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# **Journalism and Mass Communication**

Volume 3, Number 10, October 2013 (Serial Number 25)



David Publishing Company  
[www.davidpublishing.com](http://www.davidpublishing.com)

### **Publication Information:**

*Journalism and Mass Communication* is published monthly in print (ISSN 2160-6579) by David Publishing Company located at 16710 East Johnson Drive, City of Industry, CA 91745, USA.

### **Aims and Scope:**

*Journalism and Mass Communication*, a professional scholarly peer reviewed academic journal, commits itself to promoting the academic communication about recent developments on Journalism and Mass Communication and tries to provide a platform for experts and scholars worldwide to exchange their latest findings.

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### **Abstracted/Indexed in:**

★ Google Scholar; ★Database of EBSCO, Massachusetts, USA; ★Chinese Database of CEPS, American Federal Computer Library center (OCLC), USA; ★Chinese Scientific Journals Database, VIP Corporation, Chongqing, P. R. China; ★Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, USA; ★Pro Quest Social Science Collection, Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS), USA; ★Summon Serials Solutions, USA; ★Universe Digital Library S/B, Malaysia; ★Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), Norway; ★Index Copernicus, Poland; ★Polish Scholarly Bibliography (PBN), Poland

**Subscription Information:** Print \$450; Online \$320; Print and Online \$600 (per year)  
Editorial Office David Publishing Company 16710 East Johnson Drive, City of Industry, CA 91745, USA  
Tel: 1-323-984-7526, 1-323-410-1082; Fax: 1-323-984-7374, 1-323-908-0457  
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# Journalism and Mass Communication

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# An Analysis of Celebrity Endorsements in Magazine Advertisements

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The effectiveness of celebrity endorsements has been a topic that has interested many advertising researchers. It has been long debated on which advertising method is most effective. The purpose of this study was to conclude whether or not advertising agencies and social cause organizations are obtaining the results of these studies and using them in magazine advertisement campaigns and which one of these advertisements is more prevalent in magazines. Advertisements were examined from two American magazines, *W Magazine* and *Good Housekeeping*. The results of the study showed that celebrity endorsements have been featured in magazine advertisements more in recent years than products are endorsed by celebrities more than social causes and a majority of these endorsements are for products that affect a consumer's self-image.

*Keywords:* celebrity endorsement, magazine advertisement, *W Magazine*, *Good Housekeeping*

## Introduction

Despite the fact McCracken stated this in 1989, it still holds true today. Celebrities are prevalent in society, they can be found in all types of media, and information about their lives is readily available to the world. A celebrity is defined as an individual who is known well within the public sphere by accomplishments related or unrelated to what they are endorsing (Cronin, 2003). In consideration of this study, a celebrity is a person who is known for achievement in multiple mediums of the media, for example, a person that is recognizable from movies or television.

In today's society, celebrities are highly sought out and featured in several mediums for a variety of reasons, one being they generate a profit (Argwal & Kamakura, 1995). This has resulted in academic and market research on the celebrities' effectiveness. Much of the existing literature examines celebrity endorsements and their effect on consumers (Alnawas, 2010; Amos, Holmes, & Strutton, 2008; Busler, 2002; Choi, 2002; Daneshvary & Schwer, 2000; Eisend & Langer, 2010; O'Mahony & Meenaghan, 1997; Chen & Huddleston, 2009). Advertisements are considered to be persuasive communications that originate from several mediums (Choi & Rifon, 2007). These advertisements are either profit-oriented or social cause advertising.

While the primary concern with profit-oriented advertisements is monetary gain, social cause advertising is

the communication of socially beneficial programs to influence on individual behaviors which will improve their well being and that of society and recently this type of advertising has gained a prominent role in the corporate field (Sciulli & Bebko, 2005). One strategy that has been utilized in social advertisement campaigns is an endorsement by a celebrity (Amos, Holmes, & Strutton, 2008; Meyer & Gamson, 1995; Samman, McAuliffe, & MacLachlan, 2009; Trimble & Rifon, 2006). The emotional appeals of profit-oriented versus social cause advertising has also been evaluated (Sciulli & Bebko, 2005).

The effects of celebrity endorsement on the consumer have been studied extensively in the past century, yet little has examined if this research is making a difference in the advertising world today. The purpose of this study is to examine the percentage of celebrity endorsed advertisements featured in magazines and if those advertisements feature more consumer products or promote social causes. This will be done in hopes of contributing to current research by attempting to determine the influence celebrity endorsement and social cause celebrity endorsement research has had on the advertising industry over the past ten years.

## Literature Review

### Celebrity Endorsement

A celebrity endorser is an individual who is known to the public (actor, sports figure, entertainer, etc.) for his or her achievements in areas other than that of the product class endorsed (H. Friedman & L. Friedman, 1979). A more recent definition of celebrity endorsement is “a channel of communication where celebrities act as spokesperson of the brand and by extending their popularity and personality they certify the brand’s claim and position” (Sonwalkar, Kapse, & Pathak, 2011, p. 34)

A non-celebrity is an endorser who advertises the product (appears consistently in the advertisements) but is not known for any other reason, such as being an entertainer, actor, singer, or other public figure. Celebrities are used in advertisements because they have found to bring credibility to advertisements, influence a consumers’ intent to purchase a product and are viewed as a profitable advertising strategy for advertising firms (Choi & Rifon, 2007; Agrawal & Kamakura, 1995). Celebrity attractiveness is also an important factor in creating positive attitudes toward brands (Eisend & Langer, 2010).

When a consumer views a celebrity, their feelings of that celebrity often transfer to the product that is being endorsed, this is also known as the meaning transfer model (Amos, Holmes, & Sutton, 2008; Bussler, 2002; Choi, 2007; Erdogan & Baker, 2000). McCracken (1989) stated, “The effectiveness of the endorser depends, in part, upon the meanings he or she brings to the endorsement process” (p. 312). O’Mahoney and Meenaghan (1997) found that “consumers expect congruity between the celebrity endorsers’ perceived images and the types of products they endorse” (p. 23). Choi (2002) added that congruence is the key to understanding celebrity endorsement and that it adds perceived product expertise and experiences of a celebrity play a role in the perception. Seno and Lucas (2007) also stated “Product-celebrity congruence (matching the characteristics of a celebrity endorser with the attributes of a product) is an important management principle for identifying suitable celebrity endorsers” (p. 131). Not only, it is congruency between the celebrity and the product important but also the size of the customer base. Clark and Horstmann (2005) found that celebrity endorsements will coordinate better when there is a large customer base for the specific product.

Research has shown that celebrity influences consumers in different ways. However, it has also been

found that celebrities are not the only reason a consumer favors a product (Jain & Badgare, 2011). In order for an advertisement to be successful, advertisers must realize that using a celebrity for every type of advertisement is not advisable. Jain et al. (2011) suggested “the product category would have an important role in determining which spokesperson to use” (p. 181).

### **Celebrity and Social Cause Endorsement**

Although research has been conducted on profit-oriented advertising, research on the effects of social cause advertising is still being developed. These advertising messages must be perceived as different from other advertising messages because their purpose is to encourage behavioral change (Sciulli & Bebko, 2005). Most importantly, the consumer must be familiar with the cause in general before the consumer is affected by the advertisement. Like product advertising a social cause advertisement is more successful when there is compatibility between the cause and the endorser (Trimble & Rifon, 2006). In a study about the effectiveness of a celebrity spokesperson for a Public Service Announcement, Toncar, Reid, and Anderson (2007) found that an individual who was connected to the message the PSA (Public Service Announcement) was announcing was more effective than a nationally known celebrity. Celebrities also have the ability to influence social movements. They can change the dynamics of a campaign and have the ability to expand the longevity of the campaign, bringing the message to a broader audience (Meyer & Gamson, 1995). Most importantly social cause advertisements have to distinguish themselves from other advertisements in order to be effective (Sciulli & Bebko, 2005).

While some research has shown that there is a benefit to have a connected celebrity endorse a social cause, others show concern with the ability to link the endorsers with the actual success of the cause. Thrall et al. (2008) determined that it is very difficult for a social cause to gain mainstream news attention just because a celebrity supports the cause. It was also found that the celebrity advocacy does not go completely unnoticed. Kamins, Brand, Hoeke, and Moe (1989), admitted that celebrities can serve as popular and positive representatives for causes, but ultimately celebrity credibility and effectiveness have limits. Wheeler (2009) studied a variety of factors that could contribute to the success of a celebrity endorser in a social cause advertisement, it was found that although connection and source credibility are related, the impact of the celebrity connection on intention to donate money or volunteer time cannot be confirmed.

### **Advertising and Products**

Advertisements are considered to be persuasive communications that emanate from several sources (Choi & Rifon, 2007). An estimated \$50 billion is invested globally on corporate sponsorships and endorsements, most of this is sports related but celebrity plays a huge role (Crutchfield, 2010). Information in advertisements can be divided into two categories. The first being direct information is factual. The direct information advertisement includes features, price, and location of the product. Indirect information is the other category. In these ads the consumer is able to make inferences about the product based on his or her perception (Busler, 2002). Seno and Lucas (2007) concluded, “Product-celebrity congruence (matching the characteristics of a celebrity endorser with the attributes of a product) is an important management principle for identifying suitable celebrity endorsers” (p. 131).

A product is made to meet the needs of a customer. Each product is differentiated in the marketplace based



on its physical differences and the differences are based on the perception of the customer, however a consumer's perception can be manipulated by the indirect information in the advertisement (Busler, 2002). H. Friedman and L. Friedman (1979) pointed out "overall attitude toward the advertised product, and initial intent to purchase the advertised product are desired, the type of endorser used should be considered more carefully" (p. 71). H. Friedman and L. Friedman (1979) also found that celebrities are typically effective endorsers when products have a high psychological or social risk, involving products that align with an individual's taste, self-image, and opinions of others. This was tested recently by Seitz, Razzouk, and Eamosobhan (2008) and found to be significant. Seitz, Razzouk, and Eamosobhan (2008) used 15 product categories to evaluate advertisements. This study will use 6 of the 15 product categories to determine which products feature the most celebrity endorsements.

### Theoretical Framework

McCracken's (1989) meaning transfer model suggests that a celebrity endorser consists of a broad range of meanings. Those specific meanings transfer to the product they endorse, and therefore the product transfers the meanings to the consumer. More specifically, McCracken notes that there is a broad spectrum of meanings a celebrity can have, some of these include demographic categories such as age, gender, and status as well as meanings such as personality, and lifestyle types. This theory relates to the literature because it has been found that the correlation between the product and the endorser is an important factor in the effectiveness of the advertisement.

Another popular theory in this field of study is the source model theory. According to the work produced by Hovland and Weiss (1951), the essential components of source credibility include a source's expertise and trustworthiness with celebrities being one kind of source (Choi & Rifon, 2007). O'Mahony and Meenaghan (1997) defined source credibility as "the extent to which the recipient perceives the source as having relevant knowledge and therefore trusts the source to give unbiased information" (p. 16). This model therefore focuses on the expertise and trustworthiness of the source. Expertise is the ability of the source to make valid assertions and trustworthiness is the receiver's belief that the source is willing to make valid assertions (Hovland & Weiss, 1951).

From the literature it can be inferred that celebrities, whether promoting a product or promoting a social cause, are more effective if they are connected to what they are endorsing and that celebrity endorsement may be more effective if certain products align with consumers' image and opinions. The previous literature also points out that not only can advertisements be profit-oriented but can also help promote social causes. The objectives of this study are to analyze if the research conducted in the past is being used in terms of print advertising. By looking at advertisements that are ten years apart the study seeks to answer the following questions and explanations about celebrity endorsed profit-oriented and social cause advertisements:

**RQ1:** Will the number of celebrity-endorsed ads be more prevalent in today's magazine advertisements compared to that of 10 years ago?

The reasoning behind research question one stems from the fact that things change over a period of time, especially when it comes to media. In the past ten years the media has expanded a great deal, so examining the frequency of celebrity endorsements over 10 years is justified.

**RQ2:** Are social causes using celebrity endorsers to promote their campaigns, specifically in magazine advertisements?

In recent years, social causes have become more popular than before. Many social cause campaigns can be seen on television, and there is more press and information about social cause issues today. Because of the popularity social causes have acquired on television, the desire to examine their frequency in magazine advertisements is justified.

**RQ3:** Will there be more celebrity endorsements for products concerned with the consumer self-image?

As the literature states, using specific product categories is an important factor in the effectiveness of celebrity endorsements. Among these product categories those products that relate to a consumer's individual taste and self-image have found to be the most effective. Research question three was formed to evaluate if the past literature can still be related to advertising today.

### Methodology

Wimmer and Dominick (2006) defined content analysis as “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (p. 150). A content analysis is used in this study in order to determine the frequency of celebrity endorsed advertisements and social cause advertisements in two different genres of magazines. The independent variables in this study are the two magazines used *W Magazine* and *Good Housekeeping*. The dependent variables are the frequency of the celebrity endorsement and the social cause advertisements.

For this study, two coders were used, one being the researcher. The researcher was already knowledgeable of the variables. The second coder was given the following definition of celebrity: “A celebrity is defined as an individual who is known well within the public sphere by accomplishments related or unrelated to what they are endorsing” (Cronin, 2003). Celebrities in this study included those who were well known because of their presence in a multitude of mediums, including movies, tv and celebrity focused magazines. The coders were then given specific examples of “celebrity” in advertisements to ensure reliability. The specific celebrity endorsements were better clarified when the study was conducted, as the results will show—celebrity endorsed advertisements in the magazines chosen used a form of direct information advertising by featuring the name of the celebrity and the product name.

Every magazine advertisement in each magazine was examined. Each advertisement was counted, if an advertisement included more than one page, the advertisement was only counted once. In *Good Housekeeping*, specific advertisements featuring pharmaceuticals were not included. The product advertisements featuring celebrity endorsements were labeled by the following six product categories (these categories are based off of the 15 product categories used by Seitz, Razzouk, & Eamosobhan, 2008):

- Product category 1: apparel: (clothing, handbags, eyewear, jewelry, watch, shoes, socks, and lingerie);
- Product category 2: cosmetics (perfumes, and facial creams/treatments);
- Product category 3: beauty services (dietary services, health services, hospitals, and weight loss clinics);
- Product category 4: stationery (books, Web sites, newspapers, DVDs, and movies);
- Product category 5: consumer products (soaps, toothpastes, toothbrushes, and shampoo);
- Product category 6: automobiles.

## Sample

This study considers advertisements in two women's magazines, *W Magazine* and *Good Housekeeping*, published during the time periods of September through December of 2000 as well as September through December 2010. This includes a total of eight magazines, four from either genre. A total of 1,245 advertisements, 455 of those advertisements are from *W Magazine* published from September through December 2000. September through December 2010 had a total of 249 total advertisements. *Good Housekeeping* magazine consisted of 268 total advertisements during September through December in 2000 and 273 advertisements during the same months but year 2010.

The two magazines are of different genres but still reflect the same gender demographics. *W Magazine* or "World of Style" is a high-fashion magazine published by Condé Nast. *W Magazine* has a circulation of more than 460,000 and a total audience of 1,421,000. The total audience consists of 79% females and 62% of the readers are between the ages of 18-49. *Good Housekeeping* magazine is published by Hearst Media and is an "advocate for the American woman and her family" (*Good Housekeeping*, 2011). More than eight million women in America read *Good Housekeeping* and the majority of their readership is Caucasian women with a median age of 46. It should be noted that not all advertisements were counted in this study. There were several pharmaceutical advertisements in *Good Housekeeping* that were not counted because of the specific nature of the advertisements. Also, if a specific advertisement was more than one page, the advertisement was only considered once.

## Results

### Celebrity Endorsements

**W Magazine.** During the time period of September to December 2000, *W Magazine* featured a total of 455 advertisements. Out of these advertisements only 4% were celebrity endorsements. From these celebrity endorsements 24% were in the apparel category, 12% were cosmetic advertisements, 24% were in the beauty supplies category, 6% of the celebrity-endorsed advertisements were for consumer products and 35% included advertisements for automobiles.

Of the 249 advertisements examined in *W Magazine* from the time period of September to December 2010, 21% of the advertisements contained celebrity endorsements. From the 21%, 38% of the celebrity-endorsed advertisements were in the apparel product category; this includes advertisements featuring clothing, handbags, eyewear, jewelry, watch, shoes, socks, and lingerie. The product category of cosmetics also included 38% of celebrity-endorsed advertisements. This specific product category includes cosmetics, perfumes and facial creams/treatments. Beauty services advertisements consist of dietary services, health services, hospitals, and weight loss clinics. Out of the celebrity endorsement advertisements 15% of them were beauty services. The rest of the celebrity-endorsed advertisements consisted of 26%. These products included consumer products (soaps, toothpastes, toothbrushes, and shampoo). There were no celebrity endorsement advertisements featuring the product categories of drinks, food or restaurants, books, websites, and bank or finance.

**Good Housekeeping.** *Good Housekeeping* magazine during September to December 2000 contained 268 total advertisements. Of these advertisements, 2% featured celebrity endorsers. Out of the celebrity

endorsement advertisements, 24% cosmetic product category and advertisements were in the categories of beauty services, books and websites and consumer products each consisted of 1%.

During the months of September to December in 2010, *Good Housekeeping* had a total of 273 advertisements. Out of the 273, 10% of the advertisements featured celebrity endorsements. The apparel product category consisted of 7% of the celebrity-endorsed advertisements. The cosmetic category as well as the beauty services category consisted of 33% celebrity-endorsed advertisements. The consumer product advertisements included 26% of the celebrity-endorsed ads. The product categories of food, restaurants, drinks as well as banks and finance, books and websites did not feature any celebrity endorsers. There were only three social cause advertisements featured during this time period.

**Social Cause Advertising.** The magazine that featured the most social cause advertisement was *Good Housekeeping* in 2000. Social cause advertisements consisted of 7% of the total advertisements. Out of that 7%, 20% featured celebrities, 50% were non-celebrities, and 30% were advertisements featuring a product and a social cause. During 2010, there were a total of five social cause advertisements. Out of the five advertisements, 80% included a non-celebrity and 20% was an advertisement featuring a social cause and product. No celebrity endorsed social advertisements were found.

*W Magazine* overall had very few social cause advertisements. In 2000, during the four months this sample was examined, there were only two advertisements for a social cause. In 2010, there were five. One featured a celebrity, while one did not. There were three advertisements that consisted of a social cause, a product and a celebrity. This ad was for Hublot watches and featured Veronika Varekova, a famous model, as an ambassador for the brand and the African Wildlife Foundation.

## Discussion

From these results, it can be determined that celebrity endorsers are being used more in recent years rather than 10 years ago. It can also be found that using celebrities for product endorsement is much more common than using them for social causes. The lack of social cause advertising in the two magazines examined is evident.

From the analysis, the three research questions were answered. Research question one asked if the amount of celebrity endorsements advertisements would be more prevalent today. It was found that both magazines published in 2010 had significantly more celebrity endorsements than those published in 2000. This could be the result of the advertising industry taking into account what previous literature has stated. However, *Good Housekeeping* had many advertisements that were product based and related to cleaning, fixing, and cooking. Because of the nature of the magazine, these types of advertisements make sense considering the demographic *Good Housekeeping* is trying to reach.

Research question two asked if celebrity-endorsed social cause advertisements would be found in magazines. From the data, it can be concluded that very few social causes promote their campaigns through magazine advertising. The lack of literature for social cause advertisements most likely plays a role in the number of advertisements. The financial burdens that are attached to advertising may also be a reason for the lack of advertisements. These findings only show that social causes are not advertising in magazines, they may, however, be advertising using other methods.

Research question three was also answered and the data produced interesting results. In each magazine, from either time period, the advertisements that featured products that promoted a consumers self-image were of the highest percentage. Cosmetics and beauty services consisted of the most celebrity-endorsed advertisements. Cosmetics were typically the most popular celebrity-endorsed advertisements, while apparel advertisements were also very common. The findings show what past research has already stated. The results align directly with the source model theory as well. Those celebrities that endorse products influencing self-image are often beautiful. This plays into the attractiveness and credibility of the source model. If a celebrity is attractive, and they are trustworthy and credible, they have found to be more effective (Choi & Riffon, 2007). It is interesting to note that *W Magazine*, which features high-end fashion, does not frequently use celebrity endorsements. One of the reasons could be that many of the advertisements are for well-known designers; perhaps the famous designers feel their name is more effective than having a celebrity help promote their products.

The results of this study conclude the advertising industry is taking the research from the past and applying it to their ad campaigns. Of these advertisements featured, a majority of the products featuring a celebrity endorser include cosmetics and beauty services, which appeal to a consumer's self-image. Although the advertising industry seems to be considering previous research, questions still remain on the lack of social cause advertising in magazines.

The current study aligns with the study by Seitz, Razzouk, and Eamsobhan (2008) in which they found that celebrities role in advertising is limited but changing.

### Conclusions

Because the celebrity role is changing in the advertising arena, future studies need to be conducted. This study acquired interesting and useful data, however, there were several shortcomings. One limitation in this study is the size of the sample. Because of time restraints and lack of data, the sample size was relatively small. It can also be noted, each magazine had a different number of total pages, and therefore those magazines with fewer pages did not include as many advertisements. This sample also only looked at print advertisements and therefore the results were not representative of all advertising mediums. Additional research should examine the frequency of celebrity endorsements in other types of advertisements including television and advertisements online. This study used magazines with a specific demographic, which causes the sample to not be representative of the entire advertising population. In future research, different genres of magazines, and magazines with a different demographic should to be examined. Magazines of similar genres could also be analyzed. Comparing the number of celebrity appearances in men's magazines versus women's magazines would also be an interesting focus.

For the purpose of the study, pharmaceutical ads were not used. Future research should examine the use of these types of advertisements. This study also did not consider the fact that individuals who are considered models often times expand their career to include acting, therefore some models may have been celebrities but may have been unknown to the coders. More criteria should be added to types of advertisements used, and the types of products endorsed. Specifically, certain celebrity product endorsements can be examined instead of comparing them social cause advertisements featuring celebrities. The current research only used magazines

from the United States, and although several previous studies have looked at cross-cultural advertisements, there are still opportunities to study this further.

From previous research and current research it can be concluded that much more research should be performed on social causes and their relationship with marketing campaigns and advertising campaigns. Overall, social causes have become more prevalent in today's society, but research needs to help discover the most effective way for social causes to get their message out.

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# The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam: A Museum and Literary Landscape Goes Virtual Reality\*

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The Anne Frank House, site of Anne Frank's place of hiding 1942-1944, has become a leading tourist attraction in Amsterdam and among heritage sites of the Holocaust. This paper reviews the historical context of the political events from 1933 to 1945, the circumstances for the betrayal, and arrest of the group in hiding, the saving of Anne Frank's diary and its publication after her death at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in March 1945. Further, the paper reconstructs the beginnings of the heritage site as a small museum at 263 Prinsengracht in 1960 as well as the management issues and capacity problems that led to a larger museum complex including an educational center in 1999. During the years of 2007-2010, when the annual visitation of the museum surpassed one million, the Anne Frank House decided to introduce a high quality 3D version of the Secret Annex on the Internet. In the final part of the paper, trends in museum management and the more frequent uses of a digital documentation of heritages sites are reviewed.

*Keywords:* Anne Frank House, Anne Frank Diary, literary landscapes, virtual reality museums

## Introduction

The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam serves three functions: It is a memorial site, a place of learning, and a literary landscape which has attracted millions of visitors. Anne Frank's diary, "Het Achterhuis", first published in Dutch in 1947, has been translated into more than 65 languages. The book has also inspired a multitude of film, TV, and theater productions worldwide. In the 1950s, the historic house on 263 Prinsengracht was protected from demolition and opened as a small museum showcasing the secret annex in 1960. In the following decades, the site, museum, and the entire block went through major restructuring as the Anne Frank House became a well staffed educational center and a leading tourist attraction in Amsterdam. By 2007, the annual number of visitors surpassed one million and the historic site reached a critical range of capacity for visitation. In 2010, 50 years after the opening of the museum, the non-profit foundation Anne Frank Stichting as management organization for the house decided to go virtual reality. The Secret Annex Online site, a carefully crafted 3D version of the whole house (front and back) with accompanying comments read by a narrator and a young Anne Frank voice combines elements of virtual travel while listening to well known passages of the book. Early on, the Anne Frank House management team has been a leading communicator of Anne Frank's ideals in the social media and most recently developed an application "Anne's

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\* The author would like to thank the staff of the Anne Frank House for their friendly services over many years. Special thanks go to Ita Amahorseija who graciously provided valuable information and specific data on the virtual wing.

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Amsterdam”. It allows visitors with a smart phone to explore Amsterdam during the years of German occupation 1940-1945 and to relive a time of persecution and resistance. While the Anne Frank Stichting continues to make great strides in presenting an authentic historic site to the visiting public, the overall tourist experience has changed over the past years.

The present paper is organized in four parts. First, an overview of Anne Frank’s life is given. Important passages of her life path are put into a wider historical context. Anne’s family had relocated from Germany to Amsterdam in 1933 where father Otto Frank started a small business venture with operations near the Westerkerk. The German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940 changed everything. Jewish residents of Amsterdam were first isolated, then persecuted and finally deported to death camps. Consequently, many went into hiding. The Frank family did as well and invited four more individuals, all Jews originally from Germany, to live with them at the Secret Annex of 263 Prinsengracht. Anne Frank’s diary gives a vivid account of the life in hiding, her hopes and fears. In August, 1944, the group was betrayed and arrested. They were first moved to the Westerbork transit camp and then on to Auschwitz. Anne and her sister Margot were finally deported to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where both died in March, 1945.

The next part focuses on the diary Anne kept since her 13th birthday in June, 1942, shortly before the family went into hiding. Her diary and other writings were saved by Miep Gies, one of the helpers of the group, after their arrest 1944 and eventually published by father Otto Frank, the only survivor of the group. Anne motivated by requests on radio broadcasts to save records of the war in March, 1944 had planned to publish her diary, and she started to revise earlier entries. She had given the members of the group outside her family pseudonyms and some of the entries touched upon very sensitive issues such as her parents’ marital relationship. Thus, Otto Frank chose to edit parts of her diary and to omit several pages; the manuscript that was published in 1947 became known as the popular version. Initially, it was a moderate success in Dutch as well as in German and French, translations published in 1950. The English translation in 1952 found a different reception in UK and in the United States. While the former was discontinued shortly after publication (though, publication was resumed by a different publisher in the mid/late 1950s), the review of the book in America was very positive. In the following years, Anne’s diary found widespread recognition all over the world, with many adaptations of the text in other media, most notably in a highly acclaimed Broadway play in 1955. After Otto Frank’s death in 1980, a more complete account of Anne’s writings became accessible. “The Critical Edition” published by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in 1986/1989 (Dutch and English) displayed the writings of Anne Frank in a more coherent and comprehensive way, and a “Definitive Edition” of the diary based on and selected from these new texts replaced the original book version is more popular than ever.

The next part centers on the historic setting in Amsterdam. By the mid/late 1950s, it had become a locally recognized literary landscape. In 1957, the Anne Frank Stichting (Anne Frank House foundation) was founded under the leadership of Otto Frank to save the house at 263 Prinsengracht from the wrecking ball and a small museum was established to showcase the hiding place featured in Anne’s diary. The house attracted more and more visitors, first from Amsterdam then from all over the world. Thus, the number of museum visitors jumped to over 200 thousand then over 300 thousand a year in the 1970s. By the mid/late 1980s, with more than a half million visitors annually, plans for a more comprehensive management solution were debated and “The Maintenance and Future of the Anne Frank House” project was eventually implemented. The neighboring houses were included in a complete restructuring of the setting. In 1999, the museum re-opened not only as memorial place and heritage site, but also as an educational center for the dissemination of Anne’s ideals. In

2007, annual visitation of the Anne Frank House surpassed one million. This part focuses on tourism management issues and the situation that led to the development of a virtual museum version.

As the Amsterdam historic site is visited predominantly by young visitors who come mostly from abroad, the Anne Frank House has developed a highly effective website on the Internet. The House also chose to communicate with its prospective audience in the social media. In 2010, the museum went virtual reality. This implementation of the 3D version of the House in 2008-2010 will be discussed as well as other management policies and contents developed for the Internet user. Eventually, the Anne Frank Stichting matched up with tech companies to develop an “Anne’s Amsterdam” app which gives more information on Amsterdam during the years of German occupation. Since 2012, smart phone users worldwide can access places in Amsterdam which had meaning in Anne’s life. This part discusses the question whether the virtual museum version and other information available on the Internet helped to reduce the capacity problems the historic site encountered in recent years. Finally, a look at museum management trends including the more frequent practice of a digital documentation of heritage sites is given.

### **The Life of Anne Frank in Historical Context**

Anne Frank was born Annelies Marie Frank as second daughter of Otto Frank and Edith Hollaender Frank on June 12, 1929 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Anne’s family both on her father’s and her mother’s side were German Jews who for several generations had made their home in Frankfurt and in or near Aachen respectively. During World War I, Otto Frank volunteered—as other family members did—for service in the German military. The Hollaender and the Frank families were entrepreneurs and had developed diverse, successful business operations in Germany by the 1920s. The Frank family owned a banking business in Frankfurt. Otto Frank was well educated and exposed to business practices early on. In his native Frankfurt as well as while traveling in Europe and to New York, he gained ample knowledge in international finances which in later life allowed him to interact effectively with companies and business people in Germany and in the Netherlands (for information on Anne Frank’s family background see, for instance, Mueller, 1998; Lee, 1999; Westra, 2000, 2004; Anne Frank-Fonds, 2013).

When the Nazi Party seized control in Germany in 1933, Otto Frank decided to start an independent business venture in Amsterdam, a city not affected by the political turmoil at home, and he eventually moved his family there. After the departure from Frankfurt, Anne and sister Margot first spent some time at their grandmother’s in Aachen before joining the parents in Amsterdam in February 1934. Europe underwent major economic, social, and political changes in the 1920s and 1930s. First in Italy and Germany, later in Spain, Portugal, and Greece, autocratic regimes under fascist rulers pushed nationalistic agendas. Anti-Semitism was rampant in the post WWI years. In Germany, such racist ideologies found legal ways into the formulation and enactment of government policies by 1935. The new German Reich citizen laws enabled the systematic isolation of Jewish population groups in Germany and paved the way for their persecution in the infamous Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) pogrom on November 11, 1938.

Still, the reach of National Socialist rule was limited to Germany and Austria. The Frank family’s life in Amsterdam was safe while some of their relatives in Germany had to endure hardships and in many cases decided to emigrate before or in the aftermath of the 1938 events. About 300,000 Jews left Germany during these years (1933-1939). While a cousin and two brothers of Edith Frank chose to leave for the United States, Otto Frank’s mother Alice Stern Frank had moved to Basel, Switzerland where her daughter Helene Elias and

her family lived. In Amsterdam, the Frank family joined more than ten thousand German émigrés. They lived on Merwedeplein in the River Quarter south of the City Center and soon made friends with other refugees from Germany and Dutch locals. Otto Frank's business venture Opekta (operated with the help of managers Johannes Kleiman and Victor Kugler), a company which produced and sold preservatives for making jams and jellies, had a slow start as it had to capture a highly seasonal market. One of the responsibilities of newly hired secretary Miep (Gies) Santrouschitz was to organize the marketing of the products. Pectacon, another small business venture in specialized spice production, was added; it employed Hermann van Pels, a butcher originally from Osnabrueck, Germany. In the late 1930s, the two enterprises gained greater financial stability and the business operations were relocated to a larger property on December 1, 1940. The new business address was 263 Prinsengracht, a narrow four story house on the Prince's Canal in the mixed use Jordaan neighborhood. The life paths of Otto Frank, Johannes Kleiman, Victor Kugler, Miep Gies, and Hermann van Pels were closely tied together from then on.

Anne's early childhood years in Amsterdam were guided by the personal and educational goals her parents had for her as well as for her sister. Anne attended a local Montessorri School, a new form of education started in Italy and Germany in the early 1900s with an emphasis on tapping and fostering the creative potential of children. Anne developed an early interest in reading and writing during her school years there. Another less formal educational way chosen by Otto and Edith Frank was the practice of hosting regular open houses for friends and neighbors. Anne and Margot met new and old acquaintances of the family, from nearby and faraway locations. On early childhood trips Anne had the opportunity to visit places on the Dutch and Belgium coastline as well as in the high mountains of Switzerland. It was still possible to easily cross over national borders in Europe (till 1938/39). Anne also discovered the joys of skating as a favorite pastime in Amsterdam during the winter. While Anne and Margot soon became fluent in Dutch, their parents, in particular Edith Frank, continued to prefer to converse in the German language. Another split in preferences was along religious lines. Margot jointly with her mother enjoyed going to the synagogue whereas Anne was more attached to the secular tradition of her father's family. Through her close friend Hanneli Goslar, who would become a lifelong friend, she was exposed to Orthodox Jewish customs though, as this family kept a kosher household. Over the years, the Frank and Goslar families also celebrated Passover and other Jewish holidays together. Later, when Anne confronted with local restrictions directed against Jews in 1941, her awareness of being Jewish emerged more distinctly. By October 1941, she was forced to attend the Jewish Lyceum, an all Jewish high school in Amsterdam, and she found herself more and more isolated from many of her non-Jewish friends.

These and many other related changes in Anne's life were caused by dramatic external events in Europe: the beginning of World War II in September 1939 and the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in May 1940. Amsterdam was occupied for five long years (1940-1945). Although the Netherlands had declared themselves as a neutral country this status was not recognized by the National Socialist regime and Hitler's forces invaded the country full force. Queen Wilhelmina and her cabinet fled to England and communicated with the Dutch people on Radio Oranje, a source of information eventually forbidden by the German occupiers with decrees implemented by the administration at home. The years of occupation turned out to be an extremely hard time for the Dutch population, in particular, during the years 1944 and 1945 (with a "Hunger Winter"). Resistance towards the occupiers grew and expressed itself in a multitude of forms, from open demonstrations against policies of the occupiers to the secret printing and distribution of newsletters that gave a more accurate picture of what was happening in the City of Amsterdam in those days (Verzetsmuseum, 2006; 2007). Some of the

long-term consequences of the harsh treatment of the Dutch population by the Nazi occupiers were deep seated and lasting resentments towards the German neighbors, and ambiguous feelings linger even in today's peaceful New Europe political reality (Boterman, 1999; Roowan, 2000; Verheyen, 1993).

The Nazi occupation of Amsterdam had fatal implications for the mixed group of Jewish residents in the city. Amsterdam's Jewish community had a long history starting with Sephardic Jews from the Spanish inquisition which formed a relatively small core group in the late 1500s and 1600s. Eventually, more Ashkenazi Jews from Central and Eastern Europe settled in Amsterdam and the community grew beyond twenty thousand members by 1796, when Jews were granted full and equal rights as citizens. The Amsterdam community was by far the largest and most diverse Jewish community in the Netherlands, and several synagogues for the different branches were established in the city. By 1900, the Jewish community had more than fifty thousand members. The greatest influx after 1930 was the group of émigrés from Germany and Austria many of whom stayed apart from the traditional Orthodox Jewish community life. By 1940, 75,000 Jews lived in Amsterdam which made up close to 10% of the city population. The decrees of the Nazi occupiers in Amsterdam in the early 1940s applied to all residents of Jewish ancestry whether they had longtime roots in the city or were newcomers. One of the first measures was a required registration of all Jews who had arrived after 1933. Otto Frank did so for his family. By 1941, 160,820 persons were registered for the occupied Netherlands ("140,552 Jews", "14,549 half-Jews", and "5,719 quarter-Jews").

In the following months and years, numerous laws and ordinances aimed at the isolation and persecution of Jews were announced and implemented in Amsterdam. The regulations ranged from restricted uses of public places (such as evening curfews or visiting movie theatres) and limitations in the use of transportation (such as the use of streetcars and the ownership of bicycles) to wearing the yellow Star of David. A large part of the Amsterdam population sympathized with their Jewish fellow citizens. A general strike on February 25/26, 1941 was one of the local responses which resulted in a crisis and the establishment of the Joodse Raad (Jewish Council). Later, when Jews were forced to have the Star of David attached to their clothing in public, non-Jews opted to wear the yellow patch as well.

Otto Frank saw it coming and planned ahead. He transferred ownership of his two businesses Opekta and Pectacon to his managers Johannes Kleiman and Victor Kugler and to Jan Gies, husband of Miep Gies, respectively; it was a scheme to avoid being affected by the "aryanization" of businesses campaign in 1941. Both business operations continued through the years of occupation and would provide Otto Frank with a modest income. On a wider scale, plans for going into hiding were pursued and carefully prepared for a chosen day in mid July 1942.

It is estimated that 25,000 to 30,000 Jews living in the occupied Netherlands went into hiding of which about one third were discovered, arrested, and deported. The Nazi occupying forces went to great lengths to locate such hiding places partially with the help of Dutch groups and individuals collaborating with the "Green Police" in Amsterdam. They were paid a bounty for each Jew detected whereas people who hid Jewish residents could receive the death penalty and had to expect to be sent to prison or a concentration camp. By 1942/1943, the German occupying forces had established several camps in the Netherlands including Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Vught as well as the Westerbork transit camp in the Province of Drenthe near the German border from where the large majority of Dutch Jews were deported on to Auschwitz, Sobibor, and other concentration camps in the East. The lives of over 106,000 people or 75% of the Dutch Jews perished in the Holocaust (Gilbert, 1993; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996, pp. 117-123). The much

higher fatality rate— compared to Jews living in Belgium or France—has been attributed to a well established Dutch household registration system available to the Nazis and, most controversial, a misguided compliance of the Jewish Council with the given Nazi detention and deportation orders (Michman, 1979; Fein, 1979; Brothers, 2013).

More than 4,500 children went into hiding and/or were accepted to live with non-Jewish Dutch families. Concerned Jewish parents saw this as a way to save their children from the worst they feared. The last of the “Kindertransport” convoys, a refugee children movement allowing Jewish children to reach safe grounds in the UK, left the Netherlands in May 1940. All this reflected the desperation of the Jewish populations in the occupied territories where systematic persecutions closed in on them.

When Margot Frank received a call-up notice to report to labor service on July 5, 1942, the Frank family decided to go underground some 10 days earlier than planned. In the early morning hours of July 6, Margot bicycled jointly with Miep Gies to 263 Prinsengracht. Otto, Edith, and Anne Frank left their home on Merwedeplein shortly after—leaving a sign “moved to Switzerland” there. Heavily dressed but with no luggage which could have revealed their intentions they walked for more than an hour to reach their new home, the Secret Annex. A week later they were joined by the Van Pels Family (Hermann van Pels, employee at Pectacon, his wife Auguste and son Peter). Four months later the group in hiding invited dentist Fritz Pfeffer to seek refuge in the Secret Annex as well. He was Jewish and like everybody in the group originally from Germany. The eight individuals had to share a space of 75 square meter (or 800 square feet) from then on. The four main helpers of the group in hiding were Otto Frank’s co-workers and friends Johannes Kleiman, Victor Kugler, Miep Gies as well as Elli “Bep” Voskuijl, a young typist hired in 1937. They worked at the business premises in the front of the house, and they formed the support system for the group in hiding in the back of the house. The two parts of the houses were connected by a swing door disguised as a bookcase. Only two other people knew of the group in hiding: Jan Gies, Miep Gies’ husband, and Bep’s father Johannes Hendrik Voskuijl. Both frequently provided help during the next two years.

Anne’s diary which describes in great detail the group’s life in hiding ends with an entry on August 1, 1944. A few days later, the group was betrayed, arrested, and sent to prison jointly with helpers Johannes Kleiman and Victor Kugler. There are two main explanations of how people in hiding were caught by the Nazi occupiers: by careless actions of the people in hiding (or of their helpers) or by active forms of betrayal. In the case of the Frank family and the other group members both explanations might apply. It is documented that the person who tipped off the group in hiding at 263 Prinsengracht received 7.5 guilder per Jew. While the 1948 and 1963/64 investigations into the arrest of the group on August 4, 1944 by SS officer Karl Silberbauer and the Green Police could not find sufficient proof of the betrayal by the initial main suspect, a warehouse worker, the examinations generated the information that several employees of Opekta/Pectacon and some of their spouses had suspicions by late 1943/1944. Inexplicable activities observed in the front of the house and noises coming from the back of the house led them to believe that most likely Jews were hidden somewhere in the building (Paape, 2003, pp. 21-48).

The betrayal has to be placed in the wider context of the living conditions in Amsterdam in 1944. While WWII was at a turning point, the Germans were still firmly in control in the city where a large part of the population was in dire need. Break-ins and thefts were a common occurrence, and burglaries and careless acts in and outside the building are mentioned in several entries of Anne’s diary (Anne Frank House Annual Report, 1999, p. 35; Paape, 2003, pp. 29, 46). In 1999, a former neighbor openly talked about his involvement in some

burglary activities of 1943/1944 when he was a young boy and liked to explore all the backyards of the block. He believed he may have once seen Anne at a window (Stam, 1999). Thus, a wide range of people could have known about the hiding place, and a number of theories as to who betrayed the group evolved and were published (see, for instance, Mueller, 1998). In a more recent explanation, Otto Frank's business relations with the occupying forces and his secret responses to blackmail from an individual with insights into Frank's dealings in the "gray zone" of those years came to the forefront of the speculations (Lee, 2002; Shulevitz, 2003). The search for the informer has remained elusive and the identity of the person could never be conclusively established. Miep Gies and the Anne Frank House have steadfastly maintained: "We shall never know" (Gies & Gold, 2009; Westra, 2008; Leopold & Amahorseija, 2012).

On August 8, 1944 the betrayed group of eight was deported first to the Westerbork transit camp and on Sept 3 from there to Auschwitz. The three day long transport in cattle cars to the large concentration and death camp in Southern Poland happened to be the very last train to Auschwitz out of Westerbork. After the arrival in Auschwitz the group was broken up and each member faced an individual fate. The only survivor of the group was Otto Frank who was among the Auschwitz prisoners liberated by the advancing Soviet troops on January 27, 1945. Herman van Pels and Edith Frank had died earlier in Auschwitz. Fritz Pfeffer died in Neuengamme, Peter van Pels in Mauthausen, his mother Auguste van Pels after deportations to Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald in or near Theresienstadt, and the Frank sisters, first Margot then Anne, in Bergen-Belsen in March 1945. The places of horror where the lives of seven of the eight members of the group ended were part of a larger Nazi concentration camp system in Europe built up to 20 main camps and more than a thousand subsidiary camps by 1944 (Mulder & Prinsen, 1994; Van Der Veen, 2008; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009).

Anne Frank's path during the last seven months of her life has been reconstructed in numerous articles, documentations, and blogs. Probably, the most thorough effort was made by Dutch journalist Lindwer (1992) in a book and film documentary. He interviewed many survivors of the Holocaust who had crossed path with Anne during her last months. Among them was her friend Hanneli Goslar who like the Frank sisters ended up in Bergen-Belsen but survived. She remembered the few short exchanges and communications she had with Anne across barbed wire before the camp was hit with a typhus epidemic resulting in 17,000 deaths among the mostly young and weakened prisoners. Anne died in the belief that both her parents had passed away earlier (Gold, 1997). The liberation of the Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp by the British came just a few weeks later. Jointly with thousands of others Anne Frank was buried in a mass grave. She was among 1.5 million children who died in the Holocaust.

### **The Diary and Its Applications in Other Media**

Anne Frank is one of the most widely known victims of the Holocaust and a symbolic figure for many. Contemporary historians see her personal story as a "window to the Holocaust" (Young, 1999). It was her great talent as a writer as well as her unique, yet typical life path in the most difficult times that is at the source of the continued success of "The Diary of a Young Girl" (Frank, 1952). Still, after nearly 70 years, Anne's oeuvre comes across as fresh and touching, thoughtful and provocative.

Fortunately, her diary was saved. After the arrest of the group in hiding on August 4, 1944, helpers Miep Gies and Bep Voskuijl went back to the Secret Annex and collected the papers and materials scattered over the floor including Anne's diary. In addition, they found many loose pages Anne had written later in the revision of

her diary entries and her other writings. Miep Gies locked all these materials away in her desk before the Green Police and other agencies came back to pick up the furniture and other belongings of the group. Miep Gies had intended to give the diary back to Anne after her return. Only father Otto Frank made it back to Amsterdam, in June 1945, and he lived with Miep and Jan Gies for an extended period. Once it was confirmed that Anne and Margot had died in Bergen-Belsen, Miep Gies handed over the collected materials to Otto Frank.

Frank's response after reading his daughter's entries in her diary, from her 13th birthday on to August 1, 1944, was surprise about the detailed descriptions of what had happened in the past years and the depth of thought her writings revealed. He understood that she had wanted to publish her diary as a book and that he was now responsible for taking on this task. For many years to come he acted as the custodian of her legacy, and he would become the greatest promoter of her writings eventually corresponding with hundreds of readers and fans of Anne Frank worldwide.

Anne had chosen the title of the book as "Het Achterhuis", the Dutch name for the back of a house (versus the Voorhuis in the front) so common in the urban landscape of Amsterdam. Otto Frank followed her advice, and the diary was published after correspondence with family members, local historians and the Contact Publishing Company in 1947. It was an edited and shortened version as father Otto Frank was mainly concerned with preserving "das Wesentliche", the essence of her writings corresponding with the memories he held of his daughter, and it was, as it turned out in the following years, a very legible version which immediately made an impression on its readers. The first edition of 3,000 copies was soon sold out, and several reprints of the edition followed when in 1950 it was decided to have it translated into German, French, and English. The book was a moderate success in the early 1950s. The translation into English in 1952 found a different reception in the UK and in the US. While the book with the English title "Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl" was reviewed very positively in the States, the English market for the book was flat and printing was discontinued in 1953 (but was resumed by a different publisher later). Most surprisingly, a Japanese translation turned out to be a great success early on and throughout the 1950s. It was in post WWII Japan that Anne's words fell on fertile grounds, and an enduring fascination with her personae evolved (Lee, 1999, p. 225).

The adaptation of the book for a Broadway show in 1955 put Anne's story of her life in hiding on center stage. The dramatization of the book won a Tony Award for Best Play and authors Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett received a Pulitzer Prize. Several performances followed in Europe. The play was first shown in Sweden in August 1956, then simultaneously in six German cities in October 1956 and in Amsterdam in November 1956 where it was very well received. An adaptation of the play 20 years later, with Anne Frank played by Hollywood actress Natalie Portman, won the Tony Award for Best Revival of a Play in 1997. Many other forms of dramatization realized in different cultural contexts and languages have occurred over the years and have given more attention to Anne's diary and life story.

In 1959, a movie was shot and widely distributed. Although it was considered artistically and financially a success, with several Oscars for the film, it contributed to a further "romanticizing and sentimentalizing of Anne Frank's story" (Mueller, 1998, p. 276). Several documentaries followed, among others, films focusing on Miep Gies' memories of Anne Frank (Gies & Gold, 1987; 2009), first in the "The Attic", then as "Anne Frank Remembered" which again won an Oscar (for the best documentary feature).

By the 1960/1970s Anne Frank's diary became part of curricula in the public school systems in Germany and in the U.S.. All this resulted in an increased interest in Anne Frank's personae, and father Otto Frank was busier than ever answering many letters he received. In 1953, he married Fritzi Markovits Gieringer, an

Auschwitz survivor who had also lost her spouse, and they moved to Basel, Switzerland, where Otto Frank's mother Alice Stern Frank still lived—she passed away in 1953—and his sister Helene “Leni” Elias had made her home since 1930. In 1963, Otto and Fritzi Frank established the Anne Frank-Fonds foundation. Over the years, this foundation has made important contributions to the legacy of Anne Frank, most of all by funding projects. It has held the copy rights to the book and associated rights.

Other organizations which helped considerably in the further dissemination of Anne Frank's story and humanistic values were sister organizations of the Anne Frank House: the Anne Frank Center in New York, the Anne Frank Trust in London and the Anne Frank Zentrum in Berlin. The Anne Frank House and the partner organizations in the U.S., UK, and Germany initiated and/or co-sponsored the traveling exhibitions “Anne Frank—A History for Today” and “Anne Frank in the World Today” in hundreds of cities worldwide. Thus, “Anne Frank” became a household name in many cultures, and her diary version of 1947/1952 ascended to a highly acclaimed, popular volume widely read or quoted.

Otto Frank died on August 19, 1980 in Basel. He willed the diary and all the other written materials he had in his possession to an Amsterdam based Dutch organization, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation. It was the broadcast on Radio Orange on March 28, 1944, with an address read by former Dutch education minister Gerrit Bolkestein asking the Dutch citizens to keep all documents of the ongoing war that was the original impetus for Anne Frank to prepare her diary for publication.

After careful review of the many materials, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation presented a scholarly analysis of Anne Frank's writings in “The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition” first published in Dutch, then in English (1986/1989). In 2003, an updated tome of 851 pages entitled “The Revised Critical Edition” (Frank and Netherlands Institute for War Documentation) was published. It has served as a principal resource for scholarship on a wide range of Anne Frank matters.

One of the major achievements of the team working on Anne Frank's writings was that it brought clarity to the diverse versions and entries of Anne Frank over the years. They singled out three versions of the diary: (1) the original entries Anne had written in her diary (available from three books); (2) the revised entries Anne had made on more than 300 separate loose pages during the time period April to August 1944 regarding earlier entries she felt no longer reflected her feelings as a 15 years old person; and (3) the selected and edited versions of the entries (by Otto Frank, his advisers and by the publishing house) for the 1947 book edition. While the diary entries from (1) and (2) were each final and completed text versions, (3) was the result of a process, with several typescripts leading to the published version of “Het Achterhuis”. The team also examined the first translations of the book into German and English.

A comparative investigation into the various diary entries showed that Otto Frank had at times substantially edited some of his daughter's diary entries. When he had the choice of including her original entries or the revised entries Anne had produced at age 15 for later publication, he occasionally preferred the younger Anne's comments. He also left out pages where Anne had discussed sensitive matters such as Anne's comments on her parents' marital relations and the section on her sexual awakening. At some point Otto Frank had decided to give five pages of the diary with sensitive content to Cornelius Suijk, a former employee at the Anne Frank House. These pages became public knowledge in 1998. Otto Frank's heavy handed (or inexperienced) editorship of the 1947/1952 book editions and his deliberate omission of text sections raised some eyebrows and criticism (Nussbaum, 1999). Though, the general public and the wider Anne Frank readership seemed not to mind. The editors from the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation concluded



after years of work on this subject matter: “Anne Frank has stayed the person she was, despite our investigations, despite our full publication of her diaries” (Barnouw & Van Der Stroom, 2003, p. 187).

As a result of the research conducted by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (1986/1989) and other revelations, a new English version replaced the “popular version” by 1995. The diary was published as “The Definitive Edition” and named Anne Frank as author, Otto Frank and Mirjam Pressler as editors as well as Susan Massotty as the translator. This edition, with many entries from the b) version, was about 30% longer. It eventually also included the previously omitted pages.

A second major achievement of the Netherlands Institute of War Documentation was the publication of all the writings of Anne Frank known to date. The editors of *The Revised Critical Edition* (2003) presented a complete and annotated version of “The Tales from the Annex”—a few sections had been selected for various published diary versions—as well as other writings of hers found in separate notebooks. For the first time, Anne Frank’s oeuvre was made available in a more complete and comprehensive way. A Special Exhibit “Anne Frank the Writer: An Unfinished Story” was shown in Washington, D.C. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2003; Becker, 2003).

What is still missing from her works? Researchers realized that the original entries from 1943 (and thus, possibly two diary books) were missing. The three diary books retrieved from the Secret Annex did not comprise the original entries between December 5, 1942 and December 11, 1943. Fortunately, Anne Frank’s revisions of the entries found on separate loose pages cover this period. Also still missing is Otto Frank’s very first transcript of the diary from 1945. It was the one he had written in German so that his mother Alice Stern Frank in Basel could read and understand her granddaughter’s comments about the life in hiding. The lost transcript could have shown more clearly what Otto Frank’s preferred sections of Anne’s diary were.

More information and documents on all the members of the group in hiding have become available over the years including on Fritz Pfeffer (the maligned roommate Albert Dussel in Anne’s diary) whose correspondence with lover Charlotte Kaletta carried back and forth by Miep Gies 1942-1944 were found (Metselaar, 1999; Gies & Gold, 2009). Though, one highly interesting document is still missing. It is the diary that Margot Frank had kept (Gies & Gold, 2009). If retrieved, it could shed light on the changing relationship between the two sisters during the time in hiding.

Anne Frank’s stature as a writer has changed over the past decades. While her diary was reviewed and judged as an outstanding example of juvenile literature in the 1950s and 1960s, her oeuvre is now ranked among the most important documents produced in recent history. In 2009, the diary of Anne Frank was placed on the UNESCO documentary heritage list and has been included in the Memory of the World Register.

Anne Frank’s expressed values and ideals, in particular during her late writing period when she turned 15, have convinced many that she could or should be considered a leading humanistic thinker of our times. Thus, *Time Magazine* selected her among the 100 most influential persons of the 20th century: “The reason for her immortality was basically literary. She was an extraordinarily good writer, for any age, and the quality of her work seemed a direct result of a ruthlessly honest disposition” (Rosenblatt, 1999).

It has been estimated that 15 to 16 million copies of the diary were sold by 2003 (Frank and Netherlands Institute of War Documentation, 1989, p. 76). There is no perceptible decrease in the interest in Anne Frank’s writings in sight, with new translations of the diary and other ventures launched in recent years. Exact figures and trends, though, are not available as the Anne Frank-Fonds in Basel is a privately held and tightly managed foundation (Mueller, 1998, p. 278).

With the success came controversy and conflict. Some of the issues and problems hit Otto Frank early on, during the 1950s, other points of contention have lingered over an extended time period.

Surprisingly, one of the early fights Otto Frank had to face and endure was a series of controversial interactions with an outspokenly Jewish author, Meyer Levin. In 1952/1953, he wrote a potential screen play based on the book. Though, his proposal was rejected by Otto Frank and a chosen consultant, playwright Lillian Hellman, and Goodrich's and Hackett's adaptation which later won a Pulitzer Prize was accepted. Levin argued that the real reason for the rejection was that his dramatization was considered "too Jewish". Originally coming from Eastern Europe and being an Orthodox Jew, he resented the way he was treated by the more pronounced secular German Jews Frank and Hellman. The case was settled in 1959 and Levin (1973) wrote a book about his "Obsession (with Anne Frank)" (Graver, 1995; Barnouw, 2003). The contentious issue of whether Anne Frank has been portrayed as sufficiently Jewish by an individual or group making decisions about Anne Frank's public representation has occasionally flared up, for example in another legal fight (Pearl, 1997, p. 8).

The main attack on Anne Frank's writings came from Neo-Nazis, Holocaust deniers and revisionists who challenged the authenticity of the diary. Several right wing politicians, from Denmark and Sweden as well as from Germany, claimed that the book was a forgery. An adolescent could have never produced such a prose, and they intimated that Otto Frank himself (and/or Meyer Levin) was the real author. Some of these attacks resulted in long simmering political campaigns and legal actions. Starting in 1978, one of the last major challenges to the authenticity of the diary came from Robert Faurisson, a professor of Literature at the University of Lyons, France and Siegfried Verbeke, an independent historian from Belgium (Faurisson, 1982, 1985; Verbeke, 1991). Their claims were fought in the courts for over a decade. It ended in a victory for the Anne Frank House and Anne Frank Fonds in 1998. In the mid 1980s, the Netherlands Forensic Institute conducted a thorough analysis of the diary and other written materials of Anne Frank which consisted of handwriting identification and document examination. It confirmed that these documents were Anne Frank's authorship (Frank and the Netherlands Institute of War Documentation, 1986/1989; 2003).

With the release of a new diary version, "The Definitive Edition" in 1995, controversy arose about the now included pages on Anne Frank's examination of her own private body parts. In a few school districts in the U.S. these sections were considered sexual content and the book was taken from the recommended reading list for the students. Such book banning had little effect—as on a national scale the diary entries were even more strongly supported as a truthful depiction of an adolescent's curiosity in her own changing body.

Finally, frictions between the two main organizations Otto Frank had started in 1957 and 1963 became public (Pearl, 1997): the Anne Frank Stichting (Anne Frank House) foundation in charge of the Secret Annex in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel in charge of the legacy of the writer Anne Frank. Both foundations were concerned about a potential commercialization in the name of Anne Frank, and took legal actions in reserving this responsibility and privilege for their own organization. The lawsuit over the Anne Frank trademark and naming rights was eventually decided in favor of the Anne Frank House.

In a wider sense, it was a rift between the concerned heirs and remaining close relatives of Anne Frank and the equally motivated long time custodians of a near sacred place for the large group of fans where their heroine, Anne Frank, had once lived and written her diary. Can the right to a name be inherited or had it to be earned? Who owns Anne Frank? While such philosophical questions are occasionally relevant and poignant in the clarification of the duties and rewards to be expected, they do not give answers to the more mundane task of how to manage a literary landscape that has attracted 27 million visitors since its opening in 1960.

### **The Anne Frank House: From a Best Kept Secret to a Major Tourist Attraction in Amsterdam**

Literary landscapes represent a distinct type of tourist attraction and a multitude of examples can be found in any given culture. In England, some of the literary landscapes that stand out are Jane Austen's Bath and its surroundings and Shakespeare's Stratford-on-Avon, both highly frequented by heritage tourists. There are also many places in the U.S. that are closely associated with a writer such as Mark Twain's Hannibal on the Mississippi River ("Tom Sawyer", "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn"), William Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County in the Deep South, and John Steinbeck's "Cannery Row" in Monterey, California. Tourists might be attracted to small towns like Haworth Village in Yorkshire where the Bronte sisters lived and wrote such locally based novels as "Wuthering Heights" or to large urban settings such as James Joyce's Dublin ("Ulysses") or the East End of "Victorian London" so distinctly depicted in some of Charles Dickens' novels.

It has been argued that tourists are inherently interested in visiting places which are associated with death and disaster. The tourists' fascination with the darker side of humanity—often termed "dark tourism"—expressed in Jack-the-Ripper tours as well as in visits to the trenches of World War I in the Fields of Flanders where hundreds of thousands of lives perished. Many of these destinations are heritage sites with a controversial history. Consequently, there has been dissonance in the management of the sites. It is often not quite clear whether the tragedy that occurred in a particular place is told from the perspective of the victims, of the perpetrators or the uninvolved (and maybe innocent) bystanders. Visits to heritage sites may contribute to lasting peace between groups or incite new controversy (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Hartmann, 2013).

Strands of the above discussed forms of tourism may well apply to the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. Anne Frank's chronicles of the times and events from the Achterhuis/Secret Annex created one of the most widely recognized literary landscapes, and the arrest of the group in hiding at the house on 263 Prinsengracht marked the beginnings of their horrific journey to Nazi concentration camps in Central and Eastern Europe. The house on 263 Prinsengracht is closely associated with tragedy and perished lives.

Few people involved in the efforts of preserving "Anne's Place" in the mid/late 1950s could have imagined that the nondescript brick house would become one of Amsterdam's leading tourist attractions. In 1955, the buildings along the block and on the corner of the Prinsengracht and Westermarkt were purchased by the Berghaus Company, a clothing manufacturer who had the plan to demolish the buildings and to erect a large office building in their place. The campaign to save the building on 263 Prinsengracht from the wrecking ball went public with an article in the Dutch news paper *Het Vrije Volk* on November 23, 1955. The demolition was prevented, and a foundation, the Anne Frank Stichting (Anne Frank House), was set up on May 3, 1957 under the leadership of Otto Frank. In October 1957, the Berghaus Company donated the historic building to the foundation. A rapidly strengthening fund-raising campaign supported by Mayor G. Van Hall and other civic leaders in Amsterdam, enabled the Anne Frank House foundation to purchase 265 Prinsengracht, the neighboring house that was structurally connected as well as the house on the Prinsengracht and Westermarkt corner in October 1958. The latter was designated to become a student dorm. The restoration of 263 Prinsengracht could finally begin, and a small museum giving access to the Secret Annex was opened on May 3, 1960.

There was considerable interest in "Anne's Place" even in the early 1950s when the employees (still)

working in the front of the house started to show the empty space in the back of the house to dozens or hundreds of curious people who stopped by. In the first year of its opening (1960) the Anne Frank House received close to 10 thousand visitors. It was a best kept secret in Amsterdam but the news spread with more and more articles featuring the preserved historic house. The number jumped to 180,000 in 1970 the year when the Secret Annex had to be closed temporarily for restoration of the heavily traveled sections. During the 1970s the numbers climbed to 327,000 (1979). The upward trend continued in the 1980s when visitors to the Anne Frank House nearly doubled (606,000 in 1989). It became more and more evident that the management practices at the confined site could no longer meet the demands of a continuously increasing stream of visitors.

By the late 1980s, first plans to expand the museum were drawn and discussed in the Amsterdam City Council. In November 1989, it was proposed by the City of Amsterdam that the construction of a new building on the site of the student housing area (corner of Prinsengracht/Westermarkt) should become part of a larger Anne Frank House complex. "The Maintenance and Future of the Anne Frank House" plan was developed and implemented by 1999. The result was not only a careful preservation of the historic Secret Annex site but a reconstruction of the front of the house as it had functioned in the early 1940s (Anne Frank House 1999). The adjoining building (265 Prinsengracht) was used for the museum route as well as for educational activities in the dissemination of Anne Frank's ideals and humanistic values. The corner building housed the main infrastructure and amenities (entrance, cashier, book store, café etc.).

The design of most of the exhibits along the new museum route went through major technological updates. It was a jump from low tech to high tech. Visitors entering the house on the ground floor in the front of the house could select from an introduction in eight languages. Video clippings on flat screens saw Miep Gies telling her story in Dutch with subtitles in English, Spanish, Italian, French, and German. Other exhibits like the one on the life paths of the eight individuals in hiding were explained in English and Dutch subtitles. A CD of the House, with a visual representation of the rooms in front and in the back of the house, became available. And educational activities were, of course, now offered with interactive media. The Secret Annex, though, remained as sparse and empty as Otto Frank had encountered the former hiding place after his return to Amsterdam in June 1945. It was a deliberate decision to keep it in this state, as authentic as possible and as sparse for the person exploring and contemplating Anne's situation in the confined space.

In short, the Anne Frank House had grown from a small, protected heritage site in the 1960s to a well equipped place of learning, with educational resources and amenities, archives and a research division by 1999. Since then the Anne Frank House has taken on a wider responsibility for Anne Frank's legacy. When the new complex re-opened after temporary closure in September 1999, it employed about 90 staff members. Preparing for the next decade, the organization made great efforts to reach a higher level in providing professional services for their customers. The Anne Frank House was able to meet new and more specific demands as well as to handle more visitors. In 2007, the number of visitors surpassed the one million mark for the first time.

What attracts an increasing number of visitors to the Anne Frank House (see Figure 1)? Who are the main groups drawn to Amsterdam to see the place they have come to know by reading the diary? As the book has been translated into numerous languages and some of the early exposure to Anne Frank's writings happens at the high school level, the majority of the visitors are teenagers and young adults from abroad. It is mostly young people from the U.S., U.K., Germany, Japan, Australia, and other far-away places who patiently line up for the visit.

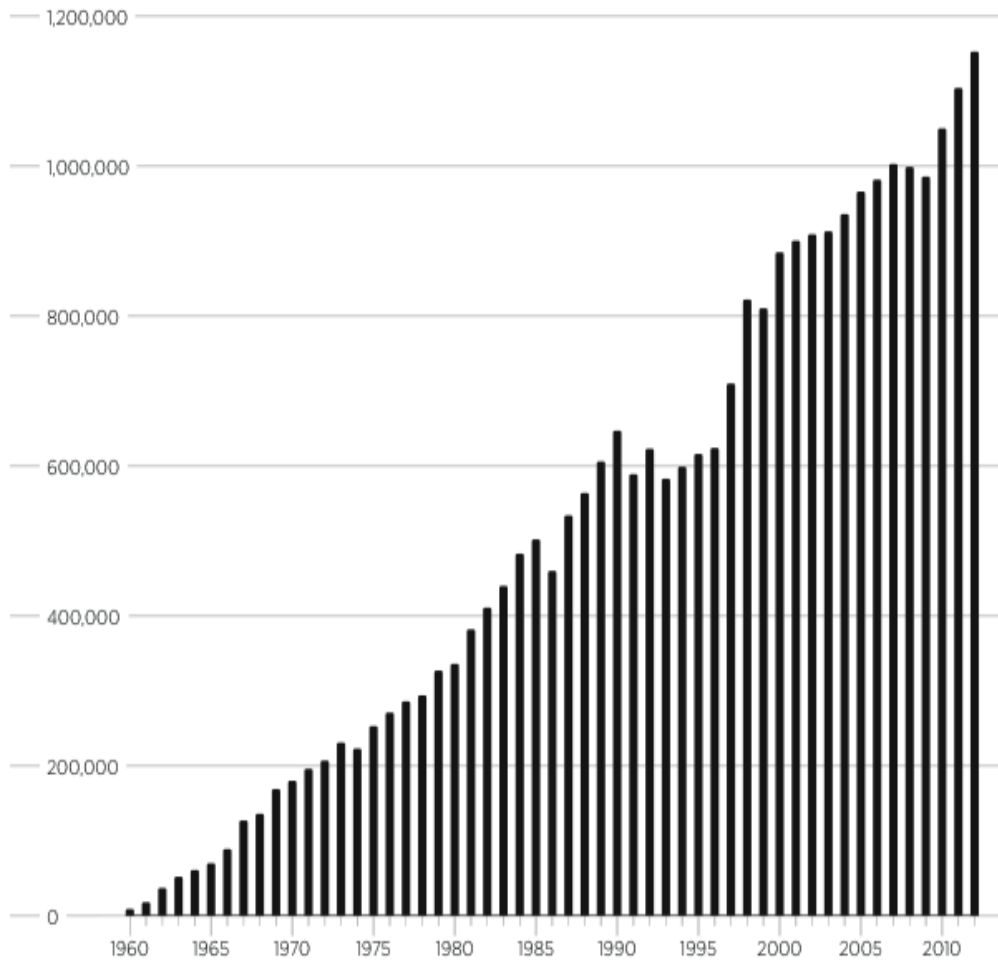


Figure 1. Visitors to the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam 1960-2012.

The Anne Frank House addresses many themes and topics in the museum route and the special exhibits they regularly organize. The “House With a Story” (1999) and Westra (2000) offers, in fact, multiple narratives (see Figure 2). Core themes have been the lives and fate of Anne Frank, of her family, of the other people in hiding and of the helpers working in the front of the house and providing the life line for the people hidden in the back. Approaching the swing door—concealed as a book case—between the two parts of the house 263 Prinsengracht and entering the Secret Annex from there are key moments in the visitors’ experience of the historic place. Anne Frank’s diary entries and her ideals and humanistic values are also central themes of the exhibits at the House. Further, historical background information is given in a number of exhibits to the interested audience, from the rise of the Nazi Socialist rule in Germany to the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands and the Holocaust in Europe. Probably, it is the close-up of Anne’s world and the far reaching themes that make the visit to the “House With a Story” so special and memorable for many.

In the first 10 years after the complete reconstruction and expansion of the House (1999/2000-2009/2010), the Anne Frank House management team under the long-time leadership of Executive Director Hans Westra had to consolidate the new stature the institution had gained in town and internationally. A number of critical issues had to be addressed.

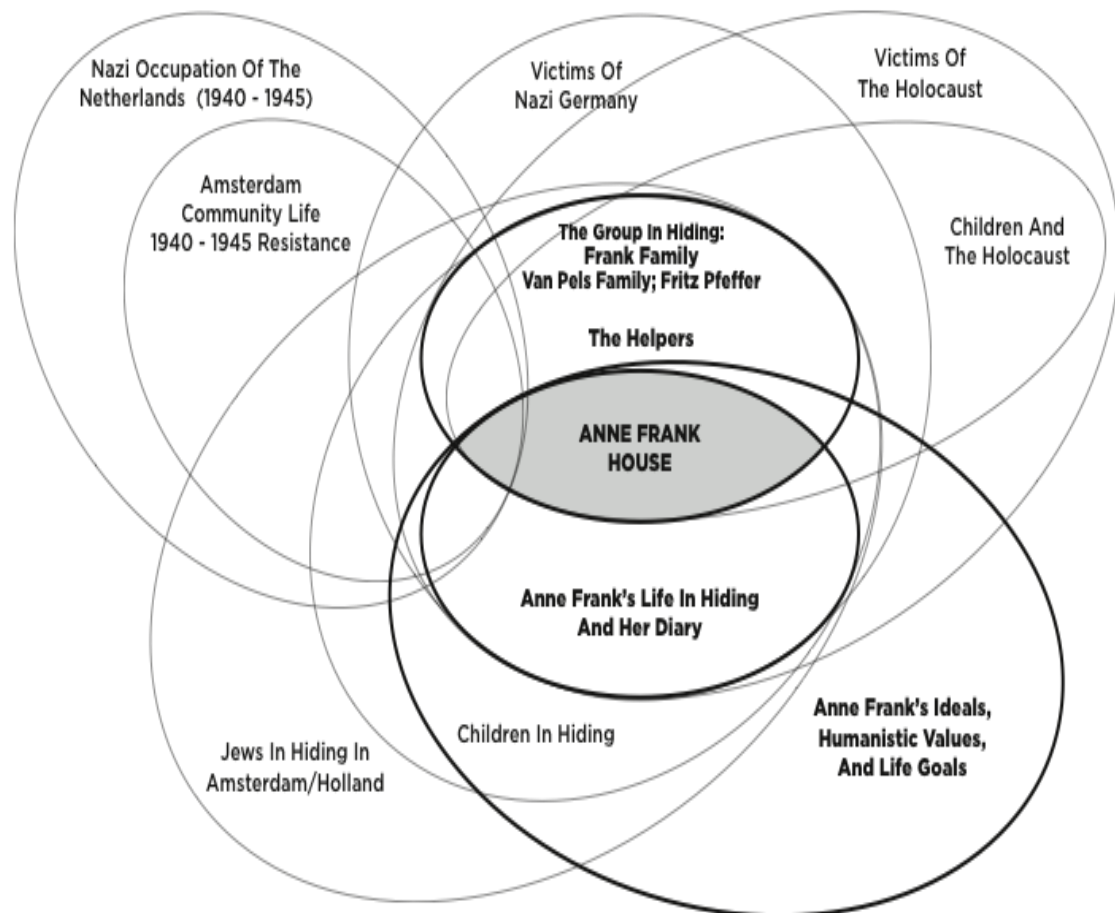


Figure 2. The “House With a Story” (Anne Frank House) intersecting themes and narratives.

First, the Anne Frank House had to constructively deal with the relationship to the Anne Frank-Fonds in Basel gone sour after the fallout over the naming rights. The two organizations started to communicate and meet again, and the Anne Frank-Fonds was listed as a sister organization in the annual reports by 2002 (Anne Frank House Annual Report). They were involved in a number of joint projects including the virtual museum initiative (2008-2010). In 2007, Bernd “Buddy” Elias, Anne Frank’s cousin and chair of the Anne Frank-Fonds, loaned some 25 thousand family documents to the House for an inventory and the possible future combining of the two organizations’ archives. The Anne Frank-Fonds archives included the many photographs Otto Frank, an enthusiastic amateur photographer, had taken of his daughters. In 2009, the Anne Frank House received all the diary books Anne Frank had kept as a permanent loan from the Netherlands Institute of War Documentation. All this contributed to a widening resource base and strengthened the position of the Anne Frank House as a research institution and publisher in the field.

For a long time, the Anne Frank House had catered predominantly to an international audience (Dutch visitors made up only 15% to 20%), and the institution was marked by a pronounced international orientation. Not surprisingly, the House maintained friendly relationships with many foreign institutions, for instance, Yad Vashem, in Israel, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in the U.S. local connections were not as strong, and it took special efforts by Hans Westra and his management team to develop closer ties with other related museums in town such as the Verzets (Resistance) Museum and the local Jewish Museum. Otto Frank

was neither part of the resistance nor a committed member of the Amsterdam Jewish community. He was more of a pragmatic businessman with a secular education, and until his death in 1980 few forms of active collaboration existed. This changed when Hans Westra and the Anne Frank House worked jointly with the Verzets (Resistance) Museum on a brochure featuring a themed neighborhood walk “Persecution and Resistance in Amsterdam 1940-1945” (Verzets Museum, 2006). The tour started at the Anne Frank House and ended at the Verzets Museum in the old Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam. It also included a number of new heritage sites, monuments, and markers in town, such as the Homomonument on the nearby Keizersgracht, in the honor of the many gays persecuted and murdered in the early 1940s, and the marker at the Jonas Daniel Meijerplein, where communist dock workers had organized an early protest against the Anti-Jewish decrees. The Anne Frank House also found common grounds with the Jewish Historical Museum and some collaboration developed. In the effort to revamp their outdated exhibits the Jewish community developed a new children’s wing in the museum featuring the theme “Children and the Holocaust”—equally important to the agenda of the Anne Frank House. Subsequently, several brochures for a neighborhood walk or bicycle ride in Jewish Amsterdam were offered, and all these recommended tours included the Anne Frank House (Amsterdam Tourism and Convention Board, 2007; MacBike Bicycle Rental, 2008). Finally, the Anne Frank House’s prominent location on the Prinsengracht Canal allowed the organization to be part of the annual Grachten Festival and to be included in the celebrations of 400 years of Canals in Amsterdam.

In the late 1990s and in the early 2000s the Anne Frank House received strong financial support from state and city agencies as well as local organizations which were crucial for the restructuring of the Anne Frank House 1999 and the development of new programs. The financial resources of the House, a non-profit organization with income coming largely (90% to 95%) from the entrance fees, were limited. While the city of Amsterdam and the private sector liked to work with the internationally renowned Anne Frank House, good public relations with the leading Amsterdam civic groups have been a “must” for the House.

In the years 2007 to 2012, the Anne Frank House has been ranked among the three leading museums in Amsterdam, jointly with the Van Gogh Museum and the Rijksmuseum (fully re-opened after 10 years of rebuilding, renovation, and restoration) which annually receive more than one million visitors. Worldwide, the Anne Frank House is among the top six to eight memorial sites and museums of the Holocaust receiving half a million to two million visitors a year, jointly with the following institutions: Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., the memorial sites at the former Nazi concentration camps at Auschwitz near Krakow, at Dachau near Munich and at Buchenwald near Weimar as well as the “Topography of Terror” Exhibition on the grounds of the former Gestapo headquarters in Berlin.

The Anne Frank House has also been at the center of an expanding “In the Footsteps of Anne Frank” tourism. There are an increasing number of committed Anne Frank fans who have started to visit all the sites connected to her life, from Frankfurt and Aachen to Bergen-Belsen (Rockstroh, 2013). Meanwhile most of the places where Anne spent years or months of her life have plaques, markers, or reminders of her journey. Recent examples for this trend in commemorating all the phases in Anne Frank’s life are the protected uses of the Frank Family residence at Merwedeplein 37/2 and a sculpture in front of the housing complex in Amsterdam’s River Quarter as well as street markers in the two Frankfurt neighborhoods where the Frank Family once lived. A special Frank Family Center within the Frankfurt Jewish Museum is in development, a new commemorative site which may end up getting some of the Anne Frank-Fonds archives documents.

Many communities and groups have made great strides in preserving memories and the physical evidence

of Anne Frank in their locale, and only few of such efforts have failed. In the case of the Anne Frank's Achterhuis/Secret Annex one major loss has recently been deplored: the loss of the old chestnut tree Anne Frank repeatedly mentioned in her diary. It was visible from the attic window, though the tree was on a neighboring Keizersgracht lot. Possibly weakened by soil contamination it fell in a storm 2010 and finally died, not before several saplings of the "Anne Frank Tree" were saved and planted in other places in her honor.

The main question the Anne Frank House management team has been confronted with in the past few years is how Anne's Achterhuis/Secret Annex can be best preserved for and protected from her greatest admirers. Since 2007, the annual number of visitors has been consistently in the range of one million. Long lines of people waiting to be admitted eventually to the House formed outside on many days. Despite keeping the House open year-round (except Yom Kippur) and for longer hours, 13 hours during the summer months (since 1998), the lines persisted. Online ticket purchases have helped but could not substantially reduce the pressure. The main capacity issue and bottle neck was the maximum number considered appropriate for the visit and experience of the Secret Annex. The Anne Frank House decided that no more than 400 persons per hour should be admitted to this spatially confined area (Boswijk, Peelen, & Olthof, 2012, p. 82).

What were other management strategies available in this situation? The Anne Frank House pondered the possibilities and realized that a technological answer to this problem could be found with the development of a virtual reality version of the house. Faced with the mission and the main problem—"everybody can come, we have more demand than we can (currently) organize" (Westra, 2008)—the Anne Frank House pursued this option.

### **The Virtual Wing of the Anne Frank House: Issues and Trends**

The beginnings date back to 1999. During the restructuring process of the House and museum complex a "virtual journey", a first virtual reality version, was produced as a CD-Rom, in the form of a series of photographs depicting a furnished version of the house in the years 1942-1944 (Anne Frank House Annual Report, 1999, p. 10). The CD-Rom was an immediate award winning bestseller.

The Anne Frank House made early efforts in presenting the programs and exhibits of the House on a web site beginning in 1997. It renewed the web site in 1999 doubling the number of visitors from 1998. In 2004, the web site was moved to [www.annefrank.org](http://www.annefrank.org) first available in Dutch, English and German, now in six languages. It has been a highly frequented web site, with 1,875,000 million hits in 2005 and 3,000,000 million hits in 2006. An additional Anne Frank Web Guide [www.annefrankguide.net](http://www.annefrankguide.net) was launched in 2005. This site is now available in 15 languages and for users in 24 different countries.

Discussions within the Anne Frank House over "going virtual reality" became more urgent in 2007/2008 when the one million mark in annual visitation was reached. The virtual museum option was on the table, and the planning for a three dimensional version of the house with a possible introduction at the occasion of the 50th anniversary in 2010 had started (Westra, 2008). At least three main reasons spoke for a "virtual wing" of the museum: (1) millions of people could explore and experience Anne's hiding place including those not able to take the trip to Amsterdam; (2) school classes, groups, and individuals could better prepare for the visit; and (3) the virtual version could, if not immediately helping to reduce the capacity problems, to address the limited accessibility issue on a different technological level—with the additional bonus of showing parts of the house, like the attic of the Secret Annex, that cannot be seen when visiting the physical museum.

Creating the Secret Annex Online with a three-dimensional online environment was a carefully crafted



project. Parts of the 1999 electronic pictures from the CD-Rom were re-used for a 3D visualization of the front and the back of the house. What makes the Secret Annex Online so appealing is an interactive set-up allowing the users to move quickly through the chosen sections of the house or remain in a particular room while listening to a narrator or a young Anne Frank voice who explain specifics of the house or her adventures there. It combines elements of virtual travel with the reliving of a literary landscape presented in a personal way by the admired author. The new virtual reality version of the Anne Frank House achieved with the help of more than a dozen local and foreign professional organizations and individuals won several awards including the Webby Award 2011 (Anne Frank House Annual Report, 2011; Boswijk et al., 2012).

Approximately 2.5 million unique visitors/hits were recorded in the first three years (April 28th, 2010-May 1st, 2013). The largest user groups were from the U.S.. The Anne Frank House began using social media by April, 2010 and now has more than 50,000 followers on Facebook. In April, 2012, a new mobile application, “Anne’s Amsterdam”, became available. The app can be downloaded on smart phones, and so far (by May 1st, 2013) close to 40 thousand users have taken advantage of the opportunity. This project was an addition to the Anne Frank Timeline from the [www.annefrank.org](http://www.annefrank.org) web site as well as a continuation of the neighborhood walk “Persecution and Resistance in Amsterdam 1940-1945: Memories of WWII”, with considerable input from the Verzets (Resistance) Museum in 2005/2006. The new app allowed the user to see personal photographs and historic clippings which highlight those places in Amsterdam which had direct or indirect meaning in the life of Anne Frank 1935-1942. Again, the Anne Frank House decided to select a technologically advanced form to reach out to its large “constituency”, young people, some living in The Netherlands, the majority abroad.

Has the Secret Annex Online (and the more frequent uses of social media) helped to reduce the capacity problems? It seemed to play only a minor role in the further improvement of the management situation at the House. In fact, the visitation numbers continued to go up and have reached a new record high for 2012: 1,152,700 visitors. It could be argued (1) that visits to the Secret Annex Online web site satisfied a first curiosity among the many Anne Frank fans; or (2) that with the visit to the virtual museum the appetite for “more”, the real visit making a truly personal connection to Anne’s world possible, was wetted.

Was the highly sophisticated development of the Secret Annex Online site worth the efforts? Was the money given by several local agencies and organizations as well as other donors well invested? It seems the visitors to the Anne Frank House with the new web site are better prepared for the visit than ever. It was certainly a pioneering achievement on behalf of the Anne Frank House, yet with the potential of changing or even transforming the nature of the visit to the heritage site they wish to preserve and enhance, mark and interpret for many years to come.

Virtual wings of museums have become a more common occurrence worldwide. Meanwhile most physical museums have an online presence. There are numerous examples of how advanced digital technology can be used for a high quality online presentation of exhibits either from the interior of a museum or at an open air situation. The addition of virtual reality sites has become a rapidly moving front with more and more high tech companies providing services, locally and globally, in this arena.

There are quite a few museums “out there” that only exist online—also called digital museums, cyber museums, or web museums—a phenomenon which dates back to the mid- and late-1990s. Initially, these were mostly museums in the field of computer art or digital productions. However, the idea has spread to all kinds of museum collections which wish to be, at least in electronic form, in the public eye.

One of the most interesting developments in this field is an increasing trend towards a digital documentation of heritage sites. This frequently helps to preserve the record of historic environments in jeopardy. While the deterioration of the physical condition of historic structures cannot be halted at times or is financially not feasible, the digital documentation provides a means to preserve the memory.

Coming back to the Anne Frank House, a house barely rescued from destruction in the 1950s but set in a maturing and aging mixed use neighborhood of Amsterdam, its virtual reality version might be just a first step in preserving what once was at and near the house. “Going virtual reality” might be a largely acceptable option and a sensually appealing way of dealing with the losses of public memory we face in our rapidly changing world.

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## Verbal Abuse: Russian View

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An important part of human communication—verbal abuse—shows signs of specifically national features. So far the Russian language of law is sadly lacking a few terms necessary in legal procedures concerning cases of human rights violation. The “Westernization” of Russian collectivist mentality makes the solution of the problem still more urgent.

*Keywords:* verbal abuse, hate speech, fighting words, harassment, offense, insult, obscenity, indecency

Nowadays, Russian society experiences a dramatic change as far as the role of the individual is concerned. Russian collectivist way of thinking has never thought much of the fate of a common man. Throughout the hard centuries of Russian history, people have had every reason to think that only together they could withstand the numberless hardships and calamities on their way. Consequently, the concepts of personal dignity and self-esteem did not mean for them as much as they mean for individualist nations in the West.

These differences help explain why the legal vocabulary reflecting respect for the individual in Western countries by far exceeds that in Russia. Strange as it may seem at first, there is no established Russian term embracing all sorts of offensive idioms. The impression is that abuse of an individual is not thought of as some serious breach of peace. At any rate, calling names or accusing others of some misdeed here in Russia, as a rule, seldom led to a serious rupture of relations. People knew only too well that one day they will need help from their neighbors and any estrangement would be paid very dearly for.

Things are changing quickly nowadays, and Russian mentality more and more often shows signs of Westernization. More and more often, Russian courts have to consider cases where people accuse each other of violating their human rights by encroaching upon their sense of dignity and honor. Similarly, Russian journalists often find themselves in the center of some scandal when they are accused of printing slanderous articles and inflicting harm on the good names of honest people. Evidently, time has come for the Russian law to arm itself with verbal ammunition to meet the new demands. It is about time to suggest new legal terms or to fill old ones with a more exact meaning. Here the venerable time-honored English legal tradition may be made some use of.

Obviously, the list of such expressions should embrace all the most obscene vulgarities, as well as quite “decent” vocabulary acceptable in polite society but used in the offensive way.

It should be noted that English law is a proud possessor of quite a number of terms concerning encroachment on human rights which Russian law is sadly lacking. For example, there are two English terms which are not easily translated into Russian: hate speech and fighting words. The meaning of the terms is prompted by the inner form of the words hate and fighting. Hate speech are words one hurls at the hateful opponent, while fighting words provoke a fight. Naturally, it is not easy to discriminate between the two when

one finds oneself in the midst of a serious squabble. Nevertheless it may be useful sometimes to see when your opponent is only calling names or is ready to punch your nose.

But English law vocabulary possesses one more important term, harassment, any antisocial act performed against the will of the person. Most of the time by harassment is meant an importunate attempt on the part of a man to win a woman's attention. Evidently, not only verbal act is possible here. Again, there is no one-word Russian term, though the act itself, of course, is not a rare phenomenon here as everywhere. Recently, though, Russians have begun to just borrow the English term which in Cyrillic alphabet looks like *харассмент*.

Lastly, there exists the collocation verbal abuse, which, probably, is the closest term to the Russian "obsyvanie", name-calling, or literally "slovesnoye oskorblenie". The good and bad side of the term is its universal nature, as it embraces all sorts of offence you can inflict on others with the help of your tongue. The realm of the verbal abuse is practically limitless, as we all know that a seemingly mild word may sometimes produce the effect of a bomb explosion.

The most vulgar part of the vocabulary on discussion is universally condemned in any national culture, violation of the taboo often leading to severe penalty. But it is true that any attempt to exterminate the forbidden language is futile. As long as there is hatred among people they will make use of hate speech, the dirtier it be the better. The usefulness of verbal attack was well expressed in an old medical journal asserting that the first man who swore at you instead of breaking your head with a stone has laid the foundation of our civilization.

It is impossible to make up a list of offensive words or idioms which would sound equally unacceptable in different cultures. The literal translation into Russian of the English Fuck! or French Merde! or German Scheisse! etc. would be utterly misleading, and the only way out seems to render the terms quoted with the help of various idiomatic expressions equal in force but bearing no relation to the literal meaning of the original. More than that, even within a certain national culture one and the same abusive word may produce quite a different effect, be it used in the presence of a fishmonger or a teacher of good manners. True, manners change quickly, and what was absolute taboo only yesterday, may be tolerated today. However, some rules of polite society are quite tenacious.

One should also bear in mind that one and the same word may play the role of a rude address and a term of endearment, or sound just neutral. "A man with a wooden leg" said in the absence of the person thus described sounds neutral, while direct address "You, wooden leg!" is an example of offensive rudeness.

One of the most delicate points to be discussed is censorship of the verbal abuse.

Nowadays, when the attitude of Russians to the concepts of personal dignity and honor is on the upsurge, it is very important to discriminate between the Russian notions of offence and insult. In Russian, offence («обида» obida, pronounced [ə'bi:də]) is outside the competence of jurisdiction, while insult («оскорбление» oskorblenie, pronounced [əskərbl'eniə]) certainly is. Yet discrimination between the two often raises difficult questions. Here is an attempt to define both these notions.

Offence ("obida"), on the part of the offended person, may be defined as a feeling caused by an accusation of having done something wrong or if someone is criticizing you for this or that demeanor or character streak. A person may feel offended when the offender critically refers to the person's physical or mental disabilities, like his bald head, weak eyesight, poor hearing, weak mind etc.. He/she may be accused of poor speech, ugly looks, stutter etc.. Criticism may concern one's manner to dress, his/her habit of behaving contrary to one's age (an elderly woman dresses like a teenager), etc.. Excessive makeup may be an object of critical attitude and

sounds very offensive/ A Russian woman will certainly feel offended if she is considered a bad cook or a poor housewife. Similarly, a person of either sex accused of infidelity will feel offended even if the accusation is not entirely false. Such “obidas” may lead to a serious discord, but it cannot be considered valid for court procedure.

Much depends on whether an offensive act is done in the presence or absence of the offended person, as well as on many other minor factors, as intonation, smile, or general relations between the two people. In accordance with Russian national culture, it is rude to mention the woman’s age, asking her about her age being an absolute taboo. In comparison, some oriental cultures consider mentioning an elderly woman’s age as a good compliment.

Still very much depends on how touchy the addressee is. Where one person will never forgive the offence, another one will only shrug his shoulders.

It must be noted that one may feel offended irrespective of whether the accusation is true or false. Obida is a complex feeling, and often one feels frustrated by the fact that his misbehavior is exposed and made public. His/her declaration of innocence works as a tool of defense against public’s negative attitude.

Let us now pass over to “oskorblenie”, insult. A cognizable case here in Russia, it is a humiliating assessment of a person with an intention to encroach on the person’s honor, dignity, and self-esteem. An important point is that the insult in this case should be expressed in an indecent form. It is presumed that the insulted person’s image is shown in the worst light possible, which undoubtedly lowers the person’s reputation in the eyes of the public, as well as makes the person lose respect for himself.

The drawbacks of this definition are obvious. The worst thing is that it lacks the definition of (in)decency. Tastes differ, and what is and what isn’t decent is a matter for endless disputation. After all, any offensive act may be qualified as “oskorblenie” if one is free to consider any form of abuse indecent. The attempt to use the term “obscene” for “indecent” would not work either, as, obviously, one may insult you avoiding any obscenity, not to mention the fact that definition of obscenity is as dim as that of indecency.

A significant step forward has been made by Dr. I. A. Sternin<sup>1</sup> (Sternin, 2011, 387 ff) who points out that the dichotomy decent: Indecent should be analyzed in the moral and ethic light, and from the point of view of legal regulation one should be guided by the difference between indecency and obscenity which, according to Prof. Sternin, is an extreme form of indecency. An accusation of a person expressed with the help of literary or even low colloquial language may be qualified as offensive but cannot be subject to legal regulation. It may be looked upon as stylistically inappropriate, or out of place, but it cannot be qualified as insulting (“oskorblenie”).

It is quite different with obscenity. Actually, Russian obscenities, for all their abundance, are but derivatives of four extremely dirty words, names of genitalia, and sexual act. Used in public, these words are certainly matter for court procedure, especially if they are directed against a person present. Used as an expletive, or in company of friends and close relatives, they may be frowned upon as a sign of ill-manners, but normally are ok. Some people, though, may feel offended by the mere mention of such words in their presence, but mostly there will be no legal consequence.

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<sup>1</sup> Sternin, I. A. (2011). A Lingvocriminal Analysis of Indecent Form of Expression//Yurislingvistika—11: Law as Discourse, Text, and Word (in Russian).

# Subversive Abjection and Sublimity in Jeanette Winterson's Representation of the Fantastic: A Study of *The Passion* and *Sexing the Cherry*

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Looking at the last decades of the 19th and 20th century from our vantage point encourages parallels to be drawn between the two periods: in fact, both are affected by a process of cultural fragmentation, social, and epistemological transformations and crises that permeate the whole civil society. In the specific field of English literature, the genre of the fantastic is undoubtedly a common presence. In *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, Jackson (1981) noted the re-emergence of the fantastic as a transgressive force at moments of cultural stress and repression. Waugh (1995) held a similar view in *The Harvest of the Sixties*. At the end of the 20th century, in its postmodernist shape, fantastic literature becomes one of the favourite genres of a number of feminist writers, and among them, Jeanette Winterson transforms it into a truly transgressive genre. This paper examines Winterson's *The Passion* (1996) and *Sexing the Cherry* (1990) in the light of Jackson's theory of the fantastic, as a narrative that establishes an oppositional dialogic relationship with the "real", to interrogate it and collapse the traditional distinction between the normative and the "other". In *The Passion*, the real is signified by the dominant ideological discourse, exemplified by Napoleon; the fantastic by Villanelle's webbed feet and her ability to walk on water. In *Sexing the Cherry*, the real is represented by the Puritans with their bigoted and hypocritical morality; the fantastic by the huge Dog-Woman and her foundling son, Jordan. Besides, in both novels, the female body is metamorphosed to challenge the view of a "normal", acceptable femininity; what emerges is a monstrous and sublime body that collapses distinctions between gender boundaries. In *Sexing the Cherry* (1990), Winterson created the grotesque, gigantic body of the Dog-Woman, a figure of Kristevan "abjection". In *The Passion* (1996), she gave life to the hybrid body of Villanelle, an oxymoronic combination of the terrible beautiful. The conclusion of the paper argues that Winterson deploys the fantastic to deconstruct the gendered subject of the dominant signifying order and create a dislocated world outside commercial culture, where new voices can be heard, speaking for unheard, neglected groups, particularly women.

*Keywords:* Jeanette Winterson, fantastic, sublime, historiographic metafiction, postmodernism, gender

## Introduction

Looking at the last decades of the 19th and 20th centuries from our vantage point encourages parallels to be drawn between the two periods. Some critics have done this and, despite individual differences, have identified in race, class, and gender the categories variously under siege. Though it would be reductive to

imagine a simple cyclical reiteration of events and cultural tensions, there are undeniable similarities between the two *fin de siècles*. Both are affected by a process of cultural fragmentation, social and epistemological transformations and crises that permeate the whole civil society. In the specific field of English literature, the genre of the fantastic is undoubtedly a common presence.

The 19th century fantastic texts appear to have both a symptomatic function—they emerge as symptoms of the anxiety generated by the sciences, occasionally even functional to conservative power structures, and an oppositional role in the critical dialogic relationship they establish with dominant ideological discourses—they disturb the notion of the unitary, coherent subject and violate taxonomies.

In *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, Jackson (1981) noted the re-emergence of the fantastic as a transgressive force at moments of cultural stress and repression. Waugh (1995), among others, held a similar view; in *The Harvest of the Sixties*, she (1995) maintained that in the 1980s post-consensus fiction of the Thatcher years, the fantastic “burgeoned as the macrostructural equivalent of metaphor: a means of talking about what has not yet been named by expressing it through analogies which [...] defamiliariz[e] and challeng[e] normative assumptions about the constitution of the real” (p. 185).

At the end of the 20th century, fantastic literature reappears metamorphosed into a post-modernist body, transfigured by a number of formal and thematic innovations: the use of magic realism; historiographic metafiction with the recovery of buried histories and silenced voices that speak from marginal perspectives; the use of intertextuality; the “construction of cosmologies which defy known laws of space and time” (Waugh, p. 184). In its postmodernist shape, the fantastic becomes one of the favourite genres of feminist writers who transform it into a transgressive genre.

Discussing the role of the fantastic, Jackson (1981) maintained that fantasy re-combines the constitutive features of this world “to produce something strange, unfamiliar, and apparently ‘new’, absolutely ‘other’, and different” (p. 8). Her words are echoed by Winterson in the “Preface” to the 1996 edition of *The Passion*: “I wanted to write a separate world, not as an escape, as a mirror, a secret looking glass that would sharpen and multiply the possibilities of the actual world” (Winterson, 1996, p. v).

In both *The Passion* (1996) and *Sexing the Cherry* (1990)<sup>1</sup>, Winterson used the fantastic and the device of history to deconstruct the gendered subject of the dominant signifying order and create a dislocated world outside commercial culture, where new subjectivities are envisioned and new voices can be heard, speaking for unheard groups, particularly women. In her narrative spaces, the female body is metamorphosed to challenge the view of a “normal”, acceptable femininity; what emerges are monstrous and sublime bodies that flout time and space laws, and collapse distinctions between worlds and gender boundaries. In a parodic late modern version of Burke’s aesthetic idea of the sublime and its accompanying ruling principle of terror, juxtaposing the wonderful and the terrifying, in *Sexing the Cherry*, Winterson (1990) created the grotesque, gigantic body of the Dog-Woman, a figure of Kristevan “abjection”. In *The Passion*, she (1996) gave life to the hybrid body of Villanelle, an oxymoronic combination of the terrible beautiful, a creature whose liminality generates astonishment.

This paper examines Jeanette Winterson’s *The Passion* and *Sexing the Cherry* as narratives that establish an oppositional dialogic relationship with the real, to interrogate it and collapse the traditional distinction between the normative and the “other”. Fantastic elements are present in the stories of both male and female

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<sup>1</sup> All references in the discussion of the two novels are to these editions and given after quotations in the text.



narrators: in *The Passion*, in the narrative trajectories of Henri and Villanelle, in *Sexing the Cherry*, in those of Jordan and Dog-Woman.

### **Lost in the Labyrinthine Mirrors of the Self**

*The Passion* oscillates between two opposite narrative modes: the historical and the fantastic. The historical is the narrative of the rise and fall of Napoleon, kept within a realist frame by Henri, a young soldier who abandons the known “real” world of his peasant family to follow the call of his passion for the emperor, becoming his personal cook. On the other hand, traces of a “separate world” (Winterson, 1996, p. v), the text’s unconscious, unexpectedly surface in the form of the fantastic, dislocating and recombining the historical structure through its lenses, revealing a silenced “otherness”. These traces, disguised as occasional fairy elements in Henri’s nostalgic memories of his past, are constitutive components of the psychological make-up of Villanelle, a bisexual Venetian girl with webbed feet who is first a croupier at the Casino and is then sold by her husband as a prostitute to the French army. Here she meets Henri who falls in love with her of an unrequited passion, though they will become lovers and have a daughter.

In this novel, Winterson (1996) used the fantastic as a subversive space of resistance from which to interrogate the unitary ways of seeing upon which “order” and meaning depend, collapse the traditional distinction between the normative and the “other” and articulate fluid gender identities, Kristevan *subjects-in-process*. Besides, especially in Henri’s deconstructive war memories, she moves a trenchant critique of totalizing historical discourses and, in the view of the abject underworld of Venice, she also offers the modern reader a “political” key to read the present.

The novel’s topography is mapped by the retrospective stories told by Henri and Villanelle, both marginalized people, silenced by official history, narratives interspersed with motifs typical of the fantastic, such as goblins, mermaids, ghosts, stolen hearts, a priest with a telescopic eye (Winterson, 1996, p. 24), as well as a whole city, Venice, that looks unreal and fantastic, even “invented” (p. 109). Their intertwining voices and pluralized points of view reproduce the fragmentation of the self and its transformation through discourse and textuality. This choice “constitutes the most radical function of the fantastic” (Jackson, 1981, p. 83) and is fully in keeping with *historiographic metafiction*’s agenda, as “it profoundly disturbs and disperses the notion of the individual, coherent subject and its relation to history” (Hutcheon, 1988, p. 166).

Henri deserted Napoleon during the Russian campaign, together with Villanelle, disappointed by the emperor’s unquenchable desire for conquest and power. They travel across Europe to Venice, Villanelle’s native city, a Bhaktinian space of masquerades that hides an invisible “inner city” (Winterson, 1996, p. 53), peopled with thieves, exiles, orphans and rats, a dark subterranean soul of Kristevan abjection and marginality below the mirror of its glittering façade.

Theirs is a symbolic rebellious journey away from a patriarchal space of “devastation, rape, slaughter” (p. 5), mutilated bodies, and the “zero winter” (p. 82) of the soul. They head for the mysterious and the fantastic, on a journey towards interiority and multiplicity, where dichotomous binary divisions dissolve, across borderless spaces that keep changing, the objective correlative of their inner psychological landscapes. At the end, when they reach the labyrinthine “enchanted city” (p. 109) of Venice, where “things change” (p. 113) and “the laws of the real world are suspended” (p. 76), for Henri both the textual and the psychic topography have gradually moved “towards a realm of non-signification, towards a zero point of non-meaning” (Jackson, 1981, p. 42).

Their stories, particularly Henri's, are structured around images of mirrors and reflections, a trope extended here to a whole city, Venice. All of them reflect back either distorted or split images of the self perceived as other; some of them are liminal and open up uncanny areas in the familiar, known world. This happens to Henri in Venice where "he [gets] lost from the first" (Winterson, 1996, p. 112) and experiences a sensation of estrangement. He was ready for a transparent correspondence between signifier/signified, used as he was to Napoleon's "straight roads", whereas in Venice buildings "spring up overnight [...] and dissolve [...] with the dawn" (p. 112), a polyvalence of meaning that transcends his present power of understanding.

From the madhouse where he is imprisoned, Henri writes his retrospective narrative, 20 years after he left home to follow Napoleon. Talking of himself in the third person, he recalls the little boy he was, trying to access his imaginary self through the reflection in his mother's "copper pot". He remembers that he relished "all the distortions of his face" in the pot because he could imagine the "many possible faces [...] he might become", disdaining his father's "shaving mirror" (Winterson, 1996, p. 26) where he could only see one face. He is mysteriously fascinated by the still fluid body in pieces as he sees in it, not the possible loss of the self, but a cluster of potential future identities. Unconsciously longing for a state of undifferentiation, Henri refuses the idea of an identity built along the traditional gender divisions of the symbolic order, with the rigid grid of signifiers it imposes on the construction of the self, a rejection that will be noticed also in *Sexing the Cherry* in relation to Jordan.

This is a typical topos of the fantastic which, as R. Jackson observes, voices a longing for the imaginary because, unlike the symbolic, "it is inhabited by an infinite number of selves preceding socialization, before the ego is produced within a social frame" (Jackson, 1981, p. 91).

In the second section, when Villanelle takes over from Henri the role of narrator, she uses words similar to his to refer to herself. In the flickering surface of the lagoon, she can "see in the distortion of [her] face what [she] might become" (Winterson, 1996, p. 62), what, at the end of the novel, she identifies as "the other life, the parallel life" (p. 144), a possibility that is fully in harmony with her psychological world.

The most crucial mirror scene for Henri, the moment "when what was hidden is revealed" to him (Winterson, 1996, p. 125), is set in the Casino, where Villanelle takes him. Henri sees his reflection in the window, "the face [he] had become" (p. 125); shortly after, he finds himself "staring into the face of the cook" (p. 126), his sworn enemy since the time of the army, who turns up to be Villanelle's husband and who is threatening her.

Henri refuses the specular identification that the Lacanian mirror reflects back in the shape of the violent cook, his shadow self, an unknown uncanny double that might potentially contaminate him. He struggles with the cook to protect Villanelle: in the embrace of the man, that threatens to suffocate him, his conscious identity on the verge of disintegration, Henri is "at the border of [his] condition as a living being. [His] body extricates itself, as being alive, from that border" (Kristeva, 1982, p. 3). When he perceives that the boundary between himself and the abject other can dissolve, he kills the cook and cuts his heart, a dismemberment that signals Henri's desire for the imaginary. So he opts out of the symbolic order and takes the journey back to the semiotic modality and the "mother" he has nostalgically evoked since he left home.

It is a fantastic leap that should reverse "the process of ego formation that took place in the mirror stage" (Jackson, 1981, p. 90) by re-entering the imaginary to recover what has not been confined by the symbolic and return to a lost original wholeness of being. This desire, however, is inaccessible, because it employs "violence and horror", and impossible to be articulated because it "has no 'human' discourse" (Jackson, 1981, p. 90). In

fact, Henri's narrative at this point is followed by a gap in the novel, a textual silence.

Then madness follows, the place where many narratives of the divided subject end. Imprisoned on San Servolo for the murder, he continuously re-lives the dramatic moment of collapse, when he was "in the process of becoming an other at the expense of [his] own death" (Kristeva, 1982, p. 3).

### **Fantastic Bodies, Stolen Hearts, and Ordinary Miracles**

The other protagonist, Villanelle, is the epitome of the fantastic in the novel, encapsulating many of its themes and motifs, being even able to live without a heart and perform the miracle of walking on water. She has a bisexual polymorphous body, an oxymoronic combination of the terrible beautiful, webbed feet that in Venice are an exclusive attribute of men and a disruptive tendency to disguise and cross dress according to her desires, a tendency that will be traced also in Jordan in *Sexing the Cherry*. Thus she subverts both "gender differences of male and female" and generic distinctions between human and amphibious forms, all features that "'turn over' 'normal' perceptions and undermine 'realistic' ways of seeing" (Jackson, 1981, p. 49).

Her nature is fully in harmony with the mysterious geography of her city, whose liminal, borderless nature and labyrinthine canals mirror her sexually ambiguous body. Her protean ability to shift identity allows her to perform multiple gender roles and cross boundaries between self/other, an identity never fixed and finished.

From the very moment Henri meets Villanelle, she starts weaving for him a web of stories, something that makes him fall in love with her immediately; however, at first he is "incredulous" (p. 116), believing that she is simply "talking figuratively" (p. 115). Actually, the formal and thematic features of her discourse are markers of her desire to create an alternative discursive space to problematize language and "un-do [...] those [...] significations upon which social order depends" (Jackson, 1981, p. 69). Her fantastic world interrogates and explodes the monological view of reality that Henri upholds, and transforms him.

It is in her narrative that two of the crucial fantastic events are inscribed: Henri's recovery of her stolen heart from the house of her lover, the Queen of Spades, and her walk on water to drag their boat home after Henri kills her husband. Both episodes, in which the clash between fantasy and reality is particularly intense, are linked by a metaphor, central to the whole novel: the image of the heart. It is the symbol of passion or of pity for other suffering human beings, but it can also symbolize the abyss of horror "heartless men" (p. 83) can descend to.

In the first episode, Villanelle's request to retrieve her stolen heart puzzles Henri who concludes: "It was fantastic" (Winterson, 1996, p. 116). He brings back Villanelle's heart, that continues to beat in a glass phial in her lover's palace in Venice while she is in Russia; she swallows it and he feels that it is actually beating inside her, a realization that collapses the normative distinction between the literal and the figurative.

Winterson's choice of "magic realism" at this and other such moments in the novel has a crucial function: adopting fantastic images she revives worn out clichés and motifs typically associated with romantic love and creates an oppositional imaginary area outside rational discourse where to voice "a desire for something excluded from cultural order" (Jackson, 1981, p. 176).

Henri's rescue of Villanelle's heart and the wonder of seeing it pulsating with life again, unsettles his previous signifying system: he moves from disbelief, "*Not possible*" (Winterson, 1996, p. 121), to the reconciliation of contradictory qualities and the acceptance of a formerly unconceivable, radical otherness epitomized by Villanelle.

At the end of the novel, Henri suffers post-traumatic stress disorder: he retreats into his madness and the

reassuring world of his passion for Villanelle, where he imaginatively transforms loss and absence into “presence” in the literary fantasy of his journal, his “little book” (Winterson, 1996, p. 86), a fictional construction that to him is reality and that offers his fragmented identity the only possible hope of unity and coherence.

Many critics maintain that Henri collapses into madness when facing his “other”, the “monster” within; yet, as Judith Seaboyer observes, he is offered a creative possibility and his trauma is transformed into “the potentially productive medium of poetry” of his text, a conclusion which, however, is “ambivalent” (Seaboyer, 1987, p. 507). Others assume that he appears to have achieved a sort of knowledge and control of his fantasy.

Villanelle continues to navigate the Venetian canals, thinking about her future, being certain that, “where I will be will not be where I am”, ready to explore other “cities of the interior” (p. 150) and be transformed by them, an authentic Kristevan *subject-in-process*.

### **Dog-Woman: The Empowering Force of the Horrible Fantastic**

Like *The Passion*, *Sexing the Cherry* also oscillates between the historical and the fantastic, but it also juxtaposes the mythic and the commonplace, the wonderful, and the terrifying. The historical covers the period from the Puritan Revolution till the Great Fire of London, thus encompassing the beginning of the end of Enlightened modernity. Once more, this historical background is not viewed from the totalitarian perspective required of the grand narratives of History, but from the subjective perspective of two ex-centric characters who represent the “fantastic” side of the novel. The first is the Dog-Woman, a freak of nature, the larger-than-life, grotesque female protagonist, who defiantly reconstructs histories shattered by dominant forces from a position of multiple marginalization being poor, female, large, and ugly, a representation that attributes female hideousness a subversive function. She challenges the parameters of normal womanhood: in fact, she is a fantastic hybrid giantess—a hybridity signified even by her name—so nicknamed because she breeds dogs along the banks of the Thames, where she lives with her foundling son, Jordan, the other protagonist and narrator, in a muddy place inhabited only by those who are invisible, “abject” for the symbolic order of Puritan London. In this imaginary world, mother and son live in a sort of symbiotic relationship, with Jordan who considers her a sort of Lacanian *je-idéal*.

In the last section, their two voices intertwine with those of two late 20th century narrator-characters: an unnamed woman ecologist and a naval cadet, Nicholas Jordan, who bear striking similarities with the Dog-Woman and Jordan, working as their realistic counterparts, as they display analogous qualities and attitudes. By connecting the two narratives, the historical, fantastic one of the Dog-Woman and Jordan, and the contemporary one of the woman ecologist and Nicholas Jordan, Winterson appears to gesture towards a new form of fluid subjectivity that accords with the concept of *subject-in-process* developed by Julia Kristeva.

In establishing this deep connection between the 18th and 20th centuries, Winterson is actually exploring questions of human identity deploying the 18th century rhetoric of the sublime, a discourse that worked to efface Descartes’ binarisms of subject and object, here and there, now and then. Winterson re-imagines sublimity, complicates structures of differences and achieves a double objective. First, locating the self in multiple bodies and times, she forces us to view identity as a mental and/or physical phenomenon that exists simultaneously at several historical moments, thus transcending the boundaries of time and space. Second, in her revision of the 18th century sublime, she does not efface but accommodates difference and her characters do not transcend the body so much as they re-define it. Besides, as Omega maintains, by merging in a sort of

atemporal present characters and events separated in time, Winterson “undermines the chronological notions of past, present and future in favour of the cyclical temporality of myth” (Onega, 2006, p. 78). In this space-time continuum there is the uncanny coexistence of real and unreal worlds and characters.

The blend of the real and the fantastic is also realized at the level of character construction, combined in the same protagonists, though in reverse. So Jordan has a perfectly normal physical appearance but travels to unreal cities, where he also indulges in cross-dressing, in a world of fairy-tale characters who even inhabit houses without floors. Instead, the Dog-Woman has an immense size that appears to posit her in the imaginary setting of a fairytale, but is firmly rooted in the historical time of the Civil War. She is a sort of female Gargantua—conforming to Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1981) grotesque body of carnival imagery, a presence that disturbs ontological and elemental categorizations, subverts heterosexual norms and boundaries and defamiliarizes traditional relationships within a phallogocentric culture, being a carnival force that threatens order. She has a mountainous grotesque body that elicits both fear, horror and disgust, a body that enables her to kill men with ease anytime she pleases. Yet, she appears to look at her physical freakishness with a jolly, naïve unawareness. In her self-portrait there is the constant combination of a paradoxical duality. So she is physically monstrous: she is a “hill of dung” (p. 11), a “mountain of [...] flesh” (p. 14); she has a flat nose, only a few broken black teeth, “caves” in her face that are “home for fleas” (p. 24), and her size is that of an “elephant”, a characterization that, in its hideousness, transgresses aspects of the feminine beauty myth and deconstructs discourses that regulate the body. However, side by side with this, as she says, she has “fine blue eyes that see in the dark” (p. 24), thus she has the power of seeing behind the falseness of every situation and a voice “as slender as a reed” (p. 14). When a man observes that she has sexual organs too big for sex, she plainly retorts that “it seemed all in proportion to her” (p. 107), and that she is “gracious by nature” (Winterson, 1990, p. 25), a characteristic acknowledged by both Jordan—who loves his huge, protective mother and considers her a sort of role model, and his protector, Tradescant, who always treats her like a lady.

If the Dog-Woman possesses a formidable body, capable of eliciting fear and disgust-being constantly associated with dirt and rottenness, thus a figure of Kristevan abjection, she also has a very singular behaviour, again a combination of naïvety and ruthlessness. So, she is tender and loving with Jordan and very protective of a number of female friends and acquaintances, including prostitutes and the wives of the Puritan men she abhors. All the people she feels sympathetic and sides with are, like herself, silenced, suffering human beings, literally and metaphorically kept on the margins of society, excluded and made invisible.

Yet, on the other hand, she is also violently murderous: in the Spitalfield brothel she kills with an axe the Puritans Preacher Scroggs and Neighbour Firebrace and she does it wearing “the uniform of an executioner” (p. 87), at the same time underscoring that she is not “a torturer” (p. 88). She also plucks out and collects the eyes and teeth of Puritans to literally fulfill “The Law of Moses: ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth’” (Winterson, 1990, p. 84), as quoted by a Royalist preacher, to avenge the king. This latter episode- not the only one in the novel- as well as this personality trait, have elicited a number of critical reactions, mostly pointing out the ambiguity at the heart of the Dog-Woman’s excesses. Some consider her a moral monster; others, though acknowledging her blatant violence, maintain that such violence is primarily textual because, in order “to tell her own tale and occupy the usually male-defined position of agency” (Farwell, 1996, pp. 184-185), she needs to be exaggerated and even threatening. In this perspective, she voices the anger of women in general to the point of explosion. Several critics, however, see in this characteristic of her personality the most revolutionary aspect of the novel, where the authentic challenge to the dominant power discourses, their

phallogocentric and dichotomous oppositions lie. Jane Haslett, for instance, argues that, using her “fabulously invincible body [...] Dog Woman pursues her own feminist agenda and, as her modern day counterpart the eco-feminist indicates, effects real social change” (Haslett, 2007, p. 43). This view is shared by Farwell who argues that Dog-Woman’s size signals “the text’s refusal to acquiesce to culture’s attempt to control the woman’s body”; her size, she adds, on a narrative level functions “as a source of power and agency” (Farwell, 1996, p. 184), a feature that allows her to accomplish her moral and political agenda in such a critical, dangerous historical period.

According to Paulina Palmer (1993), in drawing her portrait, Winterson focuses her attention on “her heroic qualities and describes her as representing the rebellious, transgressive aspect of femininity which patriarchy attempts to suppress” (p. 105), giving her a disruptive feminine voice. It is the Dog-Woman that engenders an alternative narrative trajectory rather than Jordan, whose traditional male heroic story is both subverted, as he feels unable to live up to the heroic ideals of masculinity, and subsumed into his mother’s dominant story.

The best articulation of the reason for the Dog-Woman’s huge dimension and violence is actually entrusted to her modern counterpart who, remembering her own adolescent fat, observes that it is obvious for those who are “ignored and overlooked [...] to expand to the point where they have to be noticed” (Winterson, 1990, p. 124). Then she concludes that “there is no Rabelaisian dimension for rage” (p. 124), in my view the clearest motivation for Dog-Woman’s shocking violence.

So, after the sublime fantastic body of Villanelle, with the Dog-Woman the body stretches to the grotesque and the celebration of excess which may be considered an equivalent of the sublime. From the appeal to the reader’s astonishment at a siren’s webbed feet, there is the appeal to her/his terror (p. 25), fear and disgust (p. 124), as stated by Dog-Woman’s modern counterpart. The whole range of reactions activated by the sublime is, in a way, touched in the passage from *The Passion* to *Sexing*.

The novel also inverts Burke’s image of the implicitly masculine sublime by embodying it in the grotesque female form of Dog-Woman and invents a sublime world where women can achieve some autonomy through imaginative comic reversal, offering the glimpse of a “possibility of magnificent otherness which is in nature and ourselves, unencompassable by visual imagination or conceptual understanding” (Waugh, 1995, p. 194).

### **Crossing Borders and Deconstructing Genders**

In *Sexing the Cherry*, the fantastic takes another shape in Jordan’s narrative of his travels to enchanted places and his meeting with the Twelve Dancing Princesses during his obsessive search for Fortunata, the girl he falls in love with, the metaphorical object of his spiritual desire. Winterson (1990) first glimpses Fortunata—a dancer whose “loveliness [...] devoured the rest of the company in tongues of flames” (p. 30)—in the city of words, in a house that has “not floors but bottomless pits”, where the furniture “is suspended on racks from the ceiling” (p. 20), a house that “never ends” and whose inhabitants “must travel by winch or rope from room to room, calling to one another as they go” (p. 21). It is in this fantastic place that Jordan sees Fortunata, the youngest and lightest of the Twelve Dancing Princesses, and the symbol of independence and mobility, “climbing down her window on a thin rope which she cut and re-knotted a number of times during the descent” (p. 21), unaffected by the laws of gravity.

The whole description of the fantastic city of words and of the endless house—as well as of some other

cities he visits during his journeys—bears similarities to some of the cities the Italian postmodernist writer Calvino (1997) describes in his *Invisible Cities*. This literary influence is present also at some points in *The Passion*: for instance, in Winterson's frequent descriptions of Venice as an unreal, fantastic city or when Villanelle observes a carnivalesque scene set in Venice in which

from the wooden frame [...] there are suspended a number of nets and trapezes. From here acrobats swing over the square, casting grotesque shadows on the dancers below. Now and again, one will dangle by the knees and snatch a kiss from whoever is standing below. (Winterson, 1996, p. 59)

This description also anticipates the episode when, on New Year's Eve, Villanelle climbs up like a cat along the railings that fringe the villa of her lover, the Queen of Spades, to catch sight of her through the window, hanging "two storeys in mid-air" (p. 75).

From the moment Jordan first sees Fortunata, "the dancing part of [him]self" (Winterson, 1990, p. 40) he is driven and consumed by the desire to find her once more, a quest for his own feminine side that leads him to renegotiate his gendered identity. During this search he will visit different places, including even a "pen of prostitutes" (p. 30) where he is granted admittance, provided that he assumes a female disguise so as not to be detected, a disguise that teaches him to flout the traditional fixed distinction between the good and the bad, makes him aware of his interpellation as a male subject and also meets his need "to be free of the burdens of gender" (p. 31). Here he finds that they know nothing of the dancer, but he also learns that these women communicate "without words" (p. 30), in a sort of personal, "private language. A language not dependent on the construction of men" (p. 31). This silent language that can do without words is the feminine language used by women in Kristeva's semiotic stage, the unsymbolized realm of the imaginary. Jordan must try to learn it if he wants to write his book in "invisible ink", write it "in milk" (p. 10).

While being dressed as a woman, shattered into a marvellous multitude of selves—a strategy that enables him to escape the burdens of living up to gender expectations, to blur gender dichotomies and experience the oppression suffered by women—Jordan learns about the female world-view when he is given "a rule book" (Winterson, 1990, p. 32) which lists a series of instructions aiming at teaching women how to deal with men. On reading it, he becomes aware of the "crimes" of his sex and must acknowledge that the pessimistic, essentialist view women have of men is justified, a revelation that so upsets him that "[his] heaviness was at its limit and [he] could not raise [him]self up from where he was sitting" (p. 33). It is only by waving a red mullet over his head that he attracts the attention of a flock of sea birds that lift him: they "carried [him] up into the air and flew [him] over the city and out to sea" (p. 33). He faints from fear and revives in a house in a town he does not recognize, with a girl who invites him to bed "where [he] passed the night in some confusion" (p. 33).

Then he reaches the city of movable buildings whose inhabitants, to escape their insistent creditors, "knock down their houses, in a single night and rebuild them elsewhere" (p. 42), once more a literary invention that echoes Calvino's novel. Here he finds the house of eleven of the Twelve Dancing Princesses and hears their feminist stories of escape from the patriarchally defined spaces of their unsuccessful and dreadful married lives: their stories, subversive statements of independence, confound the clichéd closure of fairy tales and illustrate the oppressive role marriage can have. Besides, as Makinen (2005) argued, "they subvert masculine narratives of male agency and female passivity, and marital closure" (p. 109). From the Princesses he learns that Fortunata is not with them. Later on, when he finally finds her, she confesses to Jordan that, in the past, every night she and her sisters used to escape from their father's house and fly to dance in a floating, weightless

“silver city” (p. 94) that, “being freed from the laws of gravity, began to drift upwards for some 200 miles” (p. 97), so that “the city itself danced” (p. 95). Their night escapes were discovered by a young prince: he revealed their secret to their father who punished the girls by obliging them to marry the eleven brothers of the prince. Only Fortunata escaped her punishment flying away from the altar on her wedding day (p. 60), leaving the guests with their “mouths open like fishes” (p. 95): she is the only one who avoids the patriarchal closure of the fairy tale. When Jordan finally discovers Fortunata, she is in her “dancing school in a remote place” (p. 72) where “she has learned to dance alone, for its own sake and for hers” (p. 99). Here she is teaching her pupils to conquer time and space: they are “ten points of light spiralling in a line along the floor” and Fortunata is “darting in a figure of eight in between the lights” (p. 93). Thus she symbolizes freedom, both of movement and of spirit.

He stays with Fortunata for one month, “learning more about her ways and something about [his] own” (p. 99): from Fortunata, who “had learned to dance alone” (p. 99) and be happy, Jordan learns to accept the risks of freedom as necessary to explore both the world and the self. He becomes aware that his quest for individuation has led him to become a self-sufficient, autonomous human being. It is a lesson that also the Dog-Woman had tried to teach him but, at the time, he had failed to learn it as he was lost “in the gap between [his] ideal of [him]self and [his] pounding heart” (p. 101). At this point he is ready to leave Fortunata and resume his quest once more, both the real journey of exploration with Tradescant and his own journeys of the mind looking not for God, but “only for [him]self” (p. 102). According to Onega (2006), Jordan views “his quest for individuation as a process of feminization” (p. 95) expressed through the act of grafting the cherry, an art which he wishes “[he] might apply to [him]self” (p. 78), and sexing exotic fruit trees. This device provides Winterson as well as Jordan with one of the central means to escape the artificiality of the binary opposition male/female, exposing it as a linguistic construction, and allows Jordan to chart an alternative cartography of the self. Besides, grafting becomes a strategy to call the norms of compulsory heterosexuality into question, to “undermin[e] the conceptual basis for the heterosexual prescriptions within cultural practice”, and “figure a more open and liberatory acceptance of cultural otherness, differences and ‘monstrosities’” (Makinen, 2005, pp. 91-92). This device clearly points to Jordan’s fluid self-construction which combines male and female components within himself, a coexistence that is also confirmed both by his indulgence in cross-dressing (literally and metaphorically) and by his envisioning the possibility that he might become “someone else in time, grafted on to something better and stronger” (p. 87), someone who is “multiple not single” (p. 90). This also signals “the end of his mirror-stage infatuation with his mother” (Onega, 2006, p. 97) and his ability to distinguish between himself and his ideal I.

The completion of his self-construction is made clear at the very end of the novel, in an episode that recalls Jordan’s narration at the very beginning of the novel, when he introduces himself for the first time: “MY NAME IS Jordan. This is the first thing I saw” (Winterson, 1990, p. 9). In the last page, Dog-Woman recounts how Jordan had fallen and banged his head while crossing London Fields at midnight on his way to join her aboard the ship to abandon the city which was prey to the Great Fire, and how “he came to, and feeling his way, arms outstretched he had suddenly touched another face and screamed out. For a second the fog cleared and he saw that the stranger was himself” (p. 143). This image, echoing the beginning, gives the novel a circular shape. Jordan’s observation at this point is: “Perhaps I am to die [...] Or perhaps I am to live, to be complete” (p. 143). In this symbolic reference to the double process of death and life/rebirth, it is clear that he has finally achieved both the final unification of his previously splintered self and the completion of his individuation process. He



has come to the realization that identity is made up of a conglomeration of selves, “that we are multiple not single, and that our one existence is really countless existences” (p. 90), an awareness that finds its reflection in the fluid interaction between seventeenth-century subject and twentieth-century alter ego, in his case Nicholas Jordan. Merja Makinen argues that

This fluidity between selves and characters is highlighted in Jordan’s quest for Fortunata, the dancing princess whom he devotes so much time to searching for while yet questioning whether he is searching for the living woman, rather than what she stands for in himself, the projection of his own dancing self. (Mekinen, p. 85)

Certainly, Fortunata is simultaneously autonomous and a reproduction of his desires; in fact, the words she uses to introduce herself, “My name is Fortunata [...]. This is the first thing I saw” (p. 93), are an exact repetition of Jordan’s introduction of himself mentioned before.

With the issues it raises, *Sexing* deconstructs the idea of “fixed and knowable gender and sexual identities: the protagonists of this novel either move between and among gender and sexual identifications (Jordan), or simply exceed them (his foster mother, the Dog Woman)” (Moore, 1995, p. 116 ).

### Conclusions

In conclusion, in *The Passion* and *Sexing the Cherry*, Winterson shows the transformative power of art and deploys the fantastic as a space of resistance where to inscribe more fluid gender identities, challenge the idea of a biologically determined sexuality and voice different forms of desire. She creates for her characters an oppositional area from which to deconstruct dichotomies and imagine a form of radical cultural transformation. Besides, in the fictional “mirror” Winterson frames to challenge our power of vision, there is our world, refracted not as the “comfortable” one we want to see, but disguised as another reality, pushing at our emotional boundaries and challenging our power of understanding. In this reside, the oppositional function of the fantastic and the political relevance of her “imaginary” world to us.

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# Mediocracy or Politocracy? The Case of Social Media in Georgia

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The paper describes how the fields of politics and social media intertwine in Georgia and raises a question whether the politics governs media or the media govern politics in the Georgian reality. It is believed that in the conditions of the social media boom and the accompanying citizen journalism, the media possess a real potential to govern politics, and the scholars talk about the epoch of mediocracy that is the “colonization of politics by media logic”. What about the Georgian reality? Based on the in-depth interviews with the media experts in Georgia, it has been revealed that in the Georgian reality we encounter the colonization of media, including the social media, by politics and not the other way around. However, this colonization is performed not in an aggressive way—via direct censorship, but in a “soft” manner, e.g., by coaxing the bloggers. According to the experts’ narratives, the politicians in Georgia use their power to prevent the social media intrusion from the “front region” to the “back region”, which is assessed as one of the main distinctions in the interaction of politics and media in Georgia vs. the Western democracies. The findings of the representative survey of the internet user segment nationwide resonate with the ones of in-depth interviews with the media experts.

*Keywords:* social media, mediocracy, Georgia, censorship, self-censorship

## Introduction

One of the determinants of the current global transformations is the shift from the industrial to the information society, which leads to the emergence of the entirely new principles of the social and technological order. The development of information technologies has entailed the development of social media, giving rise to the so-called “post-broadcast era” (Merrin, 2009, p. 17), which is characterized by a brand new system of producing, transmitting, and using information. Unlike the classical media, information in the social media is “controlled” by its users, rather than the providers, which is a prerequisite to developing citizen journalism. Consequently, the information redistribution occurs, which is tantamount to the redistribution of power. This context gives rise to mediocracy, that is, the “colonization of politics by media logic” (Meyer, 2002, p. 71). A question that naturally follows is whether the social media nowadays has a real potential to control the politics. How do the political actors cope with this situation—do they employ the methods of “rationalization of persuasion” (Mayhew, 1997, p. 190) surveying audiences and organizing systematic campaigns, which in turn enhances their professionalism (Negrine, 2008), or do they try to divert the audience’s attention away from the routine political problems, and defuse their dissatisfaction through infotainment, which, according to the expert judgments, has become a global ideology of today (Thussu, 2011). The following paper aims to examine the

aforementioned tendencies in the Georgian social media.

The analysis of how the fields of politics and social media intertwine in Georgia is based on the outcomes of both qualitative and quantitative social researches. The qualitative research, particularly, 40 in-depth interviews with the media experts selected through the purposive sampling, was conducted in April-May, 2012. The respondents—editors, journalists, bloggers, and media lawyers—either maintained their own blog, or represented a specific media agency or an electronic publication (such as Radio Liberty, regional information centers, etc.). Their narratives were submitted to the qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis.

The quantitative research conducted in November 2012 was a representative survey of the Georgian internet user segment nationwide. The sample consisted of 1,000 respondents inquired via structured interviews. The research was based on a three-stage cluster sampling spanning three zones: The Capital (Tbilisi), Eastern Georgia, and Western Georgia. The entire sample size was designed in a way as to derive rather reliable findings on a zoning level. The sample size by zone was the following: Tbilisi—500, Eastern Georgia towns—250, and Western Georgia towns—250 (as urban areas in Georgia are characterized by higher internetization levels). For the entire sample, the sampling error did not exceed 4% with a 95% confidence interval. The data entry, cleaning, weighing, and statistical analysis were performed using SPSS.

### **The Qualitative Research Findings**

#### **Social Media vis-à-vis the Political Domain as Seen by the Media Experts**

The first trend that all the inquired media experts underline is the intrusion of the social media into the political playfield, which they mainly attribute to the growing numbers of the internet users, including the social media users. The mere fact that there has been a drastic growth of the Facebook users in the recent years encourages the politicians to establish their presence in this space and to remind a certain socially networked segment of the constituency of their existence. It is assumed that the state agencies and politicians create their Facebook profiles to simply gain exposure, establish their presence, and attract the electorate. However, the question is whether their attempts can be considered effective.

The media experts tend to express quite skeptical views about the Georgian politicians' use of the social media. While it is true that the social network users expect to get to know the politicians from a different perspective unlike in television, they surely get disappointed as the politicians' Facebook pages only offer a "well-packaged and edited" information geared towards making a desirable self-presentation. These pages do not therefore provide informal backstage information but the one similar to that in the traditional media, the only difference being the placement space. The experts assert that these pages have not been able to create a discussion venue necessary for political communication and for raising the society's political culture. Apart from being unable to stimulate discussions, there is also a lack of differing and conflicting positions there.

The politicians have come to realize that the social media is gradually gaining momentum, and everybody has created profiles, but this in no way promotes the political culture. The information contained there is only general, there is no discussion, and how can this possibly do any good?! (K.N., male, editor)

The same applies to online conferences organized by the politicians. These conferences are considered as substantially similar to those in the traditional media, as all sorts of undesirable questions are removed, and it is

impossible to voice differing opinions.

The media experts' further skepticism is caused by a tendency known as "like-mania", which they associate with the Georgian politicians' distorted perception of the essence and significance of the social media. Activation of the second political front in the social networks in the period preceding the October 2012 Parliamentary Elections escalated a battle for the "likes" in the governmental circles, further referred to as the "war for the likes" in the social networks. The experts believe that the parties spending financial and administrative resources to secure "likes" is quite ridiculous. In their words, this points to the fact that the politicians have misconstrued the purpose of the new media and social networks, and they are not using them for discussions and interaction with their electorate. As a result, instead of raising the electorate's awareness, there is a growing cynical attitude among the social network users. They come to realize that the growing number of "likes" accrued through these methods creates a fake picture and has nothing to do with reality. It can also be said that the active users of the social media and social networks, who are interested in politics, have different judgments about how the political domain employs this new platform.

The politicians' personal Facebook pages do not play a role in raising political culture of the electorate, as they are entirely PR-oriented. Political culture will be raised by the discussion space, which they have not created. They neither gain nor lose the supporters; this is just illusory. (M.A., female, editor, blogger)

Thus, it is evident that the Georgian social media is less supportive in raising the population's political awareness. According to the media experts, it is not only the politicians but also the bloggers' fault. On the one hand, the bloggers are unable to create a serious media product themselves, and there is no competition in the market to hone their skills and spur their professional growth. This is illustrated by one of the bloggers' words stating that "whatever I am writing now is the same as to what I was writing three years ago, because there is nobody to emulate or compete with" (O.N., male, blogger).

On the other hand, the blogosphere is less active when writing about the politics. It turns out that it is "trendy among the bloggers to be apolitical" and when categorizing them, the experts assign political bloggers to the smallest category. In terms of political activity, the experts traced the highest activity to *forum.ge* (Georgian amateur forum) several years ago, which has allegedly fulfilled its mission and exhausted its potential. It is less in demand at this point, and its function is now performed by Facebook, acting like a present-day information repository. It is worth noting, however, that Facebook fulfills this function only for a limited pool of individuals, termed by our media experts as "cyber sect"—these are people who are active in the social media and have a say in shaping other users' views. They are employed, interested in obtaining information and applying this information to their profession. Yet, for the majority of users Facebook only carries the infotainment function.

Based on the aforementioned ideas, the experts conclude that there is a certain illusion that the social media is having a special say in the politics. In reality, there is not much that is being changed. However, they claim that the political actors, especially the government officials, have realized that the social media significance is on the rise and have started to transition to a completely new mode of interacting with bloggers. What does this new mode of interaction imply and how do the politicians try to benefit from it?

### **On the Trolling and Coaxing Methods, Censorship and Self-censorship**

The most widespread trend in the current interaction of the politics and social media in Georgia is that the politicians invite the bloggers to the informal meetings and gatherings. However, it raises a wave of criticism

since the politicians try to cajole the bloggers and consequently differentiate them into “ours” and “theirs”. They invite the “our” bloggers to subsequent meetings to write “lenient” and indulgent rather than critical posts for readers. Thus, we encounter the political domain to colonize the media though less aggressively. It rarely resorts to direct censorship (“nobody persecutes them, nobody arrests them”). On the contrary, it selects the “coaxing” method.

The government came to realize that the bloggers are strong, hold control over the social media, their profiles are shared, etc. They were not persecuted, but their Achilles Heels were found, they were given good drinks to drink and were coaxed in order to change their minds. This is what the bloggers ultimately wanted—they found themselves in “something good” and thought they would make a career out of this.... (D.D., male, blogger)

An example of the indirect political control provided by one of the experts illustrates how the interested parties, in this case the government, try to impose its influence by paying certain individuals.

I know for sure that there are people on *forum.ge* who are paid to post [a person is named]. Some are from the government and some are from the opposition. I do not rule out any possibility that such individuals will soon appear on Facebook. (G.O., female, blogger)

This is an obvious case of political trolling in the social media. However, it turns out that Georgian politicians apply not only the coaxing and trolling methods but also the ones of the “mild” political censorship though many of the inquired experts believe that the social media in Georgia is free from censorship. This is deduced based on the comparison with the traditional media, where the presence of censorship is confirmed by everybody. Given this comparison, the respondents point to the freedom of the social media though, on the other hand, their narratives illustrate various examples of indirect censorship in the Georgian social media space.

The proponents of the first position are mostly media lawyers and editors, as well as some bloggers, who refute the presence of censorship in the Georgian social media because they are not aware of any specific censorship examples.

I have not heard of any censorship facts in the social media, unlike in the traditional. The restrictions especially apply to the regional journalists for filming, but I think nobody sets any limits on whatever is written in the blogs. (V.A., female, editor, blogger)

Although these respondents claim that the social media in Georgia is nourished on the tabloid topics and that the political blogs are rarely written, the rationale they provide for this is not the presence of censorship, but rather the fact that the social media draws key discussion topics from the traditional, which is saturated with the entertainment topics. On the other hand, they claim that both the media product makers and users in Georgia are youngsters, who are interested in entertainment rather than politics. Furthermore, some respondents assume that imposing censorship by the government depends not only on the government’s will, but also on the available technologies. Since the servers and the addresses of certain sites operate beyond the Georgian space, it is quite difficult to control them.

Nevertheless, there exists an argument that despite the absence of censorship in the social media in a classical sense, like arresting bloggers or some sort of physical reprisal, there are certain facts of verbal threats being made. Moreover, a number of interviewed experts openly discuss three different censorship types: the first implies the government authorities pressurizing their employees to demand that they become politically active in the social media, and this is geared towards protecting interests of certain individuals and parties. An

often-cited example of such censorship is the government demanding from the state officials to “like” the President’s Facebook profile.

The second type of censorship is imposed by the editorial board on its staff. Although the electronic journal web pages explicitly refer to the free editorial policy, the experts still claim that “there is a certain virtual ideological confrontation in the internet space between the rightists and the leftists” (G.O., female, blogger). The editors therefore hold their own political stance and the blogs they write are illustrative of their political ideology.

The third type of censorship is believed to be the pressure the government exerts on bloggers, which may take the form of indirect or “mild” censorship discussed above.

I recall when Khachidze (the Minister of Environment Protection and Natural Resources) took the bloggers to Bakuriani (the mountain resort in Georgia) for the Ministerial meeting, so that they could ask critical questions. Upon their return, the bloggers wrote that the Minister was a nice person with a good sense of humor... Unfortunately, this is what usually happens and there are very few independent bloggers who would not praise Khachidze’s sense of humor, rather, ask him some challenging questions. By the way, the same technique was applied by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prime Minister, and one of the bloggers wrote: “I wanted to ask him a question regarding K’s death, but I did not dare to”. Such a self-censorship from a young blogger, who did not dare ask a question to the Prime Minister, is not surprising at all. What is more, it can be a method of the mild political censorship. (B.Kh., female, journalist, blogger)

Hence, an attempt to coax the bloggers can be considered as one of the varieties of censorship. The goal is that the bloggers who are being coaxed should refrain from writing critical posts not to put themselves in an awkward situation, or merely for some personal gain. This is a sheer illustration that the political censorship, even in its “mildest” form, necessarily entails self-censorship, a good illustration of which is a comment made by one of the bloggers: “I am especially cautious when writing about gender and poverty, and when voicing critical opinions. Once in a while I catch myself mitigating my position and making excuses even when I do not have to be doing so” (B.Kh., female, journalist, blogger).

Thus, one of the ways to make self-censorship work is to mitigate one’s own position and to write less critical posts. The other way is to ignore certain problems and not to write any posts on them at all, as illustrated above: although a blogger wanted to ask a question to the Prime Minister, he did not dare to after meeting him face-to-face; he has not written about it ever since.

### **Mediocracy or Politocracy?**

Under these circumstances, the concept of media-framing (based on Goffman’s “Frame” concept) (Goffman, 1986) acquires special relevance and the question is how the politics is represented in the Georgian media, and how the Georgian politicians react to it.

Based on the media experts’ considerations, the Georgian politicians actively use their power to set the media backstage limits and not to let the media from the “front region” to the “back region” (Goffman, 1959, p. 106). The experts further identify the difference in the interaction between the politics and media in Georgia vs. the Western democracies. In the latter case, the politicians try not to obstruct the media from penetrating into backstage, rather, offer the best possible performance in the front region. For instance, a political candidate who is able to raise funds through the social media will score victory. In the Georgian reality the politicians try to prevent the media intrusion into backstage as much as they can. Under these circumstances, “provision of information by the social media turns into a political weapon, which is consciously used by the political actors to self-advertise themselves and discredit their opponents” (B.Kh., female, journalist, blogger).

Thus, the Georgian politicians apply their strategies of “rationalization of persuasion” not by searching for the effective means of persuasion via the social media but by using their political authority to “colonize” and apply the social media as an instrument for political manipulations. We therefore face the media colonization by politics that in the given context can be termed as politocracy, and the experts claim that there is still a long way to go until a true mediocracy emerges in Georgia.

### **The Quantitative Research Findings**

#### **Sociopolitical Activities via Social Media**

Taking into consideration this reality, it is crucial to know what the internet users themselves think of the interrelation between the social media and politics in Georgia and whether their views are similar to the expert judgments? Do they use the social media to follow various types of political news and check the Georgian politicians’ Facebook pages? What attitudes do the internet users in Georgia possess towards online civic activities and whether they are engaged in such activities themselves?

It turned out that the attitudes towards participation in online civic activities are rather polarized—43.7% of the respondents find it acceptable as opposed to 50.3%. The findings are quite interesting by age distribution, since the respondents aged 18-22 find it more acceptable to participate in the protest actions (52.5%) compared to other age groups. This might be explained by the recent political developments, specifically those leading up to the October 2012 Parliamentary Elections, where the youngsters, especially the students, were most active both online and offline.

To a question whether the respondents themselves have ever participated in the protest actions via the internet, only 20% responded positively. Although the social networks embolden the users and it is indeed easier to participate in civic activities online, the responses once again supported our assumptions that the social media does not offer a platform for political activities in Georgia. Political activities via the social media are at their high only during the pre-election period or when other sociopolitical issues come to the limelight, resulting in polarization of the society. In terms of participating in civic activities, youngsters aged 18-22 are most actively engaged (34.4%), as was expected from the “digital natives” as opposed to the “digital immigrants” (Prensky, 2011, p. 3) (this figure is within the 15% range for other age groups).

The findings are quite interesting by education distribution. Thirty nine point eight percent of the surveyed students cite that they have participated in civic activities via the internet. The students therefore considerably outnumber the respondents with secondary and higher education (9.8% and 19.2% respectively). Of note is that participation is higher with single (28.5%) than the married (15.2%) respondents. This is likely explained not only by lack of time, but also by the fact that civic, especially political activities in Georgia are associated with certain risks of facing economic or social problems afterwards, and the married people have higher responsibilities towards their families. Fear of voicing political protest has been observed to some degree by employment distribution. There is a slight variance across the public sector, private sector, and unemployed respondent attitudes: 14.9% of the public sector, 20.3% of the private sector and 20.7% of the unemployed respondents citing that they have participated in civic activities online.

In response to a question as to which online civic activities our respondents have participated in, it turned out that they were most active in voicing political protest. Men tend to voice political protest more often than women, whereas both men and women are almost equally active in participating in human rights protection and cultural activities, women taking a slight lead. A question closely related to the one of participating in online

civic activities is how often the respondents use the social media to follow various types of political news. Of note are the web-conferences organized by the Georgian politicians as a new and interesting venue to connect with their constituencies. The findings illustrate that most respondents (72.3%) have never followed the web-conferences organized by the politicians. Even those who followed, only 2.5% were actively engaged and asked questions. This is likely explained by the fact that people are accustomed to receiving “well-packaged” information from the social media, just like from the mainstream media outlets, which was also emphasized by the media experts participating in our qualitative research. Moreover, as noted above, undesirable questions are erased in the social media and there is less tolerance towards opposing points of view, which was also demonstrated by the report on Electronic Engagement in Georgia produced by the Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (Turashvili, Kechakmadze, Chukhua, & Tolodrava, 2012). The population therefore holds less expectations towards the politicians’ online conferences, a proof being that the percentage of those participating in these activities is equally low in all sociodemographic categories.

In response to whether the respondents ever check the Georgian politicians’ Facebook pages, more than 2/3 cite that they never do (68.7%). If we examine this figure in light of other responses, we can conclude that 2/3 includes the respondents who think that the internet is not a place where political information should be followed. Furthermore, more than half of the respondents do not read any electronic publications with political contents and even among those, who read them, only 1/3 trusts the publications they read. An assumption over the previous question that the interest is low because the social media information is often similar to that offered by the traditional media outlets, especially television, may apply to all sorts of political information.

### **Social Media vis-à-vis the Political Domain as Seen by the Internet Users**

It is interesting to know how the inquired internet users assess the Georgian politicians’ usage of social media. In response to a question on how effectively Georgian politicians use the social media (see Figure 1) to popularize their political ideas, 70.3% of the answers are positive. This figure is also high when it relates to a question as to how effectively Georgian politicians use the social media to discredit their political opponents (69.4%) and how effectively they use the social media to exert their influence on the population (72.6%). High response figures might be explained by the abundance of information around the politicians’ PR campaigns at a time when the research was conducted, since it coincided with the period running up to the parliamentary elections. Still, it is obvious that the internet users’ views coincide with those of the media experts regarding the Georgian politicians’ attempts to “colonize” the social media in order to exert their influence on the population.

No major variance was noted by various sociodemographic parameters. The only eye-catching difference is a variance between the judgments of the “digital natives” and the “digital immigrants” relative to the effectiveness of the social media usage by politicians, percentage of the latter being lower, and the former being higher than those of other groups, as explained by their different outlook on the new media possibilities.

When asked about the reasons why Georgian politicians did not or could not use the social media effectively to fulfill their political agenda, most of the respondents considering the politician’s efforts ineffective cited strong influence of the traditional media outlets, especially the television, on the society (35.6%). A reason that comes second is the limited access to the internet (20%). The respondents therefore think that if the internet becomes more accessible, hence, more influential in Georgia, the politicians will apply the social media more effectively (see Figure 2).



MEDIOCRACY OR POLITOCRACY?

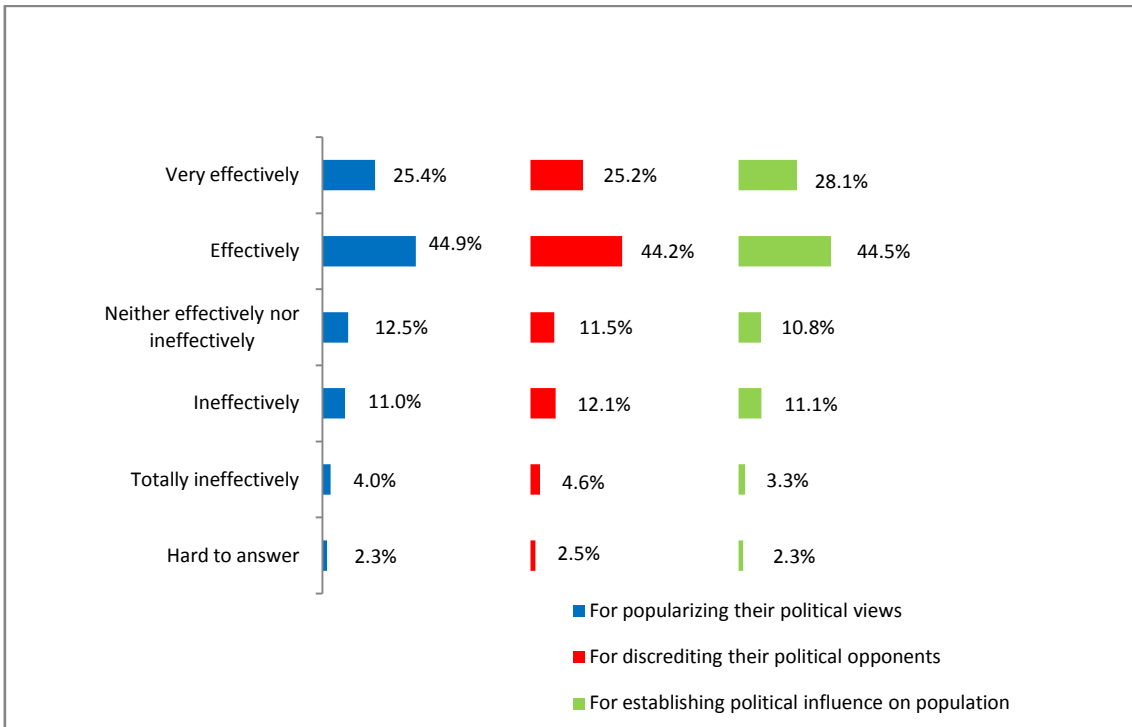


Figure 1. How effectively do Georgian politicians use social media?

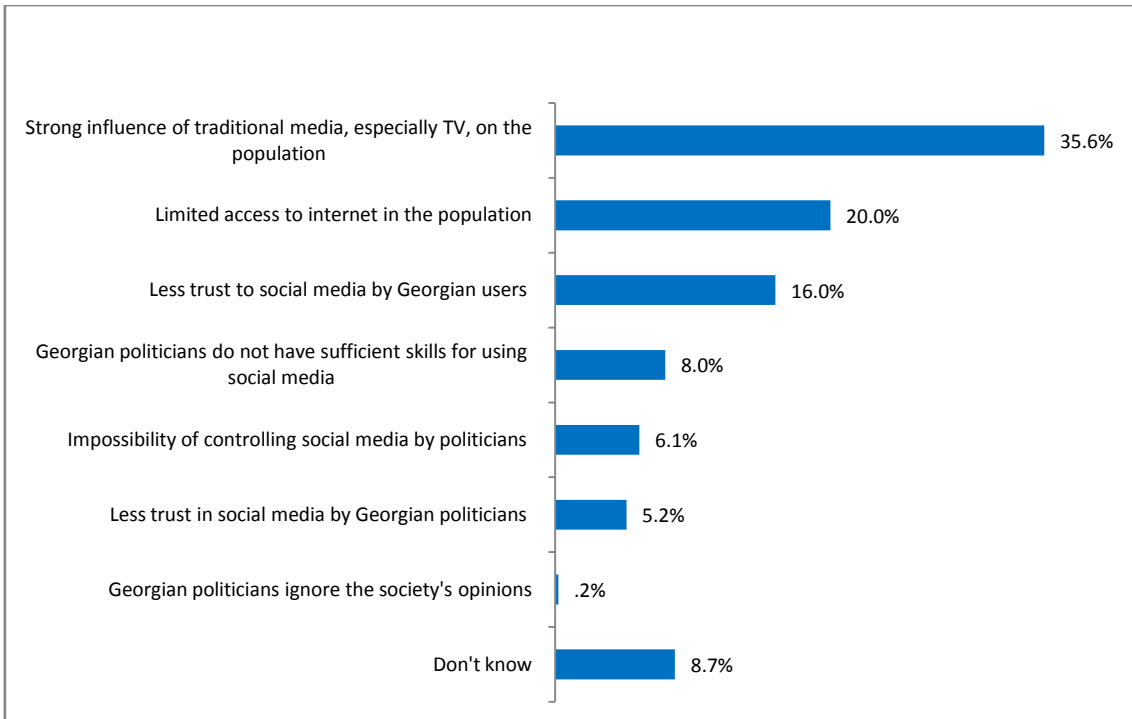


Figure 2. Reasons for not using social media effectively by Georgian politicians.

A different set of response patterns is observed when it comes to the statement that the politicians cannot use the social media effectively because they have a low degree of trust towards it. The percentage is one of the lowest here (5.2%) compared to other responses, implying that our respondents do not doubt the politicians'

trust in the social media, likewise their capacity to control it (impossibility of controlling the social media is considered to be the reason for the Georgian politicians' ineffective use of social media only by 6.1% of the respondents). With those who doubt, the responses are quite interesting to observe as the varying patterns are noted. The number of sceptics grows with age, which indicates that people who belong to various generations have varying degrees of trust towards the social media capabilities.

A question that relates to the effectiveness of social media in the Georgian political field (see Figure 3) is quite noteworthy, as it is examined against three aspects, namely, its influence on the politicians' self-presentation, political decision-making, and raising populations' political awareness. It turns out that 61.8% of the respondents think that the social media has a positive impact on the politicians' self-presentation, 63% on political awareness-raising, and 51.8% on political decision-making. The respondents therefore believe that the social media in Georgia offers an effective self-presentation platform to the politicians, positively affects political awareness-raising, but compared to the rest, has less influence on the political decision-making.

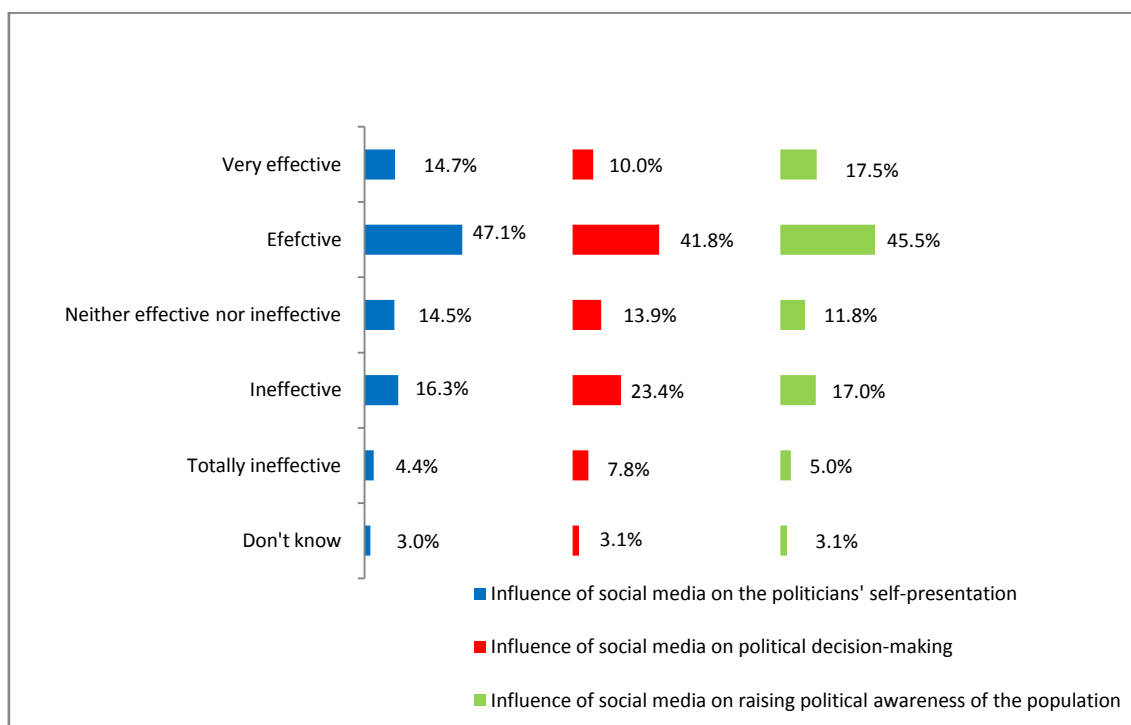


Figure 3. How effective are the social media activities in the Georgian political domain?

When scrutinizing the reasons for the social media's ineffectiveness within the Georgian political field (see Figure 4), the highest percentage rating goes to the low civic culture in Georgia, followed by the social media's focus on entertainment rather than on reporting political stories, then by its limited accessibility and hence, trust. Of note is that 12% of the interviewees cite the control exerted by politics upon the social media as one of the reasons of its ineffectiveness, which may often take the form of mild or indirect censorship that was pinpointed by the interviewed experts.

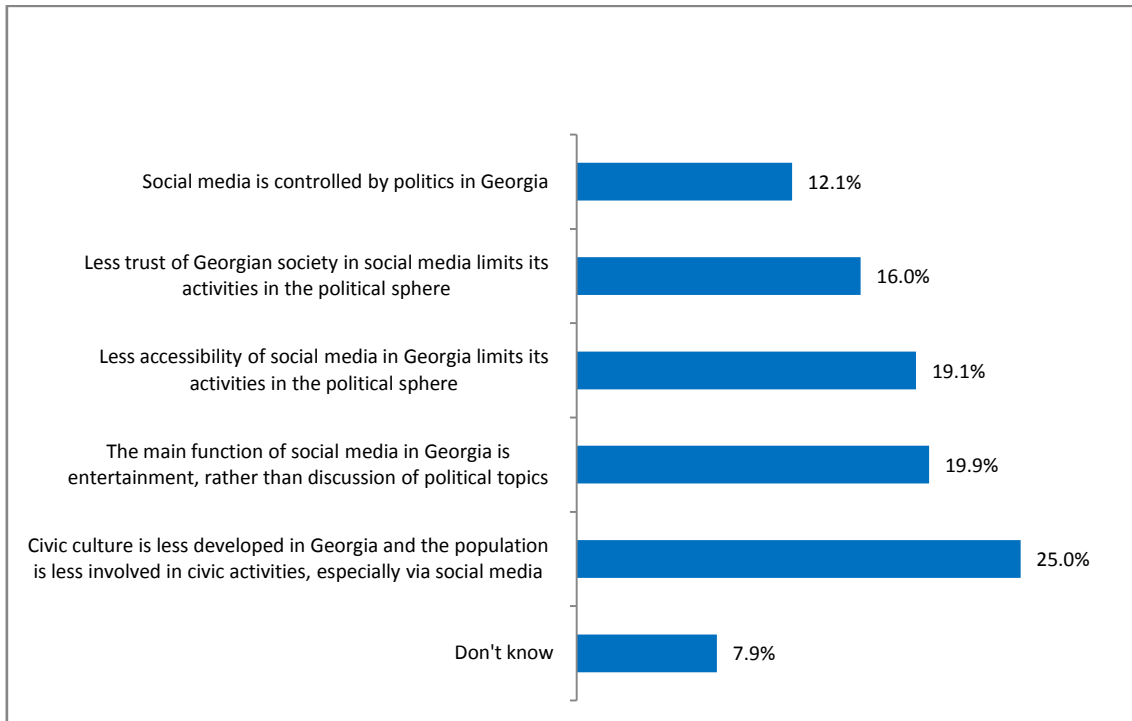


Figure 4. Reasons for ineffectiveness of social media in the Georgian political domain.

However, in contrast to the experts' assessments, majority of the inquired internet users possess quite ambivalent opinions on the presence of political censorship in the Georgian social media as illustrated by two radically divergent positions with equal weights. For instance, when referring to freedom of the social media from political censorship, the responses are equally spread between "not free" and "free" (32% and 31.1% respectively). The ratings are almost identical by all sociodemographic categories.

The self-censorship issue is even more complex as the responses are distributed across three parameters—social media being free, completely free or not free at all. Overall, by all sociodemographic strata, the respondents think that the social media in Georgia is predominantly free from self-censorship, in contrast to the experts' judgments discussed above. However, the way the responses are distributed makes us assume that they have not thought about this issue thoroughly, therefore, their positions are vague and their judgments are ambivalent. Specifically, instead of distributing answers across a scale of "not free" and "somehow free" or "somehow free" and "free", the answers are merely distributed along a scale of "not free" and "free". Thus, the respondents' ambivalent views on the presence of censorship and self-censorship in the Georgian social media lead us to conclude that they have a limited understanding of this issue.

### Conclusions

To summarize both the qualitative and quantitative research findings, that is the media experts' and internet users' opinions, it is obvious that despite the fact that very seldom does the population of Georgia use the social media to follow various types of political news, likewise quite seldom do the internet users in Georgia check the politicians' Facebook pages or engage in online civic activities, Georgian political actors, realizing that the social media significance is on the rise, still make their efforts to "colonize" the social media and use it for imposing their political influence. Because the internet users in Georgia are rather passive in

terms of civic, especially political activities via the social media, not many of them might notice the cases of political censorship in the Georgian social media and even less might be aware of self-censorship by the bloggers writing political posts; however, the media experts, often the authors of such posts, highlight different types of political censorship in the Georgian social media stressing that they necessarily lead to self-censorship. Finally, both the media experts and the internet users believe that the rise of social media accessibility among the population of Georgia will enhance its usage by the politicians as their means of “rationalization of persuasion”. However, the question is whether the latter will represent the Georgian politicians’ search for the effective means of persuasion via the social media or yet again their practiced strategy of using their political authority to “colonize” and apply the social media as an instrument for political manipulations?

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# Analysis of the Development of E-government in Poland Compared With the World and the European Union Countries

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The paper focuses on the increasing development of e-services and an increase in interest in them. With e-government is developed, a collaboration between employees of public administration at different levels of the natural or legal persons according to their needs. The paper presents the electronic platforms of public administration services in Poland. The analysis of e-government was conducted based on selected statistics from reports prepared by the United Nations in 2010 and 2012. The data for the European Union and Poland are summarized in the table in order of occupied places in the ranking and evaluation of e-government and e-services in Poland on the background of world and the European Union are presented in the form of graphs.

*Keywords:* information society, e-government, e-services

## Introduction

The recent years saw an increase in the range of administrative e-services made available and in the level of their development, as well as customers growing interest in them. E-government enables the development of cooperation between the personnel of public administration offices at various levels and legal and natural persons that settle their matters in such offices. Computerization of public administration brought tangible effects and benefits. It became possible to offer services which can be delivered at any time and irrespective of where the customer is based. This resulted in a significant increase in the effectiveness of administrative e-services made available and in a reduction of the costs of delivering such services (Banasikowska, 2008, 2011; Bliźniuk, 2007; Bogucki, 2005). The last years research shows how information and communications technology (ICT) influence into the economic globalization and build a highly connected world (Roztock & Weistroffer, 2009), especially in knowledge-based economy in such relationship between citizen and government (Olszak & Ziemba, 2009, 2011; Sołtysik-Piorunkiewicz & Banasikowska, 2013; Sołtysik-Piorunkiewicz, 2013; Sołtysik-Piorunkiewicz & Żytniewski, 2013).

The aim of this paper was to compare the development of e-government in the world and the European Union countries. The research methodology in this paper is based on analysis, synthesis, selecting and grouping data of the current United Nations E-government Survey of year 2010 and 2012, transnational comparative analysis, classification, and statistical analysis and graphics.

## The Development of E-services Platform of the Electronic Administrative System in Poland

The basic aims of electronic administration are a fast exchange of information at all levels of administration, possibility of creating centralized databases, and clear and the same for all criteria for decision making. Electronic communication within a public administration office, between offices, and with customers in an electronic document flow is much faster than sending paper documents. It allows documents to be corrected fast and information about any changes, e.g., legal changes, to be received instantly. Computerization of administration should facilitate management thanks to transferring all archival data to electronic databases, archiving documents and cataloguing them according to certain criteria. Gathering databases in one place significantly influences the acceleration of administrative decision making. The decision-making criteria should be uniform so that they are clear, comprehensive, and the same—they should have certain procedures. In Poland, the basic communication and information system used for delivering administrative e-services is the national platform—Elektroniczna Platforma Usług Administracji Publicznej e-PUAP (Electronic Platform for Public Administration Services)—created as part of the project Plan for State Computerization for the years 2007 - 2010, designed to provide services to natural and legal persons by public administration units in an electronic way (see Figure 1) (Banasikowska, 2009, 2011; Bliźniuk, 2007; Grodzka, 2007; Witryna internetowa e-PUAP, 2012a, 2012b; Witryna internetowa MSWiA, 2013).

Electronic administration services play an important role, both for the state and the society. A continuous increase in public expenditures makes citizen interested in their effective use. In 2000, in the eEurope programme the European Union set down the programme for making public administration services available through the Internet. The aim of this programme was to deliver modern public services to citizens and to create a dynamic environment to conduct e-business (20 basic services, with 12 designed for natural persons and eight for legal persons).

The screenshot shows the homepage of the ePUAP website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with 'Log in' and 'Register (Polish only)' links, and a Polish flag. The main header features the ePUAP logo and the text 'electronic platform of public administration services'. Below this is a banner image of three people. The main content area is divided into two columns. The left column has a section titled 'What is ePUAP?' with a detailed description of the platform's purpose and objectives. The right column has a 'Contact us' sidebar with phone and email information.

**What is ePUAP?**

**Electronic Platform of Public Administration Services (ePUAP) is a coherent and systematic action program designed and developed to allow public institutions make their electronic services available to the public. The website [www.epuap.gov.pl](http://www.epuap.gov.pl) enables defining citizen and businesses service processes, creates channels of access to different systems of public administration and extends the package of public services provided electronically.**

The website [www.epuap.gov.pl](http://www.epuap.gov.pl) provides citizens, businesses and institutions with a number of services intended to ensure smooth and safe communication between:

- customer to administrations (C2A),
- business to administration (B2A),
- administration to administration (A2A)

Project main objectives:

- to create a single, secure and electronic access channel to public services for citizens, businesses and public administration,
- to reduce time and lower the costs of sharing information resources and functionalities of administration domain systems.

**Contact us**

Phone: +48 22 694 78 15  
 Press Office: [media@mac.gov.pl](mailto:media@mac.gov.pl)  
 Project Office: [epuap@mac.gov.pl](mailto:epuap@mac.gov.pl)

Figure 1. Electronic Platform of Public Administration Services e-PUAP. Source: Witryna internetowa e-PUAP (2012a).

The current state of the development level of the basic 20 administrative electronic services in Poland has been presented in Table 1.

The aim of e-PUAP is to try to transform Poland into a modern, citizen- and business friendly state by creating a favourable legislative, institutional and technological environment for the development of an information society and for the purpose of computerization of public administration.

Table 1

*Level of the Development of E-services for Natural Persons and Legal Persons in Poland*

Administrative electronic services for natural persons	Level of e-service development in Poland in %
Health care	50
Social services	46
Construction permission	51
Police—handling reports	25
Car registration	49
Identity cards	50
Employment agency	100
Information about changing the address	47
Public libraries	58
Documents from the births, marriages and deaths register office	47
Personal income tax	100
Enrolment at higher education institutions	59
Average level of the development of the service in %	56.83
Administrative electronic services for legal persons	Level of development of the e-service in Poland in %
Obligatory social insurances	100
Corporate income tax	100
VAT tax	100
Company registration	100
Submitting data to Central Statistical Office	100
Customs declaration	100
Environmental protection permission	43
Public procurement	50
Average level of the service development in %	86.63

*Note.* Source: Own work.

The implementation and gradual extending of the functionalities of the e-PUAP system will:

- (1) ensure fast settlement of formalities and undertaking new tasks that have not been anticipated;
- (2) improve decision making processes;
- (3) ensure savings in terms of staff number and financial savings, mainly in local government entities (Banasikowska, 2009, 2011; Witryna internetowa e-PUAP, 2012a, 2012b; Witryna internetowa MSWiA, 2013).

Local government administration comes first among all administration services in terms of the development of electronic platforms for contact with customers, as it is this administration that is responsible for providing basic social services. Thanks to an effective system of identifying citizens and objects of economic activity, the use of electronic signature and information system integration, a visit in a public administration office to settle an administrative matter should not be necessary.

However, the computerization of public administration and providing it with appropriate information and

communication technologies are not being implemented in the right way. In many public administration offices, the systems created are not integrated with systems in many divisions and offices or with other offices.

The European Union pays special attention to the development of the availability and level of administrative electronic services in its member states and therefore it checks whether administration and municipal services in individual states are implementing current programmes for stimulating e-government development. The implementation of the 20 basic administrative services (12 for natural persons and 18 for legal persons) is controlled by the information society director general (Bogucki, 2005).

E-government in Poland requires intensive actions on the part of public administration offices. The development of information and communication infrastructure and common access to it became the basis for the development of electronic administration. It is necessary to develop and implement uniform principles for the implementation of individual services and to adjust the legal system so that public services can be delivered through the Internet at the transactional level. The development of e-government should allow citizens and companies to:

- (1) access information through the website of a public administration office or institution;
- (2) access electronic forms that have been placed and are ready for download from websites;
- (3) receive completed forms through the Internet;
- (4) settle administrative matters in offices in a fully electronic way (from the moment of obtaining information through downloading and completing a form to making appropriate payments and receiving the official document applied for).

In order to ensure the proper development of e-PUAP, it is necessary to remove legal barriers. The current legal system provides for ways of an appropriate use of European Union funds for computerization-related aims. However, in the case of building and implementing a cross-sectoral e-PUAP system, which definitely enters both procedural and systemic area of public administration, Poland hasn't fully developed a proper legal framework that sanctions the functioning of this system in the administration structure.

### **The Analysis of the Development of E-government in Poland in the World Ranking**

The ranking of the current state of the development of e-government in the countries across the world is provided in United Nations' surveys for 2010 and 2012 (United Nations E-government Survey, 2010; 2012) (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). The United Nations e-government development index (EGDI) is a composite indicator measuring the willingness and capacity of national administrations to use ICT to deliver public services. It is based on a survey of the online presence of all 193 member states, which assesses the different features of e-government national websites: technical, policies and strategies applied for delivery of e-services (United Nations E-government Survey, 2012).

The UN's surveys for 2010 and 2012 is based on the three criteria:

(1) online service index—scope and quality of on-line services based on selecting the appropriate site/URL at the national level, identifying ministerial websites, language limitations, data quality checks, a citizen centric approach;

(2) information infrastructure (telecommunication) index—information and communication infrastructure based on composite of five indicators: estimated internet users per 100 inhabitants, number of main fixed telephone lines per 100 inhabitants, number of mobile subscribers per 100 inhabitants, number of fixed internet subscriptions per 100 inhabitants, and number of fixed broadband facilities per 100 inhabitants;



(3) human capital index—adult literacy and gross enrolment.

Based on the date of EGDI, by using the graphic method it was the best representation possible to show the developments e-government in the world, with particular attention given to leading Asian countries (The Republic of Korea, Singapore), as well as given the opportunity to compare the development of e-government in Poland in the world ranking top ten countries.

The world development of national e-government shows the ten best numbers of index in 2010 and 2012 (see Table 2). There are some changes in the best ten of the countries in the world.

Table 2

*Change of the Development of World E-government Between 2010 and 2012*

Index of 2010	Change of position between 2010 and 2012	Index of 2012
1 Republic of Korea	0	1 Republic of Korea
2 United Kingdom	-3	2 Netherlands
3 Canada	-8	3 United Kingdom
4 United	+1	4 Denmark
5 Netherlands	+3	5 United States
6 Norway	-2	6 France
7 Denmark	+3	7 Sweden
8 Australia	-4	8 Norway
9 Spain	-14	9 Finland
10 France	+4	10 Singapore

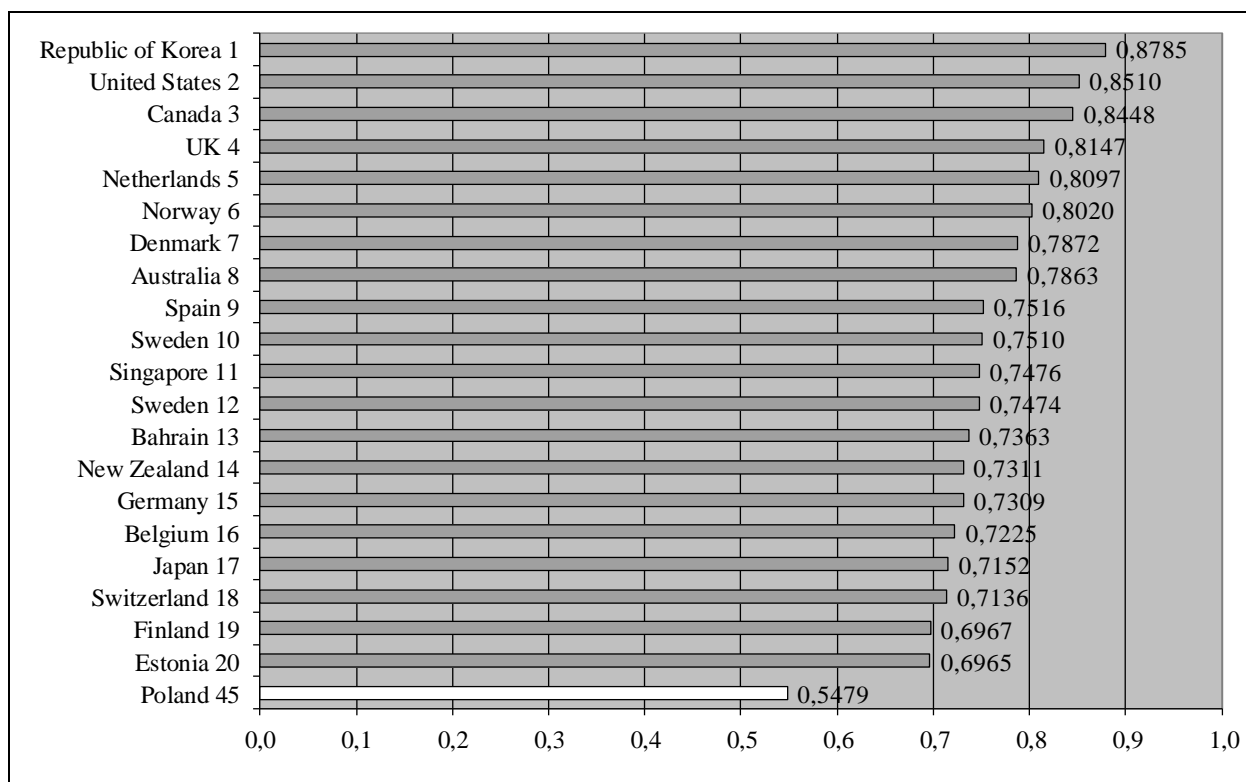


Figure 2. Ranking of the development of e-government in Poland compared to different countries across the world in 2010. Source: Own work based on (United Nations E-government Survey, 2010).

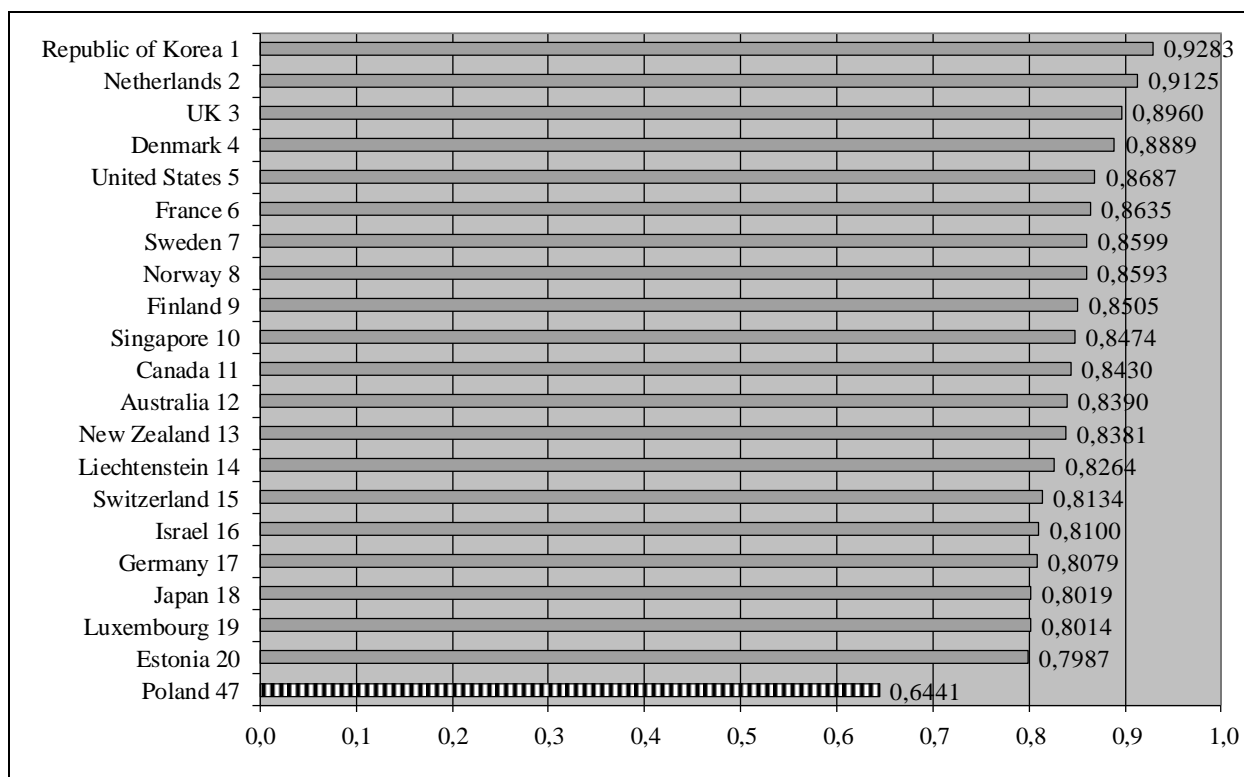


Figure 3. Ranking of the development of e-government in Poland compared to different countries across the world in 2012. Source: Own work based on (United Nations E-government Survey, 2012).

In the survey of the current state of the development of e-government for 2010, The Republic of Korea was situated on the first place (0.8785), and also in survey for 2012 (0.9283). Finland has one of the best change in 2012 survey (+10 positions) between 2010 and 2012. France has reached also the better place in the ranking (+4 positions). There are some good examples of changes of e-government systems: Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden.

Poland had lower e-government indexes in the 2010 and 2012 and was situated on 45 and 47 places.

### The Analysis of the Development of E-government in Poland Compared With the European Union Countries

The comparative analysis of the development level of e-government and the delivery of administrative electronic services in Poland compared to the European Union countries was conducted based on the data from UN's surveys for 2010 and 2012 taking into account a place in the ranking based on the United Nations' surveys index.

The online services index, the ICT index and human capital index are the criteria of describing of state of e-government development. These three criteria are one of the most important dimensions of e-government. The research methodology shows also all the mathematical details of United Nations' surveys (United Nations E-government Survey, 2010; 2012). The Figure 4 presents data from the 2010 UN survey for Europe countries. The average value of United Nations' surveys index for 2010 is 0.6572. Poland had one of the lower index value: 0.5583 in Europe. Only Romania had the worst index value in 2010 in Europe: 0.5479.

The results of the analysis of data collected from the 2010 UN survey and the evaluation of the development of e-government in the European Union is presented in Figure 4.

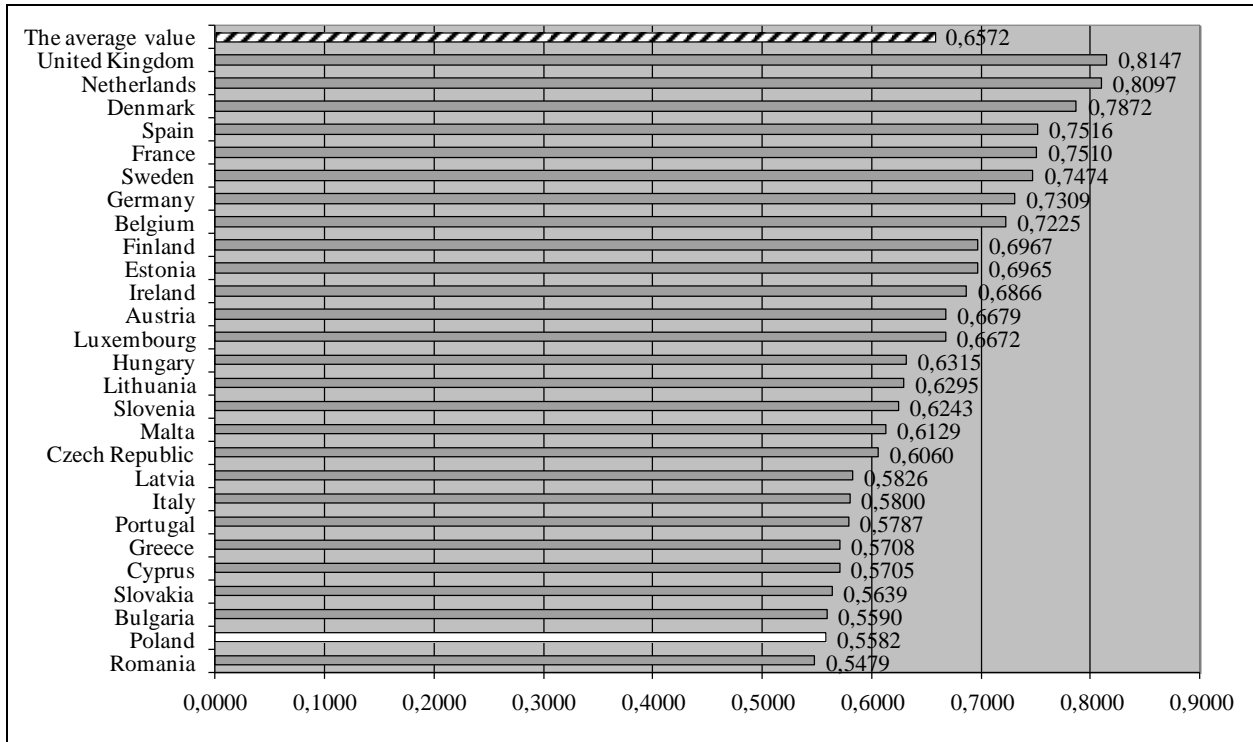


Figure 4. Evaluation of the development of e-government in Poland compared with the European Union for 2010. Source: Own work based on (United Nations E-government Survey, 2010).

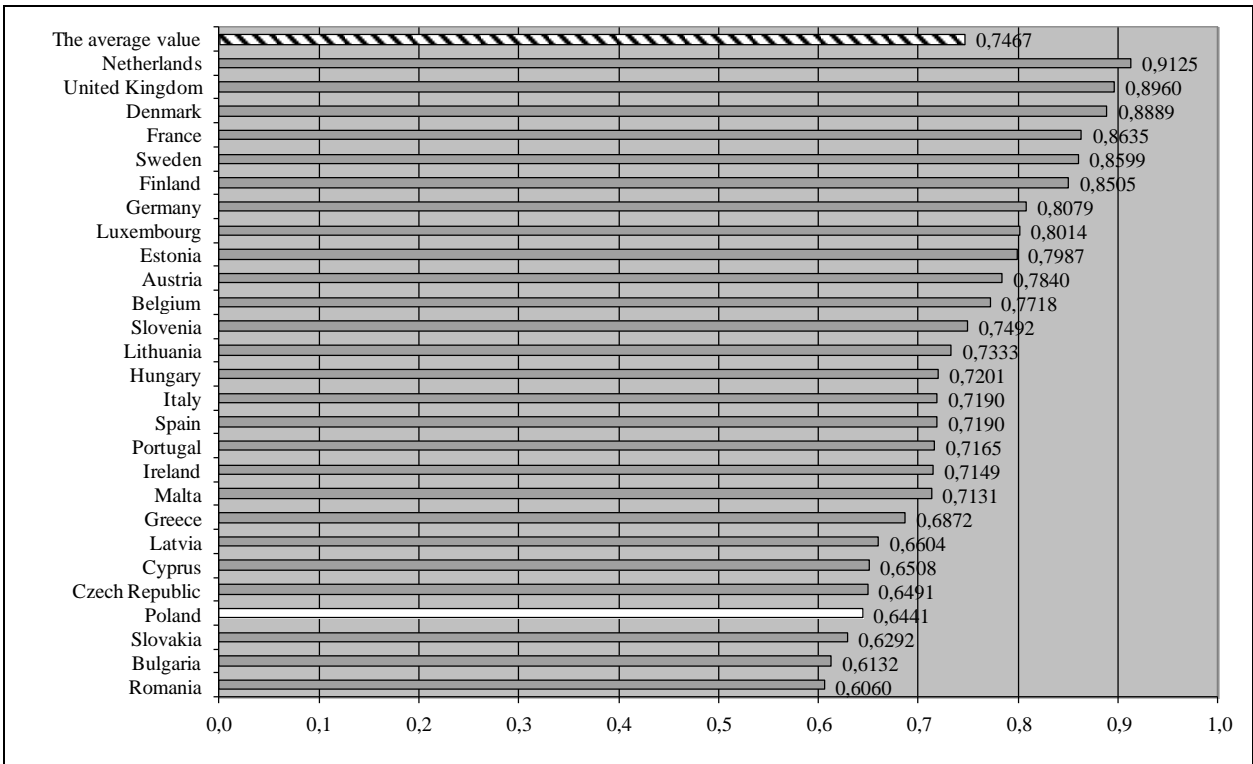


Figure 5. Evaluation of the development of e-government in Poland compared to the European Union for 2012. Source: Own work based on (United Nations E-government Survey, 2012).

The Figure 5 presents data collected from the 2012 UN survey according to the ranking of the development level of e-government and the delivery of administrative electronic services in Poland compared to European Union countries. Poland had better value of the United Nations' surveys index: 0.6441. The average value is 0.7467. The worst value of index have Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

The results of the analysis of data collected from the 2012 UN survey and the evaluation of the development of e-government in the European Union is presented in Figure 5.

In the summary, it should be stated that Poland's position in the world ranking of the development of e-government fell from 45 in 2010 to 47 in 2012. However, when compared with other European Union countries, Poland occupied the next to last position in 2010 overtaking only Romania, whereas in 2012 it was higher in the ranking than Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. There is one of the aspects of world comparison where Poland takes one of the best place. It is the usage of social media and instant messaging. The mobile technology offers a good opportunity to extend public services to citizens, especially in developing countries like Poland.

### Conclusion

E-government should provide administrative electronic services adjusted to the needs of customers. Customer-orientation can be achieved through face to face and online contacts as well as the access to numerous web features. The popularity of the Internet use in the operation of economic entities led to changing paper documents into electronic ones (e.g., e-invoices). In Poland, all (20) the main administrative electronic services are available, but the level of the development of some services allows customers only to obtain information or additionally download a form. It should be noted, however, that more and more services are available at the transactional level. Some services, due to legal requirements, cannot be delivered at the transaction level, e.g., matters related to an identification card, passport and similar, where a visit in person is required.

The difficulties on the way towards a faster development and the use of existing technical capacity and information systems include: the necessity of introducing changes to the infrastructure, changes in the processes of functioning of public administration offices and in the mentality of people working in such offices as well as changes in the mentality of those interested in using online services. The problem is also a lack of integration of systems within offices, lack of integration of these systems with other institutions from where data can be retrieved as required attachments to a request form for a given service. Excessive extension of forms (required documents that can be obtained in an office from external databases) is an obstacle which discourages potential customers from using electronic services.

E-government is based not only on computing and implementing of new technology. Poland is in the UN ranking so far away placed, but in the top ten of usage of modern technologies, like social media, mobile technologies, etc.. It means that there is sufficient access to modern technologies, but this state of art need to be changed, e.g., to prepare executives for the administration to carry out computerization, including functional analysis and office workflow, make the necessary organizational changes, algorithms for the management and procedures, analysis organizational architecture and the next—computerization and implementation of new technology.

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# Public Service Media Journalism and Democracy in the Digital Age

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In the digital age, when we witness the rapid proliferation of platforms and services, European societies continue debating the role and the future of public service media (PSM). In the new digital environment, public service broadcasting/media, which for a number of social and cultural reasons have been at the core of the European media system, faces the capital question—What democracy do public operators strive for and how can they accomplish it? PSM has to be at the vanguard of the complex process of media transformation in the information society and particularly of the formation of novel journalistic culture which besides the values of ethical and innovative content should also serve the principles of good and efficient governance.

*Keywords:* public service media (PSM), public service media governance (PSMG), principles of good governance, public service media journalism

## Introduction

Nowadays, the perception of democratic principles and values has changed due to the intensive and ubiquitous use of the information and communications technology (ICT). Internet has opened enormous opportunities for the implementation of human rights and especially for a variety of creative activities. Thus, the overall media picture has been significantly changed and diversified. As the Open Society Institute (OSI) Monitoring Report (“Television across Europe”, 2008) states:

The proliferation of content together with the weakening grip of content regulation meant that the public gained more freedom of choice, being no longer obliged to watch state-authorized channels and programmes; on the other hand, it is questionable whether this new media environment offered better quality or more diversity as programmes and formats became international commodities, traded by commercial companies, and PSB budgets ere stretched by funding shortfalls and the need to invest in new technology. (p. 38)

The shifts in the general media landscape have a bearing on public service broadcasting (PSB), in particular, which has to adjust to the new conditions and public demands and to become public service media (PSM). Respectively the mission of public broadcasters has to expand to embrace new socially relevant tasks stemming in the digital reality and to pursue them via various platforms and services.

The broader in dimension public service remit corresponding to the challenges of the multidimensional media environment calls for a new type of journalism which can make PSM institutions really modern, better working, and innovative enterprises. The entrenchment of PSM journalism is also associated with the

application of a new governance model the purpose of which is to accomplish more responsible and result-oriented management within the public media organizations. Through a reform of the processes and the culture within PSM structures they may become more flexible in their operation and open, transparent, and accountable to their audiences.

With regard to this, the guidelines formulated by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2012a; 2012b) merit special focus. Their practical implementation can be viewed as the necessary foundation for the successful transition from rigid and mismanaged public institutions to forward-looking frameworks which are able to convert PSM into efficient enterprises. The principles are such tenets of good governance as innovation, independence, transparency and accountability and openness and responsiveness the consistent implementation of which at any level and in any system deems crucial for its stable operation. From the perspective of the establishment of new media culture in the digital environment which has to serve democracy the principles of good PSM governance need to be fully transposed into the everyday journalistic activities. As White (2008) underlined in his book on the ethical journalism initiative:

There are many forms of accountability, each with strengths and weaknesses but journalists should find ways that will foster the notion of restraint and standard-setting which meets in a democracy the needs for people to have confidence that journalism and media are genuinely held to account. (p. 10)

The purpose of the following discussion is to analyze the novel tasks that have to be taken by public service media professionals in order to be able to cope with the challenges of the digital age and more generally the policy proposals that have to be elaborated in this respect. The conclusions put forward and the suggestions raised are not meant to establish new set of rules or to encroach on journalistic freedoms and rights but aim at developing ideas that can serve as food for thought in order for journalists to become genuine partners in the governance of PSM institutions and to contribute effectively to democracy and new media education.

### **Freedom of Expression in the Digital AGE**

Unconditionally, the hallmark of the digital age we live in is the expansion of communications platforms and services. Among the numerous social consequences brought forth are the changes in the implementation of human rights and particularly in the exercise of freedom of expression. An optimistic outlook on the novel technological developments makes us believe that new technologies provide unprecedented opportunities for wider in scope and richer in content freedom of expression. For instance, civil society activists and academics associate the events in the Arab world with the reformation potential of Twitter and Facebook. It is worth underlining that the use of the new digital services in North Africa and the Middle East allowed “a many-sided conversation among equal individuals” to take place (Howard & Hussain, 2011) which serves as a proof for its human rights impact. Against the complex constellation of technical, political, cultural, and social factors we witness the emergence of a new dynamic media system comprising a plethora of media and quasi-media actors—auxiliaries and intermediaries. Different approaches are applied by the international organizations which try to elucidate the nature and functions of the new media system. At a European level, the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2010) distinguishing between linear and non-linear services and their appropriate regulation with the view of creating a viable audiovisual market can be mentioned here (Retrieved from [http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/avms/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/avms/index_en.htm)). Another useful publication for comparison dealing with the role and contribution of various actors is the OECD. “The

Economic and Social Role of Internet Intermediaries” (2010) based on the OECD Declaration for the Future of the Internet Economy which attempts at classifying the diverse models of intermediaries (Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/sti/ieconomy/44949023.pdf>). The Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2011) formulated a number of basic characteristics of the media in order to shape a broader concept which can encompass the new services and platforms and recognize their special media status provided they meet a number of criteria. Traditionally, in Europe public service electronic media has been an unalienable element of the dual public and commercial media system and an influential democratic institution. Thus, in its Resolution N1—“The Future of Public Service Broadcasting” adopted by the Fourth European Ministerial Conference on Mass Media Policy, held in Prague in 1994, European states declare “their commitment to maintain and develop a strong public service broadcasting system in an environment characterized by an increasingly competitive offer of programme services and rapid technological change” (Retrieved from [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/DH-MM%282006%29004\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/DH-MM%282006%29004_en.pdf)). As early as the 1990s, Sparks (1994) claimed that “from the point of view of democratic political life, only a public service broadcasting system can provide the kind of public enlightenment which is necessary to turn the empty rhetoric of democratic politics into the substantial reality of citizenry” (p. 119).

Nowadays, public broadcasters are no longer monolithic operators but providing information and comments through various platforms and services have been transformed into public service media (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2007). The document defines for the first time the notion “public service media” in the preamble: “Convinced therefore that the public service remit is all the more relevant in the information society and that it can be discharged by public service organizations via diverse platforms and an offer of various services, resulting in the emergence of public service media, which for the purpose of this recommendation, does not include print media”. Analysis of this new phenomenon and defense of public service media as a “platform for open societal communication” can be seen in Jakubowicz (2010b, pp. 193-227). Due to the difficulties they face (competition pressure from commercial operators, inadequate financing, crisis of public service values, decrease in audience numbers, etc.) which put at risk their very existence European societies continue debating the role of PSM and issues related to its remit.

### **The Digital Environment and PSM**

The digital environment has produced a new world in which all processes and persons are connected and interdependent. Some scholars call it “medialized world” because communications and links in any social sector are shaped exclusively by the media. Democracy is also complex and constantly changing. For example, Baker (2002) argued that complex democracy means that “participatory democracy should encompass arenas where both individuals and groups... advance their group values and interests” (p. 252). From the perspective of a “medialized world” academics and activists believe that in a complex democracy the quality and the success of the democratic process are still highly contingent on the performance of the media (old and new). Without the means of mass communications, civic participation will be much narrower and ineffective, various ideas and principles will remain unknown to the public and communities will stay isolated from one another. In the information age, the media’s contribution to the vibrant dialogue between persons, groups, societies, and cultures is crucial.

Public service media by its mission promotes the public interest and stays close to civil society and to the public at large supporting their democratic aspirations. That is why, in the overall, media system PSM should



keep its prominent place due to its unique role in society—to provide quality and balanced information necessary for taking informed decisions and to bring people and communities together to discuss issues of common concern. Regarding this, Feintuck and Varney (2006) speaking about media regulation and the public interest and comparing various positions on the role and function of public service broadcasting come to the conclusion that the one confirming the three basic principles of the PSB concept—citizenship, universality, and quality deems most inspiring for contemporary regulators (pp. 45-46).

Taking into consideration the pivotal role of PSM in the multidimensional media environment, Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2007) mandated member states “to ensure that the specific legal, technical, financial, and organisational conditions for the fulfilling of the public service remit continue to apply in, and are adapted to, the new digital environment”. According to the provisions of the recommendation member states should be free to organise their own national systems of public service media matching the rapidly changing technological and social realities, while at the same time preserving the fundamental principles of the public service. The organization of PSB, however, has been subjected to critical scrutiny and the opinion of researchers is that it has failed to respond “to the rise of networked, non-hierarchical forms of multistakeholder governance and social relations” (Jakubowicz, 2010a, p. 15).

Digitization nowadays makes it possible diffused or distributed public service to be carried out alongside the operation of the traditional public service media institutions, i.e., a service which is dispersed through various media platforms. Such arrangements make use of modern technology to produce greater diversity of content including user-generated content. At the same time it is apparent that for the time being the diffused service cannot match the whole range of programmes and services provided by the institutional public service media. That is why it cannot be perceived as an alternative but rather as complementary to the latter. However, this new phenomenon demonstrates the potential of the ICT to extend the public function horizontally and to facilitate partnerships and networks to diversify the forms of content creation and dissemination. Taking into account these new configurations and their possible beneficial effect on pluralism the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2011) invited member states to “adopt strategies to promote, develop or ensure suitable levels of public service delivery so as to guarantee a satisfactory level of pluralism, diversity of content and consumer choice and ensure close scrutiny or monitoring of developments”. Such objective does not mean that existing PSM structures have to be deinstitutionalized but that a variety of channels for delivery of content that may appear can be harnessed to promote widely public service values of quality and pluralism.

### **Changes in the Journalistic Profession—The New Challenges**

What striking about the current media situation is that not only technical convergence is taking place but also professional convergence (elements of convergence) with regard to the journalistic profession. The latter is signified by the establishment of close relationships between bloggers and journalists and between journalists and the audience at large. The provision and the circulation of user-generated content by the Internet users offer different forms of collaboration between professionals and non-professionals in the media field. Eventually the interaction results in a new form of journalism the so called “open journalism”<sup>1</sup>. This phenomenon raises several issues.

The first one pertains to the clarification of the status of all contributors to content creation and

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<sup>1</sup> See the guardian project on open journalism and its elements at <http://openjournalism.wordpress.com/tag/definition/>

dissemination. If bloggers and other content providers wish to benefit from a status similar to the one of professional journalists, special requirements have to be laid out (Skolkay & Sanchez, 2012). Second, technically journalistic profession undergoes modifications and has to be adjusted to the novel conditions of production and dissemination. Digital skills for instance, are essential in the new media environment but other proficiencies are also much needed such as active involvement with persons, groups, and communities, capability of collective work, processing of multiple sources, fast reaction and analytical thinking such as assessment, selection and classification, speediness, interactive communication with users, linguistic knowledge in the best case of one-two languages, etc.. By and large journalistic profession becomes a complex occupation which needs life-long learning and upgrading.

Authors conclude that the impact of the new media services on routine journalistic work has been positive on the whole urging them to be more creative and socially responsive. However, at the same time they share concerns about the heavy workload, the competition pressure, the soaring commercialization, etc. which may have negative consequences on the journalistic profession (Ibid, p. 32).

Another effect of the wide application of ICT on the media system is the establishment of novel media accountability practices on line encouraging a new attitude towards the media and its performance (Heikkilä Domingo, Pies, Głowacki, Kuś, & Baisné, 2012). While in the traditional regulatory frameworks, various legal measures and self-regulatory forms of rectification (reply, correction, and apology) can be imposed the new practices are considered more appropriate for the media in the digital age. However, approaches have not always been very efficient. Lauk and Kuss come to the conclusion that

the codes and self-regulatory bodies remain toothless and have limited impact as accountability instruments as long as they continue functioning as a “shelter for the guild” and do not prove the validity of their practices through an open public debate. (Lauk & Kuss, 2012, p. 171)

Compared to the classical accountability mechanisms the accountability on the net offers larger possibilities for faster reaction and greater inclusion of viewers and the public in the process of media improvement. Such relationships enable the audience to follow more closely and attentively the work of the media and to model media behaviour according to its expectations. These practices can also enrich the debate on the Internet and boost the democratic potential of various platforms. Blogs can also serve the purposes of accountability but this goal cannot be well accomplished due to the entrenched philosophy of business models and corporatism in journalism (Harro-Loit, Lang, & Himma-Kadakas, 2012, p. 256). Social networks and other interactive instruments online, however, can provide channels for critical assessment.

In this situation, PSM journalists face challenging professional objectives which intermingle with aims of higher order that are pursued to the benefit of the whole society. Central among them are the following: to provide information and comments of high quality (distinctive content), to contribute to educating active and responsible citizenry through greater engagement and participation, and to turn passive audiences into engaged viewers and listeners, i.e., enlightened contributors and partners. Quality of performance in all its aspects and dimensions is an unalienable peculiarity of the public service and media professionals at PSM have to entrench it in any type of activity. As D’Haenens and Saeys (1998) claimed “Quality of the programme, quality of the programme maker and quality of the broadcast station are three different levels that define the notion of quality as related to PSB” (pp. 154-171) linking high quality to a range of characteristics of public service media such as content, organization, and function. Quality also means self-examination and self-criticism, transparency,

and accountability to respond adequately to the high expectations of the public.

In the new multifaceted media world where PSM should fulfill their comprehensive remit through a variety of platforms and services it is not sufficient the technical conditions for wider communication with the public to be available. It is necessary the public mission to reflect a set of more elaborate public requirements which go in harmony with the principles of complex democratic societies. From the perspective of professional and responsible journalism the realization of the public remit in the digital environment should count on principles that go beyond journalistic self-regulation but relate also to the good governance of the whole institution or service. These comprise a set of rules for efficient management and taking better decisions that are accommodated within the public service media context.

### **PSM and the Principles of Good Governance**

Good governance is about making enterprises effective and efficient in their operation. Through good governance the results pursued by the companies are successfully accomplished. “The best media managements and owners are interested not just in good and profitable communications, but in high quality content”, stated White (2008, p. 8). By all means distinctive content is the symbol and brand of PSM.

#### **Independence**

In order for PSM to maintain its key position in the digital environment reforms from within public media organizations have to be carried out. The first and foremost principle that has to be consistently implemented with regard to any media and particularly with respect to public service media is to establish guarantees for their independence, i.e., independence from political and private interests, from institutional and personal interference. As in the traditional media environment in the digital age it is of fundamental importance to ensure that PSM culture, policies, procedures, processes, and programming reflect the tenets of editorial and operational independence. Without independence PSM cannot have credibility and serve their goals.

What does PSM independence mean for the journalists working within the media?

The independence of PSM organizations is the sine-qua-non of their very existence and functioning and this principle pertains to any kind of activity they carry out. For journalists independence has external and internal dimension. The external dimension is about freedom from pressure of any sort, intimidation or harassment that can result in censorship or self-censorship. The internal dimension is associated mainly with the commitment to human rights values and especially to the right to free expression and pluralism. More precisely in journalistic work the “rights based approach to PSM” can be understood as a process in which “the primary goal would be to fulfill human rights, primarily the right to freedom of expression but also other rights” (Boev, 2011, p. 137). In practice, independence is demonstrated by independent reporting, free opinion, ethical conduct that make the public confident of the media.

In the digital environment such performance should be interactive and appealing to the audience. Critical and objective presentations disseminated via different services and platforms to include viewers and listeners in a discussion and especially the young segment of it as well as genuine investigations without abusing the right to privacy or serving private interests are at least two examples of what is expected from PSM journalists in the new situation where they compete with various actors and have to gain the hearts and minds of the public. Free-minded professional journalism is a precious asset for any media but for PSM it is indispensable to the overall process of improvement and particularly to devising new strategies for

strengthening its role in a democracy.

### **Innovation**

Innovation is a key-principle in the digital age but it is not only about technological inventions. This means that innovation which is indispensable to the advent of ICT is not only a technical project. It should be broadly perceived to be applied in any social sphere or activity to mark progress and accomplishment of socially relevant outcomes. According to Lizzie Jackson “public service media (PSM) firms are having to innovate in order to keep pace with commercial rivals, new consumption patterns, and to ensure a presence alongside new forms of commercial media which are attractive to audiences and engagers” (Jackson, 2010, p. 1)<sup>2</sup>. PSM has to experiment in any of its activity in order to be at the vanguard of the media system—not only in content creation and dissemination but also in administrative and managerial matters. With respect to journalistic work by and large innovation means sharing new ideas via new products making use of the new technologies. On the one hand, it pertains to the journalistic content which has to present novel ideas in new formats to the public and on the other—to the new relationships journalists should establish with the public. The latter assumes that PSM journalists have to capture the public’s potential for the purposes of democratic citizenship by offering interactive channels for more active participation in the democratic debate and for greater mobilization for socially relevant causes. On the other hand, close collaboration with the public has to be established for the aim of diversifying public media content by involving creatively the public in the preparation of audio and video materials and programmes. Journalists have to reinterpret PSM goals in the new circumstances in order to meet changing audiences’ needs. This objective can be accomplished best with the active participation of viewers and listeners. Such arrangements inevitably require modifications of the PSM governance models which have to be more flexible and network oriented than rigid and centralized.

### **Accountability and Transparency**

Accountability and transparency are interrelated fundamental principles of good governance. As the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2012a) stated, “public service media are ultimately, and fundamentally, accountable to the public”. However, the practical realization of this maxim is firstly, different in various countries and secondly, much more complex being represented by a set of relationships developing between public media institutions and the state and its bodies, the public as audiences, citizens, users, and participants and civil society comprised by associations, communities, and interested groups. No matter how complicated the picture can be the basic accountability framework should answer to the following questions: accountable to whom, accountable for what, held accountable how, and held accountable when (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2012a). More precisely, the accountability framework should formulate in a clear and understandable manner “the public purposes and wider responsibilities for which the public service media are to be held accountable”. These will include the socially relevant purposes set out in the remit, but may also go beyond the socio-cultural objectives to include issues of efficiency and financial discipline. Transparency in turn makes possible those affected and the public at large to get information about the

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<sup>2</sup> In her research paper “Harnessing collaborative innovation for the evolution of public service media”, Lizzie Jackson presents two UK case-studies: “Adventure Rock”, produced by the BBC for children aged 7-11 and Channel 4iP strategy aiming at re-inventing public service media “through the commissioning of online tools which the public can use to self-educate or to make a difference in their local communities”. These innovative paths rely on the cooperation with the public for the development of new services and content. Innovation here is linked to the use of the creative potential of the public shown on the Internet.

decisions of the institution and how it fulfills its remit.

Accountability and transparency if applied properly can ensure the genuine publicness of PSM in the digital environment. More precisely PSM has to get closer to their audiences and to civil society and to be more transparent at all levels of creation, dissemination, and management than other media outlets. Public service media organisations should consider self-accountability or inner accountability being accountable to their own staff among the groups to whom they should be held to account. Factually this means that different groups inside the institution should work with the understanding that they comprise a collective where everybody is accountable for what he or she is doing and that his or her contribution matters for the overall results pursued. These conclusions pertain to journalistic activities, too. Journalists are independent in carrying their professional obligations but their achievements or failures have their bearing on the image and stability of the organization including efficiency and financial outcomes. In respect to these PSM codes of ethics have to become model codes for other media embracing a range of principles reflecting both democratic, professional, and governance values. PSM organizations have to contribute actively to the implementation of media accountability through the classical accountability mechanisms. Despite the annual reports sent to the central administrative bodies public service institutions have to provide regular feedback about the accomplishment of their remit and particularly about the creative work done by their staff to the public including through Internet channels. In addition, following the need to entrench a culture of greater transparency within the institution they have to embrace the novel accountability practices online allowing for greater public inclusion. Thus, PSM journalists can be held accountable for their writings and video materials not only through the already known accountability mechanisms but also through the newly emerging practices online. They themselves have to encourage the wide spread of these new practices that nurture a novel more open and more participatory media culture.

### **Openness and Responsiveness**

Openness and responsiveness on the other hand, as key-prerequisites for reforming the traditional approaches to governance acquire new complexion from the perspective of PSM journalism. Taking into account that public service media have “to open up to new ideas and influences, while seeking new partners and creative opportunities to work collaboratively” and that they have “to demonstrate high levels of responsiveness (actively engaging in debate and dialogue with their audience” (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2012a), the work of PSM journalists has to resonate with the information and communications developments and particularly with the expectations of the digital public. Responsiveness implies not only involving in dialogue with stakeholders but integrating the comments and the feedback in the editorial decisions. In the digital environment online forums and social networks can be the suitable vehicles channeling public opinion and proposals to the public media. Journalists can be moderators of such exchange. These arrangements with the public can modify the whole policy of the media which has to be attuned to the partnerships between the editorial staff and the public to serve better the public interest. In the interactive environment the quality of the journalistic output can be much enriched if close collaboration is established with civic journalists and bloggers and if user-generated content is more often used. A step towards allowing the public to take part both in creative matters and in taking policy decisions will significantly open up PSM organizations and democratize them. In support of the new PSM organizational model Boev (2011) concluded:

The present social environment, characterized by the informal, participatory and democratic culture of the Internet

and the information and communications technologies, challenges the current PSM model. It demands that PSM be responsive and open to partnership with public and private media players as well as being transparent in its decision-making. Both PSM legislation and culture should address this demand. (p. 159)

### **Responsibility**

PSM occupies a prominent place on the European mediascape.

Their independent role, comprehensive remit, high and respected position in society as a media player and a democratic institution calls for greater responsibility which the institution and the staff should be fully aware of. All PSM activities have to be based on the highest journalistic and ethical standards and they should promote a culture of tough journalism and rigorous enquiry. The PSM performance should be guaranteed by the consistent implementation of clear and publicly available codes of conduct which will set out the rules of operation of PSM and against which their work will be judged. These codes of conduct shall include diversity and equality standards rooted in human rights values and through the human rights based approach they shall create the necessary foundation of professional journalism in the multidimensional environment related to commonly cherished values. In addition, there should be clear and widely publicized procedures of editorial control and handling of complaints. The codes should be broader in scope and going beyond mere journalistic behaviour encompassing editorial standards and other ethical issues under digital conditions.

### **PSM Journalists and Media Education**

In the complex digital world it is a must that public service media pursue the accomplishment of enhanced and inclusive media education in society. The steps towards educating active and responsible citizens through dialogue and engagement via the new services and platforms, turning passive audiences into contributors and partners, entrenching a culture of good governance and contributing to the accountable and transparent operation of PSM, promoting wider exchange of best governance models, practices, and content among PSM, and eventually building a vibrant pan European public sphere comprise valuable goals transcending cultures and systems. Distinctive and responsible PSM journalism is an essential factor for achieving these important objectives. The point here is how to create and promote this type of committed journalism and what are the prerequisites that should be available in order to educate good public service media journalists. The problem in my view is not that of salaries and remuneration but of building a special attitude towards the public service media and their mission in the new environment. Public service journalists have to be not only most experienced but dedicated professionals.

PSM journalism as professional journalism of high caliber requires multiple competences based on innovation and creativity and complex life-long training, knowledge and everyday implementation of ethical and managerial standards in order for journalists to be independent, accountable, responsive, to actively interact and to produce distinctive output. Dedication to human rights and public service values should unconditionally underpin this multistage process.

On the other hand, meeting all these requirements makes the professional training of contemporary journalists not only rather complex but costly, as well.

Closer cooperation between PSM and media schools and faculties of journalism, stronger collaboration among European countries, international organizations and other countries espousing public service media principles for unifying training standards, exchanging best practices, and promoting more widely the acknowledgement of PSM journalistic work through competitions and public awards are tools for upgrading

journalistic education and skills.

### Conclusion

It is apparent that in the new multilayered environment the position of the public service media which serves all segments and groups of society and which promotes common values should be strengthened by taking a range of measures. More specifically special efforts are expected from within, i.e., from PSM organizations to modify their governance taking into account a number of guiding principles such as independence, accountability, effective management, transparency, openness, responsiveness and responsibility in order to become more efficient institutions. Good management and organizational improvement is indispensable to the training and maintenance of professional skills including digital ones and commitment to fundamental principles and values in the novel circumstances of the PSM staff and of PSM journalists above all. PSM journalism is a precious asset in the accomplishment of more participatory media and better media education in the new digital environment.

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Print ISSN: 2160-6579

Frequency: monthly

Current Volume: 3/2013

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