Publishing, books and reading: Spaces of authorship, visibility, and socialisation

José-Antonio Cordón-García; María Muñoz-Rico

José-Antonio Cordón-García ✉
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8569-9417

Universidad de Salamanca
Grupo E-Lectra de Investigación sobre Lectura y Edición Digital
Francisco de Vitoria, 6-16
37008 Salamanca, Spain
jcordon@usal.es

María Muñoz-Rico
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7333-4832

Universidad de Salamanca
Grupo E-Lectra de Investigación sobre Lectura y Edición Digital
Francisco de Vitoria, 6-16
37008 Salamanca, Spain
ricom@usal.es

Abstract

Over the course of history, the book and its environment have been in permanent transformation, undergoing changes that have affected its format, textual arrangement, form of reading, and production and distribution systems, as well as its social consideration as an instrument for the transmission of knowledge. One of the greatest changes has taken place in the 21st century with the emergence of digital formats throughout the publishing value chain. If in previous eras the transformations had affected one or other of the mentioned elements, the digital revolution has impacted on all of them simultaneously, as it has modified the ways in which works are created, produced, distributed, and consumed. Also, it has introduced for the first time an element of intermediation between the reader and reading: the device, which, in its different varieties, implies an element of additional complexity. At the present time, and after almost two decades, we can see the advances and setbacks that have occurred on this journey; the achievements and shortcomings from the publishing point of view, in which a strengthening of the big companies can be appreciated; and the emergence of a system of self-publishing that represents a rupture with traditional systems. From the point of view of authorship, the value of the brand, of charisma and prestige, has been emphasised, while a movement of creation is taking place on the fringes of the system that renounces posterity and recognition in favour of visibility. This approach to authorship is also subject to the influx and influence of social networks with their positive effects, in the form of projection, and negative ones, in the form of new ways of censure. Finally, in terms of reading, there is an ambivalent route that runs between the paths of a very strong tradition, linked to the printed book, and digital reading, established from the point of view of practices, but in its more conservative and imitative side with respect to analogue formats; in the digital sphere, new proposals and more innovative initiatives which are attracting the attention of growing but still minority sectors of society are emerging. The digital environment is progressing and consolidating, but it has not yet taken advantage of all the potential that technological advances could provide.

Keywords

Authorship; Books; E-books; Publishing; Reading; Self-publishing; Censure; Audiobooks; Digital reading; Social reading; Reading devices; Open access; Print on demand.

1. Introduction

One of Jacques Derrida's fundamental works, *De la grammatologie*, contained a chapter, the first one, whose suggestive and attractive title was *The end of the book and the beginning of writing* (**Derrida**, 1967), in which he contrasted the idea of the book as a totality —linked to the idea of closure and ending— with that of writing in a more open and permeable sense. In 2011, as a tribute to the author and as a call for attention to a disruptive phenomenon that was causing profound modifications in the publishing environment, in digital publishing and in the appearance of new reading devices, a contribution appeared with the title *El final del libro y el principio de la lectura* [The end of the book and the beginning of reading] (**Cordón-García**, 2011). This work paraphrased and participated, to a certain extent, in the ideas of Derrida, although impregnated with what **Roszak** (2008) called *The cult of information.*

Subsequently, and more than 10 years later, the facts have gradually nuanced these reflections, not so much to contradict them, but to downplay some of the tendencies pointed out therein. Many of the lines initiated in those preliminary moments, many of the expectations raised by technological advances that were viewed from an excessively voluntarist and idealised perspective have been tempered by a reality imposed by the market and the cultural context. Research in this field has shown that readers tend to show a rather conservative behaviour in their reading practices, even if this is done in digital formats, they tend to follow the standards instituted by the history of the codex over hundreds of years. It is therefore not surprising that e-books work like paper books but in digital format, with cover, title page, table of contents, introduction, etc. and that the more experimental developments in line with the new environment, such as enriched e-books or app-books, have not achieved a clear niche, and are in obvious decline due to their lack of commercial viability (**Bienvault**, 2022). Although their potential for expansion in the tablet market augured well for them, especially in the field of children's literature, their costs and the need for constant updating in increasingly diversified technological environments had a dissuasive effect on those sectors that already had the resources and infrastructure for their development. Google has not become involved in this market, and Amazon, which could have played an important role in it, failed in its strategy of incorporating tablets into its range of reading devices, so it did not invest in this sector either. Other influencing factors were the articulation of a pricing policy that was insufficient for the new formats, the difficulty of using traditional marketing tools for products that demanded a high purchasing power and, finally, the gradual ceding of prominence on the part of tablets in favour of smartphones.

These years have also seen the loss of importance of the book as a container of a global and structured discourse, at least in the scientific field. This decline has extended to the evaluation systems of research activity, in which monographs have gradually lost importance. Perhaps, returning to Derrida, he was right when he stated that

> "I would say that [...] scientific writing has always been alien to the book, that the book has always been somehow contested, more or less secretly, and today in new and declared ways" (**Derrida**, 1968).

This situation unfolds in a clearly expansive context for the industry which, after the debacle that the collapse caused by the Covid-19 pandemic meant for the entire publishing circuit, recovers its pulse by reinforcing its pre-pandemic figures. While this recovery is true, it is also true that the data often respond to what **Guillaud** (2021) called *Statistical imagination*. That is, the collective construction of how figures are viewed, based not so much on what they are but on what they could be, in such a way that meanings and interpretations are extrapolated that go beyond what a mere quantitative result is suggesting. Statistics on reading do not report on reading, but on what we assume reading should be. This sort of imaginary narrative abounds in optimistic interpretations or daydreams on shaky foundations, based on misidentified manifestations, such as the act of reading and its consequences.

The facts in relation to books and reading show that historical changes should not be interpreted as epistemological ruptures but rather as the reorganisation of pre-existing cultural principles which, on many occasions, have not been able to develop due to a lack of the appropriate tools. After a decade of existence, digital publishing has not represented the radical and definitive revolution that was presumed at the beginning, mainly because it has not managed to achieve the aura and symbolism that, according to **Han** (2021), affects physical objects. The philosopher invokes Benjamin, who considered that "books have their destiny", to affirm that electronic books are not an object, but information, lacking an unmistakable face, a physiognomy and the intense bond that coats traditional books. E-books, he argues, have no face and no history, they are read without hands, and, without physical touch, no bonds are created. Although there are many factors at play in this "restoration" of the balance of power between tradition and innovation, this emotional component, to which Han appeals, is of crucial importance and will be decisive in the years to come. Han's thinking is not new. Plato pointed out that absolute knowledge was in the forms, thus all science will depend on the way in which these crystallise (**Havelock**, 2005).

In any case, what is undeniable is that changes exist and that they have been modifying our most established perceptions of the components of the publishing field, especially with regard to the concepts of authorship and reading, which have been subject to a strong process of liberalisation, socialisation, and openness towards experiences that did not exist in previous models. In terms of production, the processes of concentration and domination of the major platforms have continued to be reinforced, although they have made little progress in the renewal of proposals in accordance with the new environments. This is in line with a very conservative readership that is not very receptive to innovations that go beyond the change of reading system (from paper to digital, although with a strong imitative character) or the devices for reading, with very elementary and redundant evolutions.

2. Authorship: from singularisation to expanded creation

The concept of author has been one of the most controversial and debated concepts in theoretical debates within the cultural industries in general, and in publishing in particular. In addition to generating a specific literature and constituting a line of research profusely practised in the fields of sociology, psychology, law, economics, etc., it has been one of the elements that has undergone most transformations in the last decade.

If the birth of the publishing activity in the 19th century had also facilitated the birth of the writer, in the professional sense of the term, i.e. the existence of a new class of authors who made a living from their writings, it had also established the borderline milestone between the formulation of "I write" and the confirmation of "I am a writer", that is to say, the passage from an act to an identity. Publication became the only objectification capable of transforming the activity of writing into the identity of a writer. This was what distinguished the project of writing "for others" from writing for "oneself". Publishing planning favoured the emergence of the indelible phenomenon of professional identification through three key elements for understanding the figure of the writer from then on: self-perception (writers perceive themselves as such), representation (they expose themselves as such) and designation (they are recognised by others).

In this context, publishing allowed the pivot from the private to the public, from the informal to the formalised, thanks to editorial intervention. It made possible the constitution in space, allowing access to a market and a public, and establishing the durability of the author's status over time. It was through the mediation of an object, the printed book, under the brand name of a recognised publisher, that the act of writing escaped its status as an action and became a factor of identity, an instrument of qualification of a person that was at once durable, communicable to others, acceptable by the reader and shareable with society. The proof of publication allowed a measure of quality and a change in the status of the subject, formalising by contract the passage to the temporal continuity conferred by a publishing house and a readership. The perception of this dividing line instituted by the publishing contract, the configuration of a foundational before and after, was part of the constitution of professional writing. No original, in its various stages, could be considered definitive and no work could be considered published until they appeared bound and registered in the circuit of editorial validation, available to a public, regardless of whether they were read. The conformation of the publishing field, in the sense that **Bourdieu** (2011) attributes to the term, was based precisely on the pre-existence of a whole set of filters and systems of assessment articulated around the systems of editorial selection and evaluation. The dimensioning of the structure of the field itself was structured around the spaces shaped by the publishing activity. The field could not exist outside it.

Modernity, moreover, had instituted retribution as the basis of the writer's identity, the passage from the "author's function" (the one who writes an original work and makes it public) to the "author's condition" (the one who makes a living from their writing). And this had been done under a paradoxical condition, since its regulation was carried out through the system of authors' rights, which fixes amounts according to units of works sold, establishing a mercantile relationship of payment per unit of support acquired, in such a way that authors linked their viability to the functioning of a market of intangible and highly volatile goods.

This situation, with some variations, has remained stable until recently, when the figure of the author has acquired a multiform condition, with abundant signs of differentiation with respect to their regulated status for decades. This has given rise to new forms of writing and authorship that break with the closed conception linked to the printed regime and resize the creative conception, leading to the appearance of notions that redirect the activity in a polymorphic sense, extracting it in many cases from the publishing circuit itself. The contractual and technological links inherent to the print system are diluted in a variety of forms that considerably broaden the publishing field.

If we are to single out the most significant changes that have taken place in the last decade, we would have to focus on three phenomena: self-publishing, openness, and socialisation. Three keys to a process in which we can appreciate a progressive distancing from the conventional publishing system, a rupture of the field as it had been conceived in its most consolidated standards (**Cordón-García**, 2016; **Cordón-García**; **Gómez-Díaz**, 2018) and the emergence of new parameters for characterising writing and authorship (**Cuquerella**, 2018; **Mora**, 2021; **Thompson** 2021a). In reality, over the last years, processes have begun to take shape that feed back on each other and experience a confluence that is still tangential, but which is increasingly operating in publishing practices. In this sense, conventional authorship, more confined to the realm of print, has gradually got contaminated by the forms and modes of digital practices, both to capture innovative elements and to provide visibility on the networks and capture a market that is highly digitalised both in its processes and in its reading and writing activities.

If in the printed sphere authors constituted an immeasurable contingent, numbering in the millions, with the delocalisation and disintermediation established by the digital sphere, the figure grows exponentially. **Shatzkin** (2021) considers the birth of *Amazon*'s self-publishing system, *Kindle Direct Publishing* (*KDP*), in the first decade of the 21st century, to be one of the three disruptive moments in the publishing sector. Indeed, for the first time in history, a disintermediated publishing system was established, supported by a platform with a vocation for vertical in-

> " The digital environment is progressing and consolidating, but it has not yet taken advantage of all the potential that technological advances could provide "

tegration and a totalising will in the book sector. It is true that self-publishing had existed before, but it was the digital structure that gave it all its potential for projection and media impact. Its evaluation since then has been such that, at present, there is a fully professionalised business infrastructure at the service of independent authors who, regardless of the quality of the content, can count on an abundance of platforms for the exhibition of their works. In a study developed by the company *Book on Demand* on the nature and characteristics of self-publishing in Europe (*BoD*, 2020), some significant aspects of self-publishing were analysed; among them, we can highlight all those related to the intervention of authors in the socialisation and visibility of their works, a distinctive sign that articulates the new condition of the writer. The generation of "community", i.e. the use of blogs, websites, social networks and the creation of links between authors themselves, occupies a high percentage of authors' activity, with variations between countries. Collaboration with website and blog managers also shows significant percentages, evidencing the authors' interest in promoting their works through this resource. In Spain, for example, these collaborations reach 91% of self-published authors, but in other countries they are not far behind: in Germany the percentage is 81% and in France 83%.

It is a hybrid system in which a wilful attitude and a naïve aspiration to be published coexist with a more commercial and pragmatic zeal. *Kindle Direct Publishing* is a good example of this. Belonging to *Amazon*, it establishes promotional algorithms that powerfully condition the forms of publication of its authors, imposing increasingly shorter work rhythms and publication deadlines, conditioning, according to **McGurl** (2021), the literary culture and the behaviour of writers. Format translates into time, and time translates into speed. The short and, in general, serialised form is the prevailing trend in contemporary digital publishing, as will be discussed later. In this context, *Amazon* launched *Kindle Vella* in the summer of 2021, a new offshoot of its complex ecosystem for the generation of serialised books, ready to be consumed via mobile. It consists of short chapters, between 600 and 5,000 words, which are released consecutively. The system is designed to keep authors and readers in contact, so that the former can adapt to the changing tastes of their audience.

The battle has shifted from that of mere publication to that of visibility. Authors compete not so much to be read, but to be found, recognised, and mentioned (**Muñoz-Rico**; **Cordón-García**, 2022). This dimension acquires special importance in an economy of prototypes such as the book economy, in which each work launched on the market competes with all the other competitors, each book by a publisher competes for the occupation of space and symbolic capital with those which, on the one hand, have the same brand image and, on the other, benefit from the same marketing and publicity mechanisms. In fact, every book an author publishes competes with the rest of their books, and this competition becomes more acute as the author's literary age increases. This is a contest fought in the field of attention, and which is triggered in bookshop displays, on library shelves or in the private space of domestic collections. However, conversely, this singularity favours the appearance of factors that contribute to a title or an author when there are elements of external feedback such as the awarding of prizes, the transfer of a text to the cinematographic space or any other event that confers social significance on the writer or their publications. Author, publisher, and work are constrained by the determinations of a highly selective market, both in terms of physical settings and in terms of emblematic spaces for the representation of texts.

In this context, the person's status as an author is gradually shaped by those conventional signs that give them verisimilitude and identification, such as belonging to a publishing imprint; however, these are no longer essential and, in addition, include marks of a strictly digital nature, such as their website, blog or any other element that places them in online traffic. From the solipsistic and self-satisfied figure, enclosed in their creative universe, authors have moved on to a generalised presence in social networks of all kinds, with regular interventions that sustain their image and their brand. Authors have felt forced to socialise their professional practices, initiating dynamics in which, as **Barthes** presciently pointed out (1967), the narrative branches out into multiple hermeneutics, as a result of its loss of autonomy in the face of the constructions of observers and interpreters. As **Vitali-Rosati** (2018) points out, digital space has become a matter of collective dynamics insofar as it is produced by a continuous interaction between people, machines, algorithms, and platforms. The author operates in a new environment in which, as **Žižek** (2021) points out, anxiety does not arise from being watched but from not being contemplated by others at all times.

This social notoriety translates into an author model whose identity is shaped not only by their productions but also by the cast of followers that pivot around them, generating a corpus of interactions that substantially feeds the original messages (**Fülöp**, 2019). The author is not only the author, but all the instances in which, through the mediation of the publishing house, if it exists, and its media, or through the intervention of its followers, they appear and are integrated. Hence the importance for many publishers of fan clubs organised around an author or a work (**Cruz-Martín**, 2016). These are networks of readers interested in replicating, exchanging information, and creating plots around the themes or characters of a work, which tend to make the work viral (**Coppa**, 2017) and to create situations of participatory memory (**Potts** *et al.*, 2018) thanks to the interactions that take place not only with the works, but also among those involved in the networks. The analysis of the fanfictions phenomenon itself, and its denominations, has been the subject of numerous academic studies (**Peyron**, 2018), due to the impact of fandom on everyday life and its repercussions on an entertainment economy worth billions. Thus, the growth of follower networks and the need to adapt production to their needs has led to the existence of multiple derivative products that would integrate the corpus of a title inseparably from it (**Jacobs**, 2018).

The support and visibility provided by networks of followers have become so powerful that they have reversed the direction of the process. It is not the quality or projection of an author that generates an environment of followers, but rather it is this environment that encourages the emergence of new authors. It is the author's "brand" that favours the immersions of the conventional publishing sector in the atypical universe of a somewhat captive market. If **Morrison** (2013) had proposed a dystopian universe in which authors had become interchangeable and reproducible brands without interruption, the position and visibility of many of today's authors is determined by their social impact, with the networks constituting the 'fishing ground' in which to find a guarantee of commercial viability.

> After a decade of existence, digital publishing has not represented the radical and definitive revolution that was presumed at the beginning, mainly because it has not managed to achieve the aura and symbolism that, according to Han (2021), affects physical objects

In this sense, **Mora** (2021), has characterised a new form of authorship, known as *Out-in-the-Open Writing*. These authors are defined by a more open concept in their creative identity, by their mastery of the technical foundations and instrumental means for the dissemination of the work, by their heterodox vocation and by their iconoclastic stance in the face of the shaping of legitimacy and beliefs of a canonical nature. These are authors who do not pursue vertical success or duration but horizontal success, namely, impact and scope, in such a way that this success does not lie so much in commercial or critical approval as in virality and attracting an increasingly wider readership who, in turn, participate in distributing the texts. Authors who are committed to innovation and to the use of the tools that the web makes available to them to promote this innovation, in a way, in line with the pioneering proposals made at the time by authors such as Janet Murray in her premonitory work *Hamlet on the Holodeck* (**Murray**, 1997). Authors who, moreover, to a large extent, break with the logic of the market in that they make use of non-remunerative formulas for the dissemination and distribution of their works, employing distinctive formulas of open access in its various manifestations.

It could be affirmed that a generation of authors has emerged for whom the prescriptive legitimisation acquired through the application of publishing filters, guarantors of formal and expository quality, lacks value, or at least the value conferred until now by tradition and orthodoxy. This authorship is, in **Escandell-Montiel**'s words (2020), an exocanonical creation, whose foundations move away from printed environments and is fully integrated into digital logics, favouring the consolidation of alternative, peripheral movements, but increasingly closer to a generational centrality.

Authorship appears articulated in three differentiated poles whose distinctive features are adjusted to three publishing systems that coexist in parallel, although with numerous intersections between them:

- The conventional author, concerned with the market, promotion, visibility, and quality of works in the case of literary publishing, whose main concern is editorial performance and, subsequently, their recognition in the traditional field structure. Anchored in print, these authors frequent digital spaces for the promotion and viralisation of their titles. They remain in the system governed by copyright and subsidiary rights. They do not have a homogeneous profile, as this group includes both those who favour more commercial publishing and those who have a more independent affiliation and aspire to make a living from their writings without renouncing a certain canonical legitimisation under the parameters of quality.

- The self-published author. It is usually the result of the selective phagocytosis operated by conventional publishing filters, a market to which they have resorted on numerous occasions in pursuit of the approval of a recognisable imprint, as well as ambitious distribution. The author's move into self-publishing responds to the need to satisfy aspirations to publish which find a place in increasingly professionalised companies. These authors tend to use hybrid publishing as their usual publishing system. Digital spaces serve them as a platform to promote their work and as a natural means of promoting it. Good connoisseurs of the tools and resources available on the different social networks, they take advantage of these to make their production visible, making small investments in advertising as well as in the design and presentation of their titles. Although it is not their primary objective, sales and the functioning of a market that is fed above all by subscription systems are one of their creative stimuli. They fit in a traditional conception of authorship, insofar as their aspirations and their behaviour are tied to their integration into a more or less conventional publishing system. When they can, they make the leap to standardised publishing.

- The out-in-the-open author. Devoid of standard legitimisation requirements, these are writers whose natural habitat is the web, in the broadest sense of the term. They are fluent in the use of publishing tools of various kinds in order to achieve maximum visibility for their writings. We are talking about very active authors who favour interactions with other authors and with readers, encouraging a permanent renewal of messages. They rework their discourse according to the interventions and comments they receive and take on experimentation and innovation as part of their creative DNA. Their legal regime is governed by open access and Creative Commons licences, as their aim is not sales but the free reception of their works. Permeability with the two previous systems is scarce, except in the case of some literary authors prone to innovation and incursion into creative forms complementary to their usual production.

Any consultation of literary supplements, specialised magazines, or even best-seller lists would allow us to observe that, although circumstantial, this categorisation has increasingly identifiable features. In recent years, among the es-

tablished authors, but also among the most high-profile and profitable ones, others have been introduced who come from self-publishing and who, thanks to the mobilisation of social networks and the success of sales on the web, have been captured by conventional publishing, becoming in turn very commercially profitable authors. This evolution could be seen as a natural process, affecting a publishing chain that has gradually integrated behaviours and practices of an initially peripheral nature into the core of its activity. What is unique about the process is the shift from the optional to the prescriptive, and the dependence on social media rating systems, which forces its protagonists to strengthen their links with said systems and to respond to the expectations of their readers/followers. Whereas the author's activity in a pre-digital period ended with the delivery of the manuscript and, in any case, with the participation in the launching campaigns of the work, this has now become an intermediate, transitional phase, in which promotional elements take on an unavoidable importance for any cultural endeavour.

Recognition and recommendation systems have shifted from the institutional and canonical to the social and informal, articulating a model in which authors are increasingly dependent on supporters or detractors for their personal valuation and commercial return.

This move has led to the creation of a model, a structure, presided over by the perverse logic of participation, in which the fate of an author is at stake in the uncertain verdict dictated by the networks. The ratings on *Amazon*, the considerations on *Goodreads*, *Facebook* or *Twitter* can represent consecration or misery, according to the winds of opinion and the thermometers of political correctness. The culture of cancellation, the most blatant censure, constitutes one of the most surprising and unpredictable features of the evolution of the internet, which has emerged as a determining and identifying factor of contemporary authorship.

3. The cancelled creation

Social networks establish an unprecedented system of consecration of authors, but also the possibility of mercilessly demolishing them, with an unparalleled scope and projection (**Baltasar**, 2018). In recent years, we have witnessed a process of retrospective revision of authors and works subjected to criteria of ideological purification, in its starkest sense, whereby titles are suppressed, texts are rewritten, or works or writers whose attitudes or proposals do not fit in with the dominant sensibility are removed from the shelves of libraries. It is a process that affects the entire book chain from creation to reception.

The forms of criticism that have become established in today's society combine cruelty with subtlety, the cultural with the personal, lynching with victimhood, claiming with exclusion. Although the practice of crematoria is unfortunately still in force, censure has evolved towards more subdued, but no less effective and captious behaviours (**Sapiro**, 2021). The virtualisation of social relations has meant that everyone has become a slave to their visibility and, in the words of Paula **Sibilia** (2018), to their *extimacy*, insofar as observation or mutual surveillance, has become the behaviour that governs the networks. A surveillance that takes on a double direction, from the system towards individuals, in the sense pointed out by **Zuboff** (2020) and **Wu** (2020), and from individuals towards each other. Zuboff, in a perceptive essay, introduced the concept of *Surveillance capitalism*, to refer to our era as a historical moment in which behaviours, attitudes and opinions are subject to observation and control by a system articulated to trade them in. The philosophy underlying this consideration is that nothing is exempt from this control, which expands and grows as it is able to achieve greater levels of communicability, and to quantitatively increase the connections and links between individuals who are interacting on any given subject. For **Wu** (2020), every chink of our attention can be targeted for commercial exploitation, in a process that has been slowly but inexorably spreading and has become a default position with respect to most of the time and space we occupy. The control of users on the net has gone from an unconfessed objective to a parasitic and uncritical activity, in which the "craft of reading", as Armonía Somers conceptualised it, has been disregarded. Remedios Zafra stresses that we are not only normalising the public sharing of experiences and emotions, intimacy, relationships, and recognition, but also its conversion into a new form of capital by using it as a basis for public exchange (**Zafra**, 2021). Subjected to the exposure of the networks, individuals are torn between two frustrations, that of invisibility and that of stardom. The first leads to anonymity, to emptiness, to virtual non-existence, only admissible when it is not the result of forced ostracism but of persistent will. The second impels to permanent intervention, to the state of anxiety inherent in an uninterrupted activity of actions and omissions that sustain a reality made of transience and obsolescence.

In this logic of surveillance and the exploitation of life experiences, polemical interactions and aggressive debates are favoured, benefiting from the fact that, as **Lanier** (2021) points out, designs that celebrate the noosphere tend to stimulate the inner troll that we humans carry within us. The virulence of this aggression increases exponentially when it is directed towards someone who gathers symbolic, social, and economic capital, as is the case with many authors, and who expresses opinions that transcend their group boundaries. This transgression of limits is returned in the form of censure, not towards the subjects' activity, but towards themselves as persons, encompassing all possible forms of exclusion and denial. These are logics that are established in completely different ideological environments, imposing a culture of suspicion, which leads to hostility and lynching, feeding self-censorship, the fear of dissenting, discussing, speaking, or expressing an opinion in areas labelled or marked as particularly sensitive. In a certain way, as **Nacarino-Bravo** (2018) points out, these logics correspond to a puritanical, victimising, and individual freedom-denying drive, which evokes what **Deleuze** (2008) called microfascisms, that is, censoring activities that always emerge from the group against indi-

viduals and which are assemblages elaborated by many and diverse social interactions. The exacerbated development of identity politics determines the framing in groups, with the consequent dynamics of the delimitation of borders between the in-group and the out-group, on the one hand, and, on the other, the articulation of the experience according to categories, generic or crossed: white Jew, LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex, Asexual...), etc. **Dubreuil** (2019), maintains that these features are characteristic of digital capitalism, in which algorithms seek to add us to an identity, of whatever nature. Identity that is self-founded, known and recognised by profiles that are specific to it, that cannot be discussed and enjoys exclusive rights, including the right to silence those who do not accept its criteria. Action is another form of tyranny (**Cardon**, 2018) that increases the echo and virality in digital environments, amplifying the possible spirals of criticism and silence on certain people or social issues. If the concept of tribe was fully established to define differentiated social collectives, such as intellectuals, writers, teachers, etc., which had been well characterised by sociology from the formulations of the Frankfurt School to Pierre Bourdieu, group phenomena have gradually become established. The sense of belonging has been strengthened by such a powerful mortar as that established by the forms of virtual integration, which add to the traditional rites of passage the permanent link through almost omniscient systems of alert and revision; these are determinants of the models of integration and exclusion, for all militancy is articulated in the face of others, to whom a dialectic is applied that does not exclude condemnation. Umberto Eco, not without a certain irony, wrote:

> Having an enemy is important not only to define our identity, but also to provide us with an obstacle against which to measure our value system and to show, by facing them, our worth. Therefore, when the enemy does not exist, it is necessary to construct one (**Eco**, 2012).

As Olivier Ertzscheid points out in an article with a very illustrative title, *Autodafècebook* (**Ertzscheid**, 2018), we are witnessing new forms of inquisition favoured by virality and global exchange. Muñoz Machado noted that the same ease with which all kinds of thoughts can be published also facilitates their criticism, which ceases to be balanced when it turns into attacks on the person and generic disqualification of their work, ending up in formulas similar to those favoured in the 16th century (**Muñoz-Machado**, 2013). Certainly, in these cases the bonfire is symbolic or only for books. Moreover, these processes are very difficult to combat because, as **Gómez-de-Ágreda** (2019) argues, the appeal to reason cannot confront the dictates of emotions.

Dominant narratives use emotions not only to offer a particular vision of reality but, above all, to construct it (**Aparici**; **García-Marín**, 2019) and manipulate it. **McIntyre** (2018) wondered whether truth matters as much as feelings, stating that censure is not really necessary when the truth can be buried under a pile of lies. The phenomenon is global, and persecution can be exercised on anyone. What is always decisive is the sacrificial ceremony and the public scandal. As **Salmon** (2019) points out, we have moved from censure of works to the persecution of authors, from criticised texts to severed heads. Censure is increasingly relying on a grammar and procedures that are unique to the digital environment, where, to paraphrase **Tannen** (1999), confrontation is far more common than consensus. Language as a means of exchange does not seek understanding, as **Baudrillard** (2010) would say, but the abolition of the symbolic function. We should ask ourselves along with **Said** (2006) whether it is necessary for the cult of humanism as an educational and cultural ideal to be accompanied by an infinity of pages full of exclusions —more typical of a shopping list—, by the predominance of a minority of select and authorised authors and readers, and by a tone of mean-spirited rejection. As **Lipovetsky** and **Juvin** (2011) argued, we live in an age that has freedom in its mouth and the censor's scissors in its hand.

The emergence of hate speech permeates all spheres of life, and particularly those of culture. **Anders** (2019) defines it as self-affirmation and self-constitution through the negation and destruction of the other. This is a statement underlined by **Emcke** (2020), for whom we live in hypochondriac societies, fearful of the contamination represented by others, who use social networks as throwing weapons, installed in a sort of disconnected bubbles, hiding in anonymity to generate structures of propaganda and manipulation. This discourse is international in nature (**Tamayo**, 2020), globalised, involving entire sectors of society with unfounded, often paranoid, and strongly ideologically motivated narratives. If, for Roland Barthes, the narrative is one of the great categories of knowledge, we find ourselves at a moment in which the primacy achieved by narrative is superior to that of facts, which have come to occupy a subsidiary place, relegating the latter to pure interpretation, as **Nietzsche** (2008) advocated. The "third chair" referred to by **Thoreau** (2021), the one that implies social conversation and empathy with the other, is failing. We have moved from a linguistic capitalism, in which all interventions on the web could be capitalised by the big information conglomerates, turning every word into a commodity and migrating from the economy of attention to that of expression (**Kaplan**, 2012), to a surveillance capitalism, in which the false is deployed within toxic technical architectures (**Ertzscheid**, 2019) that enable a feedback loop of lies, and in which, as **González-Sainz** (2021) points out, the real is now only the din. **Echevarría** and **Almendros** (2020) speak of cognitive technologies to illustrate the phenomenon of the orientation, modification, and domination of people's behaviour in digital environments, an epistemological transformation that entails inevitable consequences in the development of sanctioning and critical discourses against something or someone. From

> In recent years, new forms of writing and authorship have emerged that break with the closed conception linked to the printed regime and resize it, extracting them in many cases from the editorial circuit itself

noting the symbolic death of the author, as Barthes, Foucault or Derrida had done, we moved on to calling for the real death —as happened with Rushdie— and to the trivialisation of death —as with the hashtags against Rowling—, in a sort of Overton Window in which the unacceptable is finally accepted as a matter of course. **Ferraris** (2017) spoke of documentarity to refer to the new articulation of social actions, shaping a new realism whose signs of identity are activity and participation. But the truth is that this reality is disappearing from an imaginary that discredits the evidence, which is not anchored in facts but in ideology and interpretation, in a subjective grammar in which everyone can set themselves up as the hermeneutist of a knowledge that confuses its nature with the procedures for accessing it (**Ferran-Sáez**, 2018).

Authors have been compelled into an unhinged competition for visibility, in which their participation is inevitable to feed multiple spaces on the web. But this great media and proximity showcase creates myths as much as it demolishes them, as the concept of invulnerability is a mirage, as is that of unconditionality, and often that of respect. There are no effective filters on the web and getting through them represents an irresistible and almost Faustian temptation to participate in an endless orgy of information, always available and renewed. A sort of mirror in which a profound and invisible reality can be contemplated in the tangible world, but which can suddenly become hostile (**Levi**, 2019). The liquid nature of a system that fosters both contempt and praise, the creation of legions of followers and virulent detractors at the same time, makes it necessary to enter with caution into a game that is as suggestive as it is perverse. A game which opposes vanity and pride, not always on equal terms, and in which, as Olivier **Ertzscheid** (2021) suggests, *Brandolini's Law* operates, that is, the amount of energy needed to refute idiocy is an order of magnitude greater than that needed to produce it. As **Muñoz-Rengel** (2020) argues, we live in a gigantic virtuality contaminated by conjecture, which comes on top of the usual lies, the intimate and the social. An industry of lies (**Villanueva**, 2021) that articulates an environment with hyperrealist roots, to the extent that, as D'Ancona states, it is a mode of discourse in which the gap between the real and the imaginary disappears, and in which the most common behaviour has been to choose sides rather than evaluate the evidence (**D'Ancona**, 2019). As Eco remarks,

> "we must distinguish between devotees of hermeticism, always sloppy and unreliable —with a tendency to falsify sources or make mistakes in quotations—, and serious scholars" (**Eco**, 2021).

4. Publishing: concentration, open access and publishing on demand

The publishing system is immersed in a contradictory movement in its foundations, whose nature was already detected by Bourdieu when he established the dichotomy between the culture of interest, profit, and profitability at all costs and that of altruistic and independent creation (**Sapiro**, 2019). Hence the existence of two opposing trends, one tending towards globalisation and business concentration, with all that this entails in terms of the hardening and limitation of publishing opportunities (**Schiffrin**, 2019), as well as the loss of bibliodiversity (*IAIP*, 2014; **Voisard**; **Chibani-Jacquot**; **Mollier**, 2021), and the other advocating open access to culture, with no restrictions, if any, other than those established by the authors.

If postmodernity had put an end to general explanatory narratives, establishing a period of hermeneutic discontinuity in historical conditions and business development, information and communication technologies introduced a new narrative, that of globalisation, in which algorithms and internationalisation replaced the logics of reason. The concept of *Transmodernity* (**Rodríguez-Magda**, 1989), which has gradually acquired the value of a new geopolitical, epistemological, gnoseological and social paradigm, is integrated into this drift, as it groups together postulates such as the pre-eminence of the market over politics, the application of a blurred logic, or the defence of digital reason and constructivism. The publishing world has largely slipped into this dynamic in which, as **Bauman** (2017) points out, culture is conceived as the ability to change subject matter and position very quickly. In this sense, **Han** (2019) highlighted how cultural spaces overlap, cross over, and juxtapose, in such a way that the process of globalisation has a cumulative effect and that it is the sense of the *hyper*, rather than the *trans*, *inter* or *multi*, that accurately reflects the spatiality of culture today. There is a de-spatialisation in the sense that all places are identical in the configuration of a hyperculturality.

The major publishing houses have been adopting this expansionist approach for many years. For *Random House*, *Hachette*, *Planeta*, or in the digital sphere, *Amazon*, *Google* or *Apple*, the need to find the means to assert their international presence is an immediate imperative.

The merger of *Random House* and *Penguin publishers* (*Bertelsmann* and *Pearson* as parent companies) in 2013 represented the control of the publishing business of physical and digital fiction and non-fiction books worldwide. This process of publishing concentration had a special impact in the case of Spain, as in 2014 the macro-group absorbed one of the emblematic publishing groups in the history of publishing: *Santillana*. The purchase of *Santillana Ediciones Generales*, for 72 million euros, included some of the most significant imprints in the publishing sector: the Spanish publishing houses *Aguilar*,

Alfaguara, *Punto de Lectura*, *Altea*, *Suma de Letras* and *Taurus*, as well as the Brazilian publishers *Objetiva*, *Foglio* and *Fontanar*. In 2018, it did so with Salamandra, one of Spain's leading independent publishers. Others such as *Anaya* and *Anagrama* were already part of a large group: *Anaya* was part of the French *Hachette*, and *Anagrama* was already 99% controlled by the Italian *Feltrinelli*.

> Author, publisher, and work are constrained by the determinations of a highly selective market, both in terms of physical settings and in terms of emblematic spaces for the representation of texts.

As a result of this phenomenon, in just two years, the Big Six, the six largest publishers in the United States and the world, became the Big Four. Long-established imprints such as *Doubleday*, *Knopf*, *Pantheon*, *GP Putnam's Sons* and *Viking* are now simply trademarks of large international conglomerates. The merger of *Macmillan* and *Springer* was evidence of the importance of economies of scale for large publishers, and how a company left out of this move would lack medium-term projection. The integration of these companies created a publishing group with a turnover of almost 1.5 billion euros and 13,000 employees, which includes the whole of *Springer Science+Business Media* (owned by funds managed by *BCP*) and the majority of *Macmillan Science and Education* (*MSE*), owned by *Holtzbrinck*, namely *Nature Publishing Group*, *Palgrave Macmillan*, and the global business of *Macmillan Education*.

Rüdiger Wischenbart publishes an annual report on the global publishing industry. In the 2020 report, he provided data on the five largest publishing groups, showing the high levels of profitability they have enjoyed in recent years, during which major takeovers have taken place (**Wischenbart**; **Fleischfacker**, 2020).

In December 2019, the multimedia conglomerate *Bertelsmann* became the sole owner of *Penguin Random House*. To do so, it paid USD 675 million (EUR 606 million) for 25% of the shares still owned by the *Pearson* group. *Bertelsmann* and *Pearson* had merged their groups in 2013. *Bertelsmann* owned 53% of the shares of the new conglomerate and *Pearson* 47%. In 2017 *Bertelsmann* increased its shareholding to 75%. From a publishing point of view, the company generates 50% of the literary fiction produced in English, with some 300 individual publishers.

In November 2020, the *Penguin Random House Group* (*PRH*) proposed the acquisition of another of the giants of the American market, *Simon and Shuster*, for USD 2175 million (EUR 1800 million). This purchase will become, if finally admitted by the US Department of Justice, the largest ever in American publishing. With the incorporation of *Simon and Shuster*, *PRH* would become the leading American group in terms of turnover, tripling the figures of the next largest. The integration of the publishing house would mean the integration of a workforce of 1,500 employees, two thousand titles per year, 35 publishing imprints, and a catalogue of 35,000 works. As **Esposito** (2020) points out, this operation gave rise to the emergence of a new business model, which he calls 360º. This would be a company whose strategy is aimed at all areas and directions in an attempt to conquer and dominate the international market. *Amazon*, *Elsevier*, *Netflix*, *Ingram*, and now *Penguin Random House* could fit squarely into this category. Esposito outlines the conditions for becoming a 360° company:

- Having a dominant position in the market;
- Having the capacity to acquire other services, taking into account the scale model;
- Having a willingness to unbundle the platform;
- Having a contextualised view of the place of publishing within the organisation, bearing in mind that many of the operations will not be of a strictly publishing nature.

Analysed purely from a marketing point of view, *Penguin Random House*'s position is, for the time being, impregnable. McIlroy carried out a study on the concentration of publishing among the Big 5 (before the acquisition of *Simon and Shuster*) and the distribution among them of the major market launches, and the resulting picture is striking. According to that report, *Penguin Random House* accounted for 40% of bestsellers published in 2019, compared with 15.5% for *HarperCollins*, 15% for *Hachette*, 12.7% for *Macmillan* and 9.6% for *Simon and Shuster*. Together, the big five accounted for 92.5% of all bestsellers in the market (**McIlroy**, 2020). In the same vein, *HarperCollins* acquired the trade division of *Houghton Mifflin Harcourt* for USD 349 million. Meanwhile, the *Hachette* group bought *Workman Publishing*, one of the few remaining independent publishers in the United States, for USD 240 million.

The audiobook sector has also been affected by this concentration process, whose ultimate goal is to expand markets and production infrastructures. One of the companies that has experienced the most significant growth in recent years, the Swedish company *Storytel*, which is well established in many countries around the world, including Spain, bought Audiobooks.com, thus making it possible to expand its business into the English-language audiobook market. For its part, *RBmedia*, an audiobook publisher belonging to the venture capital group *KPR*, bought *Booka*, based in Barcelona, as well as a section of *McGraw-Hill* dedicated to the production of this type of product for the professional market.

The big publishing groups cannibalise anything that might represent some kind of competition, or anything that might allow them to expand into new or already colonised territories. This expansion is not only of a business nature but also of services, features and functionalities that can capture the attention of the buyer and segment the market by components inherent to the added value. One of the aspects in which both *Amazon*, *Apple* and *Penguin* have invested is in recommendation systems, which have become increasingly sophisticated, from the point of view of the use of algorithms that serve to trace reader and buyer profiles, but also from the point of view of the development of specialised tools.

The consequence of all these concentration processes is that bibliodiversity and competition have been drastically reduced (**Shatzkin**; **Paris**, 2019). Mergers and acquisitions have affected century-old groups that had remained unscathed for most of their history. The problem is that as companies become more concentrated, their exposure to risk and their commitment to innovation diminishes, and more controversial initiatives are relegated to a circumstantial or opportunistic role. The objective is the expansion of audiences, not their diversification, the domination of the market (it is calculated that the merger of *PRH* with *Simon and Shuster* will allow it to control 70% of the American literary market),

not its cultural enrichment; in short, the monopoly over the book value chain, with the subsequent precariousness and dependence of the different actors. With the purchase of *Simon and Shuster*, *Bertelsmann* would consolidate its fourth position in the world publishing ranking, surpassed only by scientific-technical publishing conglomerates such as *Reed Elsevier*, *Thomson-Reuters*, and *Pearson* (**Wischenbart**; **Fleischfacker**, 2020). The acquisition was challenged by the *US Department of Justice*, appealing antitrust laws. As a result, this process has been suspended pending a judicial resolution. The purchase of *Simon and Schuster* can also be interpreted as an obligatory move in response to *Amazon*'s growing power in the publishing industry, not only in the sale of books, but in the whole system that constitutes its promotion and dissemination structure (**McGurl**, 2021).

Mergers and publishing concentration processes have been recurrent in recent years. And although the most striking are those that affect the movements undertaken by the large groups, they are not the only ones. For example, *Bloomsbury*, a British group founded in 1986, with a catalogue that includes several *Nobel Prize* winners, *Pulitzer Prize* winners, etc., decided to expand its activities in the United States with the acquisition of the academic publisher *ABC-CLIO*, founded in 1955 and based in California. With 23,000 titles in its catalogue, the purchase allowed *Bloomsbury* to open up the market to the academic sector and improve its digital distribution options. Meanwhile, in France, *Vivendi* pursues its acquisition of the *Lagardère* group, a deal due to be completed in December 2022; and *Hachette Livre* is in the process of merging with the *Editis* group, which has been in business for more than 150 years.

In another context, *Overdrive* acquired *Kanopy* in 2021, an operation aimed above all at the control of multimedia services by the digital reading platform dedicated to the lending of e-books and audiobooks, strongly established in the USA, and expanding to other countries around the world. *Overdrive*, in turn, was acquired in 2015 by *Rakuten*, and in 2020 by *KKR*, a global investment firm that, in recent years, has bet on digital content. In this same information-documentary context, the most significant acquisition was that of *ProQuest* by *Clarivate*, for more than USD 5 billion. *Bowker*, which remains part of *Cambridge*, was excluded from the acquisition. Although the purchase was opposed by *SPARC* (*Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition*), which brings together several hundred research libraries around the world, it went through without a hitch.

5. Towards a new publishing paradigm: open publishing

In the face of these processes of concentration that restrict supply and limit publishing independence and diversification, in recent years a movement towards openness and access to content has been gaining ground, which, although fundamentally focused on scientific publishing, is expanding to more commercial publishing. From centralised models, there has been a shift to distributed models (**Maxwell** *et al.*, 2019).

If one of the most outstanding signs in the articulation of contemporary creation has been its liberation towards open and de-publishing standards, publishing has followed a similar path in which quality control in the production of content has been combined with greater accessibility to it. Although the movement has its origins and main strength in the field of scientific communication, and particularly in the field of journals, it has gradually spread to books and to sectors that are not exclusively scientific. These are processes which, arising from the individual initiative of researchers and professional associations, have become institutionalised, attracting the support of official national and international bodies in their strategic plans, and spreading their philosophy to publishing initiatives that were initially far from their aims. In this sense, the 21st century has witnessed a profound disruption in publishing practices. Digital technologies have generalised the restricted practice of publishing, making it possible to modulate it according to who can publish and when, to manage both the medium used and the channels through which information is consumed. This is a plethora of tools, applications, infrastructures, and models which make possible an ever-changing future (**Reijnen**; **Rasch**, 2020).

What the whole movement entails is a broader and more categorical element, namely the incorporation of the interests of the reader, whether researcher or ordinary citizen, into the communication process, moving from mere consumer to co-participant in the production. This movement can be perceived in scientific publishers not only in the fact that reading has been opened up to anyone interested in the contents, but also in the assumption that, in whole or in part, and in the field of books, the premise of availability is accepted, whether of a chapter, a collection or some of the titles in the publishing catalogue.

Along these lines, evaluation processes have also joined this philosophy, seeking to create cultural and not only economic capital, as well as to build communities around content or themes. As opposed to mere datafication and purely quantitative interpretations of data, the evaluation process is intended to involve the entire interested community, as *MITP Works in Progress* (*WiP*) does by collecting papers in the early stages of development and submitting them to an open peer review process. This programme gives authors the benefit of feedback from the community, as well as the possibility of publishing a version of their work prior to a more formal publication. *WiPs* are reviewed by the publisher and then posted on *PubPub* for open discussion. Comments are moderated by the authors and facilitated by the publisher's staff. After the open review period, authors can revise the work and submit it for consideration for formal publication.

As publishing processes are incorporated into a more open and informal philosophy, away from the rigid protocols of selection, we can speak of publishing performativity, with a character very similar to that conferred by **Vitali-Rosati** (2018) to editorialisation: there are no predefined protocols, no standardised frameworks but publishing activity responds

to an open environment in which interactions modulate uncontrolled outcomes and interpretations in the publishing process. It is performative in the sense that it produces its own rules; it does not represent things but produces them. The space of publishing has shifted from the aesthetic and representational to the operational, in the sense that we tend to work and interoperate with digital objects and not to consume them in a more or less passive way.

> This move has led to the creation of a model, a structure, presided over by the perverse logic of participation, in which the fate of an author is at stake in the uncertain verdict dictated by the networks

This new paradigm determines a reconfiguration of the conventional relations between creation and production, in the sense that they are simultaneous processes, breaking the linearity and succession of traditional publishing. This is a reconfiguration that affects not only the processes but also the contents, in such a way that the relational is imposed over the modular. The interactions generated between the different actors make it possible to articulate semantically significant models of the relationship between the whole and the parts, not only in terms of the structure of the content, but also between the people and objects involved in the publication process. The design and interactive development of the publication enables the intervention of different actors in a dynamic whose key is defined by interoperability (**Doctorow**, 2021). Achieving this has been an aspiration of the publishing sector, but also of readers, in order to avoid dominant positions in the market and to favour the portability of content, which is impossible in proprietary systems such as the one maintained by *Amazon*. The *European Publishers Federation* launched a manifesto in 2019 (*European Publishing Federation*, 2019) postulating this issue in its point 4, considered substantial to defend the rights of readers. In the same vein, the *European Parliament* approved the *Digital Markets Act* in December 2021, which postulates the strengthening of interoperability and sets limits on so-called "killer acquisitions" (i.e., the purchase by large platforms of smaller companies to kill their innovations and the competition that these entail). Measures included in the act include the possibility for users to uninstall pre-installed apps, which opens up the possibility for users to choose their preferred operator. In France, the Société des auteurs and the *Syndicat National de l'Édition* have shown their support for these measures, calling for the principle of interoperability to be further strengthened (*SNE*, 2021).

Open access on the one hand, and interoperability on the other, share the objective of removing barriers and fostering communication, although this requires, as **Cantrell** and **Donaldon** (2022) point out, structural equity between all stakeholders whose starting conditions are unequal in terms of funding and viability. The opening of models and systems is in society's interest, but this requires public policies to support the process and eliminate inequalities, without undermining the quality control systems inherent in any publishing activity.

6. Disaggregation of the chain: publishing on demand

One of the problems of world publishing has always been that of "too many books". This problem acquires a threefold dimension. First, that of overproduction when it does not adapt to the tastes and absorption capacity of readers, generating an overflow in the number of titles. Second, when the copies published, the print run, miscalculate the possible impact and reception by buyers, generating an overflow in the number of works returned, stored or, ultimately, destroyed. And finally, when works do not reach their potential readers due to lack of visibility, causing a bottleneck in the natural distribution circuit. As the publishing system is governed by the logic of an economy of prototypes, presided over by the collateral effects of an economy of attention in which reading has a residual character, the greatest difficulty experienced by the sector lies in ensuring that every book reaches its potential readers, and that the two spheres are roughly coincident, so that there are not more books than readers (production problem), nor more readers than books (problem of copies available for sale or loan). With electronic publishing, the problem was partially solved by operating on a scenario where demand triggered the availability of content. But while this was an important step, it did not solve the collapse of the physical distribution systems for works. Print-on-demand systems, that is, the publication of a work upon request, printing only the number of copies requested, had worked with little success in the publishing world since the end of the 20th century. And although these new systems were hailed at the time as a possible wake-up call for traditional ones (**Sánchez-Paso**, 2003), it was not until the second decade of the 21st century that technology made it possible to arbitrate efficient and profitable production systems for publishers and users. So much so that **Shatzkin** (2021) does not hesitate to consider that their consolidation, together with self-publishing systems, is causing a reordering of the structural and commercial landscape of publishing. In fact, he argues that this is the third major disruption in the publishing sector, after the first, which was driven by the restructuring of the retail sales network imposed by *Amazon*, which removed the role of conventional distribution systems in order to impose online demand for physical books; and after the second, in which the role of publishers in the distribution and sale of books has also been reduced. This is a phenomenon attributable to the activity of companies such as *Amazon* and *IngramSpark*, which have allowed authors to place their books on the market effectively and directly without the intervention of a publisher (**Hunt**, 2021). In contrast to the produce-to-sell system, print-on-demand represents a paradigm shift by reversing the order of the process: first sell and then produce, articulating a perfect fit between supply and demand.

In Spain, the model has worked regularly, with growing repercussions in the publishing business. In 2021, a work was presented in the media that had reached number 1 in sales, both on *Amazon* and in independent bookshops, 60 million

readings on *Wattpad*, with the particularity of having no copies in stock. The key to the success model lay on the one hand in the importance of social networks in its viralisation and visibility but, above all, in the transformation of the supply chain of the work, which turned to print-on-demand. Some 400 publishers are currently working with this model, representing a growth of 30% compared to 2020, with much higher percentages if sales are included, which represented an 800% increase in on-demand books in Spain. One of the reasons for this strong expansion lies in the participation of an extensive network of bookshops, grouped under the *Podibooks* portal, created in 2021, in which there is a stock of more than three million titles. As industry leader *Podiprint* points out in a report,

> "The forms of criticism that have become established in today's society combine cruelty with subtlety, the cultural with the personal, lynching with victimhood, claiming with exclusion"

> "With on-demand online shop solutions, segmented metadata connections, and customised integrations with publishers' management systems, the integration of the on-demand model is no longer a complementary option but part of the national and international distribution and sales strategy" (**Martínez**, 2022).

However, the potential of these new systems hints at a more disruptive evolution with traditional models since, as **Shatzkin** (2021) points out, it seems that a generation of new actors is being created for whom publishing, instead of being a business in the conventional sense of the term, is a function integrated into the services of an institution or company, in such a way that book publishing would allow the development of ad hoc products for a specific public.

7. Spaces of reading: tradition, modernity, and economy of attention

Although objects change our relationship with reality, their appropriation is often culturally differentiated in space and time. The book represents a good example of this, as cultural traditions and technological innovations have intersected for centuries, modifying the way it is perceived and integrated into collective behaviour, in a journey that has gone from its consecration as an unquestioned invocation of authority (**Compagnon**, 2020) to a much weaker and relativised position in terms of the emergence of new communicative forms. The hard-won naturalisation of reading as something inherent to conventional education, achieved with the generalisation of literacy in the second half of the 20th century, was altered by the new demands posed by the appearance of digital formats, which implied the interposition of additional barriers of a technological nature to the already existing cognitive ones.

The consequence is that the new systems were born under the philosophy of continuity, the only way to guarantee the generational transitions involved in any innovation without producing insurmountable obstacles. As has been underlined by numerous researchers (**Bogost**, 2021; **Baron**, 2021a; 2021b; **Wulf**, 2021; **Wolf**, 2018), the receptivity to the digital environment of a particular reader depends on the degree to which these objects conform to their prior idea of what a book is. When this has been permeated by a strongly established concept such as the standard print and codex format, new technological proposals could only reproduce this standard in another context. Hence the persistence of the model that has existed in the evolution of reading in recent years, in which, despite having dared to make qualitative and more experimental leaps, these have been relegated to a peripheral space frequented only by researchers and a minority readership. The existing media mostly reproduce the traditional model, with some differences that take advantage of the digital space to expand the information, but always within a conservative framework that avoids scaring off the average reader, to use the expression coined by Umberto Eco (**Argüello-Guzmán**, 2020). Reading devices have stabilised in a line of very timid and little renewed innovation, to the point that it can be said that the possibilities allowed by this conservative framework have been exhausted. Electronic ink devices have gradually been stripped of superfluous elements, varying sizes, grey levels and admissible formats, but always within a system of integration of printed forms in all their features. Tablets and smartphones, although they initially seemed to embark on a more innovative path through the creation of applications and interactive works, have finally been compelled to incursion into the same conventional market, seeking to attract clients who are not interested in uncomfortable technological ruptures. **Baron** (2021a) said that digital reading differs from conventional reading mainly in the strategies and mental effort used, and readers have always been more inclined to economy than excess. Even, as in the case of *Amazon* and *Barnes and Noble*, there has been an abandonment of the manufacture of these devices due to the lack of viability of a promising market. Immerwahr's ironic sentence is not surprising, when she wonders about the needs implied by the new media:

> "In earlier times, if I had been asked if any equipment was necessary for reading, I would have said a comfortable chair. Now? Eye drops" (**Immerwahr**, 2021).

Or ear drops, one might add, given the acceleration of this new medium in the transmission of content of all kinds. When *Penguin Random House* decided in February 2020 to withdraw its entire catalogue from streaming audiobook platforms, it was not because this division of the publishing business was unproductive but, on the contrary, because it found it far more profitable to sell individual titles. With this decision, the publishing giant was showing the impact that audiobooks have had on the industry in the last three or four years, to the extent that, at some point, it has been predicted that their sales will predominate over those of e-books. In 2019, *Harris Interactive* presented a report at the *Future Books* event under the curious title of "Generation Headphone", echoing the existence of a sector of the population that is highly

sensitive to all types of content transmitted by audio, and which would constitute a safe niche for the consumption of audiobooks, whose growth figures are provided by the report as an unappealable argument (*Future Books*, 2019).

The *Digital Consumer Book Barometer* provides detailed information on the performance of books and audiobooks in the markets of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Canada, Brazil and Mexico. In its latest edition (**Wischenbart**; **Fleischhacker**, 2021), it indicates that audiobooks grew by 32% on average in sales in all countries surveyed. In the UK, according to the report developed by the *Association of British Publishers* for the same period, they are reported to have grown by 70%. This data is confirmed by *Nielsen* (**Anderson**, 2021), which points to the possibility of multitasking as one of the reasons for this growth, an argument that can be found in other studies (**Tattersall-Wallin**, 2022).

These are some of the many pieces of evidence of the consolidation of the audiobook as a growing sector, with increasing levels of acceptance and use in society (**Snelling**, 2021; **Thompson**, 2021b; **Gustafsson**, 2021). Audiobooks have arguably moved from being a peripheral by-product of the printed book to become the centre of digital publishing and reading (**Have**; **Pedersen**, 2020).

Spain also participates in this interest (**Magadán-Díaz**; **Rivas-García**, 2020), which has been reflected in production reports such as that of *Bookwire* (2021), which also includes Latin America, or reception reports such as *Hábitos de lectura y compra de libros* [Reading and book buying habits] which, since 2018, has opened a special section dedicated to audiobooks. However, the results in this report contrast quite radically with the percentages reported in other sources. For example, the 2018 report (*FGEE*, 2019) indicates that only 2.5% of the population aged 14 and over listen to audiobooks on a quarterly basis, and out of these, 1.1% listen to audiobooks on a weekly basis. When book readers are asked, their last reading was in book format for only 0.1% of them. This percentage rises slightly in subsequent years, to 3%, but is still well below what would be expected according to the statistics provided by other studies. Possibly the explanation for this dissonance can be found in the formulation of the questions or in the respondents' degree of knowledge of the new formats. Many readers, accustomed to listening to podcasts and cultural programmes, which include reading extracts or whole books, do not consider this activity to be comparable to reading or listening to a book, and therefore do not say so when asked about it. Further reporting on the nature of this activity in future reports may provide more insight into the data.

As audiobooks have become increasingly popular, there are several voices warning about the lack of equivalence between audiobooks and conventional works, raising questions about the transfer of benefits, the skills required and the cognitive load of the new medium (**Tattersall-Wallin**, 2021). Does listening to a book require the same mental effort as reading it? What skills are mobilised in both cases? **Willeumier** (2020) argues that the brain acts differently when processing speech than when reading, as understanding what is being read activates the left side (mainly the areas associated with language processing), while understanding what is being listened to activates both. On the other hand, however, he argues that semantic information processing occurs in the same cortical areas, involving multiple brain networks. Nevertheless, for **Lindstedt** (2021), the complex narrative structures, shifting perspectives, narrative polyphony, long and winding sentences and visual aspects of a text cannot be set against a medium that relies solely on hearing, and which represents a manifest impoverishment with respect to its textual referent.

Regardless of the consideration that audiobooks deserve from a cognitive point of view, and regardless of the assessment made in terms of their capacity to transmit information and improve comprehension (**Singh**; **Alexander**, 2022), if the publishing sector has not become involved in a decisive and majority way in their development, it is not a question of principle, but of economics. The real brake on the development of these products lies in the high production costs, which involve the need for recording studios, sound engineers to guarantee the quality of the recordings, experienced narrators, etc. This will be an insurmountable barrier to entry for those companies that want to invest in audio as a quality product, but do not have the resources to afford these investment costs in the final product.

8. Reading time: the inversion of the attention pyramid

Perhaps the most radical change affecting reading has less to do with the media, the system used or the format, but rather with the time devoted to it and the changes in the nature and length of texts. The new digital environments and the generalisation of the smartphone as an accompanying tool, in many cases addictive, have led to this activity occupying a level of time that would have been unthinkable at other times in history. **Ferraris** speaks of *Documanitá* (2021) (*documanity*) as an evolution of *produmanitá* (*produmanity*), the industrial society centred on the production of material goods. The *documanitá*, on the other hand, is that of a system whose fundamental reason is the production of contents of all kinds, which, moreover, in their various forms, are always available and in continuous circulation. If reading in the pre-digital era was distributed in a fragmentary way among daily activities, with peaks of varying intensity among the educated pu-

> " The major publishing houses have been adopting this expansionist approach for many years. For *Random House*, *Hachette*, *Planeta*, or in the digital sphere, *Amazon*, *Google* or *Apple*, the need to find the means to assert their international presence is an immediate imperative "

blic, divided between reading the press, books, articles, etc., nowadays it has become a continuous activity distributed regularly throughout the day, but mainly centred on informal texts, present in various social networks, messaging systems, chats, etc., which are mainly consulted via mobile phones. Moreover, these are short texts which, according to the logic of the economy of attention, consume little investment of individual time, although their multiplication, the aggregation of attention multiplied by the requirements of the system, produces an overall result that is abundant in hours, as all the studies dedicated to the analysis of behaviour in social networks or similar systems show, but not very intensive in terms of disaggregated dedication. If the presence of the reader, with their particular aesthetic of leaning over the text and gesture of concentration, was something infrequent in the urban landscape, now it is invaded daily by hundreds of thousands of people who consult and read messages, news and all kinds of texts on their devices, taking advantage of any free moment, even the brief instants of a traffic light or a bus stop, with the particularity that reading is an activity that can be exercised both while standing still and on the move.

Formal texts have also been contaminated by this reduction in the time required, as a reproduction of the phenomena of shrinkflation, whereby the prices of products are maintained at the expense of a reduction in their quantities. News services in which the headline or opening paragraph satisfies the information needs of a society dominated by haste and the acceleration of time, novels written from *WhatsApp* dialogues, the so-called Chat Stories, which have found their ideal niche in the *Hooked* application, etc. *Amazon*, always attentive to the evolution of the market, launched *Rapids*, an application aimed at children, in which reading takes place in the form of chats. The 12 min app aims to summarise any work in that short time, with the aim, say its creators, of helping to develop reading habits by taking advantage of "those useless micro-moments of the day, such as queuing at a bank, being on the bus or train...". There are many initiatives developed along these lines that emphasise the need to permanently engage in an exercise of informational self-validation, through formal and informal channels that invariably involve the act of reading.

9. By way of conclusion

In 2020, a work on the history of books and reading received the *National Essay Prize* in Spain, awarded by the *Ministry of Culture* to the most outstanding work of reflection published the previous year. It was *El infinito en un junco* [*Infinity in a Reed*], whose subtitle read: *la invención de los libros en el mundo antiguo* [*The Invention of Books in the Ancient World*] (**Vallejo**, 2020). Its author (Irene Vallejo) was little known outside the academic world. The book was published in September 2019 by the publishing house *Siruela*, and since then the editions have not stopped, despite the fact that, when it was at the height of its success, there was a major halt in commercial activity induced by the Covid-19 pandemic, which forced bookshops to close all over the country and transfer their activity to the digital environment. According to the consultancy firm *GfK*, it had sold 50,549 copies since its launch until the end of August 2020, occupying the 11th position, the first for an essay, in the list of the most successful works in the Spanish publishing market. It has now sold over 400,000 copies, with 41 editions and translations into multiple languages.

The *National Essay Prize* has been awarded since 1975, and in its almost fifty editions it was the first time that it had been awarded to a work centred on books and reading, with the exception, perhaps, of the one awarded to the philosopher Emilio Lledó in 1992 for *El silencio de la escritura* [*The Silence of Writing*], although this work was more focused on the communicative process and the role of language in philosophy.

What is unique in this case is the prominence given to a work on the history of the book and, above all, the enthusiasm aroused by it, not among academics, but among society in general. This success is not unrelated to the situation of a sector in transition for almost a decade, when the irruption of digital publishing broke with a centuries-old tradition, inaugurating a period that we could characterise with the title of Thompson's latest work: *Book Wars* (**Thompson**, 2021b).

To paraphrase this author, there are many wars in which books are engaged, not yet resolved, nor in the process of being resolved: The wars of definitions (audiobooks, etc.) the wars of figures, metrics, or weightings; the wars of formats (digital print, devices; long texts-briefs, audiobooks, etc); the wars of concentration and bibliodiversity; the wars of availability; the wars of accessibility; the wars of cognitive performance; the wars of recognition (especially the academic acknowledgement, tilted towards articles). These are wars in which tradition is of great importance. In digital publishing, the adoption of repetitive and homothetic formats (pdf and epub) is widespread and has shaped both creative practices and distribution methods (**Cordón-García**, 2020).

The paradox of the situation is that we have seen that society's new digital habits and demands have translated into new forms and styles of publishing but, in the field of books, this has taken place in a less innovative context than was foreseeable a few years ago (**Borsuk**, 2020), without taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by technology. The publishing industry has reinforced its status quo, with few incursions into the lines of innovation devised by pioneering initiatives aimed at the liberation of content in creation, production, and reception. After almost two decades of existence, the reinvention of the digital book is still being considered in order to be able to implement experiences such as augmented reality, the integration of concurrent audio and video systems, the optimisation of socialisation systems and intervention on content, the extrapolation of these to other formats such as the audiobook, the integration of artificial intelligence, etc.

We are living in a moment of openness and confluence of projects, of models that are ambivalent in nature, as they share a propensity towards innovation, recognisable both with the new generations of readers and publishers, but also a strong reserve towards it, protected by the threshold of security and the comfort zone provided by tradition. As Apollinaire would say, we are strollers on the two riverbanks between which we try to build bridges, although not always passable, wandering between systems whose ephemeral nature raises a wall of unknowns about the future, about the evolution and forms

'The interactions generated between the different actors make it possible to articulate semantically significant models of the relationship between the whole and the parts, not only in terms of the structure of the content, but also between the people and objects involved in the publication process'

that the practices of reading, writing, and publishing will adopt. In this provisionality, we return to the words of the old Marx: All that is solid melts into air.

10. References

Anders, Günther (2019). *La obsolescencia del odio*. Valencia: Pre-Textos. ISBN: 978 84 17143 99 2

Anderson, Porter (2021). "Nielsen's look at audiobooks in the United Kingdom: 'curiosity, multitasking'". *Publishing perspectives*, November 30.
https://publishingperspectives.com/2021/11/nielsens-look-at-audiobooks-in-the-united-kingdom-curiosity-multitasking-covid19

Aparici, Roberto; **García-Marín, David** (2019). *La posverdad: una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política*. Barcelona: Gedisa. ISBN: 978 84 17690 49 6

Argüello-Guzmán, Luis-Alfonso (2020). "El lector modelo: Umberto Eco". *Question/Cuestión*, v. 2, n. 66.
https://doi.org/10.24215/16696581e490

Baltasar, Basilio (ed.) (2018). *El linchamiento digital: acoso, difamación y censura en las redes sociales*. Sevilla: Jot Down Books. ISBN: 978 84 948084 6 3

Baron, Naomi S. (2021a). *How we read now: strategic choices for print, screen, and audio*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978 0 1900 8409 7

Baron, Naomi S. (2021b). "Op-Ed: When reading to learn, what works best for students - printed books or digital texts?". *Los Angeles times*, May 10.
https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2021-05-10/digital-books-reading-learning-pandemic

Barthes, Roland (1987). *El susurro del lenguaje: más allá de la palabra y la escritura*. Barcelona: Paidós. ISBN: 978 84 493 3804 5

Baudrillard, Jean (2010). *La ilusión vital*. Barcelona: Siglo I. ISBN: 978 84 323 1448 3

Bauman, Zygmunt (2017). *La cultura en el mundo de la modernidad líquida*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica. ISBN: 978 84 375 069 5

Bienvault, Hervé (2022). "La transition numérique à l'aune de Nikos Kazantzaki". *Aldus*, 10 janvier.
https://aldus2006.typepad.fr/mon_weblog/2022/01/6-la-transition-num%C3%A9rique-%C3%A0-laune-de-nikos-kazantzaki.html

BOD (2020). *Estudio sobre la autopublicación en Europa 2019*. Books on Demand.
https://www.bod.com.es/fileadmin/user_upload_es/sobre-bod-y-prensa/BoD_Estudio_sobre_autopublicacion_Europa_2019.pdf

Bogost, Ian (2021). "Ebooks are an abomination". *The Atlantic*, September 14.
https://www.theatlantic.com/books/archive/2021/09/why-are-ebooks-so-terrible/620068

Bookwire (2021). *Evolution of digital market (ebooks, audiobooks and podcasts) in Spain and Latin America*.
https://www.bookwire.de/fileadmin/downloads/whitepapers/Bookwire_Dosdoce_Spanish_Markets_Digital_Report_2021.pdf

Borsuk, Amaranth (2020). *El libro expandido*. Buenos Aires: Ampersand. ISBN: 978 987 4161 43 7

Bourdieu, Pierre (2011). *Las reglas del arte: génesis y estructura del campo literario*. Barcelona: Anagrama. ISBN: 978 84 339 1397 5

Cantrell, Melissa H.; **Donaldson, Michael R.** (2022). "Perspectives on a 'unified approach' to the future of open access". *The scholarly kitchen*, January 11.
https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2022/01/11/guest-post-perspectives-on-a-unified-approach-to-the-future-of-open-access

Cardon, Dominique (2018). *Con qué sueñan los algoritmos: nuestras vidas en el tiempo del big data.* Madrid: Dado Ediciones. ISBN: 978 84 945072 8 1

Compagnon, Antoine (2020). *La segunda mano o el trabajo de la cita*. Barcelona: Acantilado. ISBN: 978 84 17902 41 4

Coppa, Francesca (2017). *The fanfiction reader: Folk tales for the digital age*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. ISBN: 978 0 472 07348 1

Cordón-García, José-Antonio (2011). "El final del libro y el principio de la lectura: los libros electrónicos y el fenómeno *iPad*". *Anuario ThinkEPI*, v. 5, pp. 132-138.
https://thinkepi.profesionaldelainformacion.com/index.php/ThinkEPI/article/view/30483

Cordón-García, José-Antonio (2016). "Ruptura del campo editorial: la autopublicación y sus derivados". *Anuario ThinkEPI*, v. 10, pp. 278-283.
https://doi.org/10.3145/thinkepi.2016.61

Cordón-García, José-Antonio (2020). "Lettura digitale: intelligibilità, usabilità e contesti". *Biblioteche oggi trends*, v. 6, n. 2, pp. 28-40.
http://www.bibliotecheoggi.it/trends/article/view/1177/1383

Cordón-García, José-Antonio; **Gómez-Díaz, Raquel** (eds.) (2018). *Lectura, sociedad y redes: colaboración, visibilidad y recomendación en el ecosistema del libro*. Madrid: Marcial Pons. ISBN: 978 84 912 3577 4

Cruz-Martín, Ana (2016). *El fenómeno de la fanfiction*. Girona: Universitaat de Girona. Trabajo de fin de grado.
https://dugi-doc.udg.edu/bitstream/handle/10256/13312/CruzMartinAnna_Treball.pdf

Cuquerella, Ana (2018). *Del café al tuit: literatura digital, una nueva vanguardia*. Valencia: Calambur. ISBN: 978 84 8359 448 3

D'Ancona, Matthew (2019). *Posverdad*. Madrid: Alianza. ISBN: 978 84 91813 97 2

Deleuze, Gilles (2008). *Dos regímenes de locos (textos y entrevistas, 1975-1995)*. Edición a cargo de David Lapoujade. Valencia: Pretextos. ISBN: 978 84 8191 850 2

Derrida, Jacques (1967). *De la grammatologie*. Paris: Minuit. ISBN: 978 2 707300126

Derrida, Jacques (1968). "Culture et écriture: la prolifération des livres et la fin du libre". *Noroit*.
https://derridas-margins.princeton.edu/outwork/2018/culture-et-ecriture-la-proliferation-des-livres-et-la-fin-du-livre

Doctorow, Cory (2021). "The future is in interoperability not big tech: 2021 in review". *Electronic frontier foundation*, December 24.
https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2021/12/future-interoperability-not-big-tech-2021-review

Dubreuil, Laurent (2019). *La dictature des identités*. Paris: Gallimard. ISBN: 978 20 728 4318 1

Echeverria, Javier; **Almendros, Lola S.** (2021). *Technopersonas. Cómo las tecnologías nos transforman*. Gijón: Trea. ISBN: 978 84 17987 40 4

Eco, Umberto (2012). *Construir al enemigo y otros escritos*. Barcelona: Lumen. ISBN: 978 84 264 2158 6

Eco, Umberto (2021). *La memoria vegetal*. Barcelona: Lumen. ISBN: 978 84 264 0628 6

Emcke, Carolin (2020). *Contra el odio*. Madrid: Taurus. ISBN: 978 84 306 1874 3

Ertzscheid, Olivier (2018). "Autodafécebook: de l'interdiction des livres sur facebook et de l'inquisition de certaines formes instrumentales de viralité". *Affordance info*, 8 mar.
https://www.affordance.info/mon_weblog/2018/03/de-linterdiction-des-livres-sur-facebook-et-de-linquisition-de-la-viralite.html

Ertzscheid, Olivier (2019). "Bienvenue dans le world wide fake. La société dévisage". *Affordance info*, 2 june.
https://www.affordance.info/mon_weblog/2019/06/bienvenue-dans-le-world-wide-face.html

Ertzscheid, Olivier (2021). "La cuillère, le champagne et les antivax". *Affordance info*, 31 décembre.
https://www.affordance.info/mon_weblog/2021/12/cuillere-champagne-antivax.html

Escandell-Montiel, Daniel (2020). "Exocanonismo y estrategias de impulso para la literatura electrónica en lengua española". En: Borham-Puyal, Miriam; Diego-Sánchez, Jorge; García-Pérez, María-Isabel (coords.). *Documentando la memoria cultural: las mujeres en las (auto)narraciones exocanónicas*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, p. 281-292. ISBN: 978 84 9012 969 2
https://doi.org/10.14201/0MM0018

Esposito, Joseph (2020). "The 360° competitor". *The scholarly kitchen*, October 5.
https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2020/10/05/the-360-competitor

European Publishing Federation (2019). *FEP manifesto*.
https://fep-fee.eu/EUROPEAN-PUBLISHING-MATTERS-The

Ferran-Sáez, Mateu (2018). *La superficie: la vida entre pantallas*. Barcelona: ED Libros. ISBN: 978 84 09 03465 9

Ferraris, Maurizio (2017). *Movilización total*. Barcelona: Herder. ISBN: 978 84 254 3924 7

Ferraris, Maurizio (2021). *Documanità: Filosofia del mondo nuovo*. Roma: Laterza. ISBN: 978 88 581 3411 5

FGEE (2019). *Hábitos de lectura y compra de libros 2018*. Madrid: Federación de Gremios de Editores.
https://www.cegal.es/habitos-de-lectura-y-compra-de-libros-en-espana-2018

Fülöp, Erika (2019). "Digital authorship and social media: French digital authors' attitudes towards Facebook". *French cultural studies*, v. 30, n. 2, pp. 121-137.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0957155819843414

Future Books (2019). "Crunching the numbers: How 'data guy' Paul Abbassi rewrote the digital narrative". *FutureBook live 2019. Getting to know the speaker*.
https://content.yudu.com/web/1vcls/0A1xp12/FutureBook2019/html/index.html

Gómez-de-Ágreda, Ángel (2019). *Mundo Orwell*. Barcelona: Ariel. ISBN: 978 84 344 2978 9

González-Sainz, José-Ángel (2021). *La vida pequeña: el arte de la fuga*. Barcelona: Anagrama. ISBN: 978 84 339 9925 2

Guillaud, Hubert (2021). "Nous défaire de nos imaginaires statistiques". *Internetactu.net*, Décembre 16.
https://www.internetactu.net/2021/12/16/nous-defaire-de-nos-imaginaires-statistiques

Gustafsson, Helena (2021). "The market for audiobooks". *Logos*, v. 32, n. 2, pp. 7-9.
https://brill.com/view/journals/logo/32/2/article-p7_2.xml

Han, Byung-Chul (2019). *Hiperculturalidad*. Barcelona: Herder. ISBN: 978 84 254 4062 5

Han, Byung-Chul (2021). *No cosas: quiebras del mundo de hoy*. Madrid: Taurus. ISBN: 978 84 306 2434 8

Have, Iben; **Pedersen, Birgitte S.** (2020). "The audiobook circuit in digital publishing: Voicing the silent revolution". *New media and society*, v. 22, n. 3, pp. 409-428.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819863407

Havelock, Eric A. (2005). *Prefacio a Platón*. Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros. ISBN: 84 7774 717 2

Hunt, Keel (2021). *The family business: how Ingram transformed the world of books.* Berkeley: West Margin Press. ISBN: 978 1 5132 6721 0

IAIP (2014). *International declaration of independent publishers*. International Alliance of Independent Publishers.
https://www.alliance-editeurs.org/IMG/pdf/international_declaration_of_independent_publishers_2014-6.pdf

Immerwahr, Daniel (2021). "The pandemic has forced our reading onscreen". *Perspectives on history*, April 29.
https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2021/the-pandemic-has-forced-our-reading-onscreen-has-that-helped

Jacobs, Naomi (2018). "Live streaming as participation: a case study of conflict in the digital/physical spaces of supernatural conventions". *Transformative works and cultures. Special 10th anniversary issue: The future of fandom*, v. 28.
https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2018.1393

Kaplan, Frederic (2012). "Nos langues à l'heure du capitalisme linguistique". *FKaplan*, avril 12.
http://fkaplan.wordpress.com/2012/04/12/nos-langues-a-lheure-du-capitalisme-linguistique

Lanier, Jaron (2021). *Diez razones para borrar tus redes sociales de inmediato*. Barcelona: Debate. ISBN: 978 84 9992 917 0

Levi, Simona (dir.) (2019). *#Fake you: fake news y desinformación*. Barcelona: Rayo Verde. ISBN: 978 84 17925 06 2

Lindstedt, Laura (2021) "How stories change when they move from page to voice". *Literary hub*, June 14.
https://lithub.com/how-stories-change-when-they-move-from-page-to-voice

Lipovetsky, Gilles; **Juvin, Hervé** (2011). *El occidente globalizado: un debate sobre la cultura planetaria*. Barcelona: Anagrama. ISBN: 978 84 339 6334 5

Magadán-Díaz, Marta; **Rivas-García, Jesús I.** (2020). "El audiolibro en España: ¿industria o modelo de negocio?". *Profesional de la información*, v. 29, n. 6.
https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.nov.25

Martínez, Inés (2022). "La venta de libros bajo demanda en España crece un 800% durante 2021". *Publishnew*, 14 enero.
https://publishnews.es/la-venta-de-libros-bajo-demanda-en-espana-crece-un-800-durante-2021

Maxwell, John W.; **Hanson, Erik**; **Desai, Leena**; **Tiampo, Carmen**; **O'Donnell, Kim**; **Ketheeswaran, Avvai**; **Sun, Melody**; **Walter, Emma**; **Michelle, Ellen** (2019). *Mind the gap: a landscape analysis of open source publishing tools and platforms.* The MIT Press.
https://doi.org/10.21428/6bc8b38c.2e2f6c3f

McGurl, Mark (2021). *Everything and less: the novel in the age of Amazon*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso. ISBN: 978 1 839 76385 4

MacIllroy, Thad (2020). "The power of Penguin Random House". *The future of publishing*, September 22.
https://thefutureofpublishing.com/2020/09/the-power-of-penguin-random-house

McIntyre, Lee (2018). *Posverdad*. Madrid: Cátedra. ISBN: 978 84 376 3869 0

Mora, Vicente-Luis (2021). *La escritura a la intemperie: metamorfosis de la experiencia literaria y la lectura en la cultura digital*. León: Universidad. ISBN: 978 84 18490 13 2

Morrison, Ewan (2013). "Fiction in 2043: looking back from the future". *The Guardian*, August 12.
https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/aug/12/fiction-2043-time-travel-war-and-peace

Muñoz-Machado, Santiago (2013). *Los itinerarios de la libertad de palabra*. Barcelona: Crítica. ISBN: 978 84 9892 591 3

Muñoz-Rengel, Jacinto (2020). *Una historia de la mentira*. Madrid: Alianza. ISBN: 978 84 9181 889 2

Muñoz-Rico, María; **Cordón-García, José-Antonio** (2022). *Lectura, fidelidad y adicción en la literatura de masas*. Gijón: Trea. ISBN: 978 84 18932 05 2

Murray, Janet (1997). *Hamlet on the holodeck: the future of narrative in cyberspace*. MIT Press. ISBN: 0 262 63187 3

Nacarino-Bravo, Aurora (2018). "Por la corrección política y en contra del puritanismo". *Letras libres*, 30 enero.
https://letraslibres.com/politica/por-la-correccion-politica-y-en-contra-del-puritanismo

Nietzsche, Friedrich (2008). *Fragmentos póstumos IV*. Madrid, Tecnos. ISBN: 978 84 309 4484 2

Peyron, David (2018). "Fandom names and collective identities in contemporary popular culture". *Transformative works and cultures. Special 10th anniversary issue: The future of fandom*, v. 28.
https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2018.1468

Potts, Liza; **Beattie, Melissa**; **Dallaire, Emily**; **Grimes, Katie**; **Turner, Kelly** (2018). *Participatory memory: Fandom experiences across time and space*. *Intermezzo*. ISBN: 978 0 9864333 6 8
http://participatorymemory.org/book/index

Reijnen, Leo; **Rasch, Miriam** (eds.) (2020). *Here and now explorations in urgent publishing*. Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures. ISBN: 978 94 92302 57 1
https://networkcultures.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Here-and-Now-Explorations-in-Urgent-Publishing-__-online.pdf

Rodríguez-Magda, Rosa-María (1989). *La sonrisa de Saturno: hacia una teoría transmoderna*. Barcelona: Anthropos. ISBN: 84 7658 188 2

Roszak, Theodore (2008). *El culto a la información: un tratado sobre alta tecnología, inteligencia artificial y el verdadero arte de pensar*. Barcelona: Gedisa. ISBN: 84 9784 073 9

Said, Edwar (2006). *Humanismo y crítica democrática*. Madrid: Debate. ISBN: 978 84 8306 671 3

Sánchez-Paso, José-Antonio (2003). "La edición sin nombre". *Libros y bitios*, 10 enero.
http://jamillan.com/celpas.htm

Sapiro, Gisèle (coord.) (2019). *Las contradicciones de la globalización editorial*. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes. ISBN: 978 958 774 910 6

Sapiro, Gisèle (2021). *¿Se puede separar la obra del autor?: Censura, cancelación y derecho al error*. Madrid: Clave Intelectual. ISBN: 978 84 123285 7 8

Schiffrin, André (2019). "La edición angloamericana: entre la despolitización y la comercialización". En: Sapiro, Gisèle (coord.). *Las contradicciones de la globalización editorial*. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, pp. 97-111. ISBN: 978 958 774 910 6

Shatzkin, Mike (2021). "Enterprise self-publishing is coming: the third great disruption of book publishing since the 1990s". *The idea logical company*, June 20.
https://www.idealog.com/blog/enterprise-self-publishing-is-coming-the-third-great-disruption-of-book-publishing-since-the-1990s

Shatzkin, Mike; **Paris, Robert** (2019). *The book business: what everyone needs to know*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 0 19 062806 5

Sibilia, Paula (2018). *La intimidad como espectáculo*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica. ISBN: 978 950 557 754 5

Singh, Anisha; **Alexander, Patricia A.** (2022) "Audiobooks, print, and comprehension: what we know and what we need to know". *Educational psychology review*. Online first.
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-021-09653-2

SNE (2021). *Législation sur les marchés numériques: pour lutter contre les pratiques déloyales des plateformes dans le secteur du livre, les representants des auteurs, éditeurs et libraires demandent a la France d'enteriner la position ferme du Parlement Européen. Syndicat National de l'Edition*. Syndicat National de l'Edition.
https://www.sne.fr/app/uploads/2021/12/Communique_DMA_22Decembre2021_SNE_SLF_SGDL_SDLC.pdf

Snelling, Maria (2021). "The audiobook market and its adaptation to cultural changes". *Publishing research quarterly*, v. 37, n. 4, pp. 642-656.
https://doi.org/10.1007/s12109-021-09838-1

Tamayo, Juan-José (2020). *La internacional del odio: ¿Cómo se construye? ¿Cómo se deconstruye?*. Barcelona: Icaria. ISBN: 978 84 9888 979 6

Tannen, Deborah (1999). *La cultura de la polémica: del enfrentamiento al diálogo*. Barcelona: Paidos. ISBN: 978 84 493 0725 6

Tattersall-Wallin, Elisa (2021). "Reading by listening: conceptualising audiobook practices in the age of streaming subscription services". *Journal of documentation*, v. 77, n. 2, pp. 432-448.
https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-06-2020-0098

Tattersall-Wallin, Elisa (2022). "Audiobook routines: identifying everyday reading by listening practices amongst young adults". *Journal of documentation*, v. 78, n. 7, pp. 266-281.
https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-06-2021-0116

Thompson, John B. (2021a). *Book wars: the digital revolution in publishing*. Cambridge: Polity. ISBN: 978 1 5095 4678 7

Thompson, John B. (2021b). "The remarkable rise of the audiobook". *Logos* (Netherlands), v. 32 n. 2, pp. 10-19.
https://doi.org/10.1163/18784712-03104013

Thoreau, Henry-David (2021). *Walden*. Madrid: Errata Naturae. ISBN: 978 84 16544 42 4

Vallejo, Irene (2020). *El infinito en un junco: la invención de los libros en el mundo antiguo*. Barcelona: Siruela. ISBN: 978 84 17860 79 0

Villanueva, Darío (2021). *Morderse la lengua: Corrección política y posverdad*. Barcelona: Espasa. ISBN: 978 84 67 6198 7

Vitali-Rosati, Marcello (2018). *On editorialization: structuring space and authority in the digital age.* Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures. ISBN: 978 9492 30220 5
https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/handle/1866/19868

Voisard, Anne-Marie; **Chibani-Jacquot, Philippe**; **Mollier, Jean-Yves** (2021). *What freedom of publishing for independent publishers? Study initiated and coordinated by the Alliance, 2018-2020.* International Alliance of Independent Publishers.
https://www.alliance-editeurs.org/what-freedom-of-publishing-for,1497?lang=en

Willeumier, Kristen (2020). *Biohack your brain: how to boost cognitive health, performance & power*. New York: William Morrow. ISBN: 978 0 06299 433 2

Wischenbart, Rudiger; **Fleischfacker, Michaela** (2020). *Global 50 the ranking of the publishing industry 2020*. Paris: Livres Hebdo.
https://www.wischenbart.com/upload/Global50-Publishing-Ranking-2020_ScreenOpt.pdf

Wischenbart, Rudiger; **Fleischfacker, Michaela** (2021). *The digital consumer book barometer*. Bookwire; DeMarque; Edigita; Libranda; Readbox; International Publishing Distribution Association.
https://libranda.com/the-digital-consumer-book-barometer-2021-pdf

Wolf, Maryanne (2018). *Reader, come home: the reading brain in a digital world*. London: HarperCollins. ISBN: 978 15 385 5193 6

Wu, Tim (2020). *Comerciantes de atención*. Madrid: Capitan Swing. ISBN: 978 84 120645 9 9

Wulf, Karin (2021). "Revisiting: dear reader, are you reading?". *The scholarly kitchen*, June 9.
https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2021/06/09/revisiting-dear-reader-are-you-reading

Zafra, Remedios (2021). *Frágiles: Cartas sobre la ansiedad y la esperanza en la nueva cultura*. Barcelona: Anagrama. ISBN: 978 84 339 6469 4

Žižek, Slavoj (2021). *Como un ladrón en pleno día*. Barcelona: Anagrama. ISBN: 978 84 339 6465 6

Zuboff, Shoshana (2020). *La era del capitalismo de la vigilancia: la lucha por un futuro humano frente a las nuevas fronteras del poder*. Barcelona: Paidos. ISBN: 978 84 493 3693 5