess the asset of a »cultural good« is a dilemma: »as if the platform on which the content is stored and not the content itself decided whether an item should be taxed as a cultural good or not.«¹⁰⁹⁷ This dilemma is one of the major points of the argument of the justification of book promotion, as it touches on the question of what is defined as a book.

There are other aspects of book promotion which are criticized of being biased or lopsided. Often, the motives for promotion are part of these aspects. Authors have criticized that grants and awards ceremonies are more a part of image cultivation than a true promotion for the book and literature. In a similar context, Doris Moser complains that book promotion has, at least in her opinion, taken on a form of indenture. Through grants and stipends, authors are forced to collaborate with the state in its contest of national image cultivation, while at the

1095 In his new book, Gehlen wishes to explore the addition of the production process to the total package of a cultural product like a book. Cf. Reißmann, Ole (2012): »Geldgeschichten. Artikel-Crowdfunding.« In: *Spiegel Online* (19th December 2012). Available online <http://www.spiegel.de/netzwelt/web/crowdfunding-fuer-buecher-und-artikel-geldgeschichten-a-873647.html>, last retrieved December 19th 2012.

1096 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 17f.

1097 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 11.

same time never becoming independent of the subsidies.¹⁰⁹⁸ Moser and other authors, who criticize promotion as being only image cultivation, tend to underestimate the fact that it is exactly this associated image cultivation which makes most of the privately and also publicly sponsored awards or grants possible.

While Moser's criticism of indenture can be dismissed, there are other points of lopsidedness. When looking at the book sector as a whole, in publishing support is administered by publication aids or subsidies for marketing budgets. Authors are subsidized by grants, awards and stipends. Marcel Canoy criticizes that the most vulnerable part of the book market, the retailing sector, is not being supported¹⁰⁹⁹ – at least not in most European countries, even though there are exemptions.¹¹⁰⁰ Canoy neglects to raise the question whether the retailing sector should be supported, especially with regard to the changes taking place in the book market. Customers shift to online retailing, and brick and mortar businesses are endangered by an increase in the e-book business.

Publishing subsidies mostly take the form of publication aids. In Austria, there are also other forms of direct subsidy for publishers. Thereby, not the individual publications but the overall approach of a publishing house is subsidized. Moser, however, is skeptical in her review about this practice as well. She demands a promotion for publishers who accept Austrian literature into their program and not just a promotion for Austrian publishers.¹¹⁰¹ Her opinion reflects the overall difficulty of book promotion: without a balanced and well-selected policy to guide all programs and projects, lopsidedness and even negative effects on other agents of the book market are possible. The measures to be chosen in order to contrive a balanced book promotion program have to be adapted to the individual characteristics of a given book culture.

4.4.5 Inefficiency

Book promotion measures have often been accused of inefficiency. For lack of comprehensive data and studies concerning the effect of book promotion measures, this accusation could not be refuted. Even without reliable studies, there are measures of book promotion which may be described as being inherently ineffective.

Cross-subsidies are supposed to be practiced in countries with a fixed book price agreement. Publishers are to take profits generated by bestsellers to finance

1098 Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 399.

1099 Canoy et al.: *The Business of Books*, p. 17.

1100 As presented in chapter 4.4.4.

1101 Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 386.

quality literature. At the same time, the fixed book price agreement is supposed to protect independent booksellers by thwarting excessive discount practices. Marcel Canoy, however, found that »these potentially welfare-enhancing cross-subsidies can be thwarted by non-branch shops (typically supermarkets) which might use books as a sales product.«¹¹⁰² His analysis is also true for countries without a fixed book price agreement. Not only supermarkets thwart cross-subsidies, but regular booksellers in these countries also tend to sell bestsellers at a cheaper price and to cross-subsidize the loss through higher-priced quality or non-fiction titles. In both scenarios, publishers as well as traditional retailers are put at a disadvantage.

As has been presented in the previous chapters, effective book promotion is faced with a series of problems and severe criticism. The solutions to the presented problems have yet to be found. One of the nations considered to be exemplary in its treatment of different cultures and languages is Switzerland. Solutions to the problems that face cross-European projects may be found there. Mazenauer views Switzerland as a European laboratory, where linguistic boundaries do not prevent a common culture and, therefore, book promotion measures may be tried out. In addition to classic promotion projects such as literature festivals or live performances, he has identified the internet as »the most mobile, efficient and cost-effective method«¹¹⁰³ of promoting literature and the book in Switzerland.

His position is supported by Ulrike Draesner and her view of cultural Europe as a heterogeneous entity: »Cultural Europe« is a kind of large box filled with small items. Occasionally empty or spacious or in transit. The emptiness is the goods, and the lack of a European culture as a single unit is a benefit. It represents mobility.«¹¹⁰⁴ Draesner appreciates this mobility and at first glance, mobility is a positive characteristic. On the other hand, the mobility of European views can take the form of vagueness and being noncommittal. As long as »promoting the book and reading« are the general objectives, it remains open as to which instruments and measures are suited for individual countries or the European Union. On these political decisions, for example not only on education policies but also on copyright legislation or market regulatory measures, may depend the future of the book. Such decisions can be made on a small scale in towns regional councils up to an international scale. For some decisions, such as the action against media conglomerates or internet giants striving to create information monopolies, have to be made by all nations together to be effective.¹¹⁰⁵ For instance, if the European Commission decided that a dense network of quali-

1102 Canoy et al.: *The Business of Books*, p. 11f.

1103 Mazenauer; Biamonte: *Learning from the Swiss*, p. 83.

1104 Draesner: *Old but not necessarily clever*, p. 120.

1105 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 105.

ty book shops is one of the essential aspects of book culture, then a program for subsidizing booksellers would be the right measure. A more direct support approach than the fixed book price agreement would be necessary, as this also allows less dedicated booksellers and large chains to profit. An exemplary solution could be a badge system, as introduced in France that could be combined with an annual purse and publicity.

Other central themes for a successful book promotion are a comprehensive review of the book sector, on a national as well as a European level. In the view of the increasing internationalization of the book market, the national markets cannot be regarded separately even though their characteristics vary. Following such an extensive review, the crucial elements of a given nation's book culture are to be identified, for example the preservation of a quality network of booksellers or the support of a diversified, original and independent creation. On their basis, definite objectives have to be formulated, and balanced instruments have to be chosen. Only book promotion that addresses all aspects of creation, production, distribution and the reception of books can be effective. Chosen instruments and projects have to undergo a content review as well as an assessment of their efficiency before being implemented on a long-term basis to achieve reliability for all participating parties. In addition,

the most important change in the book branch is, however, the adjustment of its actions to the needs and wishes of the people. It is hereby the task of the public publishing policy to avoid the absolution of the commercial considerations and to guarantee the issuing of books without commercial succeed, but vital for normal advancement of the intellectual life and progress of the society.¹¹⁰⁶

Whichever the objectives may be agreed upon by the cultural policy makers, there remains one major obstacle: without comprehensive and reliable data, all reflections on an effective book promotion or thoughts about which measures to choose have feet of clay.¹¹⁰⁷ In the following chapters, an attempt is made to extract the efficiency of current book promotion measures from the existing, albeit incomplete, data.

4.5 On the Efficiency of Book Promotion – A Regression Analysis

The evaluation of promotion measures contains some difficulty. While promotion instruments, such as author grants, can have a direct effect. – such as pro-

1106 Möldre: Publishing and Book Distribution in Estonia, p. 24.

1107 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik, p. 7.

moting a certain author, the results of promoting book culture in general are not quantifiable. To stay with the example, author grants can ensure diversity and quality when allowing a selected number of authors to write. As a matter of fact, individual promotion measures such as author grants have a very limited range of application. In theory, in order to achieve an overall impact on book culture, a catalogue of promotion instruments is needed to address all aspects of book production, distribution and consumption. As a consequence, book promotion should ideally consist of aids for creation, for publication and distribution.

The quality of books, in addition to bibliodiversity (i.e. diversity in the title range) and an independent and self-sufficient book industry have been named among the overall objectives in promoting book culture. Book promotion is called, if not to correct the faults of the market then to initiate the right developments that lead to a correction. An additional aim in promoting book culture is a constant development of book culture itself to allow it to readily adapt to the changes in society. Last, but not least, book promotion must also include the promotion of reading, because readers are the very base of book culture.

In the eyes of the public, effectiveness and transparency are the two main criteria for the allocation of funds and for the legitimization of promotion measures. Tax payers resent what they perceive as the blowing out tax money. If it can be proven that specific book promotion instruments are effective, legitimization and funding can be facilitated. In view of a generally effective book promotion, additional instruments could be realized.

The objective of the following statistical experiment, therefore, was to establish whether any measures of book promotion can be supported by statistical effects on the number of readers and other selected aspects of book culture. The number of readers was chosen as a variable, since reading has been identified as the key activity of book culture. The questionnaire which was used to collect the number of readers was the same for all EU countries. Book culture is kept alive and developed by readers; they are the key to its preservation and innovation. The focus on the reception of books is emphasized by choosing the second variable to represent the number of people who consider literature to be a part of culture. By focusing on the reception, book culture is put into perspective: while almost all book promotion measures are aimed at influencing aspects of the production side of book culture, ultimately, they have to impact the reception of books. If instruments affect the habit of reading, and maybe even gain additional readers in combination with their direct objective of supporting authors, translators, publishers, or booksellers, a potential consumer base for the books generated by book promotion measures is created and maintained. A more detailed explanation of the selected variables for the regression analysis will follow when the conduction and the data base of the analysis are presented. Before, however, a brief introduction and definition of this statistical method will be presented.

A regression analysis is a statistical method which focuses on the relationship between a dependent variable and a varying number of independent variables. It is used to understand how the value of the dependent variable changes when one or more of the independent variables are changed thereby providing »a conceptually simple method for investigating functional relationships among variables.«¹¹⁰⁸ The result of a linear regression analysis is a function of the independent variables. It explores the relationship between dependent and independent variables; but it does not infer causal relationships. The function gleaned from the regression analysis represents a straight line with the least possible distance from the points representing the relationship of dependent and independent variables within a coordinate system.

Graphical methods are employed for exploring residuals and »can suggest model deficiencies or point to troublesome observations.«¹¹⁰⁹ One of these methods is the so-called White-Test which is employed in this study to test for heteroscedasticity, which leads to a deficit in efficiency and a loss of validity for the model.¹¹¹⁰

The regression analysis is one of the most widely used statistical tools and has a broad field of possible applications in areas such as history, geography, social sciences and economy. In this case, the software used to conduct the regression analysis was a version of the open source statistical package *gretl* which is used mainly for econometrics.¹¹¹¹

4.5.1 Selected Variables and Implementation

In theory, book culture, and the factors used to describe and define it for the sake of the statistical analysis, should show a correlation with the factors that represent book promotion measures. To avoid limiting the analysis to these factors and thereby missing additional significant correlations, other characteristics have been included in the analysis as well. Publishing aids, bookseller subsidies, author grants and literary awards as well as fixed book price and reduced VAT

1108 Chatterjee, Samprit; Hadi, Ali S. (2006): *Regression Analysis by Example*. 4th edition. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, p. xiii. The authors describe the basic model of a regression analysis as well as alternatives and applications. The steps taken in conducting regression analysis are listed on page 7.

1109 Chatterjee, Hadi: *Regression Analysis by Example*, p. xiii.

1110 Gabler Verlag (Ed.), *Gabler Wirtschaftslexikon*, Stichwort: Heteroskedastizität. Available online: <http://wirtschaftslexikon.gabler.de/Archiv/89400/heteroskedastizitaet-v5.html>, last retrieved November 22nd 2011.

1111 The software and more information on its features, packages as well as numerical accuracy are available online <http://gretl.sourceforge.net/>

were selected as markers for book promotion. The annual government budget for book promotion had been included in the first analysis but then excluded from all further analysis, not only because it did not show any correlation in the general correlation table but also because the data gathered was incomplete and unreliable, due to the differences in the definition on what encompasses a book promotion in the various countries.

The working hypothesis of this study was that certain factors of book promotion – to be efficient on a broader level than just an individual promotion for individual titles or authors – must show an impact on three selected factors of book culture. To explain these chosen dependent variables that were defined as constituting a model of book culture, a regression analysis was conducted. The data chosen for inclusion in the regression analysis was transformed to have a value between 0 and 1 to allow a better comparability. The analysis is based on three markers, which have defined book culture for this study. The concept of book culture cannot assuredly be explained by three characteristics. Especially since the initial cluster analysis has shown that European book cultures possess a heterogeneity that does not allow for a definite clustering. However, to effectively compare the influence of certain aspects of book culture, a simplification and reduction to these three factors was needed, even though it limits the explanatory power of the analysis. That however is a characteristic of modeling which is prevalent in all analyses. The selection as well as the reasons for each marker will be explained in the following paragraphs.

The first characteristic of book culture to be examined for correlation with book promotion measures and other environmental characteristics was the number of readers per thousand inhabitants. Readers are the very basis of book culture and reading was identified as the key action representing book culture.¹¹¹² They are not necessarily book buyers, but the more readers in a given country, the bigger the potential book market.¹¹¹³ Similarly, the more the people have an interest in books, are book buyers and in the end book readers, the stronger a country's book culture will be. This effect is expected, since each individual person experiences and lives book culture differently, demands and buys a variety of books to his/her individual taste and, therefore, influences the book production. In addition, the number of readers is a quantifiable and a rather reliable data basis.

Reading is important, not only in the context of the current book culture but also in view of a potential future book culture that exists parallel to or has embraced an internet culture. Reading is regarded as a cultural technique that will increase its importance in the new media culture – therefore, if book promotion measures support reading (even under secondary considerations) then these

1112 See chapter 2.2.3.5

1113 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 81.

measures may be justifiable, not only based on their effect on book culture but also due to their effect on culture and media competence in general. Lastly, the promotion of books and reading is within the cultural objective consensus and was formed within the EU and all its nation states. If book promotion measures do not have an effect on reading, they have been misconstrued.

The second selected marker is the number of persons per thousand inhabitants, who consider literature a part of culture. As is elaborated in the results, this number is surprisingly low in some countries, even though the number of readers is well above average.¹¹¹⁴ Some people may not consider the books they read to be culture. This makes the value of the data somewhat difficult to discern since much depends on individual interpretation and definition of culture.

It would have been preferable to include the number of persons who consider literature and the book to be a vital part of their national identity, and to see which status the book therefore enjoys. Since there are no surveys – at least not on a European level – that address the concept of national identity, culture is assumed to be an integral aspect of identity. The results of the *Cultural Values* survey serve as a substitute.¹¹¹⁵ For the course of this study, the following assumption is made: the more people consider literature to be part of culture, the higher the status of the book and the more pronounced its part in creating and maintaining national identity will be.¹¹¹⁶

The third marker identified as being part of book culture is the number of titles produced per thousand inhabitants. The number of titles in itself does not allow any assumptions on the diversity and quality of the books published. But as a large quantity of books rival for the attention of buyers, at least a certain degree of diversity may be expected. Although the number of books published was discredited as a single marker of a diverse book culture by Benhamou, by Schiffrin and by Umberto Eco¹¹¹⁷, still a significant analysis can be afforded when researching which measures allow more publication. With a view to the introduction of a quantifiable approach to the concept of bibliodiversity, as established by Benhamou and Peltier, the impact of promotion measures on diversity could be analyzed. All these are steps on the way to a more effective and transparent book promotion – which may even be managed with fewer funds, since the allocated funds can then be spent wherever they have the most impact.

1114 See chapter 3.3.4.

1115 Cf. European Commission: *European Cultural Values*.

1116 The contribution of the book to the creation of national and local identities is recognized by the European Union and all governments of European States and is a major argument in the call for government intervention in the book market. More information on how the book has influenced the creation of national identities may be found in the chapter on the values attributed to the book.

1117 Cf. Eco: *Afterword*, p. 301; Schiffrin: *The Business of Books*, p. 7; and Benhamou; Peltier: *How should cultural diversity be measured?* p. 15.

4.5.1.1 Regression Analysis for the Number of Readers

Having established the factors that are to define book culture for the sake of this analysis, the factors that represent measures that are thought to reinforce, support and promote book culture are tested in a regression analysis against those initial three factors. The findings of the regression analysis, the ensuing tests that ensured no statistical interference and their results will be presented in the following.¹¹¹⁸

Table 9: Model 1 – Regression Analysis for the Dependent Variable Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants

	<i>coefficient</i>	<i>Std. fault</i>	<i>t-quotient</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	-478,36	341,363	-1,4013	0,19138	
GDP per capita	1,8342	1,14342	1,6041	0,13977	
Internet users	0,24291	0,183702	1,3223	0,21551	
Number of loans from public libraries	0,00241871	0,00677808	0,3568	0,72862	
Expenditure on book promotion	-6,31009	259,96	-0,0243	0,98111	
ISCED Level 3 education	0,859798	0,265416	3,2394	0,00888	***
TV consumption in hours per month	0,959016	0,876217	1,0945	0,29940	
Fixed book price agreement	49,5081	50,955	0,9716	0,35416	
Book policy	36,2212	34,3653	1,0540	0,31668	
Value Added Tax	0,250829	1,01915	0,2461	0,81057	

average of dependent variable	742,0000		standard deviation of dependent variable	92,31525
residual sum of squares	25695,69		standard fault of regression	50,69092
R ²	0,841306		Corrected R ²	0,698482
F(9, 10)	5,890494		p-value(F)	0,005251

The first variable to be tested for correlations and influences was the number of readers per thousand inhabitants.¹¹¹⁹ The variable was to be explained by the factors that were supposed to influence the number of readers, according to the initial working hypothesis. For a first test run, the following were chosen: Gross

1118 For a more complete review of the individual steps taken in conducting a regression analysis as well as the procedure of a White-Test, see *Basic Econometrics* by Damodar N. Gujarati; Dawn C. Porter (2009). McGraw-Hill Higher Education; 5th edition.

1119 The other correlations, which occurred for the number of readers and are not part of the regression analysis, were presented in chapter 3.3.3.

domestic product per capita, number of internet users per thousand inhabitants, number of loans from public libraries per thousand inhabitants, book promotion budget, level of education, average TV consumption in hours, existence of an official (that is installed and implemented by a governmental institution) book policy, fixed book price agreement and reduced value added tax on books. Other book promotion measures such as an author grant system, publication aids etc. were – contrary to the original intention – not included in the analysis since the differences between countries do not vary much except in detail.¹¹²⁰

The three asterisks mark the variable which shows a high correlation to the number of readers per thousand inhabitants. The smaller the p-value is, the higher the probability of a correlation. For example, the likelihood of the result for the reduced value added tax being a coincidence is at 0.810, thus meaning it is an 81 per cent chance that there is no correlation between the number of readers and reduced VAT on books. However, the likelihood of a coincidental result for the number of readers and the level of education is 0.0088; that is a zero per cent chance of no correlation. The analysis therefore suggests a strong relationship between those two factors. The corrected value of R^2 defines the likelihood of this estimation: there is a probability of 69.8 per cent of recreating the statistic results. The original R^2 is much higher, but the corrected version is adjusted to accommodate possible calculation errors. Factors which have shown a high p-value were first eliminated from the analysis: number of loans from public libraries and reduced value added tax on books. Eliminating the factors has resulted in model 2.

Whereas the education level remains highly correlated to the number of readers, two more variables show themselves to be correlated within this model. This estimation suggests that the GDP of a nation as well as the number of internet users are related to the number of readers. Furthermore, there is still no evidence that any form of book promotion has an effect on the number of readers. However, a closer look reveals that in combination a fixed book price, the reduction of VAT on books and the implementation of a book policy indeed correlate with the number of readers, for the individual factors there is no significance. This proves how important a coordinated and balanced approach is for effective book promotion.

1120 It was not possible to include more detailed information on book promotion measures such as the extent of scholarship systems for authors for all countries. Since the measures could not be compared but were simply judged on whether a system existed or not, the use in the analysis was limited.

Table 10: Model 2 – Alternative Regression Analysis for the Dependent Variable Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants

	<i>coefficient</i>	<i>std. fault</i>	<i>t-quotient</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	-380,275	276,091	-1,3774	0,19166	
GDP per capita	1,60695	0,707927	2,2699	0,04087	**
Internet users	0,330524	0,142578	2,3182	0,03737	**
Expenditure on book promotion	54,6101	156,421	0,3491	0,73259	
ISCED Level 3 education	0,765945	0,223131	3,4327	0,00445	***
TV consumption in hours per week	0,762713	0,565436	1,3489	0,20040	
Fixed book price agreement	32,0847	26,1494	1,2270	0,24159	
Book policy	29,529	24,4328	1,2086	0,24835	

average of dependent variable	734,7619		standard deviation of dependent variable	95,89677
residual sum of squares	27953,61		standard fault of regression	46,37108
R ²	0,848015		corrected R ²	0,766177
F(7, 13)	10,36213		p-value(F)	0,000197

To ensure that the effects are not accidental, a third and fourth regression analysis were conducted, this time including only the factors that have shown to be significant. The first one tried to explain the variable number of readers per thousand inhabitants with level of education and the number of internet users.

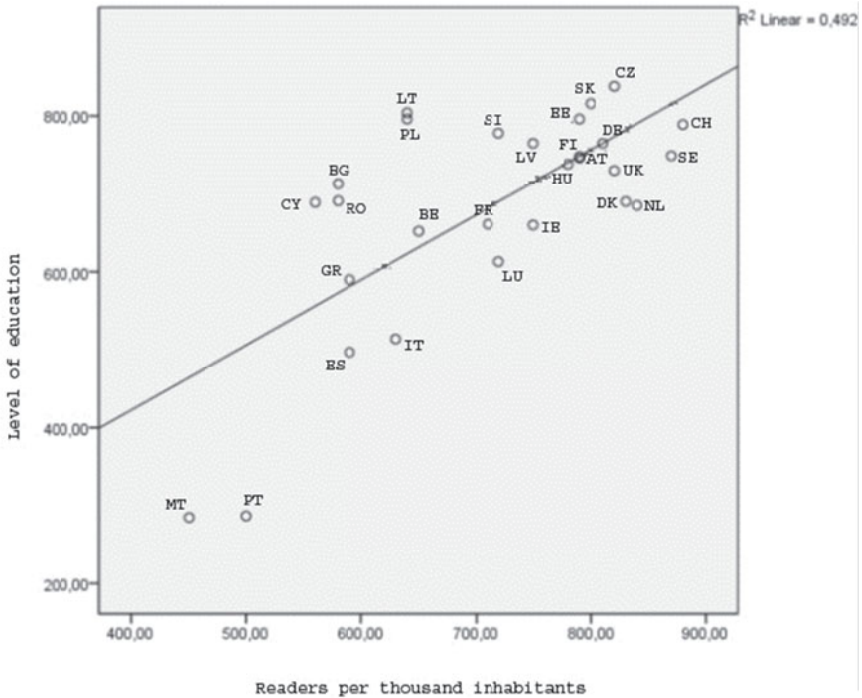
Table 11: Model 3 – 2nd Alternative Regression Analysis for the Dependent Variable Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants

	<i>coefficient</i>	<i>std. fault</i>	<i>t-quotient</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	101,1	57,8442	1,7478	0,09277	*
Internet users	0,485808	0,0712514	6,8182	<0,00001	***
ISCED Level 3 education	0,415923	0,075154	5,5343	<0,00001	***

average of dependent variable	710,0000		standard deviation of dependent variable	117,4103
residual sum of squares	66098,07		standard fault of regression	51,41909
R ²	0,822413		corrected R ²	0,808206
F(2, 25)	57,88784		p-value(F)	4,15e-10

Both variables turned out to correlate highly with the number of readers. However, while the correlation between the level of education and reading was to be expected and will be explained in detail in the conclusion, the correlation between the number of readers and number of internet users is more indirect. As one may observe, the value of the corrected R^2 has increased with each estimate, pointing to the fact that the probability of a connection between the two variables has become more likely. The following scatter dot analysis helps to visualize the relation between the number of readers and level of education:

Figure 4: Scatter Dot Analysis for the Variables Level of Education and Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants



The dots on the coordinate system have the smallest possible distance to the linear graph. As one may see, the only exception seems to be Malta and Portugal. All other countries are very close or even on the graph itself, emphasizing the high correlation between both variables. As expected, the Southern European

states and some of the Eastern states such as Romania and Bulgaria are on the lower end of the graph, meaning they have a lower number of readers but not necessarily a lower education level. In these countries, the education level does not seem to influence the readership as dramatically. Other factors may be responsible for such a result. One aspect could be the strength of the established book culture: As Giesecke emphasizes, there are countries which are not as attached to the medium of the book as the Western European countries¹¹²¹ and, therefore, the desire to read for entertainment cannot compete with the other leisure options such as TV. When looking at the collected data, this fact is confirmed by the number of hours in average people spend to watch TV as compared to other countries. For example, the time spent on TV consumption in Bulgaria is at a high 210 hours per month, whereas the average for Austria is 148 hours and remains below that figure for a number of other countries that are generally perceived as having an established book culture.¹¹²² However, for the existence of a well-developed book culture, the below average TV consumption cannot be taken as single indicator. On the contrary, countries such as France and Germany, which are often considered as book-affine countries, are by no means among the group of less than average TV consumers.

To ensure that the regression analysis is correct, it was examined for heteroscedasticity by applying the White-Test. The dispersion of residues shows an arbitrary pattern which suggests that there is no heteroscedasticity present and therefore the data must be unbiased. The residue pattern is illustrated in the graph below.

Education leads to reading, as people with a higher education level tend to be used to reading in order to gather the required information they need for learning. They are accustomed to read for professional reasons and extend this practice into their leisure time for information and entertainment purposes. Miha Kovač regards education as one of the important social factors that determine book culture: »different social factors – such as the level of education of a population and the effectiveness of educational systems, competitiveness and the role of other media – determine the role of a book in a given society.«¹¹²³ In his study of the European book markets, Kovač draws the conclusion that countries with the highest number of people with a secondary education are the ones with the »average lowest percentage of non-readers as well as the highest percentage of heavy readers and the best PISA mathematics and reading literacy ranking.«¹¹²⁴ The conducted analysis supports his theory.

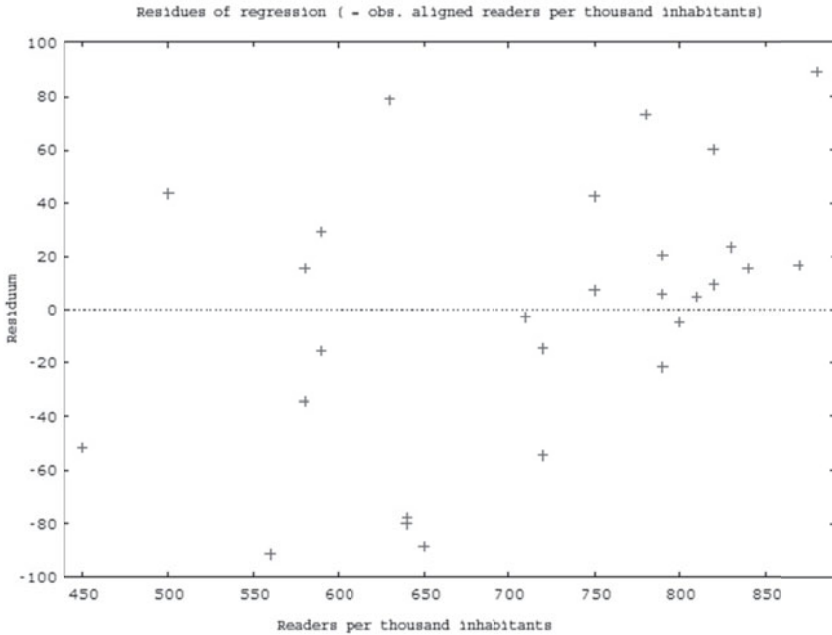
1121 Cf. Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 217.

1122 Cf. the Overview Tables in the annex, p. A-3f.

1123 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 6.

1124 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 102.

Figure 5: Dispersion of Residues According to the White-Test for Model 3



The number of internet users is not connected to the number of readers as directly as the analysis suggests; even though it is obvious that both variables correlate highly. Miha Kovač concludes a direct relation in his own study, which had to the same result as the present regression analysis. His results »support the widespread belief that [...] heavy internet users are also book readers.«¹¹²⁵ In his opinion, this is demonstrated by the fact that the countries with the highest percentage of non-internet users also have the highest percentage of non-book readers.¹¹²⁶ Kovač arrived at these conclusions by a simple comparison of tables. Starting from his results, more factors were included within this study. His interpretation has to be amended by the findings of the regression analysis at hand, especially with regard to the correlation between the turnover of publishing houses and the number of internet users. One could interpret the identified correlation as an indirect result of the level of education, or as the representation of the positive effect of the availability of books on the internet on the turnover of publishers. Kovač's thesis that

1125 Ibid, p. 111f.

1126 Ibid, p. 111.

book reading may lead to smoother and readier adoption of new technologies could be supported by individual cases, for example by accomplished information societies such as Finland. There, high readership and an evident affinity to new technologies correlate.¹¹²⁷ Readers may be internet users, but that is not necessarily so. And the internet in all probability does not exactly lead to the event of reading more books. Yet both are a form of consumption of media and, therefore, connected to the level of education. It stands to reason that the higher the level of education in a country, the more people will use the internet, not only to collect information but also for entertainment.

The fourth regression analysis takes a closer look at the connection between the number of readers per thousand inhabitants as well as the level of education and wealth, as represented by the gross domestic product per capita. Model 4 presents the results:

Table 12: Model 4 – 3rd Alternative Regression Analysis for the Dependent Variable Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants

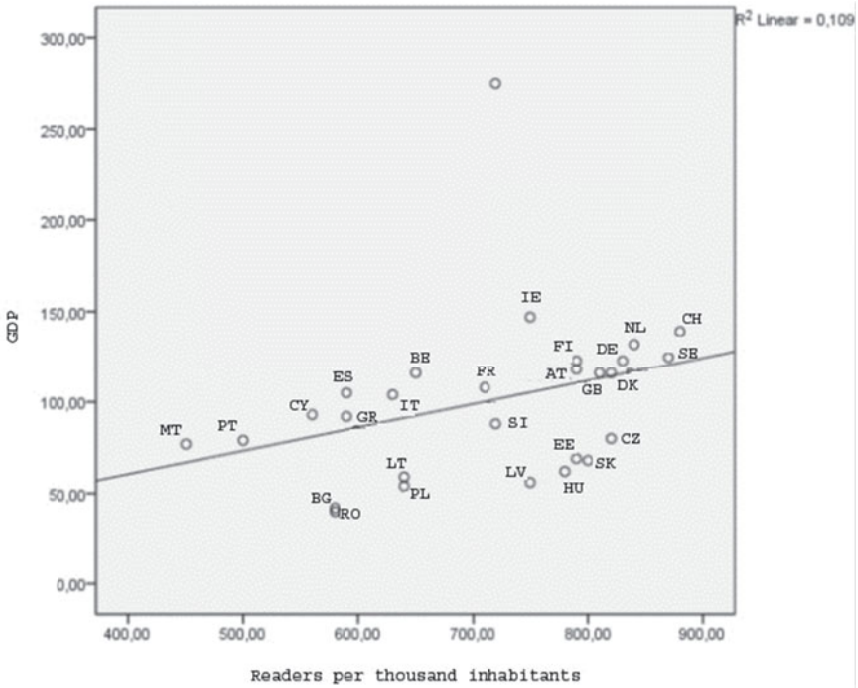
	<i>coefficient</i>	<i>std. fault</i>	<i>t-quotient</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	182,019	78,2044	2,3275	0,02833	**
ISCED Level 3 education	0,621974	0,0993928	6,2577	<0,00001	***
GDP per capita	1,03816	0,305248	3,4010	0,00226	***

average of dependent variable	710,0000		standard deviation of dependent variable	117,4103
residual sum of squares	129220,8		standard fault of regression	71,89459
R ²	0,652819		corrected R ²	0,625044
F(2, 25)	23,50426		p-value(F)	1,81e-06

Both tested variables show a high correlation to the number of readers per thousand inhabitants. The p-value for the level of education remains as low as in model 4, demonstrating that there is no change in the correlation and establishing how strong the relation between the level of education and the reading habit really is. The p-value for the GDP per capita is not as low as it is supposed to be in order to suggest strong correlation. Therefore, the connection between this factor and the number of readers seems to be weaker. The following scatter dot analysis visualizes the relationship of GDP and readers:

1127 Kurschus, Stephanie (2008): The Book in Finland. A Market in Transition. And Kovač: Never Mind the Web, p. 111f.

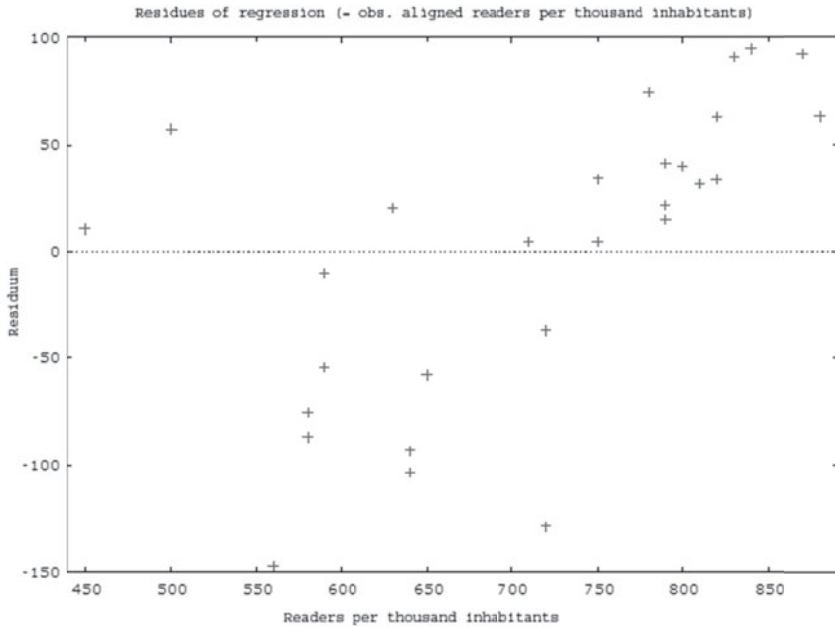
Figure 6: Scatter Dot Analysis of the Variables GDP and Number of Readers per Thousand Inhabitants



The countries are distributed quite evenly on the graph. As expected, the Southern and Eastern European countries make up the lower end. Luxembourg proves to be the exception since its GDP is so much higher than that of the other countries, whereas the reader numbers are just above the middle. This is due to the very high proportion of GDP that is generated by the international banking sector of Luxembourg. Persons employed in this sector are not necessarily nationals of Luxembourg or are people who spend their leisure time there. These individuals may not participate in a national survey on reading habits and thereby distort the result of the relationship between the tested variables in some way.

As has been done with model 4, this regression analysis has been tested for heteroscedasticity by the White-Test. The distribution of residues, however, is not arbitrary as is the case in the first analysis. Still, the dispersal does not suggest the presence of a heteroscedasticity.

Figure 7: Dispersion of Residues According to the White-Test for Model 4



To see wealth as a factor influencing the number of readers seems to be logical, even though the correlation may not be as direct as is the case of readers with education. Wealth influences readership directly, since more people are able to buy books. However, the number of book readers does not equate the amount of buyers – and a well-developed public library network may absorb the effects of a weak economy and a small gross domestic product. On the other hand, wealth influences the readership indirectly by allowing for a greater budget for education (in an ideal environment; in reality, some of the wealthiest countries spend less on education than the comparatively poor countries¹¹²⁸). It also influences the readership by a greater distribution network and more money for libraries. However, this thesis takes the fact for granted that more wealth equates both more spending and a higher budget for cultural activities.

1128 Statistics on the level of state expenditure on education are available online: »Statistiken zu den Bildungsausgaben.« In: *eurostat*. Available online http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Educational_expenditure_statistics/de, last retrieved October 17th 2012.

As has been shown by the conducted regression analysis above, the only variable that is strongly and reliably correlated with the number of readers per thousand inhabitants is the level of education. Even though the correlations are not necessarily causal but mutual, this suggests that if a nation, government or any other institution wishes to positively influence the number of readers in their country and to establish long lasting reading habits, they have to invest in one thing, first and foremost: education.

4.5.1.2 Regression Analysis for Persons Considering Literature to be Part of Culture

As has been established before, reading habits, and therefore the number of readers, are not the only marker of book culture that is examined in this study. The second marker will be tried against the measures of book promotion. Another factor is the number of persons who consider literature to be a part of culture.

Table 13: Model 6 – Regression Analysis for the Dependent Variable Number of Persons per Thousand Inhabitants Who Consider Literature to be a Part of Culture

	<i>coefficient</i>	<i>std. fault</i>	<i>t-quotient</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	-353,517	359,824	-0,9825	0,34254	
ISCED Level 3 education	0,499433	0,194386	2,5693	0,02227	**
TV consumption in hours per month	1,27542	0,886401	1,4389	0,17217	
Internet users	-0,396375	0,289553	-1,3689	0,19259	
GDP per capita	0,654279	0,729619	0,8967	0,38502	
number of loans from public libraries	0,00132872	0,00535909	0,2479	0,80778	
number of literary awards	7289,84	3877,43	1,8801	0,08107	*
publication aids	118,147	98,6663	1,1974	0,25102	
author grant system	10,4277	179,115	0,0582	0,95440	
other publishing aids	98,6496	49,693	1,9852	0,06707	*

average of dependent variable	254,5833		standard deviation of dependent variable.	90,21613
residual sum of squares	85178,53		standard fault of regression	78,00116
R ²	0,544976		corrected R ²	0,252461
F(9, 14)	1,863070		p-value(F)	0,143108

As established by the initial analysis, the corrected R^2 value of 25% and the p-values suggest that the correlations marked by the asterisk are not as strong as those in the first set of the analysis. A weak correlation is suggested to be between the number of persons, who consider literature to be a part of culture, and the number of literary awards as well as other publishing aids existent.¹¹²⁹ A stronger correlation is suggested between the number of persons, who consider literature to be a part of culture and the level of education.

In part, the correlation between the dependent variable and the number of literary awards may be explained by the high visibility in terms of the media coverage of a renowned literary award. It is a simple equation: the more prizes given to authors or books, the more the media coverage. And not just on a national level, as can be seen during the big literary awards such as the Prix Goncourt in France or the Finlandia Award in Finland. Furthermore, if small towns or smaller institutions give out their own prizes and awards, then the visibility will be even higher, since people tend to pay more attention to what happens on a regional level. A working group of the Swiss parliament, whose subject is the selective book promotion, came to a similar conclusion: they claim that due to prizes and awards »kann die nationale und internationale Öffentlichkeit für das Buch, die Literatur und das Lesen sensibilisiert [werden].«¹¹³⁰ One must conclude that the – already revoked – decision of the German Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder to expand the number and variety of literary awards would have succeeded in promoting book culture.

In addition, big events, like the award of a renowned literature prize, tend to get more media coverage than in local newspapers and, thereby, reach new audiences. For example, the analysis of TV broadcasts for a study by the *Stiftung Lesen* found that 33 per cent of the German population gets information on books from the TV (more than from magazines, 25 per cent, and newspapers, 24 per cent. Unfortunately, the Internet was not taken into account in this study from 2001).¹¹³¹ The *Media Group* emphasizes the positive effect of getting public attention – be it from award ceremonies or literature festivals in general: These events reinforce the local or national community identity and, thereby, offer the opportunity for promoting literature and culture.¹¹³² At the same time, Doris Moser emphasizes and criticizes the effect of literary awards and award-winning authors on a nation's identity: she describes national literary awards as a

1129 For a definition of other publishing aids, see chapter 4.4.4.

1130 Arbeitsgruppe Selektive Förderung: Buch- und Literaturpolitik.

1131 Lengsfeld: Das Fernsehen als Medium der Verlagswerbung, p. 137. The author quotes the results from the 2001 study *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend*.

1132 KEA European Affairs et al.: *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, p. 158.

form of governmental cultivation of the nation's prestige.¹¹³³ Another aspect of the effectiveness of literary awards as a book promotion measure is presented by Canoy with the argument that awards »encourage a better quality of supply of books.«¹¹³⁴

The correlation between other publishing aids and the number of people who consider literature to be a part of culture is slightly stronger than the one described for literary awards. A possible explanation could be that societies with a higher awareness of the importance and significance of literature establish the greatest possible variety of aids to preserve the cultural goals of diversity and quality of literature. This would involve the grant schemes and publication aids employed by almost all countries studied in this analysis. Additionally, the employment of other schemes, like bookseller subsidies, and publication aids, such as loans for publishing houses at better conditions, would be necessary in order to support the distribution system and ensure a high quality in the title production.

However, both the correlation of these two factors and the dependable variable are rather weak and could not be strengthened more in the subsequent analysis that eliminated other non-significant factors. The correlation between the level of education and the dependent variable is stronger and has remained so in subsequent analyses.

As in the first analysis, the level of education is the strongest factor correlating with the markers of book culture. This can be explained partially, because people with a higher level of education tend to read more and they especially tend to consider carefully what constitutes culture; or they have an individual definition of it. This could support the notion of book culture being an elite culture. However, the number of readers is larger than the number of people who consider literature to be a part of culture. For example, in the Netherlands there are 840 readers per thousand inhabitants, but only 130 consider literature to be a part of culture. Whereas in Slovenia, there are 720 readers per thousand inhabitants and 380 consider literature to be a part of culture – this raises the question whether the Slovenian book culture is less elite or whether their communication is simply better. The most drastic difference may be observed in the United Kingdom. Here, 820 persons of one thousand are readers, but only 90 consider literature to be a part of culture.¹¹³⁵

One may therefore assume that there are readers who do not consider what they read to be a part of a ›culture‹, maybe because they primarily read for entertainment. The definition of book culture as established in this study encompasses

1133 Moser: *Erbarmungswürdig hervorragend*, p. 399.

1134 Canoy et al.: *The Economics of Books*, p. 28.

1135 All data may be found in the Annex. Both aspects were part of the *European Cultural Values*, Special Eurobarometer 287 survey.

high quality literature as well as literature read for entertainment or for educational purposes. To establish more reliable data on the status of the book and literature in Europe, new questionnaires have to be developed that include more aspects of book culture – for example which values are attributed to the book in a given country.

4.5.1.3 Regression Analysis for Title Production

The third factor identified as a marker for book culture was the number of titles issued in a given country per thousand inhabitants. There will be no tables and graphs presented of this analysis in the chapter since there was only one correlation identified. It is sufficiently represented in the general correlation table to be found in the annex on page A-11. With the results of the first two regression analyses in mind, the result of this was unexpected. Education does not seem to influence the number of published titles. This can be explained by the fact that the number of publications is based on a purely economic decision of publishing houses and their expectations of what might sell. It is also the reflection of international trends in a market.

The only factor found to be correlated with the titles per thousand inhabitants is the number of literary prizes awarded per thousand inhabitants. Seemingly, from all the measures of book promotion that were studied in the course of this analysis, this is the only one that is mutually effective on overall book culture by allowing for enough awareness from the readers and industry alike.

4.5.2 *Requirements for Effective Book Promotion*

Contrary to expectations, the regression analysis could not identify one individual book promotion measure that has a significant statistical correlation with the three markers chosen to represent the most important aspects of book culture: the readers, those people who identify culture with the book and the production of titles, which is an essential criterion for bibliodiversity. The relevant significant correlation was identified in the relationship between the number of readers and the level of education in a given country. While no causal relationship can be deduced, a mutual impact on the developments is probable. A good education system leads to the appreciation and to a familiarization with books. Equally, an early familiarization with books through reading role models in the family for example, leads to a higher affinity to knowledge and a better start in school education. This positive reciprocal relationship shapes the foundation of book culture. In consequence, the statistical correlation suggests a focus on the education

system in a given country, if book culture is to be examined. Here, improvements and intelligently allocated funding can have a great impact. The same is true for early reading promotion projects since people have to be taught to comprehend and love books, as Walter Grond states:

Damit sich Menschen für Bücher erwärmen, müssten zwei Bedingungen gegeben sein: Die Gewohnheit, anspruchsvolle Bücher zu lesen, müsste schon in der Kindheit stark vorgeprägt sein (ein oder beide Elternteile Leser sein), und junge Leser bräuchten Freunde, die ihr Interesse teilen.¹¹³⁶

The *Institut für Kinder- und Jugendmedien* in Switzerland shares this opinion and emphatically applies a number of very successful reading promotion projects; reading aloud to children is deemed an effective measure of reading promotion »dessen Effektivität vielfach nachgewiesen ist«¹¹³⁷; recently introduced in Maryanne Wolf's book *Proust and the Squid – The Story and Science of the Reading Brain* as an example.¹¹³⁸ In consequence, instead of promoting book culture in general, individual aspects of book culture may be supported by singular book promotion projects.

One of the problems of book promotion schemes is a lack of clearly formulated objectives. Most countries list the promotion of reading and books in their cultural policy objectives. Some also list cultural diversity as one of these. Yet existent book promotion measures have failed in promoting reading, as the experimental statistical analysis has shown. On the other hand, the same book promotion instruments have a direct effect when examined: Regulatory measures such as a reduced VAT on books or a fixed book price will have a beneficiary effect on the industry and the book market in general.

Author grants or public lending compensation will benefit individual authors or a group of professional authors, but the regression and other statistical analyses have shown no other beneficiaries of these instruments. Grants serve authors to deliver a literary production without having their mind so much on profit but more on quality. But they do not benefit book culture in general. Literary awards seem to boost the awareness of literature as a part of culture and encourage publishers to issue more titles. The effect for overall book culture may not be as positive, nor does the application of these measures result in achieving the cultural goals pursued by governments – the preservation of diversity and plurality as well as the participation of the populace in cultural activities. In addition, without a clearly

1136 Grond: Kein Denkverbot, kein Spielverbot, p. 103.

1137 Schweizer Institut für Kinder- und Jugendmedien (Ed.) (2010): *Schweizer Erzählnacht. Hintergrundinformationen*. Available online <http://www.sikjm.ch/d/?/d/lesefoerderung/projekte/lesebazillus.html>, last retrieved January 20th 2011.

1138 Maryanne Wolf describes the effect: Wolf: *Proust and the Squid*, p. 20.

formulated objective, such as increasing the number of publications, maintaining a diversified and independent production sector and encouraging the consumption of a diverse range of quality books, book promotion instruments maintain an indiscriminate distribution principle and continue to be lopsided, ineffective and opaque. In times of economic crises and of an increasing tendency to depend on private sponsorship of culture and the arts, the lack of definite objectives may open the doors to influencing culture detrimentally.

On the other hand, some book promotion measures may have an additional indirect effect on certain aspects of book culture. A distinct example is the system of the author grants. These are intended to promote quality literary creation and give authors the opportunity to create without enduring the restrictions of market demands. At the same time, a well-developed system of author grants can also foster bibliodiversity. Literature that may not have initially been taken on by major publishers out of an economic concern can be published in minor houses, where the monetary conditions may not allow a payment sufficient for the survival of the author. Since the grant takes care of the everyday expenses, authors can afford to publish in these houses, thereby fostering diversity and quality, not only in the title production but also with a regard to a diversified and pluralistic publishing sector.

The three variables selected as markers of book culture focused on the reception and perception of books. The variables of book promotion included in the analysis did not have a statistically significant impact on these. It has already been established that a direct effect can be achieved by book promotion instruments. Therefore, the cultural objectives regarding the book have to be adapted. Cultural policy, ideally a book policy, is to state which objectives – such as fostering bibliodiversity or establishing a self-sufficient, pluralistic distribution and production sector – are to be achieved by a book promotion. Then the instruments, which have a direct effect on the chosen aspects of book culture, can be selected and applied.

Taking this one step further, a second conclusion can be drawn from the results. Book promotion has been criticized as ineffective, although it is costly at the same time. To alleviate the necessity for legitimizing funds for book promotion, instruments need to be examined and evaluated as effective. To achieve this goal, three basic requirements have to be fulfilled: first, the characteristics and the context of a given nation's book culture have to be identified. Since the cluster analysis could not model a typology, nations have to be judged individually. In addition, the basic data of the given book culture has to be assessed. Within the context of the work at hand, the basic characteristics of book culture were the number of readers, which represented the potential demand and reception, and the title production, which represented the supply of books. An additional factor that assessed the appreciation of the role of the book in a given book culture was

also included. Depending on the preferences and the available data, any number of additional indicators may be included in a future analysis. Based on the characteristics and the state of the book culture as well as the efficiency of the book industry, a book policy has to be outlined. In the third and last step, the objectives and the instruments appropriate to environment and objectives need to be chosen and implemented correctly. A first step in this direction was taken by the participants of the World Book Summit of 2011. In the *Ljubljana Resolution on Books*, the participants stated nine recommendations for a long-term and sustainable development of book culture, such as the importance of the infrastructural basis, the development of the public library network and the necessity to consider all links of the book chain for successful promotion.¹¹³⁹

1139 Cf. UNESCO: *The Ljubljana Resolution on Books*.

5 A New Book Culture in the Digital Age?

Cultures are complex, versatile concepts. A concept of book culture, as it has been presented within the context of this work, can only describe some but not all aspects and offer a starting point for future discussion. Book culture is a construct of – justly and unjustly attributed – values, which are based on traditions rooted in the millennia of human cultural development, and of institutions upholding these traditions. Furthermore, there is a set of more current values such as free access to information, education and knowledge for everyone. The changes which book culture is currently undergoing are influenced by this set of values. On the one hand, these changes have initiated a loss of functions of the book. On the other hand, some functions have been emphasized and have gained importance, such as the role of the book in constructing national identity.

To comprehend the status of the book and book culture in today's societies, the history of the book as a companion to the development of human civilization, of moral values and of scientific progress is essential. As the written symbol of God, the Bible and other holy texts have built the basis for the canon of values that societies around the world adhere to. Through their function of materially representing God, texts and the book gained authority. The authority of the written word increased with the development of secular law and later with the discourse on science. Books have played and still play a central role in education. Therefore, reading is regarded as the primary cultural technique. Yet the ›classic‹ form of reading – reading a book for information and for entertainment – is decreasing, although reading is becoming ever important as the ability to read is a prerequisite for using digital media.

To identify the shared characteristics of European book culture, a statistical analysis was employed: clustering. This necessitated the limitation of the complex concept ›book culture‹ to a number of indicators. In theory, a resultant model of European book culture could have offered information beyond popular preconceptions. As expected, the completed cluster analysis provided valuable insights: First, book cultures in Europe are as diverse as the national cultures. Second, although there are distinct disparities, there is also common ground between some nations. In the future, this common ground could be translated into trans-European policies and projects by policy makers. Within the context of the analysis, major and minor groupings have been identified. In part, these mir-

ror the geographical regions of Europe, such as the first level grouping Spain and Italy. At the same time, countries as different as Spain and Poland were found to share enough common ground to be related on a second level.

A third result of the cluster analysis was the realization that the development of a unified cultural policy is not an advisable option for the European Union. For those countries with similar characteristics and common objectives, the introduction of cooperation projects could lead to an increased effectiveness of book promotion. The agreements on common cultural values and objectives, as formulated in the *European Cultural Convention* (for instance), were the starting point of such cooperation. Yet to ignore discrepancies and disparities in, for example cultural values or the book market, is to impede the work of promotion projects. The cooperation on a cultural policy or a book policy level is difficult, also because the national regulations regularly change and often prior versions of policies or laws are not obtainable. A centralized collection of past and current policies could serve to reconstruct the development of cultural policies and to identify the common denominators. An example is the *Git Depot* for federal laws in Germany, established by Stefan Wehrmeyer. Laws are published in their current version only, older versions are hardly available and changes difficult to follow. In Wehrmeyer's *Git Depot*, the laws are saved in Markdown format and changes are added by volunteers.¹¹⁴⁰ Similarly, older data on book cultures and their characteristics is difficult to obtain. The size of national book markets is often contorted as data is available for members of publishers associations only. Differences in measurement and definitions make comparisons undependable and results are reliable only up to a certain point. Yet the insights to be gained make the establishment of a central survey center for book culture, market and contextual data advisable.

Promotion measures and projects have been criticized as opaque, as lopsided and as inefficient. Within the context of this work an analysis of the effectiveness of book promotion on the three selected indicators of book culture has been conducted. The results were not satisfactory. Except for the environmental condition of the level of education, no variable could clearly be identified as influencing book culture. Although the analysis was an experiment and only constitutes a snapshot, its result is clear: the implementation of effective book promotion is based on a number of requirements. First, a comprehensive analysis of the situation of a given country is necessary. Benchmarking this information with similar book cultures may clarify the results. Thereby, the needs of a given book culture and best practice examples of book promotion projects can be identified. Second,

1140 »Entwicklungshistorie von Gesetzen mit Git verfolgen.« In: *heise online*. Available online: <http://www.heise.de/newsticker/meldung/Entwicklungshistorie-von-Gesetzen-mit-Git-verfolgen-1662758.html>, last retrieved August 8th 2012.

precise objectives of book promotion have to be stated. In a last step, adequate measures can be selected and implemented.

Due to the threat of its ›extinction‹, book culture has entered the limelight of academic research and public discussion. The present case has demonstrated how vibrant and diverse book cultures in Europe still are. Yet, as Adriaan van der Weel emphasizes, »digitisation is causing a major transformation of our book reading and buying culture, with enormous repercussions.«¹¹⁴¹ These repercussions translate into a change of functions of the book, such as the loss of its role as the primary medium. Even when collecting the values and traditions attributed to the book, the influence of the digital age has been apparent. In public libraries, the state-sanctioned and venerable institutions of book culture, the change is especially visible. New roles and functions have been created, the demands of patrons have changed and libraries have adapted their guiding principles: education and guidance are provided as well as access to the vast information database of the internet.

There are other aspects of book culture, for which the consequences of the digital era have been as fundamental. Literature and the book have served in the construction of national and individual identities as well as in the construction and perception of reality. Both are based on typographic information processing.¹¹⁴² Book culture is forced to adjust to the influences of the digital technologies as identities and national cultures adapt. It has been influenced and changed by the digital age but has not been superseded. The greater challenges are found in the book market where publishers, booksellers and other participants have to create new business strategies and to embrace the potential of the new age. Innovations are needed; yet the SWOT-analysis for the European book publishing industry revealed that those are hard to come by in publishing. For the future of the book and of book culture, it is problematic to assume that the communication needs and interests of the European citizens will remain unchanged, as Geoffrey Nunberg states:

When theorists talk about the power of the new media to make everyone an author, for example, or to provide everyone with universal access to potential audiences of millions of readers, they invoke a notion of authorship and a model of access that are more appropriate to traditional print media than to electronic communication.¹¹⁴³

At the same time, the complex relationship between print and digital that has been formed in past years cannot be separated¹¹⁴⁴ and adapted functions of the book are formed. While informative reading may move to the net, »books will remain indis-

1141 van der Weel: *Convergence and its Discontents*, p. 1.

1142 Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 298.

1143 Nunberg: *Farewell to the Information Age*, p. 105.

1144 Kaufmann: *Der Parameter der Autorität*, p. 36.

pensable not only for literature, but for any circumstance in which one needs to read carefully, not only to receive information but also to speculate and to reflect about it.«¹¹⁴⁵ Eco does not detail whether he understands books to be printed books only or whether he includes the e-book in his statement. Others consider the e-book to be complementary to the classic printed or hand-written book:

Ich sehe das E-Book eher als flankierende Maßnahme zur Befestigung dessen, was ich immer schon geliebt habe. Ich meine das Buch als Gesamtkunstwerk: literarisch, aber auch künstlerisch. Ich meine das Papier, den Einband, das Schriftbild, die Illustration, also eigentlich all das, was heute kaum noch Aufmerksamkeit erfährt. Das E-Book wird dazu beitragen, den Blick auf das Buch als Kunstwerk zu schärfen.¹¹⁴⁶

Often, the book is described as a piece of art consisting of paper, binding and cover, typography and illustration. This materiality is – as Wulf D. von Lucius puts it – the ›proprium‹ of the book¹¹⁴⁷, its unique characteristic. The materiality of the book cannot yet be replicated by the e-book. In consequence, Paul Duguid has classified any talk of supersession as nothing more than a marketing ploy by salesmen to entice consumers to buy the next e-reader, computer or tablet.¹¹⁴⁸ The participants of the World Book Summit 2011 even consider the e-book as a positive influence: »Electronic books and electronic book readers do not pose a threat to printed books, instead increasing access to books and enhancing reading while they are also important in acquiring new readership.«¹¹⁴⁹

Even though the internet poses numerous challenges for traditional book culture, it is simultaneously opening new distribution channels to reach those far from classic book shops, to find readers for niche products and to satisfy the need for information on a book prior to buying it. The internet has become a metamedium.¹¹⁵⁰ With regard to literature, the internet has been anticipated to create new text forms, like the e-mail novel, and to create a greater public for other text forms, such as fan-fiction. Also, the now possible direct interaction between author and reader has been praised as a new level of book culture. Yet reality and everyday usage of the internet have proven differently: the average reader is not interested in interaction with the author.¹¹⁵¹ Nor have books which

1145 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 300.

1146 Hubert Spiegel interviewed the antiquarian bookseller Heribert Tenschert on his opinion of the e-book. Spiegel, Hubert (2012). *Haben Sie Angst vor dem E-Book, Herr Tenschert?*

1147 von Lucius: Bericht eines Verlegers aus der Gutenberg-Galaxis, p. 129.

1148 Duguid: *Material Matters*, p. 68.

1149 UNESCO: The Ljubljana Resolution on Books, Item 8.

1150 Lengsfeld: Das Fernsehen als Medium der Verlagswerbung, p. 132.

1151 Hettche, Thomas (April 9th 2010): »Wenn Literatur sich im Netz verfängt.« In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Online Edition). Available online <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/buecher/2.1719/internet-debatte-wenn-literatur-sich-im-netz-verfaengt-1964958.html>, last retrieved November 8th 2012. Here: p. 3.

would have a difficult stand on the normal, analogous book market automatically found readers on the internet: »Clearly, the Web works when there is a defined audience that has specific need for a book, but an unknown author has less of a chance of reaching a new reader than do the millions of unknown bloggers.«¹¹⁵² The gatekeeper function once fulfilled by publishers and others for book culture is experiencing a shift:

Publishers hope that I will still be willing to pay for special pieces of information in the future, but I wonder if they are not too optimistic, not too much like Trithemius hanging on desperately to an obsolete social structure. What I am sure that I will be willing to pay for as the oceans of data lap at my door is help in filtering through that flood to suit my needs.¹¹⁵³

The internet has proven a difficult vehicle for publishers: readers are used to accessing information for free and the technological possibilities for piracy, especially of e-books, are tremendous. At the same time, an increasing number of authors have decided to self-publish their works, in some cases with the help of companies which were initially only distributors like Amazon. The gatekeeping function has shifted to the distributors and, in part, the users themselves. The digital revolution has influenced the book market for better or for worse. Yet the complexity and ambiguity in the developments has become reduced to a perceived threat to the survival of book culture. Supposedly, the world will become »print-less« and authority will diminish as anonymity is an integral part of Internet culture:

The list of things we might lose in such a print-less environment is therefore short but intriguing: clarity and transparency of intellectual debates; responsibility for the public word; culture/market dichotomy in the character of the book that [...] formed the backbone of the gatekeeping role of publishers, booksellers and librarians; and a standardised framework for discussion.¹¹⁵⁴

The imminent substitution of the printed book and the perceived threat to book culture are to be countered by book promotion. Book culture is supposed to be preserved and promoted by a variety of projects. They are legitimized by the unique character of the book as cultural good. Yet book promotion should not favor one aspect of book culture. The interests of the different participants of book culture have to be poised against the overall objectives of book policy; the cultural aspects of the book have to be protected against the potentially detrimental effects of economic developments, such as consolidation and a subse-

1152 Schiffrin: *Words and Money*, p. 104.

1153 O'Donnell: *The Pragmatics of the New: Trithemius, McLuhan, Cassiodorus*, p. 53.

1154 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 168f.

quent limitation of diversity. However, recent trends show that, for example, the loss of diversity in the title range of traditional publishing houses can be compensated by a wide variety of new titles that are available through self-publishing on the internet. Within the context of this work, it has become obvious that a simplification of the situation and a reduction of the new developments to an ominous threat are unrewarding.

Certainly, globalization and the increasing technologized everyday life have led to disparities and conflicts.¹¹⁵⁵ Especially with regard to the developing economic monopolies in the e-book market, such measures are indispensable.¹¹⁵⁶ As democracy is based on media plurality, the free access to a variety of quality information sources is essential; as is the ability to critically assess information. Media plurality and diversity lead to more flexible cultural structures¹¹⁵⁷, also in book culture. These flexible structures are an integral part of the adaptability and development potential of culture. Globalization has led to an internationalization of businesses and to cross-cultural influences that are by some perceived as a deterritorialization of culture and identity. Yet the developments have initiated a new trend at the same time: reterritorialization. According to Debray, »every moment that deterritorializes provokes an opposite one that reterritorializes. There is no rationalization process that does not give rise to a return of the irrational, no globalization (economic) without Balkanization (political).«¹¹⁵⁸ The globalization of the book market and book culture also implies a refocusing on national book culture and identity. These complex developments are reflected in the adaptability of culture. Hepp¹¹⁵⁹ and Huizing¹¹⁶⁰ agree that adaptability is the key to the survival of any culture. Book culture is no exception. Its adaptability and the embrace of the internet, the e-book and other complementary digital technologies is the key to survival. The book is by no means limited to the role of a »subversive communication tool in the contemporary communication landscape.«¹¹⁶¹

As the research for this study has shown, the effective, balanced and rational promotion of books and book culture is essential to prevent the book and its rich culture from becoming a minor and insignificant subculture. This study

1155 Hepp: *Translokale Medienkulturen*, p. 45.

1156 Roesler-Graichen, Michael (2008): »Märkte, Monopole, Geschäftsmodelle.« In: Michael Roesler-Graichen; Ronald Schild (Eds.): *Gutenberg 2.0. Die Zukunft des Buches; ein aktueller Reader zum E-Book*. Frankfurt am Main: Börsenblatt; MBV Marketing- und Verlagsservice des Buchhandels, pp. 47–56. Here: p. 50.

1157 Giesecke: *Mythen der Buchkultur*, p. 453.

1158 Debray: *The Book as Symbolic Object*, p. 149.

1159 Hepp: *Translokale Medienkulturen*, p. 55.

1160 Huizing, Birte (2009): »Das Buch und sein Leser im Web 2.0.« In: Heinz Ludwig Arnold; Matthias Beilein (Eds.): *Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland*. 3rd revised edition. Munich: edition text + kritik, pp. 322–332. Here: p. 330.

1161 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 7.

demonstrated how diverse book cultures in Europe are and how much potential might be realized by a coordinated yet individualized book policy. Empirical methods based on a sound database can facilitate the evaluation of book culture and allow the introduction of effective and targeted promotion measures. Beyond this study, a future analysis of the European book cultures should focus on the education system. In a larger context, it could also provide more detail on promotion measures. Next to a reliable database, the precondition for such a promotion is the formulation of definite objectives for cultural policies. Depending on these objectives, book promotion might preserve book culture (the question remains for how long) or it could facilitate the necessary process of adaptation to the new media environment.

In the end, the book will lose neither its cultural aspect, as André Schiffrin dreads, nor will it part from the economics of the book market.¹¹⁶² As Umberto Eco stated, the current developments will neither supersede nor obliterate book culture but change it profoundly.¹¹⁶³ It may develop into something entirely different from what we have known these last 500 years. Book culture has arrived at a transition phase. This transition from a traditional to a new book culture may be navigated more smoothly with the help of book promotion projects.

The challenge of this transition phase lies in the complexity of book culture. Its inherent diversity and its national manifestations have to be preserved and protected:

Wouldn't it be wiser to let culture be culture and to emphasise how much it thrives on the mix of influences and trends – particularly in Europe? And on the fashions on the ›European marketplace‹? Hence, ›Europe‹ also becomes the antipode of nationalism which always evokes a monolithic ›We‹ – but also of faceless globalisation with its ›ketchup‹ levelling the diversity of flavours.¹¹⁶⁴

1162 Kovač: *Never Mind the Web*, p. 151.

1163 Eco: *Afterword*, p. 304.

1164 Banús: *Key Element or Ornament?* p. 70.

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