

Exploration of the Concept of Cinephilia in the Context of an Emerging Country: The Case of Tunisia

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Introduction

Between its emergence in the 1920s and its recognition by filmmakers who were part of the French New Wave¹ (*Nouvelle Vague*) a few years later, cinephilia was conceived mostly as a state of mind. It was therefore tied to a cultural, even a cultic, practice, as well as to criticism and debate around works and the ability to spread and defend a discourse on film. Cinephilia was intrinsically linked to the place that sheltered it, namely the movie theatre, where the act of going to see a film could take on the appearance of a ritual. De Baecque (2003) offers a profile of a cinephile of that time: “Maniacal about his seat, obsessed with his spot (always ‘closer,’ in the first three rows), loyal to his theatre, pushing erudition to the extreme, sectarian, with his yellow *Cahiers du cinéma* under his arm, or copies of *Positif* from its black-cover period, the cinephile lives his passion fervently and does not share it with anyone except the clan, the clique, the group that surrounds him.”

However, given recent developments in the environment, the very existence of cinephilia is being questioned by many filmmakers, film critics, historians and sociologists. While some have proclaimed its “death” (Sontag, 1996), others argue that it has mutated or has emerged in one or more new forms, such that a contemporary cinephilia could replace or co-exist with a “classical” or “traditional” cinephilia. It would not be a global culture – a theoretical, unidimensional concept that describes a passion for films and that is rooted in

a specific context (Parisian cinephilia) and epoch (the advent of the New Wave) – but would be understood as the totality of individual behaviours manifested in the gestures or attitudes described as those of a cinephile (Ethis, 2007; Séguret, 2002). It is similar to what Holbrook (1987), evoking a passion for jazz music by collecting records, musical instruments or specialized periodicals, calls *musifacts*. In the case of the present study, the act of collecting film posters, downloading a film, searching for movie information, renting or buying a DVD, obtaining accreditation to attend a film festival, having one’s picture taken next to a movie celebrity, or developing an interest in the films of a particular country could be associated with the gestures and practices connected to a cinephilia that is integrated into a multidimensional global attitude.

The evolution of cinephilia has been enriched by the advent of new technologies (downloading from the Internet, DVDs, home cinema, giant television screens, smartphones and tablets, digital packages, etc.), which have turned the audiovisual landscape upside down. While piracy and illegal downloading are huge flaws in the technological and digital revolution, they can nonetheless be seen as maintaining the intimate and profound relationship between viewer and film, just as movie theatres have done: “the screens change in nature and in form, but the impulse that ties us to them has remained unchanged” (Séguret, 2002). Quite clearly headed towards “mutation” (Rosenbaum and Martin, 2003), the definition of a cinephile

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today is a difficult one, and there have been attempts to replace the term with “cinéphage,” “cinevore,” “bulimic cinéphile,” “DVDvore” or “DVDphile.” The number of suggested labels leads us to ponder segmentation of the movie-going audience as well as the variety of current meanings and thus the diversity of cinéphile types.

In this study we define “cinéphilie” as a protean, multidimensional relationship with cinema that goes beyond love of movies and transcends the boundaries of both geography and the physical theatre. Our purpose is to explore the forms that cinéphilie can take in Tunisia, a country that for some time has been home to the erratic and paradoxical behaviour of movie audiences, from periods of packed houses (during festivals or major movie events) to periods of empty theatres, even when the films being shown are of high quality. Thus, the theatre is an important component of the definition of the economics of cinema, whose existence itself can be questioned in the context of Tunisia. This context is characterized by “subterranean economics” (Mattelart, 2009), whose functioning breaks with the codes of “official” economics, which contributed to the emergence of a cinéphilie that today is labelled as classical. Through an exploratory, qualitative approach and a triangulation of data-collection methods, we seek to identify the features of cinéphilie through the meanings ascribed to it by respondents, as well as through the profiles of Tunisian cinéphiles. The study also has a managerial purpose in that the results allow us to offer recommendations at the level of each identified segment.

We first describe the evolution of the contribution of marketing research to the bank of knowledge about moviegoers and the concepts of cinéphilie and cinéphile in the works that fall into this field of study. We also provide a

brief description of the film sector in Tunisia, details of our methodology and our main results.



Cinéphiles: One Kind of Cinema Audience

The literature on film consumption has focused on consumption in the movie theatre, in particular the motivations and factors behind the decision to go to see a film. The factors that can motivate a consumer to see a film include genre (Desai and Basuroy, 2005), symbolism (Gazley, Clarck and Sinha, 2011; Hennig-Thurau, Walsh and Wruck, 2001), country of origin (Gazley, Clarck and Sinha, 2011) – especially the congruence between country of origin and genre (d’Astous et al., 2005) – promotional campaigns by the distributors, evaluations by both critics and audiences (Hennig-Thurau, Houston and Sridhar, 2006), the choice of selective or intensive distribution (Dellarocas, Zhang and Awad, 2007; Elberse and Eliashberg, 2003) and the price of a ticket (Gazley, Clarck and Sinha, 2011). The cinema audience has also been understood from a more operational angle by measuring theatre attendance, identifying the factors that influence it (Eliashberg, Elberse and Leenders, 2006; Verdaasdonk, 2005), and assessing the demand, whether past or future. This demand, generally measured by annual ticket sales, has also been used in econometric models that evaluate its chronological evolution (Fernandez-Blanco and Banos-Pino, 1997; Macmillan and Smith, 2001).

There have been different attempts to segment the moviegoing audience. Some are based on viewer preferences, in particular in terms of genre or production type (Hixson, 2005; Jedidi, Krider and Weinberg, 1998). A synthesis of the literature on audiences is provided in Table 1.

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ABSTRACT

The meaning of cinéphilie, as defined by the children of the French New Wave, is currently undergoing a re-examination. Taking an exploratory, qualitative approach based on a triangulation of data-collection methods, the authors identify the features of contemporary cinéphilie in the context of an emerging country, Tunisia, where paradoxical practices of film consumption co-exist. Analysis of the qualitative data suggests three profiles – committed cinéphile, neophyte cinéphile and neo-cinéphile – each described in terms of three dimensions that convey its behaviour with respect to film consumption: cognitive, affective and conative.

KEYWORDS

Cinéphiles, audience, film consumption, leisure, triangulation

TABLE 1

SYNTHESIS OF STUDIES ON THE SEGMENTATION OF THE MOVIEGOING AUDIENCE			
Authors	Country	Goals	Segments identified
Homan, Cecil and Wells (1975)	United States	Distinction between “nonmoviegoers” and “heavy moviegoers” on the basis of lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nonmoviegoer - Mid American - Midscale Swinger: middle class, liberal - Upscale Striver: upper class, liberal
Johnson (1981)	United States	Segmentation of moviegoing audience based on frequency of cinema attendance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Infrequent: less than once every six months - Occasional: once every two to six months - Frequent: at least 12 times a year
Austin (1981)	United States	Study of the audience at an art house cinema (Dryden Theater)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High level of education - Regular attendance - Cinema attendance is preferred leisure activity - Seek out information about films they watch in the theatre - Cosmopolitan
Cuadrado and Frasset (1999)	Spain	Segmentation on the basis of benefits sought, sociodemographic variables and attendance behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The apathetic: those (mostly men) who rarely go to the cinema and do so to fight boredom and have “a good time” - The social: younger people who go to the cinema for pleasure, seeking new topics of conversation and wishing to cultivate social bonds - Cinema buffs: those (mostly urban, mostly women) who are looking for culture and are interested in the cinema for its own sake
Harper and Porter (1999)	Great Britain	Study of moviegoing audiences in the 1950s based on frequency of attendance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The indiscriminate (go to any kind of film) - The regulars - The occasionals
Chuu, Chang and Zaichkowsky (2009)	United States	Study of the profile of viewers of art house films	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regularly go to the theatre - Have a positive attitude towards films in general - Are more tolerant with regard to conditions in the theatre - Actively seek out information about the film and its release - Films are much more than a leisure activity, are part of lifestyle
Marchand and Khallayoune (2010)	Canada	Segmentation of audience on the basis of a list of values (LOV)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achievers - Hedonists - Emphatics

In all the profiles identified, a particular category of the moviegoing audience seems to emerge: urban, educated, motivated by factors other than simple entertainment or escapism, attracted by both Hollywood blockbusters and lesser-known works – independent of their geographical origins – or, in contrast, extremely selective. For this group of consumers, however, sociodemographic characteristics such as age or gender seem to vary from one study to the next. From a theoretical viewpoint, this profile is similar to the classical image of the cinephile as depicted and mythologized by film theorists.

However, the typologies described in the literature do not capture the multidimensionality of cinephilia. Terms attributed to this category by some researchers, such as *movie buffs* or *movie enthusiasts*, are tied to the anglophone definition of a cinephile. Other researchers have used the term to describe either the act of going to see a film at the cinema (“moviegoing”) (d’Astous et al., 2005; d’Astous, Colbert and Nobert, 2007) or the degree of knowledge about films (d’Astous and Colbert, 2002). Others prefer the phrase “film viewers” to describe those individuals who are likely to watch a film, regardless of their level of interest or expertise in cinema (Legoux and Sears, 2005).

It thus appears that the sparse research on cultural and artistic marketing that has examined the behaviour of movie audiences (essentially those who go to movie theatres) has broached the concept of cinephilia in a way that is implicit or partial. Marteaux and Filser (2006) reference the elitist dimension of these two concepts – cinephile and cinephilia – by ascribing the subjective power of calling a cinematic work a “cult film” to the “circles of the cinephiles.” This elitism is also evoked by Debenedetti and Larceneux (2011), who define cinephilia as the behaviour of people whose tastes are closer to those of critics – perceived as experts – than to those of multiplex audiences. The unique dimension of cinephilia conveyed in these two studies contrasts with the

multidimensional behaviour of the cinephile, or of cinephilia as we define it. Beyond the field of marketing research, there have been a few attempts by sociologists and film historians to classify cinephiles, but this research has been mostly theoretical and based on behavioural observation.

Habib (2005) distinguishes among *selective cinephiles*, who mostly frequent festivals, *filmivores*, who watch all kinds of films indiscriminately, and *very cultivated cinephiles*. Allard (2000) establishes a typology, based on observation of a forum devoted to cinema, of forms of discourse around films, distinguishing between argued discourse, close to critical language, and a discourse that flows from subjective appreciation:

- *popcorn eaters* or *newbies* – those who make “enthusiastic” comments that lack argumentation
- *serious cyber-cinephiles* – those who express their opinions by arguing about the intrinsic qualities of the film (as opposed to an affective appreciation of the work)
- *mavens* or *cine-webophiles* – forum members who have been around the longest and have mastered the codes of both “cyberculture” and “traditional cinephilia”
- *lurkers* – forum visitors who do not take part in the discussion about films

These new kinds of cinephile have emerged due to the development of online forums, blogs and other social networks that offer them a conversation space that is completely free in both its content and its wording, far from the conception of classical cinephilia (Ethis, 2007). The new kinds of film consumption have been made possible by “digitamorphosis,” a concept that reflects the numerous behavioural mutations attributable to the technological upheaval (Granjon and Combes, 2009). The new means

R É S U M É

Le concept de cinéphilie, tel qu’entendu par les héritiers de la Nouvelle Vague française, subit une remise en question. Par une méthode exploratoire qualitative fondée sur la collecte de données obtenues par triangulation, les auteurs identifient les caractéristiques des cinéphiles contemporains dans le contexte de la Tunisie, pays en émergence où cohabitent des pratiques paradoxales de consommation de films. L’analyse des données qualitatives suppose l’existence de trois profils: les cinéphiles avertis, les cinéphiles néophytes et les néo-cinéphiles. Chacun est décrit en fonction des dimensions cognitive, affective ou conative, lesquelles traduisent le comportement des consommateurs de films.

M O T S C L É S

Cinéphiles, auditoire, consommation de films, loisirs, triangulation

of consumption have contributed to the questioning of the duality in the film image/relationship within the consumption format. Cinephilia, as it is understood in the contemporary context, has links with technophilia. It evolves from a “fetishist” relationship centred on the filmic object, rare and difficult to access, to “a process” of interaction. The access to bonuses and options that appear on the menu of a DVD and the digitization of films have thus led to the evolution of cinephilia from a passive relationship between the viewer and the work to one of active interactions with it (Hudson and Zimmermann, 2009).

The study of *fandom* in the consumption of cultural products, notably music and television series, identifies multidimensionality and complexity in the behaviour of amateurs (Le Guern, 2009). Several dimensions of the consumption practices of amateurs are thereby identified: the passionate character of consumption, analyzed from the perspective of the attachment of amateurs to the object of their passion (Hennion, 2004) or the construction of social bonds via the sharing of common practices, following the example of fan communities, particularly virtual ones. The latter play different roles and offer spaces for the collection of information, for discussion (Hellekson and Busse, 2006) and even for production.

New technologies have indeed transformed cultural consumption practices and therefore the relationship of the most committed fans, by enabling their evolution from passive amateur to producer, or at least co-creator. Such a commitment can become manifest through websites or blogs devoted to a particular artist, genre or television series, or through practices such as *fansubbing*, which is the voluntary subtitling of certain episodes of a television series (Combes, 2011).

The Tunisian Film Landscape

Our research setting is Tunisia, a country located on the Mediterranean coast of North Africa. Tunisia is ranked among the emerging countries because it is characterized by strong economic growth, industrialization and a gradual opening up of its economy (International Monetary Fund, 2013). By virtue of Tunisia’s geographical location, its history has been marked by multiple political, economic and religious influences, from the founding of Carthage in 814 BC to colonization by the French from 1887 to 1956, passing through multiple civilizations that are the source of its multiculturalism. Today, Tunisia is characterized by the ambivalent co-existence of Arab-Muslim and Western – particularly French – values and lifestyles. More recently, Tunisia has been at the confluence of socialist, fundamentalist and secularist influences that reached a climax during the Arab Spring. These socio-historical and cultural features have had consequences for the cultural sector, especially the film sector (Arnould, Price and Moïso, 2006; Askegaard and Linnet, 2009).

During the colonial era Tunisia witnessed the political activism that pervaded classical French cinephilia, particularly as incarnated in the Parisian New Wave. The French influence has continued in terms of culture and identity (Bourguiba, 2013). It is manifested in the hosting of and participation in the *ciné-clubs* initiated by teachers and French volunteers and in the names of these clubs, such as the Méliès in Tunis, the capital, or the Louis Lumière in Sfax (Cheriaa, 2010). It is important to add, however, that an Arab cinema has similarly emerged in Algiers and Damascus, with the presence of Western firms, operating in the film sector, that are rapidly being taken over by local operators (Bourguiba, 2013). The golden age of Arab cinema is associated primarily with the Egyptian film industry, which manages to procure, through mass production, an important film offer for all Arab

RESUMEN

El sentido de cinefilia, tal como lo definen los hijos de la Nueva Ola francesa, está actualmente reexaminándose. Los autores adoptan un enfoque exploratorio y cualitativo basado en una triangulación de métodos de recolección de datos para identificar las características de la cinefilia contemporánea en un país emergente, Túnez, donde se observa la coexistencia de prácticas paradójicas de consumo cinematográfico. El análisis de los datos cualitativos indica la presencia de tres perfiles: el cinéfilo comprometido, el neófito y el neocinéfilo. Se describe cada uno en función de tres dimensiones que revelan el comportamiento en relación con el consumo cinematográfico: cognitivo, afectivo y conativo.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Cinéfilos, público, consumo cinematográfico, ocio

countries. Bollywood has also taken over screens in Tunisia. It goes without saying that not everybody attaches the same importance to these films. While the disadvantaged social classes seem to have a preference for Egyptian and Indian cinema, the affluent classes are more favourably disposed towards Western productions. These preferences correspond to the aspirational models that continue to co-exist and that help to forge the identity of Tunisians today (Cheriaa, 2010). More recently, because of film festivals, the Tunisian film landscape has expanded with the distribution of films from elsewhere, particularly Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Bourguiba, 2013).

On the level of infrastructure, with the deterioration of cinema venues, audience abandonment of movie theatres and full-scale regression of film imports, cinema in Tunisia – as in many other emerging countries, especially those in the Maghreb – has experienced, for more than a decade, a situation that can at best be described as challenging (Tebib, 2002).

In 1949 Tunisia had more *ciné-clubs* than almost any other African country, and in 1966 it founded Journées Cinématographiques de Carthage, the oldest film event in Africa and the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region (and among the most important ever) (Cheriaa, 2010). However, the number of theatres has declined, from approximately 100 at the time of independence in 1956 to fewer than 20 in 2010 (Chikhaoui, 2010).

Since 2010 two new theatres have opened in Tunis, but attendance remains dismal. This development is essentially due to the technological revolution, which has brought easy access to thousands of films because of the omnipresence of satellite dishes in homes (Fitouri, 2012) and the more recent phenomenon of piracy (Mattelart, 2013). Shops selling pirated DVDs pop up in many neighbourhoods, offering the latest films at half the cost of a cinema ticket. In Tunisia there are no multiplexes: each theatre consists of a single screen, the largest venue seating up to 1,714. The government's lack of interest in cultural education and the lack of political initiative regarding the development of film studies and audiovisual techniques have affected the attitude and behaviour of movie audiences in terms of both theatre attendance and local film production (Ouarhani, 2010).

Artists and professionals in the film sector – particularly cinema owners – continue to

experience great difficulty, especially after the events of 14 January 2011 in Tunisia, which marked the start of the Arab Spring. We must point out, however, that the data used in this study were collected before that time.



Methodology

An exploratory, qualitative approach was adopted in order to address the goals of the research by using three modes of data collection: the narrative approach, in-depth interviewing and floating observation. The use of several data sources stems from our desire to grasp the diverse facets of cinephilia through the different discursive practices of cinephiles (Price and Arnould, 1998). This approach entails the three data-collection modes in qualitative research: oral conversation, visual observation and the reading of written texts (Dingwall, 1997). It allows the researcher to remain open to different interpretations and to capture the richness and complexity of the phenomenon (Thompson, Stern and Arnould, 1998).

As a first step, 260 individuals were invited to express their view of cinephilia in writing. The goal was to have the respondents consider and describe, in their own words, the profile of a cinephile. The approach adopted in this first phase of the research can be seen as belonging to the family of narrative techniques. Narration refers to all oral, written and visual forms of a story, tale or description (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998; Shankar and Goulding, 2001). It can be an anecdote, essay, poem, short story, tale, game, song or play (Huber, 2010; Kouritzin, Piquemal and Norman, 2009). Our goal was to gain an overview of people's notion of cinephilia. In order to adapt the narrative approach to our research, we adopted a methodology inspired by studies in the field of marketing (Autio, Heiskanen and Heinonen, 2009; DeLorme, Kreshel and Reid, 2003; Gould and Gupta, 2006; Palmer, Simmons and de Kervenoael, 2010). Thus the respondents were selected from universities and professional training centres in Tunis. Although the sample was not representative, it enabled us to achieve diversity in terms of gender, age, social background and professional status (Palmer, Simmons and de Kervenoael, 2010). The respondents were encouraged to express themselves as freely as possible, with details about their opinions, attitudes and perceptions of the phenomenon.

Such an approach makes it possible to counterbalance “the unilateral dominance of polycentrism in research, which privileges the spoken word over the written one” (Palmer, Simmons and de Kervenoael, 2010, p. 242) and to get around the emotional barriers and social desirability associated with face-to-face approaches (Palmer, Simmons and de Kervenoael, 2010). The teachers/trainers who voluntarily collected the data provided the respondents with written and oral instructions. Having been briefed by the authors, they could respond to respondents’ questions, to avoid any misunderstanding or ambiguity. Consistent with previous studies, data collection took the form of a free-form essay. The starting point was an invitation to respondents to describe a cinephile in their own words. It was made clear to them that this was not a test and that there was no right or wrong answer.

The sample was francophone and the texts were written in French. However, respondents were told that, if they so wished, they could include phrases in dialectal or literary Arabic in parentheses. There were very few comprehension problems during data collection. Aside from a few individuals who had difficulty expressing themselves on the theme, the respondents had no trouble completing the exercise. Their texts varied in length from half a page to four pages. In accordance with the narrative approach (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008; Maines, Pierce and Laslett, 2012), the corpus was rich and varied in terms of both writing style and content. Some texts were particularly descriptive, giving accounts of facts and events related to the cinema and to cinephilia, while others were much more affective, bearing witness to the emotional involvement of respondents. Data collected in this way led to a process of iterative analysis during which the authors analyzed and discussed the corpus in a way that led to the emergence of cinephilia-related themes (Gould and Gupta, 2006). The results allowed us to identify the themes worth exploring in depth during the interviews (see Appendix 1).

As a second step, 23 semi-structured interviews were conducted face to face. Again, we sought to achieve diversity. The selection of interviewees took place at the exits of movie theatres. The goal of the research was described to those approached and they were asked whether they would respond to questions related to the cinema. Appendix 2 presents a profile of the interviewees. The interview guide was based on three themes: (1) motivations with respect to work, leisure and art; (2) motivations with respect

to the cinema; and (3) relationship to cinema and its evolution. The guide was designed based on a synthesis of elements described in the literature on the relationship between consumers and arts products.

We adopted a conversational approach in order to put interviewees at ease and facilitate free exchange. Such an approach is particularly suited to the Tunisian cultural and sociopolitical context. On the cultural level, a conversational approach is advisable when the research is being conducted within a culture that values interpersonal relationships, human warmth and close proximity (Axelson, 1999). Informality and active intervention on the part of the interviewer – sometimes even addressing interviewees by their first name – serve to comfort the participants, ensure credibility and instil confidence. In a collectivist culture that is characterized by rich communication, this approach tends to draw enthusiasm from participants, causing them to open up, and thus achieve a successful interview (Castillo, Quintana and Zamarripa, 2000). On the sociopolitical level, under a dictatorial regime the atmosphere is characterized by the “law of silence” and “fear of fear,” where any form of criticism (even in non-political spheres) could be interpreted as a questioning of the powers that be. In such a context, it is important that the researchers distance themselves from what could be perceived as an official or public investigation. A conversational approach fits perfectly in this situation, as it puts the interviewees at ease and encourages them to behave in a more informal and relaxed manner than might be possible in a traditional interview (Van Enk, 2009). This approach has been used successfully by several authors who have chosen Tunisia as a research setting (Hechiche-Salah, Ben Radhia and Ben Ammar-Mamlouk, 2009; Touzani and Hirschman, 2008; Usunier and Sbizzera, 2013).

We proceeded with the interviews until the threshold of theoretical saturation was reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The sample size was consistent with our chosen method of data collection (Kuzel, 1992) and was sufficient to allow for thematic saturation and data variability (Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006). The respondents had a choice of language: Arabic or French. The interviews lasted between 40 and 90 minutes. They were audiorecorded and then transcribed in their entirety for the purpose of analysis.

“Floating observation” allowed us delve more deeply into the data. To us it seemed important to carry out this exercise, as the literature on

classical cinephilia examines the concept in light of cinema attendance only (Gauthier, 1999). Exploration of and immersion in the physical environment of cinephilia helped us to not only track the dimensions of classical cinephilia but also go beyond them. It allowed us to better contextualize and give nuance to the statements of participants resulting from the two other methods. Such an approach has also facilitated the recruitment of key respondents for in-depth interviews (Borghini et al., 2009).

The observation carried out in the framework of the present research was not structured observation: there was no prior definition of the dimensions of nor the aspects peculiar to the phenomenon that should be observed during data collection. The adopted method, floating observation, is carried out as opportunities arise and helps the researcher to identify elements that might at first seem insignificant (Dargère, 2012). It is often carried out informally and consists of friendly encounters between the researcher and the main actors in the field. This technique enabled us to be on the lookout for all events that could be taken into consideration in our attempt to understand cinephilia (Gavard-Perret et al., 2012). In the case of our study in particular, and in order to complement the observation, one of the three authors, whose nationality is Tunisian, attended regular screenings at movie theatres in Tunis and also took part in several film events: Journées Cinématographiques de Carthage; Journées du Cinéma Européen; Doc à Tunis: “Voix du Regard”; screenings followed by debates organized by the AfricArt *ciné-club*; and screenings hosted by the French, Italian and German cultural centres. This author met some of the same people repeatedly at these various events, which made it much easier to approach them and also addressed any reluctance they might have felt about submitting to questions by a complete stranger. Following a snowball procedure, when the first participants were contacted they pointed us to other people they considered to be cinephiles.

The three data collections were carried out between February 2008 and September 2010. The interviews were transcribed in their entirety; the resultant corpus was broken down into thematic units using NVivo 9 and a thematic analysis was conducted. An interpretive approach involving the immersion of the authors in the corpus was adopted. We therefore applied the principle of deconstruction–reconstruction (Deschenaux, 2007) – deconstructing the corpus by categorizing its elements into nodes before

restructuring/recontextualizing it through multiple discussions among ourselves. The nodal structure that we had initially developed was validated by means of a “floating reading.” We subsequently carried out an in-depth reading of the corpus and categorized the data by allocating the extracts to nodes. A continuous process of comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) allowed us to gradually add new inductive nodes during the *in vivo* coding process. Discussions among the authors allowed us to settle minor disagreements about categorization of the data. The primary purpose of such an approach is to go beyond the raw text to progressively highlight profound meanings (Creswell, 2003).

This approach also facilitates organization of the work of processing the corpus. It makes it much easier to identify and hierarchize the nodes resulting from the analysis through theorization. Though time-consuming, use of NVivo has the advantage of helping researchers to carry out their analysis in a structured way (Welsh, 2002). The analysis made it possible for us to identify the main dimensions of cinephilia and the major profiles of cinephiles. In the findings, below, excerpts from the corpus are presented in italic type.

With the goal of constructing a typology of cinephiles, we followed the approach recommended by Demazière (2013). To attain “intelligibility without sacrificing complexity,” we opted for a descriptive typology. This typology can be considered as an “intermediate step” in the process of understanding cinephilia, rather than as a definitive result.



Findings: The Main Dimensions of Cinephilia

Our conclusion is that cinephilia goes beyond the simple fact of being a moviegoer or a film amateur. It represents a particular attitude with respect to the cinema, one that is characterized by an affective dimension – integrating a passion and love for cinema with an addiction to films; a cognitive dimension – awareness and selectivity when it comes to films; and a conative dimension – mass consumption of films, whether in the theatre or by means of assorted audiovisual devices.

Our analysis reveals that these three dimensions are intrinsically linked, with the stories of

the respondents spontaneously establishing a relationship among the three. Thus, passion and love for cinema are associated with knowledge about or quantity of films watched, whether in a movie theatre or via various devices: *The cinephile is someone who loves the cinema, who is a connoisseur, who sees many films, who reads the latest film news in the newspapers, who also loves to talk about it* (male, age 29). Furthermore, the time invested in this activity is important to the very conception of cinephilia: *I think of it as referring to someone who spends entire days watching movies. In my opinion, it is both a good thing and a bad thing: this person is up to date on all the latest releases but goes a little over the top* (male, age 20). This idea ties in with one of the features of cultural products, namely their time-consuming aspect (Evrard, Bourgeon and Petr, 2000).

The affective dimension is indicative of a strong link between the cinephile and the cinema. The cinephile may well be considered a cinema amateur, but the comments of numerous respondents suggest a powerful relationship: *It's an intense love of cinema. It's a passion . . . for everything that has to do with this art form. It's the fact of experiencing the magic of this world* (female, age 38). This relationship can be so intense that it becomes addictive, as seen in the use of phrases such as “addicted to the cinema,” “drugged by the cinema” and “cinema-obsessed.” This dependence on the cinema is suggested in a study describing British cinema attendance in the 1930s and 1940s but has not been the focus of genuine research apart from the topic of addictive behaviour with regard to television (Miskell, 2005).

The cognitive, or intellectual, dimension refers to the film-related knowledge and culture of the cinephile. For many respondents, a cinephile is first and foremost someone who *loves to be up to date on all the latest films without forgetting the classics* (female, age 63), *who gradually develops a critical sensibility, an ability to distinguish between commercial and auteur films [and] who knows all the cinema classics* (male, age 32). This last aspect relates to the presence or absence of selectivity in terms of film: a cinephile can be someone who is happy to watch any kind of movie, whatever its genre or country of origin, *a person who is passionate not only about blockbusters or other big films but also – and above all – about auteur films, whether from Iran, Burkina Faso or Scandinavia* (female, age 25), or someone who is extremely selective and does not watch films of a particular genre, from a particular country or by a particular director (whose filmography they would nonetheless

know by heart): *I'm someone who watches any kind of movie, and not only a specific genre . . . I have a friend who is a cinephile [and] doesn't really watch the latest releases but [favours] a certain genre. He likes the films of Tony Gatlif and Kusturica* (female, age 20).

The conative dimension relates to the notion of frequency, whether of going to the cinema or of watching movies on a device of some kind. Of the texts that were collected, some indicated that seeing films in a theatre is a condition for discussing cinephilia, while others suggested that being a cinephile is not necessarily connected to the physical environment or the viewing device. If traditional or classical cinephilia is closely tied to consumption in a theatre, the one evoked by the younger respondents who belong to the digital generation is completely independent, thus marking a genuine evolution of the concept and no doubt indicating a trend for the years to come.

Typology and Profiles of Cinephiles

Our in-depth analysis of the corpus reveals three broad categories of cinephile – *committed cinephiles*, *neophyte cinephiles* and *neo-cinephiles*. Each group can be described based on four dimensions:

- the process of developing a taste for the cinema and the parties who played a role in this process
- the affective dimension: motivations and involvement with regard to the cinema
- the conative dimension: behaviour of cinema attendance and attitudes towards piracy
- the cognitive dimension: film knowledge and culture

Committed cinephiles

The individuals in this category resemble the “classical” cinephile as described by de Baecque (2003). Their love of cinema began at a very young age, nurtured by a social circle that was interested in art and caused them to have an affective relationship with the cinema that is imbued with passion and nostalgia: *I started watching films very, very early with my father . . . in the VHS era. With him I watched American movies, action films . . . at the age of five or six . . . Those are my earliest memories* (male, age 29).

They say they are passionate about or even “addicted” to film. They exhibit a willingness to become involved in the field and even to consider participating on a professional level (one of the interviewees had tried his hand at directing). For them, the cinema is far from being a pastime or simply entertainment – it is an integral part of their daily lives. Some have taken a proactive approach, not satisfied with merely watching films but wishing to be “doing something in the field of cinema” – not necessarily making films but, for example, founding a *ciné-club* or lobbying for revitalization of the film sector.

For them, the connection they establish between the field of cinema and their reality is a means of building their future. *For me, cinema is not something that disconnects you from reality. On the contrary, it is something that gets under your skin and makes you feel that there is more to life . . . with some of “reality’s irreality” too* (male age 30). *It allows you to reflect, to realize certain things, to be open to the world, because the cinema is an important vector; it is where you have never gone, where you have never set foot, so you can know what happens there, and you see how people live there. It is like an open window looking out over slices of lives and cultures* (female, age 30).

In their eyes, the current situation in theatres, which imposes consumption formats that they would not have chosen in different circumstances, should not call into question the status of the cinephile. Their relationship with the theatre is sacrosanct: *That is where I feel happy* (male, age 30). They seize every opportunity to see a movie in the theatre, whether it is part of a special event (a film festival or screenings devoted to particular directors or actors) or, more rarely, a commercial release. Symbolically, the movie theatre represents for them the original place of film consumption, even though they are aware that consumption at home is now the primary means of satisfying their need to see films.

One of the respondents in this group even declared that he watched films many times over in the theatre. For him, contact with the theatre was extremely important, and he could not conceive of going more than two weeks without attending. Although going to the theatre to see a film is important for these individuals, it does not prevent them from also watching films at home, on pirated DVDs. This situation has been inflicted on them; they say that they have no choice and that this is a way for them to see as many films as possible, although not without some guilt: *I don’t think about it any more. Maybe*

it’s a form of activism: one must go to the theatre, be present, show that there’s an audience, that it’s worth opening the theatres. But, honestly, at the time I don’t think about it in that way. The easiest thing is to buy or rent a DVD (male, age 30).

The committed cinephiles are erudite. Their film knowledge relates to techniques and various theoretical and historical aspects. They are interested in films of all genres, from all countries and all periods, not only viewing them but also discussing them, either orally or in writing. Some believe that it is impossible to understand or appreciate certain films without having acquired a minimum of theoretical or technical knowledge, a finding consistent with that of Legoux and Sears (2005). Their references during the interviews are varied in terms of geographical origin, period and genre: directors of silent films from the 1920s (Griffith and Eisenstein), French New Wave directors (Truffaut and Godard) and directors from diverse backgrounds (Carlos Reygadas, Alejandro Jodorowsky, Jia Zhangke and Abbas Kiarostami). This knowledge speaks of an eclectic taste in films, genuine erudition and a film culture, all of which distinguish them from members of the other two groups. They watch everything and do not discriminate when selecting a film to view, even if they clearly have preferences with regard to genres and directors.

They are reluctant to use the term “cinephile” to label themselves, preferring to call themselves a “bad cinephile” or a “cinephile of sorts.” Their relationship to the cinematic arts transcends the time-consuming aspect that characterizes the consumption of artistic products in general (Evrard, Bourgeon and Petr, 2000). For them, cinema is not a leisure activity or an escape from daily life but a calling, a life project.

Neophyte cinephiles

The neophyte cinephiles tend to admire the profile of cinephiles, whom they describe as the committed ones, even if they share with them a passion for cinema. They see themselves as lacking the necessary “film culture.” Most were introduced to the cinema at a young age by a family member. For others, it was an experience abroad that made them discover the cinema, not only movie theatres but also diversity of films in terms of genre and country of origin. The individuals in this category feel nostalgia and bring with them memories and anecdotes relating to the journeys that were for them an opportunity to discover films.

This group comprises individuals who consider themselves cinephiles because they like the cinema, even though they do not always have extensive knowledge about films, directors or film history. They even admit to sometimes being unable to remember the title of a film or the name of its director. However, these are people who go looking for information. In some cases they do not limit themselves to the film's director and cast or to its US box office ranking but are also interested in its main themes, genre and country of origin.

They regard cinema as a passion that they pursue at their leisure and wish to experience completely, but this generally co-exists with other activities, such as theatregoing or reading, which take up a large part of their free time: *When I watch a film, I put my critical dimension on standby and view it with absolute spontaneity, and I'm totally receptive to the film . . . the truthfulness of the actor's performance and . . . the emotion he conveys* (female, age 46). The experience of film consumption is accompanied by a search for different emotions: *The cinema gives me an opportunity to live through my emotions, but also an intellectual blossoming. If I had the time, I would live the experience of the [movie] theatre more often* (female, age 29).

Their complete immersion in the world of the films they see in no way suggests an absence of critical sensibility or intelligence with regard to the topics developed in the films. In fact, for the individuals in this group, cinephilia is an opportunity for reflection accompanied by a willingness to understand the meaning of the message, "to take the time to mull over the film after seeing it" and to consider the content critically.

Although far from having abandoned the idea of viewing films in a theatre, they see themselves as less devoted than the first group of cinephiles, yet they do try to discover as many films as possible, especially within the framework of organized events (thematic screenings or film festivals). The fact that they are cinephiles does not prevent them from thinking others are "bigger cinephiles." They are not satisfied with simply liking and watching a lot of films but make an effort to see them in a theatre. While illegal downloading and pirated DVDs are their primary means of consumption, these cinephiles consider such practices something to be endured. Indeed, neophyte cinephiles demonstrate affective attachment: given the choice, they would, without hesitation, view films in a theatre instead of at home.

Neo-cinephiles

The neo-cinephiles form part of a group that considers the cinema to be entertainment in its own right. They are characterized by the mass consumption of films in formats other than the big screen in a theatre. For them, cinephilia is a pastime, an activity that allows them to relax and, above all, to "dream and let go": *It's an amusement . . . to experience for two hours something that is not your own life* (female, age 20).

Neo-cinephiles struggle to overcome certain obstacles in going to a movie theatre, notably time pressure and the constraints associated with modern life. They clearly prefer to watch films at home. They tend to favour quantity over genre or origin and to rent or buy "a stock" of DVDs that they watch over a period of time. Unlike members of the first two groups, who tend to choose their films independently of information sources, neo-cinephiles generally choose their films based on the opinions of people in their circle whom they consider cinephiles. In fact, it is because of word-of-mouth and their social circle that they have become cinephiles. They were not "introduced" to the cinema during childhood or adolescence. They did not choose the cinema, but, rather, the cinema chose them. Therefore, they do not actively seek information. The Internet and satellite channels are their primary sources of information. They tend to trust movie trailers, commercials, box office rankings and awards. Being well connected, they do not hesitate to surrender to piracy or other practices on the fringes of legality: *You'll laugh, but I can't sleep without watching a film. I've even discovered a streaming site where you can watch them all . . . So I select a film . . . of course it has to be interesting. Then I watch it until I fall asleep, and if I don't fall asleep I watch another one* (female, age 30).

Moreover, they apparently develop a preference for a particular genre and are very selective (choosing mostly successful films), whereas the tastes of the other two groups tend to be eclectic. They are eager to see the latest films and try to be "up to date" on all the releases, usually putting their trust in box office rankings or specialty websites. Their cinema knowledge is therefore tied to the new releases to such an extent that accessing the latest films becomes a real challenge. To see the latest film by this director or with that actor, even before its release on the big screen in France, for example, can be a source of satisfaction. One can detect a degree of pride

in their speech. However, they admire “real cinephiles” – people who are much more knowledgeable about cinema, especially genres, the so-called classical cinema and other realms that are beyond the grasp of the general audience.

For some neo-cinephiles, the movie trailers that are broadcast on satellite channels (e.g., Rotana cinéma or MBC2) are important sources of information. However, they also have confidence in the recommendations of neighbourhood vendors of pirated DVDs. They want to see as many films as possible, as soon as possible! This group primarily watch films at home, via pirated copies, DVDs or satellite channels, as the case may be. This access to a plethora of films, from the latest to the oldest, allows them to build up their filmic references.

However, within this group there are differences. There are those who consider themselves to be cinephiles and those who think they are unworthy of this label. The former, whom we shall call “impatient cinephiles,” are given to novelty, perhaps even to immediacy; they can hardly wait when they hear, from various sources, about the release of a new film. They see themselves as cinephiles by virtue of the regularity of their consumption and aspire to build up their knowledge with less recent films. The second group of neo-cinephiles are what some authors call “cinéphages” (Aubert, 2011). “Addicted” to movies rather than to cinema (in the artistic sense of the term), they would never call themselves cinephiles; for them, films are a pastime and a means of escape from daily life.



Discussion

Research on film consumption has most often tried to identify, through quantitative studies, the differences between film consumers, usually in a movie theatre, in terms of age, gender, level of education and benefits sought (Cuadrado and Frassetto, 1999; Fernandez-Blanco and Prieto-Rodríguez, 2003; Fernandez-Blanco, Prieto-Rodríguez and Orea, 2005; Harper and Porter, 1999; Miskell, 2005). Through an exploratory qualitative approach, the present study has enabled us to describe the behaviour of a particular category of the cinema audience, namely cinephiles, and to do so in the context of an emerging country where access to new technologies is faster and faster and

significantly influences consumption, especially of film.

The study has allowed us to get at the meanings that people attribute to the concept of cinephilia, based on their own experiences as cinephiles. The behaviour of cinephiles can be characterized by three dimensions that might be exclusive as well as complementary: an affective dimension, which conveys the force of the emotional bond between the cinephile and cinema in general (passion, dependence); a cognitive dimension (acquisition of theoretical and technical knowledge and an ability to talk about the cinema); and a conative dimension (watching films in a movie theatre and/or at home).

A series of interviews with individuals perceived to be or describing themselves as cinephiles revealed some differences among their behaviours. Eventually we were able to identify three profiles of cinephile: committed cinephiles, neophyte cinephiles and neo-cinephiles. Because of their love of film as a common feature, each of these profiles could be targeted by institutions in the film sector. The committed cinephiles tend to envisage cinema beyond the amateur perspective; in some cases their passion is such that it brings them close to the professional sphere. Film and audiovisual schools, both public and private, could encourage young high-school graduates to consider academic training in the field of cinema and promote the various possible careers in film. Furthermore, amateurism in film production could be supported through the development of amateur film festivals – for example, by encouraging corporate sponsorship (for the past several years, a mobile phone company has supported participants in the Very Short International Film Festival held simultaneously in different countries). This segment of cinephiles is the least inclined to indulge in illegal downloading practices. As they can play the role of opinion leaders, it might be interesting to work with them within the framework of an awareness campaign for cinema attendance.

The second profile identified in the study, the neophyte cinephiles, do not think of film activity from the perspective of creation but would like to attend movie theatres more often. With their curiosity and willingness to discover cinema in terms of genre as well as geographic origin, this group could be encouraged to attend international film festivals and thematic screenings by making information more accessible. Tunisia’s French, German and Italian cultural centres (Institut Français, Goethe Institute and Dante

Alighieri, respectively) are perceived as “too focused,” elitist and, because of how they communicate, available only to their members, who tend to join specifically for language courses or access to the media centre and are not necessarily interested in cinema. Often, neophyte cinephiles hear about cultural events long after they have taken place. New technology can support communication about cultural activities because of virtual social networks like Facebook that facilitate access to information. For this particular segment, a reconciliation between the cinephiles and their movie theatres might well be possible. An initiative to revive interest in theatres, especially through event and experiential marketing, could prove to be successful.

The final profile, the neo-cinephiles, is the most difficult to understand from a managerial point of view. Because their film-consumption behaviour is oriented towards the new and the immediate, and because they are particularly critical about what is being offered in Tunisian movie theatres, the neo-cinephiles are reluctant to increase their theatre attendance. One way to ultimately reconcile Tunisian audiences with Tunisian movie theatres might be to re-conceive the offer of film and theatre, whether it be integrated (high-definition images, sound, diverse and recent film offerings, ease of parking) or modular (installation of amusement centres, cafés, bookshops) (Laurichesse, 2000). For this segment of cinephiles, administrators in the film sector ought to think about carving out a space for information and self-expression within the virtual media (blogosphere and social networks).



Conclusion

Our results suggest that piracy and downloading have not altered consumers’ interest in film. However, their influence on cinema attendance appears not to have the same weight for all three groups of Tunisian cinephile. For committed and neophyte cinephiles, home consumption is perceived as being imposed, while for neo-cinephiles it is seen as the ideal solution. Yet in many countries, especially those in Europe, moviegoing has been successfully revived, despite some rough patches (Verdaasdonk, 2005). We believe that the typology identified in our study conveys the importance of behavioural mutations in terms of film consumption, and more generally cultural consumption, that are brought about

by new technologies, while highlighting one of the greatest problems, namely illicit consumption practices. The results indeed indicate that illicit formats, such as pirated DVDs and illegally downloaded copies, act as a catalyst for a renewal of cinephilia. These formats are nurtured primarily by distribution channels and non-commercial circulation, which together form a “cultural infrastructure” (Mattelart, 2014). The systematic incrimination of piracy must be called into question once underground activities become the principal source of access to films (Liang, 2005).

One can therefore envisage the implementation of our typology in particular cultural contexts, notably in Africa and Asia, which are marked by an emerging economy, the absence of cultural policies and infrastructure, and the dominance of repressive global policies. The transformation of the original venue of consumption – the movie theatre – imposes a redefinition of cinephilia, which, in the case of an emerging country such as Tunisia, takes on a character of its own through the plurality of those who frequent it. Such a diversity of cinephilias and cinephile profiles can be envisaged in cultural contexts where commercial and alternative channels for cultural products can co-exist, as witnessed in European and North American countries. Nonetheless, the cinephilia or cinephilias that might be identified there would be further defined by the relation between the amateur and the original format, namely the movie theatre.

It would be pertinent today to reject the notion of a unique, universal cinephilia defined by the codes of a classic cinephilia and a particular cinema (Sontag, 1996), and instead embrace the idea of a plurality of cinephilias, defined by the relation between the amateur/cinephile and the format – devices, contexts and places of consumption. At a time of inherent contradiction within the globalization movement that has penetrated the cultural industries, particularly the film industry, through the phenomenon of piracy, it would be interesting to explore the impact of digitamorphosis on film consumption by comparing different cultural contexts.

From an academic point of view, the transformations linked to the context and formats of film consumption must be taken into account in research with filmgoers who attend theatres, as an exclusive component of movie fans. In light of the results of work carried out on audience profiles, cinema as a consumer activity has indeed undergone a “metamorphosis from a collective public

event to a piracy-privacy activity” (Pang, 2004) in cultural contexts such as that of Tunisia. It is in this transformation of frameworks that research on consumer behaviour in the cultural sector, and the film sector in particular, should be undertaken; the absence of an economy or an “official” market does not preclude the existence of demand and the manifestations of consumer behaviour that govern it.

In the present study the concept of cinephilia is understood from a broader view than just the historical and aesthetic perspectives of cinema, which have greatly contributed to the imbuing of cinephilia with an elitism that has been reinforced by the activities of *ciné-clubs*. The role of these structures has long been associated with the political activism that penetrates the colonial and post-colonial history of Tunisia.² However, our results show that the current perceptions of cinephilia convey a variety of meanings, depending on the profiles identified, from a refusal to be associated with elitist and intellectual practices to a genuine passion for the cinema, including all genres.

While maintaining their function as a space for debate and discussion, Tunisia’s *ciné-clubs* owe it to themselves to change their image from that of venue for intellectual and often anti-establishment cinema to that of a major promoter of films more generally, catering to different tastes and different cinephile profiles.

The role of *ciné-clubs* as a screening channel that complements home formats – which in this study refers to the totality of devices and practices of film consumption used by amateurs in their private sphere of consumption – is all the more important in light of the failure of the commercial channel, namely movie theatres.

Tunis continues to welcome the activity of a few movie theatres, but Tunisia’s other cities have to go without. The activities of *ciné-clubs* should be expanded, with help from the ministry of culture – which, we believe, ought to be the principal actor in addressing and improving the current situation. Although most *ciné-clubs* are the result of private initiatives by cinephiles wishing to become involved in the transition process, even by simply making others aware of the “seventh art,” their activities must be supported by public policies, on the material and financial levels as well as on the educational level. Educational institutions, such as elementary and high schools, could initiate regular moviegoing in partnership with local *ciné-clubs*. This type of action would supplement consumption

practices in the private sphere, because it has to do with developing the affective dimension of the younger generation by enabling them to discover movie theatres and promoting the symbolic dimension of these venues. In addition, the diversity of films could be broadened in order to enrich the cognitive component of moviegoers’ nascent or developing cinephilia.

Notes

1. A term initially used to reflect the cultural and behavioural transformations that marked the generation of French youth in the 1950s, the New Wave ultimately proved to be one of the key movements in the history of film, of which the filmmaker François Truffaut was one of the towering figures (Marie, 2009).
2. Since the 1950s Tunisia has had more *ciné-clubs* than almost any other Arab or African country.

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

Presentation of the interviewee and positioning of the cinema within the informant's sphere of leisure activities

Can you talk to me about your career and your current profession?

How do you spend your leisure time outside of work?

How much time do you spend on it?

Determinants of cinephilia

At what age did you start becoming interested in the cinema?

What were the circumstances? How were you "introduced" to the cinema?

What is your first memory of the cinema?

Relationship to the cinema

What does the cinema represent for you?

If I say the word "cinema," what do you think of?

How often do you watch films, in the theatre and at home?

Relationship with the format

Do you sometimes download movies or make use of pirated copies?

What is the difference between watching a film in a theatre and watching a film on another device, specifically at home?

Positioning as a cinephile

Do you consider yourself to be a "cinephile"? Why?

Do the people around you consider you to be a cinephile? Why?

Do some members of your circle ask your opinion before choosing a movie?

Do you have someone in your social circle whose advice you seek before choosing a movie?

What are your main sources of information? (subscription to a specialty magazine, preferred websites)

Nature of film tastes

Do you have any preferences with regard to genres or specific film industries?

Willingness to become involved

Have you ever considered pursuing film studies or working in the film industry?

How do you think your "cinephilia" will evolve over time?

INTERVIEWEES				
	Respondent	Gender	Age	Profession
1	Rachida	Female	63	Retired
2	Intissar	Female	25	Engineer
3	Radhouane	Male	29	Architect
4	Imen	Female	20	Student
5	Moez	Male	20	High-school graduate
6	Tarek	Male	29	Courier
7	Sawssen	Female	38	Medical representative
8	Maher	Male	32	Company official
9	Kaouther	Female	25	Engineer
10	Skander	Male	21	Student
11	Henda	Female	30	Executive in the private sector
12	Imad	Male	36	Manager of a DVD shop
13	Jawhar	Male	26	Computer scientist
14	Hanen	Female	29	Biology researcher
15	Mohamed	Male	35	Business manager
16	Ahmed	Male	48	Public official
17	Amel	Female	29	Executive at a cultural institution
18	Amine	Male	31	Attorney
19	Oussama	Male	29	Musician
20	Karim	Male	30	Doctoral student
21	Ismael	Male	30	Unemployed
22	Fatma	Female	46	Teacher-researcher
23	Sabrina	Female	30	Executive in the private sector