

Exploring the Impact of Book Influencers on Reading Intentions in the Scroll Era

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Abstract

While social media influencers' impact on consumer choices in brands and products has been extensively studied, their influence in the realm of arts and culture, particularly literature, remains underexplored. This study fills this gap by examining the influence of literary influencers, or “book influencers”, on readers' book choices and their likelihood of following such recommendations.

Using source theory as our framework, we develop a model focused on the perceived credibility of these influencers. We hypothesize that this credibility depends on the influencer's characteristics, like popularity, and the reader's literary preferences, such as genre specialization. Our empirical experiment with 280 French readers reveals that an influencer's perceived credibility significantly affects readers' intentions to read a book, only when the influencer is less popular. This effect is amplified when readers lack genre specialization, indicating omnivorous reading habits. These findings challenge initial hypotheses and open new avenues for research into the role of literary influencers in shaping readers' choices.

Keywords: book influencers, social media, credibility, omnivorousness, readers' choices.

INTRODUCTION

In the arts and culture, a multitude of specialized “content creators”¹ actively critique and endorse books, exhibitions, or movies within their respective communities (Ballarini 2023). Notably, in the world of books, there’s been a noticeable rise in “bookstagrammers” coined from the fusion of “books” and “Instagram”. Bookstagrammers are characterized as “a relatively new social media phenomenon in which Instagram users dedicate their feeds to showcasing books and reading-related activities” (Hammoudi 2018). Bookstagrammers are part of the “social media influencers” group, that means “people who have established credibility with large social media audiences because of their knowledge and expertise on particular topics, and thereby exert a significant influence on their followers’ and peer consumers’ decisions.” (Ki and Kim 2019, 905).

The emergence of these influencers is renewing the literacy criticism scene, which has traditionally been dominated by professional critics. While their experiential reviews lack the depth of genuine book critics (Wuart 2017), their opinions play a role in reading choices (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006). According to the most recent study by the French *Centre National du Livre* (National Book Center), some 44% of 15–24 year old rely on the opinions of social media influencers when buying a book – almost as many as those who rely on a journalist’s review (46%)². However, to date, the academic literature on cultural marketing has paid little attention to the phenomenon of influencers and, to our knowledge, the bookstagram phenomenon in particular is poorly understood. Consequently, the nature of their pervasive influence, their power of persuasion, and the conditions that foster it need to be explored.

¹ Hereafter, social media influencers (SMI) or content creators or creators will be used equally.

² The full report is available at <https://centrenationaldulivre.fr/donnees-cles/les-francais-et-la-lecture-en-2023> (see p. 77).

Against this background, our exploratory study aims to gain a better understanding of the underlying mechanisms of their persuasiveness. It draws on the academic literature on ‘influence marketing’ in consumer goods (sport, fashion and ready-to-wear, wellness, etc.), and proposes to adapt it to the specificities of cultural products (highly symbolic, highly engaging, intimate and personal experience). The aim is to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms by which creators’ recommendations have an impact on internet users’ intentions to follow reading advice. Thus, and in line with source theory, the source’s characteristic lies at the heart of our explanatory model of bookstagrammer’s recommendation power (Hovland and Weiss 1951; Wilson 1987; Ohanian 1990).

In this study, the attention is focused on the source popularity, a specific attribute of the source. Indeed, in the context of social networks, the inability to know the source directly leads the audience to rely on peripheral cues, such as popularity, to assess the source and the relevance of its recommendations. Here, we test the impact of this cue on the mechanism through which perceived influencer credibility affects intentions to follow the recommendation.

Secondly, we know that decision-making processes regarding reading are highly dependent on reading habit and reading frequency (Guittet 2020). Specifically, our study tests the extent to which *omnivorousness*, understood as the tendency to read a wide variety of literary genres (Verboord 2010), interfere with the influencer’s perceived credibility and popularity on intentions to follow the latter’s recommendation. We argue that readers who are specialized (non-omnivorous) readers, who read only one or a few genres, will be less likely to rely on the credibility and popularity of the source when assessing the relevance of an influencer’s recommendation.

The first part depicts the legitimacy of bookstagrammers among the literacy criticism scene and set out the hypotheses of our model in introducing the dual moderating roles of SMI

popularity and omnivorousness. To test these hypotheses, an experimental study was conducted with 280 individuals. A unifactorial inter-subject design was implemented, manipulating the popularity of a fictional bookstagrammer. Participants in this study were both readers and instagrammers.

From a managerial point of view, our study will help publishing marketers make better use of this phenomenon, which is largely out of their control. Publishing companies can target and build partnerships with influencers by sending them books and gifts, inviting them to events, or even paying them to interview an author or review a book. However, the phenomenon is relatively unknown, and professionals are at a loss to know which influencers to sign up and which audiences might be interested in this type of marketing.

LITERATURE REVIEW

LITERARY PRESCRIPTION IN THE AGE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

Literary prescription refers to “a set of sources of information on the quality of a cultural work, independent (of the work), quantitative or qualitative, descriptive or evaluative, commercial or non-commercial and personal or non-personal, made available to the consumer” (Painbeni 2009, 2011). According to Hatchuel (1995), a strong information asymmetry between supply and demand, drives individuals to seek the help of an external prescriber who recommends or suggests a behavior or conduct. *Prescription* has three characteristics: (1) it induces a knowledge differential between the two parties (a ‘knowledgeable’ expert versus a novice, a layman) (Stenger 2011); (2) it presupposes that the individual judgment of the person who solicits the prescriber can be set aside; and (3) it is voluntary, and the individual who seeks an external judgment remains free to follow, or not, the recommendation.

In the domain of literature, prescription can be channeled through various mediums: literary criticism, the media, word-of-mouth (friends, peers), recommendations from booksellers or expert juries (Painbeni 2011). In practice, there is no consensus on how to categorize the forms of literary prescription (Table 1).

[Table 1]

As our research endeavors to gain a deeper understanding of the factors influencing literary recommendations by social media influencers, we considered the distinction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized developed by Jaakola (2019).

Institutionalized prescription refers to literary critics, also known as press reviews, spoken reviews, news reviews or journalist, press, radio or television reviews referring to book and expert critics (Verboord 2010). These reviews consist of standardized cultural judgments, constructed and expressed by professionals, about cultural objects that aim to recommend their use (Ducas and Pourchet 2014). Here, they are all referred to as institutionalized or traditional prescriptions or reviews (Verboord 2010). These recommendations are characterized by a desire for objectivity and impartiality, which are central to a certain definition of professionalism (Rabot 2011). The legitimacy of institutional reviews relies, to a large extent, on the reputation or notoriety of the media that publish them (Verboord 2010). They can be distinguished from non-institutional sources of prescription, which are personal judgments made in a private setting (Rabot 2011). Non-institutional reviews include all opinions expressed by family, friends, social network users or influencers that take the form of advice, comments, or a subjective personal account. Table 2 summarizes the characteristics of institutionalized and non-institutionalized prescriptions.

[Table 2]

To date, institutional reviews have played a dominant role in book selection (Verboord 2010). However, the Internet and social networks (Jaakoola 2019; Ducas and Pourchet 2014) along with changes in consumer habits (Verboord 2010) have turned the world of literary prescription upside down (Ducas and Pourchet 2014).

Firstly, the democratization of non-institutional literary prescription occurs with the emergence of “peer critics”. *Peer critics* are “persons who distribute evaluations on a personal, non-media basis (friends, family, etc.)” (Verboord 2010, 625). Web 2.0 has facilitated and diversified their expression and dissemination on a broad scale (Stenger, 2011). Peer critics refer to all reviews of books or authors, in the form of comments, opinions, or assessments, posted on e-commerce sites (e.g., Amazon), discussion forums (goodread), blogs or social networks. These conversations impact book sales (Chevalier and Mayzlin, 2006). By their very nature, these peer critics are removed from institutionalized value attribution and are both less hierarchical and more horizontal than institutionalized critics (Ducas and Pourchet 2014).

Secondly, web and social media, grabbed a “megaphone” to ordinary people (McQuarrie et al. 2013) and thereby fostering the emergence of a new category of “prescribers”: specialized content creators such as book bloggers, bookstagrammers, and booktokers. Through blogs and, more recently, social networks (youtube, Instagram, etc.), these enthusiastic amateurs produce and share literary reviews to a wide audience (Jaakkola 2019). Their critical reviews of books are presented in the form of texts of varying length, accompanied by photos or in videos, published on organized and formalized platforms (Colbert, Ravanis, and Saint James 2007). Their opinions on books seem to be incentivizing audiences. These creators fall into the category of *pro ams* (Flichy 2010; Leadbeater and Miller 2004) half professionals and half amateurs. Although they are amateur reviewers, motivated by taste or passion, they follow

professional rules and standards. Like institutionalized reviews, these narratives are made up of a description, reasoning, analysis and prescriptive judgment. But, as passionate readers, they express their subjective accounts of their reading experience (Jaakkola 2019). In doing so, their literary blog posts lend credibility to their skills and knowledge, giving them the status of quasi-literary critics. Players in the book ecosystem, including publishers, acknowledge their legitimacy by inviting them to literary fairs, sending them books to read, or, following the example of institutional literary critics, encourage them to interview certain authors (Ghariani, Creton, and Touzani 2013; Pourbaix and Guintcheva 2019; Chapelain 2014). This phenomenon is part of a larger one called 'social media influencers' (SMIs) who are personalities with a large audience on social networks and a significant power of recommendation among their followers. This influence is often negotiated with brands in exchange for money (Ki and Kim 2019).

Thirdly, as the consequences of previous changes, the natural authority of professional critics (the institutionalized form of prescription) becomes less obvious for the readers, who tend to equate institutionalized and non-institutionalized critics (Verboord 2010; Ducas and Pourchet 2014). The borderlines between institutionalized and non-institutionalized is not clear and affects the authority of professional critics. This phenomenon, observed in various spheres of life, including education and the media sectors, is characterized by the internet's effect of delegitimizing authority figures (Metzger, Flanagin, and Medders 2010; Callister 2000). As critics play a central role in building the hierarchy of literary works (Becker 1982), this loss of authority may complicate the establishment of a consensus on the value of literary works.

To conclude, the web and social media have changed the current landscape of literary criticism in (1) democratizing peer critics (2) fostering the emergence of a new form of critics between institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms and, (3) diminishing the natural authority of

institutionalized critics. In this new context, the question arises as to what legitimizes these new literacy critics, namely content creators.

BOOKSTAGRAMMERS LEGITIMACY AS BOOK CRITICS: A QUESTION OF PERCEIVED CREDIBILITY

Redefining authority: bookstagrammers vs institutionalized literary critics

From a sociological perspective, institutionalized literary critics are socially recognized cultural agents who derive their authority from a privileged knowledge of the cultural object (social capital) (McQuarries et al. 2013). This authority is expressed through objective reviews grounded on fact-checking and supported by well-constructed arguments. They possess symbolic legitimacy, in the sense of Bourdieu (1984). Their status as recognized experts, belonging to the cultural field, is partly conferred by the reputation of the media in which they publish (Jaakola 2019) and partly from their independence from commercial concerns. In contrast, bookstagrammers and other social media ‘influencers’ lack formal recognition as socially recognized cultural agents and rely less on traditional forms of validation (Hennion 2000; McQuarrie et al. 2013). Instead, they tend to express subjective emotions, taste and impressions, akin to ‘ordinary judgement’ (Holbrook 2005; Holbrook and Addis 2007). The community plays a pivotal role in the legitimacy process of influencers (McQuarrie et al. 2013). As Jaakola (2019) explains “adapting a reviewer’s role is a reciprocal act of self-proclaiming oneself to be a reviewer while possibly gaining the confirmation and legitimacy by the audiences. In the case of online audiences, the legitimation occurs through the accumulation of followers and user feedbacks (like, commentaries, re-posts)” (p.94). Ultimately, their community determine their legitimacy as book critics. For influencers relationships with community are horizontal, characterized by informal tone to establish an empathetic

conversational mode (Lou 2022; Jaakola 2019) while the relationships between critics and readers are vertical and hierarchical.

Signaling legitimacy: Instagram Self-branding strategies

Conversely to professional critics, bloggers develop self-branding strategies to showcase their expertise to their communities and to appear as legitimate critics (Djafarova and Rushworth 2017; Djafarova and Trofimenko 2019). Bookstagrammers adopt a long-term vision, investing time in activities such as book reviewing or engaging with followers to share their literary tastes and personal experiences. As demonstrated in previous researches, they adopt quasi-professional practices on their blogs or publications: shared keywords, presence on social networks, conducting interviews, writing posts to be published on the web (Chapelain 2014). They also pay meticulous attention to crafting their posts, texts, photos, and videos (Jaakola, 2019). Additionally, they disclose information about their reading habits on their personal profile such as the number of books they have already read, or plan to read to highlight their familiarity with reading and literature. All of these elements serve as signals that bookstagrammer's audiences use to assess the "value" of the bookstagrammers and their recommendations, aiming to mitigate risks associated with book choices (Spence 1972). We suggest that these signals are used by audiences to assess bloggers perceived credibility, an essential determinant of the influence mechanism (Djafarova and Rushworth 2017; Djafarova and Trofimenko 2019; Lim et al. 2017; Lou and Yuan 2019; Saima and Khan 2020; Sokolova and Kefi 2020; Weismueller et al. 2020; Schouten, Janssen, and Verspaget 2020).

Perceived credibility of bookstagrammers and its consequences

The perceived credibility of a source of information refers to the extent to which the target audience regards the source as credible for gaining expertise and knowledge about a product

(Ohanian 1990). A credible source is then trustworthy for acquiring expertise. The influence marketing literature considered that perceived credibility is the main factor explaining why audiences follow advices of influencers (Uribe, Buzeta, and Velásquez 2016, Vrontis et al. 2021; Djafarova and Rushworth 2017). For instance, Lou and Yuan (2019), demonstrate that perceived source credibility influences the trust in influencers' publications, thereby affecting consumer purchase intentions. More generally, source perceived credibility affects (1) the inclination to follow the recommendation and to purchase the recommended product (intentions to purchase the recommended product) (Casaló, Flavián, and Ibáñez-Sánchez 2017; Lou and Yuan 2019; Sokolova and Kefi 2020) and (2) the willingness to support influencers by sharing, commenting, and liking their contents on social networks (intention to share the publication) (Djafarova and Rushworth 2017). These two reactions are summed in 'behavioral intentions' toward an SMI's recommendation encompassing intentions to respond to content both online (sharing, commenting, etc.) and in real life (intentions to follow the SMI's advice) (Boerman 2020).

Drawing on this literature, and according to the source theory (Ohanian 1990), we posit that the pervasive influence of bookstagrammers' recommendations relies on their perceived credibility. We make the following hypothesis

H1: The perceived credibility of the influencer directly and positively influences behavioral intentions towards the products promoted in a post.

Nevertheless, the marketing literature emphasizes that persuasive advertising results from the interplay between the source, the message, and the recipients (Lou and Yuan 2019). Consequently, additional factors must be considered when elucidating the prescriptive influence wielded by book influencers.

MODERATING EFFECTS RELATED TO THE SOURCE – POPULARITY AND THE RECEIVER – READING HABITS

In the world of social media, message receivers have a very limited attention span and are exposed to a wealth of information (Webster and Ksiazek 2012; Metzger, Flanagin, and Medders 2010). This context supports the emergence of simple heuristics for making judgments about the relevance of messages (Chaiken 1987; Sundar 2008). Hence, Internet users judge the credibility of the publication from peripheral cues such as photo quality, the style or quality of the writing (Xiao, Wang, and Chan-Olmsted 2018). Social cues (the number of likes, views, of followers) play also a key role in judgments of messages and sources (Hu and Yao 2022; Fogg et al. 2003; Metzger, Flanagin, and Medders 2010). For example, a person with a large number of followers on social media, who is therefore considered ‘popular’, is judged to be more pleasant and attractive than the same person with fewer followers (Zywica and Danowski 2008). This person is also judged to be more credible (De Veirman, Cauberghe, and Hudders 2017; Jin and Phua 2014). Beyond the judgement of the source, Sundar (2008) highlights the effect of the popularity of the source and the message on the behavior of Internet users, referred to as the ‘bandwagon’ effect. Internet users are more sensitive to recommendations that have already been approved by a large number of Internet users, as they have a natural tendency (cognitive bias) to follow the crowd and imitate the behavior of others.

Given this bandwagon heuristic, we hypothesize that an influencer’s popularity can serve as a decision heuristic for audiences, and modulate the interaction between credibility and behavioral intentions postulated in H1.

We therefore hypothesize that, depending on how popular the SMI is (very, moderately or not very), credibility will have a different impact on behavioral intentions. We already know that when an influencer is very popular, this is interpreted as a signal that his or her tastes are shared

by a large number of Internet users (De Veirman, Cauberghe, and Hudders 2017; Kao, Hill, and Troshani 2017). Then we hypothesize that the more popular the influencer, the less behavioral intentions are based on his or her credibility. Conversely, when the influencer is perceived as not very popular, the latter's credibility becomes the element that carries most weight in changing behavioral intentions.

We therefore formulate the following hypothesis:

H2: The effect of credibility on behavioral intentions is moderated by the popularity of the SMI.

H2a: When the SMI is considered not very popular, the effect of credibility on behavioral intentions is reinforced.

H2b: When the SMI is considered very popular, the effect of credibility on behavioral intentions weakens.

Moreover, we suggest that the moderating effect of influencer popularity on consumers intentions (H2) is also dependent on individual characteristics of the audience. Indeed, the cultural marketing literature has demonstrated that cultural consumption is highly affected by individual characteristics (Colbert, Ravanas, and Saint James 2007). In particular, sources of literary prescription (sources and number of recommendations used in choosing a book) vary among individuals. For example, less-educated readers tend to rely on a single prescriptive source, while more-educated readers tend to consult multiple reviews before deciding (Guittet 2020). The age of reader is also an important characteristic when choosing a book. A recent study in France by the *Centre Nationale du Livre* shows that around 44% of under-35s rely on an influencer's recommendation when choosing a book, while only 6% of older readers (aged

50–64) follow influencers' recommendations³. To this end it is essential to take into account individual characteristics to understand to what extent influencer's perceived credibility affects behavioral intentions toward the recommendation.

In this research, we introduce the individual habits of reading as a moderator of perceived influencer credibility* behavioral intentions relationship.

Habits of reading, and more precisely reader's familiarity with literary, has been considered as key element to understand permeability to different types of prescription (Bourdieu 1984). The latter article postulates that, by homology, affluent classes who are familiar with high culture are reputed to consult high-level media, and give institutional literary critics a high degree of legitimacy. Inversely, the working classes are more likely to consult their friends and family, and to refer to non-institutional critics. However, two arguments lead us to nuance the Bourdieusian approach. First, recent work in the sociology of culture indicates the rise of omnivorous cultural behaviors (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). It appears that there is no longer a homology of cultural consumption among the most-educated classes. As Verboord (2010) observes, "omnivores show more varied taste or behavioral repertoires, originally conceptualized and measured among hierarchically ordered sub domains of genres, in later research increasingly perceived for the total breadth of one's repertoire" (p.626). Omnivorous behavior has become widespread, particularly among the better-educated, over the past few decades. Verboord (2010) further demonstrates that this cultural shift is accompanied by reduced reliance on institutionalized critics among the most omnivorous individuals, leading to diminished importance placed on their recommendations.

³ See <https://centrenationaldulivre.fr/donnees-cles/les-francais-et-la-lecture-en-2023> for the full report (p. 77).

Secondly, the few studies on literary bloggers emphasize that members of the blogging or bookstagrammer communities, are familiar, or very familiar book consumers (medium to heavy readers, Rogues 2021). Therefore, bookstagrammers' audiences are not unfamiliar with books. However, we believe that what matters in the perception of bookstagrammers' credibility is reader's level of omnivorism, that is the variety of literary genres read and so the degree of specialization of readers (specialist of a genre vs omnivore). We then hypothesize that the degree of reading omnivoreness, understood as the degree of variety of literary genres read, moderates the relationship highlighted in hypothesis H2.

H3: The interaction between credibility and behavioral intentions is moderated by both influencer popularity and omnivorous reading.

On one hand, specialist readers (they read a genre) are probably more informed readers and feel more competent to judge the influencer perceived credibility. We indeed assist to the rise of ultra-specialized social network communities built on ultra-specific interests (Holt 2002). Webster and Ksiazek (2012) describe the phenomenon of ultra-fragmented social network audiences; Anderson (2006) refers to the existence of "millions of microcultures", underlining the existence of ultra-specialized audiences. In the domain of book, we observe that communities of readers form around common tastes through a mimetic effect (Aiello et al. 2010). These individuals are expected to exhibit lower susceptibility to the adverse selection effect (Lofgren, Persson, and Weibull, 2002). This is due to their enhanced capacity to evaluate the influencer's credibility based on self-provided cues, mitigating reliance on the popularity heuristic. We hypothesize that when this genre specialist readers encounter a not very popular influencer, the influencer's credibility will play a bigger role on intentions compared to genre non-specialists, i.e., omnivores.

H3a: When the SMI is considered not very popular, the effect of credibility on intentions will be stronger for non-omnivorous readers than for omnivorous readers.

Conversely, omnivorous readers, less embedded within fervent genre-specific communities, are more likely to regard influencer popularity as indicative of reputation, thus diminishing uncertainties surrounding the influencer's conveyed information. Non specialist readers exhibit reduced capability to discriminate “true” information from false representations based on influencer profiles, opting instead for popularity as a dependable signal of the source's reputation (Lofgren, Persson, and Weibull, 2002).

We assume that omnivorous, non-genre-specialist readers will be more sensitive to the source's popularity heuristic, as they will be less able to assess credibility and, therefore, rely on the source to assess the relevance of the recommendation. From this we deduce H3b:

H3b: When the SMI is considered very popular, the effect of credibility on intentions will be weaker for non-omnivorous readers compared to omnivorous readers.

Figure 1 summarizes our conceptual framework.

[Insert Figure 1]

METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the influence recommendation of a SMI in the literary field, and to test the hypotheses developed above, we implemented an experimental methodology.

Data collection and sampling

We used an inter-subject, unifactorial design. Popularity was manipulated by changing the number of subscribers for a fictitious literary influencer. In one profile, the number of subscribers was low (227), in the other it was high (42,300).

We created a fictional profile for a literary influencer in order to limit any bias linked to respondents' prior knowledge of a real influencer. To do this, we drew upon the codes of bookstagrammers (Rogues 2021). We created a "Cover Page" pseudonym, supported by a statement in the biography: "I often choose a book after reading the 1st page". The profile photo showed a woman hidden behind a book, which is also representative of profiles found on social networks. To bring the profile to life, and in keeping with the conventions of bookstagrammers, a first name, location and description (bookworm) were given, along with the number of books read per year, indicating someone who read a lot. The profile also mentioned that she was a "Livre Inter jury member". This popular annual competition is organized by the leading French radio station (radio France). While any reader can apply to join the jury, members are selected by a committee that is chaired by a well-known writer. Being selected as a jury member indicates that the person is a keen and knowledgeable reader. The profile's biography also mentioned that the influencer was invited to take part in conferences held during the *Salon du livres*, a major annual literary event held in Paris, France. The profile presented did not reveal any literary genre specialization. The various book covers were a mix of detective stories, literary works and more. The cover photos also illustrated different publishers.

The profile was accompanied by a post. Based on the practices of bookstagrammers, a photo showed an open book on an outdoor table, along with a candle and a cup of coffee, a typical Instagram post (Siguier 2020). It was impossible to identify the book, in order to avoid any bias in responses. The text of the post expressed an enthusiastic opinion of a fictitious book by a fictitious author. The usual hashtags used on Instagram were also included (see Appendix 1).

As noted above, non-institutional recommendations are not the sole preserve of non-readers and, as our study was specifically focused on bookstagrammers, participants were required to be readers (they must have read at least five books in the past year) and Instagram users. The

questionnaire began with questions about how often the respondent read a book, and how often they used Instagram. Respondents were then asked about their involvement in reading, the diversity of genres they read, and how often they read, before being presented with the profile and post of the fictitious influencer. Finally, classic socio-demographic variables were measured (age, gender, family situation, socio-professional category and level of education).

The survey was carried out online in April 2020 with the support of a research company, Creatests (<https://www.creatests.com/>), with a selection of profile from their panel. To participate in the survey, respondents had to be frequent users of Instagram and have read at least 5 books in the 12 months preceding the study. The questionnaire was administered to 280 people: 139 were exposed to the profile with the highest number of followers, and 141 to the profile with the lowest number of followers. The final sample was 84% female (16% male). A total of 22% of respondents said they read more than 20 books a year, while 78% read between five and 19 books. With respect to education, 92% of the sample were educated to at least high school level; 50% were aged under 35, 39% were between 35 and 49, and 11% were over 50. All regions of France were represented. Chi-square tests were run on individual characteristics, and the assignment to the two experimental conditions; these tests revealed no statistically significant differences.

Measurement and data analysis

All of the items used in the questionnaire are given in Appendix 2. The independent variable, perceived credibility, was measured using the 10 items proposed by Ohanian (1990). The dependent variable, behavioral intentions, was measured as the mean of four items. Two moderating variables were measured: the perceived popularity of the influencer, and the variety of literary genres read. The first was measured by the item: “In my opinion, this person is very popular”. The second variable was determined from the following item: “Which of the

following book genres have you read in the past 12 months, either in print or digital format?”. The classification of genres follows that given by the French *Centre National du Livre*. For each individual, a score corresponding to the number of different genres read was calculated. Examination of the distribution of the omnivorness variable⁴, leads us to retain as high the score of 7.631 (i.e. the mean + 1 sd) and the score of 2.862 (i.e. the mean - 1 sd) to characterize a low score. An individual with a high score was considered as an omnivorous reader; conversely, a low score was considered to characterize a reader who was not particularly omnivorous.

In parallel to these measures, two covariates were included in analyses: ongoing engagement with reading (measured by Strazzeri’s PIA scale, Strazzeri 1994), and familiarity with Instagram.

Check of the manipulation

Given the manipulation of the fictional bookstagrammer’s profile, it was important to ensure that the profile with the higher number of followers (42,300) was actually perceived as more popular than the profile with the lower number of followers (227). A pre-test was therefore carried out with 30 people. This showed that individuals who were shown the profile with a low number of followers did perceive a lower level of popularity ($M_1 = 2.14$) than those shown the profile with a high number of followers ($M_2 = 3.50$). This difference was statistically significant ($F = 16.238; p < 0.001$). This difference in the mean was also statistically significant in the final sample ($M_1 = 3.35; M_2 = 5.06; F = 94.286; p < 0.001$). These results demonstrate that the manipulation of the perceived popularity of the SMI (inferred from the number of followers) was effective.

⁴ 1st quartile = 4 ; Median = 5 ; 3rd quartile = 7 ; Min = 1 ; Max = 13

Statistical analyses

Based on our conceptual model, and the various variables, a simple linear regression and two moderation models were tested. Analyses were run in SPSS using the PROCESS V4.0 macro from Hayes (2018) (model 1 and model 2) with 5000 bootstraps.

RESULTS

MAIN DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

In a first step, it was useful to examine respondents' habits regarding their use of social networks in the context of their book and reading choices. First, we assessed their propensity to use Instagram to choose a book for themselves, or as a gift, using a 7-point scale. The mean score for our overall sample of 280 respondents was 2.44/7, which is relatively low, and shows that this practice is not yet ingrained in their book-selection habits. It should be noted that these respondents also reported a relatively low overall propensity to use Instagram as a source of information for their miscellaneous purchases, 3.74/7 (though this is significantly higher than the previous score). Secondly, we asked whether or not respondents followed the social network accounts of bookstagrammers. A significant proportion, 30%, said that they did. Their propensity to use Instagram as a source of book recommendations was significantly higher (3.51/7) than that of people who said that they did not follow influencers (2/7; $p < 0.001$).

Moving to the variables inherent in our model, perceived credibility of the SMI was relatively high ($M = 4.577$; $\sigma = 1.389$; median = 4.60; min = 1.30; max = 7). Behavioral intentions were also high ($M = 3.969$; $\sigma = 1.402$; median = 4.25; min = 1; max = 7). It should be noted that participants read many different genres—an average of 5.25 (out of the 13 categories proposed)

($\sigma = 2.384$; median = 5; min = 1; max = 13). Finally, mean perceived popularity was also high (M = 4.20; $\sigma = 1.702$; median = 4; min = 1; max = 7).

HYPOTHESIS TESTING

Hypothesis 1 tests the effect of the influencer's perceived credibility on behavioral intentions towards the book that was the subject of the post. A simple linear regression found a significant positive effect of credibility on intentions ($\beta = 0.188$; $t = 3.163$; $p = 0.002$) with $R^2 = 0.035$ ($F = 10.002$; $p = 0.002$). H1 was thus supported: the perceived credibility of the influencer directly and positively influences behavioral intentions.

MACRO PROCESS model 1 was implemented to test hypothesis 2. A regression of behavioral intentions on credibility (M = 4.577; $\sigma = 1.389$; min = 1.30; max = 7.00), perceived popularity (M = 4.20; $\sigma = 1.702$; min = 1; max = 7) and their interaction found a significant negative interaction between credibility and popularity ($\beta = -0.072$; $t = -2.194$; $p < 0.05$). Thus, the greater the popularity, the weaker the interaction between credibility and intentions (Table 3). This model explains 17.7% of the variance in behavioral intentions ($R^2 = 0.177$).

[Insert Table 3]

This interaction was explored in greater detail. As recommended by Cadario and Parguel (2014), and given the absence of focal value of our moderating variable⁵, we explored this interaction with a floodlight analysis (Spiller et al. 2013). The Johnson-Neyman point identifies the popularity level at which SMI credibility influences behavioral intentions. This found that the effect of SMI credibility only occurs if the influencer is judged to be not very or moderately popular, with a popularity level below 5.319. Hypothesis H2a is therefore supported. Above

⁵ As a reminder, the popularity moderator variable considered is a quantitative variable measured on a 7-point Likert scale with no significant focal value.

this level, the effect becomes not significant (see Table 4). The positive effect of credibility on intentions is cancelled out above a certain level of popularity (5.319) (Figure 2). Hypothesis H2b is therefore not supported. While we hypothesized that the effect would be weakened, our results show that it is not significant. Graph 1 illustrates this effect.

[Insert Graph 1]

[Insert Table 4]

[Insert Figure 2]

Hypothesis 3 investigated whether, for the different perceived popularities of influencers, reader omnivorism affected the explanatory power of credibility on the SMI's recommendation power. MACRO PROCESS model 2 was used to test this. The results of the tested interactions, presented in Table 5, show that the interaction between credibility and perceived popularity is negative and significant ($\beta = -0.071$; $t = -2.199$; $p = 0.029$), while the interaction between credibility and omnivorism is not significant ($\beta = 0.038$; $t = 1.506$; $p = 0.119$). The test of the two simultaneous interactions was significant ($F = 3.824$; $p < 0.05$) (Table 6), indicating that the effect of credibility on intentions is not independent of the perceived popularity of the SMI and omnivorism. The model incorporating the dual moderation explained 19.62% of the variance in behavioral intentions.

[Insert Table 5]

[Insert Table 6]

An analysis of Table 7 provides a clearer picture of this dual moderating effect.

Table 7 shows that, when the influencer is considered less popular, credibility explains intentions regardless of the level of omnivorism. It should be noted, however, that this effect is more evident among individuals who read many genres ($\beta = 0.427$; $p = 0.000$), than among those who read fewer genres ($\beta = 0.335$; $p = 0.000$) or very few ($\beta = 0.243$; $p = 0.021$). However, we hypothesized the opposite outcome. Hypothesis H3a is therefore not supported.

For highly popular influencers, and whatever the level of omnivorism, the interaction between credibility and intention is non-significant. Hypothesis H3b, and, consequently, Hypothesis 3 are not supported.

The following graph clearly illustrates this effect (Graph 2).

[Table 7]

[Figure 3]

[Graph 2]

THEORETICAL AND MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

Our experiment validates the presence of a significant and positive effect exerted by an influencer's perceived credibility on behavioral intentions (H1 is confirmed). Furthermore, we establish that this impact undergoes moderation contingent upon the perceived popularity of the SMI: when the SMI is perceived as highly popular, the effect of their credibility on intentions to heed the recommendation disappears. As hypothesized, the popularity of the influencer appears to serve as a decision-making heuristic for the audience and contributes to the interplay between credibility and intentions (H2a is supported, while H2b is not).

In contrast, our findings do not substantiate our hypothesis regarding dual moderation, specifically the interaction between reader characteristics and the popularity of the influencer (H3). In summary, when the SMI attains a high level of popularity, there is an absence of any influence exerted by the influencer's perceived credibility on intentions, irrespective of the readers' degree of omnivorism. The popularity heuristic seems to emerge as a determining factor, wielding significance regardless of the reader's profile, whether they are genre specialists or not. Notably, credibility exerts a more pronounced influence on intentions among omnivorous readers in comparison to non-omnivorous readers when the SMI is not highly popular. Consequently, our empirical investigation unveils an unforeseen outcome: when an SMI lacks a substantial fan base, omnivorous readers appear more inclined to base their intentions on credibility, whereas non-omnivorous readers exhibit a greater reliance on their own judgment. For the latter, a mix between their own judgment and the influencer's credibility seems to operate.

This study offers two significant theoretical contributions. Firstly, it enriches the discourse surrounding literary recommendation by delving into a novel phenomenon: influencers' endorsements on social media platforms. This is an expanding phenomenon, characterized by its enigmatic mechanisms (Guittet 2020). While institutional recommendations, primarily orchestrated by professional critics, has been exhaustively scrutinized (Verboord 2010), our experiment adds depth to our comprehension of the foundations underpinning the prescriptive authority of non-institutional sources, such as specialized creators. Drawing upon the body of literature on influence marketing within the cultural domain, our study elucidates that the prescriptive influence wielded by bookstagrammers is firmly rooted in their perceived credibility. Consequently, we can deduce that influencer endorsements entail distinct mechanisms, bearing no resemblance to prescriptions issued by institutionalized critics

(expertise regime) or recommendations from friends and family (proximity regime) (Guittet 2020).

In this context, creators' recommendations serve an informative purpose (Stenger 2011). However, our research reveals that the influence of credibility on intentions varies based on the influencer's level of popularity. We demonstrate that credibility influences intentions only when influencers are perceived as less popular. This effect becomes particularly pronounced when the reader possesses omnivorous reading habits and lacks specialization in a particular genre. Beyond a certain threshold of popularity, behavioral intentions cease to be explicable by the influencer's credibility. Instead, the influencer's popularity assumes the role of a social proof element that bolsters the reader's choice. Once a social media influencer attains high popularity, the assessment of the source's credibility appears to lose significance in determining the relevance of their recommendation to the internet user. In the case of highly popular influencers, it becomes evident that other factors contribute to their prescriptive influence. Consequently, further research is essential to discern the foundations of the prescriptive power wielded by very popular influencers.

While this work highlights the role of influencers and the legitimacy regime at play, it also raises the question of the legitimacy of institutionalized criticism. Perceived as experts, they have until now been legitimized by the cultural institutions and media for which they work. But changes in the media landscape, in the role of the expert, and the growing importance of social networks as sources of information, especially among younger audiences, raise questions about the legitimacy dimensions of professional critics.

However, popularity will undoubtedly play a pivotal role in their potential influence on social networks. The challenge lies in developing self-promotion strategies for their social accounts aimed at expanding their community while maintaining their role as discerning and, consequently, potentially divisive critics. The mistake would be to merely mimic the communication codes currently employed by influencers.

Our research also underscores an intriguing variable within the cultural domain: omnivorism. This concept stands poised to enrich our comprehension of prescription mechanisms. Our findings demonstrate that the prescriptive authority of SMIs relies on distinct mechanisms contingent upon the reader's specialization in a specific literary genre. When the decision heuristic associated with popularity does not factor in (as is the case when the SMI is less popular), the perceived credibility of the SMI assumes prominence. Consequently, non-omnivorous readers, possessing a certain level of confidence in their own judgment, do not appear impervious to a well-reasoned recommendation from an SMI, even though this influence may be less pronounced compared to omnivorous readers. This outcome had not been previously considered, and one plausible explanation may lie in the escalating significance of social networks and influencer endorsements in the reading community. The most recent survey by the French Centre National du Livre (2023) reveals that recommendations on social networks serve as a compelling incentive to purchase a book, particularly among individuals under the age of 35⁶. Hence, irrespective of one's omnivorism status, when a popularity heuristic is not applicable, evaluating the arguments proffered by an SMI can serve as a valuable decision-making aid.

At a managerial level, our research elucidates the influential impact of Social Media Influencer (SMI) recommendations on book reading intentions. In the face of intense competition and the

⁶ 44% of under-25s and 37% of 25–35s. Source: <https://centrenationaldulivre.fr/donnees-cles/les-francais-et-la-lecture-en-2023>.

evolving reading habits of consumers, publishing professionals must revamp their marketing strategies. Currently, the lion's share of investments made by publishing houses is channeled into public relations efforts, predominantly relying on recommendations from institutionalized critics. While these critics contribute to the stratification of cultural goods, our study reveals that reviews disseminated by influencers significantly influence book purchase intentions. Consequently, our research advocates for professionals to allocate resources towards influencer marketing, specifically targeting specialized creators, and to formulate tailored strategies geared towards engaging with these prescribers.

While influencer relations are often treated in a manner akin to media relations, our study underscores their distinct operational dynamics, particularly in their impact on readers. In our perspective, it is imperative to raise awareness among publishing houses regarding diverse strategies for stimulating these prescribers to produce reviews. This necessitates drawing inspiration from the practices of prominent commercial brands, which have cultivated authentic, enduring partnerships with SMIs that transcend the mere dispatching of press releases and books. Paid collaborations, designed to afford creators ample creative latitude – the very essence that initially attracted brands to engage them – hold significant promise. For instance, a bookstagrammer like Julescommecésar (with 117k subscribers) explicitly outlines in his editorial policy a commitment to engaging his community in contemplation of ecological, societal, and philosophical matters through video content exclusively. Other influencers employ diverse stylistic approaches (e.g., tips, humor, etc.), each carving out their unique signature that publishing houses should capitalize upon.

We also provide insights into the optimal choice of creators for partnerships. While industry professionals typically prioritize influencer popularity in their selection process, our findings underscore the importance of also considering creators who employ self-marketing strategies

to showcase their expertise and reliability, positioning themselves as knowledgeable enthusiasts within their community. Consequently, our results delineate two distinct strategies for publishing houses: either opt for influencers with limited popularity, specializing in a specific literary genre, generating exclusive literary content, and possessing a high level of credibility within their niche audience; or choose creators producing generalist content (covering lifestyle, sports, beauty, family, etc.) with a substantial and engaged following.

By demonstrating the impact of influencers' perceived credibility on readers, regardless of their omnivorous tendencies, we indirectly raise questions about the legitimacy of institutional critics and their influence over readers' choices. In today's landscape, professional critics may perceive a threat to their legitimacy due to the emergence of new figures who are gaining credibility among readers through innovative communication methods. How should they address this challenge to maintain their role of “role-player” in the literacy landscape? Our research suggests that disregarding or disparaging the opportunities provided by social networks for expressing their recommendations would be misguided. Maintaining an active presence on relevant social media platforms to engage with audience and reach new readers is essential. These platforms serve as significant forums for book enthusiasts to exchange views on the subject. Thus, it seems fitting for professional reviewers to also engage in the social networking sphere to complement the efforts of influencers. Regarding content, it is crucial to build credibility on independence, honest and informed reviews to not scarify integrity to follow trends or cater to certain audience. The expertise of institutionalized critics has to be outline on these platforms. However, popularity will be a key factor in their potential power of recommendation on social networks. The challenge will then be to develop self-promotion strategies for their social accounts that aim to increase the size of their community, while remaining demanding and therefore potentially divisive critics. The mistake would be to mimic the codes currently used by influencers. The challenge will be to maintain high standards of

literacy criticism but to experiment new format and style of communication. One of France's most famous literary critics, Augustin Trapenard, seems to have seized this opportunity (244,000 followers on Instagram and 45,200 followers on Tiktok). While he regularly highlights his weekly show, he also offers a wide range of high-quality content that reveals his tastes and personality: excerpts from literary works he loves, an association he supports, personal photos, libraries he loves...

Finally, our study is subject to several limitations, which concurrently serve as promising directions for future research. The use of an experimental methodology centered around a fictional influencer restricts the external validity of our findings. The generalist profile of the fictitious influencer may have hindered the projection of readers highly specialized in one genre, and may explain certain results (non-validation of H3). Moreover, the overrepresentation of women in the sample contribute to limit the external validity even if it can be explained by the profile of the selected participants. Enhancing the validity of the research could be achieved by employing actual book influencers and exploring factors beyond the scope of popularity, as examined in this study. Notably, the creative dimension of SMIs appears particularly pertinent within the cultural domain. Furthermore, while our research underscores the significance of omnivorism as a variable that contributes to a deeper understanding of prescription mechanisms, it offers only a partial glimpse into the broader realm of reading. In addition to considering readers' tastes, a more comprehensive and dynamic comprehension of individual reading practices could yield valuable insights. Consequently, incorporating the concept of the reader's 'reading career,' which traces individuals' trajectories in their reading habits and may be influenced by various experiences (Barth-Rabot 2023), presents a promising avenue for further exploration.

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Table 1 – Forms of literary prescription

Authors : Subject	Forms of literary prescription identified	Criteria for differentiating prescription forms
Painbeni (2009, 2011) Consumer behavior	Interpersonal: friends, family Subjective labels: literary prizes Literary critics: experts, journalists Rankings: top sellers Booksellers' tables: advice from booksellers	Commercial / non-commercial nature Nature of relationship with source: personal / non-personal
Jaakola (2019) Communication sciences	Institutionalized criticism: critics, labels, booksellers Non-institutionalized criticism: among peers	Source legitimacy
Karpik (2007) Sociology	Networks: interpersonal relations Appellations: labels and certifications Cicerons: expert reviews, guides Rankings: prize lists Confluences: point-of-sale promotion	Source type
Benhamou (2014) Economist		Centralized versus decentralized

Table 2 : Characteristics of both forms of prescription

	Institutionalized prescription	Non institutionalized prescription
Sources	Journalists from traditional media (press, TV) Literary prizes	Shared readers Peer critics Prizes awarded by the public
Source-receiver relationship	Top-down hierarchy	Horizontal and conversational
Authority regime	Knowledge, expertise, objectivity and impartiality Professional	Passion, personal taste, subjective accounts of experience. Leisure

Table 3 - Results of the simple moderation model

	Path Coef	t	p	IC	
				2,5%	97,5%
CRED -> INT	0.501	3.117	0.002	0.184	0.816
POP -> INT	0.566	3.643	0.000	0.260	0.872
Interaction 1 CRED x POP	-0.072	-2.194	0.029	-0.136	-0.007
<i>Co-variables</i>					
PIA -> INT	0.237	2.994	0.003	0.081	0.394
INSTAGRAM -> INT	-0.198	-1.063	0.289	-0.565	0.169

Table 4 - Conditional effect of credibility on intentions according to the perceived popularity of the influencer

Perceived popularity	Effect	Standard error	t	p
1,000	0.428	0.131	3.289	0.001
2,200	0.342	0.096	3.558	0.000
3,100	0.278	0.074	3.746	0.000
4,000	0.213	0.059	3.619	0.000
5,200	0.127	0.059	2.160	0.032
5,319	0.119	0.060	1.969	0.050
5,500	0.106	0.063	1.682	0.094
6,100	0.062	0.074	0.845	0.399
7,000	-0.002	0.096	-0.022	0.983

Table 5 - Results of the double moderation model

	Path Coef	t	p	IC	
				2,5%	97,5%
CRED -> INT	0.311	1.504	0.134	-0.096	0.719
POP -> INT	0.558	3.616	0.001	0.254	0.861
OMNIVOR -> INT	-0.258	-2.051	0.041	-0.505	-0.010
CRED -> INT	0.139	3.310	0.001	0.056	0.220
Interaction 1 CRED x POP	-0.072	-2.199	0.029	-0.135	-0.007
Interaction 2 CRED x OMNIVOR	0.038	1.560	0.119	-0.010	0.087
<i>Co-variables</i>					
PIA -> INT	0.289	3.509	0.001	0.127	0.451
INSTAGRAM -> INT	-0.218	-1.178	0.239	-0.582	0.146

Table 6 - Higher-order unconditional interaction test

	R² Change	F	dof1	dof2	p
• Interaction 1 CRED x POP	0.014	4.836	1	272	0.029
• Interaction 2 CRED x OMNIVOR	0.007	2.435	1	272	0.119
• Both Interactions	0.023	3.824	2	272	0.023

Table 7 - Conditional effect of credibility on intentions according to the two moderators

Popularity	Omnivorness	Coef	p	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
• Low Popularity (-1 SD)(=2,494)	2.862	0.243	0.021	0.037	0.449
	5.246	0.335	0.000	0.162	0.508
	7.631	0.427	0.000	0.217	0.637
• Medium Popularity (MEAN)(=4,196)	2.862	0.122	0.123	-0.033	0.276
	5.246	0.213	0.000	0.101	0.325
	7.631	0.305	0.000	0.138	0.473
• High Popularity (+1 SD)(=5,898)	2.862	-0.000	0.999	-0.170	0.169
	5.246	0.092	0.189	-0.045	0.229
	7.631	0.184	0.056	-0.005	0.372

Figure 1 – Conceptual framework

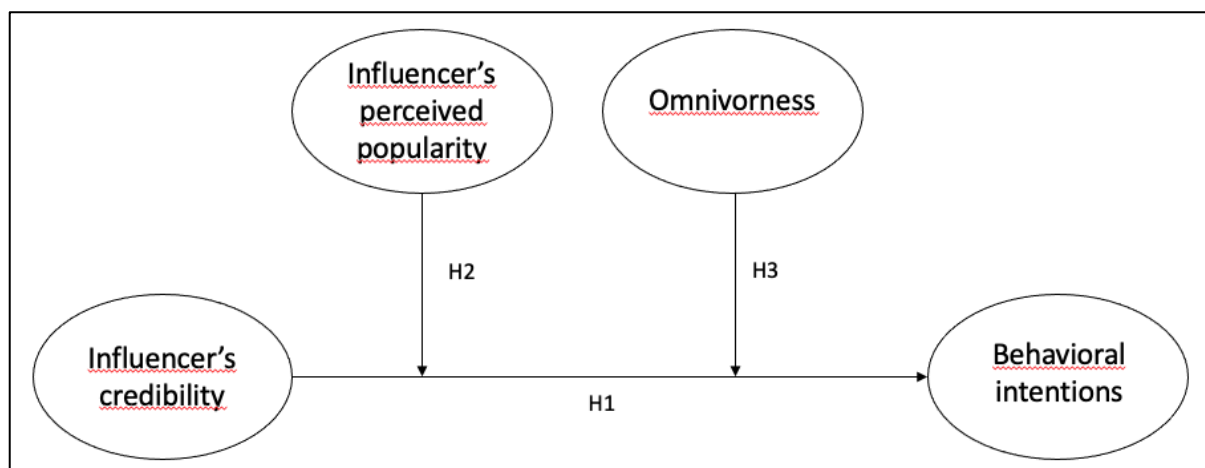


Figure 2 - Results – Simple modération

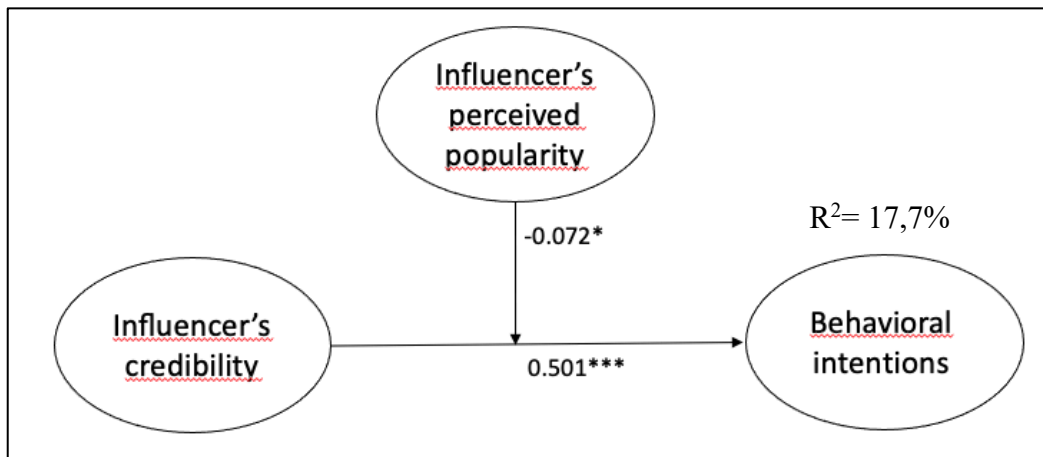
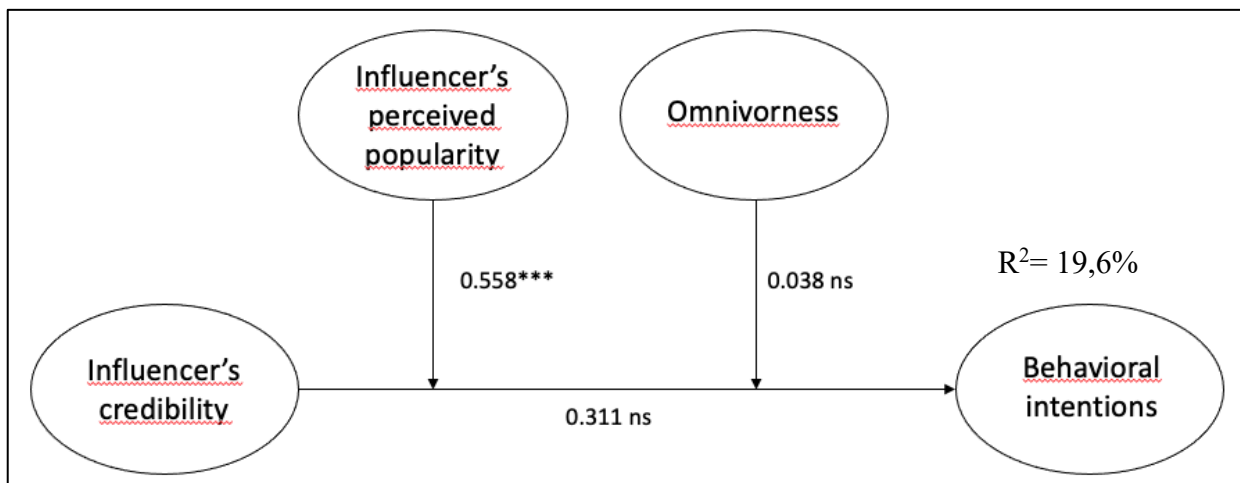
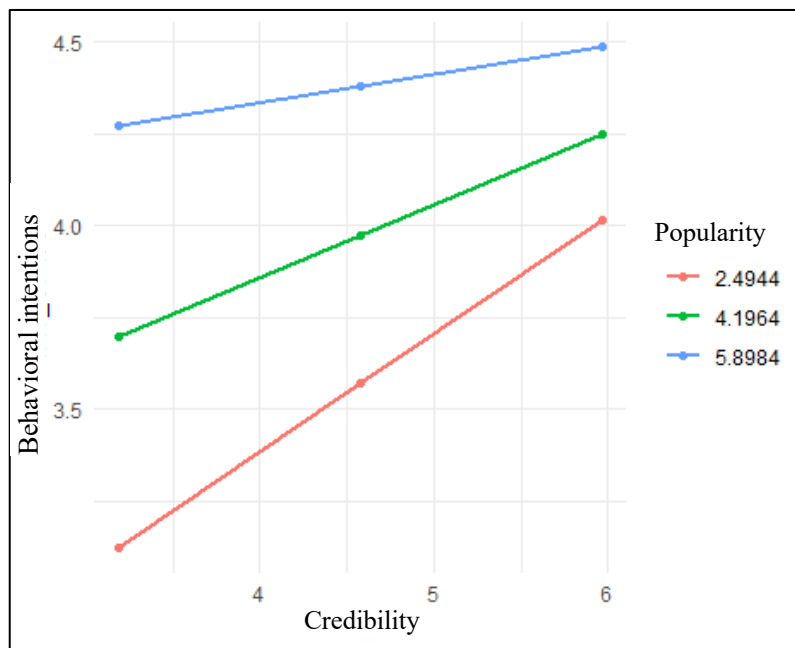


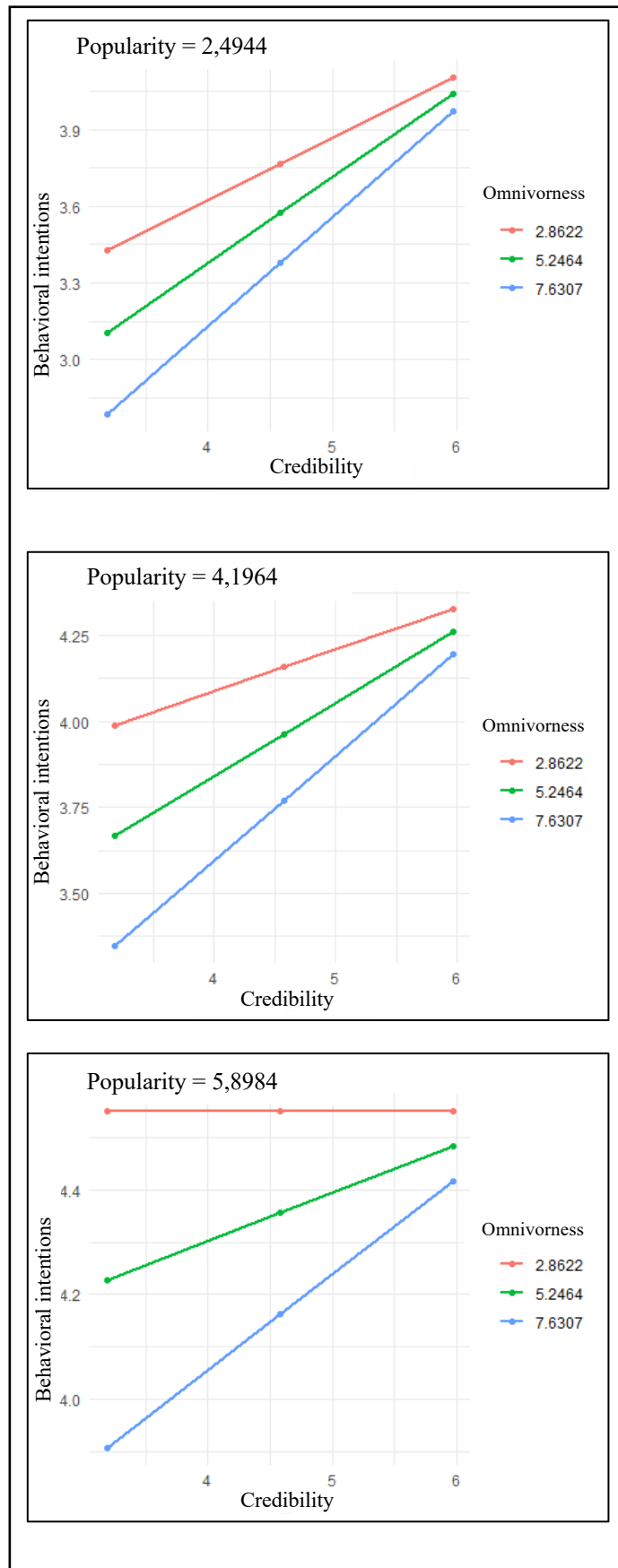
Figure 3 - Results - Double modération



Graphic 1 – Interaction effect between IMS credibility and popularity



Graphic 2 – Conditional effect of credibility on intentions as a function of IMS popularity and omnivorness in an additive multiple moderation model.



Appendix 1 – Experimental materials

Orange F 4G 16:59 76% battery

firstpage 1203 Posts 227 Followers 382 Followees

Firstpage
 Flo, Paris, Book lover
 2019 : 81 books read
 Member of Inter book
 Speaker at Paris book fair
 I often choose a book after reading the first page

Follow Message E-mail

To read I In bookshop New publishing Bookclub Inter-Prize

Grid of book-related images: an open book with a candle, a book cover 'PAROLE NIGERVALE', a book cover 'L'ÉCART', a stack of books, a bouquet of flowers, and a book cover 'Le monde est à l'envers'.

Orange F 4G 17:51 67% battery

Publications

firstpage

👍🗨️📍🔖

firstpage 📖 A peaceful time this afternoon with «Next summer», last Camille Boissineau book. I am only at the beginning and it already feels like a crush ❤️.

I love so much ! I'm already starting to get attached to the characters.
 I tell you everything on my blog.

#book #bookoftheday #bookstagram #bookaddict #crush

Orange F 4G 16:59 76%

firstpage

1203 Posts 42,3K Followers 382 Followees

Firstpage
 Flo, Paris, Book lover
 2019 : 81 books read
 Member of Inter book
 Speaker at Paris book fair
 I often choose a book after reading the first page

Follow Message E-mail

To read! In bookshop New publishing Bookclub Inter Prize

Orange F 4G 17:51 67%

Publications

firstpage

📖 🗨️ 📌

firstpage 📖 A peaceful time this afternoon with «Next summer», last Camille Boissineau book. I am only at the beginning and it already feels like a crush 📖.

I love so much ! I'm already starting to get attached to the characters.
 I tell you everything on my blog.

#book #bookoftheday #bookstagram #bookaddict #crush

Appendix 2 – Scales of measurement used

Variable	Author(s) of the measure	Items	Format	Reliability Index
Independante variable - Influencer's credibility	Ohanian (1990)	In your opinion, what words best characterize this "Front Page" instagramer: - Unreliable - Reliable - Dishonest - Honest - Not trustworthy - Trustworthy - Not sincere - Sincere - Not credible - Credible - Not expert - Expert - Inexperienced - Experienced - Non connoisseur - Connoisseur - Not qualified - Qualified - Incompetent - Competent	10 items Differential semantics 1 to 7	$\alpha = 0.960$
Dependant variable – Behavioral intentions		- I could see myself reading this book - I would not hesitate to take into account the suggestions of reading of 1st page - I would be sure not to make a mistake by following the reading recommendations on lère page - I am tempted to follow the advice of 1st page	4 items Likert 1 to 7	$\alpha = 0.898$
Moderator Variable 1 –Perceived popularity		This person is very popular	1 item Likert 1 to 7	-
Moderator Variable 2 – Omnivoureness		Which of the following types of books have you read in the last 12 months, either in paper or digital format? - Practical, lifestyle and leisure books - History books - Comic strip albums - Detective or spy novels - Art books or beautiful illustrated books - Children's books - Scientific, technical or professional books - Classical literature - Political and philosophical essays - Books on personal development and psychology - Books on current affairs - Science fiction and fantasy novels, - Mangas, comics - Romance novels - Other types of novels - Other types of books	1 item Score : number of genres read indica	
Reading frequency		How often do you read books, in general, whether in paper or digital format ?	1 item	
Reading level		On average, how many books do you read per year?	1 item	
Sustainable involvement - PIA	Strazzieri (1994)	- Reading is an area that is very important to me - Reading is an activity that is very important to me - I especially like to talk about reading - You could say that reading interests me - I feel particularly attracted to reading - Just learning about the books is a pleasure	6 items Likert 1 to 7	$\alpha = 0.899$
Instagram familiarity		On average, how often do you check your Instagram account? - More than 7 times a week - 5 to 7 times a week	1 item	

-
- 1 to 4 times a week
 - Occasionally (less than once a week)
-