

Ocnos

Revista de estudios sobre lectura http://ocnos.revista.uclm.es/



# New literary prescribers: Spanish booktubers' sociodemographic features and self-perceptions

# Nuevos prescriptores literarios: características sociodemográficas y autopercepciones del *booktuber* en España

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#### Abstract

## Resumen

The internet has led to the emergence of figures such as booktubers, a community of young people who upload videos on You-Tube where they talk about books they are reading. This leads to envisage their activity as a new model of literary information and opinion with points in common with the function that has traditionally been associated to literary reviews and critics. By means of a mixed questionnaire addressed to booktubers, this work aims at systematizing the features characterising this figure in Spain; describing their perceptions about their activity, in particularly in relation to the one performed by professionals who write literary critics; and producing a list of Spanish booktubers that they themselves consider most influential. The findings enable to offer a profile of booktubers in Spain for the first time, lead to consider that these young people complement the traditional literary critic and offer a novel contribution: the first ranking of booktubers in Spain.

Los booktubers forman parte de una comunidad de jóvenes que suben a YouTube vídeos donde hablan sobre libros, una actividad que se suele asociar con un nuevo modelo de información y opinión literaria con puntos en común con la función asociada tradicionalmente a las reseñas y críticas literarias. A través de un cuestionario mixto dirigido a booktubers, en este estudio sistematizamos los rasgos sociodemográficos que caracterizan a esta figura en España; describimos sus percepciones sobre la actividad que llevan a cabo, particularmente en relación a la actividad de los críticos literarios; e identificamos los booktubers españoles que ellos mismos consideran más influyentes. Los resultados nos permiten trazar el perfil de esta figura en España; y nos llevan a considerar que estos jóvenes realizan una actividad que no compite con la del crítico literario tradicional, sino que la complementa; además, estos datos también aportan un primer ranking de booktubers en España.

Parratt-Fernández, S., Mera-Fernández, M., & Mayoral-Sánchez, J. (2021) New literary prescribers: Spanish booktubers' sociodemographic features and self-perceptions. *Ocnos, 20* (2), 56-67. https://doi.org/10.18239/ocnos\_2021.20.2.2454

**Received:** 02/07/2020

Accepted: 22/02/2021

**ISSN:** 1885-446 X **ISSNe:** 2254-9099

#### Keywords:

Book reviews; literary review; literary criticism; reading promotion; reading motivation; Web 2.0 Technologies.

#### Palabras clave:

Reseñas de libros; reseñas literarias; crítica literaria; promoción lectora; motivación lectora; tecnologías Web 2.0.

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# Introduction

The Internet has facilitated the emergence of new digital environments, which, in turn, have led to the adoption of new habits. The latest report on the book sector in Spain (MECD, 2018, p. 99) indicates that online prescriptions through specialized websites, social networks, forums, and blogs is increasing. New figures have also emerged, such as booktubers, a community of young people who upload videos on YouTube network where they talk about the books they are reading. This increase is taking place in Spain at a time when the population that reads books the most is between ages 14 and 24 (86.4%), followed by those aged between 25 and 34 (72.1%) (MECD, 2018, p. 108). With their own style and language, they recommend recently published books, make creative videos about new monthly literature, give their opinion about the literary sector, interview authors, and offer thematic lists of books to give away.

Although no one has identified the first person to upload a literary review on YouTube (Collado, 2017), the booktube phenomenon first appeared in 2012 and 2013 in the United States and Latin America, respectively, while in Spain it gained strength at the end of 2014 (BBVA, 2016). Although its origins in Spain are not clear, Paterna (2018, p. 994) assures that it began in 2013 with the booktuber Sebastián García. Partial studies (Domínguez, 2016) reveal that, although some of these young people were YouTubers, the majority began writing book reviews and comments on literary blogs and gave way after noticing greater acceptance of their texts when they included audiovisual resources. The most recent data claim that out of the total number of booktubers who upload videos in Spanish, 27% (López, 2017) to 35% (Tomasena, 2016) are placed in Spain, although the figures today could be higher considering that book prescribers, literary critics, university professors, and specialty magazines share their space with them (Lluch et al. 2015).

The fact that their appearance is quite recent could explain why important aspects of this have not yet been scientifically addressed. Practically everything published is related more to the booktubers' activity than their personality, but is also related to marketing, advertising and didactics. Vizcaíno et al. (2019) address the promotion of reading for young people and the new forms of reading developed by this community. Moreover, some of Lluch's publications (2014, 2017, 2019) study the literary communities formed on the net and the predecessors of booktubers and point out that literary blogs and forums existed even before (and still exist) the new phenomenon reached its peak (Lluch, 2014). In view of this, it might be said that booktubers may not be the last in these developments and that new methods and actors may emerge to continue their work. It is also worth asking whether their activity is somewhat ephemeral and if they will eventually abandon the prescription of literature for young people to one for adults.

Other research puts the focus on their videos. Marchetto (2019), for example, analyzes their authors' relations with the publishing market and the public; Velasco and Trillo (2019) qualitatively analyze the video content in five channels; Paladines-Paredes and Margallo (2020) classify content according to their socialization forms and functions. There is also academic work done by young researchers (Castillo et al., 2016; Domínguez, 2016; Tabarés, 2016; Tomasena, 2016; Marchetto, 2019) on the videos of some of the most followed booktubers, but none draws a complete map of the authors in Spain and therefore, cannot offer conclusions that can be considered sufficiently representative and consistent from the scientific point of view. Only Lluch (2017, p. 35) approaches this objective, although her analysis is limited to a sample of fifteen blog administrators and YouTube channels.

In addition, the aforementioned studies do not investigate the booktubers' self-perceptions, particularly with respect to the connection between their activity and that of literary critics. The perspective is interesting considering that, according to Sued (2016, p. 108), the press is questioning whether the booktubers, who have great credibility among their followers will occupy the space that literary criticism has lost in recent years, especially in relation to literature for adolescents and young adults as a commercial phenomenon. This leads to perceiving their activity as a new model of literary prescription with characteristics common to the function traditionally associated with literary reviews and criticism. In this sense, booktubers have become a kind of literary mediators (Navarro, 2014) and even "experts and opinion leaders" (Lluch, 2014, p.18). However, in countries like Colombia, they generally agree that they do not see themselves as promoters of reading, but are aware of the impact they can have on young people (Castillo et al., 2016, p. 53).

On the other hand, the gradual transition from reading from paper to digital format (FGEE, 2019, p. 49) contrasts with the striking data on book reading provided by a recent study on Spanish reading habits (AIMC, 2018b). It states that 63% of respondents prefer printed to electronic books, while 18% prefer the electronic version, and 19% say they are indifferent to the medium. It is even more curious that the age groups where the preference for the printed format is greater are the youngest: 74.4% in the 14 to 24-year old age group and 63.7% in the 25 to 34-year old group. This could explain why booktubers, despite spreading their messages online and in audiovisual format, recommend (and presumably read) books in the traditional paper format, and is in line with what seems to be the preferences of their audience. This preference for the paper format clashes with the description made by Cerrillo and Senís (2005, pp. 24-25) more than a decade ago of a new type of child reader, the cyborg child, a new reader who would have become the young adult follower of the booktubers.

One of the most frequent criticisms that booktubers receive is that of carrying out an activity without literary quality (Ravettino, 2015) that, on the other hand, is directed at an audience which does not demand quality. On this, Garralón (2014) explains that their great poise in front of the camera and the work invested in editing their videos contrast with the little work done in editing their reflections. This vision differs from Lionetti's (2017), for whom the *booktubers*' activity competes with established media, such as literary supplements of the big newspapers.

There are three views on this: the first defends the idea that critics will survive as long as the criterion that the best book is the best seller does not triumph (Afanador, 2017, p. 82) but seems to assume that the appearance of the booktuber is the consequence of an inevitable process of critical decline; the second maintains that booktubers are not going to replace the critics because they comment on different books and, while the task of the latter is to filter out "those works that have some minimal artistic qualities" (Parratt et al., 2017, p. 260), the former would not have the necessary knowledge for a more profound analysis (Vizibeli, 2016, p. 6); the third understands that they are different activities because established criticism "gives prestige to the book" and booktuber criticism is not specialized, (Cintia Borges; quoted in Casarin, 2015) although it serves as a reference, especially for younger readers.

Weinberg (2015) reflects on the legitimacy of booktubers for literary criticism and quotes a booktuber who defends those who comment on a book by David Foster Wallace from the accusation of lack of authority. She raises doubts about who really has that authority: "The point is not to issue information, but to build knowledge through community relations; to talk to people who read the same books" (p. 10).

Another feature of the booktuber, along with the language used to achieve proximity to the public (Casarin, 2015; Rovira, 2017), is its material relationship with reading, in the sense that it focuses on the book as an object and not on its content. Unlike what happens with conventional criticism, concepts such as the work itself, author, and character do not occupy central places in their comments. These are "between the construction of identity, community membership and cultural consumption, and which are not necessarily close to criticism or literary analysis" (Sued, 2016, p. 2). This is precisely what has led them to be diminished because their activity "no longer fosters a passion for reading as it once did, but rather makes it a consumerist fashion in which the format of the book counts more than its own content" (Domínguez, 2016, p. 48). Furthermore, although they tend to defend their critical spirit and freedom of expression, as is the case with the traditional critic, the fact that their criticisms are mostly positive raises doubts about their independence from publishers (Tabarés, 2016, p. 12). This could explain why, in parallel with the rise of the most influential booktubers, "a group of 'alternative' channels are evolving more slowly, remaining faithful to the original idea of BookTube" (Domínguez, 2016, p. 48). For this reason, we included this type of channel in the study, and not just those considered more influential or with a greater number of followers.

As for the figure of the professional literary critic, we find descriptions such as that of Tabarés (2016, p. 19), as one who generates and participates in a public discourse and brings culture closer to a consumerist society. For his part, Vallejo (1993) conceives the critic as a reader who combines their cultural background with spontaneity and with qualities such as "having an open mind, being independent and incorruptible, possessing a critical spirit, an ease of writing and, above all, honesty with him/herself and with the reader". One wonders, therefore, how many points in common would the *booktuber* have with the literary critic.

# Objectives

This study complements previous work on the booktuber phenomenon from marketing, advertising, or education, and pursues these objectives:

O1. To systematize the socio-demographic features that characterize the booktuber in Spain.

O2. To describe the perceptions of these booktubers of the activity they carry out and to find out if their vision towards it is comparable to that of the literary critics.

O3. To create a list of the ten Spanish booktubers who they consider to be the most influential.

# Method

To achieve these objectives, the study corpus was first delimited. Given the characteristics of the phenomenon, whose appearance in Spain is quite recent, it was not possible to make a temporal delimitation, so it was decided to analyze the booktubers that are currently active in this country. Due to their novelty, it was thought that the most representative sample would be that of the largest possible number, but the search was complex as there is no defined universe. Although all the booktuber channels are hosted on YouTube (there are other platforms and social networks that include video reviews, even if all of them use YouTube), neither on that website nor on platforms such as SocialBlade (dedicated to assessing the influence of these content creators) is there a specific category related to their activity. Thus, while some booktubers appear in the "Entertainment" category, others are in the "People" or "Education" category, and so a search of the channels dedicated to commenting and recommending books would be ineffective.

To locate them, different sources were used: we reviewed scientific literature and journalistic articles published on the subject; we used the YouTube search engine with the keywords "booktubers" and "Spain"; we consulted the Spanish Booktube community (@BooktubeSpain) at that moment; and, finally, we checked the snowball sampling (Vinuesa, 2005, p. 189). This chain sampling method was used in two ways: asking some booktubers via email for the names of other colleagues who could be consulted and searching each booktuber's channel and their Twitter and Instagram accounts for similar profiles.

A total of 89 booktubers with more than 10,000 views were located and an online questionnaire was sent to them between April and May 2019 through the web application Encuesta Fácil (encuestafacil. com). The questionnaire, a research method useful to investigate a social group and capture both facts and situations and opinions (Vinuesa, 2005), was mixed, consisting of 27 open and closed questions related to the socio-demographic profiles of the booktubers, their activity, and their self-perceptions in relation to the conventional critic. Some of the key aspects that we collected with these questions were the following: age, gender, education, employment situation, start date as booktubers, motivation to become booktubers, how they select the books they speak about, whether they usually read the press and literary criticism, whether they write literature and have published their works, how would they define their work, whether they maintain communication with their subscribers and publishers, whether they receive income from their activity, and whether they give more importance to the number of views or the number of subscribers. They were also asked to list the 10 booktubers they considered most influential.

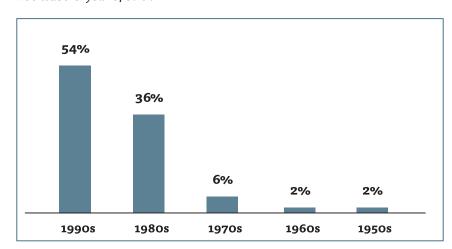
Fifty booktubers responded to the questionnaire, having a 56.17% response rate, a high and representative percentage considering the universe used. It should also be considered that the number of booktubers studied to date in the academic literature barely exceeds a dozen and always uses the same YouTube channels. Developing a list (but not a profile) of the Spanish booktubers of a certain depth has not been possible so far (the most recent, by Pretel, de-Frutos and Sánchez, 2019, offers data from January 2017 and provides the names of the 10 with the greatest number of followers), so receiving 50 replies (and 50 names and channels) allowed us to sufficiently describe the current booktuber in Spain.

# Results

## Socio-demographic characteristics

The results show two trends: the majority of Spanish booktubers are women (80%) and 54% of those consulted have not yet reached their thirties. Although the youngest is 20 years old, 36% are between 30 and 40, 6% between 40 and 50, and 4% are over 50 (the oldest being female and 61) (Figure 1). These data show that although the viewers of these channels are young, a considerable number of the booktubers who address them belongs to generations not close to their own, which does not seem to be a barrier with this type of communication. They also contradict others who state that "the protagonists of these activities are adolescent and young girls" (Rovira, 2017, p. 58) or "most of them are between fifteen and twenty-five years old" (Ravettino, 2015, p. 4), although these do not specify if their description refers to booktubers in Spain.

In fact, when we compare the booktubers' age data with the counted visualizations, we find that the most visualized channel belongs to a booktuber between 30 and 40 years old with almost 10 years



#### **Figure 1** Booktubers' year of birth

of experience, and that among the booktubers they consider most influential there are two in that age group, with 10 and 5 years of experience.

The large percentage of respondents with a higher education degree is very significant: 92% are university graduates of which 8.7% are doctorates. It is also interesting that the 8% who do not have a university degree have professional training. As far as the type of career is concerned, there are pharmacists, nurses, psychologists, biochemists, philologists, engineers, teachers, graduates in Business Administration and Management and in Art History, among others. Contrary to what might be expected, there is no significant predominance of those related to arts: 3 come from Journalism and 2 from English Studies. Therefore, their common characteristic would not be their academic achievements but their appreciation to read and their intention to communicate with others.

The fact that most of them (84%) have paid employment suggests that their work as a booktuber is especially vocational, requiring considerable dedication. It is not just a matter of reading several books a month, but of reflecting on them, thinking about what and how to tell viewers, recording videos, editing them, publishing them on the channel, and sometimes interacting with their fans who ask questions and exchange impressions (96% of those consulted said that they maintain communication with their channel's subscribers).

Also, 64% of those consulted maintain a fixed timetable in their publications, which indicates a commitment to their followers. The booktuber Andrea Izquierdo, for example, reports a "New video every Thursday at 19:00" in her channel's description. If we also add that 46% publish videos every week and that 10% do so more than once a week, we see that this is a considerably frequent tendency for people who do not make a living from it. Regarding those who do not publish content as regularly, 22% do not having a fixed frequency in their publications, 2% claim to do so every month, 6% several times a month, while 14% claim to have started publishing weekly and even several times a week, but then stopped that rhythm due to a lack of time. Most justify their irregularity with what could be described as an apology by alleging a lack of time or difficulty in reconciling it with their work or studies. Some of them also show their intentions of "resuming" their schedule as soon as they can.

Regarding the use of social networks, most of them not only have a YouTube channel but also simultaneously use networks such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram (at times, many have even used Google+) to publish their messages, and they tend to create communities of similar interests. It is also not uncommon for them to display logos of other social networks in which they are present on their videos.

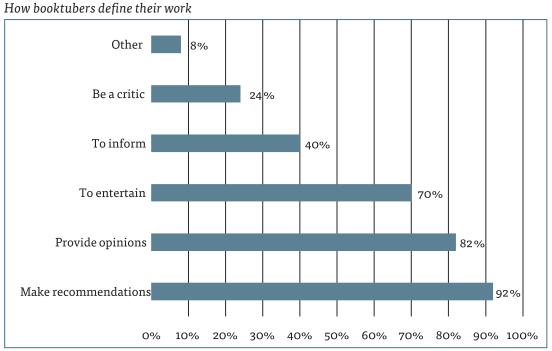
## Self-perception of their activity

The concept that booktubers have of themselves is one of young reading enthusiasts with a mastery of social networks and a desire to communicate with people with the same interests. However, as noted, this recreational practice related to the dissemination (and sometimes promotion) of reading was soon seen by publishers as an opportunity to publicize their own news. Booktubers' channels were thus presented as a tool to encourage reading but also to increase the sales of certain titles. Several years ago, blogs were very relevant for the publishing world and, in this sense, 54% of our respondents performed a similar function through blogs before having YouTube channels, while only 14% had a different YouTube channel before being a booktuber. Currently, some have employment in the audiovisual field and others became authors. Publishers are already focusing their interest on these young people, treating them as if they were literary critics, by inviting them to events and book signings, and sending them newsletters about new and recently published works; even "the main book fairs are very eager to count them in" (Lluch, 2017, p. 34).

But how do booktubers see themselves? Do they think they are a type of atypical literary critics with their own channels and a faithful community of subscribers who trust their criteria? According to the data obtained, the way of perceiving their activity has more to do with suggestion and informal commentary through the expression of personal tastes than with analysis or criticism as understood by literary studies and journalism. Significantly, only 24% of those surveyed, the lowest percentage of all the options proposed, believe that their job is to create literary criticism (one of them even points out, by moving away from canon and formalism, "I give my personal vision of books. I don't try to be academic or objective."). The majority (92%) think that their task is simply to recommend books, 82% understand that they must give opinions, 70% consider that their purpose is to entertain their subscribers, and finally, 40% believe that what is expected from them is to provide information (figure 2). These results appear to be more in line with Castillo et al. (2016) than with Rovira's vision (2017), for whom these young people generally have a broad reading intertext, high literary competence and critical capacity.

It seems clear that although some researchers associate these young people with a profile close to that of the classic literary critic with their own tools and language, the booktubers themselves not only do not share this vision but can even be said to flee from it by opting for expressions such as "recommendations", "literary prescriptions", "sharing", and "encouraging" readings instead of the word "criticism", which they never use. This attitude would also explain (although it is surprising) the fact that 90% of them claim to never read literary criticism in the press, and only 2% consume literary magazines.

Closely related to the way they perceive their activity and what they believe should be expected of them are their motivations that lead them to create and maintain their channel. 92% say that one of their motivations is "to share readings". Far from that, 29% say that they want to "have fun", 8% say that they do it to promote their own books and only 2% have the intention of "influencing" others. Other responses were: "to meet people who like to read, because in my environment there are no such things", "to find a group of people who like books,



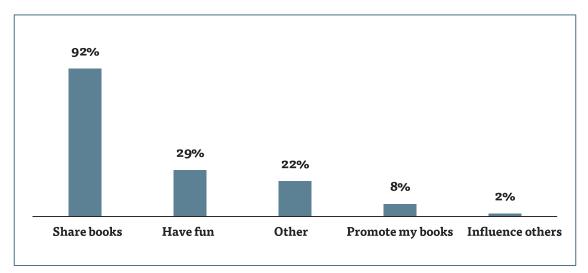
## Figure 2

because my friends don't read much" and "to share other approaches to reading" (figure 3). Sharing and meeting people with the same interests is shown to be the main motivation, something that is to be expected when one realizes that most of them belong to Goodreads, a community that connects readers around the world and where members can create reading lists, recommend books and form discussion groups.

Despite this love for reading and books, they do not read literary reviews or specialized magazines. If so, then, how do they select the books they talk about? 98% simply allow themselves to be guided by their "personal tastes", 29% prioritize "editorial novelties", and 18% follow "suggestions from friends". Only 10% say that they follow the recommendations of "specialists (journalists, professors, publishers, etc.)", which once again, shows their lack of appreciation for the classic forms of literary criticism, a task entrusted to experts in the field whose training and experience guarantee the opinions and analyses they publish. It is also interesting to note that the 10% who claim to select books based on suggestions from specialists place them on equal terms to booktubers and bloggers.

What they still seem to follow the classic standards for is the format choice of the publications; 53% say they prefer hard copies as opposed to the 2% who favor electronic. These data are similar to those noted by Lluch (2017, p. 40). The arguments of the former are, among others, that: "paper books can be marked, the author can sign it and, besides, there are very nice editions", "I like the physical book, see its length, the chapters, etc.", "digital reading tires my eyes a lot and, besides, I like the smell of the physical book", and "I have always liked the book as an object". Those who prefer the digital format agree that it is more comfortable, because it is light, and its storage capacity is high. 45% of them assure they do not differentiate by format, despite showing preference for one over the other.

Regarding the genres of the works, they comment on, 80% indicate that they prefer to dedicate themselves to novels, 29% to poetry, although there are 35% who say that they also comment on essays, plays, comics and graphic novels, non-fiction books, and biographies. Youth literature is the traditional specialty of booktubers, whose followers are mostly young people and adolescents.



## Figure 3

Main motivation to become booktubers

It is something that they (71%) corroborate when affirming that the books they speak about belong to this type of literature, although the children's category (33%) stands out among their preferences. It is not strange, then, that the activity of these young people is of special interest to pedagogues and teachers, who take advantage of the attraction that these new communication forms have for young people and children, by encouraging reading habits in elementary and high schools. However, 69% of booktubers consulted assure that literature for adults also occupies part of their activity, something logical considering that literary tastes change over the years. This seems to break with the tendency observed so far of focusing on only children and young people.

According to the data collected in the questionnaire, 56% say that they do not obtain any income from their activity as a booktuber, while 38% receive remuneration, whether financial (8%), in kind (10%) or both (20%).

## The Spanish booktubers who consider themselves most influential

The role of the professional or literary expert capable of influencing the habits, tastes, and behaviors of a community, has lost strength. That role, especially among young people between 13 and 25 years old, seems to have been assumed by young people who are not experts and who use social networks (it is no coincidence that YouTube and Instagram are their favorites) to publish audiovisual content in communities connected by the same interests. Booktubers, therefore, are a kind of influencer, a kind of amateur prescriber, more popular than many cultural journalists, critics, and literary professionals.

Although the respondents do not define themselves as professionals in literary commentary or prescription, many of them end up working in this field, either in publishing houses, in specialized publications, or as authors of their own books. Vizcaíno et al. (2019), after verifying that two of the most influential booktubers were also dedicated to the production and promotion of their own copies, pointed out "the need to evaluate, based on a broad study population, if this pattern of authorship is repeated" (p. 101). Our research responds to this need and reveals that more and more people are using their channels as a springboard to publish and make them known, since 70% of the participants write literary works and 46% have published them. The majority (48%), moreover, were booktubers before they were published author. Let us also recall that 8% of those consulted recognized that one of the main motivations for maintaining their channel was the promotion of their own work.

In 2019, during the 78th year of the Madrid Book Fair, several booktubers had signings during the times of greatest public attendance. Three of them at the fair were in the list of the most influential booktubers in Spain drawn up by the booktubers in this study: Javier Ruescas (also present at the Buenos Aires Book Fair in 2018), Patricia García Ferrer (Little Red Read) and Raquel Brune (Raquel Bookish). The program of signatures, along with their names, included their channels. In many bookstores, there were well-differentiated sections for YouTubers' books as well as sections in publishers' catalogs for them.

In short, booktubers have become figures to consider in the current literary scene as a type of link between publishers (producers of content) and young book lovers (consumers of content), and we must not ignore the support they represent for some teachers who use their channels as tools to encourage reading habits inside and outside the classroom. Still, who influences the literary tastes of young people and adolescents in Spain the most? To answer this question, it is necessary to create a ranking of the most outstanding ones. According to the booktubers, the most suitable criterion for this is not the number of subscribers of each channel: 83% value above all the number of views, while 17% consider the number of subscribers more decisive. By applying the criteria that they believe to be fundamental to a ranking, they were asked to make a list of ten Spanish colleagues that they considered to be the most influential. The result

## Table 1

Most influential booktubers in Spain, according to the booktubers interviewed

Position	Votes obtained	Name	Channel	Age (06/19)	Initiation as booktuber	Subscribers	Visualizations (06/19)
1	28	Javier Ruescas	Javier Ruescas	> 30	2010	284.000	21.8 M
1	28	Sebas G. Mouret	El coleccionista de mundos	<25	2012	246.000	12 M
1	28	Andrea Izquierdo	Andreo Rowling	<25	2014	163.000	11.2 M
2	23	Paola Boutellier	Bicheando Libros	<30	2016	85.000	3.7 M
3	21	María Ramírez	May R Ayamonte	<25	2014	122.000	9.6 M
4	20	Raquel Brune	Raquel Bookish	<25	2016	84.000	3.6 M
5	19	Patricia García	Little Red Read	<30	2012	51.000	3.2 M
6	18	Sara Cantador	Nube de Palabras	<30	2011	86.000	4.1 M
7	17	Josu Lorenzo Grilli	Josu Diamond	<25	2010	190.000	13 M
8	13	Marta Álvarez	Martitara BookVlogs	<25	2013	81.000	5.1 M
9	10	Vanessa Rodríguez	Iris de Asomo	<30	2011	25.000	1 M
10	9	Almudena Martínez	Magrat Ajostiernos	>30	2015	19.000	1.2 M

is not ten, but twelve, since there was a triple-tie for first place, as shown in table 1.

the transgenerational relationships that sustain this community.

It is interesting to see how having more views and/or subscribers does not guarantee occupying a higher position in the list, except for Javier Ruescas and Sebas G. Mouret, who both occupy first place in the list with many more subscribers and views than the others. Andrea Izquierdo, also in first place tied with the previous two, for example, has fewer subscribers and views than Josu Diamond, who ranks 7<sup>th</sup>. This may mean that when measuring levels of influence, criteria that go beyond quantifiable elements are applied.

## Conclusions

Complementing the studies made so far in marketing, advertising, and didactics about the booktuber phenomenon, this work focuses on the figure of the booktuber. The results allow us to draw a complete profile of the *booktuber* in Spain (O1) for the first time. We usually describe them as female, under 30 years of age, but almost as frequently between 30 and 40, which confirms The vast majority has a wide range of university studies, and the fact that they carry out some paid activity makes them think that their work as booktubers is vocational, an activity that requires considerable dedication and which many maintain with a fixed publication schedule. They recommend the genre of youth novel as their preference, although many comment on adult literature as well, thus breaking the trend observed so far (Lluch, 2014; Castillo et al., 2016; Guzmán, 2019).

The activity of these young people (O2) does not seem to be as linked to economic purposes as one might think, since most of them state that they were initiated in it by sharing readings and meeting people with similar interests, although they can receive some kind of remuneration and some of them use their activity as a springboard to become known as authors. They perceive their activity as having more to do with suggestions, informal commentary, and the expression of personal tastes than with analysis and criticism as understood from philological studies and literary journalism. In fact, most of them do not read literary reviews and select the books they talk about by letting themselves be guided by their personal tastes, among which (still) is a preference for the hard copy over the digital one.

Given this profile and taking into account the boom in booktube activity, it would seem logical to think that these young people will represent growing competition for literary criticism because of their ability to reach large audiences, especially the younger ones. There are two reasons for this. The first is that independent publishers find in them a way to reach audiences that are difficult to reach through the cultural pages of the conventional media, which are dominated by literary critics. After all, they started talking about books precisely because they could not find friends or space where they could debate freely and provide their opinions on literature. The second is that, considering the need to promote reading among the younger population and their predilection for audiovisual material, formats such as online video are especially attractive to younger generations. However, it is precisely the fact that critics and booktubers address different audiences through different messages and with different motivations, that leads one to think that, rather than competing, they complement each other.

Another innovative contribution of this study is the first ranking of the 12 most influential booktubers in Spain (O3) according to the criteria of the booktubers, who do not value so much the number of subscribers to each channel as the number of views, although they also apply criteria that go beyond quantifiable elements. Future research could take this ranking as a starting point to monitor their trajectories and unravel questions such as: How long do they maintain their activity over time? Do they progress into other media as literary critics? Will their audiences become more mature? Will they really find their place as literary authors? It would also be interesting to find out what reading practices have fostered their taste for reading and what non-quantifiable criteria they value when selecting the most influential booktubers.

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