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From the couch to the desk: study of gender interactions around Spanish TV series on YouTube

Abstract

This study explores YouTube users' creation and consumption of videos related to primetime Spanish TV series, from a comparative gender perspective. The exploration is based on a sample of more than 100 short YouTube videos about 21 Spanish TV series broadcast in 2013 by the three most popular mainstream national TV networks in Spain (*Telecinco, Antena 3* and *La1*). These videos were classified according to the (apparent) gender of their uploaders, their indicators of popularity (number of views, likes, dislikes, comments, and channel subscribers), and the nature of their content (their inclusion of original material with respect to the content broadcast on TV). In addition, the YouTube and TV audiences of the five most popular TV series in 2013 (according to audience share) were examined and compared according to gender. The analysis provided some unexpected results: despite women constituted the majority of the series' TV audience, male audiences showed greater activity on YouTube around the videos related to such series. Moreover, while men uploaded more videos and scored higher in views and popularity indicators in the video-sharing social network, the videos created by women, comparatively, generated more comments.

Keywords

Audience, convergence culture, participatory culture, TV series, gender, interaction, transmedia storytelling, YouTube

1. Introduction

This article presents an exploratory research study of the most relevant fan-made videos posted on YouTube about Spanish TV fiction series from a gender perspective. The purpose is to detect similarities and differences between the types of activities developed by men and women on YouTube and to compare the interactions generated by the videos shared by men and women. In addition, the article examined whether there was a relationship between the gender that constituted the majority audience of the broadcast TV series and the gender that uploaded the largest number of fan-made videos about the same series

to the video-sharing social network. The main motivation to carry out this research is that the relations between social networks, users and gender are increasingly researched from an academic perspective but are yet to be explored in depth.

The apparent growth of users, participation and content generation through social media has broken the traditional communication scheme and has opened up many research lines focused on interaction and audiences. The passive model of linear television is already being affected by participation 2.0 (Thomas & Dyson, 2007) while the fragmentation of audiences in both platforms is evident. In this sense, the alliance between television and Internet is required to ensure the survival of the television on the virtual stage (Castells, 2007).

In this context, the viewer becomes an active component within the communication model. Jenkins has termed this phenomenon *media convergence* and has defined it as: “the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want” (2008: 14). This analogy implies that consumers and producers should establish new negotiations that, somehow, regulate the possibilities that this convergence has opened up for both of them (Jenkins, 2004: 36) and that the importance of the participation and collaboration of social networks users in the expansive narrative process should be taken into account (Scolari, 2009). This is a *participatory culture* (Jenkins, 2008) that revolutionizes the traditional communication process on a daily basis, and involves the active participation of users, their critical and collective vision as *fandom* community and the incessant development of new audiovisual content about media fiction products. However, not all transmedia narratives expand the narrative; there are cross-media phenomena characterized by a compression that at the same time reduces the narrative world (Scolari, Jiménez & Guerrero, 2012).

In the case of TV series, networks and producers increasingly work in the generation of original content for exclusive distribution on social networks, although researchers have shown that: “there is a disconnection between institutional transmediality and user-generated content” (Tur-Viñes & Rodríguez, 2015: 126). In other words, television networks do not exploit the *engagement* potential that social networks offer for the promotion of their fictional series. Some studies point out that Spanish TV series “show a considerable transmedia promiscuity, but also a very limited narrative transmedia expansion, at least based on the initiative of media corporations” (Rodríguez, Ortiz & Sáez, 2014: 74).

In this sense, this work aims to bring into line the media convergence derived from the proliferation of *social media* specifically with the activity of the fans of Spanish TV fiction series, in order to identify the fundamental differences that exist between men and women in terms of their contribution to the participatory culture and, thus, the transmedia expansion of the TV fiction series.

2. YouTube as a space of analysis

YouTube is a platform that acts as an interaction mechanism, which coordinates the collective creativity as a generator of meaning and the discourses and ideologies disseminated by the fiction industry. This circumstance justifies the analysis of the content uploaded to YouTube by an audience that interacts with the TV series through the Internet. Otherwise, as Burgess and Green (2009: 37) point out, “without a sense of how people use media in their everyday lives, any discussion of YouTube’s cultural or social impact is likely to be based on a series of fundamental misunderstandings”.

In this sense, YouTube is an interesting object of study because it is a social network specialized in audiovisual productions, because its content offer is very varied, because it accommodates and gives visibility to fan-made content, and because the weight and

hegemonic visibility of corporations is growing since Google bought it 2006 (Kim, 2012). For all this, Jenkins, Ford and Green (2013) consider that YouTube allows users to represent identities, share content and express opinions in the context of a participatory culture. However, as Jenkins (2010) rightly points out, in YouTube each story aspires to be shaped “top down by decisions being made in corporate boardrooms and bottom-up by decisions made in teenagers’ bedrooms” (2010: 948), but in a context of *spreadable media* shared by everyone.

In addition, we must keep in mind that this digital platform has more than one billion users. The number of viewing hours per month on YouTube increases by 50% year after year. People upload 300 hours of video per minute to this platform (YouTube, 2015). Sharing videos and photos has become one of the most important interactive experiences on the web, since 54% of people upload videos and photos, and 47% share them (Pew Research Center’s Internet Project, 2013). In Spain, and according to the Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB, 2015), YouTube is the most valued social network. YouTube’s penetration in the population is of 66%, which makes it the second largest social network, just behind Facebook, which has a penetration of 96%. Finally, YouTube is the second most used network, behind Facebook, with an average of 3.5 hours per week. All these data make YouTube an ideal space for research about audiovisual transmedia expansion, and a representative platform of a community of fans susceptible of being analyzed from a gender perspective.

In terms of audience, according to eEspaña (2014: 55), YouTube leads the ranking of most visited content websites, with a ratio of unique visitors in the last 30 days of 48.4%, which is well above the second most visited website, *Marca*, with 12.1%. In July 2014, Internet video viewership in Spain surpassed the 23,141,000 viewers, of which 19,358,000 corresponded to videos watched on YouTube, according to comScore. The examination of YouTube’s audience in terms of sex indicates that 51% of the audience are men while 49% are women. These data indicate that the audience of videos is balanced between men and women. With regards to the type of audiences, Lopez et al. (2010: 16) point out that young people choose the Internet as the preferred medium for entertainment: “25% of respondents preferred this social network over television and cinema”.

Focusing on the social network as a propitious space for the development of participatory culture, the most important studies of YouTube as a platform for content generated by fans of TV fiction series have already outlined its possibilities to generate new stories created by their followers (Costa & Piñeiro, 2012). According to Costa and Piñeiro, this social network and others of similar characteristics “have helped not only TV production companies to increase the dissemination of their series, but have also helped fans to share their own interpretations of the story” (2012: 198). Gallardo (2013) has already showed that the Spanish community of YouTube users prefers to watch videos related to TV content in 60% of the total number of views. Of that 60%, the content related to TV fiction series represents 44%, followed by fragments of the sports broadcasts (21%), entertainment programming (16%), news (11%) and fragments of reality TV shows (8%).

From a comparative gender perspective, the most relevant work is the one carried out by Molyneaux, O’Donnell, Gibson and Singer (2008), who studied *vloggers* in YouTube. This study revealed, among other things, that women beat men in the creation of community and personal videos while men were more active in the creation of entertainment, technology and society videos, and that men’s involvement was much more active in terms of interaction through comments (40% vs. 13.2%).

On the other hand, other research studies have highlighted the low female representation that exists on YouTube. In their study of the channels with the largest number of subscribers, Wotanis and McMillan (2014) found out that YouTube was a hostile space in which gender inequalities were rewritten. Pierson (2015), in a recent work on the

interaction of *The New York Times* readers, found out that, despite the fact that female interaction is lower than that of their male counterparts (in quantitative terms), the contributions of women receive better ratings (in qualitative terms). This finding led Pierson to talk about the possibility of greater equality in the interaction between genders.

The Spanish literature includes several studies of the digital gender divide that exists in the use of social networks (Espinár, 2007; Castaño, 2008; Lavado, 2010; Gil -Juárez et al., 2011), but hardly any studies about interaction on YouTube from a gender perspective. This work aims to fill the gap in this area of research, which is more focused on the study of audience interactivity, by providing a comparative gender perspective and giving continuity to the emerging studies that have begun to consider the need to assess the differences in the habits of use of men and women in relation to fiction.

3. Methodological design

This research is exploratory given that there are few comparative gender studies that relate YouTube with Spanish TV fiction series.

The general objective of this research is to compare how men and women contribute to the narrative expansion of Spanish TV fiction through YouTube. The following specific objectives derive from the general goal:

1. Identify which gender uploads more videos related to Spanish TV fiction to YouTube.
2. Identify which gender generates more interaction with their videos.
3. Determine whether there is any relationship between the gender that constitute the majority audience sector of the TV series and the gender that uploads the largest number of fan-made videos about the same series to YouTube
4. To identify the differences that exist, if any, between the videos made by male and female TV fiction fans.

The universe of this research comprises the fan-made videos related to 21 Spanish TV series broadcast in 2013 that have been uploaded to YouTube (see Table 1):

Table 1. Spanish TV Series broadcast in 2013

Name	Network	Premier year	Season in 2013
<i>Cuéntame cómo pasó</i> ("Tell me how it happened")	TVE1	2001	14 th
<i>Gran Reserva</i> ("Gran Reserva")	TVE1	2010	3 rd
<i>Gran Reserva. El origen</i> ("Gran Reserva. The origin")	TVE1	2013	1 st
<i>Isabel</i> ("Isabel")	TVE1	2012	2 nd
<i>Águila roja</i> ("Red eagle")	TVE1	2009	5 th
<i>Amar es para siempre</i> ("Love is forever")	A3	2013	1 st and 2 nd
<i>El barco</i> ("The ship")	A3	2011	3 rd
<i>El secreto de Puente Viejo</i> ("The secret of Old Bridge")	A3	2011	2 nd and 3 rd
<i>Fenómenos</i> ("Genius")	A3	2012	1 st
<i>Con el culo al aire</i> ("Ass in the air")	A3	2012	2 nd

<i>Bandolera</i> ("Bandolier")	A3	2011	2 nd
<i>Luna, el misterio de Calenda</i> ("Moon, the mystery of Calenda")	A3	2012	2 nd
<i>Gran Hotel</i> (Grand Hotel")	A3	2011	3 rd
<i>Vive cantando</i> ("Keep on singing")	A3	2013	1 st
<i>El tiempo entre costuras</i> ("The time in between")	A3	2013	1 st
<i>Aída</i> ("Aída")	T5	2005	10 th
<i>La que se avecina</i> ("What's yet to come")	T5	2007	6 th and 7 th
<i>Frágiles</i> ("Fragile")	T5	2012	2 nd
<i>Familia</i> ("Family")	T5	2013	1 st
<i>Tierra de lobos</i> ("Land of Wolves")	T5	2010	3 rd
<i>El don de Alba</i> ("Alba's gift")	T5	2013	1 st

Source: Authors' own creation

This research includes the analysis of the videos that refer to the 21 series listed in Table 1, based on a non-probabilistic sampling of the videos ranked as most "relevant" by YouTube. The reason why we use the "relevance" filter is because YouTube sorts the search results by default around the parameter of "relevance". This criterion takes into account the adequacy of the video's metadata with the items that guide the search. The factors that influence the positioning of the video are the number of views, the interaction it generates ('likes' and comments), the time the user watches the video, upload date, channel's activity, number of views received by the set of videos hosted by the channel, and subscribers. The "relevance" filter provides stability to the sample as it prevents the position of a video from being exclusively determined by views, which can be inflated.

In order to obtain homogeneous and comparable data, the search for the most "relevant" videos of each TV series was carried out during the same period: 21 to 27 July, 2014. Monitoring was carried out a month before and after the chosen week, and this exercise showed that the passage of time did not alter the order of videos in YouTube's search results. What did change was the number of views, number of channel subscribers, the number of "likes", "dislikes" and comments generated by each video. That is why we limited the search to one week to preserve order in the comparison of the series. The search on YouTube was carried out by typing in the name of the series (e.g. "El Barco" or "Cuéntame") and excluding those results that did not refer to the series, but to other content tagged with the same name. To the criterion of "relevance" we added the filter "duration of less than four minutes" offered by YouTube's search engine, in order to rule out complete videos of episodes and limit the search to short videos, which fit the nature of YouTube.

The stage of search on YouTube was followed by the selection of a minimum of 5 fan-made videos for each TV series, taking into account the order of "relevance" established by YouTube. Two types of videos were considered: "new and exclusive videos" and "videos that are neither new nor exclusive". The first category refers to amateur videos that contained material that had not been shown on TV, that were hosted on amateur channels and constituted transmedia expansions (in the sense that Henry Jenkins gives to the term i.e.,

exclusive, distinctive and valuable). The second category refers to videos that were hosted in amateur channels and contained unedited scenes or sequences of an episode or news that had been shown on TV. These videos constituted the sample that was used to compare the contributions of male and female users. These non-probabilistic criteria guaranteed the inclusion in the sample of creations that expand the fictional narrative and the quality (not quantity) of the videos. While it is true that the selection of the sample may seem scarce, the selection criteria (“new and exclusive” and the “relevance” filter) were so precise that it was necessary to discard from the sample some videos that did not meet the criteria.

After selecting the videos that matched the order established by YouTube, we obtained a sample of 127 videos, which was submitted to univariate quantitative analysis. This technique allows us to summarize the observations of a variable independently and allows us to compare the values of the same or different variables and to measure the inequality existing among them (Sierra & Bravo, 2005).

Table 2 shows the research questions, variables and categories that have been established in the methodological design in relation to the specific objectives.

Table 2. Research method

	Research questions	Variables	Type	Categories
Objective 1	Which gender uploads more videos related to fiction?	Gender of the video uploader	Quantitative	Women Men
				Exclusive videos Non-exclusive videos
Objective 2	Which gender gets more views, “likes”, “dislikes” and comments?	Number of views, likes, dislikes and comments	Quantitative	Women Men
Objective 3	Does the gender that constitute the majority audience of the TV series is also the gender that uploads the largest number of fan-made videos about the same series?	Audience and number of videos of the 5 most popular TV series	Quantitative	Women Men
Objective 4	How different are the videos created the male and female fans of the 5 most popular series?	Denotative and connotative description of the content	Qualitative	Women Men

Source: Authors’ own creation

In order to make a gender-based comparison, the videos were coded in two categories: “women” and “men”. The identification of the gender of the video up-loader was based on the name of the “user” of the channel hosting the video. Luckily, YouTube channels are associated with a Gmail account that reflects the gender stated by users when opening the account, according to three categories (men, women, and others). It is important to note that it is possible that the gender stated by users does not correspond to their actual gender identification, buy this criterion is a starting point for the exploration of the phenomenon from a comparative gender perspective.

The first two objectives were achieved through an independent univariate quantitative analysis, while the third was achieved through the comparison of two variables: the male and female TV audience and the videos made by male and female fans. To make this

comparison, we selected the five series with the largest audience share in 2013, according to data from Kantar Media (Table 3). In this way, the analysis focused on the five series that had the greatest impact on the audience.

Table 3. Top five series with the largest audience share in 2013

Name	Network	Premiere year	Season in 2013	Average share in 2013	Average Viewership in 2013
<i>El tiempo entre costuras</i>	A3	2013	1 st	25.27%	4,828,556
<i>Águila roja</i>	TVE1	2009	5 th	23.38%	4,469,333
<i>Cuéntame cómo pasó</i>	TVE1	2001	14 th	20.49%	4,101,750
<i>Con el culo al aire</i>	A3	2012	2 nd	16.62%	3,039,231
<i>La que se avecina</i>	T5	2007	6 th -7 th	13.00%	1,426,000

Source: Authors' own creation based on data from Kantar Media

Finally, and in relation to the last objective, we carried out a qualitative analysis of cases based on the denotative and connotative description of some of the most outstanding videos created by fans of the five most-watched TV series. This analysis will help us understand the nature of the videos uploaded by TV series fans.

4. Results

With regards to the gender who uploads more content to YouTube, the analysis shows (total figure 1) that men share more content, since they uploaded 71 videos and women only 56. Although the absolute difference is 15 videos, in percentage points, the distance is reduced to 12 points (56% men vs. 44% women). The analysis of videos according to the “exclusive” and “non-exclusive” criteria shows that the contribution of exclusive videos is practically even among men and women. In contrast, men upload more non-exclusive videos than women. Furthermore, of the 56 videos uploaded by women, 42 are exclusive, which represents 75% of all the videos shared by women. However, of the 71 videos uploaded by men, only 44 are exclusive, which represents 62% of all the videos shared by men. In other words, women upload less videos but, in percentage terms, share a larger number of new content, which requires greater dedication and creativity.

Figure 1. Breakdown of the sample of videos



Source: Authors' own creation

The second objective derives from the following research question: Which gender gets more views, “likes”, “dislikes” and comments? In this regard, the analysis showed that men obtained in average more views than women: 34,632 vs. 30,147, respectively (table 4).

Table 4. Average number of views obtained by men and women

GENDER		No. of views	Average	Standard deviation
Views	Women	56	30,146.95	70,951.12
	Men	71	34,632.00	99,193.00

Source: Authors’ own creation

With regards to the number of “likes” and “dislikes” obtained by the videos, as table 5 shows, the average number of ‘likes’ obtained by the videos uploaded by women is considerably lower (65.55) than that obtained by the videos uploaded by men (93.04). In other words, the videos uploaded by men accumulated a higher number of positive votes. As for the negative votes obtained by the videos (“dislike”), the videos uploaded by men also collected more dislikes in average (13.49 vs. 4.84). As table 5 shows, the average number of negative votes obtained by the videos uploaded by men almost quadruples the number of negative votes obtained by the videos uploaded by women.

Table 5. Gender-based comparison and interaction

	Gender	Number	Average	Standard deviation
“Like”	Women	56	65.55	174.17
	Men	71	93.04	229.16
“Dislike”	Women	56	4.48	16.38
	Men	71	13.49	44.76
Comments	Women	56	12.73	25.75
	Men	71	11.80	27.88

Source: Authors’ own creation

The analysis of the number of comments obtained by the videos shows that women slightly outnumber men. So while the videos uploaded by men generate a higher number of interactions among users, there is no much difference between men and women in terms of received comments. This finding allows us to affirm that, while the videos uploaded by men obtain more interaction from other users of the virtual community (both in terms of number of views and positive and negative votes), the videos of women beat men in terms of the average number of received comments, which require verbal and written work unlike the other interactions, which only require the clicking of a button. Moreover, the fact that the videos of women receive less negative votes also can be interpreted as a positive sign because it indicates that the content produced by women generates less penalties.

To achieve the third objective, we verified whether the gender that constituted the majority audience of the TV series is also the gender that uploads the largest number of fan-made videos about the same series. Table 6 shows the breakdown of the audiences of the 5 TV series with the largest average audience in 2013. Excluding the uploaders whose sex is

unknown, the analysis shows that women constitute the majority of the audience of the five TV series.

Table 6. Breakdown of audiences by gender and TV series

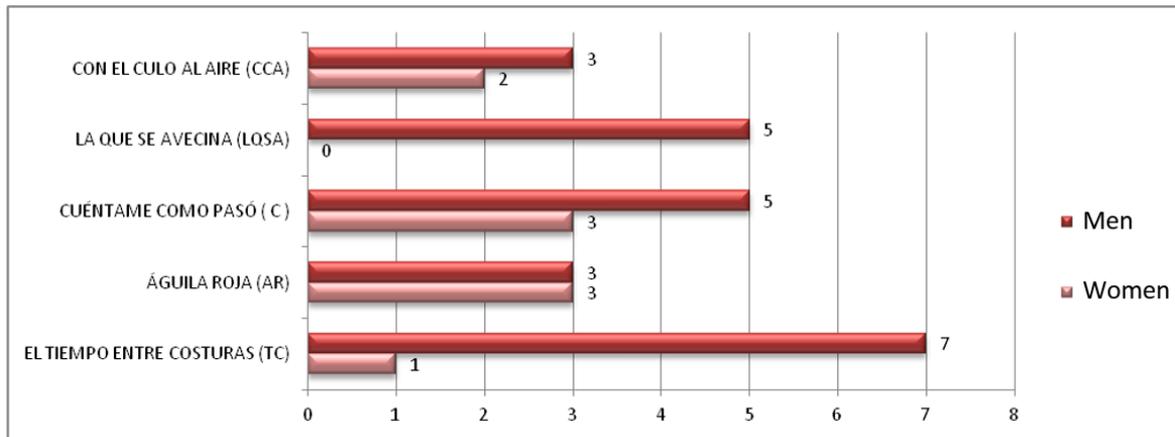
EL TIEMPO ENTRE COSTURAS						
TARGETS	No. of episodes	Rating (000)	Rating %	Share	% Audience	AffinTg%
People over the age of 4	9	4827	11	25.3	100	100
MALES over the age of 4	9	1671	7.8	19.2	34.6	70.7
FEMALES over the age of 4	9	3156	14	30.4	65.4	128,1
ÁGUILA ROJA						
TARGETS	No. of episodes	Rating (000)	Rating %	Share	% Audience	AffinTg%
People over the age of 4	18	4469	10.2	23.4	100	100
MALES over the age of 4	18	2000	9.3	22.3	44.7	91.4
FEMALES over the age of 4	18	2469	11	24.4	55.3	108.2
CUÉNTAME CÓMO PASÓ						
TARGETS	No. of episodes	Rating (000)	Rating %	Share	% Audience	AffinTg%
People over the age of 4	21	4092	9.3	20.4	100	100
MALES over the age of 4	21	1712	8	18.1	41.8	85.5
FEMALES over the age of 4	21	2380	10.6	22.5	58.2	113.9
CON EL CULO AL AIRE						
TARGETS	No. of episodes	Rating (000)	Rating %	Share	% Audience	AffinTg%
People over the age of 4	14	2922	6.6	16.6	100	100
MALES over the age of 4	14	1324	6.2	16	45.3	92.6
FEMALES over the age of 4	14	1598	7.1	17.1	54.7	107,1
LA QUE SE AVECINA						
TARGETS	No. of episodes	Rating (000)	Rating %	Share	% Audience	AffinTg%
People over the age of 4	44	1426	3.2	13	100	100
MALES over the age of 4	44	663	3.1	12.7	46.5	95
FEMALES over the age of 4	44	763	3.4	13.3	53.5	104,8

Source: Authors' own creation based on data from Kantar Media

The audience of *Águila Roja*, *La que se acerca* and *Con el culo al aire* is more balanced in terms of gender constitution. In fact, the affinity coefficient¹ (AffinTg % in the table) of the female audience of these series ranges between 104'8% (*La que se acerca*) and 108'2% (*Águila Roja*). *Cuéntame cómo pasó* has a capacity of attraction towards females of 113'9%, while *El tiempo entre costuras* has the largest female audience, with 128'1% of affinity to attract women. The following figure (Figure 2) compares the gender of the uploaders of the YouTube videos of the five most watched TV series of the sample.

¹ Affinity measures the attraction of a platform (the TV series) towards a given sector of the audience (in this case the male and female segments) in relation to the total audience. The affinity coefficient indicates the high or low affinity of a TV series in relation to the target audience, in this case male or female.

Figure 2. Gender of the video uploaders by TV series



Source: Authors' own creation

Águila Roja, whose audience constitution is quite balanced in terms of gender (45% men vs. 55% women), has an equitable participation in the provision of content to YouTube: 3 videos uploaded by women and 3 men by men. In the case of *Con el culo al aire*, whose audience constitution is fairly equated in terms of gender (45% men vs. 55% women), men upload one video to YouTube more than women (3 videos by men and 2 by women). On the other hand, *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, whose affinity is more feminine (113.9%), stands out for having more videos uploaded by men than by women: 5 vs. 3, respectively. The most important contrasts occur in *La que se avecina* and *El tiempo entre costuras*. In this sense, a TV series with an almost balanced audience profile such as *La que se avecina* (46.5% men vs. 53.5% women) had an exclusive male participation since the five videos were uploaded by men. Finally, *El tiempo entre costuras* had the greatest capacity of attraction towards the female audience (128%) but only 1 of its 8 YouTube videos was uploaded by female fans.

In order to contextualize these data with the videos uploaded by fans, we present the description of some of the cases registered in the sample of the most watched TV series, which are significant to understand transmedia expansion and the contribution of videos by male and female fans.

Con el culo al aire registered 2 videos by women and 3 by men. The most significant cases include the video made by a female fan, Beatriz Martínez Martínez, which presents still photos of the series accompanied by the theme song, and has about 900 views. This video expands the series' narrative because it offers exclusive content that responds to the subjective interpretation of the fan. In the male side, there is a video that presents a clip of torrid scene of the series and has nearly 200,000 views on his channel. Its owner, Javi Canarion², titled the video "Hiba Abouk en bikini y semidesnuda en *Con el culo al Aire*" ("Hiba Abouk in bikini and half-naked in *Con el culo al aire*"). In this case we can see the difference between exclusive and non-exclusive videos. The video of Javi Canarion is an example of non-exclusive videos because it is a compilation of scenes fragments (copy and paste) do not imply a transmedia narrative expansion nor require any creativity or reinterpretation by the fan.

Since the scenes clips do not expand the fiction narrative, in the following examples we describe those exclusive videos that do serve to contextualize the creation of fans.

² Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vLrKxT6Kjo>

Águila Roja registered 3 videos uploaded by men and 3 by women. The most outstanding cases from the transmedia point of view were uploaded by women, including the video uploaded by 4lakegirl³ (with 30,697 views and 628 subscribers), which is a very professional-looking fan-made trailer for the series *Águila Roja*. The video integrates a lot of audiovisual resources: new music and sound effects synchronized with images, transitions of different types, banners with the names of the actors located next to them, toning, etc. One female user noted that the music in the video is the film *The Chronicles of Narnia*. Another example is the video created by Saray Pérez⁴ (251,430 views, 106 subscribers), which is an assembly of photos of an actress from the series, Inma Cuesta, characterized as Margarita in *Águila Roja*. The photographs are accompanied by the song “Scarborough fair”, performed by Inma Cuesta in episode 2x01. The traditional English song that has been covered by many artists, from Simon & Garfunkel to the Wizard of Öz, but Inma sings it in Spanish and Saray adds the lyrics on the screen. The video has received a very high number of views, as well as 1,040 “likes”, 17 “dislikes” and 171 comments, which make it the most talked about video in the sample. In this case, women are again the most creative fans when it comes to the creation of videos about the Spanish TV series.

Cuéntame cómo pasó registered 5 videos uploaded by men and 3 by women. The most significant cases include videos created by both men and women. On the female side, the channel of Sulisirenitá⁵ includes a video montage with 60,000 views, which integrates the theme song of *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, performed by Pitingo with Juan Carmona on the guitar. The author adds the lyrics and combines photos of the singer Pitingo with images of the series. On the male side, Claudio Márquez⁶ offers a very interesting montage of Massiel’s acting work on the series, combining images of the series with images of Massiel’s participation at the Eurovision Song Contest with the song “La, la, la”. The result is a kind of music video that mixes reality, one of the historic participations of Spain at the Eurovision Song Contest, with images of fiction from *Cuéntame cómo pasó*. The video has only received over half a thousand views but is an example of the male creativity that expands the narrative of the fiction series.

La que se avecina only registered videos uploaded by men. User chuscolansquiful⁷ uploaded a cartoon inspired by the series and created with *GO Animate*. The video has over 57,000 views. The voice of the cartoon characters seems to be done by robots, not the original actors, which completely changes the meaning of the lines. However, the video represents a clear example of transmedia expansion since it reinterprets the series with the conventions of cartoons.

The most significant case in the sample is the series *El tiempo entre costuras*, because it has the largest number of female viewers but registers the smallest number of exclusive videos made by women. In this case, men, who seem to be attracted by the soundtrack of the series, outnumber women in creativity. The most relevant fan-made videos include several recordings of the piano cover of the series’ soundtrack, as it is the case of users José Manuel Quintana Cámara⁸ and Adrian Ramos⁹. The first user uploaded two videos of their piano covers of “Tema de Sira” (“*Sira’s song*”) and “Mi madre y yo, dos extrañas” (“*My mother and I, two strangers*”). Both videos superimposed still pictures of Sira (Adriana Ugarte) and her

³ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UTyenmOSSEY>

⁴ Video available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_OVMg-Ju3ko

⁵ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fG7XvEFw5xo>

⁶ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gx-gnQW8MIo>

⁷ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZ7ftUzhShE>

⁸ Videos available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cH-bXRHvGJo> (743 likes, 17 dislikes, 71 comments) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVux8axeBhQ> (454 likes, 7 dislikes and 32 comments)

⁹ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlsCUo9zOnQ>. (14,800 views, 18 subscribers, 101 likes, 4 dislikes, 29 comments).

mother Dolores (Elvira Mínguez) over the user's hands on the piano. Two videos created by this user received 117,368 and 53,595 views, respectively, and his channel had 392 subscribers. However, the video uploaded by the second fan is an improvised cover of the series' soundtrack, without any images. These videos seem like tutorials on how to make piano covers of the series' soundtrack, but they also include photos related to the series. In this case, the videos created by men have been motivated by the series' soundtrack rather than by the plot or characters. The description of the videos shows a varied casuistry and does not reflect the existence of patterns for the creation of different videos according to gender.

Finally, it is important to highlight other significant findings that are not related to the research objectives but help us to learn more about the behavior of the fandom on YouTube. Not all the series included in the sample completed the minimum of 5 original and exclusive fan-made videos, as it is the case of *El don de Alba*, *Frágiles* and *Familia*. In contrast, the most-watched series such as *El tiempo entre costuras* and *Águila Roja* registered exclusive fan-made videos located at the top of the search results ordered by "relevance" by YouTube, as it is the case of the aforementioned video created by José Manuel Quintana. This finding indicates that the transmedia expansion is not manifested in all the series in the same way.

5. Discussion and conclusions

This work has highlighted the differences between genders when it comes to interact with TV fiction series through YouTube, and has demonstrated that there is an active audience that contributes to the transmedia expansion of these series, regardless of their gender.

With regards to the first objective, the results indicate that men share more videos than women, while women outnumber men in television audience. These data coincide in part with the results of Molyneaux *et al.* (2008), who found out that men are more active when it comes to uploading vlogs to YouTube, and with the findings of Lavado, who confirmed that men dominate YouTube, with a participation share of 72.1% (2010:82). In relation to this last finding, this study shows a more balanced difference, of 12%, between men and women. In this regard, while women upload less videos, their productions are more creative in percentage points (75%) than men's (62%), which suggests that women share less videos but that their videos are of higher quality, from the theoretical point of view of transmedia storytelling.

The second objective was to analyze the interaction generated by the content uploaded by users to YouTube. The data presented above has confirmed that the videos uploaded by men encourage greater interaction in the virtual community, given that they receive more votes (both positive and negative) and views in average. Now, it is interesting to note that when it comes to the reception of comments, the difference between the videos made by men and women is not so relevant. This fact suggests that the number of videos uploaded by women is smaller, but also that their content awakens in other users the need of verbal expression and elaborate interaction, beating the videos uploaded by men in terms of received comments. In addition, the videos created by females are less "disliked". These data contrast with the results of Molyneaux *et al.* (2008), who detected that men exceeded women in the reception of comments in YouTube: 40% for men vs. 13.3% for women. Likewise, Pierson (2015) found out that women leave less comments in the online press but also that these comments were of higher quality. Thus, the results of this study allow us to affirm that women are less participatory on YouTube in terms of the number of videos related to TV fiction series that are uploaded, but also that this content is more elaborate.

Castaño (2008), in his studies of the digital gender divide, noted that the men make a greater use of the technological web resources, like downloading of software and audiovisual material, while women make a more functional use of the networks, and tend to relate it to education, health and public services. Furthermore, Castaño pointed out that

men use social networks as a resource of leisure and creation (of websites, among others) much more than women do. In this sense, despite the fact that this digital divide between men and women is gradually being unified, as other studies indicate (Gil-Juárez, et al. 2011), our study confirms that the digital divide remains to favor men, who are much more active technologically and capable of generating and sharing more content.

As for the third objective, which posed the most innovative challenge of this work, we conclude that, while YouTube audience data are distinguished by sex and the female sector of the audience of the TV series is larger than its male counterpart, it has been confirmed that men are more active in terms of the uploading of videos about fiction TV to YouTube. Therefore, the interaction between the TV series and the audience is higher among men. Except in *Águila Roja*, whose audience participation is balanced in terms of gender: despite women constitute the majority sector of its audience, men are more active when it comes to uploading videos about the series to YouTube. The results indicate that there does not seem to be a correlation between the gender of the audience of the TV series and the videos about the series that are shared by the community of fans on YouTube.

Some studies have argued that the contents of YouTube, “in a way, provide an accurate picture of the tastes and trends of consumption in the Internet in general terms” (Lavado, 2010: 89). However, when referring to the relationship between fiction TV and interaction on YouTube, we have observed that the factors that attract users to upload videos about a TV series, or to make comments about the videos that other user create about the same series, are different to those that determine the success of the series in terms of TV audiences. We cannot even affirm that the condition for uploading videos about a TV series is having seen it on TV, because people who uploaded videos about a TV series on YouTube may very well have seen it on the Internet, in order to suit their personal schedule and to avoid being interrupted by advertising.

With regards to the content of the YouTube videos related to the TV series, there does not seem to be remarkable differences between the videos created by male and female fans. In both cases their videos tend to include pictures, synchronized with a song related to the series or not, and superimpose lyrics. In the case of *Cuéntame*, characters such as Pitingo and Massiel (famous Spanish singers) come alive in these videos as a result of the interest of fans in musicians and the series. In this case there were videos created by men and women so there is no apparent difference in the type of contributions according to gender.

The results obtained in this study show that it is convenient to further research interaction and gender, from qualitative or quantitative approach or a combination of both. As Pierson (2015) points out, the causes of the differences between female and male interaction are not easy to explain and respond to different circumstances. In this sense, it is necessary to make clear that there are differences between genders (in terms of the amount of participation, views, types of content, etc.) to be able to continue investigating the causes of these differences.

Finally, as noted by Rodríguez *et al.* (2014), the fan-made videos analyzed in this work respond to a crossmedia phenomenon rather than to a transmedia narrative expansion. In other words, this study has demonstrated that fiction TV texts are not always expanded, since we were not fan-made exclusive videos about series such as *El don de Alba*, *Frágiles* and *Familia*. That is why this work, which aims to contribute to the research related to interaction from a comparative gender perspective, opens up new lines that are worth researching, including the qualitative aspects affecting this difference in interaction and the narrative content of the materials uploaded by users, in order to draw conclusions about the transmedia expansion of fiction TV products by users.

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