

CULTURAL CONSUMPTION BAROMETER

CONSUMER COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIETAL CHANGES

2023



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CULTURAL CONSUMPTION BAROMETER 2023

Consumer communities in the
context of societal changes

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Cultural Consumption Barometer 2023. Consumer communities in the context of societal changes

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Introduction and methodology

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1. Introduction

The last four years of accumulations of national and international tensions are based on economic causes, as well as on social causes with cultural traits, stemming mainly from the exacerbation of conflicts generated by the inability to understand and accept the world as a global public space, wherein each culture can manifest its positive constructive character. The negotiation from positions of strength between groups and cultural communities determined not to make any concessions to other points of view also demonstrates an unusual and somewhat surprising obtuseness for the century in which more information should have led to the broadening of social perspectives, not to their radicalization.

The increasingly aggressive climate changes, the economic migration, the traumatic experiences of the pandemic, the acceleration of the evolution of new technologies, not compensated by measures to reconsider the role of the human being, the vulnerabilities of societies and the random increase in the disorder of social systems seem to be slipping towards exemplifying the theoretical concept of „social entropy“ – an incandescent ending of a process that reason cannot prevent.

People spend money and effort to fight against social entropy by maintaining infrastructures, complicated state security apparatuses, social protection and health systems, but they seem increasingly distant from the educational function of Culture and its benefits in shaping the spiritual universe. Society seems to be consuming itself and burning its inherited social structures in order to satisfy illusory desires.

Fortunately, Culture has generated enough codification for the social order in the human mind so that its ability

to distil and renew may restore the balance for future generations, even though the present seems determined to explore the limits.

The Cultural Consumption Barometer (CCB), which the team of the National Institute for Cultural Research and Training offers every year, has already entered the discourse of professionals and decision-makers. For the former, the CCB is an indicative and comparative tool for their own strategies for positioning and differentiating the offers of cultural goods, while for those responsible for creating the necessary normative and economic framework it represents an indicative guide for social trends and dynamics, which are always directly related to cultural participation.

From the perspective of those who observe research and report socio-cultural changes, 2023 is a year that ended up internalising the social and economic shocks in Romania. Cultural policies and strategies are tools at the disposal of the field that will be able to survive future crises only if it becomes more active and strongly involved in the political environment where it can place its strategies, directions and measures already known and explained by cultural professionals. Their voices will have to matter in the public space, and their most important allies are all consumers of culture, whether they are univorous, omnivorous, regular, occasional or circumstantial – aware of the advantages that children and young people can use in drawing their own way of life.

The topics approached in deep detail in the three chapters of this year's issue are the recurring ones related to public and private consumption, to which, according to a strategy developed over the years, we have added

a new chapter related to the consumption of cinema – an increasingly popular, increasingly captivating and paradoxical art, commercial and profound as well, capable of questioning eternal cultural values and models.

The Cultural Consumption Barometer - 2023 edition is dedicated to the theme of consumer communities in the context of societal changes. The need for ordering and categorisation, in the context of contemporary societal changes and of the multiple periods of crisis we have been going through, from medical to economic and social, derives from humans' permanent attempt to organise reality, which they feel as a permanent oscillation between order and chaos. In this constant oscillation, the approach of cultural anthropology considers social communities as those categories of belonging, based on "the feeling of mutual connection as a community's own will, as understanding (consensus)."¹ According to this theoretical approach, the members of a category do not necessarily have common features, and a category may be a set of heterogeneous elements, with fluctuating borders, while belonging to a category is more about degrees than exclusivity.²

In our undertaking to identify consumer communities, their profiles and cultural patterns or practices, we have tried to analyse the criteria of delimitation or closeness of tastes that motivate consumption. Many of the theoretical considerations of classification started from the identification of the proximate genus and the specific differences, with a view to explaining more clearly the source of the mental groups of belonging, what is meant when the groups identify or delimit each other through the categories "us" and "them".

The dependence of cultural consumption on local cultural production was for a long time the basis of the new theory of economic growth that emerged in the 1980s and emphasised the contribution of culture to the local economy.³ For a long time, communities were exclusively linked to physical and geographical proximity, but with the development of the Internet and the emergence of virtual communities, communities based on common tastes and values, shared by the members of the respective social groups, began to manifest themselves more and more. Similarly, cultural consumption has long been linked to cultural production at the level of a localised community, but nowadays it is becoming dependent not only on local, but also on global production, without an accurate identification of the degree of influence of either of them.

In this paradigm, «a vibrant cultural scene, based on either local or migrant artists, can draw mobile and highly qualified people to the city»⁴. At the same time, due to the knowledge and skills they bring to the local economy, these creators or entrepreneurs contribute in the short term to the increase of productivity, while in the long term, through knowledge transfer and interaction, they contribute to the development of activities that generate jobs and productivity.

In this context, the importance of cultural infrastructure and of investments for development has increased and, at the same time, the role of cultural institutions has also been rethought, in the sense that they have been recognised as key elements of the creative economy and as agents that facilitate the transmission of ideas and the inspiration for artists or other economic sectors.⁵ Recent studies have shown the contribution of cultural institutions to the development

1 Ferdinand Tönnies, „Comunitate și Societate”, transl.: Mihaela Pârveu, Editura Beladi, 2016, p. 68

2 Vintilă Mihăilescu, „Cinci introduceri”, Editura Polirom, 2007, p. 137

3 Michael Rushton, „Creative Communities, Art Works In Economic Development”, Brookings Institution Press, 2013, p. 4

4 Idem p. 5

5 Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jarosław Działek, „Libraries and Museums as Breeding Grounds of Social Capital and Creativity: Potential and Challenges in the Post-socialist Context”, in Warren, Saskia and Jones, Phil, „Creative Economies, Creative Communities. Rethinking Place, Policy and Practice”, Routledge, 2016 p. 191

of the social capital, museums and libraries being seen as catalysts for local communities, with a great influence on the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of various communities.⁶

The publication of the Manifesto for the Creative Economy in 2013 marked an important moment, because this document reinforces the fact that the digital revolution and the accelerated development of new technologies have changed modern economies and societies, threatening certain forms of artistic expression and enhancing others.⁷ This manifesto also recognises the role of informal creative communities in the economic development, as well as the fact that certain creative activities in the area of civil society are not in the scope of the official statistics "radar".⁸

The theories of Richard Florida and of the authors following in this footsteps about the creative class, about creative cities and places seem increasingly threatened by the emergence of virtual, delocalised creative places, linked more to social networks (online networks) and less to the social network of physical proximity (offline networks). Increasingly, physical communities, physically and geographically delimited, are being replaced by communities of tastes, in a world where our neighbours are strangers and strangers are our friends. In this context, even the classical concepts of scientific methodological research divided into two opposing groups of approach - emic and ethical – are undergoing visible mutations and transformations.⁹ On the

one hand, the emic perspective is based on a culturally appropriate internal vision, trying to look at phenomena through the eyes of those affected and thus creating the humanist ideal of "perspective"; on the other hand, in the ethical approach, researchers try to conform to the ideal of "objectivity" of the sciences by adopting points of view from outside the studied and natural culture. In this way, the aim is to find universally valid standards of comparison.

In a world where the borders of states are becoming fluid and negotiable through the power of diplomacy or weapons, where the border between local and global is at the touch of a keyboard, the symbols, as building blocks of culture, help accelerate the fluidity in one way or another. Images, sounds and words, accelerated in the whirlwind of the Internet and of the traditional cultural offer as well, can be instruments of civilisation and citizenship, of education, personal and community development or, on the contrary, they can become hateful, divisive, humiliating, or manipulating.

"Culture is a social discourse endlessly written and rewritten in different languages and made up of words and actions alike"¹⁰. In approaching culture as text, the mission of researchers is to decode the meanings of cultural practices and to identify the mode of operation of symbols, the patterns and trends of the past, in order to be able to forecast future ones. This involves not only studying and interpreting one's own culture, but also analysing the effects of the „clashes of civilisations“, motivated not only economically and socially, but also culturally, as Samuel Huntington observes. From this point of view, the analysis of culture should be extended to intercultural relations and global challenges.¹¹

humanist ideal of „perspectivity“. The emic approach intends to discover the functionally relevant aspects within a culture. On the other hand, in the ethical approach, researchers adopt a point of view outside the culture studied and try to conform to the ideal of „objectivity“ of the natural sciences. In this way, the aim is to find universally valid standards of comparison.

10 Vintilă Mihăilescu, apud Troc, Cinci Introduceri, p. 82

11 Doris Bachmann-Medick, „Culture as Text: Reading and Interpreting Cultures“, Bereitgestellt von De Gruyter, 2013, p. 111

6 Idem p. 194

7 Hasan Bakhshi, Ian Hargreaves and Juan Mateos-Garcia, „Capital of Culture? An Econometric Analysis of the Relationship between Arts and Cultural Clusters. Wages, and the Creative Economy in English Cities“ in Rushton, Michael, „Creative Communities, Art Works In Economic Development“, Brookings Institution Press, 2013 p. 11

8 Ian Hargreaves and John Hartley, „The Creative Citizen Unbound“, Policy Press, 2016, p. 27

9 The terms "emic" and "ethical" have their origin in ethnolinguistics. They describe two opposing scientific-methodological research perspectives. The emic perspective is based on a culturally appropriate internal vision – it tries to look at phenomena through the eyes of those affected, thus creating the

The chapter Public Cultural Consumption Groups – Motivations and Classifications analyses the main cultural consumption communities active in the public space in Romania, from the viewpoint of the effects that culture, as a public good, has on society as a whole. Another objective of the chapter was to reflect on the role of cultural consumption communities in structuring the social inequalities existing at the level of the Romanian society. The authors make a theoretical synthesis that allows them to design a classification of cultural consumption communities in the public space, adapted to the social realities in Romania. The analyses of the segments of cultural consumption highlight a high index for activities involving the accumulation of cultural capital for certain types of consumers, while for other types of consumers a high index of participation in activities involving the accumulation of social capital is revealed. These results allow the design of adapted cultural policies, given the fact that in Romania the communities of cultural consumption in the public space function as factors of amplification of social inequalities.

The chapter Non-public cultural consumption. Reading and music consumption profiles starts from the premise that the level of cultural education and literacy influences cultural consumption practices, particularly reading practices and music consumption. The chapter highlights the changes brought about by the development and acquisition of technological products and analyses the relationship between several types of consumption practices in the non-public space. The results provide a typology of music consumers that includes the profile of consumers of classical music, the profile of consumers of traditional folk and ethno music, the profile of consumers of rock music and the profile of consumers of manele. The author makes an incursion into the history of reading practices in order to better understand the evolution and the historical, social and political context that led to record low percentages

of reading in our country, as compared to other European states. The most invoked reasons for the absence of reading are the lack of time or interest in reading, which highlights a reduced awareness of the benefits of reading. The results on music consumption highlight a greater openness to omnivorousness and interaction with the cultural offer for listeners of classical music.

The chapter Characteristics of film consumption in the legacy and "off-network" broadcasting system (streaming) presents the path of film distribution from the television monopoly to the democratisation of digital distribution, starting from the social force of movies. The authors highlight the paradigm shift in film distribution and consumption in the "post-network" era and offer the first exploratory analysis on the topic. The chapter aimed to identify viewing practices scarcely researched so far and to establish a starting point for future in-depth studies. The results of the analyses highlight the fact that the particularities of video consumption via streaming platforms in Romania are related to the broader context of changes in the audio-visual sector, and the change in movie consumption practices is related not only to the development of technologies, but also to changes in the contemporary lifestyle. The Romanian audience of video content on streaming platforms is in the process of forming preferences, with high expectations regarding the quality of the content and of the catalogue offered by providers.

2. Methodology

The Cultural Consumption Barometer study, 2023 edition is survey on various topics related to culture, on a nationally representative sample. The survey aims to present the patterns of cultural consumption and to collect data on current issues related to the cultural landscape in Romania. Each edition of the Cultural Consumption Barometer includes two major categories of information collected:

- **category I - questions that are kept unchanged** in each edition and which allow multiannual comparisons to be made, regarding the public and non-public cultural consumption;

- **category II - thematic sections that allow specific analyses to be carried out** on various topical topics (among the thematic sections approached in previous years we mention: tangible and intangible cultural heritage, written culture, the effects of the economic crisis on cultural consumption and so on). In this edition, the thematic section

focused on the analysis of offline and online video content consumption, through streaming platforms.

The sample is nationally representative of the population aged 18 and above. The approximate volume is 1035 people, with a maximum error of +/-3.1% at a 95% confidence level. The questionnaires were applied using the CATI method, on a simple, random sample, by generating phone numbers with a valid format on the territory of Romania, using the RDD (Random Digit Dialling) method. For each respondent, socio-demographic data were recorded, which allowed the validation of the sample structure: gender, age, level of education, locality size (cities over 200 thousand inhabitants, cities between 100 and 200 thousand inhabitants, cities between 30 and 100 thousand inhabitants, cities under 30 thousand inhabitants, communes) and development sub-regions.

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Public cultural consumption groups. Motivations and classifications

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1. Introduction

The most recent IFACCA¹ report on „Culture as a public good”² recalled that the field of Culture, through all its activities and forms of expression, brings value and vitality to all spheres of public life, and its contribution to the general well-being is so easy to demonstrate, that it becomes very clear that public policies can no longer ignore Culture as a public good. This vision, present in the last two years in almost all debates on the cultural policies and strategies of states, calls for a more pragmatic approach, materialised in the economic protection of the forms of cultural expression sensitive to economic transformations. In other words, the idea of bringing culture among public goods implies not only the recognition, respect, preservation of cultural goods and creators, but also direct measures to improve the conditions in which culture manifests itself.

Such discussions have gained significant momentum since the publication of the final declaration for the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies and Sustainable Development – MONDIACULT 2022. Supported by ministerial-level representatives from more than 150 countries, the declaration highlighted the role of culture as a driver for sustainable development and called on the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General to integrate and anchor culture as a global public good in the UN’s post-2030 agenda, as a goal in itself. In May 2024, culture was recognised in the revised draft of the Pact for the Future under Action 7, which states that „we will protect and promote culture as an integral component of sustainable development.”³

In this context, public consumption becomes a relevant and significant indicator that can be used as a guide in identifying the advantages, opportunities and key points where government institutions can act to improve the social climate through culture. In this way, the forms of cultural consumption in the public space attain a special relevance in studies in the field of culture. On the other hand, public consumption is the most visible, exposed and likely to engage the educational and civilising/creative function at the level of communities.

The relevance of studying such a theme is all the greater in the context of the resumption of cultural activities after the full lifting of the restrictions on social interaction caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The resilience and the desire to return to the balance of an active social life have slightly accelerated the process of assimilation and even of understanding of the way in which some community habits have been deconstructed in the era of globalisation. Examples of survival measures were adopted instantly, some without minimal analysis or even without estimating the consequences. The most visible example is that of the escape into online consumption of several types of cultural products, some of them by-products without qualities, a kind of inconsistent surrogates that have temporarily replaced the effervescence of social life. However, these isolation practices imposed by the pandemic have also shown the vulnerabilities of consumption in the public space, without which many forms of cultural expression no longer had the same value. The countless interviews, surveys and exploratory research during the pandemic have shown that people appreciated consumption in the public space not only for the uniqueness, the content or the pleasure of socialising, but also for the exchange of emotions shared between performers, creators and the public, while also revealing the cathartic emotion of the lived experiences.

1 International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies

2 Culture as a Public Good - Navigating its role in policy debates, 2024, https://ifacca.org/media/filer_public/5e/41/5e416ea9-47c5-4d3e-959e-074d624da3bb/ifacca_-_culture_as_a_public_good_report_-_july_2024_-_english.pdf

3 <https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/soft-pact-for-the-future-rev.1.pdf>

This study aims to identify and describe the main cultural consumption communities active in the public space in Romania. In this approach, cultural consumption communities are understood as segments of the population that coagulate people who are similar in terms of forms of leisure. The cultural consumption communities identified in the public space will be analysed from two points of view:

- On the one hand, from a descriptive point of view, we aim to analyse the particularities of the groups of people that make up each community of cultural consumption. Thus, for each cultural consumption community, we shall identify not only the socio-demographic characteristics or positioning in the social structure of its members, but also the subjective preferences in terms of cultural products (music, movies), along with the types of activities performed in the non-public sphere and in the online environment.
- On the other hand, from a theoretical point of view, we aim to reflect upon the role of cultural consumption communities in structuring the existing social inequalities at the level of the Romanian society in order to estimate future transformations. In more concrete terms, we shall try to identify whether the types of cultural consumption communities formed in the public space are capable of amplifying or diminishing social inequalities.

Starting from these premises, the study is organised into several specific subchapters. In the first subchapter, a review of the types of cultural consumption communities that have been identified in previous studies is carried out. This subchapter will be a benchmark according to which the cultural consumption patterns specific to the Romanian cultural space will be explored. In the second subchapter, the research methodology is presented, with a focus on the

specific objectives and indicators used to analyse the degree of participation in certain activities in the public space. Furthermore, in this subchapter the statistical analysis procedures used in data management and processing will be described. The description of the methodology is followed by a series of subchapters that have the role of providing a systematisation of the practices of cultural consumption in the public space, according to specific types of activities. This systematisation will constitute a framework prior to the more in-depth analysis, with a view to highlighting the communities of cultural consumption in the public space..

2. Classifications of cultural consumption communities in the public space

Public cultural consumption is specific only to certain forms of cultural expression, as well as to certain cultural products that particularly include the performing arts in (live music of all genres, theatre, dance, opera and derived forms), the cultural heritage (museums and buildings/monuments with public access and part of the intangible heritage), film and visual arts of all genres. The consumption of culture in public spaces has some characteristic elements which actually distinguish a large part of consumers. Thus, public consumption is often conditioned by travelling to certain destinations, places, halls, on certain dates and times, conditions that already operate a selection from the large mass of consumers. The trip often involves ex-ante preparation – buying tickets, planning a trip, freeing up a time frame usually longer than the duration of the actual consumption. These ex-ante conditions also imply an adequate individual behaviour – minimal accurate information about the nature of the product, sometimes a special outfit and often a proper conduct. These details provide the explanation for the fact that, usually, public consumption also attracts the formation of ad-hoc groups of friends, relatives, groups that will later dissect the experience and communicate it positively or negatively, as the case may be. It should also be emphasised that, although consumption is collective, appreciation is individual and it fundamentally depends on the understanding of the genre, the level of associated knowledge, the acceptance of the message or of the novelty of the expression form, since cultural products are not mass-produced and always bear the imprint of historical accumulations of genre significations, which professionals know and interpret creatively.

Under the influence of Daniel Boorstin's approach, the term „consumer community“ has become a dominant conceptual tool in marketing studies, where the term is used to designate customer segments that share common lifestyles and have similar purchasing power. The elements and experiences derived from the activities that people undertake based on their belonging to a category of gender, age, income, education or residence environment, make them feel the same needs that end up being addressed through campaigns to promote products or services⁴, especially in countries where cultural marketing is correctly understood and applied. From this point of view, marketing theories borrowed from the commercial area are rarely effective and most of the time aggressive in relation to products that cannot offer identical individual satisfaction at the public level and sometimes not even at the group level. We are re-discussing here one of the fundamental characteristics of Cultural Marketing – that it is a process which is not regulated by the classic pair of elements that define consumption (Supply / Demand), but by its ability to also convey and generate a horizon of specific aesthetic expectations that stimulate consumption for a product that cannot be completely tested or presented. The aura of surprise and the unexpected character are often part of the mandatory ingredients that build the success of such a unique product. We should also mention the impossibility of common marketing to generate messages for the targeted segments, in the absence of knowledge in the field, since the consumer audience does not only include novices in the field, but also many loyal consumers, for whom quality is decisive in the consumption decision. The marketing campaigns for

4 Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973).

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the consumption of cultural products from the category to which we are referring cannot be based on recipes or quantitative sales techniques. Probably that is why many of them are sublimated in festivals, fairs, large exhibitions, expensive annual events, but which have the ability to stimulate interest and can capture new categories of future consumers for the producing organisations, which will not be able to polarise such a large interest on their own.

On the other hand, it is worth noting – from all the research undertaken in marketing studies – that not all products or services are capable of coagulating people around a community, save for only those that have a very strong expressive value, which makes them capable of providing identity landmarks and resources for signalling social belonging⁵.

Given that the ways of leisure have this expressive character, the term „consumer communities“ has been extended and thus we can talk about „cultural consumption communities“ as homogeneous segments of people who share common interests and practise similar activities oriented towards the accumulation of different forms of capital valued in the „social arenas“ in which they live⁶.

In a broad sense, for the purposes of this study, „cultural consumption communities“ are understood as groups of people who resort to similar leisure practices and who are similar in terms of certain characteristics, having similar interests, cultural needs or subjective preferences, manifested by participating, recurrently and predominantly, in activities of a certain type.

More than private leisure practices, cultural consumption in the public space represents a form of participation in social life through which we can identify affiliation to a community made up of persons with similar cultural needs and behaviours. Specifically, cultural consumption in the public space offers an inter-subjective experience that underpins the building of specific communities by mediating a way of being together with others. Whether the activities of contents reception are synchronous (theatre and opera performances) or asynchronous (visits to the museum), the cultural consumption practices in the public space mediate the awareness of the presence of others, not so much in a physical space, but especially in a symbolic space that allows the common verification and affirmation of preferences, the negotiation of meaning, the definition of cultural functions, the recognition of artistic codes or conventions and the assessment of quality standards⁷. All these processes are carried out collectively especially in the case of performances related to the performing arts, which creates a sense of familiarity among audience members and offers the possibility of identifying a community of tastes within the consuming public, even though, in most cases, the acts of cultural consumption do not involve direct interactions. To all these a social energy is frequently added, arising from the direct emotional dialogue between the artists on stage and the participating audience, an energy that most of participants will later seek in the same artistic genre. This is one of the reasons why the main messages that the cultural product generates are extremely important in the context of creation – in the deep sense of the term⁸,

5 Terry O'Sullivan, 'All Together Now: A Symphony Orchestra Audience as a Consuming Community', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 12.3 (2009), 209–223.

6 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

7 Terry O'Sullivan, 'All Together Now: A Symphony Orchestra Audience as a Consuming Community', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 12.3 (2009), p. 212.

8 On a general level, creativity can be described as producing useful solutions to new and interesting problems or ideas in fields that create products and/or artifacts and anticipate their impact (Amabile, 1988, 1996; Oldham and Cummings, 1996; Zhou and George, 2001, 2003). The goal of creative performance is to solve problems, create innovative ways of thinking or doing things, or add knowledge to an area (Guilford, 1950).

creativity being a trained imagination put at the service of building new elements.

A series of communities are formed through the act of cultural consumption, as the latter becomes a means of expressing affiliation, either to a certain economic class and lifestyle, or to certain values and perceptions of reality⁹. Unlike other types of communities based on neighbourly relations, communities of cultural consumption are not made up of people who usually interact towards the fulfilment of a goal, but of groups of people who have the same profile in terms of preferences for leisure or artistic creations. As such, cultural consumption communities are formed after a certain age, very often around a symbolic proximity of tastes and not a physical one or of family or economic conditioning, although these factors are also taken into account in the practices carried out in the public space.

A number of characteristics generally attributed to consumer communities could also be extrapolated to describe cultural consumption communities. According to Robin Canniford, cultural consumption communities could borrow characteristics such as:

- a) **diversified and multivalent character** (at the basis of the formation of consumer segments there are multiple activities that may have different functions for those who practice them);
- b) **transient/ephemeral character** (consumer segments do not have a permanence over time, they may change, as may the cultural profile of the members who make up these segments);
- c) **entrepreneurial character (the specific activities of the consumer segments bring added value**

to society¹⁰, although they are not assumed as such directly, but rather indirectly, through the consumption of quality cultural products).

Cultural consumption communities can also be attributed characteristics that generally describe consumer subcultures:

- **cohesive character** (members show forms of solidarity and resort to strategies to preserve tastes);
- **dedicated character** (members invest certain resources to cultivate their codes of conduct and standards of appreciation of cultural content)
- **resilient character** (though volatile, cultural preferences are characterised by a certain intransigence to change)¹¹.

Aspects of the wider social environment determine how cultural consumption communities are structured. For example, the cultural consumption communities existing at the level of a country depend on: the degree of economic development of that country, the reactions that the members of society have to the globalisation process, the trust in the governmental act and the relations that the population establishes with the state institutions, the historical past and the recognised cultural traditions, the offer of cultural products and services available locally or regionally¹². All these factors are transposed into certain conceptions and attitudes towards life, which shape cultural needs as essential attributes that coagulate people in communities of cultural consumption.

9 Tally Katz-Gerro, 'Cultural Consumption Research: Review of Methodology, Theory, and Consequence', *International Review of Sociology*, 14.1 (2004), 11–29.

10 Robin Canniford, 'A Typology of Consumption Communities', *Research in Consumer Behavior*, 13 (2011), 57–75 (pp. 63–65).

11 Robin Canniford, 'A Typology of Consumption Communities', *Research in Consumer Behavior*, 13 (2011), 57–75 (pp. 58–60).

12 Katz-Gerro, 'Cultural Consumption Research: Review of Methodology, Theory, and Consequence', p. 12.

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Most of the time, the theoretical references about public cultural consumption communities are also discussed in terms of „elitist (highbrow) consumption” and „mass (lowbrow) consumption”¹³. Subsequently, other forms of conceptualisation were proposed, highlighting the forms of „moderate-diversified (middlebrow) consumption”¹⁴, understood as middle-class specific modes of involvement in cultural life. As we have shown over time and in previous editions of the Cultural Consumption Barometer, other research directions make a distinction between „omnivorous consumption” and „univorous consumption”¹⁵, highlighting the fact that the class distinction is not configured strictly on the basis of access to certain forms of consumption, but rather on the basis of a diversification and individual choices of the cultural contents that become the object of consumption acts. Most studies in the field of sociology of culture have started from these classifications, but through the collection and analysis of empirical data they have managed to nuance the discussion, showing that there is a broader spectrum of considerations according to which cultural consumption communities are distributed at the level of a society.

Types of communities starting from the distinction „elitist cultural consumption” versus „mass cultural consumption”

Tally Katz-Gerro identified four types of cultural consumption communities:

- communities based on forms of **classical cultural consumption** (made up of people who participate in theatre, opera, ballet performances or visit museums or art galleries),

- communities based on **commercial consumption** (made up of people who participate in activities assimilated to shopping malls);
- communities based on **activities in nature** (made up of people who practise outdoor activities: walks in parks, trips and hikes);
- **Music-based communities** (made up of people who attend outdoor commercial music concerts or go to clubs or discos)¹⁶.

The analyses of demographic and lifestyle characteristics included in the study „*Cultural Consumption and Social Stratification: Leisure Activities, Musical Tastes and Social Location*”¹⁷ highlighted the fact that communities involving forms of classical cultural consumption mainly include elderly women, with higher education and high income, with predominantly intellectual occupations, who attend religious services on a regular basis and who come from urban and peri-urban areas.

Communities based on commercial cultural consumption are mainly made up of young men with high education and income above the national average, regardless of the type of occupation¹⁸.

Communities centred around practising activities in nature are formed, to a greater extent than other types of communities, of men with a low level of education, of middle age, with predominantly non-intellectual occupations and who come from localities with a smaller number of inhabitants¹⁹.

Last but not least, music-based communities are predominantly made up of young men with above-average

13 Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

14 Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

15 Richard Peterson & Roger Kern, 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore', *American Sociological Review*, 61.5 (1996), 900–907.

16 Tally Katz-Gerro, 'Cultural Consumption and Social Stratification: Leisure Activities, Musical Tastes and Social Location', *Sociological Perspective*, 42.4 (1999), 627–46.

17 Katz-Gerro, 'Cultural Consumption and Social Stratification: Leisure Activities, Musical Tastes and Social Location', p. 638.

18 Ibidem

19 Ibidem

education who are part of minority groups and who live in large cities²⁰.

We must mention that these classifications are the results of a study conducted in 1999 in the UK, which makes it unlikely that there will be literal overlaps on the types of communities in contemporary Romania, but some of the classifications may provide important benchmarks in our attempt to establish some preferences by categories.

Sandra Trienekens, in an exploratory study of an arts festival in South Africa in 2008, highlighted three types of communities, shaped according to the type of predominant cultural capital:

- consumer segments with elitist cultural valences (group made up of people who participate in certain activities that involve a cultivation of tastes and aesthetic receptivity);
- consumer segments with popular cultural valences (group made up of people who participate in activities with a high degree of accessibility, which involve easy consumption and which mainly fulfil an entertainment function);
- consumer segments with community-related cultural valences (group made up of people who participate in leisure activities whose main result is the accumulation of social capital).

The data used to test the prevalence of these segments of cultural consumption within the population showed that the ethnic dimension influences participation in cultural activities with community valences more than the indicators related to social class²¹. Furthermore, the data processed in the same study showed that the majority ethnic groups engage in forms of consumption with elitist valences more than the minority

ethnic groups, and the subjective degree of social integration of the emigrants plays a very important role in explaining the participation of minority ethnic groups in the cultural life²². In other European countries, ethnic minority groups behave differently, but the attempt to preserve their own language and culture is a priority, regardless of the form of cultural expression, although a tendency to preserve their identity culture through music is characteristic of these groups.

In 2015, in his studies on a possible hierarchy of consumption from the viewpoint of the level of individual well-being, Vegard Jarness highlighted four types of cultural consumption communities:

- **intellectual communities (focused on acts of cultural consumption that involve an elaborate process of quality extraction as well as a complex evaluation of the aesthetic side or conceptual value of an object)**
- **luxury-based communities (focused on acts of cultural consumption that involve the purchase of products or services that cannot be purchased by the majority of the population);**
- **educational communities (focused on acts of cultural consumption that have as their explicit purpose the acquisition of general knowledge);**
- **practical communities (focused on acts of cultural consumption that mainly serve a function of entertainment and relaxation)²³.**

As a result of the fact that the study that led to this classification was based on a qualitative methodology, it is not possible to extract information regarding the socio-demographic or lifestyle characteristics that make up the

²⁰ Ibidem

²¹ Sandra Trienekens, "'Colourful' Distinction: The Role of Ethnicity and Ethnic Orientation in Cultural Consumption', *Poetics*, 30.4 (2002), 281–98 (p. 286).

²² Sandra Trienekens, "'Colourful' Distinction: The Role of Ethnicity and Ethnic Orientation in Cultural Consumption', *Poetics*, 30.4 (2002), 281–98 (p. 293).

²³ Vegard Jarness, 'Modes of Consumption: From "What" to "How" in Cultural Stratification Research', *Poetics*, 53 (2015), 65–79 (p. 65).

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members of each segment, but the proposed classifications offer some important information related to the direct links between the consumption of culture and the accumulation of economic and social capital.

Sociologists Sebastian Weingartner and Jörg Rössel have made a more complex research approach, studying changes in consumption behaviour in Switzerland over four decades (1976-2013) and managing to outline three types of cultural consumption communities. Their observations partially contradicted Bourdieu's well-known theories, which directly linked social classes to the level of instruction and consumption, emphasising the fact that the type of life and the social position evolve from an active, engaged life to a disengagement directly related to these criteria. Their classifications regarding the typologies of cultural consumers depend on the degree of participation in social life, as follows:

- **inactive consumers** (segment of people who generally do not participate in any kind of cultural activities);
- **elitist consumers** (segment of public that mainly participates in theatre, opera/operetta or ballet performances, that visits museums or art exhibitions);
- **cultural communities made up of moderate-eclectic consumers** (segment of public whose types of activities practised in the public space include watching movies at the cinema, participating in sports events or attending clubs or bars, along with occasional participation in events in the performing arts category: theatre, opera, ballet)²⁴.

The empirical results showed that the segment of inactive consumers is relatively stable over time, being made up of persons with a low level of education, with

low income, being older than the average population, and from rural areas²⁵. On the other hand, the segment of elitist consumers is mainly made up of persons with higher education and high income.

However, in time, the differences in education and income between the segment of elitist consumers and that of inactive consumers have diminished: while in 1976 these differences were very pronounced, in 2013 they ended up being smaller, on average²⁶. The moderate-eclectic consumer segment is mainly composed of young people, with an overlap of this category with the middle class²⁷. It has also been observed that, in time, the moderate-eclectic consumer segment ends up being made up of people with an increasingly higher education and an increasingly higher income²⁸.

Types of communities starting from the distinction „omnivorous cultural consumption” versus „univorous cultural consumption”

Following the same hypothesis of the social status - cultural consumption connection in Arthur Alderson's 2002 study, Azamat Junisbai and Isaac Heacock (United States) analysed the answer patterns in a large general social survey in order to determine how social status – as opposed to social class, education or income – is associated with cultural consumption styles and assessed the extent of these associations in relation to other factors, guided by three broad visions of the relationship between social stratification and culture: the homology argument, the individualisation argument and the omnivorous versus univorous thesis.

25 Sebastian Weingartner & Jörg Rössel, 'Changing Dimensions of Cultural Consumption? The Space of Lifestyles in Switzerland from 1976 to 2013', *Poetics*, 74 (2019), p. 9.

26 Ibidem

27 Ibidem

28 Weingartner & Rössel, p. 12.

24 Sebastian Weingartner & Jörg Rössel, 'Changing Dimensions of Cultural Consumption? The Space of Lifestyles in Switzerland from 1976 to 2013', *Poetics*, 74 (2019), 101345.

Thus, three types of communities of cultural consumption have been identified:

- communities based on omnivorous cultural consumption (whose members frequently attend opera, ballet and theatre performances, frequently visit museums and art galleries, but at the same time frequently watch movies at the cinema and often attend pop or commercial music concerts);
- communities based on paucivorous cultural consumption (whose members occasionally participate in all of the aforementioned activities, regardless of their nature, type or function);
- and inactive cultural communities (whose members rarely or very rarely participate in all the activities listed).

What can be noted in this classification is the absence of a category assimilated to a „cultural elite”²⁹. Such a result is also supported by the fact that in the United States, income and occupational category did not appear to be differentiating factors between omnivorous and paucivorous cultural consumers, the members of these categories having similar incomes and occupations³⁰. On the other hand, for the omnivore segment, a higher educational level than that of paucivores was highlighted, and the paucivore segment was highlighted by a higher education than that of inactive people. It is also worth noting that the paucivore group was, on average, younger than the other categories highlighted by the study³¹. However, taking into

account other criteria, education stood out as an indication of the ability to process a greater amount of information, rather than as an indicator of social class³².

Another relevant study in the classification of consumer communities is the one published in 2016 by Amir Goldberg, Michael Hannan and Balázs Kovács, which proposes a synthesis of two lines of sociological research on the delimitation of borders in cultural production and consumption. One line of research focuses on the cultural omnivore, analysing the choices of a heterogeneous audience that is faced with a range of cultural offers, while the other is a piece of research on market categories that analyses the reactions of homogeneous audiences to cultural products that vary. The study also identifies a pattern of heterogeneous audiences that evaluate selected cultural products.

Thus, four types of communities could be distinguished:

- **monopuristic communities** (characterised by a small variety of leisure activities and by clear patterns of cultural consumption),
- **monomixed communities** (characterised by a small variety of leisure activities and fuzzy patterns of cultural consumption),
- **polypuristic communities** (characterised by a wide variety of leisure activities and clear patterns of cultural consumption)
- and **polymixed communities** (characterised by a wide variety of leisure activities and fuzzy patterns of cultural consumption)³³.

29 Arthur S. Alderson, Azamat Junisbai, & Isaac Heacock, 'Social Status and Cultural Consumption in the United States', *Poetics*, 35.2–3 (2007), 191–212 (p. 198).

30 Arthur S. Alderson, Azamat Junisbai, & Isaac Heacock, 'Social Status and Cultural Consumption in the United States', *Poetics*, 35.2–3 (2007), 191–212 (pp. 201, 204).

31 Arthur S. Alderson, Azamat Junisbai, & Isaac Heacock, 'Social Status and Cultural Consumption in the United States', *Poetics*, 35.2–3 (2007), 191–212, (p. 205).

32 Arthur S. Alderson, Azamat Junisbai, & Isaac Heacock, 'Social Status and Cultural Consumption in the United States', *Poetics*, 35.2–3 (2007), 191–212 (pp. 202–4).

33 Amir Goldberg, Michael T. Hannan, & Balázs Kovács, 'What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption', *American Sociological Review*, 81.2 (2016), 215–41 (p. 219).

The results of the same study highlighted both a possibility of polypuristic communities overlapping with higher social classes that cultivate forms of elitist cultural consumption³⁴, and a tendency of monopuristic communities to inhibit cultural innovation³⁵.

Types of communities established on the basis of mixed criteria for differentiating segments of cultural consumers

The data collected in the study conducted by Gerbert Kraaykamp, Koen van Eijck and Wout Ultee („Status, Class and Culture in the Netherlands” - 2010) reaffirm the fact that, although it is clear that education and family influence the choice and type of consumption in the first years of life, during social evolution humans do not remain prisoners of these determining practices, but modify and complement their tastes according to the family entourage or the social context wherein they evolve.

The study mentioned above distinguishes four communities of cultural consumption:

- communities wherein **elitist cultural consumption** is predominant (made up of people who have either participated in classical music concerts, have attended theatre performances, or visited museums, but have not participated in pop or commercial music concerts),
- communities wherein **univorous cultural consumption** is predominant (made up of people who have participated in pop or commercial music concerts, but not in classic cultural activities),

- communities in which **omnivorous cultural consumption** is predominant (made up of people who have participated in at least one of the activities specific to elitist cultural consumption, and in at least one activity specific to univorous cultural consumption),
- **culturally inactive communities** (made up of people who have not participated in any of the above-mentioned activities)³⁶. The persons who make up the culturally inactive community are predominantly men, older than average recorded for the omnivorous cultural consumption-based community, from rural areas, with a low level of education, and who have small children under their care³⁷.

Un studiu foarte interesant pe un eșantion de 1448 de subiecți compară publicul din două muzee de artă și constată cât de abstracte sunt criteriile pe care indivizii le folosesc pentru motivarea preferințelor estetice pentru un artist celebru sau altul, descoperind că foarte multe alegeri nu se bazează pe educație, cunoștințe specifice sau statut social ci pe un soi de dispoziție de moment. Duchamp, Rubens, Kandinsky, Pollock și Van Gogh sunt preferați sau nu pe criterii relativ subiective care pot varia de la un moment la altul, ceea ce demonstrează de fapt o lipsă de criterii solide de gust. În „Moduri de preferință: distincția prin „ce” și „cum” a consumului cultural”, Stijn Daenekindt și Henk Roose au clasificat comunitățile de consum cultural din muzeele și expozițiile de artă ținând cont de obiectul actului de consum, distingând astfel patru forme de implicare în viața culturală:

34 Amir Goldberg, Michael T. Hannan, & Balázs Kovács, 'What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption', *American Sociological Review*, 81.2 (2016), 215–41 (pp. 230–32).

35 Amir Goldberg, Michael T. Hannan, & Balázs Kovács, 'What Does It Mean to Span Cultural Boundaries? Variety and Atypicality in Cultural Consumption', *American Sociological Review*, 81.2 (2016), 215–41 (pp. 220–21).

36 Gerbert Kraaykamp, Koen Van Eijck, & Wout Ultee, 'Status, Class and Culture in the Netherlands', in *Social Status and Cultural Consumption*, ed. by Tak Wing Chan (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 169–268 (p. 179).

37 Gerbert Kraaykamp, Koen Van Eijck, & Wout Ultee, 'Status, Class and Culture in the Netherlands', in *Social Status and Cultural Consumption*, ed. by Tak Wing Chan (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 169–268 (p. 199).

- **critical cultural consumption** (participation in niche cultural events through which some human flaws or social problems are critically addressed),
- **functional cultural consumption** (forms of cultural involvement that favour an escapist experience or that fulfil predominantly recreational functions),
- **modernist cultural consumption** (forms of cultural consumption that involve the appreciation of an art object in terms of authenticity, artistic skill and aesthetic value),
- **postmodernist cultural consumption** (cultural consumption practices that involve the extraction of nuanced meanings from the most varied artistic products of mass culture)³⁸.

The empirical data assimilated to the models described above have shown that the four forms of cultural consumption assimilated to some communities do not differ significantly from the viewpoint of socio-demographic characteristics and social class indicators of the segment that forms the main audience, thus showing that the formation of cultural needs is a process that takes place independently of the functions associated with the various acts of cultural consumption³⁹, although from this process it emerges above all that the Visual Arts (especially the contemporary ones) do not benefit from the explanation of specific codes or languages of artistic expression.

38 Stijn Daenekindt & Henk Roose, 'Ways of Preferring: Distinction through the "what" and the "How" of Cultural Consumption', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 17.1 (2017), 25–45 (pp. 31–32).

39 Stijn Daenekindt & Henk Roose, 'Ways of Preferring: Distinction through the "what" and the "How" of Cultural Consumption', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 17.1 (2017), 25–45 (p. 40).

3. Methodology for the study of cultural consumption communities in the public space

The present study aims to review the way in which cultural consumption is presented in the public space, having the year 2023 as a time reference, and the notion of „cultural consumption community” as a conceptual landmark. The specific objectives of the study are the following:

- (1) identifying the main leisure activities in the public space and the frequency with which they are performed;
- (2) identifying how leisure activities are distributed in relation to the belonging to different socio-demographic categories;
- (3) identifying how the main types of cultural consumers coagulate in communities of cultural consumption in the public space and profiling their members both in relation to their preferences in terms of music and movies, and by reference to certain consumption patterns in the non-public sphere and online.

Considering the studies that analysed the types of cultural consumption communities presented above, we opted for our own systematisation of activities that would further underpin the identification of the types of cultural consumption communities in the public space: **(1) activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital, (2) activities aimed at accumulating socio-cultural capital and (3) activities aimed at accumulating social capital.** In order to analyse the types of cultural consumption, the forms of public-space leisure are divided, in their turn, into several subcategories, each bringing together a series of activities that are similar to each other by a specific criterion (Table 1). Thus, three categories of activities are considered:

(1) Activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital:

In this category of activities, the performing arts (theatre, classical music) are targeted as classic forms of exposure to cultural contents. It also includes actions that involve visiting heritage sites through museums, exhibitions, art galleries, monuments or archaeological sites, as well as through trips in the country or abroad. Travels are included as they are usually associated with visiting cultural or natural heritage sites and involve experiences that expand the enrichment of the set of knowledge and perspectives on history, art or ways of life. At the same time, the category of activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital includes activities associated with reading, including going to the library to borrow or read books, along with participation in book fairs. These two types of activities were analysed together because they both involve the manifestation of an interest in books as a source of personal and intellectual enrichment. Last but not least, going to the cinema is also included in the category of activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital. Going to the cinema has undergone several changes as a cultural consumption practice in the last 50 years. Professionals and critics make the difference between „art film” and „commercial film”; the statement attributed to Umberto Barbaro and Luigi Chiarini – „film is an art, cinema – an industry” is famous, but statistically, going to the cinema is not nuanced in the same way because of the place of broadcasting and the manner in which film products are distributed. Watching movies at the cinema integrates a form of exposure to media content that has a mainly artistic character, and the artistic and cultural character is subordinated to any educational, entertainment or social function.

(2) Activities Oriented Toward the Accumulation of Socio-Cultural Capital: this second category refers exclusively to participation in festivals. The rationale behind this classification stems from an understanding of festivals as manifestations of both cultural and social life. On the one hand, regardless of their nature, festivals are means of promoting intercultural dialogue and encompass various forms of cultural exposure – from the preservation of traditions to expressions of artistic and cultural identities. On the other hand, more than performing arts alone, festivals represent spaces of interaction and platforms for strengthening social bonds. All these reasons make it so that the cultural function of festivals cannot be separated from their social function.

(3) Activities aimed at accumulating social capital: The third category includes activities that take place in a social setting, involving the presence of others in a space of territorial or symbolic proximity. In the context of the present study, the term social capital is understood rather as a source of formation of the sense of community belonging, and less as a system of networks and social relations. Thus, participation in entertainment activities (local events and celebrations, sports competitions, entertainment or music performances – apart from those of classical music) is considered. Activities that involve leisure in commercial public spaces (restaurants, cafés, malls, discos or clubs) are also included. Such activities are taken into consideration not only because the commercial public spaces concerned represent a framework for meetings with friends or acquaintances, but also for the reason that they represent a pillar of support for social and community life, as they support the building of vicinity relationships within the public space.

Similar reasons explain the inclusion in the third category of activities that involve practising a sport or walking in parks and green spaces. Last but not least, it should be noted that the participation in meetings with relatives or

friends and the participation in religious life are included in the category of social activities as they both involve interaction with a close community and the formation of a sense of belonging.

The analysis is based on two levels of frequency: on the one hand, *sporadic participation* and, on the other hand, *occasional participation*. Sporadic participation refers to the infrequent involvement in a certain activity, while occasional participation implies a somewhat higher degree of continuity and commitment in practising a cultural activity. It should be noted that sporadic and occasional participation involve separate patterns and each of these patterns may follow different trends of evolution: while sporadic participation may remain constant, occasional participation may diminish or amplify according to the specific conditions of each type of cultural consumption. In the case of activities aimed at the accumulation of cultural capital, occasional participation implies involvement at least once in the last six months in the types of activities concerned, and in the case of activities oriented towards the accumulation of social capital, occasional participation implies involvement in the corresponding activities at least once in the last month. For all three categories of activities, sporadic participation is studied in relation to annual benchmarks (at least once in the last 12 months). Furthermore, in the case of festivals, sporadic and occasional participation coincide, both as a result of the fact that most festivals are organised annually or at shorter intervals, and as a result of methodological reasons related to a low variability of the empirical data that formed the basis of the study.

Table 1. Classification of Cultural Consumption Activities in the public space

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Indicator	Sporadic participation	Occasional participation
Participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital	Accumulation of cultural capital through participation in the performing arts	Participation in theatre performances, outside theatre festivals	At least once in the last year	At least once in the last 6 months
		Participation in performances of classical music (symphonic music, old music, opera or ballet), outside festivals		
	Accumulation of cultural capital through visiting heritage sites	Visiting a museum, an exhibition or an art gallery		
		Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site		
	Accumulation of cultural capital through activities involving reading	Going on trips in the country or abroad		
		Going to the library to read or borrow books		
Participation in mixed activities	(oriented towards the accumulation of cultural and social capital)	Participation in a book fair		
		Going to the cinema, outside film festiv		
		Participation in music festivals (in general)	Cel puțin o dată în ultimul an	Cel puțin o dată în ultimul an
		Participation in a film festival		
		Participation in a literature festival		
		Participation in a theatre festival		
		Participation in food festivals		
Participation in activities aimed at accumulating social capital	Accumulation of social capital through participation in public entertainment events	Participation in another type of festival	At least once in the last year	At least once a month
		Participation in local celebrations/events		
		Participation in sports competitions as a spectator		
		Participation in entertainment shows		
	Accumulation of social capital through spending leisure time in commercial public spaces	Participation in music performances (except for classical music, opera)		
		Going to the restaurant/pub/café		
		Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)		
	Accumulating social capital through interaction with the close community	Going to the disco/club		
		Participation in meetings with relatives or friends		
		Going to church		
	Participation in activities that involve physical effort	Practising a sport		
		Walking in parks, green areas		

The analysis procedures are differentiated at the level of each research objective. Thus, in order to respond to the first objective, a series of **descriptive statistics** are applied in order to highlight the frequency of performing certain activities by the participants in the study. The results thus obtained are put into context by emphasising the evolution over time of certain indicators of cultural consumption in the public space. The second research objective aims at carrying out a comparative analysis of cultural consumption according to certain socio-demographic variables, including: gender category, age category, education category, income category and size of the residence locality. To this end, a series of **contingency analyses** are applied, in which the reference framework of the degree of participation appears differentiated according to the statistical variability existing at the level of cultural consumption indicators.

Participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital allows for analysis by semestrial frequency (at least once every six months), while participation in mixed activities allows for the analysis by annual frequency (at least once a year). On the other hand, participation in activities aimed at accumulating social capital is analysed depending on the monthly frequency (at least once a month).

The third research objective is somewhat more complex and involves the use of multiple analysis techniques: **iterative segmentation analysis** (K-means type), **correlation coefficients** and **logistic regressions**. Iterative segmentation analysis is used to identify specific groups of cultural consumers depending on their participation in the three main types of activities: activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital, mixed activities, activities aimed at accumulating social capital. For each of these three categories of activities, certain summative indices are calculated that measure the degree of respondents' involvement in the forms of cultural consumption in the public space, and these summative indices are introduced in the analysis as classification criteria. Correlation

coefficients are used to highlight the link between certain forms of cultural consumption in the public, non-public and online space, as well as to identify the main music and film preferences of certain segments of cultural consumers. Last but not least, logistic regressions are integrated into the analysis in order to observe which of the socio-demographic variables are influencing factors of belonging to a certain segment of cultural consumers.

4. Participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital

4.1 Accumulation of cultural capital through participation in the performing arts

The general level of participation in activities specific to the performing arts sector is low (Graph 1): 13% of all respondents have participated in the last 6 months in theatre performances, and 11% in classical music performances. In addition, the data show that more than 75% of the people surveyed have never participated in either of the two activities in the last year. The situation

presented can be put in the more general context of the progressive decrease in the degree of participation in cultural activities in recent years. The decrease in participation was slow, being evidenced by the constant increase in the percentages of people who have never participated in theatre performances in the last 12 months, from 63% in 2014 to 65% in 2015, to 67% in 2018, to 73% in 2019, while in 2023 the percentage reaches 75%. It is possible that the pandemic was an aggravating factor, taking into account the fact that in the immediate period after the lifting of sanitary restrictions, the level of non-participation was 80%, the highest in the last 10 years.

Graph 1. Frequency of participation in events in the performing arts category



Transversally, there are no significant gender differences in the participation in activities in the performing arts sector (Table 2). However, there are differences between the consumption percentages in a longitudinal exploration of the data. Despite the small gender differences, current data emphasise that participation in theatre performances tends to be preferred by men, while participation in classical music performances is an activity that predominantly mobilises the interest of women.

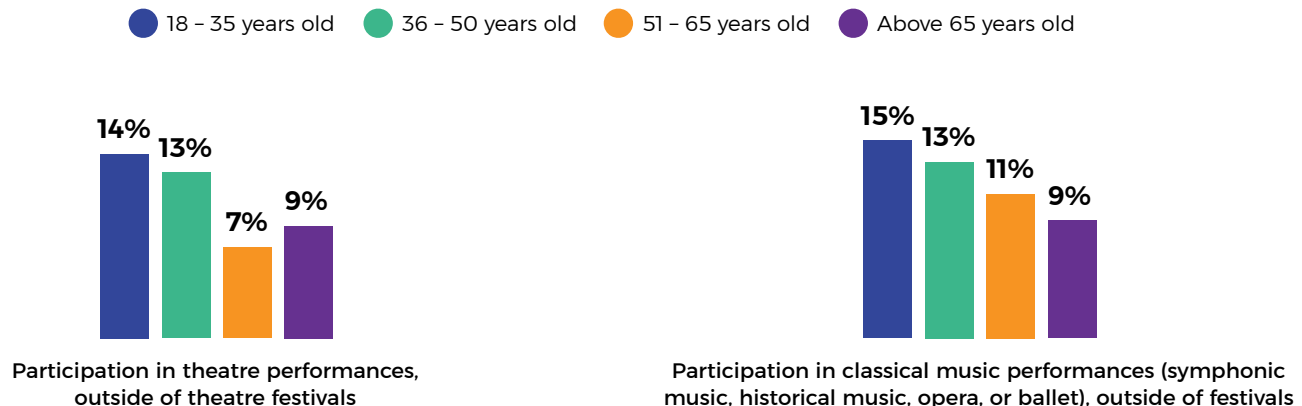
Table 2. Percentage of people who, in the last six months, have participated at least once in performing arts events, by gender

	Male	Female
Participation in theatre performances, outside theatre festivals	12%	10%
Participation in classical music performances (symphonic, old music, opera or ballet), outside festivals	11%	13%

The younger the age, the higher the frequency of participation in activities in the performing arts category (Graph 2). This means that young people participate more often in both theatre performances and classical music performances. However, a rather worrying situation arises if we analyse the situation existing in 2023, compared to the one existing in 2014. In 2023, 14% of young people aged 18 to 35 have participated at least once in the last 6 months in theatre performances. Comparatively, in 2014, the respective percentage recorded among young people in a similar age category was 31%⁴⁰. This shows a massive decrease in the

participation of young people in theatre performances, a decrease that can be attributed to increased digitalisation and ways of leisure. This sharp decrease in participation in theatre performances does not characterise the other age categories, where the differences observed between 2014 and 2023 do not exceed 7%. Such a result indicates that, although young people consume theatre more than people in other age categories, they represent the most volatile category of spectators in the last 10 years. The other age categories are rather the loyal or stable audience.

Graph 2. Percentage of people who, in the last six months, have participated at least once in events in the performing arts category, by age



As we have demonstrated in the other editions of the Cultural Consumption Barometer, the educational level is in a very close relationship with the participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through performing arts. The data show that the persons with at least a university degree participate in both theatre

performances and classical music concerts in a statistically significantly higher proportion (Graph 3). Moreover, theatre consumption has declined across all educational categories, particularly among individuals with higher education (a decrease of 18%) and those with high school and post-high school education (a decrease of 12%), but less so among those with a lower level of education (a decrease of approximately 3%). Specifically, the percentage of people with a university education who have participated at least

⁴⁰ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale', in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 50).

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once in the last 6 months in theatre performances has almost halved: 42% in 2014, compared to 24% in 2023⁴¹. The situation is not much better among people who have at most high school or vocational school education, where the percentage of people who have participated in a theatre performance in the last 6 months is 12% in 2023, compared to 24% in 2014⁴². Although different coding procedures do

not allow for accurate comparisons among people with low levels of education, a decrease in the frequency of participation tends to characterise this category as well. In 2014, 9% of people with 10 grades at most attended theatre performances at least once in the last 6 months⁴³. In 2023, a percentage of 3% is obtained among people with no more than 8 grades completed.

Graph 3. Percentage of people who, in the last six months, have participated at least once in events in the performing arts category, by educational level



The higher the income, the higher the degree of participation in events aimed at accumulating cultural capital through participation in the performing arts (Table 3). Approximately a quarter of individuals with an income exceeding 6,000 lei attend theatre performances or classical music concerts at least once every six months, whereas the participation rate does not exceed 5% among those with a monthly income below 1,500 lei.

Large income disparities tend to suggest that certain forms of cultural consumption in public spaces remain indicators of class distinction and serve as markers of belonging to a particular social status category.

Table 3. Percentage of people who, in the last six months, have participated at least once in events in the performing arts category, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501- 2500 lei	2501- 4000 lei	4001- 6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Participation in theatre performances, outside theatre festivals	4%	9%	14%	22%	27%
Participation in classical music performances (symphonic, old music, opera or ballet), outside festivals	5%	6%	13%	20%	23%

41 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 50).

42 Ibidem

43 Ibidem

Gaps in terms of the degree of participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through participation in the performing arts are also found in relation to the residence areas (Table 4). In general, people in urban areas participate to a statistically significantly higher extent in both theatre performances and classical music performances, but the results must be taken subject to the existence or non-existence of an adequate infrastructure. Symmetrically, the cultural consumption profile of towns with fewer than 30,000 inhabitants is more similar to that of rural areas than to that of urban areas. People who come from localities with a number of 30,001 and 100,000 inhabitants have a level of cultural consumption situated at the average between rural areas and large urban areas. On the other hand, the data show that there are no differences between cities with a number between 100,001 and 200,000 inhabitants and those with more than 200,000 inhabitants. According to the comparative analysis, there is a stagnation of going to the theatre in rural areas: in 2014 the percentage of those who went to the theatre at least once every 6 months was 10%⁴⁴, while in 2023 it was 7%.

Table 4. Percentage of people who, in the last six months, have participated at least once in events in the performing arts category, by residence area

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Participation in theatre performances, outside theatre festivals	7%	11%	14%	23%	23%
Participation in classical music performances (symphonic, old music, opera or ballet), outside festivals	7%	7%	12%	18%	17%

⁴⁴ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 49).

The frequency of participation in theatre performances tends to mirror very well the frequency of participation in classical music performances, which means that activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through the performing arts have a similar audience, made up of people with similar preferences and consumption interests (see Table 33 in the Annex). In general, people who participate in cultural activities in the public space are those who use the Internet to a greater extent for cultural purposes, especially to visit the websites of museums, libraries, theatres, festivals, to purchase books, tickets to the theatre or to certain events, as well as to get involved in professional or educational activities. It is worth noting that the participants in theatre and classical music performances share a diversity of musical tastes: they do not listen exclusively to symphonic, opera or operetta music, but also do listen to rock, international pop, hip-hop, electronic music, jazz, Latin, indie, metal music, while they listen less to traditional folk music or manele. Furthermore, the public oriented towards cultural activities tends to watch documentaries (on TV or online), animated movies (on TV), fantasy or science fiction movies and historical movies (online) to a significantly higher extent than people who do not participate in performing arts events. Last but not least, it can be pointed out that those people who participate more frequently in theatre or classical music performances watch statistically significantly fewer shows or informative programmes on television.

4.2 Accumulation of cultural capital through visiting heritage sites

The accumulation of cultural capital through visiting heritage sites is higher than the accumulation of cultural capital through participating in the performing arts: 42% of respondents have visited a historical moment or archaeological site at least once in the last 6 months,

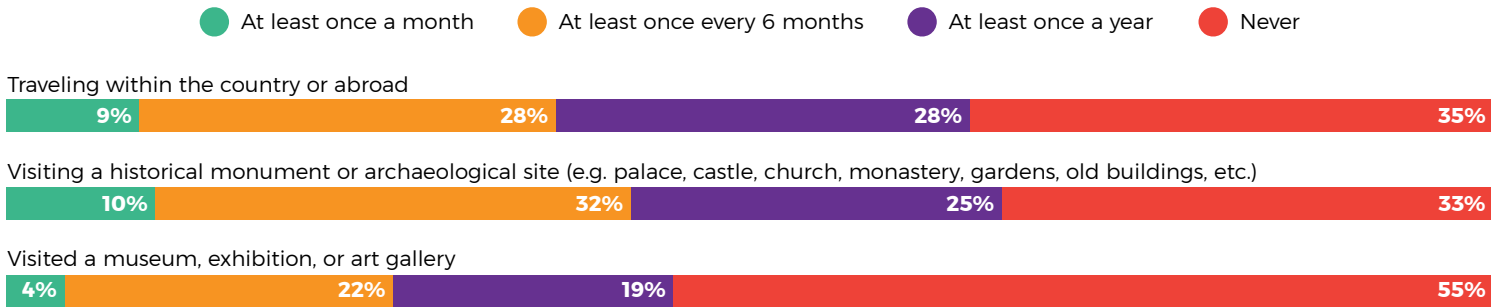
36 Participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital

37% have gone on trips in the country or abroad, and 26% have visited a museum, exhibition or art gallery (Graph 4). In 2023, the degree of accumulation of cultural capital through annual visits to museums, exhibitions or art galleries is approximately the same as in 2014 (43%, compared to 45%). However, it cannot be said that in this 10-year period the degree of visits to museums has remained constant, even if the percentages obtained in the two reference years are similar. It should be taken into account that this situation has been reached against the background of a constant decrease in the degree of museum visiting that began in 2016 and continued with the outbreak of the pandemic. However, immediately after the pandemic there was an accelerated growth, which meant that in 2023 the situation was the same as in 2014: the percentage of those who visited a museum at least once a year was 31% in 2022, while in 2023 it accelerated to 45%. The 14% increase recorded in recent

years is high enough to highlight the existence of relevant transformations in the cultural consumption practices, being stimulated by the insistent promotion of heritage objectives and of cultural tourism.

Two other trends mark the evolution of cultural consumption in the last 10 years. The first one shows an increase in the percentage of those who go on trips outside the locality at least once a year: from 53% in 2014 to 65% in 2023, with a more accelerated growth from 2014 to 2015, subsequently marked by a period of stagnation. The second trend marks a significant increase in the degree of visiting historical monuments or archaeological sites: in 2014 the percentage of those who had visited such a place at least once a year was 30%, while in 2023 the percentage was 67%, the increase taking place progressively from year to year, without major variations.

Graph 4. Frequency of visiting culturally relevant sites



As far as the frequency of visiting historical monuments and going on trips in the country or abroad is concerned, slight gender differences can be observed: for these two types of activities, there is a slightly higher percentage of participation of men versus women (Table 5): 45% of men and 39% of women visit a historical monument or archaeological site at least once every 6 months, while 29% of men and 23% of

women go on a trip outside the locality at least once every 6 months. On the other hand, no significant differences can be observed in relation to visiting museums or exhibitions, where the percentage difference in annual participation at the level of the two gender categories is 3%, thus being within the error margin of the study. Compared to 2014, in 2023, in terms of occasional consumption (at least once every 6 months), a

significant decrease in visits to museums, exhibitions or art galleries can be observed among both men and women. Among men, the decrease occurs from 22% to 10%, and among women from 17% to 7%⁴⁵.

Table 5. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, have visited culturally relevant sites at least once, by gender

	Male	Female
Visiting a museum, exhibition, or art gallery	10%	7%
Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site (e.g. palace, castle, church, monastery, gardens, old buildings, etc.)	45%	39%
Going on trips in the country or abroad	29%	23%

The degree of participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through visiting heritage sites varies according to age, being higher among young people and lower among the elderly (Table 6). Of the three options considered, visiting historical monuments or archaeological sites is the activity that records the highest level of participation for all age categories, while visiting museums is at the opposite pole.

Even though the level of consumption in terms of visiting museums, exhibitions or art galleries has remained relatively constant over time, the consumption level in all age groups has shown a growing tendency of the degree of visiting museums, exhibitions or art galleries at least once every 6 months. There is an increase from 30% in 2013, to 38% in 2023 (among young people) and from 9% to 14% (among the elderly)⁴⁶. Such an apparently contradictory situation can be explained by taking

into account the following aspects: the percentage of those who have never visited a museum remained relatively the same in 2014 and 2023, while those who had visited a museum annually or less than once every 6 months ended up visiting such cultural institutions more frequently, a situation that is valid for all age categories.

Table 6. Percentage of people who, in the past 6 months, have visited culturally relevant sites at least once, by age

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Visiting a museum, exhibition, or art gallery	38%	31%	20%	14%
Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site (e.g. palace, castle, church, monastery, gardens, old buildings, etc.)	55%	45%	39%	27%
Going on trips in the country or abroad	13%	10%	6%	4%

The participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through visiting heritage sites also depends on the educational level to a very large extent (Table 7). The data show that the percentage of people who have visited a museum, art gallery or exhibition at least once in the last 6 months is higher among people with higher education (50%) than among those who have at most high school or post-high school (25%) or middle school (15%) education. A similar situation can be observed in terms of visiting a historical monument: more than half of the respondents with higher education are involved in this activity at least once every 6 months, while the percentages obtained for the other educational categories are below 50%. Among the persons with middle school education and among the people who have completed at most high school or post-high school education, we can notice an uphold of the percentage of those who have visited a museum, exhibition or art gallery at least once every six months. On the other hand, an increase in the degree of visiting museums, exhibitions and

45 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 279).

46 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 279-80).

38 Participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital

art galleries characterises the persons with higher education (from 39% in 2014 to 50% in 2023)⁴⁷.

Table 7. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, have visited culturally relevant sites at least once, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school education at most	Higher education
Visiting a museum, exhibition, or art gallery	15%	25%	50%
Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site (e.g. palace, castle, church, monastery, gardens, old buildings, etc.)	28%	45%	66%
Going on trips in the country or abroad	4%	9%	16%

In general, the involvement in activities that allow the accumulation of cultural capital through visiting heritage sites is closely related to the income: the higher the income, the higher the degree of participation (Table 8). We can notice that there are income gaps in terms of visiting a museum, an exhibition or an art gallery: 10% of people who have a monthly income below 1500 lei participate at least once every 6 months in this activity, while among people with a monthly income of over 4000 lei the percentage is around 50%. The same income gaps can be observed in terms of visiting a historical monument or an archaeological site: 22% of people with an income under 1500 lei participate in this activity at least once every 6 months, while the percentage is 64% among the higher income categories. A similar situation is found in the case of organising trips in the country or abroad, where we can notice a 15% gap between the category of people with an income of less than 1500 lei and that of people with an income of more than 6000 lei. Last but not least, it is worth noting that there are no differences in

cultural consumption between the category of people with an income between 4,001 and 6,000 lei and that of people with an income above 6,000 lei.

Table 8. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, have visited culturally relevant sites at least once, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Visiting a museum, exhibition, or art gallery	10%	19%	28%	52%	50%
Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site (e.g. palace, castle, church, monastery, gardens, old buildings, etc.)	22%	38%	47%	64%	64%
Going on trips in the country or abroad	4%	5%	9%	13%	19%

The type of locality of origin seems to matter more in terms of visiting a museum, an exhibition or an art gallery than in terms of visiting a historical monument or an archaeological site (Table 9). The larger the size of the locality, the higher the percentage of people who visit museums or similar institutions, with significant differences between the participation rate resulted in rural areas (17%) and the participation specific to all types of urban areas (between 25% and 40%). On the other hand, the highest percentage of those who visit a historical monument or archaeological site at least once every 6 months is found among people who come from medium-sized towns (30001-10000 inhabitants). Furthermore, a specific trend also characterises the trips in the country or abroad. The highest percentage, this time, is recorded among people from small towns (less than 30000 inhabitants). Such a situation may occur as a result of the absence of cultural infrastructure in smaller localities; more specifically, it is expected that people living in towns with less than 30000 inhabitants would have to move to other localities to engage in more forms of cultural consumption than those living

⁴⁷ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 280).

in cities that have a better developed cultural infrastructure. The analysis of the evolution over time at the level of the forms of consumption for which data exist shows a slight increase in the percentage of people in rural areas who have visited a museum, an exhibition or an art gallery in the last 6 months (from 11% in 2014 to 17% in 2023)⁴⁸.

Table 9. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, have visited culturally relevant sites at least once, by residence locality

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Visiting a museum, exhibition, or art gallery	17%	25%	33%	34%	40%
Visiting a historical monument or archaeological site (e.g. palace, castle, church, monastery, gardens, old buildings, etc.)	34%	42%	56%	41%	52%
Going on trips in the country or abroad	5%	14%	8%	11%	11%

The persons who more often participate in activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital through participation in the performing arts represent the category of persons involved to a greater extent in activities aimed at the accumulation of cultural capital through visiting heritage objectives (see Table 34 in the Annex). In addition, it can be noted that people who visit cultural sites more often watch not only TV programmes, but also cable movies less often. In the top of the musical preferences of people who visit cultural sites are rock, foreign pop, electronic music, heavy metal, hard rock and indie music, while there is a tendency to reject traditional

folk music or manele. The preferences in terms of movies of the persons who visit cultural sites are more diverse than those of the persons who participate in the performing arts. Among the film genres preferred by visitors of cultural sites there are: fantasy and science fiction movies, comedies, dramas, documentaries, action and historical movies. Furthermore, the persons who accumulate cultural capital through visiting specific attractions use the Internet more often for cultural and educational purposes, while also being those who play video games on computers, consoles or other devices more often.

4.3 Accumulation of cultural capital through activities involving reading

The percentage of respondents who went to the library in the last year to borrow books (20%) is similar to the percentage of respondents who participated in a book fair in the last year (16%) (Graph 5). Furthermore, the longitudinal analysis highlights the fact that the frequency of going to the library to read or borrow books has not changed significantly in the last 10 years, the fluctuations being very small from year to year, both at the general level and at the level of monthly or annual participation categories. In 2014, only 3% of respondents had borrowed or read a book at the library in the previous month⁴⁹, as compared to 6% in 2023. In addition, in 2014, 21% of respondents had borrowed a book at least once a year or read it at the library⁵⁰, as compared to 19% in 2023.

48 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 279).

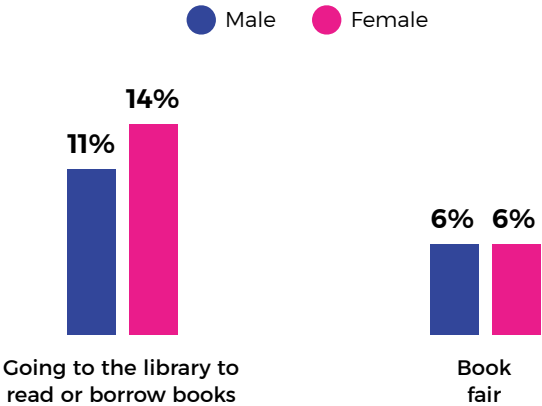
49 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 54).

50 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 54).

Graph 5. Frequency of participation in activities involving reading



Graph 6. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, participated in cultural activities involving reading, by gender



As regards the participation in activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital through reading, there are no significant gender differences (Graph 6). The frequency of participation in book fairs is similar among women and men: 6% of men and women have participated in a book fair at least once in the last 6 months. There are also no

significant differences between men and women in terms of other assimilated activities: 11% of men and 14% of women have gone to the library to read or borrow books in the last 6 months. It is worth noting that, in the last 10 years, the frequency of going to the library has remained relatively constant among both men and women, with observed differences between 2014 and 2023 being approximately 5%⁵¹. To a certain extent, age represents a differentiating factor for the participation in activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital through reading activities (Table 10). Firstly, the data show that young people aged 18 to 35 participate in book fairs more than people in all other age groups. Secondly, we can notice that people aged between 51 and 65 attend libraries to a greater extent than youngsters aged between 18 and 35. At the same time, it can be seen that between 2014 and 2023, library attendance has decreased among young people aged 18-36, but has increased significantly among those above 50 years old⁵².

51 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 55).

52 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 55).

Table 10. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, participated in cultural activities involving reading, by age

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Going to the library to read or borrow books	13%	12%	16%	9%
Book fair	10%	7%	4%	3%

The educational level is a differentiating factor in terms of attending book fairs to a greater extent than in terms of going to the library to read or borrow books (Table 11). As for going to the library, there are significant differences between people with at most middle school education and other categories of education. In terms of participation in book fairs, there are significant differences between people who have at most high school or post-high school education and those with higher education. It should be noted that the passage of time has not influenced in any way the degree of library attendance in relation to the educational levels. The percentages of those who attended libraries at least once in the last 6 months of 2023 are a faithful copy of the percentages obtained in 2014 for similar education categories⁵³.

The income level is a differentiating factor for participation in book fairs more than for attending libraries (Table 12). As for the participation in book fairs, the threshold of an income of 2500 lei plays a very important role: people who have a monthly income below the limit of 2500 attend book fairs to a lesser extent, as compared to people who have an income exceeding this amount. The amount of 2500 lei represents a threshold of differentiation

in terms of library attendance, too, with the specification that people who have a monthly income of over 6000 lei attend libraries less often, as compared to people who have an income between 2501 and 6000 lei.

Table 11. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, participated in cultural activities involving reading, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school at most	Higher education
Going to the library to read or borrow books	6%	16%	18%
Book fair	1%	6%	18%

The analysis of activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital through reading practices highlights a specific trend: urban localities with less than 30,000 inhabitants have a cultural consumption profile that is more similar to rural localities than to larger urban localities. Moreover, the involvement in activities associated with reading in the public space is specific to small towns (between 30001 and 100000 inhabitants) and medium cities (100001 and 200000 inhabitants) rather than large cities (over 200000 inhabitants). There is much hope in the fact that, in the last 10 years, there has been a significant increase in library attendance in rural areas: while in 2014, 5% of village inhabitants had attended a public library at least once in the previous 6 months, in 2023 the percentage reaches 11%.

⁵³ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 55).

Table 12. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, participated in cultural activities involving reading, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Going to the library to read or borrow books	8%	10%	16%	17%	14%
Book fair	2%	3%	9%	10%	14%

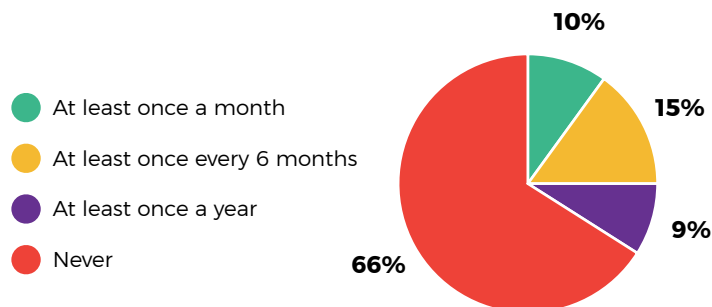
Table 13. Percentage of people who, in the last 6 months, participated in cultural activities involving reading, by locality type

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Going to the library to read or borrow books	11%	11%	16%	17%	13%
Book fair	4%	4%	9%	12%	10%

The persons who participate to a greater extent in activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital through reading activities are those who record a higher degree of participation in activities oriented towards the performing arts, as well as towards visiting heritage sites. Moreover, the people who participate more frequently in activities in the field of reading in the public space are those who frequently participate in reading activities in the private space (see Table 35 in the Annex). The persons who borrow books from the library or who participate more frequently in book fairs are those who either read newspapers, magazines, books in print or digital format more frequently, or listen to books in audio format. The persons who engage in reading activities listen to foreign pop music, classical music, rock and blues to a significantly higher extent, these being the music genres visibly preferred by these consumers, who listen to traditional folk music to a significantly lesser extent. Their tastes in film productions are also very clearly defined. People who engage in forms of public cultural consumption aimed at reading prefer exclusively documentaries or historical movies. Last but not least, we can point out that the persons who go to the library to read books or those who participate in book fairs use the Internet mainly for cultural, educational or professional purposes, and less for entertainment or relaxation.

4.4 Accumulation of cultural capital through exposure to media contents

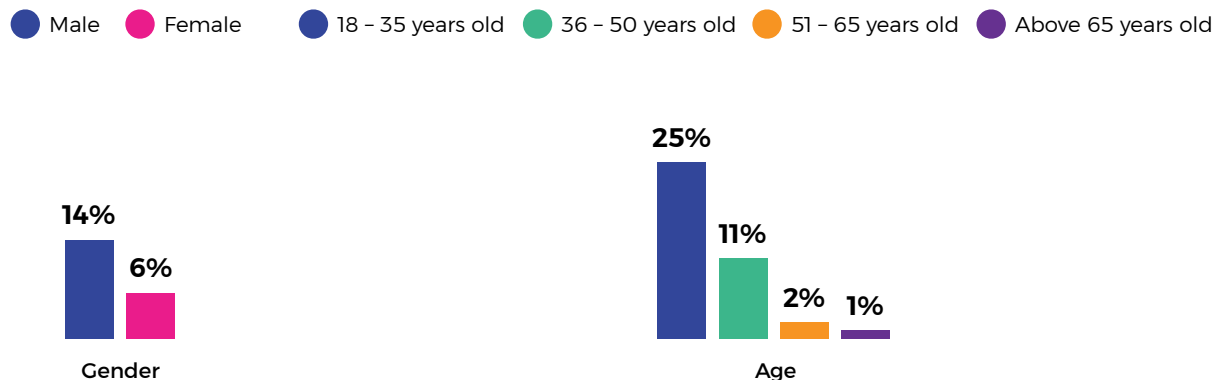
Paradoxically, although in Romania the mass-media are not a source of education, the results highlight the fact that people believe that the accumulation of cultural capital can be done through exposure to media content, more than through participation in the performing arts or through reading activities associated to the public space (Graph 7). Even going to the cinema is presented as one of the most common leisure activities, along with visiting a historical monument or archaeological site. The variations observed at other levels are not large enough to justify an assumption that structural changes have occurred. The only aspect to be mentioned is that at the end of the pandemic there was a decline in the annual viewing of movies in cinema theatres (26%). This decline has not been maintained, and the situation seems to have recovered, given that, in 2023, the annual frequency of going to the cinema is comparable to the years prior to the pandemic (standing around 30%).

Graph 7. Frequency of movie watching at the cinema⁵⁴

In general, the frequency of watching movies at the cinema is higher among men than among women and among young people as compared to other age groups (Graph 8). With the passage of time, it seems that the frequency of watching movies at the cinema has decreased among women, but not among men. In 2014, 17% of women had watched a movie at the cinema at least once in the previous 6 months, while the percentage characteristic for 2023 is 6%. The data show that the frequency of going to the cinema has decreased among young people: in

2014, 36% of young people had gone to the cinema at least once in the previous 6 months⁵⁴, while in 2023 the percentage barely reaches 25%.

Watching movies at the cinema is an activity differentiated according to the indicators of educational and economic status (Table 14). An important aspect to note is that watching movies at the cinema seems to be an occasional activity rather than a recurring one. Although, in the case of going to the cinema, the general and aggregate analysis of the indicators of annual cultural consumption does not show structural changes, the analysis of the indicators of biannual cultural consumption seems to indicate significant variations at the level of educational categories. More specifically, from 2014 to 2023, there is a decrease in the percentage of people who have watched movies at the cinema at least once every 6 months: from 9% to 5% (in the case of people with low education), from 23% to 11% (in the case of people with medium education) and from 39% to 20% (in the case of people with higher education)⁵⁵.

Graph 8. Percentage of people who have watched movies at the cinema at least once in the last 6 months, by gender and age

⁵⁴ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 54).

⁵⁵ Ibidem

Table 14. Percentage of people who have watched movies at the cinema at least once in the last 6 months, by education and income levels

		At least once a month
Education	Middle school at most	5%
	Post-high school at most	11%
	Higher education	20%
Income	Under 1500 lei	2%
	1501-2500 lei	7%
	2501-4000 lei	12%
	4001-6000 lei	16%
	Above 6000 lei	27%

As expected, people residing in rural areas watch movies at the cinema to a lesser extent compared to people residing in urban areas (Table 15). It is also worth noting that almost half of the persons from large cities have watched a movie at the cinema at least once in the last 6 months, and most likely the existence of an infrastructure in the vicinity facilitated this. This is also the reason why our measurements show a decrease in the viewing of cinema movies among the persons residing in rural areas: in 2014, 24% of respondents in rural areas watched movies at least once every 6 months at the cinema, while in 2023 the percentage reaches 16%⁵⁶.

In specialised research, going to the cinema is not a practice in the category of consumption driven by the desire to accumulate cultural capital, for a long time the cinema having been, in fact, a place of relaxation and entertainment. Art films (as defined by Western specialised critique) do not enjoy extraordinary success, which explains the industry's efforts to organise thematic festivals and award ceremonies to promote a more balanced consumption.

Table 15. Percentage of people who have watched movies at the cinema at least once in the last 6 months, by residence locality

	At least once in the last 6 months
Rural	16%
Urban < 30.000 inh.	26%
Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	28%
Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	22%
Urban > 200.000 inh.	47%

The persons who watch movies at the cinema generally have a non-public cultural consumption profile, and their tastes in cultural products are much more eclectic compared to people who participate in live performing arts. These categories of public, of various ages, visit cultural objectives or engage in reading activities assimilated to the public space (see Table 36 in the Annex). It is worth noting that the persons who frequently go to the cinema also watch TV programmes to a lesser extent. The use of social networks is a characteristic aspect of people who go to the cinema, but not of those who participate in the live performing arts, visit tourist attractions or get involved in activities associated with reading. These consumers' tastes in music and film are more diverse and heterogeneous than those of other consumers of cultural goods. This group is also a consumer of modern and contemporary or experimental music, and the data indicate that their preferences in terms of film include fantasy/sci-fi movie, action movies, comedies, documentaries, dramas, animations or cartoons and historical movies. On the other hand, romantic movies are not among the preferences of these viewers, they are associated with older age groups, who no longer attend cinema theatres.

⁵⁶ Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 53).

5. Participation in activities aimed at accumulating socio-cultural capital (festivals)

The annual participation rate in activities aimed at accumulating socio-cultural capital tends to be higher than the degree of participation in activities aimed at the accumulation of cultural capital (Table 16). Among the most attended types of festivals there are music and food festivals, and among the

least attended there are film, theatre and literature festivals. The situation is much different, however, depending on the residential environment, with respondents from urban areas obviously having more offers available.

Table 16. Frequency of participation in public festivals

	At least once a month	At least once every 6 months	At least once a year	Never
Participation in music festivals (in general)	2%	16%	22%	60%
Participation in a film festival	1%	5%	8%	86%
Participation in a literature festival	0%	2%	6%	92%
Participation in a theatre festival	1%	5%	7%	87%
Participation in food festivals (e.g. Onion Festival, Pretzel Festival, Street Food)	2%	12%	16%	70%
Participation in another type of festival	1%	9%	14%	76%

As we can see, the percentages of those who do not participate and have never participated in any public festival increase significantly for those events that do not require a specific knowledge base.

Gender differences in festival participation are found in the case of participation in music festivals and food festivals, but not in the case of participation in film, theatre or literature festivals (Graph 9).

The level of annual festival participation is higher among young people than among other age groups: the older the age, the lower the participation in all types of festivals (Table 17). It is worth noting that more than half of young people aged 18 to 35 have participated at least once in the last year in music festivals, while 40% of them have participated in food festivals. Around 20% of young people have participated

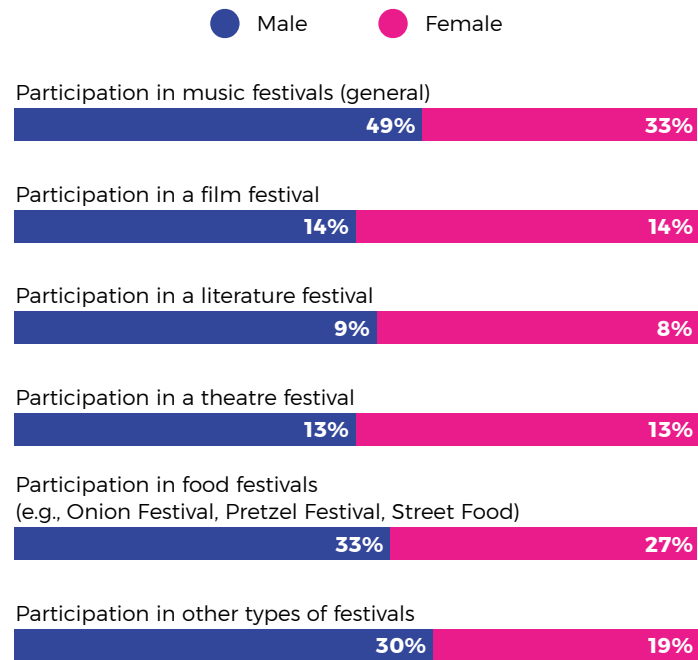
in film and theatre festivals annually, and 15% - in literature festivals.

Table 17. Percentage of people who have attended festivals at least once in the last year, by age

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Participation in music festivals (in general)	57%	47%	39%	17%
Participation in a film festival	26%	14%	11%	3%
Participation in a literature festival	15%	8%	8%	5%
Participation in a theatre festival	20%	13%	12%	6%
Participation in food festivals	40%	38%	27%	13%
Participation in another type of festival	31%	35%	19%	9%

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Graph 9. Percentage of people who have attended festivals at least once in the last year, by gender



The educational level is a factor that defines the annual participation in festivals, in general (Table 18). Over 57% of people with higher education have participated in a music festival in the last year and 48% of people in the same educational category have participated in food festivals. At the level of all types of festivals, there is a gap of at least 15% in terms of the percentage of participation found among respondents with higher education, compared to that found among respondents who have middle school as their last school graduated. This is a trend that has been maintained over the years.

Table 18. Percentage of people who have attended festivals at least once in the last year, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school at most	Higher education
Participation in music festivals (in general)	31%	42%	57%
Participation in a film festival	8%	14%	26%
Participation in a literature festival	3%	10%	18%
Participation in a theatre festival	4%	14%	29%
Participation in food festivals	21%	31%	48%
Participation in another type of festival	19%	23%	40%

Income is, in its turn, a factor associated with the frequency of participation in festivals (Table 19): the higher the income, the higher the degree of participation in all types of festivals. The data show that 62% of the persons with a monthly income of over 6000 lei have participated at least once in the last year in a music festival, 56% - in a food festival, 33% - in a film festival, 25% - in a theatre festival and 19% - in a literature festival. In relation to the participation in festivals, the aforementioned percentages correspond to an income gap that is greater than the educational one. While the average educational gap in the sphere of festivals was around 22%, the average gap in relation to income is 30%, in both cases being higher in relation to the types of more frequently attended festivals (music and gastronomy) and smaller in relation to the types of less attended festivals (literature). It should be noted that the gap was calculated as a percentage difference between the categories with the highest income or educational level and the categories with the lowest income or educational level, and the average values were calculated by taking into account all six types of festivals considered during the study.

Table 19. Percentage of people who have attended festivals at least once in the last year, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Participation in music festivals (in general)	22%	36%	46%	62%	62%
Participation in a film festival	3%	12%	14%	19%	33%
Participation in a literature festival	2%	9%	9%	15%	19%
Participation in a theatre festival	4%	10%	16%	24%	25%
Participation in food festivals	16%	27%	31%	44%	56%
Participation in another type of festival	9%	22%	29%	36%	40%

The authors of this chapter would like to remind the readers that consumption habits are difficult to build and can be quickly lost if one of the practical barriers (access to infrastructure, insufficient income) is activated. Building a consumption habit starts from an early age (usually schoolchildren and high school students), and the first forms that will arouse interest and curiosity are obviously the easiest, without complicated messages or forms of expression that require complicated decryptions.

In general, people who attend festivals more frequently are more often engaged in reading activities at home. Furthermore, the public of festivals tends to use the Internet for cultural or educational purposes rather than entertainment. However, there is no homogeneity in terms of music preferences, neither in terms of the general public of festivals, nor in terms of the specific public of music festivals. The only more obvious trends are those that indicate that people who attend festivals more often listen to rock music and foreign pop music to a greater extent, and to a significantly lesser extent to popular or ethno music, as compared to people who attend festivals less often or even do not do this at all. As we have shown

above, film tastes are not very homogeneous at the level of the segment that makes up the festival audience. Only the preference for animated movies represents a significant element of similarity for this category of consumers.

6. Participation in activities aimed at accumulating social capital

6.1 Accumulation of social capital through participation in public entertainment events

The data show a relatively moderate degree of participation in public entertainment events (Table 20).

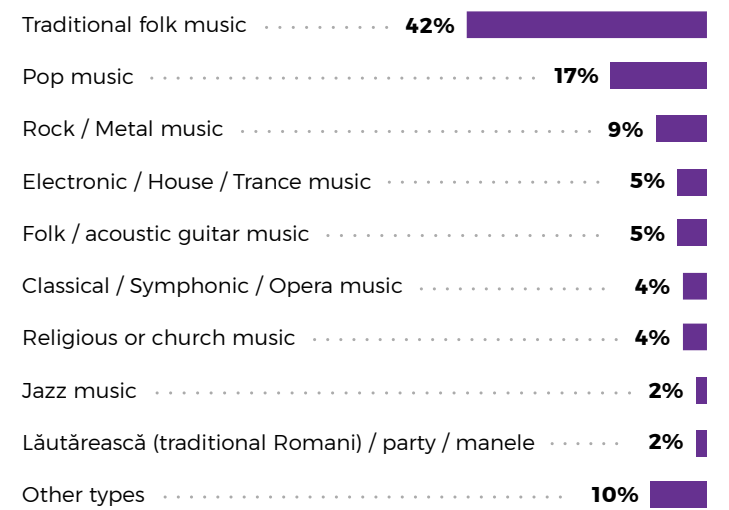
Table 20. Frequency of participation in public entertainment events

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every 6 months	At least once a year	Never
Participation in music performances (apart from classical music, opera)	0%	4%	16%	14%	66%
Participation in entertainment shows (e.g. stand-up comedy, circus, etc.)	0%	6%	16%	15%	63%
Participation in sports competitions as a spectator	2%	13%	12%	11%	62%
Participation in local celebrations / events (e.g. City / Commune Days)	1%	10%	19%	38%	32%

Half of the respondents participate at least once a year in local celebrations or events, while less than half participate

in sports competitions as spectators, entertainment shows or music performances in the same time frame. If the reference is made strictly to the set of activities that include an entertainment side, then we can see that participating in sports competitions as a spectator turns out to be the activity with the highest recurrence of participation: 15% of respondents have watched a sports event on site at least once in the last month. A high degree of stability over time characterises the participation rate in all four types of events that involve the accumulation of social capital through entertainment activities performed in the public space. The percentages obtained in the 2023 study are very similar to those obtained in 2014, and the fluctuations from year to year are minimal.

Graph 10. Percentage of respondents who have participated in various music performances



According to the data, it is visible that rock music, electronic music, folk music, religious music, jazz or *lăutărească* (traditional Romani music) shows address a much smaller categories of public.

In general, participation in public entertainment events is higher among young people (Table 21). Participation in local events and participation in music performances are activities more visibly differentiated according to age, compared to participation in entertainment shows: while in the case of participation in local events and entertainment shows there are significant percentage differences between young people aged between 18 and 35 and the elderly above 65 years old, in the case of participation in entertainment shows, the differences are not as high. Age seems to matter more as an explanatory factor for attending local celebrations or events and for attending music performances, but less for attending entertainment shows. On the other hand, people who are part of the categories of those aged between 18 and 50 participate similarly in sports competitions as spectators, the age difference characteristic to this activity being more visible from the age of 51 and accentuating in the case of people above 65 years of age. It is worth noting an increase of over 10% in the monthly participation rate in certain events among young people. On the one hand, we can see that, in 2014, 8% of young people aged between 18 and 34 had participated monthly in local celebrations or events⁵⁷, as compared to 19% for a similar age group in 2023.

An explanation for these consumption dynamics could be of an economic and geographical nature, corroborated with free access. Although this type of captatio may also arouse curiosity for more complicated consumer goods, such easy access to forms of entertainment has the disadvantage that it

can pervert tastes and create qualitatively reduced aesthetic expectations.

Table 21. Percentage of people who have attended public entertainment events at least once in the past month, by age

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Participation in local celebrations / events (e.g. City / Commune Days)	19%	11%	9%	7%
Participation in sports competitions as a spectator	17%	19%	14%	7%
Participation in entertainment shows (e.g. stand-up comedy, circus, etc.)	9%	6%	6%	3%
Participation in music performances (apart from classical music, opera)	28%	23%	20%	3%

The degree of participation in entertainment events tends to be higher among people with a higher level of education, as in the case of all activities, except for participation in sports competitions (Table 22): 31% of persons with higher education participate at least once a month in music performances, 20% participate with the same frequency in local celebrations or events, 15% in sports competitions and 13% in entertainment shows. The data on the evolution in time show a growth of participation in sports competitions among the persons with less education. For example, among the persons who have middle school as their last level of education, there is an increase in monthly participation in sports competitions from 3%⁵⁸ to 11%, while among those who have high school or post-high school as their last level of education, the observed increase is from 8%⁵⁹ to 17% (between 2014 and 2023).

57 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 52).

58 Andrei Crăciun & Alexandra Mitoi, 'Consumul cultural în spațiul public. Date generale, in *Barometrul de Consum Cultural. Cultura între local și global*, coordinated by Carmen Croitoru & Anda Becuț (Bucharest: Editura Pro Universitaria, 2015), pp. 43–60 (p. 56).

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Table 22. Percentage of people who have attended public entertainment events at least once in the past month, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school at most	Higher education
Participation in local celebrations / events (e.g. City / Commune Days)	6%	12%	20%
Participation in sports competitions as a spectator	11%	17%	15%
Participation in entertainment shows (e.g. Stand-up comedy, circus, etc.)	3%	7%	13%
Participation in music performances (apart from classical music, opera)	17%	19%	31%

Income influences participation in public entertainment events (Table 23). The largest income gaps characterise the participation in music performances, and the smallest gaps are recorded for the participation in local celebrations or events. In such a context, an aspect worth mentioning is the situation observed in the case of the persons who have a monthly income under 1500 lei: only 3% of people with a very low income participate at least once a month in local celebrations or events or entertainment shows, 8% in sports competitions and 11% in music shows. Participation in sports competitions is, in its turn, an activity in a very close relationship with income, with significant differences between people with an income under 4000 lei and above 4000 lei.

Table 23. Percentage of people who have attended public entertainment events at least once in the past month, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Participation in local celebrations / events (e.g. City / Commune Days)	3%	12%	15%	15%	15%
Participation in sports competitions as a spectator	8%	13%	15%	24%	25%
Participation in entertainment shows (e.g. Stand-up comedy, circus, etc.)	3%	6%	7%	7%	11%
Participation in music performances (apart from classical music, opera)	11%	21%	19%	27%	38%

Contrary to expectations, the lowest level of participation in public entertainment events is not characteristic to rural areas, but rather to towns with less than 30,000 inhabitants (Table 24). One of the explanations could be that in fact these urban settlements are satellites of larger cities and are in reality metropolitan areas without significant local economic activity, actually bringing together people who work in proximity. Participation in entertainment shows tends to be higher in cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants, while participation

in local celebrations/events and music performances tends to be higher in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, participation in sports competitions as a spectator does not show significant variations depending on the size of the locality. In rural areas, there is a significant increase in the monthly rate of participation in sports competitions as a spectator (from 5% in 2014 to 14% in 2023)⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Ibidem

⁶⁰ Ibidem

Table 24. Percentage of people who have attended public entertainment events at least once in the past month, by locality type

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Participation in local celebrations / events (e.g. City / Commune Days)	9%	5%	14%	14%	17%
Participation in sports competitions as a spectator	14%	12%	16%	14%	18%
Participation in entertainment shows (e.g. stand-up comedy, circus, etc.)	6%	5%	6%	5%	9%
Participation in music performances (apart from classical music, opera)	18%	14%	24%	27%	26%

Sometimes the figures reveal a similar frequency of participation among those who seek forms of authentic cultural expression and those who seek entertainment. The overlap between these two types of public explains the fact that people who participate more frequently in entertainment events use the Internet to perform a very wide range of activities, starting with cultural ones and ending with professional, educational ones, without excluding those of relaxation or entertainment.

The data suggest that people who record a higher degree of participation in entertainment activities in the public space do not share a very well-defined pattern of cultural consumption in the domestic space. The music and film preferences of the public of entertainment events are less diversified than those characteristic to the public of cultural performances.

6.2 Accumulation of social capital through leisure in commercial public spaces

The degree of participation in leisure activities within commercial public spaces used to be and still is higher than the degree of participation in public entertainment activities (Table 25). Thus, 60% of respondents have gone to the mall at least once a month to shop, watch movies or

attend restaurants or other establishments. Furthermore, 42% of respondents have attended restaurants, pubs or cafés at least once a month. On the other hand, the degree of attendance of discos or clubs is much lower, with 17% of respondents stating that they have been in such spaces in the last year. In relation to the three types of activities that are the subject of this analysis, the evolution in time of the data indicates a progressive increase, from year to year, in the percentage of people who have gone at least once a year to malls (from 57% in 2014 to 80% in 2023) or to restaurants, pubs or cafés (from 57% in 2016 to 65% in 2023). On the other hand, the annual attendance of discos or clubs follows a downward trend: in 2014, 25% of respondents said they had gone to a disco or club in the last year, while in 2023 the percentage merely reaches 17%. The explanation does not necessarily lie in the effects of the pandemic, but in the motivations for a very diverse and predominantly quantitative consumption, with people limiting as much as possible their trips to various places with a single purpose. „Mall culture” is a worrying phenomenon, because it can replace the movement to specialised halls, and this conjunctural audience begins to bring the behaviour of a mall cinema to the theatre/concert halls, affecting the loyal audience that withdraws.

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Table 25. Frequency of leisure in commercial spaces

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every 6 months	At least once a year	Never
Going to the restaurant/pub/café	15%	27%	17%	6%	35%
Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)	21%	39%	14%	6%	20%
Going to the disco/club	1%	3%	7%	6%	83%

To some extent, age differences are also maintained in terms of leisure time in commercial public spaces (Table 26). Even though such activities are mainly performed by young people, at the level of two of the activities considered in this subchapter (except going to the disco or club) there is

a relatively high participation rate among older people as well: 40% of people over 65 years old have attended a mall at least once in the last month, while 20% of people in the same age category have gone at least once in the last month to a restaurant, a café or a similar place.

Table 26. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have spent their spare time in commercial public spaces, by age

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Going to the restaurant/pub/café	66%	48%	33%	20%
Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)	75%	66%	57%	40%
Going to the disco/club	10%	3%	0%	0%

The differences in income show contradictory behaviour in terms of the structuring of the ways of leisure in spaces recognised for their commercial character (Table 27). It is worth noting that such activities, although they integrate an obvious financial dimension, seem to present a higher level of interest among economically vulnerable people, as compared to other cultural or entertainment activities. In this regard, we can point out that 45% of people with a monthly income

under 1500 lei have gone to the mall at least once in the last month to shop, watch movies or go to restaurants. At the same time, 24% of persons in the same income category have gone to restaurants, pubs or cafés at least once in the last month. Future studies are worth exploring whether there are in-depth differences in the type of consumption or the characteristics of the attended spaces, depending on the level of income.

Table 27. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have spent their spare time in commercial public spaces, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Going to the restaurant/pub/café	24%	31%	45%	71%	78%
Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)	45%	53%	66%	84%	81%
Going to the disco/club	2%	3%	1%	4%	12%

6.3 Accumulation of social capital through interaction with the close community

The activities involving interaction with the close community score the highest participation values, compared to all activities aimed at accumulating social capital (Table 28). In support of this observation, two situations highlighted

by the data analysis can be brought into discussion: 81% of respondents attend meetings with relatives or friends at least once a month, while 48% of participants in the survey go to church at least once a month. Neither attending meetings with relatives or friends, nor going to church have recorded major fluctuations in the last 5 years. The frequency of these practices creates a partially closed social life, dominated by the same ideas/opinions.

Table 28. Frequency of participation in activities that involve interaction with the close community

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once every 6 months	At least once a year	Never
Participation in meetings with relatives or friends	50%	31%	10%	5%	4%
Going to church	23%	26%	19%	15%	17%

Age operates differently in terms of family-related or religious activities (Table 29). On the one hand, the older the age, the lower the monthly participation in meetings with relatives or friends: 88% of young people aged 18 to 35 participate monthly in family activities, as compared to 68%

of seniors above 65 years old. On the other hand, the older the age, the higher the degree of attendance of religious services: 42% of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 go to church at least once a month, as compared to 59% of seniors above 65 years old.

Table 29. Procentul persoanelor care, în ultima lună, au participat cel puțin o dată la evenimente ce presupun interacțiunea cu comunitatea restrânsă, în funcție de vârstă

	18 - 35 years old	36 - 50 years old	51 - 65 years old	Above 65 years old
Participation in meetings with relatives or friends	88%	84%	81%	68%
Going to church	42%	48%	52%	59%

The persons who participate in activities that involve interaction with the close community are those who participate more frequently in classical music performances, who go to the library more often to read or borrow books, who participate to a greater extent in literature or theatre festivals, and who also go more often to local celebrations or events (see Table 40 in the Appendix). The cultural consumption profile of people who are involved in activities that require interaction with the close community is greatly diversified. The people who participate in the two activities specific to the interaction with the close community have a similar profile both as regards the fact that

they watch entertainment programmes or shows on television more often, and as regards the fact that they read books in print or digital format more often.

The persons who go to church more often have a specific profile of cultural consumption in the non-public space. More religious people mainly listen to classical, traditional folk or religious music. Romantic movies are among the consumption preferences of persons who attend religious services more frequently. On the other hand, the persons who have an active religious life watch fantasy/sci-fi movies, dramas or action movies to a lesser extent.

7. Communities of cultural consumption in the public space

The segmentation analysis of the types of cultural consumption in the public space highlights the existence of five general categories of cultural consumption communities (Table 30).

- The first of these categories is that of **omnivorous consumers**. They are involved to a very high extent in all types of activities that require spending their spare time in the public space.
- The second category is that of **elitist consumers**. They record high values particularly in terms of participation in activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital, but they are not completely detached from the rest of the activities, either.
- The third category is that of **social consumers**. They are mostly involved in activities involving the idea of being together with the close or local community, but occasionally they also get involved in cultural activities or participate in festivals.
- The fourth category is that of **consumers reluctant to culture**. This category of consumers is characterised by the fact that they score low values of the indicators that require participation in activities oriented towards the accumulation of cultural capital and participation in festivals, having a

consumption inclined mainly towards the accumulation of social capital.

- The last segment is that of **non-consumers**, which brings together those persons who record a low level of participation in all categories of activities. This year's survey reveals a novelty, namely that, apparently, the largest segment of the public is that of consumers reluctant to culture (33%), followed at a significant distance by the segment of non-consumers (26%), that of elitist consumers (16%), that of social consumers (14%) and that of omnivores (11%).

This new distribution would deserve a deeper analysis, because we guess that the results are the consequence of discussions constantly promoted in the public space about the social effects, community and personal benefits as well as about „culture as a development factor“. These topics, generously addressed by the media, by the authorities and which can be found in all the speeches of culture creators, permanently correlated with the encouragement of a constant consumption of culture, show us that in the future, if destructive decisions are not taken, Romania's comparative cultural indicators by country could be better.

Table 30. Segments of cultural consumption in the public space

	Consumers oriented towards multiple forms of cultural participation	Consumers oriented towards the accumulation of cultural capital	Consumers oriented towards the accumulation of social capital	Consumers with a general reluctance towards the field of culture	Consumers with a low level of cultural participation
Index of participation in activities involving the accumulation of cultural capital	High	High	Medium	Low	Low
Index of participation in festivals	High	Mediu	Medium	Low	Low
Index of participation in activities involving the accumulation of social capital	High	Medium	High	Medium	Low
Number of respondents	129	190	163	383	298

The analysis of the cultural consumption segments depending on socio-demographic characteristics highlights a series of trends (Table 31). The segment of omnivorous consumers is mostly made of young people aged 18 to 35, the elitist consumer segment coagulates a considerable proportion of people aged 36 to 50, and people above 65 years old make up a considerable part of the non-consumer segment. A substantial proportion of the public with a higher level of education is mainly found among the people who make up the segment of omnivorous consumers (43%). Income is also a very important factor in explaining the respondents' belonging to one of the categories of cultural consumers, as follows: over half of the omnivorous consumers have a monthly income of more than 4000 lei, over half of the cultural consumers have a

monthly income of more than 2500 lei, over half of the social consumers have a monthly income of less than 4000 lei, and more than half of the people who make up both the segment of consumers reluctant to culture and the segment of non-consumers have a monthly income below 2500 lei. The size of the locality also highlights a series of special configurations. The segment of omnivorous consumers is mostly made up of people from either large cities (over 200,000 inhabitants) or people from rural areas. The segment of social consumers is mainly made up of people from localities with less than 30,000 inhabitants (from rural or urban areas), while the segment of consumers reluctant to culture and that of non-consumers brings together mostly people from rural areas.

Table 31. Segments of cultural consumption in the public space, depending on socio-demographic variables

Socio-demographic variables	Omnivorous consumers	Elitist consumers	Social consumers	Consumers reluctant to culture	Non-consumers
Male	57%	49%	60%	45%	39%
Female	43%	51%	40%	55%	61%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
18 - 35 years old	50%	27%	39%	22%	8%
36 - 50 years old	31%	37%	30%	24%	22%
51 - 65 years old	15%	23%	21%	27%	30%
Above 65 years old	4%	13%	10%	27%	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Middle school at most	14%	25%	17%	46%	56%
Post-high school at most	43%	52%	58%	44%	40%
Higher education	43%	23%	25%	10%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Under 1500 lei	2%	20%	9%	26%	44%
1501-2500 lei	24%	19%	27%	40%	32%
2501-4000 lei	22%	29%	25%	23%	18%
4001-6000 lei	18%	16%	21%	5%	3%

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Socio-demographic variables	Omnivorous consumers	Elitist consumers	Social consumers	Consumers reluctant to culture	Non-consumers
Above 6000 lei	33%	16%	18%	6%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Rural	32%	33%	39%	54%	61%
Urban < 30.000 inh.	11%	19%	11%	16%	13%
Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	14%	13%	23%	10%	7%
Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	10%	7%	9%	7%	6%
Urban > 200.000 inh.	34%	28%	18%	13%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The data indicate that the level of education exerts an influence on the belonging to all segments of cultural consumption (see Table 42 in the Annex). This variable operates independently of others in explaining the predilection for a certain form of cultural consumption. More precisely, the results show that both the segments of omnivorous or elitist consumers, as well as the segments of consumers reluctant to culture are different from the segment of non-consumers in terms of a higher level of education. The size of the locality is strictly a differentiating factor of elitist consumers from non-consumers, which means that the segment of elitist consumers is mainly made of people coming from localities with a larger number of inhabitants. Beyond education, social consumers differ from non-consumers in terms of age, but not in terms of income. Such a result indicates that activities aimed at accumulating social capital have the lowest risk of social exclusion or marginalisation. In other words, activities aimed at accumulating social capital are the most inclusive. At the same time, logistic regression models show that the elderly are the social category most exposed to vulnerabilities in the cultural field, considering that age appears as a significant differentiating factor between omnivorous and elitist consumers from the non-consumer segment.

Consumers reluctant to culture are more likely to watch TV programmes, entertainment shows and cable TV movies.

Such a result seems to indicate that television is holding a certain segment of the population captive, preventing them from engaging in activities that involve the accumulation of cultural or social capital.

Music preferences are a factor in differentiating segments of cultural consumers in the public space. Omnivorous consumers prefer rock music, local or foreign pop music, hip-hop/rap, electronic/house, blues, Latino, indie, contemporary classical and country music. Elitist consumers mainly listen to classical/symphonic music, jazz, opera/opera, old/baroque music, as well as heavy metal or hard rock. Social consumers are oriented towards local pop music and religious music. The highest percentage of local pop music listeners is found among culture-reluctant consumers, while the highest percentage of manele listeners is found among non-consumers.

The segments of cultural consumers also seem to be homogeneous in terms of the way they use the Internet. The use of the Internet for commercial and social purposes characterises all types of cultural consumption. The use of the Internet for professional or educational activities is mainly specific to the segment of omnivorous consumers, the segment of elitist consumers and the segment of social consumers, while the use of the Internet for watching movies online characterises the consumers reluctant to culture and non-consumers to a somewhat higher proportion. The results

on cultural consumption in the online environment must be interpreted in the light of the fact that the questionnaire items on Internet use were exclusively aimed at the annual reference, i.e. they took into account sporadic consumption.

The use of another reference point (e.g. monthly, weekly) and the exploration of the occasional consumption of cultural products online could have helped to highlight more nuanced results.

Table 32. Patterns and preferences of cultural consumption in the non-public space and online

	Omnivorous consumers	Elitist consumers	Social consumers	Consumers reluctant to culture	Non-consumers
The most frequent forms of cultural consumption in the non-public space	Reading books in audiobook format	Reading books in print or digital format	Reading newspapers or magazines in print or digital format	Watching TV programmes Watching TV entertainment shows Watching movies on cable TV	Listen to music through multiple devices
Most frequently listened music genres	Rock Local pop Foreign pop Hip-hop / rap Electronic/house Latino Blues Contemporary classical music Country Indie	Classical/symphonic music Jazz Opera/opera Old/Baroque Music Heavy metal and hard rock	Traditional folk / ethno music Religious Local pop	Local pop	Traditional folk/ ethno music Manele
Most watched movie genres on TV (top 3)	Comedies Action Documentaries	Comedies Action Documentaries	Comedies Action Historical	Comedies Action Romance	Comedies Action Romance
Most watched online genres (top 3)	Comedies Action Documentaries	Action Comedies Documentaries	Action Comedies Documentaries	Action Comedies Documentaries	Comedies Action Romance
Most frequent cultural consumption forms in the online	Shopping of any kind Using social networks Professional or school activities	Shopping of any kind Using social networks Professional or school activities	Using social networks Shopping of any kind Watching movies via online streaming	Using social networks Shopping of any kind Professional or school activities	Using social networks Shopping of any kind Watching movies or TV programmes

8. Conclusions

When analysing the way in which the participants in the study are distributed at the level of cultural consumption communities, we may say that a quarter of the population constitutes the public receptive to culture in the public space, which means that this category of population can be targeted through campaigns to promote various cultural or artistic performances (the community of omnivorous consumers and the community of elitist consumers).

At the opposite pole, half of the participants in the study do not have direct contact with what the consumption of cultural or artistic products entails, and it is necessary that the projects for the promotion of culture or those of cultural education should be addressed especially to this category of population (the community of consumers reluctant to culture and the community of non-consumers).

The data suggest that, in the Romanian society, cultural consumption communities in the public space function as factors for amplifying social inequalities. The population is organised in cultural consumption communities meant to support the economic or symbolic privileges of those who hold them and, at the same time, to amplify the vulnerabilities of people in various situations of social risk. In support of this observation, a series of synthetic results that emerge throughout the study can be exemplified.

a) **Supporting cultural advantages:** The four activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital are closely related to each other, as follows: the accumulation of cultural capital through participation in the performing arts, the accumulation of cultural capital through visiting tourist attractions, the accumulation of cultural capital through activities associated with reading and the accumulation of cultural capital through exposure to media content. . Education is a

significant factor in explaining the involvement in all activities aimed at accumulating cultural capital.

b) **Accentuation of cultural vulnerabilities:** The data suggest that people from vulnerable categories (in terms of income, education or age) are at higher risk in terms of cultural capital accumulation than in terms of social capital accumulation. Women are at greater risk in terms of the accumulation of social capital than in terms of the accumulation of cultural capital. Communities of culture-reluctant consumers and non-consumers of culture are made up to a greater extent of members belonging to vulnerable groups (the elderly, people with low levels of education, people with low incomes). The results also show that the persons who form the group of culture-reluctant consumers and non-consumers spend much more time on television than the persons who make up the other three types of cultural consumption communities, which means that persons who present certain obstacles in the accumulation of cultural capital in the public space are the ones who risk being trapped in television consumption. Age is one of the most important factors of vulnerability in the cultural sphere. At the same time, the residence area appears as an important element: the risks associated with low cultural consumption are manifested not only in rural areas, but also in small towns (less than 30000 inhabitants). All these results show that in the Romanian society there are a series of mechanisms capable of accentuating the risks of reduced cultural consumption among those who are already in a situation of cultural or social vulnerability.

Visiting historical monuments or archaeological sites is the activity that scores the highest participation rate among the activities that involve the accumulation of cultural capital, along with the activities that involve interaction with small groups (visits to relatives and participation in religious services). Contrary to appearances, activities that integrate a commercial component (going to the mall, going to restaurants, pubs and cafés) are characterised by the smallest income or age gaps.

The aspects highlighted above can be discussed in the context of changes that have occurred at the level of cultural consumption in the last 10 years. From 2014 to 2023, several transitions can be observed in the field of activities involving the accumulation of cultural capital. Thus, among young people and people with higher education, there is a decrease in the degree of participation in theatre performances (which began to be invoked more often as a source of relaxation and entertainment), a decrease that is complemented by an increase in the degree of visiting museums. A decrease can also be observed in terms of watching movies at the cinema, a decrease that is greater among persons with low education than among persons with higher education, although this result should be correlated with the presence of cinema infrastructure in rural/small urban and urban areas.

It is worth noting that in 2023, as compared to 2014, there is a significant increase in the degree of participation in local celebrations or events. Certain ascending trends also characterise the cultural consumption patterns in relation to the locality of residence. Thus, among the persons who reside in rural areas, we notice an increase in the frequency of visiting museums and an increase in the degree of attending public libraries.

The results of this study underline the need to develop coherent strategies to promote access to culture for vulnerable groups, so that social inequalities deriving from

the structuring manner of cultural consumption communities in the public space can be managed and monitored. The strategies to which we are referring could include directions of action for allocating funds for a fair access pricing policy, targeting people from vulnerable social categories. Last but not least, we reiterate the responsibility and national urgency to develop public policies for cultural education, policies in which local authorities should be involved in particular, from whose assets more and more cultural institutions and cultural attractions meant to promote the understanding and appreciation of arts and culture among the population with limited access to cultural resources are disappearing.

In this context, a synergy between activities involving the accumulation of social capital and those involving the accumulation of cultural capital could only be created through an official cultural policy at national level that would pave the way not only to understanding the role of culture as a fundamental element of a social evolution, but also to correlative strategies that would prioritize the measures and success indicators of this policy.

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10. Annex

Table 33. Correlation between the frequency of participation in activities in the performing arts category and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of participation in theatre performances	Frequency of participation in classical music performances
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of watching TV programmes (news, informative programmes)	-.058*	-.094**
Type of music listened to	Rock	.250**	.131**
	Classical/symphonic music	.111**	.183**
	Foreign pop	.245**	.153**
	Hip-hop/rap	.065*	.102**
	Jazz	.087**	.125**
	Electronic/house	.073*	.121**
	Manele	-.165**	-.135**
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.219**	-.204**
	Opera/opera	.200**	.082**
	Latino	.098**	.068*
	Indie	.065*	.071*
	Heavy metal and hard rock	.077*	.112**
Type of movies watched on TV	Documentaries	.148**	.131**
	Animation/cartoons	.083**	.061*
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Fantasy/SF	.081*	.069*
	Historical	.171**	.097**
	Documentaries	.189**	.163**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.288**	.242**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.169**	.103**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.265**	.226**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.437**	.347**
	Online shopping of any kind	.206**	.162**

Table 34. Correlation between the frequency of participation in the activities of visiting cultural attractions and other activities specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of visiting a museum, exhibition or art gallery	Frequency of visiting a historical monument or archaeological site	Frequency of going on trips in the country or abroad
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of watching TV programmes (news, informative programmes)	-.114**	-.118**	-.150**
	Frequency of watching movies via TV cable	-.136**	-.110**	-.150**
Type of listened music	Rock	.225**	.203**	.210**
	Foreign pop	.200**	.181**	.160**
	Hip-hop/rap	.123**	.099**	.175**
	Electronic/house	.134**	.074*	.100**
	Manele	-.118**	-.131**	-.080**
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.228**	-.182**	-.251**
	Indie	.078**	.061*	.060*
	Heavy metal and hard rock	.103**	.068*	.069*
Type of movies watched on TV	Fantasy/SF	.114**	.089**	.121**
	Documentaries	.168**	.194**	.121**
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Fantasy/SF	.091**	.092**	.122**
	Comedies	.118**	.117**	.141**
	Action	.121**	.082*	.087**
	Drama	.073*	.079*	.086*
	Historical	.190**	.162**	.164**
	Documentaries	.184**	.237**	.171**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.319**	.220**	.202**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.217**	.199**	.186**
	Playing games on computer, laptop, console or phone	.088**	.106**	.128**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.307**	.271**	.339**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.382**	.298**	.348**
	Online shopping of any kind	.258**	.206**	.228**

Table 35. Correlation between the frequency of participation in reading activities and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of going to the library to read or borrow books	Frequency of participation in a book fair
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of reading newspapers/magazines online or on paper	.167**	.183**
	Frequency of reading books in print/digital format	.330**	.313**
	Frequency of listening to books in audio format	.128**	.194**
Type of listened music	Rock	.072*	.178**
	Classical music	.088**	.131**
	Foreign pop	.102**	.164**
	Blues	.071*	.062*
	Traditional folk	-.095**	-.210**
Type of movies watched on TV	Documentaries	.114**	.123**
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Historical	.129**	.134**
	Documentaries	.086*	.108**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.199**	.256**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.079*	.122**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.234**	.248**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.293**	.343**
	Online shopping of any kind	.099**	.154**

Table 36. Correlation between the frequency of watching movies at the cinema and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of watching movies at the cinema
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of watching TV programmes (news, informative programmes)	-.182**
Type of listened music	Rock	.214**
	Foreign pop	.233**
	Hip-hop/rap	.293**
	Local pop	.086**
	Jazz	.087**
	Electronic/house	.210**
	Blues	.069*
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.349**
	Indie	.089**
	Old/Baroque Music	-.086**
	Religious	-.131**
Type of movies watched on TV	Fantasy/SF	.214**
	Romance	-.081**
	Action	.059*
	Documentaries	.086**
	Animation/cartoons	.133**
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Fantasy/SF	.230**
	Comedies	.138**
	Action	.153**
	Drama	.145**
	Historical	.093**
	Documentaries	.164**
	Animation/cartoons	.187**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.189**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.352**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.189**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.370**
	Using social networks	.487**
	Shopping of any kind	.152**

Table 37. Correlation between the frequency of participation in festivals and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of participation in music festivals	Frequency of participation in film festivals	Frequency of participation in literature festivals	Frequency of participation in theatre festivals	Frequency of participation in food festivals
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of reading books in print/digital format	.193**	.129**	.190**	.222**	.118**
	Frequency of listening to books in audiobook format	.203**	.165**	.242**	.187**	.072*
Type of listened music	Rock	.161**	.144**	.090**	.131**	.151**
	Foreign pop	.199**	.134**	.114**	.135**	.189**
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.205**	-.143**	-.113**	-.107**	-.126**
Type of movies watched on TV	Animation/cartoons	.079**	.089**	.096**	.134**	.077**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.235**	.092**	.192**	.207**	.216**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.220**	.138**	.078*	.135**	.149**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.196**	.158**	.208**	.206**	.205**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.329**	.206**	.195**	.274**	.296**
	Online shopping of any kind	.227**	.174**	.111**	.147**	.232**

Table 38. Correlation between the frequency of participation in entertainment events and the frequency of participation in other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of participation in local celebrations or events	Frequency of participation in sports competitions as a spectator	Frequency of participation in entertainment shows	Frequency of participation in music performances
Type of listened music	Rock	.092**	.099**	.180**	.163**
	Foreign pop	.157**	.129**	.178**	.137**
	Hip-hop/rap	.087**	.098**	.187**	.091**
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.143**	-.166**	-.161**	-.098**
Type of movies watched on TV	Historical	.068*	.099**	.082**	.104**
	Animation/cartoons	.099**	.072*	.091**	.114**
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Historical	.067*	.178**	.116**	.121**
	Animation/cartoons	.067*	.093**	.116**	.125**

		Frequency of participation in local celebrations or events	Frequency of participation in sports competitions as a spectator	Frequency of participation in entertainment shows	Frequency of participation in music performances
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.134**	.188**	.263**	.219**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.162**	.193**	.195**	.183**
	Playing games on computer, laptop, console or phone	.110**	.128**	.128**	.074*
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.220**	.285**	.258**	.213**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.177**	.273**	.375**	.282**
	Online shopping of any kind	.202**	.201**	.216**	.179**

Table 39. Correlation between the frequency of spending time in commercial spaces and the frequency of participation in other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of going to a restaurant / pub / café	Frecvența mersului în mall (cumpărături, filme, restaurante)	Frequency of going to the disco/club
Type of listened music	Rock	.233**	.155**	.154**
	Foreign pop	.202**	.166**	.192**
	Hip-hop/rap	.238**	.163**	.296**
	Electronic/house	.190**	.145**	.290**
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.356**	-.273**	-.268**
	Religious	-.064*	-.126**	-.091**
Type of movies watched on TV	Fantasy/SF	.164**	.173**	.112**
	Documentaries	.137**	.089**	.064*
Type of movies watched via online streaming	Fantasy/SF	.132**	.162**	.079*
	Historical	.133**	.069*	.074*
	Documentaries	.213**	.076*	.106**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.194**	.121**	.121**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.284**	.260**	.260**
	Playing games on computer, laptop, console or phone	.088**	.156**	.130**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.371**	.253**	.238**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.383**	.226**	.350**
	Using social networks	.172**	.176**	.138**
	Online shopping of any kind	.363**	.316**	.225**

Table 40. Correlation between the frequency of participation in activities involving interaction with the close community and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of visiting relatives or friends	Frequency of going to church
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of watching TV programmes or entertainment shows	.111**	.095**
	Frequency of reading books in print or digital format	.087**	.089**
Type of movies watched on TV	Comedies	.101**	.093**
	Animation/cartoons	.111**	.079**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.126**	.070*

Table 41. Correlation between the frequency of participation in activities involving physical effort and other activities, specific to non-public or online consumption

		Frequency of walking through parks and green areas	Frequency of practising a sport
Activities specific to non-public cultural consumption	Frequency of watching TV programmes	-.065*	-.129**
	Frequency of watching movies via TV cable	-.065*	-.148**
Type of listened music	Rock	.129**	.160**
	Foreign pop	.187**	.096**
	Hip-hop/rap	.105**	.156**
	Electronic/house	.105**	.224**
	Manele	-.060*	-.069*
	Traditional folk and ethno	-.247**	-.254**
Type of activities performed online	Visiting the websites of museums/ libraries/ theatres/ festivals/ pages with cultural events	.167**	.168**
	Watching movies or TV programmes via online streaming	.141**	.124**
	Playing games on computer, laptop, console or phone	.109**	.105**
	Professional or school activities (email, video conferences, etc.)	.253**	.258**
	Buying books, theatre tickets, tickets to events (concerts etc.)	.255**	.315**
	Online shopping of any kind	.128**	.162**

Table 42. Logistic regressions used to differentiate the non-consumer segment from other cultural consumption segments

	Omnivorous consumers	Elitist consumers	Social consumers	Consumers reluctant to culture
Constant	-3,535	-2,059	-,931	-1,859
Gender: Female	,165	-,212	,036	-,192
Age	-,661**	-,314**	,285**	-,077
Education level	,805**	,749**	,269*	,722**
Income level	,383**	,350**	-,008	,277**
Locality size	,075	,114*	-,014	,089
Nagelkerke R Square	0,266	0,251	0,037	0,177
Percentage of cases correctly predicted	87%	73%	61%	66%

Table 43. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have spent their spare time in commercial public spaces, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school at most	Higher education
Going to the restaurant/pub/café	28%	44%	71%
Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)	46%	64%	81%
Going to the disco/club	1%	4%	7%

Table 44. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have spent their spare time in commercial public spaces, by locality type

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Going to the restaurant/pub/café	34%	44%	49%	45%	57%
Going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants)	54%	65%	62%	62%	71%
Going to the disco/club	2%	3%	4%	2%	8%

Table 45. Percentage of people who, in the last month, have participated at least once in events involving interaction with the close community, by educational level

	Middle school at most	Post-high school at most	Higher education
Participation in meetings with relatives or friends	76%	82%	88%
Going to church	57%	48%	38%

Table 46. The percentage of people who, in the past month, have participated at least once in events involving interaction with the close community, by income level.

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Participation in meetings with relatives or friends	72%	83%	81%	89%	90%
Going to church	49%	66%	46%	33%	30%

Table 47. Percentage of people who, in the last month, have participated at least once in events involving interaction with the close community, by residence locality

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Participation in meetings with relatives or friends	81%	72%	87%	77%	85%
Going to church	51%	57%	56%	48%	38%

Table 48. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have participated in activities that involve physical effort, by income level

	Under 1500 lei	1501-2500 lei	2501-4000 lei	4001-6000 lei	Above 6000 lei
Walk through parks, green areas	53%	67%	65%	80%	82%
Practising a sport	19%	29%	34%	47%	59%

Table 49. Percentage of people who, at least once in the last month, have participated in activities that involve physical effort, by locality type

	Rural	Urban < 30.000 inh.	Urban 30.001 - 100.000 inh.	Urban 100.001 - 200.000 inh.	Urban > 200.000 inh.
Walk through parks, green areas	19%	29%	34%	47%	59%
Practising a sport	57%	66%	81%	77%	77%

Non-public cultural consumption. Reading and music consumption profiles

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1. Introduction

Cultural consumption practices have always been influenced by the level of education and cultural literacy. This chapter analyses the evolution of cultural consumption in non-public spaces over the past year. Consumption practices have undergone changes and have been directly and indirectly influenced by technology and new media development. The development and acquisition of technological products have shaped people's cultural consumption practices and preferences in different ways. Moreover, technology has enabled many individuals to produce content that they can manage in limitless forms. All these aspects have determined changes in people's lifestyle and, implicitly, in their non-public consumption practices.

2. Methodology

In this year's analysis we particularly focused on music consumption and the most popular music genres nationwide, depending on other cultural consumption practices in non-public spaces. A detailed analysis was conducted for four music genres, creating four corresponding consumer profiles: classical music consumers' profile, traditional folk and ethno music consumers' profile, rock music consumers' profile, and manele music consumers' profile. Based on these results, we also examined other public space preferences of these consumers, such as participation in theatre performances, going to the cinema, participation in other non-cultural activities etc. The main objectives we followed in this analysis were to identify how specific music genres may point to certain features and specificities in terms of other cultural consumption practices. In other words, we sought to determine whether listeners of certain music genres have a more diversified consumption type

This year's edition focuses on presenting the main practices performed in non-public spaces: Internet use, music consumption, and reading practices. The analyses aim to identify the relationship between various cultural consumption practices in non-public spaces, our hypothesis being that individuals have different cultural consumption practices based on their preferences — be they omnivorous or univorous. For instance, individuals who consume media products very frequently tend to read less. Furthermore, we examined how cultural consumption practices cluster within non-public spaces, in order to build potential constellations of cultural consumption practices.

in comparison to listeners of other genres or if, on the contrary, they show less diversified patterns.

For the section dedicated to book reading, we conducted a series of analyses to identify the frequency of reading in the last 12 months, the approximate number of books read in the last 12 months and the segmentation of respondents based on socio-demographic variables. Additionally, in this year's edition we sought to identify the main reasons why people either do not read or do not read more frequently than they already do. For respondents who do read, we identified their main reasons for this activity: either for pleasure and relaxation or for studying and professional goals.

3. Theoretical Context

3.1 Reading Practices

The practice of reading is closely linked to people's level of education. Through education, people acquire the taste for reading, which, if consistently nurtured from childhood, may remain constant throughout their adult life. The practice of reading cannot develop without sustained education. Education experts¹ emphasise that education for or through reading represents a *"specific dimension of intellectual education"*² which not only supports people's education but also constitutes a *"cultural, political, and economic challenge that far exceeds the issue of school learning. [...] Education for reading has contributed decisively to overcoming instrumental illiteracy with the increase in the duration of general and compulsory education"*³.

Historically, reading practices have been more or less encouraged in certain societies and cultures. Within a given society, people experience similar lifestyles, life habits and consumption habits. Historical, cultural, or economic evolution shapes consumption preferences and consumption trends. The historical evolution of some societies is determined by many components, but one of the most important, especially in recent history, is related to the evolution of technology, with a key starting point from the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution was one of the most important moments in the development of societies, and literacy and the wide-scale spreading of children's right to education have their roots in this historical stage. In the 1890s, countries such as England initiated the first public policies for mass education, literacy,

and promotion of children's rights⁴ to a chance to literacy. With women entering the workforce and the decrease in the time children spent working, the number of hours dedicated to accessible education and literacy increased.

The industrialisation period succeeded in promoting education more than any other historical period. This had two major effects: specialised human resources and a high literacy rate, but we shall focus on the latter in detail, as it is also one of the factors explaining the evolution of reading practices. Europe was, at the time, the most developed continent, technologically and educationally.⁵ Western European states, which embraced industrialisation, quickly understood they needed skilled workforce. Industrial developers and entrepreneurs pressured the governments to increase subsidies for public education. In Europe, most of the countries that developed industries boosted the mass education. This boost was less encouraged by those who owned large agricultural areas (landowners), who opposed this development of education, as their interest was rather in maintaining the dependency of agricultural workers (including children) on the work on the lands of the big landowners. In Western Europe, the industrial elite was the one that determined the final governmental decisions on expanding public education, while in Eastern Europe, mass education was postponed for a long time due to the landowners. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the second stage of the industrial period, almost the entire population of industrialised countries (Great Britain, the United States) had graduated at least from elementary school. In Romania, in the 20th century (around 1950), the issue of eradicating widespread illiteracy, including among adults, was just beginning. At the end of the 19th

1 Sorin Cristea, *Educația pentru lectură*. Available at https://ibn.idsi.md/sites/default/files/imag_file/54_56_Educatia%20pentru%20lectura.pdf

2 Idem, p. 54.

3 Idem, p. 54.

4 Galor, Oded. *Călătoria Civilizației umane*, 2022, Bucharest, Editura Litera

5 Ibidem, p. 58

century, according to the general census of the population of Romania (1899), 78% of the urban inhabitants and 85% of the rural inhabitants were illiterate⁶. All these aspects impact the book consumption data that we are analysing today and for which we are trying to identify explanations, as well as possible historical peculiarities. In the period when people in Western Europe were already able to read, including for pleasure or information, because they were literate (newspapers, books), in Romania, there were still „islands of ignorance”⁷.

At the level of some European states, during industrialisation, the demographic transition⁸ was an aspect that determined industrial societies, which had seen an increase in living standards, to experience a decrease in birth rates, as well as an increase in investments in educating a smaller number of children, as opposed to agrarian societies, which generated more children in the families, but who were less educated or totally illiterate. This aspect also determined an increase in the number of hours of spare time or time they could spend at school, for reading or education.

Moreover, in addition to these aspects, industrialisation was of great importance for stimulating the production of printed books, through the development and spread of the printing industry⁹, and printing increased the desire to

read.¹⁰ While in the second half of the 15th century, there were 13 million books in Europe, by the 18th century, there were a billion copies.¹¹ Although with the appearance of Gutenberg’s press the history of books changed forever, this did not cause a similar change or impact in all the states of the world, nor even in all European countries. For example, in European countries that had strong guilds¹² (e.g., scribes’ guilds), the acceptance of industrial printing technology was slower than in states with a developed industry. Therefore, in these societies, printing books for the general population was delayed. For instance, the Ottoman Empire, a centralised political system, is a model that shows the effects of political and cultural decisions on the population’s literacy. Only in the 18th century, after having used outdated printing methods¹³ for centuries, did the Ottomans accept the establishment of the first printing press¹⁴. This was one of the reasons why the literacy rate was only 2-3%¹⁵ of the population during that century.

As regards the literacy rate and, implicitly, the ability to read, on the Romanian territory, besides the differences between rural and urban areas, there were also differences between genders. Throughout history, women had the lowest literacy rates. Societies that used tools other than the plough for working the land involved women earlier and in larger numbers in activities similar to those of men. Therefore, there is a historical explanation for the differences between women and men, inclusively with respect to literacy, education, and reading levels.

Not only technology and industrial development have determined major changes in the progress of societies,

6 1899 – *Repartizarea populației după instrucțiune (locuitorii de peste 7 ani)*, in *Analiza rezultatelor recensământului general al populației României de la 1899*. Institutul Național de Statistică, p. 109

7 Goron, Alin. *Alfabetizarea în cadrul educației adulților sub regimul comunist (1948-1956)*, p. 241. Available at https://bcss.uab.ro/up/Buletinul%20Cercurilor%20%C8%98tiin%C8%9Bifice%20Studen%C8%9Be%C8%99ti/24/2018/articles/alfabetizarea_in_cadrul_educatiei_adultilor_sub_regimul_comunist_1948-1956_the_campaign_of_development_of_literacy_during_the_communist_regime_1948-1956-article-5dceb88aba76d.pdf

8 Galor, Oded. *Călătoria Civilizație umane*, 2022. Bucharest, Editura Litera, p. 76

9 Ibidem, p. 57

10 Ibidem, p. 58

11 Ibidem, p. 58

12 Including Romania

13 Ibidem p. 153

14 Ibidem p. 153

15 Ibidem p. 154

but also other aspects such as religion, local culture, or politics. In fact, political factors in a society had a major impact inclusively on how people reached literacy and how they structured their cultural consumption practices. Oded Galor¹⁶, presents institutions as extremely important factors in the paths societies followed in the literacy process. He discusses two types of institutions: inclusive institutions¹⁷ and extractive institutions¹⁸. Western and Northern Europe have had inclusive institutions throughout the last centuries. These institutions responded to a greater extent to the pressure for the development of education and the spread of literacy, as compared to extractive institutions. The main difference between the two is related to the involvement of citizens in decision-making and the pursuit of public interest and common good. Inclusive institutions were oriented towards public policies of investments in public education, as well as towards encouraging literacy and reading, for progress, while extractive institutions were rather focused on self-preservation and maintaining the privileges of small groups of people or political factions that owned resources. These latter institutions' main goal was to maintain power in relation to citizens and preserve their own privileges rather than investing in education, literacy, or development for the public good. These value-related and organisational legacies still have an influence today, producing effects that delay development, education – and, implicitly, investments in culture – or any other initiative that boosts progress. This translates into a lack of initiatives that would shape citizens who would be better prepared or more resilient to political models and values that do not pursue the public good. All these aspects are relevant for a better understanding of the historical, social and political context in which some of the lowest reading and literacy rates are recorded.

Currently, at global level, according to statistics presented

¹⁶ Ibidem p. 123

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 122-136

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 122-136

by Lectupedia¹⁹, for the year 2022, the highest number of books read per capita were recorded in Canada and France (17 books per capita, annually). According to World Reading Habits²⁰, Finland is one of the states with the most active readers (the so-called „bookworms”). Along with Finland, the highest percentages of bookworm readers were recorded in Poland and Estonia. Nearly 17% of Finland's population stated in 2021 that reading was one of their main activities. Romania, France, and Belgium have the lowest number of readers who read very often (*bookworms*)²¹. Globally, the generation between 28 and 43 years old is the one that reads the most books (the so-called *Millennial generation*).²²

3.2 Music Consumption

People have embraced technological discoveries, have integrated them into their private lives, and preserved them, thus diversifying their possibilities and, implicitly, their tastes and consumption preferences. The development of technology also brought along the multiplication of possibilities for people to spend their time, especially in terms of spare time and time spent on relaxation activities. The cultural dimension was influenced by the technology development. The appearance of the phonograph in 1877²³ revolutionised the practice of listening to music. Once it appeared, many households acquired one. Cafés and restaurants used the phonograph to offer music and ambiance, complementing the practice of dining out. Subsequently, the invention of the radio had an even greater impact on culture and entertainment.

¹⁹ Infographic Available at: <https://lectupedia.com/en/number-of-books-read-in-each-country/img/books-read-by-country-1.4.png>

²⁰ Infographic Available at: <https://geediting.com/world-reading-habits-in-2021-infographic/>

²¹ Ibidem

²² Ibidem

²³ Galor, Oded. *Călătoria Civilizație umane*, 2022, Bucharest, Editura Litera

Globally²⁴, the time spent listening to music has increased in recent years. While in 2018²⁵, people listened to music for 17.8 hours per week, on average (i.e. 2.5 hours per day), in 2019, people spent an average of 18 hours per week listening to music. A study conducted by MIDIA Research²⁶ in eight countries worldwide, from various regions, identified that the hierarchy of musical genres is different even from one year to the next, with the strongest variation occurring mainly in secondary genres in musical preferences. In 2019, according to these results, the most listened music genres were: pop, rock, electronic music, hip-hop, and rap. The same study found that most classical music listeners are over 55 years old²⁷, but they are closely followed by young people between 25 and 34 years old, who listen to classical music more frequently than other age groups. Another study, conducted by MIDIA Research²⁸ identified that people listen to classical music because they want to change the genres of music they usually listen to: *„people sometimes like to listen to something other than their usual musical style, and are more likely to choose classical music to relax, fall asleep, or concentrate”*²⁹. Classical music listeners most often prefer the radio to listen to this genre. Young people mostly use their phones or mobile devices to listen to music. Actually, radio is still one of the main media through which classical music is most frequently transmitted. Streaming platforms offer music suggestions and the possibility to create playlists based on preferences. The suggestions offered by music platforms are, in their turn, based on the history of listened genres. The likelihood of people receiving suggestions for music genres completely different

from their previous experiences is low. Thus, although not subject of discussion in this chapter, it would be interesting to identify to what extent the music industry, through the tools of online music platforms, can or cannot shape musical tastes, especially among young people.

3.3 Internet consumption

According to a survey conducted by EUROSTAT, Internet access has increased significantly over the last decade. According to EUROSTAT data, more than half (63%) of households in the EU had access to the Internet in 2009, while in 2019 this share was 90%.³⁰

Internet consumption is not an eminently cultural behaviour, but its impact on cultural consumption practices and on the content that people access is substantial. In the next section we will present a series of statistical data on Internet penetration and its dynamics in terms of general consumption behaviour. We believe that it is relevant to emphasise the importance of Internet consumption also in the light of the fact that the number of hours spent on the Internet is increasing and takes up more and more of the free time that people have at their disposal. This reality has become a phenomenon in some countries of the world, and some societies are even facing isolation, especially of NEET³¹ young people, from the physical community in which they live, as they prefer to live their lives almost exclusively online. In Japan it is estimated that at the moment there are over a million young people who prefer to live in isolation and are more present on the Internet than in the conventional/real community. This phenomenon, specific to the „lost

24 Judit, Váradi, „New Possibilities in Cultural Consumption. The Effect of the Global Pandemic on Listening to Music”, in *Central European Journal of Educational Research* 3(1), 2021, p. 4

25 Ibidem

26 Ibidem, p. 4

27 Ibidem, p. 5

28 Ibidem, p. 5

29 Ibidem, p. 6

30 Judit Váradi, „New Possibilities in Cultural Consumption. The Effect of the Global Pandemic on Listening to Music”, in *Central European Journal of Educational Research* 3(1), 2021, p. 2.

31 Ceobanu Ioana, Hampu Veronica and Codreanu, Pavel. *Tinerii și creativitatea în Croitoru Carmen and Marinescu Anda. Caietele Culturadata, #1 / 2020. Dinamica Sectoarelor Culturale și Creative*. 2020, Bucharest, Editura Universul Academic.

generation" or „invisible youth"³²⁾ has been also observed in other countries in recent years. For these young people, the Internet has become a refuge. Although isolated, „they are rather interconnected with different groups of people in the digital environment, and digital interactions can be very important for the way they socialise or experience connection with others and with reality".³³

3.4 Mobile devices

The evolution of the Internet and of the Internet consumption is shaped not only by the Internet infrastructure and services, but also by people's preferences, practices and behaviours, which are increasingly based on mobility and flexibility. The devices (smart phones, tablets, laptops, etc.) that allowed people the flexibility to surf the Internet changed the social reality in such a way that no aspect of life remained unchanged, and, consequently, neither did the cultural or entertainment supply, nor the cultural consumption. Tourism, the very high mobility of people in the social space and the need for continuous connection, together with the development of smart phones, have accelerated the development of mobile Internet. People are looking for mobility in the services they have at home, as well as for constant and easy access. *"As Internet users gradually switch to mobile devices to browse the web on the go, mobile Internet now accounts for nearly 59% of the total web traffic worldwide"*³⁴. One of the results of this phenomenon was the ever-accelerating increase in the democratisation of choices and opportunities over consumer options³⁵.

32 Mark Tsun On Wong, *"Hidden Youth": A Critical Study of Socially Disengaged Young People in Hong Kong and Scotland*, 2016.

33 Ibidem, p. 2.

34 Ibidem.

35 Galor, Oded. *Călătoria Civilizație umane*, 2022, Bucharest., Editura Litera, pp. 20-50.

Internet consumption has increased substantially all over the world. Both developed and less developed countries have created access and developed infrastructure for the population. Globally, people use the Internet the most for social networks that provide access to a large volume of entertainment: Facebook, WhatsApp, TikTok, Instagram are among the favourite platforms of Internet consumers. Online shopping is the second most practised Internet activity globally. With such a high percentage of consumers, it is expected that people's consumption preferences and tastes will be different or at least differ from one geographical area to another, but internationally available statistics show us that consumption practices on the Internet, which occupy a very large percentage of people's spare time, are actually very similar and homogeneous. After the development of mass education, starting with the 1800s, people, as they became literate, also had the opportunity to multiply their consumption options, they were familiar with reading, culture, the arts, etc. As the level of education increased and societies shifted from industrial education to general or theoretical education, people have further diversified their consumption options and practices, cultural consumption included. Education has made possible cultural literacy, the understanding of culture, arts and cultural manifestations. People's spare time has been increasingly devoted to reading and writing, an unprecedented fact in the history before the mass literacy. The development of television changed these aspects, it created a type of mass consumption, with programmes that were spread globally. The development of the Internet has had the same effect, but in a more extensive and accelerated manner. Today we are talking about a world that globally can no longer be disconnected from the Internet - which forms, identifies and shapes the cultural consumption habits of people all over the world.

There are also a number of particularities of consumption on the Internet, which differ from one state to another, which differentiate cohort consumption. For example, in

2021, a Canadian³⁶ used the Internet for video content consumption 6.5 hours a day, on average. It is estimated that in the coming years 99% of Canada's population will consume Internet. The situation is similar for all the developed states of the world and implicitly for Romania as well.

As regards the differences between Internet consumption practices, there are a few aspects to highlight. For example, in northern European countries such as Finland³⁷, people also use the Internet to a very large extent for e-services, banking services or other services that have been digitalised (health, public services, etc.). In other countries, the Internet has still remained more of a source of access to content for entertainment and relaxation. These data indicate that, in countries with a higher level of education and a higher level of development, the Internet is also a tool to make people's lives easier and not just a medium intended for communication or consumption of digital content, as a form of escape.

3.5 Entertainment consumption

In view of the above, these premises are relevant to understand people's choices regarding certain types of consumption and cultural products, as well as the appetite for some cultural forms or others. For example, watching programs on television, one of the most practised consumption activities in the non-public space in Romania, is a sedentary consumption activity, which involves a minimum effort to receive messages and, oftentimes, a minimum form of intellectual investment on the part of the viewer. TV programs very often contain entertainment.

36 Ani Petrosyan, *Internet usage in Canada - Statistics & Facts*, 2022, article available at the following link: <https://www.statista.com/topics/4865/internet-usage-in-canada/#topicOverview>.

37 J. Clausnitzer, *Internet usage in Finland - statistics & facts*, 2022, article available at the following link: <https://www.statista.com/topics/7400/internet-usage-in-finland/#topicOverview>.

The same is true for most digital products found on the Internet, and in particular for those on social networks, which are frequently used by people. Entertainment consumption has always been a mechanism for freeing people from social problems and pressures³⁸, a form of escapism and alienation from the pressures they feel every day. The purpose of entertainment is to provide companionship³⁹. The English word *entertainment* used to refer to the intention to keep together, to maintain⁴⁰, especially guests or soldiers. Another old meaning of the word entertainment was found in one of Shakespeare's works⁴¹ and referred to the idea of having an occupation / spending time. Over time, the word came to represent „the action of occupying (a person's) attention agreeably“⁴². The main purpose of entertainment is to amuse, to relax. The action of distracting someone and the value of this action have different legitimacy in different historical periods, being strongly subordinated to „criteria of truth, moral character, and political value“⁴³. Plato condemned even art in his time, considering it to offer „corrupting pleasures of entertainment through imitations of reality that pretend to be truth and wisdom.“ It promotes „moral degradation by stimulating the lower parts of the soul“⁴⁴. Even since the time of Plato and Aristotle, the meaning of entertainment or amusement has been put in contradiction with philosophy and with the serious/sober activities that people must have⁴⁵. Entertainment and play were contrasted with

38 Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 2002, Routledge.

39 Shusterman, Richard. *Entertainment: a question for aesthetics* in British Journal of Aesthetics Vol. 43, Nr. 3, iulie 2003, p. 292.

40 Ibidem, p. 292.

41 *Love's Labours Lost*.

42 Shusterman, Richard. *Entertainment: a question for aesthetics*, in British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol. 43, nr. 3, iulie 2003, p. 293.

43 Ibidem p. 291.

44 Ibidem p. 291.

45 Ibidem

serious, important, controlled education. In the sense of philosophy, serious and controlled education was relevant for the real and solid education of people. The Latin word for entertainment is *oblectatio*⁴⁶, derived from *lacto*, which refers to the baby's breastfeeding by the mother, who thus gives him relaxation, pleasure, comfort by distracting him „from unpleasant feelings or anxiety“⁴⁷.

This distinction between serious and unserious, trivial and decent, important and unimportant has been taken up and applied in all stages of history, for different forms of art or cultural manifestations, being dictated by the values and truth projections of different social groups. The social elites were constantly concerned with establishing and cataloguing everything that was distinguished from tradition as acceptable or unacceptable, putting the label of serious and important or trivial. Later in history, as well as in the present, this separation remained, but it is projected onto other types of cultural or social manifestations (for example, watching entertainment shows). In the twentieth century, authors Adorno and Max Horkheimer⁴⁸ introduced the notion of *culture industry*⁴⁹ pentru a pune în lumină faptul că divertismentul este o în order to highlight the fact that entertainment is a form of „filling empty [free] time with even more emptiness“.⁵⁰ The main idea about entertainment is that in different historical periods, certain forms of culture have been defined differently and framed differently, especially by taking into account two distinctions: pleasure versus reason, high culture, and vulgar/common entertainment. Entertainment is a simplified form of the aesthetics of the arts, which claims rather inert/passive

assistance in the process of consumption. With the advent of television and, later on, of the Internet, the possibility of producing entertainment for a lot of people also increased. Cultural and aesthetic literacy has not kept pace with the capacity of new technologies to conquer people and make them feel pleasure and relaxation. The more the access to a greater variety of products (including media products) has increased, the more people's need for entertainment has been satisfied and permanently maintained with novelty and diversity. Thus, what was once considered to be high culture is now addressed to a small category of people. Entertainment spread quickly and in different forms, coming to define the recurrent cultural consumption practices in their entirety, for certain groups of people. The need for cultural and aesthetic literacy is greater, so that people should be able to interact with or evaluate cultural products; therefore, in the absence of aesthetic education, people will choose on the criterion of proximity - what is handy and easy to access. By analogy with functional illiteracy, we can also talk about cultural/aesthetic illiteracy, in the sense that the lack of specific knowledge will determine on the part of people a stronger rejection towards some forms of culture that are complex or difficult to access in a cognitive sense. Entertainment is contagious⁵¹.

46 The main meaning of *oblectatio* is „entertainment“. The term also has the connotation of „childish“ (being derived from vb. *lacto*, which means „to attract“ and „to breastfeed“ a child)

47 Ibidem, p. 294.

48 Ibidem

49 Idem, p. 300

50 Ibidem, p. 300

51 Ibidem

4. Data analysis and interpretation

This section includes the analysis and interpretation of data that capture cultural consumption practices for the main activities performed in the non-public space and on the Internet, reading practices, the average number of books read, the main reasons why people do not read.

Along with these analyses, we also created socio-demographic profiles of respondents depending on non-public consumption practices. In addition, in this year's edition, the analyses contain a series of more detailed data on the genres of music most frequently listened to in the domestic space, as well as on reading practices.

4.1 Non-public consumption and consumption on the Internet

In this section we shall present the main results regarding non-public consumption, including the Internet. In general, in the last 12 months, respondents have most often listened to music on the radio, TV or online and have read newspapers and magazines online or on paper. Moreover, people have very often watched television programmes, such as news, informative shows etc. Therefore, 96% of respondents have listened to music at home at least once in the last 12 months, 94% have watched TV programmes at least once, 85% have watched entertainment shows or watched movies via TV cable. Respondents have most seldom read or listened to books in audio-book format at home: 80% of them have never practised this activity in the last 12 months.

Table 1. Main activities performed in the non-public space in the last year

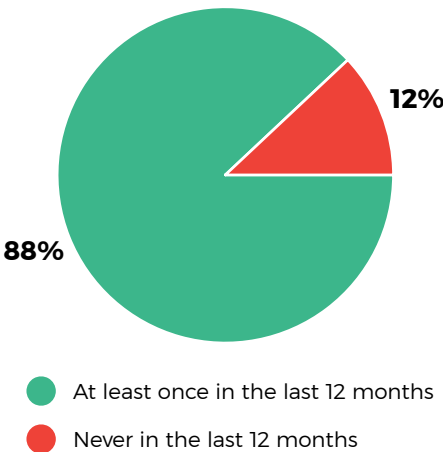
	At least once in the last 12 months	Never in the last year
[You have listened to music (in general: on PC, radio, TV, phone, online etc.)]	96%	4%
[You have watched TV programs (news, informative programmes)]	94%	6%
[You have watched movies via cable TV]	86%	14%
[You have watched entertainment shows on TV]	85%	15%
[You have read newspapers/ magazines online or on paper]	80%	20%
[You have read books in print/digital format]	59%	41%
[You have listened to books in audio-book format]	22%	78%

Most respondents have used the Internet at least once on their phone, computer or tablet, at home or in other spaces and only 12% have never used the Internet in the last 12 months.

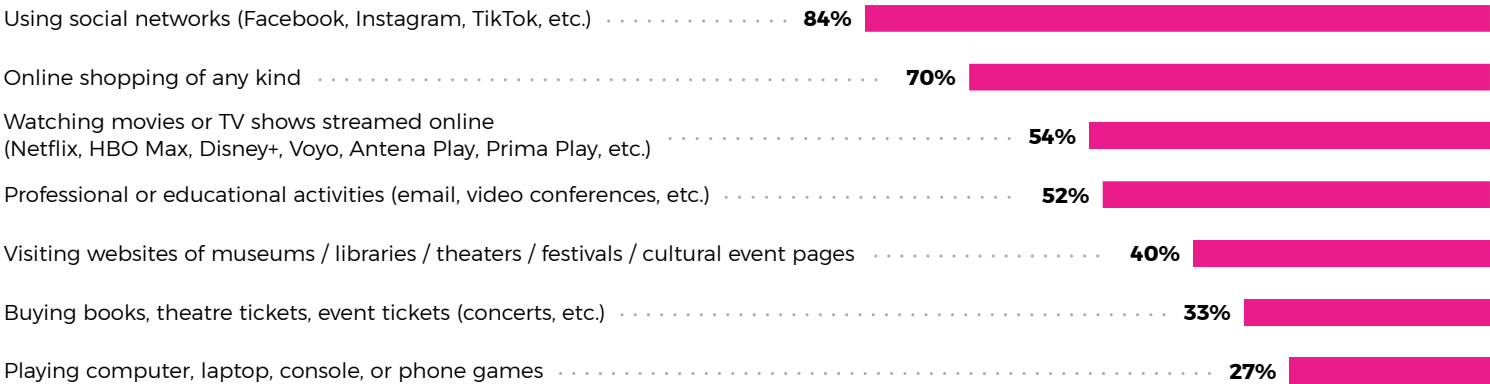
As regards the main activities for which respondents used the Internet, the first position is taken by the use of the Internet for social networks such as Facebook, Instagram or TikTok, like in the previous years, followed by the use for online shopping in general, for watching streamed programmes or movies or for professional or

school activities such as email, conferences, etc. Unlike last year, the percentage of those who use the Internet to visit the websites of museums, libraries, theatres or use it to access various pages with cultural events has increased. The Internet has been used most rarely for the purchase of books, theatre tickets or cultural events. Of those who used the Internet in the last 12 months, 27% used it for games on their computer, phone or laptop.

Graph 1. Frequency of Internet use in the last year



Graph 2. Main activities performed on the Internet in the last year



Only ,Yes' answers were considered for all types of activities

4.1.1 Profile of respondents who use the Internet for predominantly cultural activities

While in the past editions of the Cultural Consumption Barometer we focused our attention on identifying the profile and characteristics of respondents who use the Internet for social networks or for watching movies or TV programmes, this year we shall present a series of analyses that capture the socio-demographic profile, as well as other types of cultural practices of the respondents who use the Internet to visit the web pages of museums, libraries, to access various pages with cultural events (40%) or use the Internet to purchase books and tickets to events such as concerts or shows (33%). We have selected for the analyses only the cases of respondents who answered Yes to the question related to the use of the Internet for visiting the websites of museums, festivals or libraries and for the purchase of books, theatre tickets or tickets to events. People who use the Internet for these activities are generally people between the ages of 36 and 65, more than people above the age of 65 or young people under the age of 35. From the viewpoint of the education level, most people who use the Internet for the activities listed above are people with a medium level of education. Men are the ones who use the Internet most often for these activities and they are predominantly from urban areas. In terms of income level, these respondents are in the income category between 1500 and 4000 RON. With regard to other types of activities in the public space preferred by respondents who use the Internet for cultural activities, most of them prefer walks in green areas or parks, occasionally practise a sport, rarely participate in local celebrations and events, such as the day of the town or commune, frequently go to church, go to restaurants very often, cafés or pubs and also go shopping in the mall very often.

Most of those who use the Internet for cultural activities rarely go to entertainment shows or discos. On the other hand, they participate quite often in music performances of any kind in the public space, they participate more often in

theatre performances outside festivals and, equally, they go to the cinema or to film festivals. Regarding the main practices performed in the non-public space, a very high percentage of those who use the Internet for cultural activities read newspapers and magazines every day, either online or in print, they listen to music very often and watch TV programmes, but with the mention that they rarely watch entertainment programs. They prefer to watch movies on TV rather than consuming other types of media products and they generally read books more often than other categories. The level of Internet consumption in this category, whether we are talking about a phone, computer or other devices, is very high. Those who use the Internet for cultural activities use the Internet less often for computer or phone games, but frequently use the Internet for professional and school activities, as well as for watching movies. Generally, these persons live with someone in the household and are the ones who have the highest income level in the household.

4.2 Book reading

In this section we shall present the main results for book reading in 2023. Most respondents have read between 1 and 5 books in the last year (22%) and only 10% have read 12 books or more, i.e. an average of one book each month. The main reasons why most people read are related to relaxation or pleasure. Overall, in 2023, men have read more often and more books than women. Most women have read between 1 and 5 books, while a higher percentage of men have read more than five books. Respondents stated they read less for study or for professional reasons. In general, men read more than women for work/school or professional reasons, while women read more for relaxation or pleasure.

As for the reasons why they did not read more often, most women did not do so for reasons related to time, unlike most of the men, who did not read mostly due to lack of interest. An interesting aspect related to the reasons why people have not read more often is related to health problems. Other reasons

mentioned by most of the women who have not read more often, besides the lack of free time, were vision problems or the fact that they do not currently have eyeglasses. More than a quarter of the women who have not read more often in the last 12 months mentioned this reason as the most important. We emphasise that these results are analysed based on open-ended answers to the question – *what is the reason why you have not read?* This answer is not a consequence of the formulation of the questions with answering options, so we cannot consider that the answers have been influenced in any way. Most women who have this problem live in the North-East, South and South-East regions, come from rural areas, are over 65 years old, have a medium level of education and a low income, below 1500 lei. The importance of this result lies in the high percentage of women who have this problem, which is the consequence of their standard of living and well-being. Although we did not set out to identify health-related motivations for explaining cultural consumption, the results indicated these problems as barriers to access to reading, worth mentioning in the context of our analyses.

As for the residence area, people from urban areas read more often than people from rural areas. The reasons why urban people read are related to both information and documentation, and relaxation or pleasure. In terms of age, most young people between the ages of 18 and 35 read for relaxation or pleasure. The persons up to 50 years old read more for education or information. The percentage of those who read for study or for professional reasons decreases greatly with age, but the percentage of those who read for pleasure after the age of 50 increases. After the age of 36, the percentage of those who read for professional or educational purposes decreases. The trend shows us that, on average, as a person gets older, their motivation for reading books for professional or educational purposes decreases, but the level of reading motivated by relaxation or the pleasure of reading increases. One possible explanation seems to be the lack of interest in lifelong education. On the other hand, this change in adulthood is also an indicator

to support the fact that a reader does not lose this habit, if the practice of reading was well rooted in the period of childhood formation. We remind here about the Matthew effect,⁵² which is used, in a metaphorical sense, to compare the behaviour of readers. It refers to the fact that the more a person reads, the better they will understand the benefits of reading and read even more, and the less a person reads, the less they will value the benefits of reading and its effects for themselves.

Because the data of the Cultural Consumption Barometer do not allow for analyses for the age category under 18 years old, we shall present a series of data for young people's reading practices, obtained in a study conducted by INCFC⁵³ We emphasise that these data should not be compared as such with the data presented above, for reasons related to the year of data collection and methodology, but they can be considered a tool to measure the trend in terms of the evolution of reading behaviour, from adolescence to adulthood. Therefore, the data for the category of 14-18 year olds show that the reading behaviour is relatively stable with ageing. The percentage of young people who, for example, read daily at the age of 14 is maintained until the age of 18, and the percentage of those who did not read at all at the age of 15-16 decreases, while the percentage of those who read several times a year increases.

One conclusion of these data is that encouraging and practising reading during adolescence can also fix this habit in adulthood. The smallest fluctuations in the percentages regarding the reading practice are recorded for the category of regular readers (those who read daily), including for young people aged 14-18. Furthermore, the same data confirm that boys read more frequently than girls during adolescence, too.

52 Ceobanu Ioana and Becuț Anda. *Practici de lectură în context contemporan*, in Barometrul de Consum Cultural. O radiografie a practicilor de consum cultural, Bucharest, 2016. Editura Pro Universitaria

53 Croitoru, Carmen and Marinescu Becuț Anda. *Tinerii și patrimoniul cultural*. Bucharest, 2018. Editura Universul Academic

4.2.1 Profile of loyal readers (bookworms)

Loyal readers, who read at least one book a month, are men from urban areas, with average and above-average incomes. These are the persons with the highest income in their household, they invest in CDs, DVDs, spend an average of 100 lei on books monthly and spend less money on media devices (cameras, videos, computers, TVs, smart phones etc.).

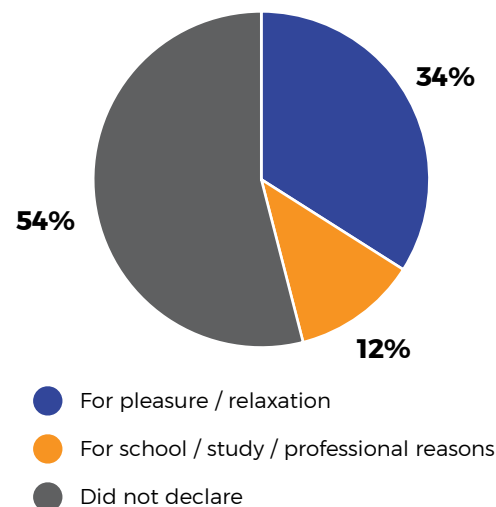
An interesting aspect in the case of these readers is their age. Their distribution by age categories is unitary, that is, they belong to all age categories in almost equal proportions, the differences being so small that we can conclude that this behaviour of the regular reader is one of the most stable practices of cultural consumption. While for many other cultural practices the percentages of consumers fluctuate significantly, for example, between 18-year-olds and seniors over 65 years old (Internet consumption), in the case of loyal readers this behaviour is very constant. One of the possible explanations, as well as conclusions of this analysis, is the fact that the development of reading practices and the reading habits remain in the greatest balance throughout life.

The results of the analyses show that most of those who have read 12 or more books in the last 12 months have practised this activity for relaxation (77%). We have also analysed the book-reading behaviour of those who use the Internet to read newspapers or magazines. The data show that those who read newspapers or magazines daily, including on the Internet, read on average fewer books in a year than those who, for example, never read newspapers or magazines on the Internet. Those who have read 12 or more books in the last 12 months use the Internet more often to buy books and tickets to theatre performances, and those who read less (1-5 books per year) use the Internet less often for purchases of this type. Interestingly, regular readers listen to audiobooks less often than people

who read fewer books in a year. A possible explanation is related to the fact that certain readers are familiar with reading books in printed format and, moreover, they (especially because they read most often for pleasure) are more connected to the ritual of reading and to the book – as a physical object.

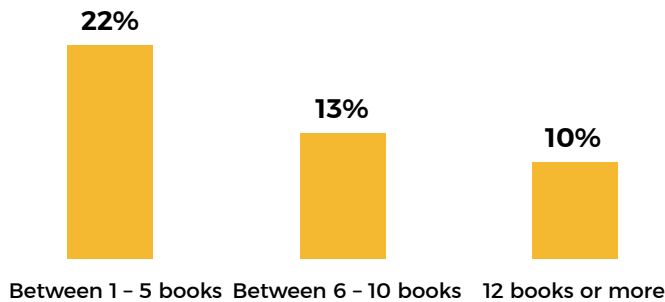
In terms of hours spent on television, on average, people who read 12 or more books a year watch less often entertainment programmes or TV programmes in general, and most of those who consume media programmes do so to watch movies specifically.

Graph 3. Main purposes for which respondents have read



*Only the percentages of those who read were considered.
The percentages presented do not add up to the value of 100%
(the percentages shown in the graph represent the percentages of
respondents who stated why they read).*

Graph 4. The number of books respondents have read in the past year

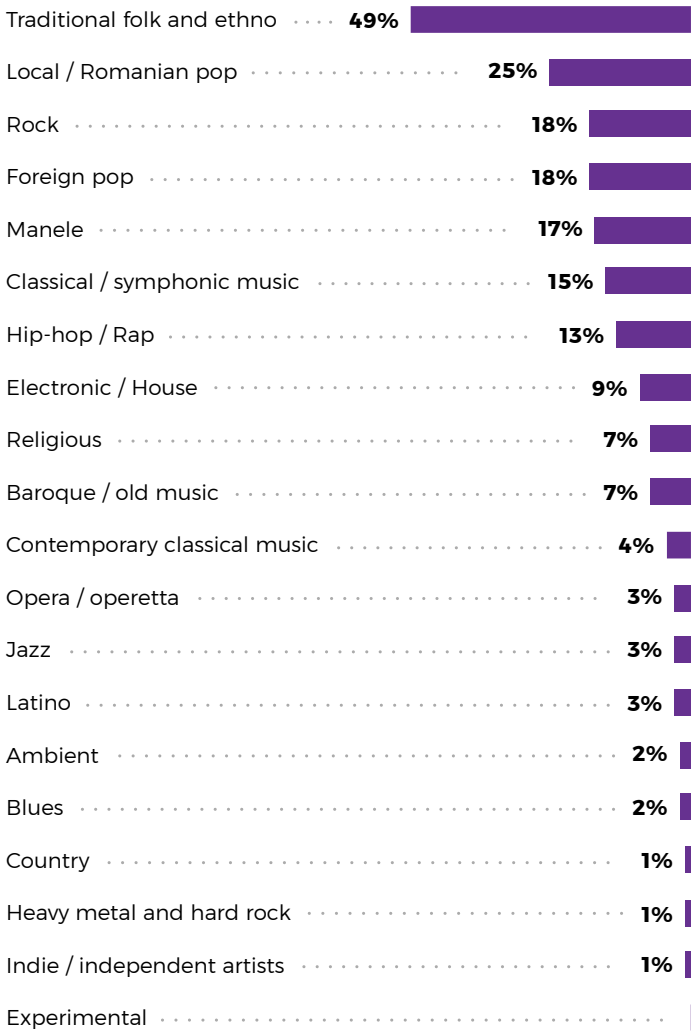


Only the percentages of those who read were considered.
The percentages presented do not add up to the value of 100%
(the percentages shown in the graph represent the percentages of
respondents who stated why they read).

4.3 Music consumption

In the section on music consumption, we analysed data on the different genres of music that the respondents have listened in the last 12 months. Most respondents (50%) have listened to traditional folk music at least once in the last 12 months, and a quarter of respondents (25%) have listened to local or foreign pop music. Of all the music genres analysed, these two had the largest listening public. Rock music is preferred by 18% of respondents, and 15% prefer manele music. The lowest percentages of consumption were recorded for baroque music, opera, operetta, jazz, Latin or ambient music. What is interesting to point out is the very large difference between the percentage of consumers who listen to traditional folk and ethno music and the percentage of consumers who listen to any other genre among those analysed. At national level, more respondents listen to religious music than to baroque or classical music.

Graph 5. Main music genres preferred by respondents in the last year



Only "Yes" answers were considered for all music genres

4.3.1 Profile of classical music consumers

For the following analyses, we started from the assumption that consumers of certain genres of music have a lifestyle that includes certain culture-related and cultural consumption practices. For this section, the cases of „yes“ answers were analysed separately for the variable What genres of music have you listened to in the last 12 months? In order to be able to identify a profile of those who listen to classical music, we have combined the answers to the questions regarding the consumption of classical/symphonic music, old/baroque music, contemporary classical music and opera/opera.

For respondents who listen to these genres of music, the frequency with which they listen was not taken into account. We emphasise that both those who attend and those who do not attend classical music performances in the public space were included in the analysis.

From the viewpoint of socio-demographic variables, most persons are women in the age categories above 50 years old, with a medium level of schooling. The difference between respondents from rural and urban areas is very small. Unlike the case of other cultural practices, the difference between rural and urban is much smaller for the consumption of classical music, i.e. those who listen to classical music are equally distributed in the two types of residential environment. For most of them, the income is up to 2500 lei per month, and these respondents do not live alone in the household. Most household expenses are allocated for food, utilities or books (on average between 50 and 250 lei per month).

What is interesting to conclude after having outlined this profile is the fact that we are apparently witnessing a phenomenon of transition to omnivorousness of those who, theoretically, would be expected to rather belong to the category of univores, as well as the fact that this category of consumers do not attend very much other types of cultural manifestations in the category of elitist cultural activities. It is possible that one of the explanations be related to the

lack of access, for two reasons: the financial aspect and the infrastructure. From the point of view of infrastructure, access to institutions that have theatre or classical music performances as cultural products is extremely limited in rural areas. The financial aspect is related to the impoverishment of consumers who are targeted by classical music performances. Given that many of those who listen to these genres of music at home are not only seniors, but also active people in the labour market, one explanation for their absence from the public space is related to the material unavailability to take part in these cultural events.

Moreover, not only those who have a very high level of education, but also people with a medium level of education are interested in classical music. It is very likely that, for these categories of people, consumption in the domestic space is the only way to access highbrow genres of music, given the costs involved in tickets or subscriptions to performances organised in the public space. One single subscription for classical music performances may vary between 400 and 500⁵⁴ lei monthly, for one person. Assuming that in a household with an average income of 2500 lei and two persons (the category with the most respondents analysed) two subscriptions are purchased, we are talking about 18% of the income for this purchase only. In terms of financial status, we can mention that this is a relatively prohibitive price, especially considering the fact that people's needs for security take precedence over spiritual, educational or relaxation needs, even beyond the level of education or the degree of familiarity with certain forms of cultural manifestation. Under these circumstances, the domestic consumption of classical music is probably a form of refuge for those who are consumers, but cannot afford events in the public space. Given the accessibility of these events only to those who can afford them, the question arises as to whether we may also consider, among non-consumers or occasional

⁵⁴ This example was considered in order for us to be able to create a simulation of costs in relation to revenues. The average monthly subscription to the Romanian Athenaeum was taken into account.

consumers, a very strong barrier to access and not just the lack of interest, familiarity or ability to decipher the cultural codes and messages of the cultural offer. Obviously, this phenomenon can also be explained from the viewpoint of the fact that these consumers are not familiar with participation in the public space, regardless of the reasons that generated this situation, and our data show that a consumption of classical music at home does not also imply a high consumption in the public space.

In addition to the obvious lack of access for financial reasons, another explanation may also be related to the unwillingness to pay for performances in the public space, as a form of rejection of these cultural products in relation to the costs they would entail today, which are higher than those of the past. The very fact of not being able to access a certain type of cultural offer for material reasons may represent an explanation for non-consumption, beyond the degree of cultural literacy.

Regarding the preferences for predominantly cultural activities, most of the respondents who listen to classical music at home, prefer (very often) to participate in local events or celebrations and in music festivals in the public space. Very rarely do they participate in film, literature or theatre festivals. More often they prefer to participate in food festivals. Occasionally (several times a year) they go to the cinema or theatre. Of the activities that we would intuitively associate with the typology of those who prefer classical music, these respondents rarely practise going to the library, book fairs or classical music performances. Most of them prefer to visit heritage sites, museums or art galleries. Of those who, however, have participated in theatre festivals, most preferred to attend performance halls (not street festivals). They prefer to go outdoors for walks in green areas, but they do not practise a sport very often; they frequently attend meetings with friends or relatives, they go to church frequently, they go to restaurants, cafés or to the mall less often. They prefer trips more frequently than other activities in the public space. They

hardly go to the disco or club or to entertainment shows.

In the non-public space, these respondents prefer to a very high extent to read newspapers, magazines or other materials, in print or online, but they also often read books. They generally watch movies on cable and less via streaming platforms. Most often they read for pleasure or relaxation. When they do not read, the reason is the lack of time, rather than the lack of interest. Most frequently they watch historical films and documentaries on TV. They frequently use the Internet, and most often use it for professional activities, for social networks, as well as for visiting the websites of libraries, theatres or for searching information about various cultural events.

4.3.2 Profile of traditional folk and ethno music consumers

3.2 Profile of traditional folk and ethno music consumers

In order to outline a profile of traditional folk and ethno music consumers, we took into account respondents who checked the answer "traditional folk and ethno music" to the question what genres of music have you listened to in the last 12 months? From the viewpoint of the main practices they perform in the public space, people who frequently listen to traditional folk or ethno music prefer walks through parks and green areas, but compared to listeners of classical music, for example, they prefer to practise this activity less often.

From the viewpoint of socio-demographic characteristics, most people who listen to traditional folk and ethno music are female, but the percentage difference between male and female is very small, so we can conclude that traditional folk music listeners are equally women and men. As for the place of residence, most of the respondents are from rural areas. Furthermore, most of them used to live / are living in the countryside for over 16 years.

As for the income range in which folk music listeners fall, their distribution by income segments is relatively uniform, so that in this category there are people with incomes below

1500 RON, as well as people with incomes between 2500 and 4000 RON. As regards the household expenses, in addition to the basic ones (for personal care and food), most people spend on average less than 100 RON each month for the purchase of books, much less compared to people who listen to classical music. The amount they pay for the purchase of books is lower, but these respondents choose instead to spend more on the purchase of CDs, DVDs or memory sticks.

The distribution by development regions is relatively uniform, with the fewest people listening to traditional folk and ethno music being from the South-East region and the Bucharest-Ilfov region. The age categories in which traditional folk music listeners fall are equally distributed for the categories 36-50, 51-65 and above 65 years old. One of the main conclusions we can draw from the age data is that there is no clear segmentation of an age category in which people who listen to traditional folk and ethno music predominantly fall. From the viewpoint of education, most people have a low or medium level of education, with a very small percentage of respondents who listen to these genres of music being part of the category of people with higher education.

Listeners of traditional folk or ethno music almost never attend classical music performances (e.g. symphonic music, old music), opera or ballet performances or theatre performances and do not go to the cinema very often. They occasionally participate in music festivals (in general), but almost never participate in film or literature festivals. Respondents who listen to traditional folk and ethno music rarely go to the library, but instead they visit monuments and archaeological sites more often; much less often they go to museums or art galleries. Of all the types of activities practised in the public space, participation in a book fair is the least frequent among these respondents.

They rarely practise sports, they attend meetings with relatives or friends very often, go to church very often, occasionally go to restaurants and cafés and rarely go

shopping in the mall, rarely participate in sports competitions, even as a spectator, almost never go to a disco or club, sometimes they attend entertainment shows (stand-up comedy and circus) and occasionally go on trips in the country or abroad or to local celebrations or events.

Regarding the main activities they perform in the non-public space, these respondents less often prefer to read newspapers or magazines, they listen to music very often, watch TV very often, they watch movies as well as entertainment shows via TV cable. Of all the profiles of music consumers that we present in this chapter, traditional folk and ethno music consumers are the ones who read the fewest books in a year. They are not particularly interested in other musical genres, so, apart from traditional folk music, they only listen to manele with high frequency. Of those who have read at least once in the last 12 months, most have read a maximum of five books in a year. The genres of movies they watch most often on cable TV are drama and action. They use the Internet every day, but on average they use it less often than listeners of the other musical genres, profiled in the analysis presented in this chapter. The main activities they perform on the Internet are watching movies and school and professional activities, but most often they use the Internet for social networks in particular.

4.3.3 Profile of rock (including heavy metal) music consumers

In order to create the descriptive profile of people who listen to rock and hard rock music, we analysed the main cultural and leisure practices that are carried out in the public space, in the non-public space, as well as the socio-demographic characteristics such as: age, level of education, gender, income level, etc.

From the viewpoint of the socio-demographic profile, most rock music listeners are men from urban areas, with incomes of over 1500 RON, most of them falling into the category between

1500 and 4000 RON. Most rock music listeners are in the age categories between 18 and 35 years old and 36-50 years old. In relation to education, most of them have a medium and high level of education, i.e. post-high school studies and higher education.

The main activities that these respondents prefer in the public space are: travelling abroad or in the country and participating in classical music performances. On the other hand, they rarely participate in entertainment shows. As for the consumption of theatre and cinema, they frequently prefer both types of activities. They participate less often in food festivals, being the respondents with the lowest level of consumption for this type of festival. When they attend theatre festivals, they prefer the outdoor ones. Very few of the respondents who listen to rock music have participated in the last 12 months in an indoor theatre festival. Most prefer to visit historical monuments, archaeological sites, museums, exhibitions and art galleries and occasionally participate in book fairs.

Respondents who frequently listen to this kind of music spend a lot of time in public spaces, in green areas and frequently choose walks in parks. It is interesting to note that, of all the categories of respondents analysed by favourite music genres, people who listen to (hard) rock music practise sports most frequently. They frequently attend meetings with friends and relatives, rarely attend local celebrations and events, rarely go to church, but spend more time in restaurants, pubs and cafés than all other categories of respondents segmented by music genres (classical music, traditional folk music, manele). These respondents occasionally go to malls for shopping, movies or restaurants and occasionally participate in sports competitions as spectators.

The activities they perform in the domestic space are: reading newspapers and magazines, listening to music on the computer, radio, phone etc. and watching movies via cable.

The main reasons why they read are related to pleasure or relaxation. In the last 12 months, most respondents have read between one and five books or more than 12 books. Other genres of music they prefer to listen to at home are foreign and local pop music.

Respondents in this category prefer to watch cable TV movies, from the fantasy and sci-fi genres, as well as action movies, historical movies and documentaries. They use the Internet regularly, but compared to all the other types of music listeners that we have presented, they also use the Internet frequently to visit the websites of libraries or museums etc. They also use the Internet to watch movies on streaming platforms, as well as, very frequently, for computer, laptop or console games. In addition, they very often use the Internet to purchase books, theatre tickets or tickets to events and concerts. Equally with all the other profiles analysed depending on musical preferences, these respondents use the Internet for social networks, the difference being that they also use the Internet more often for shopping.

4.3.4 Profile of manele consumers

In this section we will present the descriptive profile of the people who listen to manele.

In terms of residential areas, most of the people who prefer this musical genre are from rural areas. The income range in which most of those who prefer this musical genre fall is under 2500 RON.

An interesting aspect to emphasise in the case of listeners of this genre of music is the fact that, of all the profiles analysed, the consumers of manele music mainly belong to households consisting of more than one person; that is, percentage-wise, most of the people who listen to this kind of music live in a household of at least two people. In terms of age, most manele listeners are between the ages of 18 and 35 and 36-50 years old – most of them being part of

the latter category. Gender-wise, most of those who prefer manele are men. As for the level of schooling, most of the people who listen to manele have graduated from a middle school at most, i.e. a low level of education.

As for the activities carried out in the public space, most of these respondents almost never participate in classical music, theatre or film festivals, they rarely go to the cinema and do not participate very often in music festivals (in general). In fact, they almost never participate in food festivals either. Of all the types of music consumers analysed, they go to the library the least frequently, they visit museums or galleries less often, and they occasionally prefer to visit a historical monument or archaeological site. On the other hand, they prefer walks in parks and green spaces, do not practise regular sports and they frequently attend meetings with friends and relatives. Of all the profiles analysed by types of music, the persons who prefer this genre of music attend meetings with relatives and friends the most often. They occasionally attend local celebrations and events and occasionally go to church and restaurants. Furthermore, these respondents prefer to go to the mall for shopping or other activities, but almost never participate in sports competitions. They very seldom participate in entertainment shows, they go on trips in the country or abroad less frequently.

As regards the cultural consumption practices in the non-public space, manele consumers rarely read books or magazines online or on paper, they listen to music at home very often and watch TV programmes in a very high percentage. Of the types of media programmes, they most frequently prefer to watch entertainment shows and movies. They rarely read and very rarely listen to books in audio-book format. Most of them have read a maximum of five books in the last 12 months and generally they have read for reasons of relaxation or pleasure. Other musical genres they prefer, in addition to manele, are traditional folk and ethno music and, occasionally, local pop music. Among the

movie genres preferred by this category of respondents, we mention romantic movies, comedies, action movies and, more than in the case of listeners of other genres of music, animated movies and cartoons, which they prefer in a very high percentage. Like all the other categories analysed, listeners of this genre of music frequently use the Internet, but rarely use it to visit the websites of museums, libraries, theatres etc. Instead, they use the Internet very often to watch movies or TV programmes via online streaming. Most of these respondents almost never use the Internet to buy books, tickets to theatre or cultural events.

4.3.5 Univorousness and omnivorousness in music consumption

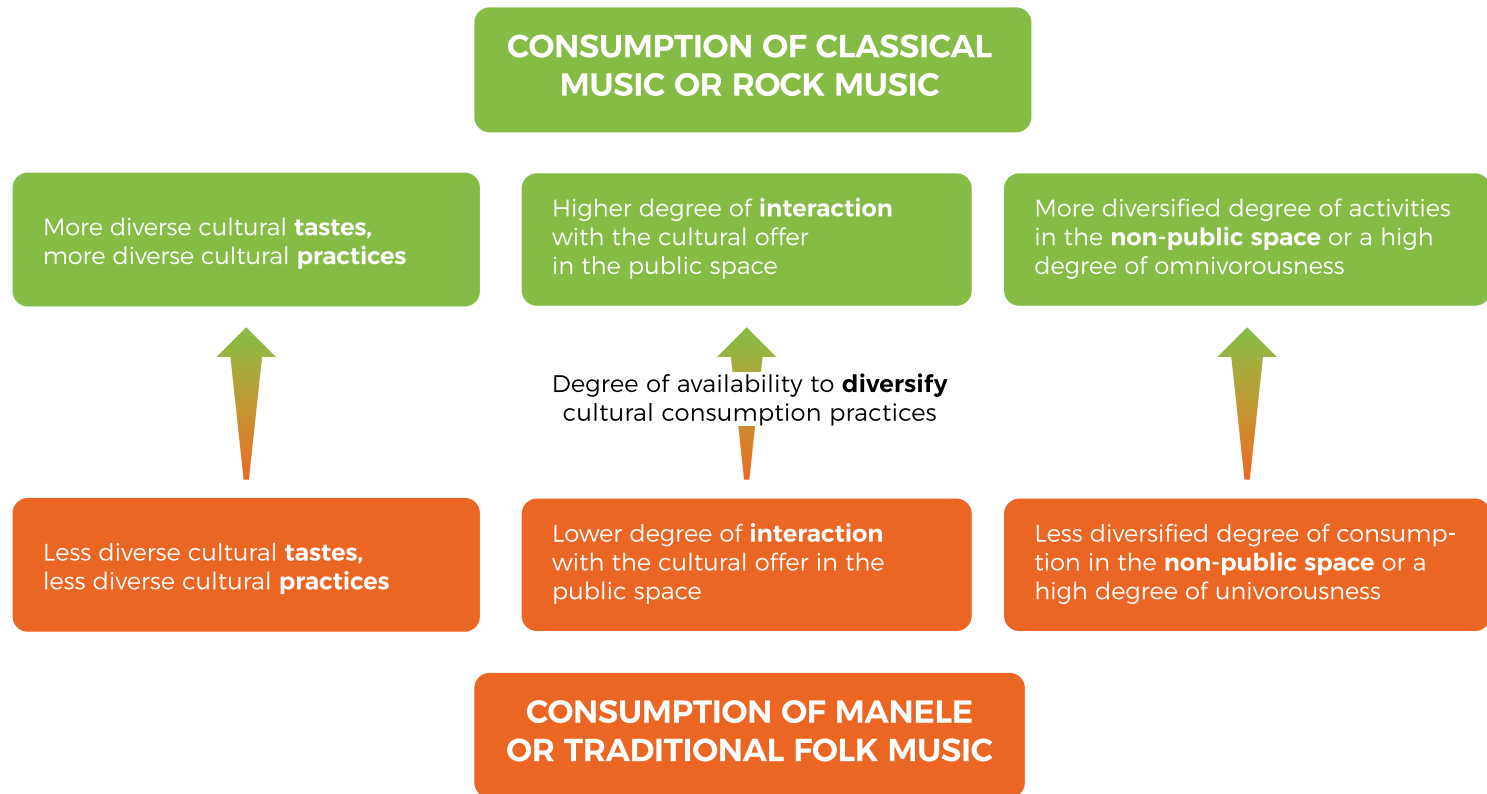
Based on the above profiles, we can draw conclusions on a number of aspects related to respondents' practices according to their preferences for certain musical genres. We refer mainly to the trends regarding the general cultural consumption behaviour of the respondents.

- The persons who listen to rock music and those who listen to classical music are more active in the public space and they access the cultural offer, regardless of its nature, more often than the persons who listen more frequently to manele or traditional folk music.
- The persons who listen to rock music and those who listen to classical music are more inclined to participate in cultural events in the public space than people who listen to manele or traditional folk music more frequently.
- The cultural offer or cultural goods that the two types of consumers access is different, in the sense that: people who listen to manele or traditional folk music more frequently have more restricted cultural practices than people who listen to classical or rock music

- People who listen to classical music or rock music have a greater willingness to consume products from other types of cultural offers, different from those we would consider in their proximity of consumption

preferences. Loyalty to certain cultural practices or to a smaller number of such practices is rather specific to the persons who prefer maneles and traditional folk music.

Figure 1. Omnivorousness versus univorousness, by music genres



5. Conclusions

The main conclusions of the study show that the percentages of consumption in the non-public space are similar to those recorded in previous years. People spend a lot of time watching TV programmes, especially movies or series. In the last year, respondents have listened to music most often on the radio or on the Internet. Furthermore, very often people have watched television programmes, such as news, informative shows or entertainment shows. The percentages of those who listen to music are also very high.

People prefer to spend time on the Internet the most frequently for accessing social networks or entertainment platforms. Both women and men use social media in almost equal proportions. The persons who use the Internet the most for cultural activities (visiting websites of museums, festivals or libraries, buying books or tickets) are adults with an average level of education, generally men from urban areas.

The lowest percentages of consumption are recorded for reading. Most respondents have read between one and five books in the last year. The main reasons why most people read are either for relaxation or pleasure. Overall, in 2023, men have read more books, more often than women. As for the reasons why they have not read more often, most women have not read for reasons of time, unlike men, most of whom have not read mainly due to lack of interest. From the viewpoint of the socio-demographic profile, regular readers are men from urban areas, with average and above-average incomes. The main reason why regular readers practise this activity is relaxation.

In this edition of the study, one of the research objectives was to identify the constellations of cultural practices of the respondents depending on the main genres of music they

preferred. At national level, the most listened to genres of music are: traditional folk music, local or foreign pop music, rock and manele. At national level, more respondents prefer religious music, to the detriment of baroque or classical music. People who listen to classical music more frequently are more likely to diversify their cultural consumption practices than people who listen to traditional folk music or manele.

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Characteristics of film consumption in the legacy and “off-network” broadcasting system (streaming)

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1. Introduction

1.1 From the television monopoly to the democratisation of digital distribution¹

Films are audiovisual creations with great social power, which resides in their impact at a general level, as well as at an individual level. Their impact at a societal level consists of building values and influencing cultural and social behaviours, with extended effects in fields of activity apparently not directly related to filmmaking (industry, health, environment, tourism, security and community development). These effects have been insufficiently studied and analysed by academic research, with greater attention having been paid to the effects at a micro, individual level, than to those at a macro, community or global level.

The effects of movies on the audience have been analysed especially from the perspective of marketing research or psychological studies, in which the emphasis was on the emotions, thoughts and feelings generated by the consumption of movies.

„If the film is a strong one, the viewer may not just watch the unfolding screenplay but he or she participates in it. He or she will often with one of the and identify characters, the result of the be that the experience may viewer learn of what it feels may something like to stand in the shoes of a person of a different time, nationality, ethnic group, or of some other situation dissimilar to his or vastly her own as a lower-class (such ghetto).“²

On a social level, movies are considered to be the artistic products with the widest attraction of all contemporary arts.³

„Even though physical technique is a substitute for the human relation, the film has come nearer to producing real life situation, than any other medium of expression“⁴. Although the cinema appeared long before television, the development of the film industry unfolded in parallel with the development of television, favoured by the people's growing appetite for entertainment and mass consumption, but, although the technical and aesthetic aspects have evolved, the subjects of the movies remained approximately the same. This has also happened due to the fact that a number of people's social, psychological and personal needs are met by watching movies.⁵ The way of producing and distributing films has adapted to the socio-economic and lifestyle changes of the population and thus mass production and consumption have emerged, with an emphasis on saving money, time and effort.

In this competition for the time, attention and emotions of the audience, television and cinema have appeared as rivals rather than as complementary fields, while in the last 20 years another competitor has appeared, this time in the online environment. Amanda Lotz has been studying changes in the television industry since the early 2000s and has noted the development of SVDO (Subscriber-Funded Video on Demand)⁶. This new system of access to films is different in the form of technology (television, cable, satellite or Internet), as well as in the financing mechanism (advertising, transactions, subscription payment, or even public funds), which has led to a greater diversity of the video services industry⁷.

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6 Lotz Amanda D., *Netflix and Streaming Video. The Business of Subscriber-Funded Video on Demand*, Polity Press, 2022, p. 1

7 Idem, p. 2

The use of DVDs initially spread as an alternative to the consumption of movies in cinema theatres or on TV and represented a transition to the consumption of movies through video streaming. What DVD technology brought new from the viewpoint of watching practices was the viewer's control from the perspective of the temporality of viewing and interactivity with devices, premises for the emergence of the SVOD era.⁸

Moving the control from film suppliers to the consumer has introduced not only a greater sense of autonomy and choice, but also new experiences, generated by interactivity and the viewer's sense of involvement.

*"What arises, culturally, to counter the dominance of planned flow is not further segmentation, fragmentation or dispersal, but notions of interactivity as a form by which users participate in scheduling choices as a form of interactive customisation of the media experience)."*⁹

Viewers' motivations underpin their viewing practices and explain the choice of where to watch movies, the time allocated to watching, the preferred film genres and the medium for accessing films. The differences in consumption even in the same age categories are explained by habitus, the concept by which Pierre Bourdieu explains the differences in the lifestyle of social groups. Studies have shown that movies and their consumption can have a positive influence, by building values and personal growth (promoting critical thinking, aesthetic taste, developing imagination and creativity), facilitating the educational and relaxation process,¹⁰ as well as a negative impact, through manipulation, promoting deviant behaviours (aggressiveness, fear, distorting perceptions and setting unrealistic standards)¹¹. The period of development of the

audio-visual sector and new technologies coincided with the period during which parents felt that they were losing influence and control over their children¹², in the context of education and parenting strategies emphasising autonomy and freedom of decisions. In this context, a form of censorship of children's movies in particular has emerged, with the clear delimitation of the age category to which a movie is addressed in terms of content.

Moving the control from the supplier to the consumer has generated a facilitation of compulsive consumption ("binge watching", or consecutive viewing of episodes of a series), eliminated the feeling of waiting and postponing the „pleasure of watching", but has also brought flexibility in the use of spare time and adaptation to the professional schedule.

*Greater cable and satellite access, and a subsequent strategy in television series structure and viewing practices, have in part sponsored an expansion in viewing patterns, such that audiences of a series can be categorised along the lines given by Reeves et al. (1996: casual, devoted or avid fans)."*¹³.

Dezvoltarea și multiplicarea distribuitorilor au condus la o diThe development and multiplication of distributors led to a diversification of film screening spaces, and the classic dichotomy between cinema and „home" gave way to watching film productions in various environments (in public transport, personal cars, public spaces). While watching movies through fixed devices (in cinemas or at home) involves socialisation and public consumption, shared with others, the consumption mediated by mobile devices is individualised and personalised. In this context, both the attention and the receptivity of the viewer have changed, as fast consumption became more generalised, while the quality of watching is being exposed to a significant deterioration.

8 Cover Rob, *DVD Time: Temporality, Audience Engagement and the New TV Culture of Digital Video*, Media International Australia 117(1):137-147

9 Idem, p. 142

10 Kubrak Tina, *Impact of Films: Changes in Young People's Attitudes after Watching a Movie*, Behav Sci (Basel). 2020 May; 10(5): 86. Published online 2020 May 2. doi: 10.3390/bs10050086

11 Pradhabhan Raj, *The Impact of Cinema on Youngsters: A Closer Look*, [https://www.](https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/impact-cinema-youngsters-closer-look-dr-pradhabhan-raj/)

[linkedin.com/pulse/impact-cinema-youngsters-closer-look-dr-pradhabhan-raj/](https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/impact-cinema-youngsters-closer-look-dr-pradhabhan-raj/)

12 Riesman David and Riesman Evelyn T., *Movies and Audiences*, in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 195-202, p. 199

13 Cover Rob, p. 143

*"Making a commitment to watch a 2-hour movie is quite a different proposition to taking 5 minutes to checking on Facebook, a task that might easily be done at home, work or even at the cinema. These differences signal a more measured pace of consumption for feature film and suggest that movies require particular consideration among the array of media activities contemporary audiences routinely engage with."*¹⁴

Researchers have shown that the different spaces of dissemination and consumption entail significant differences in the styles of audiovisual works, in their aesthetics and sometimes even in film genres. John Elis, quoted by Karina Aveyard pointed out that *„Cinema offers a large scale, highly detailed and photographic image to a spectator who is engaged in an activity of intense and relatively sustained attention to it. Broadcast TV offers a small image of low definition, to which sound is crucial in holding the spectator's attention. The spectator glances rather than gazes at the screen; attention is sporadic rather than sustained"*¹⁵.

Research aimed at understanding social movie-watching practices has focused on the quality time of watching a movie, on feelings of gratification, satisfaction and comfort, on *„the ways in which film is used by some audiences to help maintain and improve close relationships and the need most of us have to devote time to partners or families in order to maintain harmony"*¹⁶.

In the context of the competition between the two industries (cinema and television), marketing studies have developed mainly with the objective of identifying the competitive advantage and the profile of consumers, not only from a socio-demographic point of view, but also from a lifestyle viewpoint. Film watching motivations, preferences, as well as viewing practices are different depending on age groups, residence areas, level of

education, socio-professional status or income level, but they may be different even for the same person at different stages of life. Studies have shown that the motivations for watching movies among young people are related to the process of socialisation and personality building, representing a form of social integration and manifestation of belonging to certain communities of taste or to certain social groups.

While adults look for intellectual stimulation, aesthetic and emotional experiences or even „escape" from everyday problems in movies¹⁷, young people (especially teenagers) watch films in search of sensations (laughter, fun, adrenaline, fear etc.), in an attempt to drive boredom away. Escape or escapism are described by researchers as an attempt to escape the alienation caused by routine and everyday problems, often closely related to procrastination (postponing taking on responsibilities). Escapism and procrastination are concepts used to explain addictive behaviours such as binge watching (marathon watching) and help in understanding the profiles of devoted or avid movie consumers.

1.2 A major paradigm shift: the film viewer in the „post-network" era¹⁸

This subchapter represents a premiere compared to the previous editions of the Cultural Consumption Barometer, as the corpus of the general study of cinema and movie consumption this time also includes the research on film consumption in Romania via streaming platforms, VOD – the abbreviation for Video-on-Demand, used in different combinations with other capital letters, the most common being S (Subscription) VOD, B (Broadcasting) VOD, T (Transactional) VOD, or A (Advertising-based) VOD

¹⁴ Aveyard Karina, Film consumption in the 21st century: engaging with non-theatrical viewing, Media International Australia 1– 10, 2016, p. 3

¹⁵ Idem, p. 4.

¹⁶ Idem, p. 7.

¹⁷ David Riesman and Evelyn T. Riesman, Movies and Audiences, American Quarterly, Vol. 4, Nr. 3 (Autumn edition, 1952), pp. 202195-, p. 195

¹⁸ Author: Lucian Georgescu.

This is a first step in the attempt to profile the Romanian viewer of online video content, their consumption habits, preferences and their relationship to the video content broadcast via streaming. It is a fluid approach, which needs constant continuation, because we are considering a dynamic field, with an immediate impact on consumer behaviour, a realm that is always in transition and requires permanent updates and revisions. The distributors' catalogue, the most important, fundamental influencing factor, is also the most changing, at a pace with which „academic research cannot keep up”, in the opinion of Constantin Pârvolescu and Jan Hanzlík¹⁹ or Balázs Varga, who state that „this landscape is constantly changing and is a continuous challenge due to its fluidity”²⁰. It is also Varga (2024) who draws attention to the need for a qualitative approach, in order to demolish the myths built on quantitative research, on which decision-makers rely in particular and which the dominant streaming platforms actually take advantage of. Pârvolescu and Georgescu (2024) state that:

“On the other hand, quantitative or mixed research tends to dominate. Being major players and sources of appealing news, SVODs in general and those listed on the stock market in particular, are subject to more attentive scrutiny than the other types of providers. Consequently, in the gray zone between consultancy, PR and public service information, function hosts of number-crunching analytical entities, including EU agencies, that churn endless and often repetitive data packages and barometers describing the economic performance of SVODs, their expansion, and the geo-localized consumption of their product. Even though they often simply gather information from quarterly reports or rely, as contributors to this issue also point out, on

questionable or unverifiable data collection practices, their output still influences research practices. This is because they provide easily accessible „primary data” for academic quantitative computation and interpretation. These number-crunchers influence academia also because the buzz they create functions as a service to the capture of the general intellect, further pushing forward the criteria that guarantee big player excellence. They also naturalize statistical analysis in the field even though its relevance is limited. Not only is data collection sometimes deficient, but also basic statistical variables such as user identity, gender, nationality, and even authenticity are increasingly difficult to determine in the digital sphere. Especially in the case of giants like Netflix, a quantitative approach is often ineffective due to the selective statistical information that they choose to disclose and because traditional audience research cannot be practiced on personalized interfaces.”²¹

However, we consider it important to establish a quantitative research milestone, a benchmark for future research, which will hopefully venture in qualitative directions, more complex and intrepid than this one. We are thus trying to make a small, local contribution to the universal chronicle of this ephemeral medium, overshadowed by the possibility of a „Digital Middle Ages” (Kunny²² and, subsequently, Kelly²³), which (also) threatens to erase the digital history of video content from recent memory. It is, of course, only a first step.

We used the actual generic term of “streaming” for our research area, which is perhaps a barbarism for the Romanian

19 Pârvolescu, Constantin & Jan Hanzlík. (2021). „The Peripheralization of East-Central European Film Cultures on VOD Platforms”. ILUMINACE, Volume 33, Nr. 2 (122).

20 Varga, Balázs. (2024) „Circulation Patterns of East-Central European Films on European SVOD Catalogues” in *European-based VoDs: Models, Alternatives, and Predictions for a Sustainable European Streaming Culture*, Journal of Digital Media and Policy, ISSN 25163523, Intellect (în curs de publicare)

21 Pârvolescu, Constantin & Georgescu, Lucian. (2024) Narratives on Entertainment Streaming in Europe in „European-based VoDs: Models, Alternatives, and Predictions for a Sustainable European Streaming Culture”, Journal of Digital Media and Policy, Vol. 15 Number 2, pp. 141-154

22 Kuny, Terry (1997). „A Digital Dark Ages? Challenges in the Preservation of Electronic Information”, 63RD IFLA Council and General Conference, <https://archive.org/details/63kuny1/mode/2up>

23 Kelly, J. (2022). „This Title Is No Longer Available”: Preserving Television in the Streaming Age”. *Television & New Media*, 23(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476420928480>

language, yet it is part of the industry jargon, universally accepted, understood even by the respondents to our research questionnaire, which included the term in questions as is. The term was coined in the 1990s and the concept was first put into practice by Severe Tyre Damage at their live online concert in Palo Alto on June 24, 1993. It is a designation later taken up by research, in works such as „Streaming Media Demystified“²⁴. The term appears, therefore, in the period preceding the first video streaming site (YouTube - 2005), as well as before the fall of the „brick and mortar“ empire (Grece et al, 2015²⁵), of which Netflix was also part and from which the latter emerged victorious, like a Phoenix bird of the new digital era, in the transition from legacy to digital broadcast of video content, of movies in particular, via an Internet connection, in real time.

The word defines direct and immediate, non-linear access to digital content of the consumer (reader, listener, viewer); Over time, technology has influenced the publishing, music and film industries alike, being a „phenomenon that substantially influences all types of media industry“ (Herbert, Lotz & Marshall, 2018²⁶). The content is personally selected, directly and instantly delivered, without the prior download of any file, thus avoiding the classic, linear distribution system. This „bypass“ facilitated by the new technology, based on access to content through the „Open Internet“, is generically referred to through the acronym OTT, the abbreviation of the phrase „over the top (network)“, i.e. avoiding the traditional, rigid, distribution networks of legacy television, via cable or satellite.

OTT therefore represents a new era, the post-television

era, a new world, which is only in its infancy, as prophesied by Amanda Lotz, one of the pioneers of research in the field²⁷. It is Lotz who announces the „revolution in television“, defines its three stages, the last of which (the one we are currently in) is the post-network era, and defines the Netflix-type „portals“²⁸ (a term also taken up by Wayne²⁹) as „Internet-distributed television“. The processual concept that consistently recurs in the writings of the American researcher is that of „disruption“³⁰, and the result of the revolution generated by „disruption“ is the metamorphosis, not the disappearance of „television“.

As a matter of fact, the concept of „television“ has not been excluded from subsequent definitions or phrases, such as „Web TV“ (Vašíčková and Szczepanik³¹) or „the third generation of television“ (again, Lotz, 2007, but also Noam³²). Specific terms of legacy television have been taken up, by extension or by linguistic calque, in the research of the streaming industry, too, e.g. terms like MCN - multi-channel network - used by Lobato³³, which in this case, however, defines conglomerates of YouTube channels, not traditional broadcasting portals.

24 Topic, Michael. (2002) „Streaming Media Demystified“, Mc Graw- Hill, DOI: 10.1036/0071409629

25 Grece, Christian & Lange, André & Schneeberger, Agnes & Valais, Sophie. (2015). „The development of the European market for on-demand audiovisual services“. European Audiovisual Observatory.

26 Herbert, Daniel & Lotz, Amanda & Marshall, Lee. (2018). „Approaching media industries comparatively: A case study of streaming“. International Journal of Cultural Studies. 22. 136787791881324. 10.1177/1367877918813245

27 Lotz, Amanda. (2007). „The Television Will Be Revolutionized“ (New York University Press, 1st edition).

28 Lotz, Amanda. (2017). „Portals: A Treatise on Internet-Distributed Television“, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library.

29 Wayne, Michael L. (2022). „Netflix audience data, streaming industry discourse, and the emerging realities of ‘popular’ television“. Media, Culture & Society, 44(2), 193–209. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437211022723>

30 Lotz, Amanda. (2021). „Media Disrupted: Surviving Pirates, Cannibals and Streaming Wars“ (MIT Press).

31 Vašíčková, Dorota & Szczepanik, Petr. (2018). „Web TV as a Public Service: The Case of Stream.cz, the East-Central European Answer to YouTube“. 10.3998/mij.15031809.0005.205.

32 Noam, Eli. (2021). „The Content, Impact, and Regulation of Streaming Video - The Next Generation of Media Emerges“. (Edward Elgar Publishing).

33 Lobato, Ramon. (2016). *The cultural logic of digital intermediaries: YouTube multichannel networks. Convergence*, 22(4), 348–360. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856516641628>

2. Methodology³⁴

The research objectives of this chapter were to analyse the practices of watching movies in cinema theatres, via television and via streaming platforms, as well as to identify the profiles of film consumers and the communities of taste/preferences, regardless of the distribution medium. In order to achieve these goals, we used descriptive statistics that included frequency analyses. We also used contingency analyses, which followed the distribution of responses, related to the main socio-demographic characteristics and the main leisure practices, both in the public and non-public space. The analysis of the survey data was completed with the analysis of data from official statistics (INS, CNC) in order to capture a more complex picture of film consumption, through different devices and elements of public or domestic infrastructure

As far as streaming video consumption is concerned, as we have stated above, the research is an exploratory one, meant to identify, through quantitative analysis, certain viewing practices that have been little researched so far, with a view to laying the foundations for future in-depth studies.

In fact, qualitative studies in this field are quite limited, with some notable exceptions³⁵, which use a more sophisticated methodology than the present one, such as journal studies and in-depth interviews in the case of some pieces of nationwide research.

It should be noted that, with regard to video content broadcast online and/or through digital applications, we excluded from the questionnaire mobile applications such

as TikTok or Instagram, as well as some platforms that provide the possibility of live streaming, such as Facebook. As a matter of fact, although we use the phrase „video content“, the questionnaire focused primarily on movies, and by „viewers“ or „consumers“ we mean, like Google Analytics, people who watch at least 60% of the audio-visual product, usually in medium format (in the case of series) and/or feature films.

However, the filter that we have tried to set, as a priority, in the case of movie consumption through streaming media platforms, is given by the concept of „peripheralization“, seen as a phenomenon (Pârvulescu and Hanzlík, 2021), a process, therefore, not an epithet („peripheral“) as it has been addressed in extenso in particular by Szczeapanik (2017³⁶, 2020³⁷, 2021³⁸). The way in which the Romanian consumer of video content delivered via streaming relates to the national cinematographic product in the online environment is influenced by, and also influences, in its turn, the process of peripheralization of domestic productions, as well as their reception. Peripheralization is, in our opinion, a process of degradation of the national cultural consciousness and we believe that an obvious clue can be found in the way the viewer approaches national cinema in the online environment, where it is immediately compared and comparable to the international cinema, especially the American one, in the pages of the streamers' catalogues.

34 Authors: Anda Becuț Marinescu, Lucian Georgescu

35 Iordache, C., Loisen, J., & Van Audenhove, L. (2023). „Integrating discoverability and prominence in video-on-demand consumption choices. A qualitative user study in Belgium“. *International Communication Gazette*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17480485231191898>

36 Szczeapanik, Petr. (2017). „Localize or Die: Intermediaries in a Small East-Central European On-Demand Market“.

37 Szczeapanik, Petr. (2020). 'Dear Netflix...': Informal Local Intermediaries on the Periphery of the Global VOD Market". *The Journal of Popular Television*. 8. 321–326. 10.1386/jptv_00032_1.

38 Szczeapanik, Petr. (2021). „Screen Industries in East-Central Europe“. DOI: 10.5040/9781839022760.

We are interested in:

- how does the Romanian consumer (accustomed to the largest number of legacy television stations in Europe) relate to the new over-the-top (OTT), „beyond the network” broadcasting model?
- if we assume the statement that OTT is the „new television”, once „SVOD has become mainstream” (Greece), then to what extent is SVOD also mainstream at the „digital periphery” (Sczezepanik), called Romania?
- how much of a «Netflix nation»³⁹ is Romania? What is Romania’s development trend towards a mature market (a market is considered mature when it has more than 50% SVOD subscriptions out of the total consumers⁴⁰), considering the significant growing trend of the market?

In 2009, more than three-quarters of consumer spending was on traditional networks, such as paid TV subscriptions and cable networks, and less than a quarter over-the-top (OTT), but in 2012, consumer spending on digital video delivered over the Open Internet exceeded the spending on VoD TV, and this trend continues strongly. (...) between 2009 and 2013, VoD TV had a compound annual growth rate of 15.3%, while video content delivered through OTT increased between 57.9% and up to 100.8% per year – i.e. an average of 59.9% over the last 5 years (Grece et al., 2015).

Last but not least, to what extent is a localised catalogue of Romanian movies a viable option for the local consumer? We pushed this option to the extreme through the survey question about the possibility of an exclusive Romanian film platform, given that the main

SVOD players have already started to offer a selection of local movies in their regional catalogue, the global trend being towards a „content localisation”, with a focus on general entertainment (Grece, 2021).

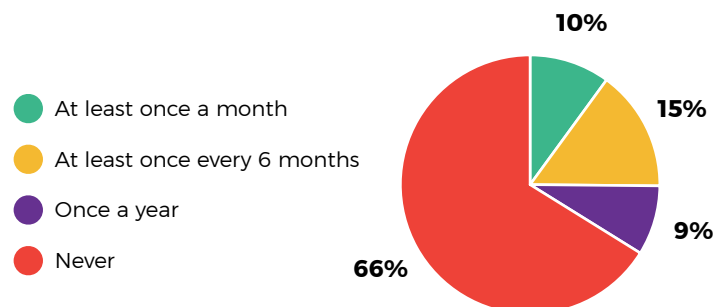
³⁹ Lobato, Ramon. (2019). „Netflix Nations: The Geography of Digital Distribution” (New York University Press).

⁴⁰ Grece, Christian. (2021). „Trends in the VOD market in EU28”. European Audiovisual Observatory.

3. The practice of watching films in the „classic” distribution system, public and non-public⁴¹

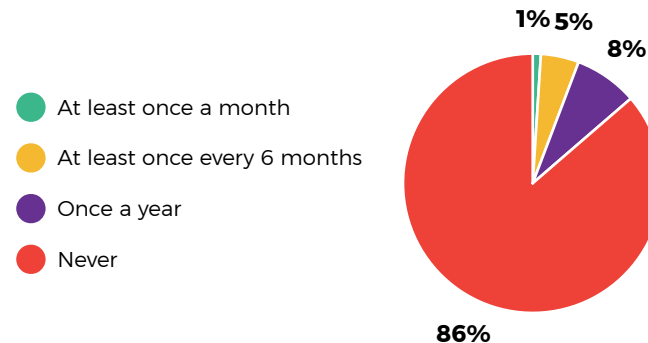
In the following section, we shall present the results of the analyses on movie consumption in cinemas and in the non-public space, with a focus on the socio-demographic profiles and lifestyle of film consumers. In Romania, movie watching in cinema theatres is not very widespread, and the explanations are complex and related, on the one hand, to the distribution of the cinema network at territorial level and, on the other hand, to the general population's cinema-going rituals. The majority of respondents (66%) do not have the practice of watching movies at the cinema, yet 10% are loyal consumers of movies at the cinema outside of film festivals (at least once a month), and 15% have watched a movie at the cinema at least once every 6 months. We consider this to be the stable/loyal audience for watching movies at the cinema, while the occasional/potential audience is represented by the persons who stated they have watched movies at the cinema once a year.

Graph 1. Frequency of watching movies at the cinema
[Please tell us how often you have gone to the cinema, outside of film festivals, in the last 12 months]



Part of the loyal audience also participates in a film festival: about 14% of respondents have watched a film at a festival at least once a year. One possible explanation is that film festivals are less commercial and more niche-based and are aimed at a „connoisseur” film viewer, a knowledgeable cinephile. Another possible explanation is the large number of festivals organised mostly in large urban areas and only in certain regions of the country (the top five big cities in Romania have festivals.)

Graph 2. Frequency of participation in a film festival
[Please tell us how often you have participated in a film festival, in the last 12 months]



This low consumption of movies in cinema theatres is confirmed by statistical data, which show a decrease in the number of cinema viewings, from around 13 million viewers in 2018 to around 11 million in 2022⁴². Of these, the most viewings for the broadcast movies, by country of

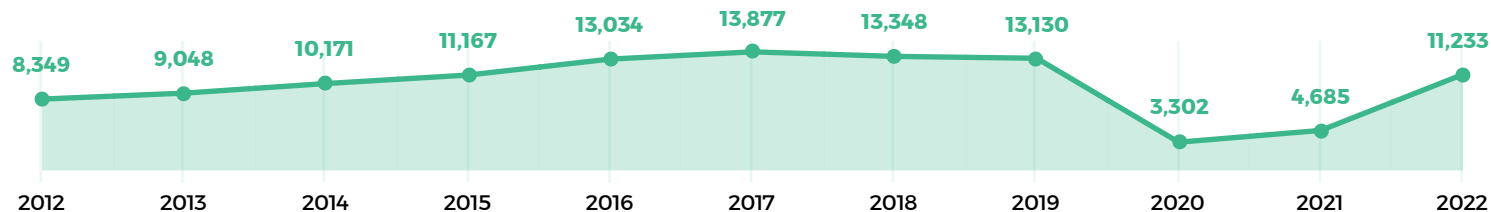
⁴¹ Author: Anda Becuț Marinescu.

⁴² Centrul Național al Cinematografiei, Anuarul Statistic al Cinematografiei 2022, available online <http://cnc.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/anuar.pdf>, p.31

origin, were recorded in 2022 for American movies (72%), followed by Romanian movies (17%) and European movies (9%)⁴³. It is important to note that between 2018 and 2022

the percentage of views for Romanian movies increased from about 3% in 2018 to about 24% in 2020, but recorded a decrease to about 5% in 2021.

Graph 3. Dynamics of the number of spectators in cinemas and cinema installations (thousands)

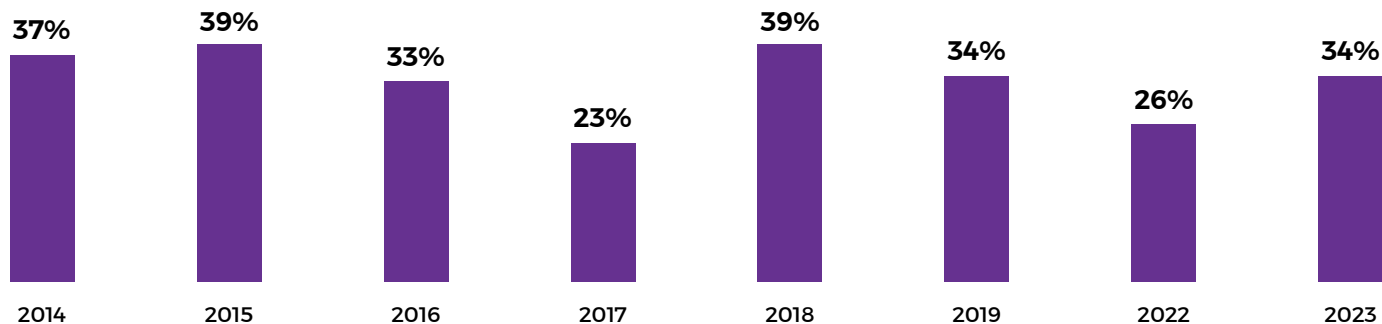


Source: National Institute of Statistics, Tempo Online, ART110A - Cinema spectators by cinema categories

The results highlighted by the Cultural Consumption Barometer show a constant dynamic of decrease in the percentages of the population that chose to consume movies in cinemas, despite the increases in viewings in the period

2012-2017, which leads to the conclusion that the cinema viewer base has decreased in the last 10 years, even though some of them went more often to watch a movie in the public space.

Graph 4. Dynamics of watching movies in the cinema in the last 12 months



Source: INCFC, Cultural Consumption Barometer 2014-2023

43 Idem.

Most of those who have watched movies at the cinema (outside film festivals) in the stable/loyal audience category (at least once every 6 months or more often) are men aged between 18 and 35 years, who live mainly in urban areas, in large cities, with over 200,000 inhabitants, in the Bucharest-Illfov, Centre and South regions, with post-high school education at most, as well as with higher education. The lifestyle of the stable/loyal public includes listening to music, watching TV programmes (news, informative programmes), using the Internet daily, watching movies via TV cable or streaming platforms, reading newspapers/magazines online or on paper weekly or more often, attending meetings with relatives or friends, walking in parks or green areas, practising a sport at least once a week, going to a restaurant / pub / café, going to the mall (shopping, movies, restaurants) at least once a month or more often.

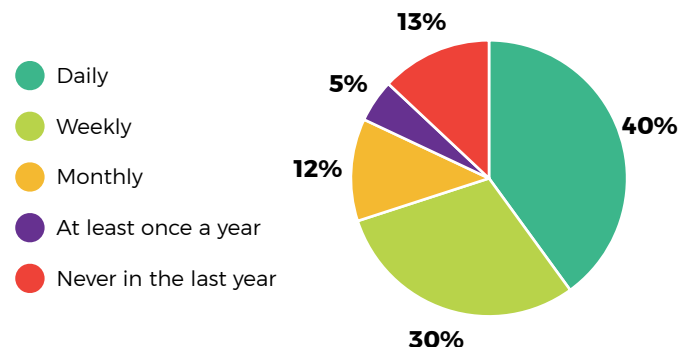
Cinephiles usually visit a historical monument or archaeological site at least once every 6 months or more often. The movie genres preferred by this category of viewers, both through TV cable and streaming platforms, are action movies, comedies, but also documentaries and historical movies. The Internet is used by the stable/loyal cinema public especially for online shopping of any kind (including buying books, tickets to events), using social networks, watching movies or TV programmes broadcast via online streaming, as well as for professional or school activities (e-mail, video conferences, etc.).

Most of those who have watched movies at the cinema (outside of film festivals) state that they use online video streaming platforms from subscription sources. In the case of Romanian movies that they watch on streaming platforms, respondents equally prefer new productions and old productions, appreciate the Romanian content offered by available online video streaming platforms as less good compared to international productions and, if there were an option of a streaming platform with Romanian films exclusively, would not opt for a paid subscription; however,

they would recommend the last Romanian movie watched on online streaming platforms.

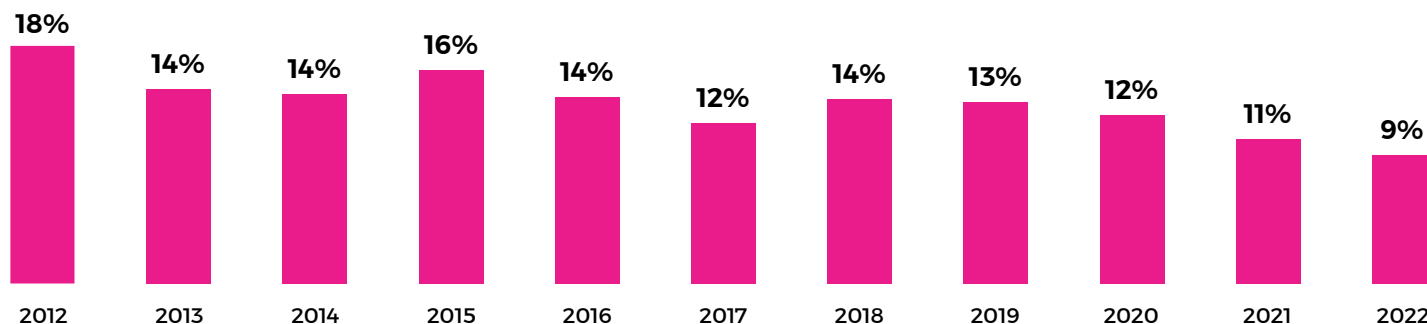
While watching movies in cinema theatres is at a low level, watching movies through television is at a very high level. In terms of movie consumption in the non-public space, about 40% of respondents have watched movies daily, while 30% have watched movies weekly on cable TV in the last 12 months. The comparative analysis with the level recorded for the consumption of TV cable movies in 2019 shows a decrease of approximately 20% in 2023 in the level of consumption for the daily frequency and an increase of 10% for the weekly frequency.

Graph 5. Frequency of watching movies via TV cable
[In the last 12 months, how often... have you watched movies on cable TV?]



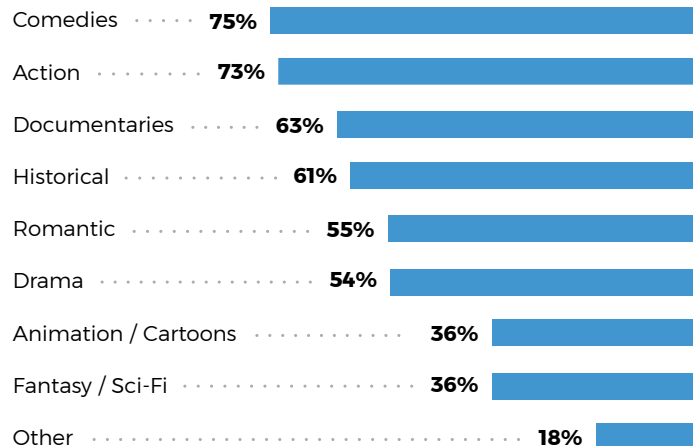
A possible explanation is also related to the decrease in the percentage of the duration in hours of movies from the total hours of television broadcasting from 13% in 2019 to about 9% in 2022. Another explanation may be related to the diversification of leisure practices, which is much more pronounced in the post-pandemic context.

Graph 6. Dynamics of duration in hours for documentaries, fiction, animated movies, related to the number of television hours



Source: National Institute of Statistics, Tempo Online, ART120A - Duration of television shows by genre of shows

Graph 7. Cable TV Movie Genre Preferences [What kind of movies do you watch via TV cable most often?]



Bucharest-Ilfov, South and North-West regions, with a level of schooling of post-high school education at most. Their favourite film genres were comedies, action movies, as well as documentaries and historical movies.

Most of those who watch movies daily and weekly are women over the age of 36, who live mainly in large cities with 200,000 inhabitants or in rural areas, in the

4. Particularities of video consumption through streaming platforms in Romania: a first quantitative analysis⁴⁴

Respondents mostly prefer accessing streaming platforms, with 53% of total users. The profile of the streaming platform user is mainly a man between 18 and 35 years old, from a large urban area, with higher education.

Graph 8. Using streaming platforms
[Please tell us if you personally use online video streaming platforms?]



Respondents use paid sources and free online video streaming sources to an approximately equal extent, but the latter seem to be predominant in rural areas. We infer from this that we cannot define Romania as a „mature” territory (see above, Grece), with an estimate of less than 50% of households subscribed to SVOD at national level.

In the top of preferences of free platforms (AVOD) the YouTube platform is mentioned (27% of respondents use it, compared to only less than 1% who mention Vimeo). We reiterate that we did not include social media applications, such as Instagram or TikTok, in the questionnaire.

As for paid sources, the majority is made of popular SVOD providers, international conglomerates (Netflix, HBO, Disney+, Amazon Prime).

Most of the interviewees have had subscriptions to such platforms for up to five years. However, we notice an increase

in subscriptions in the last three years – a consequence, we assume, of both more mature domestic consumers and of the pandemic and its wake, the post-Covid era.

It is worth noting that, although one of the important factors in making the subscription decision is the subscription price (34%), this is not necessarily the decisive one, that being, first of all, the UI (user interface) and/or the UX (user experience) - 41% - and, (only in this order), the content made available (the catalogue of titles): 36%. This indicates, as above, an obviously more mature Romanian consumer, who has become sophisticated and who, in an increasingly complex, almost disconcerting video universe, appreciates the technological support offered by streaming platforms, as well as the quality of the content. Although we do not have previous research benchmarks in the field of online video consumption, we can say that the rational (financial) vector, a fundamental (historical, we could say) benchmark, has been surpassed by the emotional and qualitative one in terms of online video consumption options in our country. Romanians no longer just enjoy „that it's free” and they value time, especially quality time, personal and family time, in a different manner. At least from this point of view - here, a first qualitative assumption derived from quantitative research - Romania is becoming a „mature” country. We are, through this approach, closer to a Balazs Varga (advocate of qualitative interpretations, see above) than to the experts of quantitative research (Grece et al.).

At the level of the entire population, the most popular frequency of using online video streaming platforms is weekly, followed by daily frequency.

⁴⁴ Author: Lucian Georgescu

Graph 9. Frequency of cinema content consumption via streaming
[Please tell us how often you watch movies on any of the video streaming platforms]



Approximately 30% of respondents practise chain-watching of movie series, for several hours a day (the practice of „binging”), which indicates the public’s preference for chain-watching episodes of a series, as well as compulsive consumption.

Graph 10. The binging trend
[Please tell us if you practise chain-watching of video content (movies) for several hours, such as watching a season or several episodes in a single day]



The frequent user of online video streaming platforms is mainly male, primarily young, aged 18-35, from large urban areas, with high school education, and it is also this type of consumer who practises binging (this activity of consuming a large volume of titles in a single viewing session is strongly influenced by the age of the respondent, again the young and middle age area being prone to this way of watching; for a good definition of the phenomenon, see also Pilipets, 2019⁴⁵). We imagine this viewer as one who consumes „in leaps” a larger volume of online video content, swallowed up in sporadic sessions, throughout the week, probably as

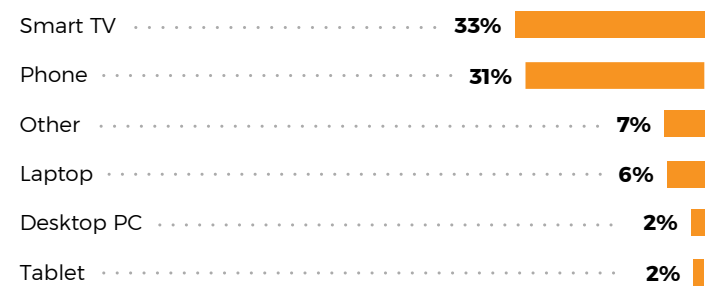
weekend entertainment, unlike the viewer in rural areas, who is more consistent in his consumption habits, but with a lower volume of consumption per session.

While the urban spectator (mostly under 35 years of age) is the most tempted by binging on weekends or other days off, the rural spectator, on the other hand, generally consumes on a daily basis, which may (also) lead us to the conclusion of the absence of other temptations or opportunities in their immediate socio-cultural area and, moreover, of the probable existence of a more patriarchal way of life, with a more balanced relationship between personal life and professional schedule, with fewer days/nights lost in front of the screen, as well as with „offline” community events, at the end of the week, which separate the viewer from his screen. However, the distribution of responses depending on lifestyle indicates that, in general, instead of primarily consuming film or video content via streaming, the Romanian online viewer prioritizes the opportunities for socialisation (family events, town events, outings in society or nature, participation in events) or those related to nature and health (walks, fitness).

The most used device for streaming is the smart TV, for the user in the large urban area, followed by the computer (laptop and desktop) – also for city inhabitants, while the mobile phone takes the lead in the top of the tools used by consumers in rural areas.

45 Pilipets, Elena. (2019). „From Netflix Streaming to Netflix and Chill: The (Dis)Connected Body of Serial Binge-Viewer”. *Social Media + Society*, 5(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119883426>

Graph 11. Distribution of the use of terminals for audiovisual consumption via streaming *[Please tell us on which device you consume streaming video content the most often]*



A possible explanation could be the wide spread of SVOD subscriptions in the large urban areas, with viewing primarily through smart TVs and devices such as Apple TV, Google Chromecast. On the other hand, this can also be about the weaker penetration of smart TVs in rural areas, but also about the lack of access to a laptop or desktop for a single user (in rural areas this type of device is often shared between family members) or about easy access to the Internet on the phone, in open spaces or where there is no modem connection. The economic factor is probably also involved, the phone with access to data via the Internet being a basic, mass-consumption tool, not a luxury that can be given up, as may be the case with the Internet and/or cable television subscription or with a video streaming provider through a fixed subscription.

Middle-aged consumers and consumers with higher education favour video consumption via laptop, PC and tablet, to the detriment of the phone, preferred by younger people and by those with high school education, the latter being probably users of video applications connected to social platforms, such as TikTok, Snapchat or Instagram (which, we remind, were not the subject of this study). Although smart TVs lead the top of video content streaming devices, the distance from phones is very small and, cumulated, portable devices (phone, tablet, laptop) surpass smart TVs in the consumption of online video content.

The trend of watching on mobile phones is therefore constantly growing in Romania as well. It is an alignment with the global trend, but especially with the US trend, where 70% of viewers said (in March 2023) that they consumed video content (also) on mobile phones, and 16% of the total consumption of video streaming content was done through smart phones. It is expected that in Romania we shall also witness a spectacular growth in the coming years, with the spread of the 5G infrastructure, as well as with the aging of the generations of traditional viewers, to which we may add the increase and, at the same time, the up-stepping to higher levels of age and of consumption volume as well, of the categories of new video consumers – the generations that we could call „post-TikTok”. While the latter platform experienced a fulminant expansion during and immediately after the COVID-19 pandemic, the post-pandemic OTT landscape is today also crowded by the emergence of traditional streamers’ applications (Netflix, Hulu, Prime Video) as a response to the growth of TikTok, as well as of the AVOD leader, YouTube, which reached (in June 2023), 74% of the American audience.

The increase in streaming video consumption on mobile and fixed devices is undoubtedly one of the main causes of the decrease in cinema attendance in our country. Video consumption related to social platforms is also on the rise in Romania, especially through mobile applications (42% of consumers using them worldwide, cf. Laura Ceci⁴⁶), but as far as OTT of social media (VoD) content is concerned, the volume of hits from larger digital screens such as smart TVs, tablets and PCs has increased substantially in the post-pandemic years.

The decision on what to watch is not a couple or group (family) option, but an independent, „selfish” one, only 7% of the interviewees having answered that the decision is common,

46 Ceci, Laura, „Mobile video worldwide: Statistics and Facts” <https://www.statista.com/topics/2725/mobile-video-in-the-united-states/#topicOverview>, publicat 18.01.2023, Available at 14.02.2024

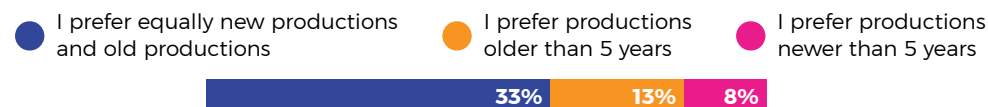
while 41.5% say that it is a unilateral, independent decision: „by myself”. The answer certainly denotes not only a social trend, but probably also an economic-administrative one, such as the possibility of purchasing and installing several devices in a single household (smart TV, laptop, PC) and the possibility of having individual viewing sessions, depending on preferences, even when we are talking about a united family.

The preferred film genres were comedies, action movies, as well as documentaries and historical movies, but the mentioning of these preferences must be taken cum grano salis, on the one hand, while on the other hand the present

research used only the general classification of the catalogues of traditional, popular, „mainstream” providers, without going into sensitive, filmological, cinephile details, rather suitable for a further – hopefully – qualitative research.

As for Romanian productions, respondents prefer new and old productions equally. Recent movies (*Miami Bici*, *Haita de acțiune*, *Romina VTM*) lead the top of respondents' mentions – without this being a surprise, considering the marketing budget available to these movies, as well as the temporal proximity of their premiere, their fresh presence, therefore, in the collective consciousness.

Graph 12. The dichotomy „new” vs. „old” in Romanian movie watching preferences
[In the case of Romanian films that you watch on streaming platforms (regardless of whether they are paid or free), please tell us what you prefer:]



Older respondents, with medium education and from rural areas, especially men, appreciate old productions more than recent ones, while women and particularly those from urban areas and with higher education, seem to be tempted by new movies. In general, the traditional rural population, less educated and, implicitly, less cosmopolitan, seems to

live a nostalgia for past eras, preferring national, classical film productions. Only less than half (more precisely 44%) of respondents mention a recently watched Romanian movie title, the remaining 55% of them stating either that they do not remember the title or that they do not watch Romanian films at all.

Graph 13. Degree of knowledge of Romanian movies
[Please mention the title of the last Romanian movie watched in the cinema hall or on an online video streaming platform]



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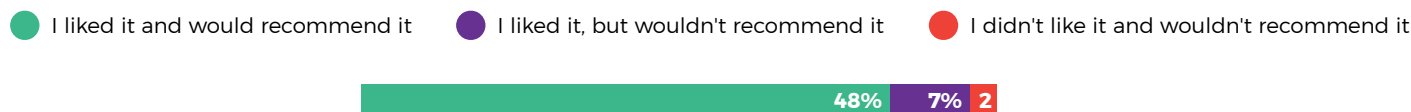
The mentions of the well-known titles are divided between extremes: either very recent domestic box-office successes (*Mirciulică*, *Miami Bici*, *Team Building*), where the memory is also helped by the massive presence of titles in the press of the day, or box-office successes of all time, „oldies but goldies”, a top in which *Nea Mărin Miliardar* leads the way, followed by *Moromeții*, *Pistruiatul*, *Mihai Viteazul* and the *BD* series. Completely absent are movie titles of the NRC (New Romanian Cinema), a contemporary art film trend that, although multi-awarded internationally and favourably received by the specialised critics, seems to be ignored by the general local public.

However, we must mention the special attention that streamers pay to recent Romanian productions, Netflix - first of all - being one of the online distributors of contemporary Romanian cinema, a consequence of the protectionist measure represented by the European film

quota imposed by the European Commission through the Audiovisual Media Services Directive – AVMS (2018). Netflix – in particular – prefers to supplement its „European” quota mainly with national titles, depending on each territory, the motivation being, probably, economic, to which they perhaps added the intuition of the national affinity for locally produced cinematographic content. The most popular opinion among respondents, however, is that Romanian movies are of poorer quality as compared to international productions, or that, at least, the streamers’ catalogues contain international productions of better quality than the Romanian titles presented. However, the sum of the answers „the same” and „better” does not disfavour Romanian cinema, but this aspect must also be correlated with the subjective, nationalist nuance, which may subliminally affect the appreciation.

Graph 14. Willingness to recommend to others

[Please mention which of the following options applies to you regarding this movie]



The massive percentage of respondents who „no longer remember the title of a watched Romanian movie” (see above) supports this presumption of national subjectivity. This „amnesia” seems to underline, once again, the hiatus between the Romanian public and the local film production, at least the recent one. It seems, however that any subjective nuance fades before objective, pragmatic, economic arguments, the overwhelming majority (two-thirds of respondents) rejecting the idea of a paid subscription to a possible VOD platform with Romanian movies. This time,

both the large urban and the rural areas seem to agree, and the „financial vector” that, above, we thought was outdated, plays an important role again. „You can't be a prophet in your own country” – and this saying seems to apply very well to Romania.

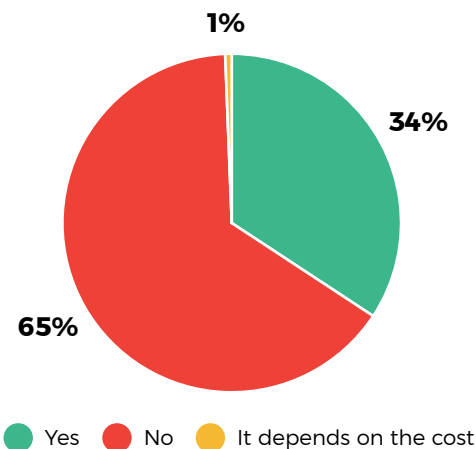
Graph 15. Streaming platforms viewers' perception and relation to national cinema productions

[Please tell us how you appreciate the Romanian content offered by the available online video streaming platforms, compared to international productions.]



Graph 16. Appreciation of the possibility of subscribing to a streaming platform dedicated exclusively to national cinematography

[Please tell us, if there were an option of a platform exclusively dedicated to Romanian movies, would you opt for a paid subscription?]



5. **Conclusions**⁴⁷

The development of the consumption of movies broadcast through video streaming channels must be analysed and interpreted in a broader context of changes in the audio-visual sector, in which the film industry has an important place. The change in film consumption practices is linked to the development of technologies, as well as to changes in the contemporary lifestyle. The motivations for watching movies are different from one generation to another, from one cultural space to another. The paradigm shift in the „post-network era“ is manifested both at the level of film suppliers and distributors, as well as at the level of consumers and cinephile audiences. The dynamics of movie watching in cinemas, apparently increasing, according to national statistical data, prove to be increasing only for certain categories of spectators, when complementary analyses are used through survey data. The profile of the consumer of movies in the cinema theatre is totally different from that of the consumer of movies distributed through television or streaming platforms.⁴⁷

The analyses have revealed significant consumption practices differences between these taste communities, with explanations in the social and economic area. Our exploratory research represents a first step in the analysis of these aspects, which deserves to be continued for an in-depth understanding of the results that seem to reveal only partially a recent phenomenon, insufficiently studied at national level.

If we were to compare the last assessment with the fact that, as we pointed out at the beginning of the study, the quality of the content, of the catalogue offered by OTT solution providers is extremely important to Romanians (34%, see above) and that precisely (...) the same percentage of respondents seem to be those who refuse a catalogue

dedicated to online Romanian movies, it means that the domestic cinema production has not kept up with the emancipation of the national spectator, educated by the international cinema industry. This is in the context in which it is precisely the streaming industry that has raised the standards of production, making the viewer more informed, sophisticated, demanding, cosmopolitan. Romanians have stepped into the West for good.

⁴⁷ Anda Becuț, Marinescu, Lucian Georgescu

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