SSOAR

Open Access Repository
www.ssoar.info

Lies of the reader: Disadvantages of the sociological research methods for the study of the reading

Tsvetkova, Milena

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:
Tsvetkova, M. (2018). Lies of the reader: Disadvantages of the sociological research methods for the study of the reading. *European Journal of Contemporary Education*, *7*(1), 190-213. https://doi.org/10.13187/ejced.2018.1.190

Nutzungsbedingungen:
Dieser Text wird unter einer Free Digital Peer Publishing Licence zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den DiPP-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:
http://www.dipp.nrw.de/lizenzen/dppl/service/dppl/

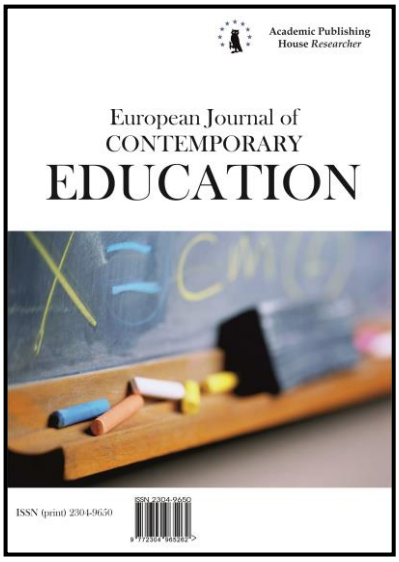
Terms of use:
This document is made available under a Free Digital Peer Publishing Licence. For more Information see:
http://www.dipp.nrw.de/lizenzen/dppl/service/dppl/

gesis
Leibniz-Institut
für Sozialwissenschaften

Mitglied der
Leibniz-Gemeinschaft

Copyright © 2018 by Academic Publishing House Researcher s.r.o.
All rights reserved.
Published in the Slovak Republic
European Journal of Contemporary Education
E-ISSN 2305-6746
2018, 7(1): 190-213
DOI: 10.13187/ejced.2018.1.190
www.ejournal1.com

WARNING! Article copyright. Copying, reproduction, distribution, republication (in whole or in part), or otherwise commercial use of the violation of the author(s) rights will be pursued on the basis of international legislation. Using the hyperlinks to the article is not considered a violation of copyright.



Lies of the Reader: Disadvantages of the Sociological Research Methods for the Study of the Reading

Milena I. Tsvetkova [a, *]

[a] Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria

Abstract

The research problems of this study are the difficulties in the explanation of the phenomenon of reading in its accelerated transformations by quantitative sociological methods, because of failure to comply with a number of factors: first, the social aspects of the purchase, consumption and possession of reading materials have not yet been reading; second, reading is both asocial and social activity; third, the reader is not social status, social class, social group or social role. Author's hypothesis: the most accessible and authoritative audience methods for study of the reading – sociological research methods, are unable to disclose the specifics of the reader and reading, they provide limited data only on the outer side of the reading activity, for its quantitative indicators but do not reach to the knowledge about the nature and the reasons both for the reading and not reading. The object of this study is the use of sociological research methods in the study of the reader and the reading. The purpose is to reveal the problems generated by the classical sociological research methods, which fed up the mainstream negativity towards the contemporary reading and hinder his objective knowledge. Methodology/approach: The study was conducted by critical analytical and synthetic approach, which involves a systematic review, comparative analysis of terminology and concepts and educational integrated research on the topic „Does my microgroup read?" among Bulgarians over 14 years (2003–2017). Findings: There have been found 15 disadvantages of the sociological methods of the study of reading, as a result of which, science can get a false picture of the reading situation of local and global level. These disadvantages are as follows: 1) research vs. survey, 2) sociological propaganda, 3) the effect of the crowd, 4) fear from the reader, 5) unrecognition of snobbery towards reading and the books, 6) connotations of the word „reading", 7) literature vs. book, 8) the index „free time", 9) reading in the consumer modality, 10) reading as demonstrative consumption, 11) undefined „reader", 12) the respondent lie, 13) the respondent resistance, 14) the prejudice „compulsory for reading", 15) absence of axiological balance. As an alternative to the sociological methods for obtaining of objective results in the study

* Corresponding author
E-mail addresses: milenaic@uni-sofia.bg (M.I. Tsvetkova)

of the reading and the readers is proposed the integrated approach between qualitative sociological methods and the methods of cognitive neuroscience and bibliopsychology.

Keywords: reading research methodology, reading statistics, education statistics, sociological methods, sociological propaganda, linguistic substitutions, truth and falsehood in surveys, response bias, crowd.

1. Introduction

Reading researchers are often frustrated by the lack of objective preliminary data on their research to correct the stereotypes in the public opinion. Direct impression of the activity of the citizens towards reading comes into collision with the suggested, widely proclaimed and quoted results of the representative surveys for a new „reading crisis“ or systemic „drama with the reading“. This assumption was formulated as a result of a long examination in an academic environment in Bulgaria. Students in the course „Theory of reading” in the Faculty of journalism and mass communication at Sofia University have a semester task to do their research on the topic „Does my microgroup read?“ as a check on the mainstream negativity. The research is carried out through an integrative method of interviewing, observation and research by participation. Every year the results are optimistic. About 500 microgroups surveys from 2003 to the current 2017, covering in total more than 5,000 respondents from across the country and around the world, reported 100% reading in a different degree Bulgarians. We cannot doubt in the reliability of the results, since besides the inquiry, the student uses also immediate (directly and indirectly) surveillance of respondents who knows, i.e. the observing has background, tacit knowledges, prior knowledges about them and the lie, the misleading and the deception by false answer is minimized. That is why during the years my skepticism to the classical sociological tools to explore reading as an intellectual technology and general science category was increasing.

2. Theoretical basis of the critical analysis

The theoretical basis and the reference points of the critical analysis are the scientific writings and views of the classics of sociology, social psychology and philosophy Elisabeth Noelle–Neumann, Jacques Ellul, Marshall Rosenberg, William McDougall, Gabriel Tarde, Gustave Le Bon, Scipio Sighele, José Ortega y Gasset, Elias Canetti, Carl Jung, Erich Fromm, David Riesman, George Herbert Mead, Ernesto Grassi, Marshall McLuhan, Nikolas Berdyaev, Petr Ouspensky, Nicholas Rubakin, Igor Kon, Robert Escarpit, Julia Melentieva and the Bulgarian sociologists and philosophers Doncho Gradev, Ivan Stefanov, Isak Pasi, Bogdan Bogdanov, Stefan Kamenov.

3. Methodology

The thesis in the upcoming presentation is focused on the risks of generalization and fetishism of the sociological picture of reading. This thesis is based on the observation that quantitative data from the sociological surveys are the most uncritically accepted in the society that can lead to dysfunctional knowledge of reading itself. When referring to sociological surveys, revealing trends in the current readers’ situation, we have seldom realize which question is more useful – what is the exact quantitative (statistical) picture of reading, how we are reading or whether we are reading at all. So relativistic is also the unilateral dissemination of surveys revealing only the instructive readers culture or seeking answer only to the question „what we read“. Reading is too massive phenomenon to reduced it only to quantitative parameters. Of course, in the conditions of global uncontrollability and invisibility of the readers' practices, the most important thing is to keep this most constructive civilization developing cognitive activity not to decline.

For the proof of the author's thesis the research sets the following aims: (1) To define a common position on the effectiveness of the sociological method among experts of the highly fragmented field of the reading researches; (2) To seek weaknesses of survey research as interviewing, administering questionnaires, written surveys, polls, gallop polls, public opinion polls; (3) To answer the following questions: Do sociological research methods provide actual, reliable and valid verbal explication of the truth for reading; Is the empirical verification by sociological methods capable to reveal and explain the specifics and the practice of reading as a continuously evolving information technology; Does the knowledge of the readers' behaviour need new, different from the classical sociological tools; (4) If there are found sufficient disadvantages of

the empirical sociological methods, to be operationalized the finding of their relativistic effects on the knowledge of the real reader's situation; (5) An alternative research approach to reading to be suggested.

3.1. Research methods

The research methods of the present study are the systematic review and the comparative analysis of the terminology and the concepts. Subject of the critical analysis are the factors and the reasons for the questionableness and the unreliability of the sociological research methods in the study of the reader and the reading. The primary data for the research were derived from the years of research on „Did you read my microgroups? " (2003–2017), as well as from the published state documents, scientific researches in the cognitive science and the periodic surveys of the marketing agencies.

3.2. Concept and Terms

The concept „reading" in this study is used in its information and communication meaning. According to the current paradigm for the new literacies, reading is a process of the mediated information, not necessarily implemented with letter symbols and not necessarily carried through the eyes (eg. tactile reading of the blind people). We accept as reading a receptive process where three conditions are met: any artificially created *content* can be read, indicated with the help of any *code system* and passed through an *analytical and synthetic processing* in the brain structures responsible for reading. The concept „reader" will mean a subject that is able to absorb addressed to him written text and who performs constantly, actively and repeatedly this act.

4. Results

4.1. First problem: Research vs. Survey

Typically sociologists convinced that they have conducted an in-depth „research" of the readers and reading. It is well known, however, that it is difficult to make „thorough" „research" of the mental activity with sociological tools. The essence of the research of the scientometrical perspective is a prolonged phased activity – it goes through the phases observation, description, explanation and prediction. All sociological „researches" on the operational readership situation of the sociological and marketing agencies are not really *researches* but empirical *surveys* (in Bulgaria the most popular are the reports of ASSA-M, Alpha Research, ISSM, NCSPO, of the marketing research agencies such as „Ipsos" and „Synovate", and the reports of the structures in the executive authority responsible for the education, culture and the media). They contain summaries of empirical observations, which in its final report may eventually become the basis of the actual research.

The problem with the sociological methods for the discovering of the reading is that „research" is easily mixed with „survey". It happened in the Bulgarian sociological discourse after 1990 – it was done a gradual replacement of the practical activity „survey" with the general and broad scientific terms „study" or „research". Each surveying activity began to be called „research". The applied scientific, even more – the preparatory scientific research is nominated as a fundamental-science without explaining that the empirical activities are not „research". The reasons for this change may be two: aspiration for greater scientific weight and prestige of the activity „research" or irrelevant translation of the terms from English. In order to increase the degree of trust in the sociological methods, it must be differentiated the empirical from theoretical and in non-English speaking countries to be made a correct translation of the terms from English: study (Bulg. izuchavane); research (Bulg. izsledvane); primary research (Bulg. purvichno izsledvane); secondary research (Bulg. vtorichno izsledvane); survey (Bulg. prouchvane); empirical survey (Bulg. empirichno prouchvane); field survey (Bulg. terenno prouchvane); investigation (Bulg. razsledvane); inquiry (Bulg. obsledvane), exploration (Bulg. sondirane); poll (Bulg. dopitvane); online poll (Bulg. online dopitvane); finding (Bulg. izdirvane), overview (Bulg. pregled).

4.2. Second problem: Sociological propaganda

System messages on the results of extensive sociological surveys (empirical surveys) often acquire a sociological propaganda, which is a disguised form of information manipulation by the political propaganda. Rapid changes in the information environment cause transfer of the accent from the direct to the mediated modelling techniques. Direct propaganda, according to Jacques Ellul, must be preceded by a propaganda which is sociological by nature, slow and complete aiming

to create an atmosphere and climate of predisposition (Ellul, 1965: 15). Through various forms of information, publication and mass distribution of books, periodicals, television and video programs through education and scientific exchange, manipulators formed in the recipient a typical consumer psyche, adaptable and popularized. The necessary to them sociological climate is created unobtrusively, hidden and „unintentional", externally uncommitted politically. Disinformation paradox here is that the information interests are stimulated by data presented „objectively" that pass over the theoretical consciousness and attacked daily only by the „showcase package" of the ideas through simple conclusions and formal comparisons.

It is often said that sociologists and statisticians form the public opinion before they have investigated it. Survey researches as interviewing, administering questionnaires, written surveys, inquiries, polls, gallop polls, public opinion polls are such specific strategic method that not only shows the actual state of the public mind but is a newer form for its manipulation.

On the other hand, the very methodology of the public opinion research allows spreading of illogical summarized data that represent people as *statistical average mass*. According to the law of the large numbers, the statistical definition provides summarized notions concerning the area of unity and turns individuals into faceless multitude. Not only qualified researchers but the most educated people are *distrustful of the information that the statistics bring*. According to the German researcher Elisabeth Noelle–Neumann, animosity towards statistical area starts from the Latin phrase *„Multum, non multa"* („Much, not many things" – much „as quality", but not much more „by volume"), expressing the conviction that singular has a positive sign and plural – negative (Noelle-Neumann, 1978: 39-45).

On these grounds is formed the finding that sociological propaganda is a form for the achieving of „the effect of the crowd."

4.3. Third problem: The effect of the crowd

The negative attitude of the reading researchers to the average numbers and the sociological extracts is due to their relations to the psychology of the crowd. This detachment is intensified after the popularization of the theories of Gustave Le Bon, Scipio Sighele and Gabriel Tarde, proving the dangers of „the effect of the crowd." Lets try to attempt to summarize the changes of the individual in the crowd incompatible with the theoretical reconstruction of the reader as an individual and of reading as a top information technology and basic cognitive process.

Crowd can be a single person who we will call „crowdid". A man-crowd is generally „those who for some reasons does not value his own personality but feel" as all the others „and is not bothered by this, he is well to feel equal with others." (Ortega y Gasset, 1993: 42). As a kind of *genealogy of the crowd* for us is interesting the thesis of Marshall McLuhan. He explains the crowd as a continuation, extension of the individual. As a foursome (four laws of media) McLuhan builds a model of this phenomenon by which, according to him, he shortens the time for the otherwise too long research. According to the first law of the media, the crowd reinforces the group (here he noted that according to „Crowds and Power" of Elias Canetti, all crowds are characterized by the fear they could become smaller, with the feeling that they become smaller and by the need to become greater). According to the second law of media, the crowd remain undeveloped, shifting the individual: in a crowd each one is somebody, the crowd is a mask. Under the third and fourth law, the crowd turns „the many in one" and restores the organized power and equality (McLuhan, 1988: 150).

Anonymity. In a crowd are acquired new properties and the leading among them is the anonymity. In an anonymous situation the individual is released from the tension created by his surroundings, he hides of it behind the mask of mass and shows tendencies and behaviour unobservable and inadequate to his individual trivial ground. Sighele and Le Bon found that this is a regularity – in a crowd, the dormant properties are activated and amplified: „In crowds the foolish, ignorant and envious break off their insignificance and powerlessness, in return for which are seized by a sense of brutal, temporary but great power (Gradev, 1995: 17). The change catalyzed by the anonymity of the crowd, Le Bon understood as „atavistic sludge of the instincts of the primitive man, who the isolated and with a sense of responsibility individual is forced to rein in because of fear of punishment." (Gradev, 1995: 17).

Conformism. An important feature of a man from the crowd is the tendency to adapt. From an anthropological point of view Erich Fromm defines it as a return to primitive: „Instead of up to individualistic identity with the clan, a new tribal identification dominates today which base is

unconditional affiliation to the crowd." (Fromm, 1959: 62). Psychologically Petr Ouspensky has found two positions of conformation: *identification and consideration* (Ouspensky, 1996: 60-62). Compliance is a key feature of the „crowdid" described by the American sociologist David Riesman. In his famous book „The Lonely Crowd" he proves that more and more prevalent is the type of man *„other-directed"*. The man of this type has no sustainable vital purposes and orient his behaviour towards that to resemble the surrounding people and evokes love and approval in them. „This need for approval and referral – writes Riesman – goes beyond the grounds which make most people of any age to be interested in what others think of them. All people want and need to be liked by some people sometimes, but only for the today, guided by others types; it becomes their main source of guidance and a main area of sensitivity." (Riesman, 1950). Igor Kon called this kind of conformity „internal" and suggested that its due to the fear of isolation (Kon, 1967: 83). But we cannot be satisfied with just this reason. It is true that the weak is always respecting the stronger for the purpose of self-preservation or for a material gain and as such is really afraid of loneliness. The intellectually weak, however, *seeks a cover in the crowd for his incompetence, lack of information and ignorance*. It is not difficult to hide there under the stereotyped slogans and taboos, prevailing opinions and theories.

Average nature. Under the „law of the mental unity of the crowds" is formed an averaged a character of the individuals – transformed spiritual entity, called collective consciousness. This is a „logical mental activity inevitable determinant that premises the creation of „the organized crowd" (Gradev, 1995: 13). Even the ancient Greek sage Solon noticed the changes of the individual in the collective. According to him, when the Athenian is alone, he is sufficiently vigilant and vulpine, but if melt into the crowd, becomes one of the sheep in the herd. Popular is the Latin aphorism: *„Senatores omnes boni viri, senatus romanus mala bestia"* („All senators are good people, but the Roman senate is an evil beast"). And Frederick the Great had a confidence of every one of his generals, but gathered in a war council, he has seen only fools. Modern society, placing an emphasis on the collective properties of the individual, „give priority to the mediocrity and vegetation in an easy and irresponsible life. In this way the individuality is pressed to the wall. This process begins at school, continues at the university and is leading in all state institutions" (Jung, 1993: 147).

Average intelligence. Le Bon explains the equalization of the individuals in the crowd as a process of replacing of the primordial state of heterogeneity with the state of homogeneity (Le Bon, 1926). In this way the crowd becomes devoid of hierarchy. This is a conclusion of Nikolas Berdyaev too: „Every living system is hierarchical and has its own aristocracy, *only a pile of garbage is not hierarchical* and no any aristocratic qualities are shown up there" (Berdyaev, 1997: 96). Especially dangerous looks the levelling in the crowd resulting from the moral axiom that the inequality is bad. The totalitarian alignment in the lower strata of the society is done also from such a „moral" position. The choice of the individual, placed in a crowd, is subject to the balancing herd order. The aim of each element of the faceless crowd „to be as all" poses serious risk „all" to become „disgusting rhinos deprived of intelligence, honour and feelings" (Kon, 1967: 248). Not accidentally Leo Tolstoy warned: *The most dangerous sentence is „Everyone does so"*.

Nothing great can be born from an averaged intelligence. The great achievements of thought, the crucial discoveries and solutions to problems are attributed only to the individual working in solitude. Popular is the metaphorical division of people (respectively their intellectual abilities and searches) at three levels: *highbrow* – the top, the elite of the intelligentsia, *middlebrow* – mainstream society and a significant part of the intelligence, and *lowbrow*, i.e. the uneducated or people with neglected education (Lynes, 1976: 146-158). The latter are typical among the crowd. When we consider the growing today pretensions of the quite recent silent crowd that takes advantage of the social networks to be heard his voice, we can make sure that the category *middlebrow* (people with averaged intelligence) really exists. They go through theatres and exhibitions, buy a book of some classic, but rank it in the library and in the evening go to bed with their favourite criminal or pink reading. Today, this type of man wants to be accepted into the citadel of literature and the arts, while recognizing that he is not known with the most valuable culture. There are French intellectuals among this new socio-cultural class who have not read „Les Misérables" of Victor Hugo, there are Germans who recognized that they can not reach the end of „The Glass Bead Game" of Hermann Hesse. Each of them is pleased with his own educational level and feels completed intellectually. The half-education is boastful and dangerous and its both

extremes: in the form of „stupid prudence“ (Plato), which imitates a process of thinking, but actually rotating in the cycle of rigid notions; and in the form of „made sin“ (Fichte), i.e. of anarchic irresponsibility of intellectual parvenu, drunk from the authoritative power of the individual experience of knowledge, able to „invent" the truth and fall out of his habit to derive it from the essence of the things (Ortega y Gasset, 1993: 80). And this „educated ignorance” is typical of the *average intelligence*.).

Intellectual hermetism. As we see, in all the in-depth descriptions of the type „man in the crowd“ – „crowdid”, stands the diagnosis „*intellectual disability“*. The crowd, says Saint-Evremon, has always been an enemy of the wise men. „In the collective soul – wrote Le Bon – the intellectual abilities of the people and hence their individuality disappear. [...] This integration of simple characteristics explains the inability of the crowds for activities requiring high intelligence.” (Le Bon, 1926: 27). This degradation is caught by Guy de Maupassant: „How often have I noticed that the intellectual faculties become sharper and more refined as soon as we live alone, that they are blunted and abased when we mingle once again with others.“ („Sur l'eau“, 1878; *see* Moscovici, 1986: 11-12). You can add here also the Schiller's couplet: „Alone, everyone is reasonable and understood / if gather, here's a fool“. In his study „The Group Mind“ William McDougall shared the statement for the collective suppression of intelligence, as according to him the mental activity inherently is limited under the influence of the unfavourable conditions created by strong emotions and the crowd with its impressiveness scared and does not allow „heretical“ behaviour, even thoughts (McDougall, 1920). The „crowdid” who lives in blissful state of the omniscience, but at the same time has a peculiar laziness of thought, does not feel the lack of anything external and finally anchors in its own stupidity. This operates the mechanism of blocking which result José Ortega y Gasset defined as „intellectual hermetism“.

The analysis of the statements of the cited authors allows supporting the finding that the intelligence of the crowd falls below the level of the individuals who constitute it and that people with lower intelligence are pulling these with the higher one to their level. This leads to the belief that sociological mechanisms of *averaging* and *consideration with others* are irrelevant to the individuality of reading and the reader.

4.4. Fourth problem: Fear of reader

The generalization, collectivization of the reader's behaviours through standardized questionnaires and inquiries is unconscious resistance against the free and unguided reading, which has deep historical roots. The reason is psychological – unspoken fear of the readers.

For what is the *status of the reader in the civilization*? Being individuality, to be free means to be a reader – the most prestigious *synonymous of a man* in the whole written civilization. At various times and in various countries the term „reader“ has been taking different quantitative and qualitative characteristics (for example, during the second half of the 20th century in Austria such status possessed one who has read a book per month, in France – anyone who read at least one book a year, in England – everyone who read, but non-professionally). Today, reading is a prerequisite for moving from one perceptive category to another to expand the human horizons, to rise above the crowd, for elitism. Under the latest reading is a „springboard“ to move from a cultural and psychological category to another.

Moreover a type of a cultural role, the reader is a psychological category: we should treat him as an individual, not as a mass and even more like a crowd. In the researches on the dynamics of the reading situation, there should be given preponderance of the psychological model of reading. The psychological model of reading is consistent with the actual individual characteristics of the perceiver (according the receptive aesthetics) and is interested in the actual individual differences between readers. While so-called „social model for reading“ (Mailloux, 1984: 40-65), where is paid attention primarily to the reader's communities, are suitable more for historical and statistic and sociological analyzes.

Another argument in support of the thesis of the *inequality of the readers*. The book, the written message are predominantly *individualizing media formats*. We mean precisely the freedom and the creative diversity that each stage of the algorithm reading is characterized – perception, understanding, comprehension, interpretation and impact on the personal conduct. The uniqueness in the acting of each stage, the uniqueness of the creative realizations and interpretations – these are the functional characteristics of reading as a personal and inimitable mental technology. The written source is necessary for the reader in order to be able to emphasize

his individuality, to put to a testing his abilities, to exercise his mental body, to rise above the everyday life and the mediocrity and strengthen his Ego.

Reading is necessary for the individual also for self-education, self-communication and self-improvement. As shown by the first component of these words-activities, the process of reading requires sole initiative, privacy and isolation (alone against the book, alone against himself). This is one of the main functions of reading – communication without mediator, an operation for individualization of the reader (for which Marshall McLuhan also spoke in his „The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man"). That he communicate with text world alone, allows the reader to strengthen his individualization, to exercise his initiative and personal reaction, which is impossible in his daily grind. Mediocrity of everyday reality and the social commitment do not give any space for self-communication nor for creation of harmony in the relations between the „ideal" and „real" Ego of the reader. In this regard are interesting the similarities between the ancient and the modern reading.

The common between them is in privacy in the communication with text, in the isolation from the organic community of the great collective and the intimacy of this act. Just as in the antiquity, the reading for the individual was representing a gateway to himself, the way to freedom from the conventions and norms, subjectivation of the meanings and interpretations of the read – all thanks to the communication in solitude and also in the contemporary reading, for the same reason, suggests activity that requires individual performance, social isolation and solitude (Bogdanov, 1989: 248). During the act of reading the individual free himself for searching, for knowledge, for discoveries and projects – capabilities far beyond the limitations of his personal experience.

Parallel to the individualized function is traditionally placed in my opinion, the incompatible with it *socializing function*. Looking at it as an act of „repetition" in the acts of reading, i.e. as an opportunity this act to be executed by many other people due to its wide availability, some scholars point out the main function of the modern reading the creation of a community of „equal reading individuals" (the so-called indicator „Open Society"). This is an ideal spiritual community that unites the users of „the culture of the indirect action". Reading, according to these theorists is a consequence of the need of value-labile individual, split personally and non-identical in the conditions of the „open society", to be „integrated tightly" in any environment that regulates his behaviour (Bogdanov, 1987: 40-44). Perhaps it is correct to recognize the presence also of the reverse to the sequestration and the individualization, integrating, i.e. the unintimating and socializing function of reading. But according to me, to talk about a world of „equal reading individuals" in our satiated with communities and information age and at a time when there is a particular lack of individuality, it is more desire, but not a fact. On the one hand, just such a spiritual community, just such a general state of minds the theorists find in the television communication. When is talking about repetition of the act of reading and its multiplicity, we should not forget that this may mean repetition also of the minds. It is noticed in the television communication the same quantitative distribution of the action, the same concurrency and mental belonging to an invisible audience. The general spiritual state „group" communication with one author, the general object of attention, the overall communicative environment where everyone is part of some anonymous whole, are the characteristics of the typical television horizontal communication where is formed an informal crowd like audience in the stadiums. In other words, the theoretical unification of the secluded reading individuals by the mechanism of the isolated in front of the screen spectators carries a risk to be relativized the achievements of the individual psychology of reading and bibliopsychology.

For the reading, as a process of individual growth is not needed a quantitative growth or integration. The searching for the Another in the act of reading is not driven by the need to be identify with him (except for those seeking identification with the character of the literary text) but a peculiar need of *conversation between the different minds*. The searching for the Another through reading is not a fear of the loneliness but a subjective intellectual need for controversy. There cannot be „equal reading individuals" as in the comprehensive infinite Library, according to the metaphor of Jorge Luis Borges, there are no two equal books – each of them is unique and different from the others. There cannot be „equal reading individuals" as reading is unique and unrepeatable act – a contact of exactly this reader with exactly this book. In the context of the metaphor of the Ideal World Library, reading is not only absolutely unique process, but also

multivariate opportunity to realize individualization, the diversity, the uniqueness and the originality of each reading subject. Therefore, the psychological level of individualization is the basic and most important function of reading and the so-called socializing function is permissible only in statistical and historical and socio-cultural plan.

4.5. Fifth problem: Unrecognition of snobbery towards reading and the books

The snobbery in the reading is the deviant behaviour, different from the implicit reader's interest. Regarding the book the snobbery exists, since the books exists. Still in 2nd century BC, Lucian reacts to this problem in foreshortening, which is very actual and today. The main problem, treated in his essay "The uneducated book buyer", is the fact, that people were buying not books, that they would like to read and that they would like, but books that are modern. In this antique work we have a description of 5 characteristics of the "mneme" of the reader-snob, reached on an abstract-logical way of the philosophers. As first sign of snobbery Lucianus recognizes *the manipulation of the buyer-reader*: "My dear, you do just the opposite of what you want. You count on to pass for educated; you don't miss to buy the best books, but everything goes upside down and becomes a testament for your illiteracy. Moreover, you actually don't buy the best books, but you mislead by the opinion of those people, who praise what they get, you become a gift of God for all the pseudo-worshipers of the books, a real treasure for the book sellers" (Lucianus, 1986: 84). Second sign of snobbery is *the reading with misunderstanding*: "although you are always with book in your hand, always deep in reading, you understand from the read as much as donkey from the lyre, as it moves its ears in tact with the music." (Lucianus, 1986: 86). Third sign of snobbery, according to Lucian, *is inability for critical reading and rationalization*: "You look at the books with wide open eyes, a little more, Zeus is my witness, your eyes will jump out of your head, and you read something aloud so fast, that your look leaves behind your tongue. But this in not enough. You must comprehend as the dignity, as also the disadvantage of the written and to enter as into the meaning of the whole, as into the charm of the individual expressions, to recognize which one of them are composed by writer by the established rules and which one of them are suspicious, another's or counterfeit." (Lucianus, 1986: 85). At fourth place Lucian reveals the snobbery as *distorted reading*: "Don't you see, that you fall into the same situation, when you hold in your hand a wonderful scroll, in a leather purple box and gold tip of the wand, but you read it as a true barbarian, crippling and distorting the written, among the mockeries of the educated people and the praises of the surrounding you flatters, who suddenly turn away to each other to laugh?" (Lucianus, 1986: 87). Lucian distinguishes *the anti-reading* as fifth sign of the snobbery, which predetermines the nonfunctionality of the owned book. The explanation is made by observation on the main incentive for the buying of books – not the desire to read, but the ostentation, the use of the book as an instrument for the personal ambition of the owner to be seen with a book in his hand: "Cause you will buy them to do not use them for anything and you will be ridiculed by the educated people, who seek to benefit not by the beauty or by the high prices of the books, but by the speech and the thought of their authors." (Lucianus, 1986: 95). Today, thousands of years later, the snobbery towards the books is repeatedly more actual. But for its research, for its in-debt explanation and for its correct prognosis it is not enough the Lucian's speculative method, but it is necessary the Rubakin's empirical bibliopsychological method (Rubakin, 1922; Rubakin, 1929).

4.6. Sixth problem: Connotation of the word „reading"

A problematic situation in the attempts by sociological surveys to reach the scientific truth in the knowledge of the modern reader creates a *lack of a uniform definition of the term concept „reading"* and for the deviant connotation of this word.

First, today people do not have the same understanding of the activity „reading". Even researchers who ought to know that science connotations are inadmissible put different meaning to the word „reading". The results of many years of research on the topic „Did you read my microgroups" mentioned in the introduction of this text demonstrates in a high degree this problem (Tsvetkova, 2016). The key question in the survey was „Give definition of the verb read" (Fig. 1). The majority of answers are clichés or descriptions emanating only from the personal experience: reading is a „Perception", „Follow the letters", „You take a book, open it and start to absorb the content", „Reading is reading".

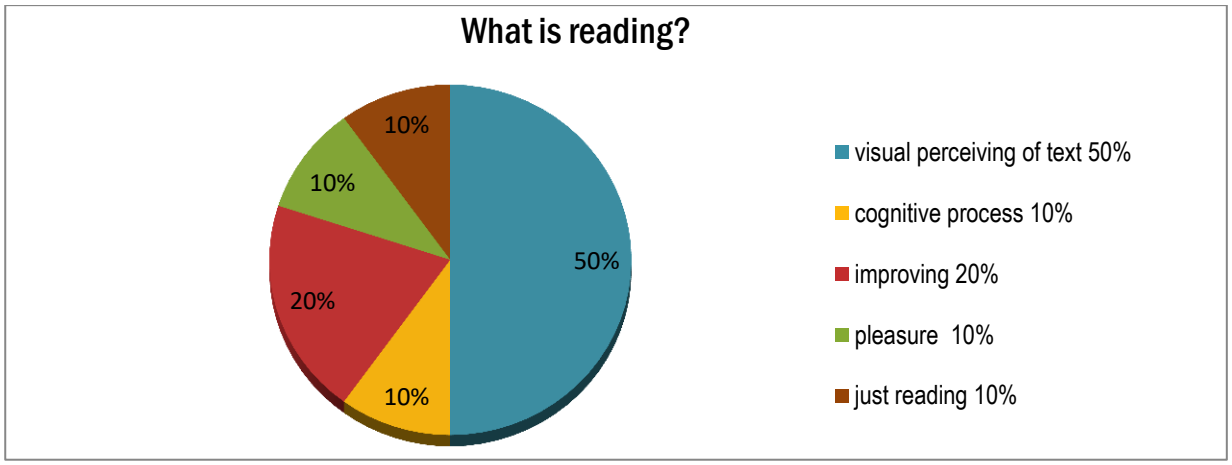


Fig. 1. Give definition to the verb „read" (more than one answer)

Half of the members of the microgroups – 50 % define reading as a visual perception of a written text. Only 10 % understand reading as a complex psychological process, and another 10 % refused to give a precise definition. Not necessarily positive is the fact that respondents associate reading with a book exclusively and mostly with fiction or textbooks.

Table 1. Which of the listed objects is reading?

Objects of Reading	yes	no	dont know
Novelette	100%	–	–
Jokes	60%	40%	–
Labels	40%	40%	20%
Buildboards	10%	70%	20%
Inscriptions in the lavatory	70%	30%	–
Photo album	1%	90%	9%
Cooking recepies	60%	30%	10%

The summarized in Table 1 results show the second argument for the chaos in the people's perceptions about the subject of reading. All respondents agreed that „read" is the reading of fiction, 70 % accepted as a subject of reading the inscriptions in the toilet, and only 1% admitted the photo album as reading material too.

Second, reading during the 21st century is more than a skill. It is self-confidence and self-esteem – based on one of the three key literacies (reading, mathematics, nature knowledge). Reader, according to the norms of the European Union is a synonym of a *„multifaceted literacy"*: able to use the skills of reading and writing to create, to understand, to make sense, to interpret and critically evaluate information in a written form. This is the basis for participation in the digital environment and for an informed choice in areas such as finance, health, etc. In the era of the Internet to be a *literate reader* means: a) to find and extract information in written, printed and electronic form, b) to summarize and interpret it, c) to make sense of and evaluate it, and d) to develop your knowledge and potential and to participate in the society, including in the digital environment.

„Analog" reader has been studied thoroughly enough before the industrial era. All his habits, preferences and manners are explored. But he is different from the „digital" reader. The actual for the 21st century intensive reader is a nomad, relieving by the distances and the volumes. It is unacceptable to argue that the digital generation is illiterate or ignorant, poor or not reading. His written forms of communication cannot exist independently. This is a multimodal generation and it communicates through an orchestra of cognitive channels. These young people „see" the

printed morpheme in an electronic form. They inhabit an accelerative developing virtual reality, holistic media environment in which „experience" events rather than seeing them separately, to listen and read about them. If a modern child does not love paper books, but is well-informed and speaks and writes literate and beautiful, it would be very wrong to force it to absorb information through unnatural means. Today, in the context of the Internet and the virtual options „actively is formed a new composite figure: „reader – spectator – listener" of books (texts), whose activities should not be evaluated according to the standards of the past – wrote the Russian professor on theory of reading, Julia Melentieva. – It is also necessary to abandon the imposed in the conditions of the ideologically monolithic society strict valuation characteristics of reading, in order to unify the reader." (Melentieva, 2010: 26-33).

Third, in the digital age the very notion of reading is radically changed. „Gutenberg dinosaurs" and the „digital natives" enter into a strong dissonance concerning the stereotype that reading is that activity where only books are read. What does the first survey of the publishing company Scholastic „Kids & Family Reading Report" of 2010 (Scholastic, 2010) between children and their parents said on this occasion? The research showed something very significant – parents and children have very different views on *what the reading is like*. 51 % adults and 54 % children considered as „reading" the searching of information on the Web. Staying in the social networks is also considered as reading by 28 % of the children and 15 % of the parents. 25 % of the children believe that the exchange of SMS and SMS–viewing is reading. Here, the parents show greatest conservatism – only 8 % of them agree that SMS is a subject of reading. The new context (internet, digitization, mobile applications, communicating via social networks like Facebook, via MSN and text messages) changes the nature, the frequency and the importance of reading. This new context is not an obstacle but a source of serious motivation for reading and writing for the use of the dictionary and exercising the multilingualism.

Taking into account the benefits of these informal practices in terms of motivation, the European Commission insists on mobile applications and social networks to gain greater recognition in education and in the education policy as a whole (European Commission, 2012). The damage of the archaic connotation of the word „reading" was problematized also by the German Reading Foundation „Stiftung Lesen". During the symposium „Digitale Medien: Chancen für das Lesen" in 2014, experts from the Foundation offered to extend the concept of „reading" which to adjust the old-fashioned narrow idea for only „reading of fiction for pleasure in the spare time". Dr. Sigrid Farer explained that practically the one who surfs in the Internet, who follows the iconic navigations in the websites, also reads. He reads rules and instructions and the participant in a video game – if not proficient in reading drops out from the game. Against the backdrop of the alarming number of 7.5 million illiterates in Germany, the concept of „reading" must cover the digital media, Internet publications, Facebook and all the different computing devices and applications. The arguments of Dr. Sigrid Fahrer are that the wider definition may increase the interest in the traditional books in children and teenagers and that if a fan of video games realizes himself as reader, this will give him confidence and will increase his satisfaction from the act of reading (Fahrer, 2014).

Fourth, it is not true that there is no „new" reading. The new scientific paradigm in the cognitive science accepts that the brain is very flexible, highly adaptable to the surrounding information environment. The theory of the plastic brain of Norman Doidge (Doidge, 2015) proves that human receptive apparatus today intensively is self-educating and breaks, so that books and texts are perceived in a completely new way. It is imminent to be proven whether the brains of those who interact with technology and are restructuring of this interaction. Perhaps the structure and the organization of the brains of *„born digital"* will be fundamentally different from the organization and the structure of the brains of today's informational active man.

4.7. Seventh problem: Literature vs. Book

Dysfunction in the trying to obtain an objective picture of the readers' situation brings the deviant connotation of the concepts in the logical chain „reading – literature – a book".

Sociological surveys usually do not define in advance their working terms, i.e. when they investigate the reading, they do not make difference between non-literature and literature reading and speculate with the term „book" by reducing it to a subject of literary inclinations without considering the existence of a non-literature content in the books. I specify the problem. Scientific categories „book" and „literature" are in a relation „common – private" as we are talking about

subordination. Book is the common, literature is the private. The book in the general theoretical perspective is a trinity of code, carrier and content. But literature is only one of the types of content. The process of replacing of the common with the private and the subsequent generalization of private, even considering the common is known to linguistics as a *linguistic substitution*. In colloquial speech similar replacements may be natural, but here we talk for national, even for ideological and socio-political verbal problem. Everyday language should not engross the professional and the scientific vocabulary. Equating the book to literature, reducing the book only to a literature is an abnormal thinking, generic-species thinking in a wrong inversion.

The generalized use of the term „literature" (an assumption that „everything with letters is literature") is inadequate of the following nonlinear works and directory publishing products: musical score, logarithmic scale, a software directory, yellow pages, interviews, archival documents, dictionary, album, atlas, book-game, picture book, bibliography and bio- bibliography, catalogue, book of crosswords, collection of tests or tasks, collection with reports, a statistical report, ethics code, patent, standard, rules for traffic state, etc.

There are polls that speculate with the word „book" by subordinating it to their personal readers' preferences to the books with literature. If sociological survey refers to the interest in books, the literature-centric researcher fails to define in advance what is meant by the word „books" and often proves to have committed *unlawful terminology substitution*. For example, in the Jubilee civil ranking „15 books, I cannot do without" of the Bulgarian book-trading line „Helicon" in Sofia by the end of 2007, it was not specified that the object is only "literature" and only „fiction". Thus the book-trading line demonstrates its fetishistic attitude towards literature and automatically discriminates the non-fiction books and the non-literary reading. Someone could „not to manage" without business handbook, another – without the Bible, the third – without the Criminal code, the collection of aphorisms or cookbook and feels no need for artistic readings.

Why, when the theme in the public agenda is reading, it is suggesting, understood and articulated the reading only of literature and even only novels (as in the campaign of the Bulgarian National Television "The Big Read" in 2008)? Artificial occasion for complexes, of feeling of guilt in the user: What if I have no a favourite novel am I marginal? And a sense of limitation: it is about the genre. What if my favourite work is novel or epic or a play or a story? And if I am not generally „interested" in fiction? Which means that the voting for a favourite novel priory *discriminate the rational, scholastic type of reader*.

In socio-political discourse of post-socialist societies (even the commented here linguistic substitution can be seen also in the English-speaking countries and Germany) it is often operating with the official statistics for the not-reading or for the illiterate reader, without specifying to which reader and what reading is talked about but under the literature-centered presumption is referred only the reading of literature. It is important to know, however, that there are uneducated in literary readers – technical specialist, life science researchers, botanists, doctors, drivers, hairdressers, dressmakers, shop assistants, bookkeepers, etc. They read *books*. There are educated literary readers who read *literature*. This distinction is important because only in this way the debate on the education of people to read literature, not books, will receive its fair private space. When someone turns the reader into an object of national programs or campaigns he should specify whether he is interested in a reader of literature or a reader at all.

The problem with the generalized use of the term „literature" is on the highest legal level – in the legislation on copyright and on libraries, in the national statistics and in the higher education. (For example, the fact is that the financial education in students is deficient, see: García-Santillán et al., 2017).

It can not be objected to the use of the word „Literature" for marking or labelling of the bibliographic database of information sources. Mechanical imitation of the local tradition does not justify the methodological confusion between the concept of the information science „bibliography" with the branch of the arts – „literature". In publicism it might not be considered an error, but in science could not be allowed such inertia. The list of bibliographic descriptions of scientific sources at the end of this publication has an approved world title and it is „Bibliography" or „Sources" (References).

The risk of generalization of everything written with the name „literature" may create another meaningful dissonance. If „everything is literature", the *literary criticism* should be encyclopaedic and metainstitutional field. The profession „literary critic" should be taught in schools for

omniscience. And here come the cognitive conflicts. Does literary criticism covers all fields of human knowledge, if we call any publication „literature"? Does literary criticism covers the range of books, studies and articles on the law (legal „literature"), medical (medical „literature") and theology (religious „literature")? Literary critic on this formal logic should be competent also on software engineering (critic of computer „literature"), in linear algebra and analytical geometry (critic of mathematical „literature") and fencing (critic of sports „literature").

It would be wonderful every book to contain „literature". But objectivity in the delimitation of the term „book" of the term „literature" requires to bear in mind that:

1) Literature is only one of the ten major classes of the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), only 1/10 of the areas of world knowledge (with code 82) and according to this system are now organized the library collections worldwide. It is interesting as how are organized the rooms in the boutique hotel „Library Hotel NY" – the Library Hotel in New York, near Grand Central Station, Manhattan. It offers its guests over 6,000 volumes of books organized within the hotel in the Decimal Classification of Melville Dewey (Dewey Decimal Classification). Each of the 60 rooms is equipped with a unique collection of books for distinctive for the theme in which category is the room. Each of the ten floors bears a numerical code from 0 to 9, according to DDC. But Literature (code 800) is just VIII floor (Dewey Decimal Concept, 2011).

2) The statistics of the books in the world is also maintained by UDC and in this way is regulated since 1964 by UNESCO (UNESCO, 1964). From a total of 23 groups, the books containing literature (literature books) are only in Group 21 (Literature (8): (a) History of literature and literary criticism, (b) Literary texts).

3) The literature is not present in the subject catalogs of libraries (including textbooks) – for the subject indexing is used only non-literary content.

4) Literature is only 1/9 of the areas of higher education – according to the Classification of areas of higher education and professional fields of Bulgaria (Classifier, 2003).

5) Literature is subject to only one of the four main areas of science – humanitarian (Law for the Higher Education, 1995), while the remaining three – social, natural and technical are non-literary.

6) Literature is only one of the three objects of copyright under the laws of copyright and the related rights. This is fixed in the scope of the Art. 1 of the Bulgarian Law: „This law regulates the relations connected with the creation and distribution of works of literature, art and science" (Law on Copyright and Neighbouring Rights, 1993).

7) „Literature" in the classical definition is a trinity of epos, poetry and prose. But exactly the literary men tend to expand the definition of „literature" to „any written work". It is enough to read in the Glossary that literature are the written works that are with lasting artistic qualities (Stevenson, Lindberg, 2010), that literature is just *one of the types of arts* along with painting, music and dance, the art of verbal imagination, artwork, poetry or prose*, fine letters*. It is defined so by Joseph Brodsky: „If what distinguishes us from the other members of the animal kingdom is speech, then literature, and particularly poetry, being the *highest form of the letters*, is itself, roughly speaking, the purpose of our type" (speech during the accepting of the Nobel prize; *see* Brodsky, 1993. According to Terry Eagleton literature is always ideology, functioning as „*imaginative writing"* whichis not literally true, fiction (Eagleton, 2001: 27, 33). Some texts are imposed to be read as literature, some texts are born as literary, some texts become literary, some literary texts imitate literary, some texts avoid literariness, some texts can never be literary. Therefore, literature is a type of *cultivated and subjectively fictional content* which is not always published in a book. A book can not be only literature.

For the proper methodological and logical thinking on the subject of reading is necessarily not to replace the word „book" with the word „literature". In the theory of terms, explicitly are distinguished two types of language: (1) language for general purposes (LGP) – daily or conversational language, and (2) language for special purposes (LSP) – a specialized or professional language (includes business language, academic language, scientific language). So we should therefore assume that the correct and appropriate scientific, academic, specialized terminology synonymous of the term „book" (when we do not talk about par excellence „literature") are the terms „publications", „editions", „titles", „writings", „materials", „resources", „works", etc.

We will summarize the said till now. Literature is not equal to book. Literature and book are not synonymous. Literature is a *type of content*, and the book is the *medium that can carry it (dialectical unity of content and form)*.

The book is first *a mean of communication* and only then is a *printing product* and *library volume* and just sometimes contain *literary work*. And if the study of reading continues to fetish the literature centrism, the unscientific analysis and the wrong decisions will reproduce.

Methodologically important is reading to be associated not only with literature, not even with the written word. Otherwise, we take away the right of existence also to the books without letters or that partially with letters. The book is not only „litera" (letter of the alphabet in Latin). It is necessary to redefine the basic for the readers' practices object – the book. Because the book is not even just a paper. How many of the thrown into the fire books were burned? Neither one. Burns the paper, not the book.

4.8. Eighth problem: The indicator „free time"

Logically we come to the next reason for the risk of irrelevance of the sociological methods for the research of the reading. The majority of the sociological surveys on the media consumption are focused on the *reading in the spare time*, and not on the reading at all. With this substitution of the concepts and the inability for relevance and comparability of the results we should not agree.

Why is important the abstracting from the term „free time"? There are enough reasons to insist on avoiding the criterion of „free time" in the study of reading.

First, this is lowering the self-esteem of the continuous readers and distorts the understanding of the process of reading itself, because reading is immeasurable category.

Second, free time can be valuable only for the worker on a measured daywork, for life on standardized working hours. A worker raises the „free time" in a cult, because for him, as a screw of the big machine, the work is not a pleasure – working time is a counterpoint to free time. Today, in the information era special formation of the free time is unnecessary because it is not a value for the active man. Because the whole life, all phases of growth and education, all professions have merged with the natural information field. Work, learning, entertainment, recreation (the rest), etc. They are increasingly computerized and more intellectual. Value is the information – such as food and air. Because we live in constant information cloud there is no sense for someone to „get free" from information. There is no sense someone trying to relieve time. Therefore, in post-industrial, information age and recreation and hobbies, and entertainment are non-free time.

Third, today's children have no free time. Modern children are in new information and communications environment, move with other information dynamics. Multimedia generation moves to another data rate and everything that seems very innovative and revolutionary for the adult, for them is history and archives. The entire waking time of the digital children is occupied by activities. For them there is no such thing as free time – even when they entertain or relax, they do it actively. This term is used automatically by sociologists, pedagogues, psychologists, not considering the asynchrony of the communication and the multimodality of the sources of information to young people.

It is against the pedagogical reading to be emerged as an activity needed to „fill the free time" of the student. Researchers divided conditionally by time and by space the activities carried by a child to educational and non-educational time, and as a *„school time"*, they understand „mandatory educational activities at school" and „mandatory self-training in school" and under „non-educational time" – everything else as the time to „meet the physiological needs – sleep, food, clothes, etc.", „travelling to school and other points of training and educational work", participation in household duties, there is an interval that is used for doing activities „devoid of any coercion and obligation." (Grudeva, 2005: 107). This is the so-called „free time", which is not involved in a routine and pre-planned activity and in this logic should not exclude reading for knowledge. Concentrating on the textbook as an object of study and the book as an object of entertainment, cannot lead to negative connotations and false judgments. And here, very probably lies one of the reasons for the problematic reading in children. In general, the rethinking of the concept „free time" as an interval for satisfaction of needs and interests between the two phases of teaching time and combining them into one indivisible whole, is in the base of the qualitative improvement of the education of the personality according to the specifics of the information environment of the multimedia generation.

The findings of the review arguments is that reading should be emancipated from all temporality, including from the schedules of the so-called free time. It must be freed from its „official" mandatory and to work towards harmonization with the natural needs and interests of the new modern children. The entire time of the child must be synchronized with reading activities.

4.9. Ninth problem: Reading in consumer modalities

The problem in all surveys using the method of the inquiry, or of the interview is much more serious and lies in the consumer modality given to the reading. The so-called „research" on the reading situation do not investigate, and have no the tools to investigate the actual „reading" but only the *buying, holding* and any *external form of intimacy* with the objects for reading.

Explicit indication of this problem are the typical mass survey questions: „how", „when" and „what" is read. We can recall a parental advice of Umberto Eco: never ask a child when reads in order not to get a sharp-tongued reply „Never!". Each active citizen in today's economizing format of life is irritated by the questions if he reads, when, what, where, how ... Approximately the same resentment would cause a chain of questions did you eat, when, what, where, how. Or – did you win, when, what, where, how. I believe that at least the Bulgarian read – what he wants, when he wants, where he wants, as he wants, how much he wants. Reading is extremely intimate, autonomous and individual process. And also not everyone has the same idea in mind about the process „reading".

What information about a man will give us the question „how much he read?", provided that the reading speed and the need for written sources for each individual are different. For example, a person reads one week one page, another – a magazine, third – three books, the fourth can stand a whole year reading one book and rereading it (and the maximum „Beware of the man of one book" is not accidental). We must understand that not „much reading" is important. Again, we can refer to Oscar Wilde, who said: „Today people read too much, which prevents them to be wise". More important is reading which „I need", the reading that is „only mine". If I am a follower of practices of superiority, my reading will be only specialized, sanitation and disciplined only to my profession and career (curious here is the renaming of the world famous Moscow „School of rational reading" into „School for Presidents").

Reading *is not „consumption"*. Reading is „internal" activity, invisible and therefore unobservable and immeasurable, i.e. the empirical verification by objective scientific methods is not able to reveal and explain the specifics and the practice of reading.

Reading *is not mass behaviour*. It is impossible to be studied also as mass communicative activity. Important arguments in this direction gives the Bulgarian literary professor Nikola Georgiev: „I am against mass reading and even spoke against this campaign „The Big Read". It is important to identify what kind of people how read and how reading affects them. It can never, can never be a mass phenomenon, even the reading of „Under the Yoke" and of „Tobacco", not to mention the contemporary modernist novels. Not quantity, but quality is important. They say that, ostensibly, the mouse would kill the book. The number of the published books is not reduced worldwide. Well, what kills?! If we look back, we will see that the techniques in writing and reading are changing not for the first time. But in their ignorance people panic – end! Even the great philosopher Plato spoke against the written word with very serious arguments. Fluctuations between written and oral culture continues to our days. While battling Alexander of Macedonia wrote to his honourable teacher Aristotle: „Teacher, what you have done? You wrote a book concerning a question that should be spoken for. Not everything has to be written! And this is said not by a fool." (Georgiev, 2009).

Reading *is a psycho-economic indicator* (the result is mental capital in a person's head), a process of long-term investment whose results are seen minimum after 3–4 years, they are designed in the specific social or economic activity of the reader.

Here with these theoretical circumstances of reading we have to conform to, if we actually want to receive systematic general – global or national picture of the reading situation.

4.10. Tenth problem: Reading as conspicuous consumption

The reader's activity, the possession and the purchase of books is one of the components of the social deviation „conspicuous consumption". One of the marketing (rather sociological) *techniques for managing of the interests* of the book market – the charts obtained by voting by ballots, by phone or online, discourages the confidence in the achieving of the objective truth because of the following circumstances:

a) Voting. Does the specifying of „favourite titles" mean that they are read or are saved only as titles – image-making, scrapbook and quoted? The rating is de facto not obtained for the reading of the specified book, but for the thrill of the vote, as a food for the gambling instinct.

b) The voted. No doubt which rating is excited for the book traders – of the reader at all or only of the buyer. Of course the second. He in turn should be aware that the buyer is not necessarily a reader and the reader is not necessarily a buyer. And young readers yet hardly become buyers of books. Moreover – are the voting sincere or they are conformists; are they good (passionate) readers or bad (inert);whether they are actual „adopters" of the specified books or just club „claques"? And what if they remember the headlines only by a list or as parental nagging?

Disadvantages of the sociological methods can be found in any marketing attempts readings to be involved in *gambling, marathon or race*. There can not miss a winner. And he is always one. But isn't it unnatural to favour *only one book*? The unit has the power to blur the many. The bestseller ruins the diversity. The laws of the bestseller are veiled form of the technology of unconditionally worship to authority. The „hit", „the winner" always contains within itself also the charge of the aggressive invasion in the field of „up to human" effects of enchantment or the so-called fascination, of the infection by meme or viral information units. The revenge against such excesses could come if the results of the vote in the British TV format „The Big Read", for example, is formed not like a position by rating of a mechanical vote, but as a group of books in alphabetical order (ten or fifteen). Isn't it right that a man should read 15 books in his life, but to find out exactly which, he should read 15 000 (phrase of Isaac Babel).

The model „hit parade of books" or of the top lists as a tool to determine the popularity of the book as a commodity and as an effective tool for management of the behaviour of the buyer has been discredited from a long time. Positions in the rating of any city bookstore are many, and there are no coincidences practically while the target audience and the customers of the bookstores in a city hardly differ cardinally. Each, received through a direct consultation list of the broadcasted under a „main memory" titles is inoperative in the commodity-monetary paradigm „menu" – it rather involves targeting random or deliberately selected titles which do not enter into the „food" mode of the creditworthy self-made reader.

The chance of the form „rating of books" is to be sterilized in the bosom of the political folklore. So we can interpret the idea of the leader of the political bloc „Our Ukraine – PSD Bloc" Yuriy Lutsenko (Korrespondent, 2007), all candidates for deputies to the day of parliamentary elections (30 September 2007) to declare not only their incomes and their assets but also the read during the current year books.

4.11. Eleventh problem: Undefined „reader"

Dysfunction in the trying to obtain an objective picture of the reader situation imports also a lack of updated definition of the concept *„reader"*.

Therefore it remains the unaccounted for the sociologists resistance of the reader object of the survey, which either refused to answer or is thinking before responding: *Why to strip*? Reading is and will always remain a *personal secret*. Polls like „Which books you cannot without?" or more generally „What are you reading?" are a diversional sneaking into the personal space, in the kitchen of the competitors. A consultation can give a picture of reader behaviour to the publisher, but it will not be objective, but neat, hypocritical, opportunistic or untrue.

The picture of the reading obtained by the sociological method of the survey or poll can not be objective because in the *era of mercantilism and mercantilism, the questions concerning the readers' behaviour are politically incorrect*. To reveal your sources of ideas and inspiration in the intangible economy is like to share your oil reserves at the dawn of the industrial era. And I'm interested, for example, which are the desktop books of Stephen Hawking, the Dalai Lama or king Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Aren't artists wonder what actually had read Michelangelo, physicists – what actually had read Nikola Tesla, marketers – what actually reads Philip Kotler, IT professionals – what actually reads Bill Gates (Incidentally, this answer is only seemingly anecdotal: *Bill Gates reads books for Linux*). Economizing, meritocratic reader, „the reader in rise" in no case will reveal their firm secrets – which books owe his success or which books builds hi winning strategies for the future on. I myself would jealously conceal the actual books, without which I can't. But the thing that distinguishes me from some people is that I cannot live without books.

4.12. Twelfth problem: Respondent lie

The phenomenon „respondent lie“ in the sociological inquiry pictures of readers' situation cannot be underestimated. In 2009, on the occasion of the World Book Day in the UK was conducted a poll on „the secrets of readers“. Two-thirds of British admit that they had to lie about the books they have read. The books which they most often lied to be read, proved to be „1984“ by George Orwell's, „War and Peace“ by Leo Tolstoy, „Ulysses“ by James Joyce and the Bible (BBC, 2009). Sociologists call this factor of bias „answers for prestige“. The problem of the objectivity of the research on reading and in particular on the statistics on the consumption of books and other reading materials is permitted by combining of two sources of information: industry reports (of the education system, libraries, bookstores, etc.) and sociological surveys. The first are based on quantitative data of the institutions and the market, but do not admit the home libraries, reading on the Internet, etc. The second compensate the first, but are known for its serious error due to the aspiration of the respondents to look better than is actually and practically says that reads more and „smarter“ texts. The scientific explanation of this phenomenon can be found in the socio-psychological regularities as conformism, identification or conformation. Indisputable intervention has the so-called Hawthorne effect, reflecting the change in people's behaviour if they know that they are studied. It is a form of reaction in which the subjects improve aspects of their behaviour while they are scientifically monitored and just in response to the fact that they are studied, but not in response to any empirical influence. However, it is important to note that the reasons why readers pretend and delude for the read books, have not yet been specifically and thoroughly investigated.

4.13. Thirteenth problem: Respondent resistance

The problem of respondent lie is linked to another disadvantage of sociological methods – respondent resistance. Its appearance is recorded in the already cited research on the topic „Did you read my microgroups“. It turns out that it was the key issue in the survey „Give definition of the verb „read“ that irritating most the respondents. The situation is equivalent to boycott which is seen in the answer: „I do not remember“, „Do I need to know definitions?“, „Get out!“, „Why do I need to read something?“ (Tsvetkova, 2016).

Yes, there is such an individual respondent resistance against the curiosity of the sociologists. In support of this resistance the theme „The importance of not reading“ got publicity, covering people talking about books or advertise themselves as connoisseurs of books, including academic researchers and teachers (The Economist, 2007). It turns out that not reading among them is a typical case. It was explored by Professor Pierre Bayard of the Paris University. Not reading among producers and proponents of reading is obviously not due to physiological illiteracy and for personal hygiene reasons. „There is more than one way not to read – says not without irony Bayard – the most radical among them is never to open a book“. The fact that per year worldwide are issued between 1 and 2 million new books, talks how important is not to read everything. From the standpoint of cost-reader and rather ironically relevant to market flow reader, there are only four categories of books: 1) books, I don't know, 2) books, I have passed, 3) books, I have heard about and 4) books, I have forgotten. There are not allowed exclusions even for the books, you have published or written yourself (Bayard, 2007). However, Pierre Bayard admit that he has never read „Ulysses” of James Joyce, but he freely talk about it in front of his students (Eco, Carrière, 2011: 271).

4.14. Fourteenth problem: The prejudice „obligatory for reading”

Particularly relevant for the countercultural or anarchic dominant in today's reading is the resistance against the prejudice „mandatory“, but which is supported by sociological methods. Reading at will always urge release of constraints and limitations. But the reader resists not of searched anarchism but of the sense of unfreedom, for alignments, for cultivation of the another normal citizen, decent and approximately literate but never unique. The standardized institution of the „list of the obligatory readings” manipulate us by all sorts of exemplary sanctions – from criticism that has adopted us wedged guilt, to judge us and takes us out of the „darkness of ignorance” and mental inferiority to swarm spiritual and social demiurges and volunteers who bristle if understand that we have not read some of the program tools and who chase us from their perimeter as „fools” and „lowbrows”.

In fact, such intellectual totalitarianism has always been disastrous for the intellect and for the wisdom. The Doctrine „obligatory for reading books” is just a tool of the methodology of cultivation of the average citizen who should not has his time exclusively for personal antisocial

activities (such as solitary voluntary reading), nor with exceptional culture or taste for books. In today's painful lack of time „enrichment of horizons" with foreign and intrusive intellectual and evolutionary algorithms, orthodox, enduring and not actual, defines reading in the eyes of young people as social levelling ritual, as fetishistic uniform under the roof of a new, corporate information fundamentalist. Young readers of the 21st century know lists of great books (which the old worship), but are less worried by the fact that their greatness does not attract them. By which, they do not become uncultured.

4.15. Fifteenth problem: The absent axiological balance

The sociological surveys *do not check and do not report the axiological balance* in the attitude of the reading man – the amplitude between plus and minus. At normality as behavioural category, there is always a balance – two poles, two positions, two counterpoints. To exist white, there must be black. To exist love, there must be hate. But public consultation seeks only the favourite book. But we can have a favourite book if it is the other pole of the hate, the unloved. Because reading, as each psycho-social action has a double face – can be knees bent and can be cynical. It presumes too many embarrassing things – hiding, peeking, poaching, modifying, reformulating, compiling, comparing, to expose and manipulate, and with feeling – joyful and euphoric or ironic and sarcastic, or with vileness and disgust. In his power is not only the survival, maintaining of the vitality or the reanimation of any book, and the whole set of inhuman activities – ostracization, criminalization, killing or simply forgetting.

In other words, disadvantage of the sociological surveys and statistical reporting is the one-sided positivism and the lack of interest in negationism. They do not strive to identify and provide symmetrical *„the white"* and *„the black"* statistics. The indicator for normal, natural, balanced behaviour of the readers is missing. The modern reader would be enthusiastic about the opportunity to point also the *not read yet books, unwanted books, and books-wreckers, dangerous and hated books, the books he regrets to be read and books that he wants to forget*. The array of similar titles just would not be small. At various times they were penalized, lynched as unsuitable for reading and criminalized in the lists of banned books.

Classics as „Karlsson-on-the-Roof," „Pippi Longstocking," „The Catcher in the Rye", „Uncle Tom's Cabin" and „Harry Potter" have received a stigma of unreliability. The reason is that such strong books carry a maximum charge sufficient to activate the terminal reactions in unstable, unpredictable, risky reader. Voltaire directly put a sign „dangerous" over 16 books from his personal library to separate the titles whose dangerous thoughts he had to disguise of the „reader-plebeian". And aren't really readers who have committed crimes or fatal error, who curse the book affected them about it? Over the background of his counterpoint – the refusal of reading, reading would receive more weight.

In the conditions of the described sociological deficit, the world famous apologists of the book and the written word suddenly took up the theme of the book negativism with uncharacteristic for them liberalism. In 2006 Umberto Eco published a book where one of the essays is titled *„The unread books"* (Eco, 2006). Here the professor summarizes a consultation with intellectuals held on the book fair in Turin, with the question „Which books you have not read?" The volubility which the „normal," „natural" and active readers answer with to this question, is both shocking and comforting, because it is clear that today there is nothing more logical to indicate without marketeering hypocrisy and false feeling of guilt, what are the difficult, unattractive, skipped and discarded personally by you books (among which are also titles of U. Eco). But such recognition for „paper negativity" in the previous conditions of expert literary totalitarianism, of dictatorship of the literary canon and erudition would not be possible, Eco suggests. *„The books we have not read"* is a theme that excites Umberto Eco again three years later, but now in his conversation with Jean-Claude Carrière. We learn from here who of the two great artists, what have not read. Eco has not read the whole Bible, the Indian epic „Mahabharata" and barely managed to read „War and Peace"; Carrière has not read „The Great Mon" by Alen Furnie; and the both admit that they have not read „Vanity Fair" (Eco, Carrière, 2011: 271-286).

An interesting fact is that it is the country which produces and distributes the most successful models to promote reading as a campaign „The Big Read" – Britain, became a pioneer in restoring the balance between positive and negative reader activity. On March 12, 2007 for the first time in modern history we give voice to „unreadable books" tacit designation of „hated books". British team of sociologists and academics summarize and publish the results of a unique survey „rating of

the unread/unfinished books“ committed between 4000 adult Britons (Literary Saloon, 2007). It becomes clear that the resistance of the changing reader is no longer directed only to the factor „mandatory“. The list of difficult and unreadable books include: the owned due to prestige (memoirs of politicians), the purchased from fashion considerations (the books of David Beckham, „The Satanic Verses“ by Salman Rushdie), the bestseller („Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire“, „The Alchemist“), the award-winning book („Vernon God Little” by DBC Pierre, Man Booker Prize for 2003), classics („Odyssey“, „War and peace“, „Crime and punishment“) and the unfilmed fiction. Now is not uncommon to have collections in the negative part of the spectrum in the net, for example: library of unbearable (hideous) books (Fletcher, 2010); top ten stupid, dully or traumatic books for children (Swaim, 2009). Seemingly vulgar and anarchic, readers' behaviour of active contemporary is more hygienic because the circumstances which press him are too unhealthy – lack of time, working till late, fatigue, difficulty in concentration, lack of patience and very unfriendliness of the volumetric, disorganized, uninteresting or forcibly written book.

The scientific community studying the current ecosystem of reading needs a survey to rebalance: to filter from the paper avalanche also those titles that cannot be read. Book market would be enriched and greening by a selection of *„books that should not be bought“*. However, for such a „hygiene of the book offering” pleaded also Oscar Wilde. He is famous for his phrase „to tell people what not to read is something quite different and I dare not recommend it as a task of the supplementary university program.” Far from a joke is his covenant that who could select from the chaos of our times the „Hundred worst books” and publish their list, will do actually a true and eternal gift to the coming generation. Oscar Wilde said something else: „More than half of modern culture depends on what one should not read”. We can recall for Geoffrey Chaucer, who has kept only 60 books in his personal library, but it was most valuable to him, most necessary for his personal culture. Every reader has his scale of good and bad books.

A key play in bibliopsychology is that the contents of the book is not physical, but mental category. Reading book is already psychological book. *As many are the readers of a book, so are its contents*, said in the early 20th century the Russian bibliopsychologist Nicholas Rubakin. This formulation suggests that any ambition for generalized assessment for conducting a „quality audit“ of the attitudes towards books is meaningless and fruitless. There is no competence which „identifies“ the message and perception of a book. If there is, it should be a „divine mandate“. The judges of the reader and of the assessors of the readings need not surveys or interviews but linguistic, neuro-linguistic and psychoanalytic algorithms for expertise, for example, on sectarian and extremist (terrorist) books, but this is a topic of forensic and legal professionals.

Aggression of compulsory and complexes of „educated ignorance” expect its elimination. Global digital democracy emancipate the individual needs of severely active reader and his personal judgments about the „right”, „important” and „logical” book. And it is increasingly normal behaviour.

5. Discussion: Why the social aspects of use are not reading?

Through empirical sociological methods (inquiries, surveys, questionnaires, interviews) *a distorted picture of the actual process „reading“* can be achieved. This is not a self-serving statement, but is made in the context of the warning of the social theorists of literature Robert Escarpit, that *the social aspects of consumption are not yet reading* (Escarpit, 1971: 88). His follower Julia Melentieva, a Russian library scientist and theorist of reading presents additional arguments to support this assertion. According to her, the today's most common method for the studying of reading – sociological, gives only limited knowledge of the so-called „external” side of reading, for its quantitative indicators because it stands aside the notion of the nature and the reasons both for the reading and not reading, for the deep mechanisms for inclusion of the child and the adult to it (Melentieva, 2012: 58).

Any deliberate approach that examines the units only in a definite aspect, only in terms of some of their signs, regardless of the sophisticated features that create their essence and individuality is a guarantee of distortion of information about them. It is this situation, says Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, that reflect the *statistical surveys, by disregarding the autonomy of the individual and give a distorted view of the whole* (Noelle-Neumann, 1978: 39-45). The disadvantage of the surveys that are looking for the average numbers, average reduced numbers and relative parts in the field of reading and readers is particularly visible in the

interpretation of the indicator „time spent for reading". Even the competent sociologist-methodologist will rely with distrust to the averaging of the time of such highly individual operation as reading. The average minutes can be calculated only in some indirect way, manipulating the answers to the question „How long have I read today" or in the presence of a large number of respondents who is entrusted auto – photographing (over-complex and ambitious task) and provided that they have the same associations on the verb „read".

In a society of autonomous individuals we cannot speak *for the average reader* or *statistical averaging of information*. In a society of individuals cannot exist averaging of the individual readers' interests and of information needs nor *average effect of reading* on the recipient. All this will bear the scars of relativism and mechanical regimentation. Demoscopic results are the appropriate way to manage and manipulate the individual consciousness, no less than the anti-human so-called „Human Engineering". The information from the sociological surveys and the statistic data concerning the reader's behaviour is perhaps the long time searched „panacea" or the new Trojan horse of the manageable network society.

Why sociological methods can affect dysfunctional the knowledge about the real reader's situation?

First, the social sciences and studies of reading as part of them are currently experiencing a credibility crisis (Mackintosh, 2015). For example, accurate measurements from 2015 showed that 75 % of social psychology experiments cannot be reproduced. It is known that reproducibility is the defining feature of science (Open Science Collaboration, 2015).

Second, the *reader is not a social category, even less a „social role"*. Because what is actually a role? The role is a common, uniform activity performed simultaneously or at different times by many people. In this sense, the social role is close to an acting role. The actor on stage does not recreate his own individuality but somebody else – of the character. The preferences in this case are to the imitation rather than to „individuation". But imitation is „extremely harmful for individuation", as we know from the theory of Carl Jung (Jung, 1993: 150). Generally, to accomplish a high level of social adaptation, the role is attached a mask, and the mask is placed when a man is overcome by shame, of fear of the others, or of fear for himself. Putting a mask requires a change in the posture, a new attitude to the whole thing. The mask is the ideal and the posturing – striving to achieve this ideal. This living social „game" may temporarily serve as cover of the depressing problems, but will inevitably lead to erosion of the individuality.

Third, *reading is introverted process*. According to the sociologist George Mead, for any intellectual activity, such as is thinking, and especially the thorough reading is typical „stopping of the behaviour", delay, postponing of the reactions (Mead, 1997: 361). If reader could look on himself, he would have registered alienation between mind and his own body. In a situation here and now his every observer, however actually recognizes his outside passivity and „absence".

Fourth, *reading is asocial activity*, where is made an alienating pattern of a detachment from the reality. It is done isolated; it is implemented invisibly (in the skull) and therefore is uncontrollable. Or, as the French journalist Bernard Pivot said, „when reading [the reader] is alone, fully and deeply immersed in the world of the book" (Pivot, 2005: 70). The reader is almost invisible to the sociological view and because the obstacle that the full depth reading is a process of self-communication. Also a well-known fact is that an important condition for the self-communication is the „social isolation", where is limited the quantitative participation of the subject in the social life and is „slowed the pace of utilization of the social facts" (Stefanov, 1988: 44).

Fifth, reading is a *waste of social time* and of intellectual energy of society, so is a *socially inefficient*. This is an assertion of the sociologist Stefan Kamenov in his academic research „The book and the reading" (Kamenov, 1988: 7). Hence the fear and the hatred disguise to the active readers comes from. In the report of UNESCO for the International Book Year in 1972 it was found that for the Third world reading is still considered shameful, criminal and reproachful act. African community condemns the act of the individual reading, the separation of a man with a book in hand immediately from the surrounding group is regarded as suspicious and is realized as a threat to integrity. I am not sure that today also in the most liberal societies, there is no such fear. Just the reading person is lost for the manipulators of the external environment.

Sixth, the reading remains unknown because it is *subversive mental practice* – subversive for the stereotypes and the power for all known and unknown totalitarian concepts. The reader

cultivates in himself a tendency to counteracting, anarchism, self-confidence, optimism and information superiority. A man reads not only to be different from others, not just to be original, to be always above them. He reads to overcome the boundaries of the community formed in front of the television screens to split the unanimity in it, to break simultaneity and transience of the TV show, once and for ever left in the past. Reading is the best way to divert standardization and vulgarization – all tending to stupidity – inherent in our highly technological age. Both the book and the reading bear the great cultural responsibility not to allow the mass communication to serve the individual sovereignty *contra-adaptive* and *anti-manipulative* under the pressure of the mass and the unifications. And these are again vested functions of reading as „dangerous" mental process.

Seventh, the reading remains unknown, because it is a *fail-safe filter against rhetorical and audio-visual manipulations*. In the act of reading the individual has time to cultivate and exercises his critical attitude, to operate with the information destructively, to dissect opinions, to compares, to collates, to denounce.

Eight, the readers only have the *capacity to change* – themselves, their environment, world. Who is familiar with the neurophysiology of reading knows that the reader develops not so much the „gray matter" but his shell – the cerebral cortex, i.e. freed himself from the animal dependence, from the genetically predetermined and trained in community (herd) models of behaviour. As his brain evolves from inside out, also the personality of the reader (already changed after he has just read the next page) develops and changes his environment from the inside out – absolutely decentralized, unsuspected and invisible to the „guards of the tower", surprising – somewhere from the bowels, sideways and upwards – as from an epicentre of an earthquake. Readers are unpopular and dangerous also because change their minds (only the cow does not change its mind because it does not receive information) and therefore made a dumping of the official theses and opinions. If the world should remain as it is today and now, the *readers are actually the most dangerous beings*.

6. Future research

In summary of the identified 15 problem of the sociological methods of the studying of reading, we can say that based on false picture of the reader situation the quantitative sociological methods have the potential to inspire negationastic verbal war against the new and young readers. An alternative to empirical methods for obtaining objective results on state reading and readers in any social moment is an integrative approach between „method of approaching" (method of bringing), „research involving" (survey method on survey participation), „included observation", scientific observation, introspection (method of self-observation), specific tests and measuring instruments (like test questions in TIMSS, PISA, PIRLS) and objective methods of bibliopsychology and cognitive psychology. Contemporary neuroscientific methods – bio-physiological measures (especially eyetracking), brain scanners, brain imaging or neuroimaging techniques, like electroencephalographic and functional magnetic resonance brain imaging (EEG and fMRI), transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) as methods to the study of mechanisms for reading should be included also (*see also* McCardle, Chhabra, 2004).

Rubakin's bibliopsychological method has a potential to reveal the objective preliminary data, because it doesn't use the usual empirical tools of the sociology or of the mass psychology. Because it proves, that the sociological criteria such as gender, age, education, social status do not provide adequate assessment in the relationship „reader – book", because it is dependent on other factors (biological, neurophysiological, cognitive), concerning the real process of reading. It is like this because it proves that the empirical sociology is helpless against the methods of the individual psychology, when it is speaking of prognosis in the field of the mass communications, marketing or the media production. Because it doesn't allows being speaking about the readers in average categories. Because it doesn't allow being speaking for mass reader, for mass reading, for reader's audience, and even more – for reader's mass. It disproves the usefulness of the mass plans and programs for reading. It disproves the collective lists for obligatory reading. It exposes the validity of the unified readings. It relativises the universality of the textbook readings and the generalization of the assessments of the official critics and academic readers. It dismisses the mass character of the reader's perceptions, of the reader's tastes and of the reader's interests. The Rubakin's theory of reading is a science of personalized attention towards the individual reader

(Rubakin, 1924). The bibliopsychology reveals the reader's unit as a unique receptive personality. In fact it can't exist correct and incorrect readings, postulates Rubakin – if the man reads as everyone else, if the result from his reading is identical to the result of everyone else, this is not normal. The bibliopsychological type reader is uncontrollable, because it is dynamic. His reader's interest is unpredictable, because it can be felt neither with the intuition, nor with the rigid senses of the external observer, nor with the mechanics of the marketing tools, but it requires personal testing of each individual reader. The reader's unit by Rubakin's is a micro world, that any from the known sociological research methods can't explain in fullness.

7. Conclusions

Due to the identified in the analysis problems, the critical researcher of reading should show a healthy scepticism about the sociological methods – polls, surveys, tests, questionnaires and probing. Reading is as an iceberg for the side spectator – 70% of the information on the nature of the process is under the water. Reading is not only invisible, silent, introverted and intimate mental process. Reading is unclear as a mechanism for the very active subject. That is why I say that when the reader is studied by verbal sociological methods he enters in a mode of respondent lie. The lie can be intentional, but it is usually accidental – the subject of reading itself does not understand how and when is reading. Verbal explication of empirical information – the response of the studied subject (respondent) will be unreal, unreliable and invalid. The situation with the reaching of scientific truth is complicated given that the researcher itself may not have the capacity and the training to overcome its individual connotations and personal ignorance about the survey phenomenon – reading.

According to the outlined development of the theoretical conventions for the phenomenon of „reading", the qualified researcher should treat it as non-temporal activity and as a media reception beyond the contact with the alphabetic texts. Under the current discourse about the new literacies reading should be studied as a process of mediated information, not necessarily implemented with letter symbols and not necessarily accepted by eyes (tactile reading at the blind people).

Qualified reader in the role of researcher will be marked by moderate scepticism to sociological surveys, although he doesn't mind to verify the theses with an empirical inquiry conducted by survey or voting. It is no accident that when criticized Henry Ford, that he is not interested in market sentiment, he responded: If I had listened to the voice of the customer, I should create no car but just a cart with faster horses. And the President Harry Truman had such an expression: if Moses had read surveys, he would stay in Egypt.

8. Acknowledgements

The author is thankful to the Sofia University Science Fund for the support under the Grant (contract No80-10-223/24.04.2017) for the project „Scientific publications management".

9. Conflict of interest statement

The author declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References

Bayard, 2007 – *Bayard, Pierre* (2007). How to Talk About Books You Haven't Read. New York: Bloomsbury. xxi, 185 p.

BBC, 2009 – BBC (2009). Poll reveals UK's reading secrets. *BBC News*, 5.03.2009. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/arts_and_culture/7925720.stm

Berdyaev, 1997 – *Berdyaev, Nicholas* (1997). The Philosophy of Inequality (1923). Sofia: Prozorec. 224 p. [in Bulgarian]

Bogdanov, 1987 – *Bogdanov, Bogdan* (1987). Cheteneto, pisaneto i literaturniyat tekst kato problemi na kulturata. *Sociologicheski pregled (Sociological Review)*, pp. 40-55. [in Bulgarian]

Bogdanov, 1989 – *Bogdanov, Bogdan* (1989). Antichnoto chetene i osobenostite na starogrutskata kultura. Bogdanov, Bogdan. *Istoriia na starogrutskata kultura*. Sofia, pp. 244-251. [in Bulgarian]

Brodsky, 1993 – *Brodsky, Joseph* (1993). Award Ceremony Speech. Nobel Lectures: Literature 1981–1990. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Retrieved from https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1987/presentation-speech.html

Classifier, 2002 – Classifier of higher education and professional fields (2002). Promulgated. *State Gasette*, No 64 of 2 July, 2002; Amended by a resolution No.10827 of 27 November, 2003 of the Higher Attestation Commission of Republic of Bulgaria – issue 106 of 5 December, 2003.

Dewey, 2011 – Dewey Decimal Concept (2011). The Library Hotel. New York. Retrieved from http://www.libraryhotel.com

Doidge, 2015 – *Doidge, Norman* (2015). The Brain's Way of Healing. Remarkable Discoveries and Recoveries from the Frontiers of Neuroplasticity. New York: Viking. 432 p.

Eagleton, 2001 – *Eagleton, Terry* (2001). *Literary theory: an introduction* [1983]. Sofia: Sofia University Press. 234 p.

Eco, 2006 – *Eco, Umberto* (2006). *A passo di gambero: Guerre calde e populismo mediatico*. Milano: Bompiani. 349 p.

Eco et al., 2011 – *Eco, Umberto, Jean-Claude Carrière* (2011). *This in not the end of the books*: Conversation with Jean-Philippe de Tonnac. Sofia: Enthusiast. 384 p.

Ellul, 1965 – *Ellul, Jacques* (1965). Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. xxii, 320, vii p. i

Escarpit, 1971 – *Escarpit, Robert* (1971). Sociology of Literature. Transl. by Ernest Pick. 2nd ed. [Sociologie de la literature. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958]. London: Cass. 104 p.

European Commission, 2012 – European Commission (2012). *MEMO IP/12/940*. Frequently Asked Questions on the European Commission's literacy policy and report by the High-Level Group of Experts on Literacy. Brussels, 6 September 2012. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-646_en.htm

Fahrer, 2014 – *Fahrer, Sigrid* (2014). Im Gespräch mit der Stiftung Lesen. *Stiftung Digitale Spielekultur*, 12.11.2014. Retrieved from http://www.stiftung-digitale-spielekultur.de/im-gespraech-mit-der-stiftung-lesen

Fletcher, 2010 – *Fletcher, Dan* (2010). *Awful Library Books*. Retrieved from http://awfullibrarybooks.wordpress.com

Fromm, 1956 – *Fromm, Erich* (1956). *The Sane Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 370 p.

García-Santillán et al., 2017 – *García-Santillán, A., Moreno-García, E., Molchanova, V.S.* (2017). Education and Knowledge in the Use of Financial Products and Services in Bachelor's Degree Students. *European Journal of Contemporary Education*, 2017, Vol. 6, №3, pp. 530-541. DOI: 10.13187/ejced.2017.3.530

Georgiev, 2009 – *Georgiev, Nikola* (2009). Iskam da se vuvede ponyatieto „evrosersem": Intervew with Henrieta Kostova. *Marica (Plovdiv)*, 5.07.2009. Retrieved from http://www.maritsa.com/show.php?id=7380 [in Bulgarian]

Gradev, 1995 – *Gradev, Doncho* (1995). *Sotsialna psihologiya na masovoto povedenie*. Sofia: Sofia University Press. 296 p. [in Bulgarian]

Grudeva, 2005 – *Grudeva, Marinela* (2005). Socialni aspekti na izvunuchilishtnata dejnost i faktorut svobodno vreme. *Svobodnoto vreme na uchenicite – problemi i vuzmozhni resheniya*. Varna: Slavena, pp. 105-109. [in Bulgarian]

Jung, 1993 – *Jung, Carl Gustav* (1993). *Selected Writings*: Vol. 1. Pleven: Evrasia Abagar, 1993. 208 p. [in Bulgarian]

Kamenov, 1988 – *Kamenov, Stefan* (1988). *Knigata i četeneto: Metodologiâ i metodika na izsledvaneto*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo. 110 p. [in Bulgarian]

Kon, 1967 – *Kon, Igor S.* (1967). The sociology of personality. Moscow: Politizdat. 383 p.

Korrespondent, 2007 – Korrespondent (2007). Lutsenko predlozhil politikam obnarodovat spisok prochtennih knig i rasskazal, chto chitaet sam. *Korrespondent*, №36, 15.09.2007. Retrieved from www.korrespondent.net/main/207460 [in Russian]

Law for the Higher Education, 1995 – Law for the Higher Education (1995). [Bulgaria]. Promulgated. *State Gasette*, No 112 of 27 December, 1995, article 17, paragraph 2, section 1.

Law on Copyright and Neighbouring Rights, 1993 – Law on Copyright and Neighbouring Rights (1993). [Bulgaria]. Promulgated. *State Gasette*, No 56/1993; amended No 63/1994, No 10/1998, No 281/2000, No 77/2002. Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=237956

Le Bon, 1926 – Le Bon, Gustave (1926). *The Crowd: A Study in Popular Mind*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 239 p.

Literary Saloon, 2007 – Literary Saloon (2007). Half-read. *The Literary Saloon at the Complete Review*, 12.03.2007. Retrieved from http://www.complete-review.com/saloon/archive/200703b.htm#wl2

Lucianus, 1986 – *Lucianus* (1986). Satiri i parodii. [Luciani Samosatensis opera]. Sofia: Narodna kultura. 271 p. [in Bulgarian]

Lynes, 1976 – *Lynes, Russell* (1976). Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow [1949]. *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 1, №1, pp. 146-158.

Mackintosh, 2015 – *Mackintosh, Paul St John* (2015). Anti-ebook "research" is junk: It's official. *TeleRead*, December 3, 2015. Retrieved from http://teleread.com/anti-ebook-research-is-junk-its-official

Mailloux, 1984 – *Mailloux, Steven* (1984). Literary Theory and Social Reading Models. Mailloux, Steven. Interpretive Conventions: The Reader in the Study of American Fiction. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984. 228 p.

McCardle et al., 2004 – *McCardle, P., and Chhabra, V.* (Eds.). (2004). *The voice of evidence in reading research*. Baltimore: Paul H Brookes Publishing. 528 p.

McDougall, 1920 – *McDougall, William* (1920). *The Group Mind: A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with Some Attempt to Apply Them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character*. Cambridge: The University press. 304 p.

McLuhan et al., 1988 – *McLuhan, Marshall, and Eric McLuhan* (1988). *Laws of Media: The New Science*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. xi, 252 p.

Mead et al., 1997 – *Mead, George Herbert, and Charles W. Morris* (1997). *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934; Pleven: EA. 400 p.

Melentieva, 2010 – *Melentieva, Julia* (2010). *Chtenie: yavlenie, protsess, deyatelnost*. Otdelenie istoriko-filol. nauk RAN; Nauch. sovet RAN Istoriya mirovoi kul'tury. Moskva: Nauka, pp. 26-33.

Melentieva, 2012 – *Melentieva, Julia* (2012). Theory of reading: necessary to develop. *RLA Information Bulletin*, №65, pp. 57-60. [in Russian]

Moscovici, 1986 – *Moscovici, Serge* (1986). The Discovery of the Masses. Changing conceptions of crowd mind and behaviour. New York, Berlin: Springer-Verlag, pp. 5-25.

Noelle-Neumann, 1978 – *Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth* (1978). Umfragen in der Massengesellschaft. Einführung in die Methoden der Demoskopie (1963). Moskva: Progress. 382 p.

Open Science Collaboration, 2015 – Open Science Collaboration (2015). Estimating the reproducibility of psychological science. *Science*, 2015, Vol. 349, №6251, aac4716. DOI: 10.1126/science.aac4716

Ortega y Gasset, 1993 – *Ortega y Gasset, José* (1993). The Revolt of the Masses [La rebelion de las masas, 1930]. Sofia: Sofia University Press. 211 p.

Ouspensky, 1996 – *Ouspensky, Petr* (1996). *The psychology of man's possible evolution* [1950]. Sofia: Heliopol. 123 p.

Pivot, 2005 – *Pivot, Bernard* (2005). *Le Métier de lire*. Paris: Gallimard, 2001; Sofia: Prozorec. 347 p.

Riesman, 1950 – *Riesman, David* (1950). Some types of character and society. Riesman, David. *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 3-26.

Rubakin, 1922 – *Rubakin, Nicholas* (1922). *Introduction à la Psychologie Bibliologique*: La Psychologie de la Création des Livres, de leur Distribution et Circulation, de leur Utilisation par les Lecteurs, les Écoles, les Bibliothèques, les Librairies, etc. Théorie et Pratique. 2 T. Paris: J. Povolozky. 604 p.

Rubakin, 1924 – *Rubakin, Nicholas* (1924). *What is this bibliological psychology?* [What is bibliological psychology?]. Leningrad: Kolos. 61 p. [in Russian]

Rubakin, 1929 – *Rubakin, Nicholas* (1929). *The psychology of the reader and the books* [Psychology of the reader and books: a short introduction to bibliographic psychology]. Moscow-Leningrad: Kniga, [2nd ed. 1977]. 264 p. [in Russian]

Scholastic, 2010 – Scholastic (2010). *Kids & Family Reading Report 2010: Turning the Page in the Digital Age*. Harrison Group and Scholastic. 56 p. Retrieved from http://mediaroom.scholastic.com/files/KFRR_2010.pdf

Stefanov, 1988 – *Stefanov, Ivan* (1988). Mezhdu serioznoto i razvlekatelnoto izkustvo. Sofia: Partizdat. 208 p. [in Bulgarian]

Stevenson et al., 2010 – Stevenson, Angus, and Christine A. Lindberg (Eds) (2010). *New Oxford American Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. xxvi, 2018 p.

Swaim, 2009 – *Swaim, Michael* (2009). 10 Great Books for (Traumatizing) Children. *Cracked Entertainment*, 21.04.2009. Retrieved from http://www.cracked.com/blog/10-great-childrens-books-for-people-who-hate-their-children

The Economist, 2007 – The Economist (2007). The importance of not reading (Closed books). *The Economist*, 15.11.2007. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/books/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10130740

Tsvetkova, 2016 – *Tsvetkova, M*. (2016). The Paradoxes of the Reading = Die Paradoxien im heutigen Leseverhalten an Beispielen aus Bulgarien: Presentation. *ResearchGate*, Jun 30, 2016. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.2857.6243

UNESCO, 1964 – UNESCO (1964). *Recommendation concerning the International Standardization of Statistics Relating to Book Production and Periodicals*. Classification 9-1. UNESCO, 19 November 1964.