MUSIC, PEOPLE AND PLACE: ENTERING AND NEGOTIATING LISTENING COMMUNITIES

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CONFERENCE PAPERS

Dearn, L.K. & Price, S.M. (2014). *Getting 'bums on seats': The struggles of negotiating audience, ensemble and repertoire in live classical music today.* Shifting Perspectives: Approaches to Music Performance Research, Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, 9 May.

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ABSTRACT

Within the field of audience studies it has been acknowledged that audience experience is altered by the presence of other listeners (Pitts 2005) and this can form audience communities (Pitts & Spencer 2008; Benzecry 2009, 2011). However, the notion of audience community is not fully accepted, with Phillip Auslander suggesting live audiences partake in no more than 'common consumption' (2008: 64). Previous authors have called for more understanding of classical music communities and how effectively a newcomer may integrate with them (Pitts & Spencer 2008: 237). Currently, there has been little research investigating the nature of listening communities formed around a concert series and particularly from its origins in a new venue.

Through the findings of two case studies, this thesis explores the formation of a community within a concert audience at new venue in Doncaster and investigates the experiences of attenders under the age of 25, underrepresented in the regular makeup of classical music audiences in Sheffield. These two case studies build up an understanding of the different perspectives and needs of regular and new audiences for live chamber music. Also investigated through both case studies are the relationships between audience member and performance space. Moreover, the thesis considers how cultural buildings, in this case concert halls, may influence the way in which people feel about the place they live. Central to all the research questions in this thesis is an interrogation of the current methodological toolkit used to understand audience experience, and the research includes a trial of new visual methodologies that aim to increase understanding of both regular and new audiences' experiences.

The core audience for classical music concert series show their support by being loyal to the arts organisation that provides the series, to the resident musicians and by showing knowledge of the art form and of the concert culture at a particular venue (Pitts & Spencer 2008). In my first case study, I am interested in placing the 'aficionados' of such an audience community into a populist sphere by analysing

their behaviours in line with popular culture and viewing them as 'fans'. By understanding classical music audiences in this way, comparisons can be made with other musical communities in popular culture, which becomes particularly interesting when considering people that are choosing not to associate with this community. The critical lens of popular fan culture is used in this thesis to explore the inner workings of a classical music listening community and the fan-like behaviours the aficionados often perform.

Conversely, by understanding a classical music audience as a working 'listening community', I question what impact their 'fan' behaviours may have for those demographic groups that are underrepresented in the regular audience. For my second case study, the particular group chosen is younger people under the age of 25 (referred to as U25s), who are typically far away from this culture in their musical tastes and experiences but who often have a strong musical identity themselves. Through arts-informed research methods, this case study investigates the views of U25s who have differing levels of musical and cultural knowledge but do not regularly attend classical concerts. I am interested in the perceptions these U25s have about classical music concert culture and the pre-existing community of listeners and when exposed to the culture of classical concert going, how well they can integrate.

With increasing cuts to funding in the arts it is possible that arts organisations will become more reliant upon private donations and the financial security of its core 'fan' base, so a greater understanding of these people and their relationship with concert culture is important. In contrast, with a large demographic group currently absent from regular audiences, it is also necessary to consider how the relevance of classical music may be grown for younger people and the live presentation of this art form preserved. In order to most accurately answer both of these audience development questions, the best possible understanding of audience experience is necessary through the application of new methods to this enquiry.

CONTENTS

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW

Although still a relatively new pursuit compared to other areas of musicology, there is now a growing body of scholarship that seeks to understand classical music audiences (Burland & Pitts 2014, Radbourne, Glow & Johanson 2013, Small 1998). Before this increase in academic attention, most research around classical music audiences was carried out by arts organisations seeking an understanding of audience demographic and booking habits (Baker 2007, Price 2015). The field of audience studies brings a new insight into this group of people by investigating the personal lived experience they have when attending a concert, rather than segmenting an audience by categories based on postcode, age or gender. Research in the field of classical music audience studies often draws on an interdisciplinary approach using psychology, sociology, performance and cultural studies, not only to understand these cultural experiences but also to relate them to society.

This thesis investigates the experience of regular, infrequent and new audience members when attending live classical chamber music concerts in venues across South Yorkshire. The research aims to contribute and give a new focus to the ways in which audience communities are viewed, the relationship between concert hall and place understood, the dichotomy between regular and new audiences experienced, and how all of these elements of the live concert might be investigated.

1.1 CONTEXT

This thesis is presented as part of an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Award and therefore the beginnings of this

research project may differ from other doctoral projects. This research is based on collaboration between the academic institute Sheffield Performer and Audience Research Centre (SPARC) and external partner, arts organisation Music in the Round (MitR). Music in the Round is the largest promoter of chamber music outside London and has been presenting such concerts for over 30 years. They take their name from the fact that they present chamber music, whenever possible, configured 'in the round'. They tour their chamber music in numerous venues around the country as well as presenting two concert series and an annual May Festival in Sheffield at their home venue, the Crucible Studio, seen in the images below.

FIGURE 1.1: The Crucible Studio © Andy Brown

FIGURE 1.2: The Crucible Studio © Andy Brown

The majority of concerts that MitR present are by resident musicians, Ensemble 360, with guest artists also featuring in the programming. Although the Lindsay String Quartet founded the organisation, this new resident group is much larger and includes 11 players, comprising string and wind quintets and a pianist. The Ensemble 360 does play as a group of 11 but more regularly splits into smaller groups and duos to perform a variety of chamber music. MitR and the Ensemble pride themselves on lively spoken introductions, giving the audience insight into the musical work before it is performed. The organisation also presents a learning and participation programme, Music in the Community, with the musicians of Ensemble 360.

Throughout this collaborative project a hybrid of market research and academic enquiry has been carried out, bridging the gap between academic audience studies and commercial research carried out in-house by MitR. At the beginning of the research project, I needed to get two stakeholders with different motivations to agree on a set of research questions that would benefit both the arts industry and

the academic field. I worked for the arts organisation in an internship role, understanding the day-to-day creative and practical processes involved in presenting chamber music and embedding myself in this organisation. This insight allowed a set of research questions to be agreed that were beneficial to MitR, helping them to learn more about their audiences but also contributing to knowledge in the field of classical music audience studies and audience studies more widely.

It is therefore important to keep in mind the origins of this research project. The research aims have implications for two different stakeholders and consider both arts organisations and audience studies in the design of the project. The time I spent working for MitR will also have influenced the direction of this research project. Negotiating the different motivations of researcher and external partner has, at times, been challenging (Price 2015). All research carried out with MitR required approval by the organisation and some questions included in the research were on MitR's request. Although access to potential research participants and gaining agreement to research current audience members was much simpler because of my integrated position within the organisation, not all research ideas were possible. Proposed research that did not come to fruition was often rejected because it was deemed too distracting to regular audience members; my research needed to fit within the parameters of a traditional concert format. However, I believe this thesis to be stronger because of this collaboration, allowing my research to represent a diverse range of views both academic and commercial. Working in this way, I also hope to show the value of differing organisations learning from each other, thereby encouraging practitioners and academics to work collaboratively.

1.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE

This research considers the internal experience of audience members at live chamber music. Moreover, it considers how this experience may differ for audience members with different frequencies of attendance and level of representation in the makeup of a regular audience. Therefore, the use of two case studies will allow for comparison between regular and new audiences, whose needs are often conflicting in audience development plans. Unlike some other studies of classical music audiences (Small 1998), this research is based on an empirical pursuit of data expressing audience members' lived experience of classical music. This thesis will therefore present the views and voices of many audience members as well as those of the researcher.

This research aims to have value for the field of audience studies and also for arts organisations, in particular my external partner MitR. The findings of this project will allow for evidence-based changes to be made at MitR and will inform future planning, in particular their audience development plan by allowing them to learn more about their audiences. For arts organisations more generally, the findings could also be applied to others that present classical music, and contribute to wider debates in the arts industry about the value of classical music for its audiences.

Although large-scale quantitative methods of studying cultural audiences have yielded important data (ACE 2004, Brown and Novak 2007, Thompson 2007), this study is interested in placing value on the individual and personal experience and seeks to gain a deeper level understanding of audiences' concert journeys. Therefore, one of the central questions of this thesis is how this journey may come to be understood by the researcher through the use of appropriate and new methods. Some other studies have sought the perceptions of audience members before and after their concert experience (Thompson 2007; Brown and Novak 2007). However, this study also includes data collection during the concert, allowing us to build a full picture of motivations to attend, what might take place inside the heads of listeners during the concert and the effect this may have after

the concert has taken place. Therefore, this thesis pursues new methods of understanding audience experience that can be used simultaneously with the performance. Another innovative approach was the longitudinal data collection in the Doncaster study, which allowed for patterns and trends to develop amongst regular participants at a new venue. The methodological approach of this thesis is amongst its contributions to the field of audience studies and seeks to examine how the experience of audience members can be better understood.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions of this study have been divided into three parts. Parts one and two focus on individual strands of data collection that took place in Doncaster and Sheffield respectively. The third part includes research questions relevant to both strands of data collection. Chapter four explores responses to parts one and three; subsequently Chapter five investigates answers to parts two and three.

Doncaster

Research Question 1: Can live concerts be seen as social and communal events with a community forming across an audience in a new venue, which includes the integration of regular concert attendees and newcomers?

RQ2: If a community forms, as in other venues, how does this community behave? Moreover, can the inner workings of this community be viewed as fan-like?

Sheffield

RQ3: What views do people under the age of 25 have of the current presentation of live classical music, including pre-existing audiences before, during and after attending such an event?

RQ4: To what extent might musical or cultural knowledge affect how this group of U25s are able to integrate as audience members, enjoy the concert experience and the likelihood of their re-attendance?

Doncaster and Sheffield

RQ5: How might performance spaces and concert hall venues affect audience experience?

RQ6: To what extent can the introduction of new audience research methods help the experience of audiences to be better understood?

1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE AND SUMMARY

The second chapter in this thesis explores previous literature, giving an understanding of the theoretical framework of the field of audience studies. In this chapter key terms will be defined in order to show how arts audiences have been previously studied. Moreover, this chapter is used to justify the research project, giving clear research aims and suggesting how they may contribute to new knowledge in this field. The third chapter outlines the methodological approach used in this project, including researcher positionality, ethical considerations and the methods used in each strand of the data collection.

Chapters four and five show the findings of the empirical research presented in this thesis. Chapter four deals with the longitudinal research that took place in Doncaster at the new venue, Cast. This strand of the data explores perceptions of both regular concertgoers and newcomers towards a newly built venue over its first year of opening. The impact of this new venue in a town referred to by the Arts Council as a 'cultural cold spot' will also be explored (Fleming and Erskine 2011: 30). This research gives a unique opportunity to see how an audience community builds around a chamber music concert series in a new venue, and will be compared to the long-established audience community in Sheffield (Pitts 2005). Furthermore, the nature of this community will be examined using the critical lens

of fandom, whose behaviours are more commonly associated with popular music or youth culture. The application of fan theory to classical audiences sheds new light upon the behaviours of current audience members and brings their relationship with a musical community in line with those in popular culture.

Chapter five explores issues in response to the findings of Chapter four, and presents data collected from the Sheffield concert series at the Crucible Studio and Upper Chapel venues. This chapter explores the views of those underrepresented in the composition of the regular audience. For this study, the chosen demographic were people aged 25 or below (U25s) who were either first-time or infrequent attenders. The U25s in this study were split into three bands depending on their musical and cultural knowledge. This division allowed an investigation into whether and how cultural knowledge impacts on concert experience and opinions towards classical music. To fully understand the views and perceptions of the personal value of live classical music held by U25s, I felt it was important to capture perceptions prior, during and after exposure to a chamber concert. This mode of data capture strives for a holistic view of underrepresented infrequent attenders' journeys as audience members. Considering that U25s are often infrequent or non-attenders of live classical music, this chapter aims to investigate how the risk of attendance can be reduced and the relevance of classical music increased for this group of people.

The final chapter of this thesis explores the conclusions drawn across the six core research questions of this thesis. It focuses on the implications this project has for the academic study of classical music audiences. These include understanding audience community formation, understanding new and under-represented audiences, and the use of innovative research methods and approaches. It also investigates the implications the findings have for the arts industry and the future presentation of live classical music and research in this area. This chapter draws the two studies together by considering the overall conclusions of each research question in relation to one another.

CHAPTER 2
RESEARCHING AUDIENCES: A THEORETICAL INSIGHT

Understanding audiences for classical music and the performing arts more widely is of great importance for the continuation of these art forms, yet until recently the study of classical music audiences and their experiences had received little scholarly attention. Christopher Small's (1998) influential ethnographic study investigating the aesthetic and social experiences of Western classical music concert audiences was one of the first studies to stimulate research interest into listeners. However, Small only remarks on his own personal experience rather than including other listeners' voices, drawing on general ethnographic observations rather than systematic empirical findings (Burland & Pitts 2014). Far more attention has been paid to the composer, the musical work as a text, analysis of this text as a structural form, performance practice and even venue. This is quite unlike other fields, such as popular music studies, that produce audience-centred research and place much importance on understanding the behaviour of audiences. Georgina Born has called for the breaking of musicology's 'disciplinary assumptions, boundaries and divisions inherited from the last century' and introduces the integration of other fields, such as popular music studies into traditional musicology (2010: 205-6). This would encourage a rebalancing of traditional musicology to include the consumption of music by its audiences. Further understanding of how present-day ears hear classical music and what relevance or value it may hold in people's everyday life is required.

Within this review of existing literature, key issues that are central to the justification of the research questions of this thesis will be explored and a theoretical overview of the study of classical music audiences given. It is not the aim of this chapter to outline all possible theoretical frameworks, since later chapters will return to this literature at the points where it is directly relevant to

the emerging findings. Firstly, the term 'audience' and the question 'why is it we wish to study them?' will be explored. This will be followed by an examination of empirical research that is solely conducted with classical music audiences and gives grounding to this research. Following from this investigation, theories primarily from popular music discourse will be used to explore the mapping of fan behaviours onto classical music audiences, with the aim of understanding audience community formation and the behaviours of classical music audiences in a new way, aligned with popular culture. In the next section, it is crucial to question what implications such community has for those underrepresented in it, and I seek to explore the perceived risk that young people may face when attending such an event. Central to a study of experience is the question of how personal audience members' experiences might be understood, and in the penultimate section I will investigate different modes of investigation. Finally, after identifying relevant literature and recognising the gaps in knowledge that this may show, the research aims of this thesis will be outlined.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING AUDIENCES AND WHY WE STUDY THEM

'An audience' is fundamentally a gathering of people who share in receiving a particular experience and the set of behaviours they display. Audiences, therefore, are able to take many different forms. One particular model is described by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998): the authors state that audiences can take three forms: simple, mass and diffused. The simple audience is most like conventional concert audiences in which there is 'a communication of some kind between a sender and a receiver,' (p. 45) in a public setting. The sense of 'ceremony', of which there is a degree in all three types of audience, is the highest in simple audiences. Attention is also high in this type of audience, unlike mass audiences who have variable attention. Mass audiences are formed in private and, unlike simple audiences, the communication between sender and receiver is not direct but mediated, such as occurs with the radio, Spotify or YouTube music videos. Diffused audiences refer to universal audiences that occur in private and public spaces and have the lowest form of ceremony but are the most common form of audience.

Significant to this study is the notion that simple audiences are localised, sharing in an event which stays within the four walls of the venue, while mass and diffused audiences are delocalised and geographically sparse. Localised and delocalised audiences may in fact be in competition with each other, which may have implications for live events such as classical music concerts. Philip Auslander (2008) considers the relationship between theatre (simple) and television (mass) audiences in relation to mediated and live performances. Auslander argues that the performances we would consider to be live, such as theatre, are increasingly mediatized and 'at the level of cultural economy, theatre (and live performance generally) and the mass media are rivals, not partners' (p. 1). He further contributes that the 'liveness' experienced by simple audiences is becoming increasingly lost and undervalued within contemporary society, which he attributes to mediatized television being the dominant cultural form (p.187). In applying Auslander's theory to live classical music audiences, the dichotomy between live localised audiences and delocalised mediated audiences would seem both problematic for retaining audiences but particularly problematic when attracting new attenders.

In contrast to Auslander's focus on mediatized experiences and the loss of liveness, scholars have asserted that listeners' experiences of classical music are impacted by the presence of other audience members (for example Clarke 2005; Pitts 2005). One scholar in particular, Martin Barker (2013), has explored ideas of liveness in relation to cinema audiences. In recent years, cinemas have offered screenings of 'alternative content' such as opera or ballet. Barker's research deals with how the idea of liveness is portrayed through screenings of opera. His findings, along with NESTA research (2009), show how different members of the audience receive this type of performance with respect to liveness and closeness. He described different types of viewers; such as 'aficionados' who, due to their expertise in appreciating opera, felt this type of screening took an element of control away from the audience due to the one-dimensional close up camera shots. However, there were also the 'surprised' viewers who had some knowledge of live opera but enjoyed the cultural experiences of streaming opera and the closeness and sense of liveness it

can offer: certainly this new setting for opera changes how it is received. This presentation of opera blurs simple and mass audiences as well as direct and mediated communication in relation to liveness.

Abercrombie and Longhurst's model allows of an understanding of how 'simple audiences' for different art forms often share in similar behaviours and conditions, such as still and silent listening (observed as a feature of classical music by Sennett 1977), or liveness (Barker 2013). However, within the category of simple audiences, an individual audience will have very specific characteristics not shared by other simple audiences, which often relate to a particular institution and venue. In this research, I will be exploring the chamber music audience of one arts organisation and I suggest there is value in gaining a deeper level of understanding of the workings of one particular simple audience for the category as a whole.

Present-day audience research
As has been previously explored, the role of the audience member in live classical music has been somewhat overlooked, and I ask what new research and attention on audiences of classical music might bring and why this is useful knowledge to obtain. Richard Schechner states,

> '[a performance is] licensed by its audience which can, at any time, re-ratify or withdraw that license. This is true of all performances, though most of the time the audience doesn't know its own power' (2003: 219-20).

I believe it is this power to license performance that explains both scholarly and arts marketing interest, in researching the audiences of the performing arts. The relationship between performance and audience is certainly complex, but Helen Freshwater raises an interesting question of theatre audiences' function, as she describes,

> '[t]he terms employed to describe audiences and their
> relationship to performance are laden with value judgments. Are
> they just viewers, or accomplices, witnesses, participants?' (2009:
> 3)

In applying Freshwater's question to classical music audiences, this thesis aims achieve understanding of the function of classical audience members and their relationship with live presentations of the art form.

Audience research can vary greatly across academic research and research conducted by arts organisations (Price 2015; Williamson, Cloonan & Frith 2011). Research conducted by the industry aims to inform organisations' audience development by understanding the practical drivers of attendance habits. This type of research is often, but not exclusively, large-scale quantitative research that aims to categorise its audience, whether that be by postcode, age or gender (Johanson 2013). Within the academic community, the focus of research has shifted away from large-scale quantitative data and towards individual audience experience, often researched using qualitative methods (*Ibid*). Both reasons for researching audiences are valid and valuable but are also in some ways conflicting.

Commercial research does not exclusively rely on quantitative methods, nor does academic research exclusively rely on qualitative methods, the differences between such approaches are often dependent on the motivations of research. Arts organisations primarily need to source information on the demographics or booking habits of their audiences to inform targeted marketing campaigns or future funding bids. Arts organisations do consider the experiences of audiences but are more readily concerned with audience satisfaction. Academic research is not concerned with understanding audiences for classical music for a particular profitable purpose and therefore investigates deeper questions of individual listening behaviours and experiences. My research is interested in individual experience and aims to listen to audiences' perspectives, focusing not on what an audience member might look like in the demographic sense but on an

appreciation of personal lived experience. Moreover, by questioning individuals on their opinions of classical music and how this musical experience interacts with their everyday life, ultimately a narrative of concert going will be pieced together. Although this project was undertaken in collaboration with an arts organisation, I align the mode of questioning used throughout with the body of research conducted more readily by academics (for example Pitts & Burland 2014; Radbourne *et al* 2013) rather than arts marketing.

2.2 WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT AUDIENCES? EMPIRICAL RESEARCH WITH CLASSICAL MUSIC AUDIENCES

In this section I will give an overview of the existing field of empirical research into classical music audiences, exploring three areas that are particularly pertinent to my study: the history of concert halls and listening habits, classical music attendance today, and audience experience. Most papers focus on audiences for large symphony orchestras, which are of course very useful to my own study, but fewer scholars have considered smaller-scale audiences such as chamber music audiences, and I will make this distinction in each area discussed in this section.

History of the concert hall and listening habits

Robert Kronenberg states that music performance is 'intrinsically linked to the place in which it happens' (2012: 5) and in many ways the traditional concert hall validates classical music performance through its grand architecture, hierarchical seating arrangements and ability to separate audience members from the 'real' world (Small 1998). Understanding how performance spaces and listening behaviours have evolved over past centuries has implications for current-day concert hall habits. Weber (1975) described how the middle classes gained more power and blurred the once-clear line between the aristocracy and lower classes during the first half of the nineteenth century. The middle classes wanted to engage with classical music, for example in promenade concerts, consequently making it a commodity that was able to have commercial success. However, the building of concert halls would dramatically change the presentation of classical

music, making the music the focal point and persuading the audience that they could no longer enjoy music alongside social activities.

Key investigations of why audiences fell silent during the nineteenth century (Johnson 1995; McVeigh 1993; Gay 1995) showed how absorbed listening became associated with the middle classes and dictated behavioural codes in the concert hall. Kolb (2001) describes how the introduction of still and silent listening also encouraged an element of self-improvement, which remains today, rooted in nineteenth-century Victorian ideals, '[culture was used] to improve the newly emerging middle class … [and] classical music was seen by the cultural elite as a means of civilising the new middle class' (p. 4-5). However, Christina Bashford (2010) makes the important point that change in audience behaviour was a gradual shift and 'there was certainly no one moment when all concert-goers began to listen in silence - and it did not take place at a consistent rate at every type of concert and in all places' (p. 27).

The still and silent paradigm has had a great impact on current-day audiences as high-culture behaviours set in the nineteenth century are almost polar opposite to more common forms of current popular entertainment. Kolb (2000) makes the argument that the classical music community frowns upon showing emotional connection to the music and suppresses the performance of deep emotional enjoyment of a concert, which is very unlike what is expected of popular music audiences who are invited to jump around and show and share their emotions. I will investigate how this type of listening culture affects both young newcomers (RQ 3 and 4) and newcomers who are of a similar age to current audiences (RQ 1 and 2).

Christopher Small's (1998) book, *Musicking,* suggests the shifts in classical music presentation and audience behaviours in the nineteenth century are still standard practice in today's concert halls. Small suggests concert halls have become framers for behavioural changes, for example he describes the foyer as a 'transitional space through which we pass in the progression from the outer everyday world to the

inner world of the performance' (p. 23). Cook also makes a comparison between the experience of entering a concert hall and the religious experience of entering a cathedral (1998: 35). What is highlighted here is the importance of the concert hall beyond the use of the building to extent that '[t]he architecture of a venue can have a highly significant effect on the character, power, and relevance of the performance' (Kronenberg 2012).

However, the importance of the form of the building can have positive and negative consequences for audience members and non-attenders respectively, as buildings are bound up with cultural identity. As described by Small, '[t]he scale of any building, and the attention that is paid to its design and appearance, tell us much about the social importance and status that is accorded to what goes on within it' (p. 20). Moreover, the invention of the concert hall introduced a hierarchy between music, musician and audience, often building stages that displayed music and musicians as physically higher than audience members. Audiences also became hierarchical through seat selection dictated by physical distance from the stage (i.e the cheap seats are at the back). Present-day classical music is moving towards more flexible spaces that allow for barriers concerning the cultural identity of spaces to be broken down, for example the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment's (OAE) initiative, The Night Shift, which presents classical music in pubs and clubs, and has been shown to be successful in growing new and younger audiences (CultureHive 2013). Smaller, intimate venues have also been favoured over large-scale venues, to encourage more communication between the audience and performers, and to break the 'four walls' that had been created centuries ago (Pitts 2005). More scholarly investigation is needed to further understand how venue affects present-day audiences, and this will form part of my study as I explore an audience's adjustment to a new purpose-built performance venue (Chapter 4). Moreover, I will also seek to add understanding to the ways in which venue may add to the perception of risk attached to concert attendance for younger generations, who are infrequent and new attenders.

Current attendance: Is classical music in crisis?

Both commercial and academic research has been interested in who is currently attending and engaging with classical music, and how it is placed and valued within today's society. Bonita Kolb (2009) questions 'the effect of generational change on classical music concert attendance' and states that attendance at classical music, at best, is 'holding' despite the growth in population (p. 1). Kolb attributes the decline in classical music attendance to four factors:

> 'changes in "practical considerations" such as supply and accessibility of events, cost, availability of leisure time and dissemination of information on events; changes in people's knowledge of classical music through exposure to arts education; changes in taste; and socio-demographic changes' (p. 3).

Maintaining regional audiences for classical music can be even more problematic, for example only 6% of the UK population attend classical music in Yorkshire, where my research is conducted, compared to 8% nationally (ACE Taking Part).

It is certainly true that disposable income is reducing and arts organisations receive less funding than ever in times of national austerity (Stark, Gordon & Powell 2013). Other 'practical considerations' such as supply and accessibility have been hugely affected by technological advancements, such that it is possible to access free audio-visual, high-quality recordings of classical music in the palm of your hand in any location (Bull 2007, 2005). This in some ways seems to make classical music in the concert hall look under threat or even obsolete. Classical music is no longer a compulsory part of the national curriculum and therefore exposure to this art form during childhood is noticeably lower and will be lost from the fabric of cultural history for new generations (Kolb 2000). Peterson (1992) states that 'snobs' (people who would only attend the high arts) are becoming extinct and are being replaced by a population of 'omnivores' (people who are happy to attend an eclectic mix of art forms and do not wholly favour one

cultural preference). However, in a more recent paper the author suggests that classical music audiences are less 'omnivorous' than some other groups (Peterson 2005). Nevertheless, the move to omnivorous audiences is a fundamental change in taste and therefore classical music has lost a certain amount of exclusivity and becomes one arts experience that 'omnivores' may wish to attend. So in many ways the outlook for classical music looks somewhat bleak.

It would seem that current classical music presentation in the concert hall has not maintained a contemporary outlook and it is no longer necessary to attend classical music in a concert hall setting; yet, we know classical music performed in a concert hall is attended and enjoyed by some, so why is it that these people have chosen to attend?

Audience experience

As argued earlier (2.1), understanding the experience of classical music audiences is essential for understanding how and why certain audiences are more engaged than others. Ideas of audience experience are strongly linked with the methodologies used to investigate that experience and I will critique the tools used to obtain this information in section 2.5. Firstly, however, I will explore how other authors have already described audience experience and will then present my own model. Authors such as Burland and Pitts (2014) and Brown and Novak (2007), use the term 'audience experience' to encompass the duration of the live performance. Different models have been presented such as those offered by Alan Brown and Jennifer Novak who have described audience experiences at live performances, with classical music audiences as well as other disciplines, in terms of 'intrinsic impact' (2007). Their study aims to understand the core internal enjoyment experienced by audience members for classical music, as well as other art forms. The authors argue for a connection between internal enjoyment and the audience's knowledge prior to the event. Feelings before the performance are termed 'readiness to receive', and the feelings captured during the performance itself, 'intrinsic impacts'. The feelings reported by audience members during the

performance were categorised into six constructs: captivation, intellectual stimulation, emotional response, spiritual value, aesthetic growth and social bonding (p. 9). Although Brown and Novak do not comment on long-term impacts of the performance, this study has interesting parallels with the work of Radbourne, Johanson, Glow, and White (2013), who are interested in audience experience in relation to a sense of quality. Radbourne *et al.* highlight four components that may affect the audience experience in a positive or negative way. These are: knowledge, risk, authenticity and collective engagement (2013: 8). Here the terms 'knowledge and risk' could be likened to Brown and Novak's 'readiness to receive' constructs which have a direct influence on the quality or amount of intrinsic impact felt.

What is interesting about both these models of audience experience is that they suggest audience members are actively 'doing listening' or, as Pitts and Spencer suggest, being 'active participants' (2008: 228). I draw connections here between Pitts and Spencer's 'active participants', Radbourne *et al.*'s 'collective enjoyment' and Brown and Novak's 'social bonding': these terms collectively infer that the audience members are participating in the performance and with each other, so that they are no longer purely observers but in some way affecting the performance. However, social or non-musical aspects of the concert-going experience are proportionally less well represented in these models. The social aspects of concert going are often represented in the understanding of concert experiences, but rarely explored in great detail. I suggest that the social function of concert going could be of more importance to audiences than has currently been acknowledged in such models, and that the field lacks a full understanding of how concerts provide a social and communal purpose for their audiences. This thesis therefore aims to contribute to the rebalancing of audience experience models towards a more equal presentation of aesthetic and social factors.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING CLASSICAL MUSIC AUDIENCES AS A SOCIAL COMMUNITY

The literature review so far has shown that the nature of the live concert experience has been explored, but that less is known about the extent to which the social value of concert attendance influences why people choose to attend. The social context of concert going can consist of two elements: firstly, being able to talk to other audience members during non-performance times; and secondly, through the communal listening of a live audience.

The social value of concert attendance has long been acknowledged, most notably by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), but in recent years socialising at concerts has been found to be an important factor for regular audience members (Dearn and Price 2016), infrequent attenders (Baker 2007: 23; Brown 2002: 85; Arts Council England 2004: 38; Obalil 1999), and young people (Brown 2004a: 6; The Audience Agency 2013; Dobson & Pitts 2011; Kolb 2000). Studies have explored how socialising with other adults, in particular one's spouse, influences arts attendance and experience (Upright 2004, also see Van Berkel & De Graaf 1995). The social value of a live musical experience is widely accepted for other genres, particularly popular music (Wall 2013), but also jazz (Pitts and Burland 2013) and folk music (Hield 2010). Audience research in other cultural sectors, for example art galleries, has acknowledged that socialising in such an environment changes the aesthetic and learning experience. However socialising does not supersede solitary engagement, as visitors to art galleries were shown to be alternating fluidly between the two states (Debenedetti 2003; López Sintas, García Álvarez & Pérez Rubiales 2014). By viewing classical music concerts as an inherently social and communal event in which audience members are alternating between states of socialising and solitude, we can suggest that social bonding develops across an audience, which forms the foundations of an audience community. Such a group can form a short-term community, which would comprise of the communal aspects of being 'in-audience' at a live event, but a regular audience can form a longer-term community over time, which can be seen to display fan-like qualities.

The notion of community can be found rooted in many disciplines; however definitions of this term can be varying (Shelemay 2011). For the purpose of this study the term community will be defined as 'a group of people joining together publicly over a shared passion, in the same geographical setting, who are united by a social matrix' (Dearn and Price 2016). This definition of community builds on the work of David Hesmondhalgh (2013) who uses a model of community centred on two axes, the first of which is 'publicness' and the second 'co-presence'. Publicness has two possible meanings, one of 'sociability among people who do not know each other' and the other 'a notion of political community grounded in citizenship' (p. 85). The second axis describes community in terms of a geographical location, such that communities can be co-present and localised, but may also exist through mediated forms that are geographical delocalised (p. 85). Hesmondhalgh suggests concerts allow for people who are 'co-present' to join in 'sociable publicness' (p. 86).

Such communities offer their members a sense of belonging that they can chose to affiliate with, which in turn may contribute to the construction of a person's self-identity. In *Music in Everyday Life* (2000) music sociologist Tia DeNora speaks of 'music's role as a building material of self-identity' (p. 62). The construction of self-identity is very multifaceted; however the aspect of identity that is of particular interest to this study is the expression of group affiliations through cultural tastes and experiences. Affiliation with a particular community allows members to share in collective values and representations as described in Émile Durkheim's 1912 book, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Through the study of Aboriginal tribe's totems Durkheim shows how shared socio-cultural objects act as symbols that perform values and beliefs to others. In other words, individual self-identity is in part built by the collective identity of social communities that individuals are either forced to join (such as those of sex, race or tribes) or choose to affiliate with (such as political groups, religious groups or musical genres). Fundamental to the formation of those communities that people can choose to affiliate with is the notion of shared tastes, as they allow people to be united around common and shared passions. Thus musical preferences (a chosen affiliation) can be seen as

having a 'major role in defining and reinforcing social identity, serving as a socializing force that fosters enculturation of individuals' (Brown 2006: 4).

Etienne Wenger describes this type of collective identity formation as 'community membership' and defines the three mechanisms that unite such a community as: mutual engagement, a joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire (1998 (2008): 152). In terms of a concert hall setting, Wenger's mechanisms could be applied in the following ways: mutual engagement would consist of knowing and respecting concert hall etiquette and the expected shared behaviours of the community; a joint enterprise would be choosing to engage with and value the same cultural experience. Finally, a shared history and memories of past cultural events and previous concert attendance experienced by the community would constitute a shared repertoire (152-3). Therefore, when looking at how newcomers integrate with a community of which they are seeking membership, it would seem 'joint enterprise' will act as the first and most attainable step to community participation and belonging. However, 'mutual engagement' will take time to learn and master before it becomes familiar, not foreign, and 'shared repertoire' will be lacking for newcomers and will also set the parameters for the maximum level of shared memories they will be able to achieve in this community.

Viewing classical music audiences as a community is not without precedence. Pitts' qualitative study (2005) describes an audience of a chamber music festival as a 'presence of like-minded listeners in the audience community' (p. 15), which in turn 'appears to foster a sense of belonging' (p. 6). Moreover, later studies with the same chamber festival audience continued to state how audience community can influence personal experience such that 'musical enjoyment is shown to be closely connected with the sense of community established over the years with fellow listeners and regular performers' (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 11). However, it has been acknowledged that a strong audience community, such as one fostered through a festival, can be off-putting to infrequent attenders and newcomers as they do not have a strong sense of shared history and may feel 'excluded from the dominant values and experiences of the group' (Pitts 2005: 15). Economic models

of 'consuming communities' have been applied to a symphony audience community during O'Sullivan's 2009 study investigating communal listening, though his analysis acknowledged that current models of communal consumption fail to accommodate the complexities of the social interactions of the audience (p. 220). Other studies have also analysed audiences as consumers; Hand's study of arts audiences suggests that 'at the macro-level, arts appear to behave in the same way brands do' (2011:95). However, not all theorists share the same reading of live communities. Auslander makes the argument that,

> '[i]t is surely the case that a sense of community may emanate
> from being part of an audience that clearly values something you
> value, though the reality of our cultural economy is that the
> communal bond unifying such an audience is most likely to be
> little more that the common consumption of a particular
> performance commodity' (1999/2008: 64).

These different approaches show that no clear understanding of audience community has been currently reached and this is still a topical debate in the field.

I have described how the social aspect of concert going has been seen to encourage the formation of community across a regular audience. Within the field of classical music audiences more research in relation to the formation of communities across different concert settings, for example during a concert season 'where the process of establishing a listening community might take longer, if it occurs at all' (Pitts 2005: 16), has been called for. There has also been no exploration of the formation of an audience community at a new venue and so this research project breaks new ground through the study at Cast, in Doncaster.

Fandom framework

Research with classical music audiences has not used the framework of fandom when considering audience experience and the term 'fan' is not often used to

describe classical music audiences. Other terminology has been adopted, such as 'conservative fanatic, committed listener, aficionado' (Baker 2007: 20) or 'consumers' (Hand 2011). Classical listening behaviours are often silent, ostensibly passive and therefore anti-social compared to the active and highly social audiences considered typical of popular music's fans (see Sennett 2002 and Small 1998). Due to the fundamental differences in listening culture it may not seem natural to view live classical performances as a potential site for fandom, yet I suggest many of these communities' behaviours could be viewed using the critical lens of fandom. Further research into the nature of such a community using a fandom framework has been called for within the field:

> Classical music audiences may not rely so obviously on the media networks and 'fanzines' associated with admiration for a celebrity figure, but their appetite for news of recordings, concert schedules, and reviews can be just as voracious, stemming from the same desire to connect more closely with performers (or composers) for whom they have a high regard (Pitts and Spencer 2008: 229).

The notion of fandom is rooted in cultural and media studies and in recent years has been most readily applied to popular music studies and online communities. Henry Jenkins' pioneering work *Textual Poachers* (1992), which investigates film and television fans, is central to any discussion of fandom. Jenkins describes such a community as 'a group insistent on making meaning from materials others have characterized as trivial and worthless' (3). Furthermore, members of this community are able to 'assert their own right to form interpretations, to offer evaluations, and to construct cultural canons' (p. 18) around the object of fandom. Therefore, fandom can seem to be reliant on communities as one could not occur without the other, such that Matt Hills states, 'fans are fans because fan communities exist and can be entered' (2002: xiv).

Within the field of fan studies there are two contrasting presentations of fandom behaviours: transformational and affirmational. Transformational fans are interested in taking the object of fandom and creating something else which suits their own purposes, whereas affirmational fans 'reaffirm the source material' and 'attempt to divine authorial intent' (Scott 2011: 31-2). Classical music audiences' behaviours largely resemble behaviours found in the affirmational fandom framework: audience members are unlikely to challenge or change the object of fandom, in this case classical music, preferring instead to uphold the creative decisions made by the creators (musicians, composers, arts organisation or creative director).

So what can we learn from mapping such theories of fandom onto classical music audiences? Daniel Cavicchi suggests that:

> By studying fandom, I have, in many ways, been studying people and who they think they are. Fans talked to me frequently about using fandom to signify and think about their personal identity. For some people, the music was more like a mirror, enabling them to recognize themselves (1998: 135).

Applying Cavicchi's thinking to classical music audiences, I suggest this study will allow for a better understanding of the people who attend and the connections their experience in a classical concert have with the rest of their listening lives. Therefore, I suggest fandom can be used as a unifying concept to understand issues of experience, identity, memory, geography, capital, politics and history within this group of people.

Fandom requires active participation, as Mark Duffett suggests with regards to media texts:

> [p]erhaps the primary pleasure that unites fans with performances is simply *enjoyment through engagement.* This enjoyment is more than a passive process of consumption or

reception. It involves the fan being active in suspending disbelief, making meaning and participation (2013: Chapter 6).

This type of uniting engagement around a performance therefore has implications for individuals' behaviours. Writing on popular music fandom, Chris Rojeck describes how becoming a fan has 'strong emotional intensity or "affect" with the persona embodying musical and lifestyle texts' and further notes that there is also a 'recognition of shared narratives of belonging that are represented in dress, values and musical taste' (2011: 85). Therefore, to gain the sense of belonging that comes with being part of a community, individuals must also actively share in the collective behaviours of the group to gain membership. This concept can be applied to classical music concerts, in which the listening community reinforces codes of behaviours that construct concert culture. Attentive, silent listening and appropriately timed clapping could be perceived as the basic behaviour requirements needed to gain a sense of belonging to this culture, but possibly more complex benefits are also available for members to share in, such as community formation (explored in RQ1) or fandom (explored in RQ2).

Being part of a community or being granted 'fan membership' allows people to share associations, behaviours and experiences with others, which they in turn outwardly express to others through the performance of self-identity (Goffman 1959; Schechner 2006). This idea has also been expressed in terms of fandom by Jenkins who describes members of a fan community 'becom[ing] active participants in the construction and circulation of textual meanings' (1992: 23-4). However, to develop a strong identity that reinforces a particular community takes time and the ability to constantly learn or improve culturally specific behaviours suggests that communities have inner structures of knowledge, which regulate the group. The idea of hierarchy within communities has been explored by Matt Hills: he described how fans compete 'over fan knowledge, access to the object of fandom, and status' (2002: 46). Further to this, Daniel Cavicchi describes how, in the case of communities that are built around live events such as concerts, social hierarchy can also be seen purely through participation itself; 'concert going is as much about *being seen* as about *seeing* a performance; it involves forcing a view of

oneself as similar to other fans and as different from ordinary audience members' (1998: Chapter 6). With such a strong sense of hierarchy present in musical communities it is inevitable that 'fans discriminate fiercely: the boundaries between what falls within their fandom and what does not are sharply drawn (Fiske, 1992: 34). Bourdieu argues this is because 'art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences' (1984: 7).

The music we choose to consume, and the way in which we do so, is more than just personal preference, it can also function as a structuring mechanism through which people can sort themselves into like-minded groups. Steven Brown describes how music 'serves as an important basis for sorting people into groups in large scale societies, creating musical-preference groups' (2006: 5). This idea of using different systems to sort things has been discussed in David Beer's 2013 paper, 'Genre, boundary drawing and the classificatory imagination'. Beer builds on Foucault's theories from his work *The Order of Things* (1966) and illustrates how we constantly feel the need to classify or sort ourselves and the things around us; from the most basic ordering, such as cutlery in a kitchen drawer, to larger groups in society. The classificatory systems by which we carry out ordering are, in Foucault's mind, made up of 'grids' and the 'encoded eye'. However, in a contemporary society that is becoming decentralised and fragmented, fewer traditional grids remain for the encoded eye to classify within. Consequently people are searching for new structures in which to carry out cultural ordering. Beer suggests one of these structures could be that of musical genres, since although these are not always stable (particularly in popular music), they may serve as a grid for people to order themselves using musical preferences. Furthermore, Beer argues that the use of the structure of musical preferences to carry out cultural ordering could contribute to the explanation of why people choose to consume cultural goods in the first place. If we do, even in part, use musical preferences as a system to order ourselves we can begin to see how becoming part of a particular musical genre's community might have significant

implications for some people's lives, friendship formations and sense of belonging, (explored in RQ1 and 2) and be off-putting for others (explored in RQ3 and 4).

As with many theories of fandom, foundations of cultural sorting can be seen in the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984). Bourdieu's capital theory is based around two types of capital: economic capital and symbolic capital. Particularly relevant to this study is a sub-type of symbolic capital, the notion of cultural capital, which allows people to show their social position through taste in, affiliations with and knowledge of high culture such as classical music, as opposed to their economic capital alone (Moore 2008: 100-2). Thus, as a sorting mechanism, cultural capital can be valuable in negotiating social situations. Bourdieu's models of capital have also been applied to other theories. John Fiske has mapped ideas of cultural capital on to theories of fandom, which is termed 'cultural economy'. He suggests that 'knowledge is fundamental to the accumulation of cultural capital' (Fiske 1992: 42).

Links can also be drawn between ideas of tastes (such as musical) and structuring, as Mark Duffett notes '[o]ne position on fandom is that it is purely a matter of personal passion and individual taste' (2013: Chapter 5). However, Duffett disagrees with this position, and instead builds on the work of Bourdieu arguing 'taste is a social system rather than purely personal choice,' as Bourdieu states 'taste classifies and it classifies the classifier' (1984: 6). In the case of classical music this classification could be seen to have both positive and negative effects for people who are typical of the community and those who lie on the outside of this group respectively. It could be argued that sorting mechanisms based on taste may provide negative cultural capital for some people wanting to join a fan culture with a strong stereotype. For example, for young people, 'being associated with the "wrong" musical preferences can have negative social consequences for in-group membership, and thus self-identity and self-esteem' (Clarke, Dibben, & Pitts, 2010: 112). This argument further highlights the importance of these associations with cultural communities.

Although, as we have seen, fandom theory has been primarily applied to popular and other non-classical music audiences, the application of fandom theory to the high arts is not entirely without precedent: one particular study that has already begun to understand a classical music audience in terms of community and fandom is the work of Claudio Benzecry (2009; 2011). Benzecry's in-depth ethnographic study of the audience of the Colón Opera House in Buenos Aires reveals the internal structuring of this community and highlights how members are able to transition through different stages of the structure, gaining greater 'rites of belonging' as they do (2009: 133). He describes how the less initiated members of the community will actively seek the 'advice of older fans', in order to climb within the hierarchy of the community (2011: 69). I find it interesting that this type of cultural knowledge seems to be bound with levels of participation, such that amount of time one has been part of a fan culture may have more structural value than subject knowledge alone. Benzecry found that the notion of structuring within a community had a profound effect on people entering the culture, as one opera-goer describes:

> "At first I always kept my mouth shut," he reminisced. "I aligned myself with other people up until the moment I decided I knew enough to take the muzzle off my mouth to share my thoughts with other spectators." (Benzecry 2011: 69-70)

The experiences of audience members at differing stages of this structure described here are of particular interest to my own study of established listeners and new community members.

Benzecry also explains how Colón Opera House itself also becomes a physical site for fandom. The author points out how audience members congregating outside the venue signify far more than waiting in line; it is a site for fandom shared through conversations with others. This is the first opportunity for such fandom during the cultural event and may explain why members are so eager to arrive, to give them the longest possible opportunity to be active within the fan community.

Or as Benzecry puts it, so 'fans can gather to wait, converse, compare, and justify their preferences' (2009: 133). While Benzecry talks of the obsessive behaviours of these fans, he does not explicitly draw a connection between such behaviours and identity formation.

Although Benzecry's study is concerned with opera audiences, which is a different type of listening experience to that of instrumental chamber music given the additional preoccupations with plot, costume and staging, interesting parallels can still be drawn. The findings of this particular study show the opportunities and merit in mapping theories of fandom on to high arts audiences in order to gain better understanding of the social interactions that take place around such cultural events. The study suggested such social interaction, feelings of belonging and progression within the hierarchy of the community are significant to a listener's experiences. Understanding classical music audiences through the lens of fandom will allow similar social interactions in this community to be explored.

<u>Research with Music in the Round audiences</u>

Studies of classical music audiences have already examined the parallels that could be drawn between these particular listening communities and theories of fandom. As already noted, Pitts (2005) and Pitts and Spencer's (2008) research with the Music in the Round audience make connections between populist fan cultures and the regular chamber music festival attenders. Pitts (2005) draws direct parallels with the festival audience and that of Bruce Springsteen fans as described in Cavicchi's 1998 study. However, the Music in the Round audience did not readily perceive themselves as fans but more as 'a music lover' or a 'life-long accomplished listener' (p. 267). As the author points out, this is most likely because the term 'fan' is most readily associated with teenagers and popular culture. However, both papers see value in drawing comparisons between popular music fan cultures, the larger body of literature that surrounds it, and the behaviours and inner workings of classical music audiences (2005: 267). Pitts and Spencer state

that the closest classical music audiences get to a study of fandom is terming classical audiences 'obsessive aficionados' (2008: 229).

Both papers talk of the interest the audience find in the performance setting (the audience create a circle around the performers, see studio images in Section 1.1) provided at the festival. However, the regular attenders of the festival give differing responses compared to newcomers. For the regular community, this particular seating arrangement is thought of as superior to other concert settings. One research subject described the differences between seeing the same performer 'in the round' and at a more conventional concert set up as:

> It's the venue, and the atmosphere, the approach, because at the cathedral she was just very much, you know, [a] wonderful performer, on a stage, strutting her stuff sort of thing; whereas in Music in the Round, you know, she talked; there's this sort of feeling between the audience and the performer, which is just, just makes the whole thing so different and exciting (Pitts 2005: 260).

This regular audience member's overt preference for the 'in the round' performance space as superior to any other concert setting displays, I would argue, fan-like qualities. By supporting a particular venue as giving the best cultural experience, this is uniting a community in a joint belief that their personal preference or tastes are the best or most correct.

Further to this, if part of an audience's loyalty to a concert series is the performance space; this allows members of the audience to make a pilgrimage to this cultural event, meaning that when they arrive they feel a sense of familiarity and destination. This sense of knowledge of a venue could be analysed in terms of Wenger's 'community membership' (2008), as described above, such that members would find this familiar and newcomers foreign. Furthermore, a clear sense of 'shared repertoire' is apparent here as described by Pitts and Spencer, drawing on theories from environmental psychology; 'place attachment confirms

that cognitive and emotional connections with a place are reinforced by positive memories of events that have occurred there' (2008: 235). Similar ideas concerning venue and memories have also been found in research into live popular music concerts (Cohen 2014: 131-145). However, although familiarity with a particular venue can be seen to be a positive thing, even 'part of the pleasure experienced by regular festival-goers' (2005: 261), it may have the opposite effect on people that lie outside this community as they may see it as a barrier to their belonging.

Within popular music studies, fan cultures have served as a mechanism for sorting people into groups or sub-cultures as discussed above. I suggest this is also applicable to classical music audiences as a sub-culture that people may enjoy engaging with or not, as seen below:

> We brought a cousin of my partner and his wife (our guests for
> the weekend). They had been to the festival before – but find the
> intimacy, energy, emotion and enthusiasm of the audience and
> performers hard to take. We realised afresh how privileged we
> are, how special the festivals are – and how sad and purist lots of
> other folks are! They will not be invited again – we have too
> many other friends who *do* want to come. (Pitts 2005: 261)

This is a clear example of how this cultural experience has divided this group into community and non-community. Moreover, once the newcomers had decided the cultural experience was not for them, or that they did not enjoy it in the way it was thought they should have, the regular concertgoers cast them aside. Here the research participant seems to be filtering their friends in order to find like-minded people to share this particular cultural experience with and gain membership to this community.

The two studies also show ideas of sorting within the community, for example when the audience was asked to vote for repertoire during the 2003 festival. Only

a small proportion of the audience actually voted, assuming that 'sufficient others would' (p. 263), which suggests that members of the community do feel a sense of internal hierarchy of knowledge. In contrast, the people who did vote described the elation felt when their choices were played: 'it was a real thrill them playing something you'd chosen, because I got quite a few choices, so that was a buzz, you know' (Ibid). I suggest that the reason for this reaction, besides musical preferences, is that having one's choice played functions as a way of showing an individual's place in the hierarchy though subject knowledge. Within this community knowledge seems to hold strong structuring value, but it is not the only mode through which the hierarchy in this group can be shown. Equally, structuring within the group can also be shown though level of participation or time put in. One audience member remarks '[i]t has taken time to get to know people, we were once rather guarded and too polite to intrude on another's privacy – now we seem much more relaxed and open' (p. 262). Yet there also seems to be a connection between knowledge and time spent as a member of this listening community, for instance Pitts states '[m]any regular attenders felt that their knowledge of chamber music had been deepened through their years of listening' (p. 264) and this is also evident in the opera-going community, as outlined in Benzecry's work discussed above.

Furthermore, Pitts and Spencer describe the social importance this community holds for its members, and how '[a] sense of belonging and community has been shown to be vital in maintaining audience loyalty and longevity, both through interaction with like-minded listeners and through a desire to establish a sense of friendship and familiarity with the performers' (2008: 237). As described above, Auslander (2008) makes the argument that communities of live cultural events are in fact not communities at all, but just a group of people with the same consuming habits, yet studies of the Music in the Round audience show this social-cultural event has far more significance for this community than common consumption.

However, both of the previous studies at Music in the Round have taken place during a festival (a short time period with large frequency of concerts), rather than

a concert series (a collection of single concerts presented over the course of multiple months or a season). I will examine the social importance of an audience community if formed at a concert series, and discuss whether it functions in similar ways to that of festival audiences. Moreover, by understanding the Music in the Round audience as a fan community, I will highlight questions around how new fans enter the community. Through research carried out in Doncaster, I will apply this theory to another context. Cast in Doncaster offers the opportunity to explore a similar style of concert, including players and repertoire, but with different audience members and in a new venue.

2.4 UNDERREPRESENTED GROUPS AND BARRIERS

In exploring the idea of community within live classical music audiences, it is also important to investigate the experiences of those who do not partake or feel a sense of belonging in this community. Stephanie Pitts points out the inevitability that 'a tight-knit community, such as an audience with a twenty-year shared history, will leave some feeling excluded from the dominant values and experiences of the group' (2005, 268). A narrow community with a prevalence of one demographic will result in underrepresented groups within an audience, in turn creating barriers to concert attendance. With many sectors of contemporary society underrepresented in classical music audience composition, it is necessary to consider the preservation of concert culture over the coming years. There are several underrepresented groups within a classical music audience, who can be categorised by race, class or age. In this thesis I focus primarily on only one underrepresented group, defined by age. There has been a decline in young people's attendance at classical music across the UK and the same trend has been found in the United States, where '[a]ttendance rates at classical music concerts have declined markedly among younger cohorts since 1982 (with the worst of the decline occurring between 1982 and 1992)' (DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004:177). More recent evidence suggests that this decline is continuing in the UK (Arts Council England 2015), raising concerns for classical concert promoters. DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004) make connections between the decline of younger audience attendance and 'the notion that the status of these activities as cultural

capital has declined' (p. 177). In other words, classical music concerts are no longer considered appealing by the younger generation and have lost relevance for this group of people.

The literature that deals with young non-attenders of classical music varies wildly in age ranges. For the purposes of this study, a young person will be under the age of 25 to allow comparison with many studies of young people's experiences of classical music. The decision to explore this particular underrepresented group was made partly because of my own positionality as a young person aged under 30 (for further discussion of positionality see Chapter 3 Methodology). Further to this, young people are a large group and of current concern to the industry. Due to the majority of regular audience members being retired there is urgency for research into young people's experience of classical music. In a contemporary society driven by technology and multisensory experiences, there is a substantial cultural shift between regular audience members and young people. In particular, changes in popular culture, a source of entertainment for many young people, means that their regular cultural experiences are moving further away from concert culture, such that 'the conventions of the concert hall can seem to be at odds with contemporary life, presenting barriers for all but the most habitual attenders' (Pitts 2005: 258). Therefore, it is essential to question why certain demographic groups do not participate in classical music concert culture and what might be the barriers to their attendance. This investigation will include: the role of musical and listening experience, social experience including the pre-existing community, the space in which the performance takes place and the notion of risk in barriers to attendance.

Fundamental to any concert experience is the classical music performed, which forms a central motivation for regular audience members and a risk for newcomers. The level of familiarity and knowledge of classical music has been shown to be one of the most important factors in the decision to attend concerts (Brown and Novak 2007; Radbourne *et al.* 2014). However, for newcomers to classical music, particularly those of a younger generation, this type of music may

be very unfamiliar and would decrease the likelihood of them attending. Melissa Dobson suggests young people's experience of classical music is 'strongly mediated by a perceived lack of knowledge, which contributed to a feeling of being morally obligated to like the music they were exposed to in performance' (2010:116). However, despite this perception, the same study found no correlation between familiarity and enjoyment of the musical works performed; indeed participants who experienced the greatest enjoyment were a mixture of those who had a very high familiarity with the work and those who had none. The same finding was also noted in Sam Thompson's 2007 study investigating classical music audiences. Therefore, little familiarity with the works performed should be viewed as an influential risk but does not stop attenders accessing the same level of enjoyment as more knowledgeable audience members.

However, there are factors of the concert experience that are affected by prior knowledge of musical works. Studies that have investigated young people's reactions to classical music have found that these newcomers often do not have the appropriate language or expectations of concerts to judge their quality (Pitts *et al.* 2013; Pitts and Dobson 2011; Dobson 2010). Dobson states that:

> participants noted holding a preconception that classical performances are, by their very nature, perfect; they were therefore unsure how to appraise a given performance. The negative effects of this uncertainty were exacerbated by the enthusiastic responses of other audience members — demonstrating that shared audience response can elicit an alienating, as well as inclusive, effect on individual listeners' experiences (2010:116).

Furthermore, Tim Baker describes how classical music concerts are often described using a 'foreign language' and 'to an infrequent attender, let alone a novice, this can be decisively forbidding' (2007: 44). Here the technical language used to market classical music beforehand and at the concert itself poses a barrier to attendance for those without this technical

knowledge. Moreover, technical language only adds to preconceptions that newcomers, particularly of younger generations, may hold about classical music and its audiences, and further contributes 'to the impression of classical concert audiences as a knowledgeable, distinct group' (Dobson & Pitts 2013: 262-3). Ideas of 'linguistic access' have been found in the arts more widely. In a study investigating young people's experiences of an art gallery, the language used to describe the art was deemed off-putting due to its 'formality and complexity' (Harland & Kinder 1999: 50). When the participants were asked to produce their own labelling the study showed that giving young people 'the freedom to use their own language to shape their initial responses,' increased self-esteem by 'having the validity of their responses accepted alongside more formally expressed interpretations' (p. 51).

Musical preferences are important in forming self-identity and '[t]he mid-teens are often seen as a critical period in the process of identity formation' (Harland & Kinder 1999: 16). With the average regular audience member being older, well educated, white and middle class (Small 1998) it is easy to see how young people may not feel included in the shared identity of a classical music concertgoer. In a study of young first time attenders at traditional classical concerts, the participants commented on the audience's older age. However, at a populist concert participants were found to 'identify the music more strongly as part of their own cultural experience, this group felt more comfortable with the age disparity' (Kolb 2000: 19). Furthermore, a lack of association with the shared identity of concert-going is contributing to the negative impression young people hold of classical music, which in turn creates peer pressure not to attend. Harland and Kinder's 1995 study investigating barriers to arts participations across 700 participants aged 14 to 24 in England suggests 'perceived dissonance with the self or group identity, and anticipation of negative reactions from others formed a barrier to attendance' (Harland & Kinder 1999: 34). The connection between identity and arts consumption seems particularly significant for younger people who are still

forming their own tastes, and classical music seems to have little relevance in their everyday lives at this crucial time.

Regular concertgoers are very aware that there are underrepresented groups within their audience. O'Sullivan comments on findings which show that among regular audience members there was 'a sense of lack' such that '[a] frequently reported adverse effect of other people was simply their absence' (2009: 219). These concerns stem from worry about classical music's longevity and the desire to pass this music and the community it encourages to the next generation so that it may transcend time (Pitts 2005; O'Sullivan 2009). Consequently, much interest has surrounded newcomers to classical music as well as regular audience members when understanding audience experience. This study furthers this debate by considering both regular attenders and newcomers, of varying ages, at the same concert series.

Little is known about the relationship between non-attenders or infrequent attenders and the regular listening community, in particular their interdependence and influence over each other. As explored in the previous section (2.3), classical music concerts can be viewed as social events and therefore it is important to explore this aspect of concert going when considering barriers to attendance. As a newcomer it is unlikely that the full benefit of the social community that surrounds concerts would be received and therefore these events seem less social for newcomers. Moreover, due to concert hall conventions that dictate still and silent listening, the social aspects that are received by listening as part of an audience appear to be somewhat counteracted by expected behaviours. When considering newcomers from a younger generation, the lack of social connections between other audience members and themselves may be exacerbated by the combined barriers of being a newcomer in this environment and one that is of a generation which is other than the norm.

Further to strained social relations between young newcomers and regular audience members, Dobson also suggests 'a lack of performer–audience

interaction alienates a younger generation who are accustomed to concerts of other musical genres being a truly social event' (2010:111). Attendance at other musical entertainment events could be contributing to barriers classical music presents for younger generations. If young people are becoming accustomed to social musical conventions that are greatly different to classical music, this will make it seem further away from their normal social entertainment. Kolb's 2000 study explores this issue and suggests that one reason for this change in the social expectations of a musical event is the broadening of young people's life experiences and their freedom to 'no longer look to a single social class, religion, or nationality for cultural meaning or entertainment' (25).

Moreover, Kolb establishes a relationship between social entertainment and the notion of 'fun'. Her study investigated the preferred social activities of young people and all of the responses 'mentioned "fun" as the essential ingredient for a successful night out' (2000:16). Kolb found that key factors that influenced fun experiences included the ability to '[interact] with people, [laugh] a lot, and being able to "let your hair down"'. Secondly, to 'have the opportunity to meet new people, especially members of the opposite sex', and finally 'the opportunity to socialize had priority when choosing a social activity' (16). Therefore, the social aspect of a concert experience may add little motivation to attend for the younger generations, as the key factors of a fun experience are either not incorporated or are harder to receive compared to other social entertainment. This is in great contrast to regular audience members for whom the social community adds much value.

As already discussed, musical performances help to form the self-identity of young people. Feeling a sense of belonging and acceptance in a cultural setting is gained by sharing an experience with like-minded people, which contributes greatly to motivations to attend. Choosing to listen to recorded classical music may seem less of a commitment than attending a public performance and partaking in communal listening. Attending a live performance makes listeners instantly aware of the other audience members and the community that serves them and it is very easy to feel excluded or different from this group. Group affiliations contribute to

self-identity, and therefore not wanting to, or feeling like you cannot affiliate with concert culture will be a substantial barrier to attendance. The findings of the Mass Observation (1990) study supports this argument, where '47 per cent of respondents in the lower socio-economic groups gave "my friends tend not to go" as a reason for infrequent arts attendance' (Harland and Kinder 1999: 34). However, less is known about how young people would feel if they came as a group and formed their own section of this community, and this will be explored in this study.

The physical building in which concerts are housed can also be seen as a barrier for new attenders. Christopher Small describes how the first impression of a concert hall can be grand and imposing (1998: 19). For young people this landmark building can be alienating and further contribute to the negative preconceptions held about classical music. Kolb's study with young people explains how participants 'believed having concerts in venues where socialization was easier would be attractive to students. Public parks (not stately homes which they associated with old people) were thought a particularly good idea because the music could be heard by people passing by who then might be attracted to attend' (2000:24). The young people in Kolb's study suggested that the current venues of classical music are bound with preconceptions of age and status that differ from their own. In order to access classical music newcomers must feel comfortable with entering this cultural venue and therefore being unfamiliar with a concert hall can be seen as one of the fundamental risks to attendance, explored in RQ5 of this thesis.

In exploring barriers to concert attendance, one concept that must be considered is this notion of risk. Risk is not an inherent characteristic of a classical music concert itself but a collection of attitudes and expectations held by people (Rohrmann 1998). What becomes interesting is how ideas of risk vary between, and are negotiated by, non-attenders and regular audience members, and moreover how risk impacts motivations and barriers to attendance. Classical music concert attendance can be considered as having varying elements of risk:

firstly in terms of programming (likelihood of enjoyment of the pieces played), secondly in terms of experience (likelihood of having a good time at a concert), and finally a sense of belonging (likelihood of feeling comfortable at a concert). Newcomers must make a personal negotiation of positive and negative risk when choosing to attend a concert, which involves balancing the intrinsic elements of the musical performance (e.g. will I enjoy the pieces played?) and extrinsic elements that happen away from the performance (e.g. will I be able to go for a drink afterwards?) (Brown & Novak 2007: 17).

There are factors that can change perceptions of negative risk for new attenders. Newcomers' experiences and knowledge of classical music, as well as the concert culture surrounding a particular institution, have a strong impact on an attender's enjoyment of the concert and can also act to reduce the risk associated with attendance (Brown & Novak 2007; Radbourne *et al.* 2013). Concert enjoyment and the connection this enjoyment has with prior knowledge can be seen as highly significant for new attenders and a little knowledge could possibly result in a reduction of the risk that is a substantial barrier to attendance.

Alan Brown has identified seven elements of prior knowledge that contribute to the sense of risk and likelihood of attendance which the author terms 'relevance tests'. These are:

> Relevance of the specific work(s) of art (e.g., "I love Brahms's 3rd Symphony"); Relevance of the artist(s) ("I'll go see any Matisse exhibit"); Relevance of the genre, idiom, medium or discipline ("Gilbert and Sullivan is my cup of tea"); Relevance of the institution presenting the art ("Artspace always does provocative exhibitions"); Relevance of the activity category ("It's important to be exposed to great art"); Social relevance ("My friends are involved in drumming circles"); Cultural relevance (i.e., the activity is consistent with my cultural identity) (2004: 22).

Brown suggests that for positive risk to outweigh negative risk, an audience member must 'pass' at least one relevance test. The application of this relevance framework will allow for better understanding of risk for this group of non-attenders.

Factors that impact young people's concert attendance can be understood through the model in Figure 2.1. Regular concert attendance for this group of people is a very hard cycle to begin, due to the barriers described above. Tim Baker's 2007 work found that '[n]o specific research on young people and classical music has been found in researching this guide' (p. 48). Although the study of young people's experiences of classical music and the barriers they face requires more scholarly attention, Baker's assertion is no longer strictly true. Young people's views of classical music concerts have been investigated by Bonita Kolb (2000) and Melissa Dobson (2010). This thesis builds on these studies; but differs in that both Kolb and Dobson investigate first time attenders of symphonic works and not smaller more intimate chamber music. Here, the venue and proximity to musicians and other audience members are greatly altered, particular in the case of chamber music played in the round whereby a sense of community across the audience is particularly apparent. Tim Baker does suggest that greater understanding of young people's interaction with classical music can be drawn from a Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation publication, *Crossing the Line* (1999). This book pursues an investigation of young people's first interactions with cultural venues, but encompasses the arts more generally, and does not specifically deal with classical music. The findings from my own research presented in chapter 5 will address the need for research focussing exclusively on young people and classical music.

2.5 HOW IS IT KNOWN? MEASURING AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE

As Katya Johanson explains, in recent years there has been 'a growing international scholarly interest in the experience of audiences as opposed to a study of who audiences are in terms of the class, ethnic background or social group they represent' (2013: 161). This push away from demographic work,

towards the deeper questioning of audience experience calls for more understanding of how this type of data is captured. Central to the idea of experience is the implicit question of how this experience is understood. Alan Brown and Jennifer Novak suggest scholars must 'aim to better understand and measure how audience members are transformed – what happens to them in their seat' (2007: 5). However, when it comes to the examination of this 'transformation' it is possible that researchers are in need of a different methodological toolkit. The ways in which audiences have been understood in previous research have used predominantly a quantitative or qualitative research approach, each of which is explored below.

In recent years there have been some key empirical quantitative studies that consider classical music audiences; these studies set out to address the issue of measuring audience experience as opposed to demographics, which allows for a more in-depth element to the surveys. Brown and Novak's 2007 study used a questionnaire pre- and post-concert to investigate the intrinsic impact arts events may have on audience members and how this is influenced by their 'readiness to receive'. The analytical toolkit Brown and Novak have devised measures 'readiness constructs' pre performance and 'impact constructs' post performance. In the same year, Sam Thompson's study of classical music audiences used questionnaires to study listeners' enjoyment both prior to and during concerts (2007). This questionnaire was not distributed with reference to one particular arts event and therefore participants were asked to call upon a more general and collective option of concert going, away from any one specific concert environment. This style of questioning weakens the immediacy of responses to a concert experience. With the variable of the concert changing among respondents it may be hard to draw comparisons amongst responses.

Building on research presented in 2009 and 2010 papers, Radbourne *et al.* present a new research approach termed 'The arts audience experience index' (2013) which aims to study the roots of audience experience. Like Brown and Novak's study, this is a quantitative audience survey underpinned by an innovative

framework that seeks to measure audience engagement against attributes of the audience's experiences (2013: 7). It is based around four indicators: knowledge, risk, authenticity and collective engagement, and uses a short questionnaire with eight statements (two per indicator) each ranked on a scale of 1 to 5 to show the median score for each experience, with each indicator being added together to give the overall index rating. Due to the simplicity and speed of response, a large number of participants were reached, however, I suggest that such a measurement tool does not allow participants to respond fully to a complex experience.

In contemporary society, data about ourselves is seen as a commodity and as consumers we are often asked to fill in "quick" demographic surveys, with the result that potential participants can view some quantitative research approaches with trepidation. Although able to reveal trends on a large scale, the act of filling in a questionnaire has become commonplace and thus recipients risk becoming 'over-sociologized' in their responses (Hennion 2001: 5; Pitts 2005: 259; Johanson 2013: 164). It would appear that participants increasingly prefer a more personal interaction that gives a sense of ownership over their responses, as seen most obviously in talk-based methods. For example, Katya Johanson comments that often in quantitative research with arts audiences the respondents 'used the "Other Comments" facility of the survey to contribute more in-depth but unsolicited qualitative feedback' (2013: 169). If we change the way we want to analyse audiences, methodologies must also change to address these questions. Although the studies addressed above still use the basic method of sourcing numerical data about people through a survey, the theoretical framework that underpins the questions asked has fundamentally changed. Rather than asking demographic or factual questions the studies have used quantitative methods to ask questions of experience, opinion and beliefs that may be more in line with qualitative research.

Talk-based research allows for a much deeper, albeit narrower, approach that is able to yield insightful responses. However, qualitative research is not without its own limitations, primarily that the researcher must assume that what their

participants tell them is accurate and reliable. Lisa Baxter explains that participants can be 'influenced by partial memory, cognitive filters such as selective memory and peer pressure' (2010: 131). Further to this, there are other factors such as not having the appropriate language to describe your experience, wanting to please the interviewer, and having too much knowledge about research techniques such that participants are inevitably 'conveying their own interpretations of their attitudes and experiences as part of their response' (Pitts, 2005: 259). It would seem therefore that Katya Johanson is completely correct in her assertion that 'researchers cannot entirely rely on oral or written accounts of the audience's experience to provide a whole picture of this experience' (2013: 165).

Exploring new methodology is an attempt to access information from a different viewpoint or in different forms. An important question to ask is why it is important to advance the methodological toolkit and what relevance this will have for arts and their audiences. Some aspects of traditional talk-based methods did not translate well to audience research due to three factors: firstly, only being able to talk to participants retrospectively, after the arts event had happened. The second factor was an over-reliance on technical language to explain an arts experience, and finally, a concern with standardised responses through overly familiar methods. Finding the language to talk about very personal arts experiences can be challenging for even the most well-informed arts attender. Therefore, in order to collect data from arts audiences that address these issues, a method must be employed which allows participants to give an instant response to the arts experience, reduces reliance on verbal responses when describing arts experiences and is unfamiliar.

A move towards a creative research approach

Arts-informed creative visual research methods have been used successfully in other social sciences research. Developed during the 1980s, the Write-Draw method has its origins in children's health education. The Write-Draw method

asks participants to answer a question or describe an experience using writing and drawing. The method has continued to be used in the field of childhood and youth studies but has recently been adopted and developed by Jenna Hartel in information studies (2014; 2015). Her study uses the Write-Draw technique to explore how people visualize the concept of information by using an ISquare (a card which allows for a drawn and written response). In this study the ISquare was the only piece of data collected and a pre-existing framework was used to categorise and analyse responses. Hartel's use of the Write-Draw technique informed my own study and I have applied a similarly styled 'ISquare' to capture my respondent's drawn and written responses, which I have termed a Concert Card.

Although the Write-Draw technique has not previously been used with music audiences, creative visual methods have been used with the audiences of other high art forms. Matthew Reason's (2008) project titled 'Drawing the Theatrical Experience' investigates primary school children's experience of live theatre using non-verbal methodology. He uses drawing as his main methodology when investigating children's understanding of a live theatre experience; he also talked to the children about their responses as they were drawing them. Using this methodology allowed children to communicate about their experience in a medium that was comfortable to them. However, Reason has suggested it can at times be hard to gain a verbal response from children when they are busy drawing (2010).

Lisa Baxter considers whether different methodological ideas could give greater insight into arts experiences. In her 2010 work new methods are introduced that play on the idea of non-verbal stimuli, which include metaphors, guided visualization and timelines. Metaphors are used in a variety of different mediums to facilitate discussions, for example, participants may be asked to select a picture that best represents something and asked to explain why they have done so. The author explains it is not the object itself that is important 'but the interpretation attached to it' (2013: 118). The guided visualisation allows people to re-experience

their arts encounter during research, in the hope that this will bring their conscious state closer to how they might have first experienced the encounter. After the visualisation the participants are asked to draw or write whatever comes to their mind and the outputs produced are used as a metaphor for discussion. Retrospective timelines are also used as a 'metaphor card' for discussion.

Kolb's study investigating young people's views of classical music used visual activities in her research approach, 'asking the students to write advertisements for a classical music concert and to draw a picture of the typical classical music patron' (2000:15). Although the use of creative methods was described in the methodology, no visual data was presented in the findings and therefore the use of this method lacks clarity. It can perhaps be assumed that this creative activity was only used to encourage discussion. Despite this, I suggest there is the potential to make great use of the drawn and written responses captured using the Write-Draw methods as an individual data set (explained further in Chapter 3).

Exploring new methodologies within this thesis, and more widely, is part of a quest to access information about the audience experience from a different viewpoint or in forms less familiar to participants. It is known that conducting research after the event relies on participant's 'selective memory' (Baxter 2010: 131) and therefore my research seeks to allow participants to give an 'instant response' simultaneously with the arts experience. Furthermore, Johanson (2013) suggests that 'researchers cannot entirely rely on oral or written accounts of the audience's experience' (p. 165), and also that conventional qualitative methods favour those concertgoers who are 'experienced and articulate' rather than the 'traditional non-attender' (p. 170). Therefore, this thesis investigates research methods that allow participants to use some form of non-verbal response when describing their arts experience. It was also important that these new methodologies were able to take place in a concert hall setting, without disrupting the performers or other audience members.

2.6 RESEARCH AIMS

In this chapter, I have discussed the growing body of empirical literature that researches classical music audiences and their experiences. Although an established field, classical music audience research is still very much in its infancy compared to other musicological investigations into areas such as the musical text or performance practice. Further to this, within empirical work that has looked at audience experience, less attention has been paid to the social and communal aspects of the concert experience. The social and communal aspect of concert attendance allows for the formation of community, yet not much is known about the nature and practices of such a community. Previous authors have called for more understanding of classical music communities and how effectively a newcomer may integrate with them (Pitts & Spencer 2008, 237). In order to understand more about this community, I suggest that the notion of fandom can be used as a unifying concept to investigate issues of identity, memory, geography, technology, capital, politics and history. The application of the fandom framework to classical music audiences has been called for within my own field (Pitts 2005; Pitts & Spencer 2007). Although the presentation of fandom may differ from other music listening cultures, I aim to show the same sense of affiliation can be found across a classical music audience. My research aim therefore is to investigate fandom in classical music audiences by looking at the relationship listening communities have with live classical music concert culture. I will ask what can be understood by considering classical music audiences as fans and how fandom may present in this community (The findings of RQ1 and RQ2 will be presented in Chapter 4).

By considering a classical music audience in terms of fan community, this community is drawn in line with popular culture and other cultural experiences. In reaction to understanding a classical music audience as a community, my second research strand lies with people on the outside of this community. Certain demographics are underrepresented in regular classical music audiences and I wish to explore why this may be the case for one particular group, young people. Extending research that has already been carried out with first time attenders

(Kolb 2000; Jacobs 2000; Radbourne *et al.* 2009), I will explore non-attender's perceptions of classical music concert culture and pre-existing listening communities. I am interested in how this particular cultural experience may compare with more familiar musical experiences. I ask how easily new attenders are able to integrate with the pre-existing community and to what extent priming, participation in or knowledge of music has an effect on their ability to integrate as audience members (The findings of RQ3 and RQ4 will be presented in Chapter 5). I will also consider the importance of venue within the concert experience for both regular attenders and newcomers (the findings of RQ5 will be presented in both Chapter 4 and 5).

Central to this thesis is the question of audience experience, yet ways in which these experiences are measured is very much under researched. All empirical studies of classical music audiences have used either traditional qualitative or quantitative data collection. Using more traditional methods can become problematic when researching audiences for the reasons outlined in 2.5. Therefore, I aim to investigate how new methodologies may aid the investigation of audience experience. I wish to seek new methodologies from other fields that could be applied to classical music audiences in order to better understand audience experience (the application of new methods relating to RQ6 will be seen throughout the two findings chapters: Chapters 4 and 5. The effectiveness of these methods will be discussed in Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE

This chapter will explore the methodological ideas that ground this thesis: the researcher's positionality, research design, and a reflection upon the analytical toolkit used. Section 3.1 will explore the philosophical reasoning that underpins the approach to data collection and analysis of this work. Key here is Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Heidegger 1927/1962). Section 3.2 will explore how specific methods from IPA have been applied to this research. The following section, section 3.3, will give insight into the researcher's positionality and examine how this may interact with the research. Section 3.4 considers the ethics of research on classical music audiences' experiences. The main explanation of the research design used in this thesis will be presented in section 3.5, followed by a discussion of the analysis used. The final sections of this chapter evaluate the limitations and validity of this research project and explain the ways in which the data will be presented in later chapters.

In the previous chapter, ideas concerning how audience experience can be best understood were discussed. It was shown that in recent years research into audiences has moved from demographics towards experience. Smaller, qualitative studies exploring audience experiences have raised concerns about audience members becoming too familiar with this type of research, and in fact audiences have been termed 'over sociologized' (Hennion 2005; Pitts 2014). Current research into audiences tends to use methods that collect data about the experience after the event has happened; these methods also rely on the participants' verbal skills and, in some cases, technical language. This leaves the field with questions of how audience experiences may be better understood, and so the evaluation of alternative methods forms a central aim of this study.

3.1 METHODOLOGY

Methodology is underpinned by a theoretical philosophical position taken by the researcher, which is shaped by an ontological and epistemological perspective. However, the methods used and philosophical position taken alter depending on the research question. When considering the research questions of this thesis (section 1.2) their aims are concerned with coming as close to possible to understanding the lived experiences of classical music audiences. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider how the researcher can come to know what people feel and experience, and indeed whether this knowledge is possible. Central to this philosophical question are ontological ideas of how reality is constructed and epistemological ideas of how knowledge is obtained (Crotty 1998).

A realist position states that the world exists independently of the researcher's knowledge or observation of it. When researching classical music audiences, a realist position would assert that the researcher could come to know the essence of audience experiences by viewing their behaviours. Small's 1998 study of audience members takes this approach and as previously explored (Chapter 2), it has been suggested as insufficient in understanding actual audience experience (Burland & Pitts 2014). In contrast, a relativist position asserts there is no single reality and the world is constructed in our minds. Therefore, a relativist would assume layers of interpretation in research and could only wish to come as close as possible to knowing an audience's experience. For the purpose of the research questions investigated in this thesis, an approach closer to the relativist end of the spectrum has been taken, as it is assumed that the data is both produced and viewed through layers of interpretation. Consequently, methods based in phenomenology seem best suited to this investigation and will be explored below.

'Phenomenology is a philosophical approach to the study of experience' (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009:11). This thesis aims to understand the audience experience and the means by which this knowledge is acquired: therefore, it sits firmly within the phenomenological paradigm. Within the phenomenological domain there are different methodological approaches that can be taken. The founding principles of phenomenology were outlined by Edmund Husserl

(1927/1971). Husserl showed the importance and relevance of investigating experience, however is position was grounded in a realist ontological and epistemological position. Later scholars, most notably Martin Heidegger, challenged Husserl's realist position on the study of experience, questioning 'the possibility of any knowledge outside of an interpretative stance' (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009:16). From this new standpoint, the latest branch of phenomenological inquiry was developed, that of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA can be seen as:

> '[moving] away from the descriptive commitments and transcendental interests of Husserl, towards a more interpretative and worldly position with a focus on understanding the perspectival directedness of our involvement in the lived world – something which is personal to each of us, but which is a property of our relationships to the world and others, rather than to us as creatures in isolation' (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009:21).

When considering the concert experience, these multiple layers of interpretation and relationships with others are essential to understanding audience responses. Being part of an audience by definition means that the concert experience includes the presence of others and this will have an effect on personal experience (Pitts 2005). Moreover, the concert experience involves layers of interpretations as audiences receive the music. Therefore, IPA was the approach that best suited the research questions of this thesis.

Having a set of interpretivist phenomenological beliefs central to the research questions is significant, as it asserts a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology (Anfara & Mertz 2006). Relativist ontology assumes that the nature of reality is constructed through our own understanding, which is highly significant when carrying out research with people. This has particular relevance to a study of classical music audiences, as the data collected within the study has not been taken at face value but has undergone layers of interpretation, including that of the audience members and researcher. A subjectivist approach assumes

individuals construct knowledge, opening up the possibility of multiple interpretations. Moreover, the researcher cannot be removed from the object of investigation and therefore can be seen as a 'central figure in the research process because it is the researcher who constructs the findings' (Willig 2008: 13). It is therefore important to explore the positionality of the researcher, as this will have a bearing on the data collected and on the presentation of the findings. I will discuss the positionality of the researcher in section 3.3.

Arts-informed methods

These philosophically based approaches can also apply to different kinds of study, such as arts-informed creative research. The term most commonly used to describe methods with aspects of creativity is 'creative methods'. However, within this domain there are two clear groupings, firstly, arts-informed methods that rely on methods from arts practice such as drawing, and secondly, visual methods that create or collect visual data, such as photography (Kara 2015; Leavy 2009). The branch of creative methodology best suited to the research questions of this thesis consists of arts-informed methodologies using verbal and visual elements, most notably the Write-Draw method.

Write-Draw asks participants to give a written and drawn response to a research question or experience, in this project I have termed this data output a 'Concert Card' (see Appendix 3). Some research also adds a 'Tell' phase in which they ask participants to explain their responses, using this response as a metaphor to stimulate discussion (see Angell *et al.* 2014). This thesis used the Write-Draw-Tell (WDT) approach. This decision was made so that the Write-Draw data could include participants' interpretation captured during the Tell phase. WDT has mostly been used with children to explore ideas of health and 'is based on a philosophy that each child is a unique individual, with the ability to freely express his or her experience as he or she perceives it' (Angell & Angell 2013:380). Angell *et al.* (2014) give a full history of the development of this method and its uses with children, particularly in health and education. This method was originally devised to use with children, as a means to overcome limited verbal literacy, particularly around sensitive topics (Gauntlett, 2007; Ireland and Hollaway, 1996; Angell *et al.*,

2014; Prosser and Loxley 2008), but is also inclusive of participants 'researching "with" rather than "on" children' (Angell *et al.*, 2014: 18).

Away from working with children in health and education, arts-informed methods have been applied to research across the humanities and social sciences. For example, the Write-Draw technique has also been used to explore the concept of information in information sciences (Hartel 2014). The use of creative methods with arts audiences is also not without precedent: similar methods do have a tradition in ethnomusicology and have been more recently applied to audience studies (Feld 1976; Kolb 2000; Dobson & Pitts 2011; Cohen 2014) and music education (Bennett, 2016). However, to date, arts-informed methods closer to those used in the WDT technique have been used with theatre audiences (Reason 2008) and art gallery visitors (Baxter *et al.* 2013) but not classical music audiences (for further explanation of these studies see section 2.5).

Arts-informed, creative visual methodology relies heavily on cultural representation and the way meaning is made (Hall 1997). Therefore, the use of visual data 'is not merely a question of looking closely but a question of bringing knowledge to bear upon the image' (Banks 2001; 3). The inclusion of visual data is still very much in keeping with the phenomenological approach taken in this thesis (IPA). Like IPA, visual methods are used by those interested in understanding experience and they allow for many layers of interpretation. Creative visual data is organic and grounded in the perceptions of the research participants.   What the use of visual methods adds to this investigation is a new way of understanding experience. Such methods allow communication between the researcher and researched to take a different form. Joining in the interpretation of visual data allows for an act of co-creation in the research process, questioning, encouraging curiosity in the participants, and leading to deeper understand of this experience.

Some quantitative methods have been employed throughout this investigation, including audience questionnaires and box office data. This adds understanding and does not contradict the philosophical position taken in this thesis, as such methods have only been used to answer particular questions that have little room for interpretation, such as the ages of the audience members. Using a mixed-

method approach to data collection allows for a more holistic view of the object of investigation, as the most effective methodological tool was engaged for each research question. Mixed methods allow participants to communicate personal, lived experiences to the researcher in a variety of mediums, some of which may be more comfortable than others, in turn giving a more holistic view of experience. All research methods used in this thesis rely on data already collected and on the layers of interpretation applied by the researcher and research participants to inform future questioning.

IPA and WDT all have their foundations in studies of patients' health[1] in which the sensitive topics and limitations of verbal explanation meant that other methods were not appropriate. This commonality suggests that there are shared aims at the very root of each methodology used. There is a certain commonality in the ways in which we seek to understand the experience of ill health and the experience of classical music, in that understanding patient health is also an area in which value is placed on the individual's experience but the individual is also considered in relation to the common experience. A generalised understanding of ill health may overlook deeply felt individual experiences, which may have the potential to in turn reveal new dimensions of the common experience. This finds a parallel in concert audiences who share and consume a common cultural product but engage with it in very different ways. IPA and WDT are further united by the same ontological and epistemological position and aim to come as close as possible to understanding experience through the researcher's eyes.

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1 IPA has origins in in health psychology (Smith *et al.* 1995, 1997, 1999); WDT has its origins in children's health (Williams,Wetton & Moon, 1989).

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL TOOLKIT

Having established the philosophical foundations of the methodologies selected to investigate the research questions of this thesis, this section will outline which specific parts of these theories will be drawn upon in practice and provide the methodological toolkit for the data collection and analysis.

- Quantitative methods:

Although this study is largely qualitative, there are occasions on which numerical data is appropriate in order to most efficiently answer the research question. This method has mostly been employed for questions with binary answers (see Appendix 1). Numerical ranking scales have also been used. Quantitative methods are very effective at showing categorisation on a large scale and have allowed for the capture of data across a whole audience. However, this method presents many limitations in expressing more in-depth accounts of experience (Gillham 2008: Chapter 12), and therefore is primarily used to complement the qualitative findings of this study.

- Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis:

The main practical use of IPA in this study is to bring layers of interpretation to the analysis. Central to the methods used in this study is the theory of interpretation called hermeneutics and the study of the particular idiography. Hermeneutics implies that 'things have certain visible meaning for use (which may or may not be deceptive), but they can also have concealed or hidden meanings' (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009: 24). This school of thought is used throughout the analysis of findings as it allows for layers of interpretation. Idiography is the study of the particular and allows for value to be found in the individual experience and does not aim to make claims general to all. Consequently the IPA approach can be seen as 'utiliz[ing] small, purposively-selected and carefully-situated samples, and may often make very effective use of single case analyses' (Ibid: 29). Such an interpretative approach was taken across all the data types collected in this study.

3.3 POSITIONALITY

I am a young person and a classically trained musician with a level of musical knowledge and familiarity with concert attendance: I therefore have preconceived assumptions that will have affected the research, such as an expectation that listening to classical music will be enjoyable and an affiliation with other concert attenders who are younger than the average audience member. Carrying out research with participants who were of a similar age to me allowed me to understand cultural representation and the language used by this particular group, which gives an insider perspective. Since the researcher cannot be removed from the process of research, then an insider's perspective cannot be viewed as a bias. However, my positionality did not always work in my favour: when carrying out research with younger people, I held a certain amount of authority with this group. In contrast, when researching with older participants, who may have viewed themselves as 'the expert', it was much harder to manage the direction of conversations. However, I feel the advantages of having a similar position to the U25s in this study outweighed the disadvantages it posed when working with older participants. The U25s were significantly more timid in giving responses to research questions than regular attenders; therefore, I feel greater benefits were gained by having a similar position to this group of people.

My gender must also be viewed as a factor affecting how the research was carried out. Being a female researcher seemed to have particular bearing on the behaviours of the younger research participants and may have contributed to the power balance with older participants. Furthermore, older participants shared the same ethnicity and class as my own, allowing for a sense of shared affiliation with this group. Additionally, I have predominantly lived in the south of the country, which is reflected in my accent. This geographical marker had some bearing on research conducted in the northern region of South Yorkshire, in which a large proportion of the participants were natives of this area. Over the course of the year I researched with these participants, conversations around classical music in the northern regions became more frequent, as participants became more familiar with me.

Another crucial position taken was conducting this research project in collaboration with an external partner, Sheffield-based chamber music promoter, Music in the Round (MitR). I believe a richer insight was gained through close involvement with an organisation, giving rise to the opportunity to gain practical knowledge of classical music audiences and experience first-hand the inside workings of an arts organisation. It also gave access to data that may not have been available to the research otherwise through the promise of reciprocal sharing of the research findings of this thesis. However, working so closely with one organisation must be taken into consideration within the research procedures of this study, such that some informal observations did have some impact on the research and help to inform the research questions asked. There were also some constraints arising from this partnership, such that total autonomy in the research design was not possible.

Working with this particular external partner had implications for the research, owing to my supervisor's prior established relationship with this organisation and her publication of substantial previous literature researching this audience in Sheffield. I therefore had to be mindful that this audience had been researched with in a similar way previously, leading to potential positive bias and well-rehearsed stories for some, and a reluctance to give up their time for research again for others. Pitts' previous work with the organisation also meant that MitR had a good knowledge of their existing audiences, and so there was no strong institutional or academic need to replicate a study of the motivations and experiences of established listeners. To counter this in my research design, I chose not to work with regular audience members in Sheffield, and instead took my study of regular attenders to one of MitR's touring venues in Doncaster and a new audience that had not previously engaged in research with MitR. Researching in a newly built venue provided the ideal opportunity to respond to Pitt's prior studies with a fresh perspective. Further to researching in this new context, I also turned to the use of novel research tools to try and enhance existing awareness of the audience's experiences, and also sought to focus on those newcomers who are outside the listening communities documented by Pitts. By designing new methods and focusing on new cohorts of participants, I was able to cross-reference my

findings with those earlier studies, and shed new light on some of Pitts' findings around how the MitR audience community might create exclusion for new members even while being highly valued by existing concert-goers.

It must also be noted that this research project was carried out with the proviso that conclusions would be drawn. I suggest it is near impossible to start a research project, without holding certain assumptions about what you think or hope you may find. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that, if even at a subconscious level, the researcher may be looking for confirmation of their preformed assumptions in the data.

As Leavy suggests 'we also must pay attention to our own internal barometers… we can do so systematically… through memo or diary writing about our choices, and then cycling back and interrogating those choices' (2015:282-3). Throughout this project, I have been conscious of my own position in relation to the research, and have keept field notes, which I have now been able to reflect upon. This process of reflection has reduced the imposition of my own views as much as this is possible in this research. However, '[s]ince the research process inevitably shapes the object of inquiry, the role of the researcher needs to be acknowledged in the documentation of the research' (Willig 2008: 150).

3.4 ETHICS OF RESEARCHING AUDIENCES

The ethics committee of the Department of Music, University of Sheffield, granted ethical approval for the research presented in this thesis. This ethical approval process considered the anonymity of participants and the ways in which they would be recruited, where the research would take place and the way in which participants would be fully informed about the research process before they made the decision to participate, including the fact that they could withdraw at any stage. A second stage in the granting of this ethical approval considered the relationship between researcher and external partner. This included the ways in which the data would be shared between the two parties and the permission to name the arts organisation in this open access thesis.

However, a more philosophical consideration of the ethics of researching audiences is also necessary. In particular, this study collects data simultaneously with the concert experience and, in consequence, this type of research method has, to some extent, changed the arts experience by asking the participants to carry out a task during the concert that may distract them. In other words, the research participants are not attending as 'normal' audience members and it must be considered that the behaviours of the participants may be slightly altered as a result. However, similar limitations would be expected of all 'real world' research (Robson 2011).

Moreover, I acknowledge that not only was the concert experience altered for audience members in this study, but also their behaviours as audience members may have been influenced because of their awareness of taking part in this research study. The 'Hawthorne effect' in research is well known, coined after research at the Hawthorne Works (a Western Electric factory) where productivity was shown to improve during a scheduled research project, an outcome attributed to the motivational effect of performing better during a time of heightened interest in the workers (Landsberger 1958). A similar effect may have operated in my study, particularly affecting data from those already invested in MitR as described in Section 3.3. It should also be considered that for all research participants in this study, their involvement in some way heightened their experience of concert going and I was aware of the need to manage any consequent loss of interest in these people after the research had ended. This was particularly the case for those who had been part of a yearlong study in Doncaster, and so these audience members were passed back to MitR after the research had finished, and they continue to be involved in audience forums and updates on the research of which they were a part.

3.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

This section explores the practical research design of this thesis and shows how all data was collected. Data collection falls into two strands: those carried out in Doncaster and Sheffield. Both sites of data collection use the same combination of methods, including questionnaires, interviews and the Write-Draw-Tell approach. As the Write-Draw-Tell approach is a new application to research with classical music audiences, a step-by-step description of this method will firstly be given.

3.5.1 WRITE-DRAW-TELL – METHOD GUIDE

Data Collection

- Participants are given a Write-Draw card, which I have termed a Concert Card (see Appendix 3 for example)

- Participants are asked to give a verbal and visual response to the first half of the concert experience, as it is taking place. They are also invited to a focus group interview about their created Concert Card at the end of the concert.

- During the interval the Concert Cards are collected and the researcher investigates the cards to gain a familiarity with the responses. Any emerging themes from that first reading are used to inform the questions in the focus group following the concert.

- After the concert, the participants are asked to explain their created Concert Card at the start of the focus group. This allows for unscripted questions to be added to a semi-structured interview questions to respond to the discussion that follows.

Data Analysis

- The Concert Cards are analysed by firstly digitising them, and then each compositional component is examined and coded. For example, literal representation of the musicians or audience and abstract depictions of the listening process.

- The transcript of the focus group and the Concert Cards themselves are analysed separately, using thematic analysis techniques (see section 3.6 for further detail).

- Finally, the themes discovered in the Concert Card and transcripts are compared.

3.5.2 STRAND ONE - DONCASTER

Addressing RQ1, RQ2, RQ5 and RQ6, this study investigates the impact of a new performance space, Cast, on Music in the Round's audience in Doncaster. Audience attitudes towards the venue were documented through the four concerts programmed in the MitR series over Cast's first year of opening. The research directly compares attitudes towards the venue at the start and end of the year and in doing so aims to understand the relationships between performance space and audience members. This strand of data collection also explores whether a community forms across a new audience in a new venue, and, if so, how this community may function. I also investigated whether the introduction of a new venue to this concert series, along with adapting to sitting 'in the round', changes the behaviour of the regular attenders of the previous venue in Doncaster.

As described in Chapters 1 and 2, by mapping the theory of fandom onto classical music audiences, I hope to better understand who is attending classical music concerts, why they are choosing to do so, the behaviours and rituals of concert culture, and how this impacts them in their everyday lives. With this investigation comes a rich insight into the inner psyche of this group of people and also a source of comparison with people who are choosing not to attend. By tracking an audience from its origin in a new venue comparisons can be made between the findings of this study and research conducted on the established Music in the Round concert series in Sheffield (Pitts 2005; Pitts & Spencer 2007).

PARTICIPANTS

This study featured two intakes of participants: a consistent research group across the four concerts, and the differing membership of the full audience for each event. The participants in the regular research group were divided into two categories that were dependent on previous concert attendance. Category one consisted of participants who had regularly attended concerts in Doncaster, and the second category of participants who had never attended a classical music concert before. I have termed participants in these two groups 'regulars' and 'newcomers' respectively.

Participant recruitment

- Research group: Regulars

Participants were recruited via the MitR email mailing list; this online list consisted of people who had previously booked a MitR concert at the previous venue. Audience members were asked to commit to attending all four concerts in the study and were offered complimentary tickets to these concerts. For these regular attenders the complimentary tickets were only an incentive to take part in this research, as they were likely to attend anyway. Some participants from this category chose not to receive the complimentary ticket, preferring to pay in support of MitR. Their motivation to take part in this research was therefore more likely around the value of sharing opinions.

- Research group: Newcomers

Participants were recruited through two avenues. Firstly, the regular audience members, as well as participating themselves, were asked to aid in recruiting newcomers. The second stream of participants were recruited through a Cast board member who invited newcomers from societies in Doncaster to take part in this study. Participants recruited in this way were also offered complimentary tickets for the four concerts, acting as a large incentive to partake in this new experience.

- Full audience

All other audience members at each of the four concerts were also eligible for the research project. Questionnaires and comment cards were distributed either on the exit of each of the concerts or during the interval. It was at the discretion of audience members to complete and return questionnaires, which they could do either by Freepost or at the end of the concert. The full audience were also invited to take part in an audience forum after the third concert. All adult audience members were potential participants in the forum and were approached using emails before the concert, via information in the concert programme and through word of mouth on the night. All these modes of recruitment carried the same message, informing the audience members that the forum was taking place and that anyone was welcome to take part. It was also made clear that MitR, and a researcher working with them, would use the outcomes of the audience forum. Although no financial incentive was offered, this was an opportunity to reflect on the concert series so far and it was at the discretion of audience members to stay and participate.

Consent obtained

Both Cast and Music in the Round granted consent for the research and for approaching potential participants. This took a degree of negotiation and compromise between the researcher and both arts organisations. Staff members from both external partners were briefed about the research and were able to advise audience members accordingly if they needed any clarification about the event.

The purpose of the questionnaire was explained at the start of the paper version, and completion of the questionnaire was taken as implied consent to the use of the data in the research.

The forum took place in the performance space, which was heavily signposted explaining the purpose of the forum. All audience members were made aware that the forum was recorded and that audience comments would be used in publications by the researcher and Music in the Round. The participants could

choose to opt-in by re-entering the space and taking part in the discussion, and informed consent was therefore considered to have been implied.

For the focus group, participants were asked to sign a consent form at the beginning of the session. It was also made clear that any data collected during the focus group would be presented anonymously, and that participants were free to withdraw from the study or retract specific statements at any point.

Completion of a Concert Card was voluntary and therefore completion of this task was taken as implied consent. The participants were also asked if they were willing to consent to the display of their anonymous Concert Card in public displays.

Record of participation for research group

TABLE 3.1: Record of participation from research group during longitudinal study at Cast

Participants	Concert 1	Concert 2	Concert 3	Concert 4	Total participation (%)
Newcomer 1	X	X	X	X	100%
Newcomer 2	X	X	X	X	100%
Newcomer 3	X	X			50%
Newcomer 4	X	X	X	X	100%
Newcomer 5	X	X			50%
Newcomer 6	X	X	X	X	100%
Newcomer 7	X	X			50%
Regular 1	X	X	X	X	100%
Regular 2	X		X		50%
Regular 3	X	X		X	75%
Regular 4	X				25%
Regular 5	X	X	X	X	100%
Regular 6	X	X	X	X	100%
Regular 7	X	X	X	X	100%
Regular 8	X	X	X	X	100%
Regular 9	X			X	50%
Total participation (%)	100%	81%	63%	69%	

Record of participation for full audience

TABLE 3.2: Record of participation from full audience during longitudinal study at Cast

Concert	Concert 1	Concert 2	Concert 3	Concert 4
Number of participants from full audience	30	26	21	27

RESEARCH PLAN AND METHODS

TABLE 3.3: Strand 1 research plan

Concert Number and Date	Research Carried Out	Programme Presented
Concert 1 – 5 April 2014 DONCASTER, Cast Second Space	Full Audience: Questionnaire given to whole audience on exit of concert with a Freepost envelope. See Appendix 1 for example. Research Group: Focus group with newcomers using guided visualization after the concert. Research Group: Focus group with regular audience members using guided visualization after the newcomer's focus group. See Appendix 2 for example.	LIGETI Six Bagatelles for wind quintet BARBER Adagio for Strings BERIO Opus No. Zoo for narrating wind quintet SCHUBERT String Quartet No.14 in D minor: *Death and the Maiden*
Concert 2 – 5 July 2014 DONCASTER, Cast Second Space	Full Audience: Invited to complete a Comment Card in the interval. Research Group: The 16 participants that make up both the newcomers and regulars focus groups were contacted after the concert to give a short account of their concert experience. Participants could choose to be contacted via email or phone.	LIST *Orpheus* for piano trio BEETHOVEN Piano Trio in C minor Op.1 No.3 TCHAIKOVSKY Piano Trio in A minor Op.50
Concert 3 – 11 October 2014 DONCASTER, Cast Second Space	Full Audience: Invited to complete a comment card in the interval. Full Audience: Audience forum took place after the concert, run in collaboration with Music in the Round. This took the form of a large informal focus group.	SCHUMANN Piano Quartet in E flat Op.47 SCHUBERT Octet in F D803

	Research Group: The 16 participants who made up both the newcomers and regulars focus groups were contacted after the concert to give a short account of their concert experience. Participants could choose to be contacted via email or phone.	
Concert 4 – 7 March 2015 DONCASTER, Cast Second Space	Full Audience: Questionnaire given to whole audience on exit of concert. Research Group: During the concert, participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. See Appendix 3 for example. Research Group: Regulars and newcomers focus group took place after concert in Cast's Second Space.	HAYDN String Quartet in C Op.76 No.3: *Emperor* LIGETI Trio for horn, violin and piano: *Hommage à Brahms* BARTÓK Piano Quintet

3.5.3 STRAND TWO - SHEFFIELD

Following on from Strand 1, which aimed to establish how a regular audience might function as a community, and addressing RQ3, RQ4, RQ5 and RQ6, Strand 2 is interested in the perceptions of people who typically fall outside this group in musical tastes and experiences and are therefore under-represented in the audience composition. The underrepresented group examined were people aged 25 and under. The participants were split into three bands based on their knowledge of music and the arts more generally: Band 1 consisted of students of music with formal musical training, Band 2 consisted of those who study the creative arts but have no formal musical background, and Band 3 consisted of young people who have no previous engagement with any high art form. Viewing the three bands as one group of U25s was useful when answering RQ3, which related to the views of people under the age of 25. However, it was important to this study to also recruit three different bands within this group so that RQ4, which asks how different levels of musical or cultural knowledge affect audience experience, could be addressed. Most of this research took place in the Studio at The Crucible in Sheffield, with the exception of two concerts presented at Upper Chapel.

PARTICIPANTS

The potential participants were young people aged 25 and under who lived across the city of Sheffield and who fell into one of the bands described.

<u>Participant recruitment</u>

- Band 1 – Students of Music

First year music students at the University of Sheffield were recruited via the compulsory Musicianship module run for all first years. Young people who play an instrument to county music level were recruited via the Music in the Round Concert Club, an initiative that encourages young people who play at county level to attend concerts in peer groups.

- Band 2 – Creative Writers

Students studying a Creative Writing course at the University of Sheffield were recruited through an open invitation email.

- Band 3 – Non-Arts Attenders

Participants were recruited through two avenues. Firstly, a community-based, not-for-profit vocational training provider in Sheffield. Secondly, through an outreach programme run in deprived parts of the city through Sheffield Hub.

All participants received complimentary tickets and were able to reclaim the cost of their travel so there were no financial barriers to taking part in this research. This was particularly important for students or those recruited from the outreach programme. This group was the hardest to recruit and had the highest dropout rate of all the bands. Many community-based groups that were approached to take part in this research did not even respond to the initial approach. This band was therefore the most time-intensive to recruit. They also required a greater amount of communication in the period between accepting the invite to take part and attending a concert. This was the only group who requested to be met in person before attending the concert.

Consent obtained

All participants were asked to sign a consent form at the beginning of the research. For children unable to give informed consent, parental/guardian consent was gained. Research did not take place without full consent from the participant or their parent/guardian. It was also made clear that any data collected would be presented anonymously and that participants were free to withdraw from the study or retract specific statements at any point.

Record of participation

TABLE 3.4: Record of participation

Band Type	Number of participants
Band 1	26
Band 2	4
Band 3	10
Total	40

RESEARCH PLAN AND METHODS

TABLE 3.5: Strand 2 Research plan

Young person type and Date	Research Carried Out	Programme Presented
Music Student (Band 1) – 28 November 2014 SHEFFIELD, Crucible Studio	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. See Appendix 1 for example. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. See Appendix 3 for example. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card. See Appendix 2 for example.	SCHUMANN Violin Sonata in A minor Op.105 BRAHMS Violin Sonata in D minor Op.108
Music Student (Band 1) – 4 December 2014	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were	BEETHOVEN Piano Sonata in G Op.79 BEETHOVEN Piano Sonata in D Op.28:

SHEFFIELD, Crucible Studio	asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card.	*Pastoral* BEETHOVEN Piano Sonata in B flat Op.106: *Hammerklavier*
Music Student (Band 1) – 6 December 2014 SHEFFIELD, Crucible Studio	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card.	SCHUMANN 5 Stücke im Volkston Op.102 BRAHMS Trio in E flat Op.40 for violin, horn and piano BRAHMS Violin Sonata No.2 in A Op.100 SCHUMANN Piano Trio in F Op.80
Creative Writer (Band 2) – 11 May 2015 SHEFFIELD, Crucible Studio	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card. After the post-concert focus group the participants were asked to join a workshop with a creative writing specialist from the regular Music in the Round audience. During this workshop the specialist guided the participants through creating a larger piece of informed work built from the smaller instance response created during the concert and the concert experience as a whole. Researcher invited participants to comment on the larger pieces of work during an interview.	LIZZY COOPER *Killarny Jig.* BRITTEN Movement for wind sextet ELGAR Andante and Allegro ELGAR Soliloquy SMETANA String Quartet No.1 in E minor: *From my life*
Non Arts Attender (Band 3) – 10 November 2015 SHEFFIELD, Upper Chapel	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group	COPLAND Duo for flute and piano BARBER Canzone for flute and piano CHOPIN Ballade No.3 Op.47 for piano DVORAK Sonatina Op.100

	and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card.	
Non Arts Attender (Band 3) – 14 November 2015 SHEFFIELD, Upper Chapel	Participants received questionnaire pre-concert. Invited to a Music in the Round (MitR) concert. Participants were asked to produce a Write-Draw card during the concert. After the concert participants were asked to join a focus group and asked to comment on their pre-concert questionnaires and Concert Card.	MOZART Divertimento in F K.138 HAYDN Quartet in A Op.20 No.6 BEETHOVEN Quartet in E flat Op.74: *Harp*

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

At the root of the data analysis in this thesis are IPA processes. Different types of data require different modes of analysis in order to understand the patterns and themes presented. This section explores how each of the three types of data used - numerical, verbal and visual - were analysed.

<u>Numerical data</u>

All numerical data was first entered into Excel. This allowed the researcher to easily visualise and search through this type of data. In this format the data can easily undergo various statistical analyses. For example, binary questions were represented through percentages and range questions through averages. The data was then imported into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software package to carry out more complex analysis, such as correlation between questions.

<u>Verbal data</u>

Verbal data in this thesis includes both aural and written data. The aural data was first transcribed and IPA was used to work through the large amount of textual information. Firstly, I read the data a number of times in order to become familiarised with it. Formal analysis of this data then took place, intensively coding textual data line by line. Each line of text was followed by two columns, in which

the text was coded, firstly with a descriptive word or statement summing up the statement made, followed by a column showing the emotional intent of this statement. Once the data had been closely annotated, I analysed the codes themselves for recurrent patterns, which I called 'themes', allowing themes to arise from the data itself and not imposing pre-existing topics on the data. Finally, I investigated the themes found and grouped them into much broader collections, which formed the base for the superordinate themes presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Visual data

When analysing visual data there is a divide between people who believe that the image can be analysed directly (Hartel 2014; 2015) and others who feel that it should only be used for a metaphor to stimulate discussion (Baxter 2009). My belief is that both the image itself and the discussion it stimulates can be viewed as a coherent data set and can therefore be analysed. The way in which the data yielded through discussion was examined has been described in the previous section. The visual data created was inspected using compositional interpretation (Rose 2012: chapter 4). The images were firstly digitised, then each image and its compositional components was examined and coded. From this point a very similar approach was taken to that used for the verbal data, such that the codes, and eventually themes and superordinate themes, are grounded in the data and interpretation of this data is employed from the micro to macro, as is seen in IPA.

3.6.1 LIMITATIONS

This section will explore the limitations within the research design of this thesis. One limiting factor that has already been discussed in section 3.3 is the researcher's own position and how this may affect data collection and analysis. In the same way, the researcher's positionality can be seen to affect the data output. The data collected is representative of the participants reached; therefore recruitment can be seen to have a limiting effect on the findings of this project.

Using Music in the Round as the primary case study and only studying the audience of one arts organisation does have some limitations: I gained localised responses to research questions of this project and therefore only achieved an in-depth study of audience members from that subculture. The trends found in response to the research questions are only representative of the population researched, and can be described as a convenience sample. However, this type of sampling shows the value in understanding the inner workings of one particular community as a model of other similar communities even while it highlights the need for larger-scale investigations. The partnership with the organisation also led to some practical limitations on the research design, including the presentation of concerts in different venues. For the data collected in Sheffield, not all young people experienced a MitR concert in the same venue: a limitation that was due to ticketing constraints and concert scheduling, but which must be acknowledged as an unavoidable variable in this study design.

Each individual method used carries its own specific limitations. Quantitative methods were not suited to the majority of the research questions in this thesis, due to their inability to gain deep and rich data. However, researching whole audiences is only possible using quantitative methods such as questionnaires or box office data and so these methods were very effective at gaining demographics or ratings from a whole audience.

Qualitative methods allow for research questions to be explored in more depth and are very appropriate for experience-based questions. However, this type of research inquiry cannot take place simultaneously with the concert experience itself and relies on participants remembering accurately how they felt during the experience sometime after it may have occurred. This method relies on participants having the appropriate language to describe their experience and the researcher must trust that what they say is an honest interpretation of how they did feel. Therefore, it may seem hard to 'entirely rely on oral or written accounts of the audience's experience' (Johanson 2013: 165).

Using newer methodologies such as visual methods can help to overcome some of these limitations, but they also carry some of their own. Asking participants to

produce visual data during the performance could be seen as potentially limiting in the following ways. Firstly, collecting visual data during the concert could be viewed as a distraction for the participants and it also alters the "normal" concert experience. Secondly, participants can be reluctant to engage with methods or tasks they have not completed before. This also has a knock-on effect on other audience members who are unfamiliar with these methods and become concerned with what participants are doing. However, visual methods are very effective in helping us to understand audience experiences in a new way. To some extent visual methods overcome the limitations of verbal methods allowing participants to comment on the experience instantly and without a reliance on vocabulary and linguistic skills. It also promotes a more authentic response as participants are completing this type of data collection for the first time and would have relatively little knowledge of the research method.

The limiting factors of this study are, of course, similar to others using a particularly qualitative research approach as no methods are truly without limitations. However, as Willig states '[a]n acknowledgment of such limitations… encourages a reflexive awareness of the boundaries of our own and others' claims to knowledge and understanding' (2008: 159).

3.6.2 VALIDITY

This thesis builds upon the newer methodologies outlined above by using non-verbal and immediate responses. However, there is already a strong body of literature using more conventional methods to investigate Music in the Round audiences (Pitts 2005; Pitts and Spencer, 2007) and this will give grounding to the newer methodologies. Moreover, by using a mixed-method approach, more conventional talk-based methods will also be used to support these newer methodologies and will allow for comparisons to be drawn between them. Using a variety of methods, all with different strengths and weaknesses, has allowed for the best-suited method to be employed for each research question. Multiple methods

have also allowed for triangulation in the research findings, whereby different data types are compared and regularities validated. The analysis of all data types followed a robust and vigorous coding process as described in section 3.6, which substantiates the findings of this research.

3.6.3 THE PRESENTATION OF DATA AND PARTICIPANT CODES

The empirical findings of this research project will be presented in Chapter 4 (Strand 1: Doncaster) and Chapter 5 (Strand 2: Sheffield). The structuring of these chapters will be similar and the ways, in which the data is presented, including participant codes, are consistent across both data chapters. After each theme has been discussed in full, a section relating my own findings to wider literature will be presented. This decision has been made so that it is as clear as possible when the research findings of this study are being presented and when conclusions are being drawn in relation to other work. Throughout these chapters I will write in the first person where appropriate, as I feel this is a faithful position to take in relation to my own interpretation of the data in line with my methodological position.

Data excerpts have been presented in italic text. The focus of data presented is not the manner of speech but the ideas expressed by participants, therefore one example from the raw data set that was particularly representative of the theme or sub-theme will be used to encompass all instances. In the case of Chapter 4 - the findings of the research in Doncaster - each piece of data is followed by three codes, in the format (A B C). A denotes which concert the data is from; B denotes whether the data is from the research group (RG) or the full audience (FA); and C shows in what form the data was received, for example, focus group (FG), email (E), questionnaire (Q) or Write-Draw (WD). For the fifth chapter - concerning the data collected with U25s in Sheffield - each participant will be coded by band, such that (B1) would represent music students from Band one.

CHAPTER 4

'LIKE TAKING A WHITE HANDKERCHIEF DOWN A PIT': UNDERSTANDING CLASSICAL MUSIC AUDIENCES FOR A NEW VENUE IN DONCASTER

This chapter explores the experiences of chamber music concert audiences at Cast, a new multi-purpose performance venue in Doncaster, over its first year of opening. Music in the Round promotes a touring concert series performed by the ensemble in residence, Ensemble 360. The regular touring venue in Doncaster has for a long time been a large Methodist Church named Priory Place that offered a more traditional, forward-facing performance experience. The move to Cast offered audiences a very different in the round setting, with a far smaller capacity than Priory Place. The architecture and facilities of a multi-purpose contemporary theatre also contrasted greatly with that of a church.

Between 2008 and 2010 the Arts Council England collected data nationwide that investigated arts engagement by geographical area. The study measured each geographical area in England using a scale named the 'active person percentage'. The study defines an 'active person' as an adult who has attended or participated in an arts event at least three times in the past year (Fleming and Erskine 2011). Doncaster's active person percentage rated 347 out of 354 areas surveyed, and was the lowest-rated area in the region of Yorkshire and Humber. Using the Arts Council's terminology, Doncaster would most certainly be described as a 'cultural cold spot' a term 'given to geographical areas with relatively low levels of [arts] attendance and participation' (Fleming and Erskine 2011: 30). However, in late

2013 this so-called 'cold spot' was the recipient of a new £22 million performance venue, named Cast, which was opened in the Civic Quarter in Doncaster (see figure 3.2 and 3.3). MitR announced that the regular concert series housed in Priory Place was to move to the Second Space at Cast, a space that allows for concerts to be configured 'in the round', holds a capacity of 150 and is marketed as 'a place for performance, participation and conversation' (Cast website).

FIGURE 4.1: Image of Cast in Doncaster exterior
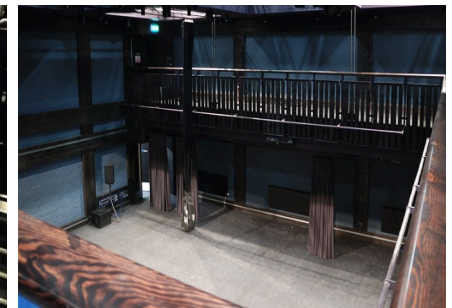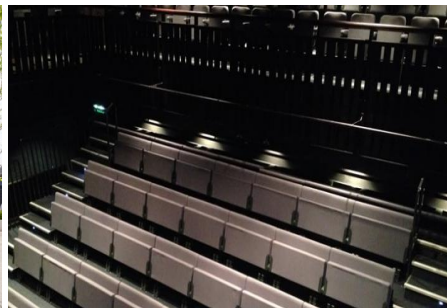
FIGURE 4.2 and 4.3: Image of Cast in Doncaster Second Space

This study takes a holistic view of audiences and listening behaviours but also the spaces and places in which these experiences occur. By carrying out longitudinal research from the origins of a concert hall this chapter aims to explore how a core audience forms and what behaviours and cultures this group adopts. Understanding the formation of an audience from its beginnings is a new contribution to the current field and will allow direct comparison of this new audience with the behaviours of established classical music audiences. After an overview of the demographic of the Doncaster audience, the structure of this chapter falls into two distinct sections: Place and Space, and People and Listening. The figure below (4.4) gives an overview of the structure of this chapter, showing that this chapter is structured around two main overarching themes, which feed into smaller themes and sub-themes. The first section, Place and Space (4.2), deals directly with RQ5:

RQ5: How might performance spaces and concert hall venues affect audience experience?

The second section of this chapter, People and Listening (4.3), investigates RQ1, RQ2 and RQ6 of this thesis:

RQ1: Can live concerts be seen as social and communal events with a community forming across an audience in a new venue, which includes the integration of regular concert attendees and newcomers?

RQ2: If a community forms, as in other venues, how does this community behave? Moreover, can the inner workings of this community be viewed as fan-like?

RQ6: To what extent can the introduction of new audience research methods help the experience of audiences to be better understood?

Overarching Themes	Place and Space (4.2)	
Themes	Audience and Venue Relationships (4.2.1)	Civic Pride (4.2.2)
Sub - Themes	Moving venue and becoming familiar	Improvement and Pride
	Role of venue in concert experience	Protection
		Entitlement

Overarching Themes	People and Listening (4.3)		
Themes	Individual Listening Experience (4.3.1)	Communal listening experience and community formation (4.3.2)	Fandom (4.3.3)
Sub - Themes		Sharing	Community accepting term fan
		The social matrix of a listening community	How fandom presents in this community
		Negatives of community	Arts organisation, performer and audience

FIGURE 4.4: Chapter Structure

4.1 UNDERSTANDING THE DEMOGRAPHIC OF THE AUDIENCE AT DONCASTER

To give context to the discussions in this chapter, a demographic overview of the audience will first be given. During the first concert in the research study the full audience were asked to complete a questionnaire, which aimed to build a picture of previous attendance at MitR concerts in Doncaster. The audience members who responded to the questionnaire indicated that 39% would describe themselves as newcomers to MitR concerts, and 61% as previous attenders. Of the previous attenders, 42% had gone to 4 or more concerts in a year and 26% had attended 3 concerts in the previous year, showing a high proportion of very loyal and active attenders. However, infrequent attenders were also represented, with 11% attending 2 concerts a year and 21% having only attended one MitR concert in Doncaster previously. This indicated that the new audience forming around Cast included very regular attenders, alongside some who had a more casual relationship with the concert series and visited infrequently, as well as those who were absolutely new to the concert series.

The age profile of the audience at Cast can be seen as quite representative of more established MitR audiences, such as MitR's Sheffield audience (MitR Box Office Data). For example, the audience in Cast had an under-representation of people under the age of 35, as seen in figure 4.5, and also has little gender imbalance (52% female and 48% male).
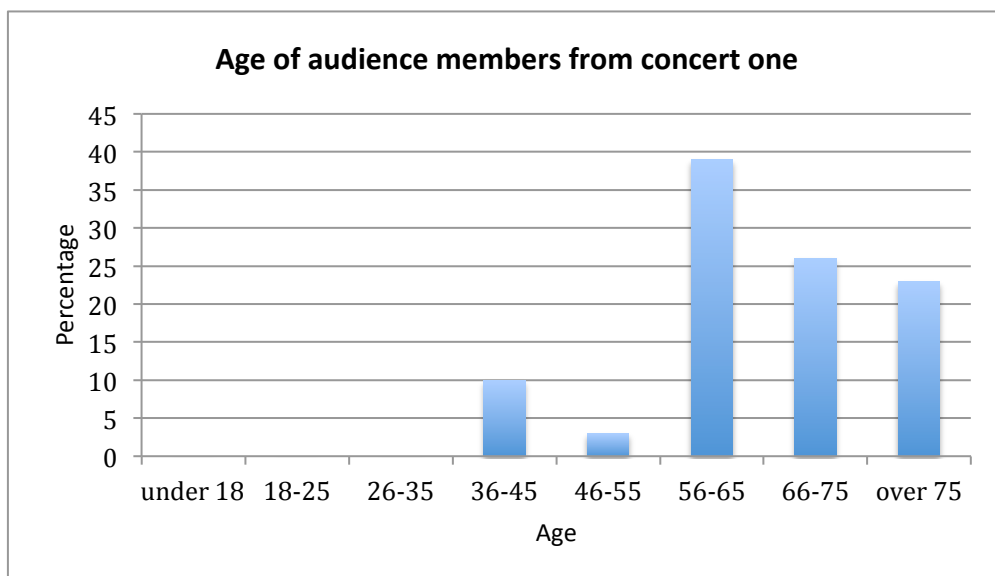
FIGURE 4.5: Graph to show ages of audience member from concert one

The audience also identified themselves as culturally engaged with other arts events at different venues, with no audience members stating that they had never attended an arts event at another venue in Doncaster. The majority (74%) visited a cultural building either on a weekly or monthly basis. I also questioned audience members on their musical participation, and 64% of the audience identified themselves as making music regularly or having done so in the past. There was therefore an almost equal split of audience members between those who were musically active and those who were not.

Having presented a demographic overview, the remainder of the chapter will explore how audience expectations and experiences intersect with the effects of venue in a new concert hall setting.

4.2 PLACE AND SPACE

This overarching theme examines the spaces within which classical music concerts occur, including performance and socialising areas, and explores the relationship these venues have with the geographical place in which they are situated. This section considers the implications of a new venue for Doncaster and explores how

audience members may choose to interact with this space. Section 4.2.1 explores the relationships between audience and venue, followed in section 4.2.2 by a consideration the type of satisfaction this building can provide for local citizens and how it might contribute to civic pride in the area. In the field of audience experience research, there is less empirical understanding of how a venue may affect both regular and non-attenders than other areas of the concert experience (Gross 2013). Although Christopher Small (1998) does offer a very interesting personal account of the role of venue in the concert experience, no empirical research was carried out in his study. Therefore, adding an empirical aspect to this debate, this theme explores how the concert hall, Cast, affects audience members both during their visits to attend performances and in their everyday lives as residents of Doncaster.

4.2.1 AUDIENCE AND VENUE RELATIONSHIPS

The impact of venue on audience members was found to be a key theme in this study and was important to participants both because of the change in venue and as part of the concert experience. The first sub-theme therefore examines the upheaval and change brought about by moving a concert series to a new venue, how the size and new 'in the round' seating configuration has impacted the audience, and finally how becoming more familiar with the building over the first year of opening may have changed behaviours and feelings toward this space. The second sub-theme explores how a performance venue may affect the concert experience by better understanding the importance of performance venue for its audiences and exploring whether this building is acting in the capacity of a mood framer or changer (Small 1998).

Moving venue and becoming familiar

The upheaval and change of moving the MitR Doncaster concert series to a new purpose-built venue, Cast, from its previous church venue, Priory Place, was seen in a positive and a negative light. Firstly, there was some disappointment from

audience members who wanted to hold onto what they had known: *A little disappointed [with the change in venue]- preferred Priory* (C1 FA Q). This negative feeling was apparently exacerbated for the core audience from Priory Place by the feeling that this change in venue had affected the transfer of audience members from the previous venue: *there are some I recognise from Priory but there are quite a lot that would always be at priory that I have never seen here* (C4 RG FG). This perception is supported by the demographic profile of the audience, outlined in the previous section; the make-up of the new audience at Cast included many newcomers to this concert series.

Although regular attenders of Priory Place felt the change of venue might have lost some regular attenders, there was also recognition of new segment of the audience forming: *[Cast is] encouraging new audience, I am coming!* (C2 FA Q). Through the questionnaires completed by the full audience over the year, a decreasing trend in this new segment of audience was found. The proportion of newcomers at the concert series lessened (Concert 1, 39% newcomers; Concert 2, 23% newcomers; Concert 4, 4% newcomers) with only 4% describing themselves as newcomers by the end of the year. This new venue therefore attracted a large number of newcomers in the first half of its year of opening, but was not able to continue successful recruitment of newcomers over time. However, audience numbers for this series grew over the year, showing that the new venue not only attracted new audiences but also maintained their relationship with the series over a year. Many participants commented on the modern and impressive aspect of the design of the building and they credited the building with helping to attract a younger demographic to the concert series: *[Cast's impact is] very good, it appear to attract more younger people* (C2 FA Q). The belief that a younger demographic was being represented was backed up by the data collected during the first concert, with 52% of audience stating they were aged 65 or below (C1 FA Q). This audience did have a lower average age than a comparable audience in Sheffield (MitR Box Office Data).

The architecture of the building was also commented on in relation to the uprooting of the concert series. A recurrent issue amongst the participants was the purpose of the venue in which classical music was performed, and moving MitR concerts to a new purpose built concert hall meant the venue was now seen as more appropriate, as seen in this discussion:

> *I think the main advantage here is that it may develop the following of people going to the theatre where as at the Priory no disrespect it was mainly the churchgoers.*
> (C1 RG FG)

This raises issues around the 'sorts of people' going to either a theatre or a church and suggests that some audience members attach importance to the extent to which the venue has a cultural identity that is more or less suited to their own. Cast's architecture has a very different identity to that of the church, and this prompted a change in participants' behaviour in this space: [*unlike Priory Place] I felt quite comfortable to mingle a little during the interval because of the informal setting and relaxed atmosphere [of Cast]* (C3 RG E).

When considering the size and configuration of the venues, the performance space in Cast is in great contrast to the previous venue. Firstly, it was considerably smaller, and for the first time the staging configuration allowed for the audience to be 'in the round' with the performers in the centre of the audience. Reducing to a smaller venue appeared to impact both regulars and newcomers in a positive fashion. For example, when the audience from concert one were asked if they would have 'preferred to be in a much larger concert hall' the outcome scored an average of 1.75 on a scale of 1 to 10, showing this statement was 'not true' of this audience (C1 FA Q). The findings suggested that this positive feeling towards the change in size and configuration of the venue was centred on three factors: closeness to the performance, being around the musicians, and being able to see other audience members. Being close to the performers was seen as an advantage

by a number of participants: *[being] close to performer was a bonus and added to experience* (C1 FA Q)*; I could hear him breathing…it was wonderful to be that close to them* (C1 RG FG).

Further to the size of the venue, the configuration was also commented on positively: *the music is right in the middle of us and that makes a difference* (C1 RG FG). The new 'in the round' configuration also added a new aspect to the concert experience and this was the ability to see other audience members: *you can see everybody's face really clearly. You can concentrate on that if you want or concentrate on looking at the musicians* (C1 RG FG). Being close to the performers and other audience members seemed to add an extra dimension to the experience, as audience members could choose to watch performer or audience. Being so physically close to the performers also foregrounded the musicians' physical involvement, allowing the musicians' breath to become part of the performance. The smaller venue size also seemed to allow for recognition of a relationship across an audience, a contentious point for participants in the previous venue, as described by one participant over two concerts in the study:

> *I always felt perpetually embarrassed in the priory place because it was always half empty and it always made me feel so embarrassed* (C1 RG FG).
>
> …
>
> *We couldn't fill [Priory Place]; I used to find it very depressing. [Cast] lends itself to intimate concentration on the music and a sense of camaraderie amongst audience members* (C2 RG E).

The relationship between venue and audience size becomes apparent here; the language used to describe the feeling of a large venue half empty and the effect this had on relationships across an audience and for the individual listening

experience was very emotive. It is significant that the size and configuration of a venue and consequently how likely this is to be full can cause such a strong defensive reaction of embarrassment either for themselves or on behalf of MitR. This is in complete contrast to the description of Cast, which was described as encouraging solidarity across an audience. Performance spaces are seen therefore to have the ability to strongly affect audience experience both positively and negatively. In particular, size and configuration have been shown to have substantial consequences for the listening experience.

Through longitudinal research at a newly opened venue it was possible to measure directly how being familiar with a venue may affect the listener. During the first concert at Cast, in which all audience members were new to the venue, I investigated whether this lack of familiarity with the venue had affected choices in booking or the concert experience in any way. The audience ranked the statement 'being unfamiliar with the venue made me think twice about booking' overwhelmingly as 'not true' [average 1.31 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). Familiarity with the venue did not seem to be the most important factor when choosing to book for the first concert in this new space. The audience were asked what it was they were thinking on approach to the venue for the first time, and the most highly rated statement was 'I was thinking about the music that would be played' [average 7.16 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). However, the venue did feature in the thoughts of audience members to a smaller extent, as the statement 'I didn't think about the venue at all' was slightly disagreed with [average 4.26 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). It had been thought that this new venue would have been a bigger barrier than it appeared to be, as discussed here:

Researcher: *Would you say the physical building could put you off attending the performance?*

M1: *Well you would overcome it if you wanted to come.*

(C1 RG FG)

This newcomer's willingness to overcome any concerns about the building could have been encouraged by the very welcoming modern architecture of the building, which did not resemble the traditional grandeur of an eighteenth-century concert hall. In addition, practical considerations or extrinsic factors also contributed to the level of familiarity. During the first concert many participants commented on poor signposting and confusion about where to go, however there were also positive descriptions of practical facilities such as: *the loos are good* (C1 FA Q). The practical facilities of a venue were acknowledged as an important contributor to the feeling of familiarity and expectations of a venue by the participants, for example: *it is important to feel comfortable whilst sitting - seating is not cramped [and] temperature [is] not too hot or cold* (C1 RG FG).

Overall it would seem that being unfamiliar with a new venue did not act as a barrier to attendance, and that having a feeling of familiarity about the practical function of the building, such as comfortable seats, did encourage a sense of positive expectation around this venue. Conversely this could have very negative implications for further attendance if audience members did become familiar with a venue in a negative fashion, such as through poor parking (Brown 2004b; Pitts and Spencer 2008). Therefore, although familiarity does not necessarily stop audiences from choosing to visit a venue for the first time, it does have consequences for what expectations and conceptions become associated with the venue and possibly impacts upon further attendance.

Role of venue in concert experience

This section discusses how the venue affects the listener and what importance they place on this as an aspect of the concert experience as a whole. A sub-theme examined through this study is the concert hall's ability to act as a mood changer or framer. I ask whether a performance space is able to manipulate the personal

emotions of listeners and if it in any way prepares them for the music they will receive or whether in fact a venue is less instrumental in the concert experience.

Participants often commented on how aspects of the venue were recurrent in conversations about the concert experience. These conversations also took place long after the event had taken place, as seen in this group discussion:

> Researcher: *When you leave Cast tonight what do you think you will talk about?*
>
> F1: *I always speak about the venue.*
>
> M1: *I do too.*
>
> F1: *Yes, you're talking about the evening you talk about every facet of it.*
>
> (C1 RG FG)

Participants who had a positive view of the venue pushed this discussion about the venue in the direction of positive advocacy by expressing an interest in talking about the venue in an online context: *Trip Advisor mentions [Cast] … it tells me how many people have been here and it doesn't cost anything: all you need to do is say "I have been to Cast this evening and it was absolutely fantastic"* (C1 RG FG). More than just talking about the venue, here there seems to be a sense of responsibility to share this experience with others and by doing so shapes other people's views in a positive fashion.

This type of positive advocacy around the venue is beginning to create a picture of how integral the spaces in which the performance takes place are to audience experience. Yet, for many other participants the venue is seen as supplementary to the concert experience, participants describing the venue as 'adding to the concert

experience' or as a secondary thought aside from the musical offerings: *guaranteed an excellent musical evening in pleasant surroundings* (C2 FA Q). However, although the venue as a whole was sometimes seen as secondary to the performance, it was acknowledged by audience members that the performance space was of equal importance as the music offered to the concert experience: *a performance can only be as good as the space* (C3 FA Q).

Certain aspects of the venue were highlighted as significant in audience members' experiences. Having choice over where to sit when entering a performance space contributed to the feeling of being a participant in the event, rather than just being a spectator: *I know that I will be able to choose a seat to suit me when I enter the space, and therefore feel very much part of an intimate event* (C1 FA Q). Unreserved seating seemed to empower the audience. At the same time, unreserved seating also removed hierarchy within the audience as equal monetary value was attached to all seats. The venue can be seen here in a very influential role, contributing to social cohesion across an audience.

Another significant facility the concert hall provides is social space in which to join in conversations with other audience members. The spaces that surrounded the performance space were valued by audience members and commented on frequently as having changed the concert culture, in comparison to the previous venue that offered very little social space: *yes, the acoustics are certainly good but, as my daughter pointed out who is visiting at the moment, you go out from here into a nice cafe bar, whereas she said when you went out of Priory Place you would go home* (C1 RG FG). However, participants often placed their feelings about the venue as secondary in importance to musical excellence, suggesting that a good concert hall may be fulfilling important functions without the conscious realisation of audience members.

I also asked whether a performance venue has the ability to act as a mood changer and therefore frame the concert hall as something special and different to everyday life experiences, building on Christopher Small's findings in his 1998 book, *Musicking*. Participants described little change in mood as they entered the foyer of Cast as shown by the low level of agreement with the statement 'I felt a change in myself as I entered the building' [average of 2.83 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). The participants also slightly disagreed with the statement, 'I felt walking into the building made me feel excited for the concert I was attending' [average 4.41 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). This conflicts with Small's suggestion that the foyer is a transitional space that places concert attenders as separate to the outside world (1998). However, these findings were in great contrast to the responses to similar questions about the transition from venue foyer to performance space:

Researcher: *Would you say you felt a change in your mood as you entered this [performance] space?*

F1: *I suppose you are happy and excited because you don't know what to expect.*

(C1 RG FG)

Here a change of mood was described with the introduction of the feeling of anticipation for the event ahead. I suggest the performance space, and not the foyer, is acting as a mood framer by providing the environment in which the audience receive the performance.

The performance space was also thought of as secondary to the performance itself. Audience members somewhat agreed with the statement 'I didn't really think about the performance space at all whilst music was being played' [average 6.43 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). However, they did suggest that the performance space allowed for their mood to be altered and facilitated their ability to become

absorbed in the music, strongly agreeing with the statement 'The performance space allowed me to truly relax and be absorbed in the music' [average 8.46 out of 10] (C1 FA Q). Rather than thinking about the performance space, the space allowed audience members to focus their attention on the music, so serving its purpose in ways that were only apparent retrospectively.

The ability of the performance space to change and frame the mood of an audience was also reported when discussing the end of concerts. The performance space was described as a space to reflect on personal experience, and often audience members did not want to leave the space quickly. This suggests that moving out of the performance space would leave audience members able to ascertain the feeling of absorption sensed throughout the concert:

> Researcher: *How did you feel once the concert had ended?*
>
> F1: *Well I didn't want to get up straight away actually.*
>
> *General agreement*
>
> F1: *I just wanted to sense the moment.*
>
> F2: *and mull it over a bit.*
>
> (C1 RG FG)

These feelings continued to be reported over the course of the year of study, showing that familiarity with the venue did not impact the performance space's capacity to act as a mood framer over time. The findings here suggest that audience member's levels of concentration were changed when they entered the performance space specifically, rather than when they entered the concert hall building.

Summary

The first sub-theme explored the impact of moving to the new venue, Cast. This was an interesting variable for the study and tracked the developing relationship audience members had with the venue over the first year of opening. All audience members came to Cast with the same amount of familiarity. The first key finding in this sub-theme was feelings of change, which was to be expected to some extent. Audience members met the change in venue from Methodist Church to purpose built concert hall with great positivity. They believed the change in venue would have a direct impact on the demographic make-up of the audience as well as attracting new attenders. The change in venue speaks to the typologies created in Robert Kronenburg's 2012 book *Live Architecture: Venues, Stages and Arenas for Popular Music*. Although the author investigates performance spaces for popular music, the theories suggested in this work can be applied to classical music venues. This study has investigated the change from 'adapted' space (Methodist Church) to a 'dedicated' space (Cast). The findings suggest that Cast, as a dedicated space, gave audience members a sense of worth and a continued value in the art form they favour. The move to a new venue also allowed ideas around familiarity with a venue to be explored. Having little or no familiarity with a venue seemed not to be off putting for audience members in Doncaster, however practical considerations similar to Brown and Novak's (2007) extrinsic factors were important. The knowledge of good comfort and facilities were influential in audience members' choices to re-attend, but equally a bad experience, with car parking for example, stopped attendance for some.

The new venue also allowed for an 'in the round' configuration and this and the smaller size of this venue were considered positive changes, due to the intimate nature of the performance space. Similar findings have been found in Stephanie Pitts' (2005; 2007) studies of MitR audiences in Sheffield. Cast's smaller venue size allowed audience members to feel closer to the performers and the in the round setting introduced a sense of inclusion amongst audience members. In this study participants also compared the effect of venue size on audience members'

perception of attendance, with a smaller venue allowing for a feeling of a full audience. The presence of a full audience dramatically changed the concert experience for participants. However, it must be noted that although regular concertgoers welcomed the addition of a new purpose built venue, it did resemble a very conventional modern theatre. Such a conventional space does not try and make changes to ideas around venues and the barriers to attendance that they may present, as described by Alan Brown (2013), for example the finding that new attenders prefer outside spaces with little cultural identity. The building of a familiar conventional theatre, albeit a modern version, does seem to perpetuate the standard presentation of classical music.

The relationship between venue and audience members can be seen as supplementary or secondary to the performance itself. However, the findings of this study suggest audience members place much importance on the role of venue in the concert experience. The role of the venue was described by participants as significant in two ways: as a space of social interaction and a feeling of togetherness; and secondly as a mood changer and framer. By providing social spaces within a concert hall, conversations between audience members are encouraged and a sense of community can form (also see Brown 2013: 55-6 for 'settings and socialization'). Unreserved seating also was shown to have implications for the social communal aspect of concert going, with participants suggesting unreserved seats allowed for choice and assignment of equal value to each seat and audience member.

The findings of this study suggest different areas of the concert hall act as mood changers for audience members. Alan Brown describes how the settings of performances 'hold radically different value and legitimacy to society' (2013: 51) and Cast as a whole was certainly described as having cultural identity significance for participants. However, participants only described their mood as changing when they entered the performance space itself, and not when entering the entrance to the theatre. This is in slight contrast to Small's thoughts, who suggests

that audience members transition from the outside world as they enter the venue (1998). The findings of this theme suggest that the role of the venue is far more significant in the concert experience than has been thought in previous studies.

4.2.2 CIVIC PRIDE

Within this theme the impact of a new cultural venue on the city of Doncaster will be explored. Until recently there was little research into how cultural buildings like concert halls affect the way people feel about the place they live in (DCMA, 2004; Oakley 2105), with studies of cultural spaces more common in museum studies (MacLeod 2001, 2005; Geoghegan 2010). In March 2016 the AHRC published one of the first reports exploring cultural spaces in the arts, entitled 'Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture' (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016). The project combines the findings of over 70 research projects to investigate the value of the arts. One area that is investigated in the report is the value of new cultural venues built as part of 'culture-led regeneration', presented in the chapter 'Communities, regeneration and space' (2016: 73-85).

Culture-led regeneration of deprived areas of the UK has been growing since the mid-80s, following the success of similar US projects. Regeneration projects like these are based on the idea that 'culture would drive both economic and urban regeneration' (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016: 74), including the creation of new jobs through future investment and an increase in tourism, which help to create a more attractive image of a city and foster community cohesion. The positive effects of cultural buildings are often cited as a major 'instrumental benefit of the arts' in urban regeneration (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016: 74). It is therefore understandable that culture-led regeneration became a key policy for successive governments. However, the research that guided later projects took place soon after the opening of the new buildings built in earlier projects, and as such it is a clear finding of the AHRC report that there is a very small amount of robust research that shows that cultural venues have such positive effects: '[t]he report doesn't conclude that the benefits of culture for urban regeneration do not exist,

but rather that limited progress has been made in demonstrating that they do'
(Crossick & Kaszynska 2016: 85).

Cast was part of a similar culture-led regeneration of the Civic and Cultural
Quarters in Doncaster. Over the first year of opening a sense of civic pride was an
overwhelming finding in the data, even though this was not an explicit question
asked during the data collected in the first concert. This trend was explored
further over the course of the year to seek an understanding of how audience
members perceived Cast's change or influence over the city. Participants
expressed four key feelings the introduction of Cast had created: a sense of
improvement in the city; a sense of pride amongst participants; a feeling of
protection towards the building; and ideas around entitlement to this building.

Improvement and Pride

These sub-themes arose amongst audience members, who believed Cast would
improve Doncaster by making the city better, building and strengthening the arts
community, and improving levels of culture. This created a sense of pride amongst
regular audience members.

 The sense that Cast was in some way making the city a better place was a
recurrent theme in the interviews. For example, when asked 'what impact do you
feel Cast is having on the town of Doncaster?' 77% of the responses were positive,
including the following responses: *[Cast is] improving it [and] providing excellent music in
a lovely venue* (C2 FA Q); *[Cast is] improving Doncaster as a whole* (C2 FA Q). The
nature of these improvements was often expressed as broad vague ideas, however
it did appear that the building itself was seen as a symbol of change in the city:
*Every time I come to cast I comment on the attractiveness of the building I am delighted with the
building and its benefit for Doncaster* (C1 FA Q); *We feel the building is good for the future of
the arts in Doncaster* (C1 FA Q). Here Cast is offering a continuation of the arts in
Doncaster and is outwardly showing the city's value of such culture.

With the lack of arts in a cultural cold spot (Fleming and Erskine 2011), and furthermore a financially poor area, some audience members commented that they had expected more resistance to the building and more negative comments about allocation of spending: [Cast is a] *positive impact [and there have been] no negative letters to free press about money spent (*C2 FA Q*)*. Participants spoke of the changes Cast was making to their impression of the city, and talked of growing ambitions for the place they live in, as described by one audience member simply: *[Cast] makes [Doncaster] feel more like the city it aspires to be'* (C2 FA Q). The impression of improvement encompassed not only people living in Doncaster but also those elsewhere: *All for the good, putting us on the map* (C2 FA Q). The suggestion that Cast is visible nationally is made here, and this outward-facing advocacy for Doncaster is clearly something this audience member is pleased with. It also suggests implicitly that this participant felt that Doncaster was not previously 'on the map' or perceived positively by others.

A considerable number of participants commented that Cast was contributing to the level of culture in Doncaster, for example: *[Cast] raised the level of culture* (C2 FA Q); *[Cast has helped by] introducing much needed culture* (C2 FA Q). This feeling is in great contrast to the cultural offering that Doncaster was perceived to offer in the past, as described by one audience member:

> *Having lived in Doncaster for over fifty years with sweet childhood memories*
> *of attending musical theatre, brass band concerts etc., as an adult I have*
> *often felt as if the town was a 'cultural desert'. I have had to travel much*
> *farther afield to experience 'the arts' but feel now that we're back on the map*
> *with Cast.*
>
> (C3 RG E)

Ideas explored by this audience member link back to the feeling that Cast is improving the City of Doncaster. It was also the belief that the new offerings of cultural products would attract bigger audiences, which would grow activity around Cast: *I hope and believe that it is attracting bigger audiences* (C2 FA Q). The addition of culture to the city was also believed to provide the opportunity to meet new people. A common view amongst audience members was the feeling that Cast was providing a space for an arts community to grow around: *It is heartening to see it becoming a theatre going community* (C2 FA Q). This was significant because this community also believed to encourage people who had not attended a theatre to do so: *[Cast] seems to be encouraging new people to the theatre* (C2 FA Q).

Linking with the findings around improvement, another sub-theme that arose was a sense of pride amongst participants. Participants felt proud of Cast in Doncaster because of its impressive nature, and they felt it would become an asset to the town. Many participants commented on the impressive architecture of Cast, as seen in this discussion:

Researcher:	*Ok and did anyone make a comment on the building itself?*
M1:	*It's quite impressive, especially for Doncaster. You know it really changes the area really.*
Researcher:	*Ok that's interesting.*
F1:	*I think that is what hits you the first time you come here, I have been here a few times but the first time you turn that corner from the car park it's like "oh wow" is this Doncaster?*

(C1 RG FG)

It is interesting that Cast is impressive 'especially for Doncaster' showing that participants were surprised to have something like Cast: *Amazing that Doncaster has such a fabulous theatre a credit to them* (C1 FA Q); *A wonderful facility for Doncaster* (C2 FA Q); *A welcome asset to the town* (C2 FA Q). The sense of pride felt by the introduction of Cast is always presented in relation to Doncaster, suggesting that this type of cultural building adds value to how people perceive the place in which they live.

Protection

Having presented how influential Cast has been in implementing change in how audience members feel about the town, it would seem natural that they would become protective of this building. Participants described how they wanted to protect the appearance of the building, as well as attendance levels at the venue.

A common finding in this study was that audience members felt the need to protect the building and maintain the good image of the building: *there was litter in the fountain area, which I felt obliged to clear* (C1 FA Q). Moreover, one participant described how she had watched the building being built and described it as 'our baby,' and shared her distress when she saw youths appearing to damage the area:

> *I think it is a really impressive area; I actually live behind the theatre so I am constantly parading round … so I feel um very kind of protective because it is like wow this is our baby because I am literally on the door step. My concerns for it because I have seen it being built; I have seen it being born and its birthing and everything. My concerns are um there are a lot of youths out there in the evening and it doesn't seem protected and they're taking their skateboards right along. They have chipped, there were little black, on the edge of the seat, there were like little black definitions in stone. They have chipped a lot of it out putting all black marks along it and I am thinking you*

got… and I want to go up and say "look what you're doing": you know, we should be proud of this and they are defacing it already.

(C1 RG FG)

This newcomer expresses worries about the building's protection, raising interesting questions around ownership. She is concerned firstly, that the building is used for the right purposes and possibly by the right people, but secondly that some people are not displaying an appropriate amount of pride and value in this building.

Audience members who have seen the value in Cast's ability to facilitate change and improvement are very concerned about its preservation. A particular concern was the worry that not many people were aware of what Cast is or what it does: *Lots of people didn't know it was a theatre for months, it hadn't had a title written on it … when they see this building they think it's part of the council building* (C1 RG FG); *I have talked to people 'have you been to cast?' 'What is Cast?' Our new Theatre these people should know* (C1 RG FG). There is a sense of disbelief that some people are unfamiliar with Cast and a feeling that they should be obliged to be aware of it. Lack of awareness and value of Cast also resulted in fears of declining audiences: *cast is an asset to Doncaster I hope it continues to be well attended* (C2 FA Q).

The need and want to protect a cultural building, either physically or through its continued exposure, suggests that its users have placed a high personal and social value on Cast. The value that has been placed on Cast by its audience members contrasts greatly with the negative perceptions of the previous venue, Priory Place. Pride in Cast grew in prominence over the year of study, but was present from the first concert in the study. Such growth in Cast's perceived cultural value suggests that this 'dedicated' concert hall (Kronenburg 2012), built as part of a regeneration project, did continue to have positive benefits for its users over a

substantial period of time. This longitudinal study therefore plugs a gap in our understanding of culture-led regeneration identified by Crossick and Kaszynska, suggesting that venues built as part of culture-led regeneration projects do continue to have an impact on their communities in the medium to long term (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016).

Entitlement

The type of cultural value and civic pride discussed above is directly reliant on having the cultural facilities to engage with in the place you live. An interesting sub-theme that arose when discussing the impact of Cast on Doncaster was that of entitlement to this cultural building and to classical music in a purpose built venue. The discussion concerning entitlement related to debates concerning regional allocation of cultural provision by central government. It also raised questions regarding how audience members who lived in Doncaster perceived the views of people from other regions with regards to entitlement to classical music in a purpose-built concert hall: there was a perception that others may not think Doncaster is worthy of Cast.

It is important to note the findings for this sub-theme were consistent across both face-to-face research and questionnaires. This is significant for a consideration of research bias, as the researcher could be identified quite obviously as 'not local' to a Doncaster resident and this could have altered face-to-face conversations on this subject. However, the researcher's positionality in this regard would not have been known by the questionnaire respondents, and so would not have affected the questionnaire results, which were consistent in their findings.

Participants described how they were pleased to have such high-quality music in their home town: *the opportunity to hear live classical music in my home town is much appreciated* (C4 FA Q)*; it's great to have this quality of performance in Doncaster on my*

doorstep (C4 FA Q). Ideas of not having to travel so far to hear the same quality were combined with the feeling that people do value having arts in Doncaster: *I have had to travel much farther afield to experience 'the arts' but feel now that we're back on the map with Cast* (C3 RG E). There was also a sense that having Cast made Doncaster similar to other towns with culturally valued buildings, where previously it lacked these facilities.

There was a perception among participants that people who live outside Doncaster, particularly those in Southern regions of the country, may question whether Doncaster, as a Northern town, is deserving of Cast. Moreover, there was a concern that outsiders would question whether people in Doncaster were capable of understanding and enjoying the privilege of classical music in such a venue, as exemplified through this discussion:

> F1: *I always feel excited when I come in here (general agreement) there's that excitement that I still can't believe we are in the town that we are in. It's something to be really proud of so every time I come in here I do feel like this is exciting.*

> F2: *And a lot of people think we don't really deserve it you see.*

> F3: *No not deserve it I think people think we are not capable of actually making it or creating it.*

> F4: *Yes, I think there is a lot of truth in that.*

> F5: *But you know they think of this area still as the mining area it's all sort of flat caps and they're not capable.*

> F2: *Very out of date that is.*

> F3: *London newspapers think it's like taking a white handkerchief down a pit isn't it to which we all replied what's wrong with taking a white handkerchief down a pit but I don't know if people still have*

that attitude which is a shame.

F2:   *My sister-in-law once said we don't do the north – my relative thinks the north is just somewhere you don't go.*

F4:   *It just shows their general ignorance just their ignorance.*

General agreement

(C1 RG FG)

Using the metaphor of taking a pure 'white handkerchief 'down a dirty coal mining 'pit' is particularly emotive and opens up debates about class, regions and classical music. Here, there is a complex picture of Northerners' perceptions of Londoners' perceptions of music in the northern regions. F5's statement that other regions believe audiences in Doncaster were 'not capable' suggests that Doncaster residents feel like the poor relations in national arts policy.

The perception of London as the cultural hub for classical music is not helped by the fact that most funding allocated from central government goes to music provision in London (Stark, Gordon & Powell 2013). Geographical distinctions were often highlighted when describing Cast and Ensemble 360: *they must be the best ensembles in the north of England - bravo more at Cast* (C3 FA Q). Regional distinctions were discussed at length, and in particular how musical provision in the South of England compared to that of Doncaster:

F1:   *I usually talk about the quality of the performance the kind of music they play and the atmosphere.*

F2:   *I had some friends up from Oxford once and they were like "wow you have this in Doncaster".*

F1:   *Yes, my relatives in the south are always very snobby.*

F2:   *Well they don't believe we have anything here.*

F1:   *No they don't do they, and I guess to some degree they are right but I don't think in the glorious south where they are has anything like this.*

(C4 RG FG)

The interviewees in this conversation seemed to feel that comparable classical music audiences in the South of England would feel that audiences in Doncaster were not entitled to the quality of classical music provided in Doncaster, and certainly not in an expensive purpose built concert hall. Both participants are acting in a protective manner of Cast and Doncaster but are also disapproving of the South in the same way that one of the participant's relatives were 'snobby' about the North.

Summary

The findings of this theme suggest cultural buildings, including concert halls, are very important to people's sense of the place they live in. Cast has been seen to impact audience members' feelings towards Doncaster and encourage a sense of civic pride for local people. This civic pride was seen to grow over the year of study and began with a sense of improvement in this 'cultural cold spot'. Audience members described how they felt Cast was making the city a better place to live in, and added to the fabric of the city. A common view amongst audience members was the feeling that Cast was improving culture in the city. They suggested that this increase in culture also encouraged a new theatre community to grow and allowed non-attenders to access culture for the first time Many participants suggested that Cast would become visible nationally and become an advocate for Doncaster. The excitement and pleasure created by the opening of Cast does suggest that some local people felt that others did not previously perceive Doncaster positively..

However, pride in this new building and all that it stands for created many worries for participants relating to ideas of protection. Firstly, cultural ownership questions were raised as to whom the building was for, and secondly, a sense that young people were using the building in the wrong way distressed some audience members. Participants also wanted to protect the popularity of the building over time and became concerned with the lack of awareness about the building. The need and want to protect a cultural building, either physically or through its continued exposure, suggests that its users have placed a high level of value on Cast.

Another finding highlighted ideas and tension around perceived differential entitlement to cultural buildings, like Cast, across the county. Participants shared their perceptions that other regions, primarily in the south of the country, felt that people who live in Doncaster were not capable of appreciating this building and the music it provides. The building of Cast in Doncaster seems to have rebalanced the perceptions of those who live there and has added to their regional identity. Civic pride for participants local to Doncaster has certainly grown since Cast has opened and plays a role in how the city is viewed and valued by the people who live there (see also Brown 2013). Cast has also contributed to the growth of a new audience community; however, this community may not include a very wide demographic (this fits with ideas of creative place making by Markusen and Gadwa 2010). However, this venue is helping the audience community to make memories in relation to a geographical location and particular space. Ideas of venue and memories speak to the work of Sara Cohen who maps live popular music concerts in relation to place (2014: 131-145).

Overarching Theme round up

This section has sought to address the fifth research question of this thesis, and understand how performance spaces and concert hall venues may affect audiences of classical music. The findings of this study suggest that venues are significantly

important to audiences, both in terms of their enjoyment when attending a concert, but also how they feel about the place they live in. Cast, due to its size and configuration, has been shown to encourage a sense of feeling close and connected to the music, performers and other audience members. This was seen as a particularly important aspect of a positive concert experience. The findings of this study also suggest that having a choice in where to sit gives power to control their listening experiences back to audiences.

Talking about the venue has been shown to be part of the concert experience: this can lead audience members to become advocates for a particular venue, which has implications for the further attendance of arts events. Entering the performance spaces at Cast was shown to alter and frame the moods of audience members. Cast was also shown to be a social space for its audiences, and it is these spaces that provide opportunities for conversations and bonding across a regular audience. Further to the importance of venue for audience members, the findings of this study suggest concert halls can be seen to add civic value for the people local to that town or city. Cast was shown to improve the way people felt about the place they lived in, encouraging a sense of pride and worth in a previously deprived town. Naturally, audience members want to protect this object of value and believed that harm could come to it through a lack of awareness or the misuse of the building. This feeling of protection shows quite how much value is placed on this building. Although present from the first concert in this study, civic pride grew over the year and has emerged as an integral part of the town's identity for Cast's users.

Although this overarching theme has dealt with the significance of venue in the audience experience, it also relates to the second overarching theme of this chapter. The second purpose of the study in Doncaster was to understand musical listening in situ, and having effectively addressed ideas of venue I will now move to look at how an audience community formed in this space and seek to investigate their listening experiences rooted in Cast.

4.3 PEOPLE AND LISTENING

Addressing RQ1 and RQ2, this overarching theme undertakes further investigation into how audience members go about the act of listening when at a live classical music concert, and how this activity affects listeners both individually and collectively. The first theme explored is that of the individual listening experience: what is happening for individual listeners and how 'correct' listening is learnt. The second theme examines collective and communal listening experience at live concerts and suggests that social matrices created across audiences allow a short-term community to form. Over time, the short-term community created around live classical music events may become a site for fan-like behaviours. The final theme explores ideas of fandom in listening communities, and asks how fandom presents itself in the concert hall as a fan space and whether an audience would accept the term 'fan' to describe those who attend classical music concerts.

4.3.1 INDIVIDUAL LISTENING EXPERIENCE

Classical music is often considered to be an inherently private experience, but one that happens as part of an audience of others. This section aims to better understand the complex individual listeners' experiences of MitR concerts at Cast: firstly, by exploring the personal experiences had and asking why these may provide motivation to attend; and secondly, through an investigation of the act of 'doing listening'. These were investigated mainly through the Write-Draw-Tell method (described in sections 2.5 and 3.1), which complemented the focus group discussions by enabling a more private and personal reflection on the listening experience.

Experiences of the concerts presented at Cast were often positive. When participants described the listening experience, accounts were often bound up with a very strong sense of emotion and imagery, as illustrated through the creation

and description of one participant's Write-Draw Card (see Appendix 3 for example Write-Draw card):

That's just doodles really. It was just a response to the different motifs in the music, some were general and winding, and the middle one as you can see was death and destruction with the holocaust and everything. I nearly wanted to cry, but what brought it back to me was the fascination of them playing such difficult music. I was fascinated, I didn't like it but I ended up feeling sorry for them thinking what happened to produce a piece of music like that. (C4 RG FG)

FIGURE 4.6: Draw Response from WD Card of Newcomer in Research Group C4

The participant discussed her emotive reaction to this work; ideas of rising heartbeats, sadness and death were described as being depicted in the visual data.

Further to this audience member questioning the motivations of the composer, other audience members described how during the listening experience they would often contextualise the piece to the time when the piece was written:

M1:   *Well I just started sketching then I wrote a poem actually.*
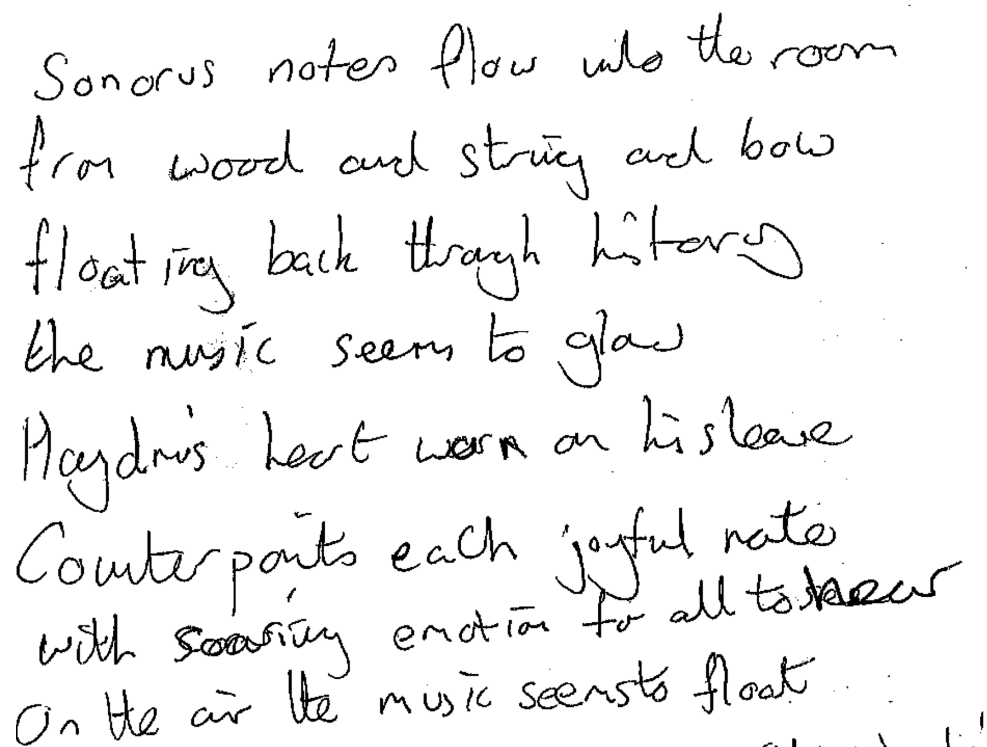
Researcher: *Ok well I can see that these are quite emotive words.*

M1:   *Yeah that's what music does to you.*

Researcher: *I'm seeing the words joy and history.*

M1:   *Yeah that was the Haydn - it makes you think of that era and what they were doing at that time and what they were thinking and it was a different way of living.*

(C4 RG FG)

FIGURE 4.7: Written Response from WD Card of Regular in Research Group C4

The verbal response to the concert presented by this audience member describes not only the desire to add context to the music being heard, but also the atmosphere in the concert hall with the imagery 'music floating on the air'. A repeated finding across interviews was that the listening experience brought mental images to mind: *a lot of the time I am thinking about the music and mentally linking images to the sounds such as rolling hills, meadows of flowers, streams and so on. Is this weird? Do other people do this?* (C3 RG E). This particular interviewee, along with describing how the listening experience is often bound up with imagery, also gives an interesting insight into the sense of mystery some audience members feel about how others are listening.

The presence of other audience members, and in particular being able to view them, was described as altering the personal listening experience:

> *the things I did draw are the smiley faces, … I tended to look at the audience's reaction afterwards and [their] smiley faces because although people are clapping they are also smiling but the question marks are there because I think people found the Ligeti difficult.*

(C4 RG FG)
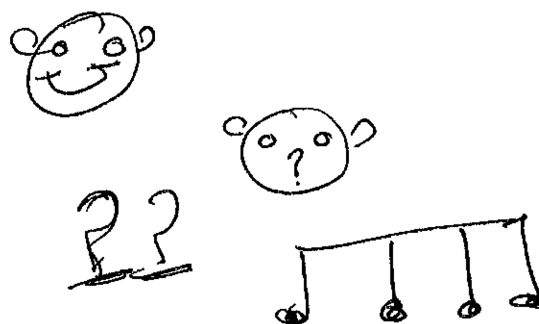
FIGURE 4.8: Draw Response from WD Card of Newcomer in Research Group C4

My findings suggest that other audience members' emotions, and their outward expression of them during the concert, influence the listening experience. It would also seem that audience members looked to the feelings of other listeners to come to some sort of agreement about how well received the performance was, as in this reference to 'other people' finding the Ligeti hard work to enjoy.

In addition to the effects of listening in the presence of others, feelings around personal listening were often positively affected by receiving this music in an intimate setting:

> *The intimacy of the setting makes it an emotionally charged experience to view the musicians at such close quarters. I thoroughly enjoyed the knowledgeable pre-performance history of the pieces and to hear of the performers' own views. I liked the change of position in the second half so that I could see all three performers from different viewpoints: the musical score for the piano part was visible & fingers dancing across the keys mesmerising; the exciting 'out of seat' exertion of the violinist; the cellist's facial expressions and visual communication with the others exuding emotion.*

(C2 RG E)

This participant describes many features that positively affected his listening experience. Being spatially close to the musicians gave the listener the ability to see the facial expressions of the players.

Although the previous participant only noted that he felt able to enjoy the musician's facial expressions more clearly in an intimate setting, other participants described a deeper emotional connection with the performers:

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I was overwhelmed with the adagio you know and I was aware of my own
breathing and I was having to really work hard at controlling my emotion
you know especially when I was looking at the performers and they were
equally emotional you know, and I was just overwhelmed (C1 RG FG).

The importance of a sense of closeness with the performer in altering the personal listening experience was a strong theme in the Write-Draw data, which often featured musicians:

FIGURE 4.9: Draw Response from WD Card of Regular in Research Group C4
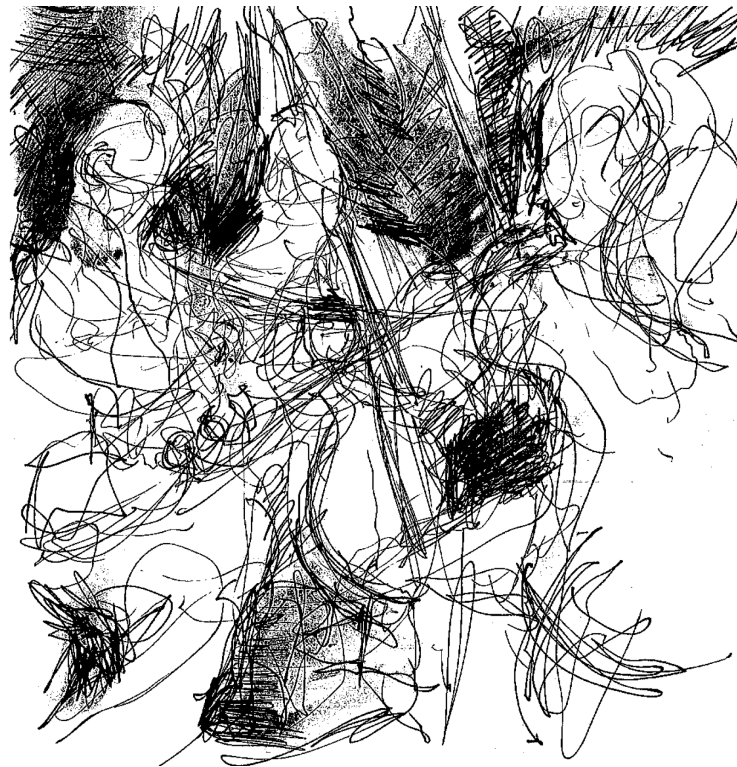
(C4 RG WD)

I was just trying to follow the music really and make marks in response to that and I was sort of being a bit literal as I was trying to keep figurative thing and the musicians need to be in there but try and respond to the music around them

FIGURE 4.10: Draw Response and Tell phase from WD Card of Regular in Research Group C4

A feeling of closeness to the performers and other audience members within an intimate concert venue all seemed to allow for a very emotive reaction to the musical performance. A common finding across the audience at Cast was the description of how the listening experience was like a journey to another space: *I was being drifted away on a journey and it was like ups and downs and feathers* (C4 RG WD).
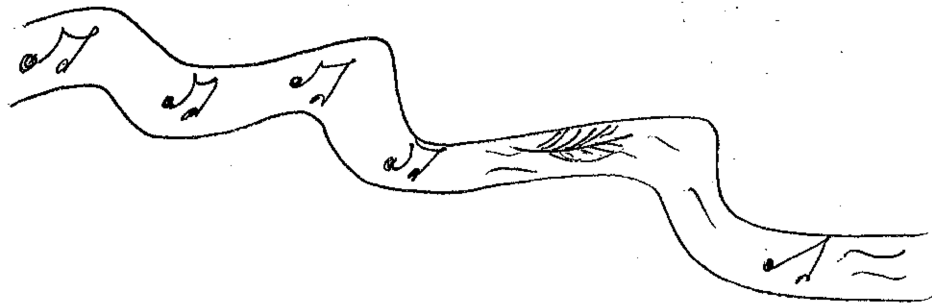
FIGURE 4.11: Draw Response from WD Card of Regular in Research Group C4

The personal feeling portrayed above was viewed as contrasting with other everyday experiences: *I enjoy the concerts very much; part of the enjoyment is being able to switch off from being a busy mum and just stop everything and be still for a while, getting lost in the music. It is refreshing* (C3 RG E).

Participants often used the word 'absorbed' when talking about the feeling of being mentally transported to another space. Some participants suggested that this 'absorbed' type of listening takes an amount of active concentration, which is in great contrast to how the previous participant talked about her listening experience in which she 'drifted away'. The personal listening experience and the ability to become absorbed in the music were also influenced by repertoire, and more particularly how familiar listeners were with it. Ideas around repertoire were very present in the Write-Draw data:
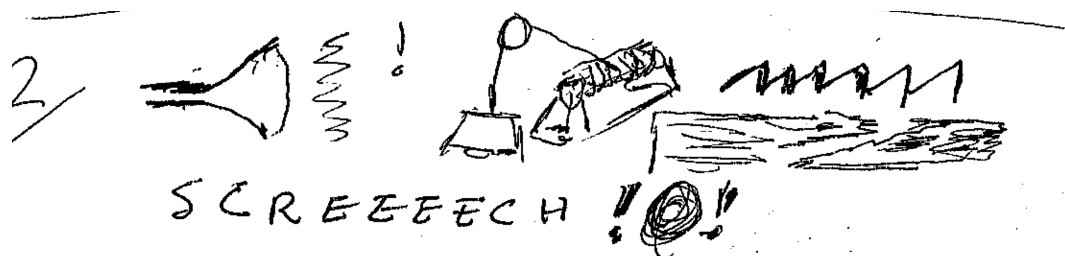
The middle one was like blaring horns I was thinking of all those ropes

letting weights you see strands snapping on the ropes and its creaking timbre

— I'd call it sound effects.

FIGURE 4.12: Draw Response and Tell phase from WD Card of Regular in Research Group C4

Although this piece was not well received by this audience member, others felt that hearing new repertoire was part of musical learning and advancement: *you have the Ligeti that makes people think and takes them out of their comfort zone and gives them the sense of something further* (C4 RG FG). This participant is placing some responsibility of her listening experience on MitR programming, suggesting that she does not only want an 'easy' listening experience, but also to be challenged by music that is unfamiliar to her. The research group were divided on whether they needed to be familiar with some aspect of the music performed (the composer or individual work) to have a positive listening experience.

In summary, the descriptions of personal listening experiences varied dramatically from one listener to the next, but common themes that encouraged a positive experience were feelings of an emotional journey, enhanced by feeling close to the performer and other audience members through an intimate setting.

As well as understanding what the personal listening experience might be like for audience members, the ways in which audience members go about listening to a concert was also investigated. A key finding when investigating how people listen to live classical music was the sense of being participatory or active. Through discussions about how people 'do listening', a strong idea of the correct or optimal way of listening became apparent and was examined further. Interviewees commented on how listening is a participatory partnership between the individual, performers and other audience members. In many ways the audience member is still very active even when silent. When asked, 'what benefits do you receive listening to live classical music as part of an audience?' responses often addressed

participation: *a better sense of participating rather the just listening or watching* (C4 FA Q).
This participatory type of listening seemed improved by the configuration of the
seating:

> M1:   *The music is right in the middle of us and that makes a
>   difference.*
>
> Researcher: *Could you describe how it makes a difference?*
>
> M1:   *It feels more participatory to an extent.*
>
> (C4 RG FG)

Ways of listening were often discussed by audience members, and unlike other
aspects of the personal listening experience there was a distinction between regular
attenders' listening and newcomers' ways of listening. Frequent attenders of
classical music concerts stated their concern at being distracted by other listeners
who were not so well versed in the 'correct ways of listening': *well if the audience is
nosey or drinking and that affects my experience but I wouldn't want to sit here all by myself … I
just block everybody out and they might annoy me if they are talking or whispering* (C4 RG FG).
This type of attitude amongst some regular audience members certainly
demonstrates a preference for traditional listening behaviours. Furthermore, these
types of statement suggest that newcomers must learn how to listen in the
prescribed manner. Some frequent attenders openly rejected these ideas, noting
how damaging they can be to classical music: *it doesn't really matter if you clap half way
through … I think that's what you need to get across to people that it's not meant to be a formal
culture event, it's supposed to be fun* (C3 FA AF). However, although a proportion of
frequent attenders voiced their concerns about prescribing listening behaviours,
newcomers to Cast did describe how they went about learning the conventions
though copying:

Looking at people's faces, I noticed a few people shutting their eyes and I thought 'oh, I'd not done that, I'll just shut my eyes and I'll listen with my eyes closed', you know so… but I kind of felt it was just the whole thing was one group, it was a gathering. We were all together on this, and it was like the people around were adding to it (C1 RG FG).

Copying other audience members' listening behaviours seemed to make some people self-conscious as to whether their listening behaviours were correct or similar to those of others in the audience: *seeing other people's reactions - are they like mine?* (C4 RG FG). The expression of ideas around the 'correct' way to listen to classical music suggests that although much of the listening experience is personal it remains very much affected by the presence of other audience members (Pitts 2005). This suggests personal listening may not be so personal and is in some ways constructed by the collective - with regular attenders imposing traditional listening rituals on newcomers.

<u>Summary</u>

This theme explored the personal listening experience and sought to better understand what happened in the minds of the listeners during a concert. The application of the Write-Draw method allowed for a new understanding of the personal audience experience. A key finding from this data set was the diversity of the individual experiences and the variety of images that came to mind. All the visual data included some suggestion of emotion, both happy and sad, suggesting that newcomers and regular attenders felt similar individual emotions. The ability to have a positive personal experience did not seem to be affected by individual levels of attendance or knowledge. This finding is similar to the independent findings of Melissa Dobson (2010) and Sam Thompson (2007). Moments of immersion were really valued by participants and certainly reinforced why the personal listening experience is so valued by them. The most influential factor

affecting the personal listening experience and the ability to become absorbed in the music was repertoire. The visual data collected had a significant change in imagery when the participants perceived the repertoire as bad taste or bad music.

A particularly dominant finding in this theme was how audience members described the ways in which they 'do' listening. Although the personal listening experience is to some extent private, it appears to still be dictated by conventions. The regular attenders spoke of how they hoped others would listen in the same way they do and newcomers described copying others and consequently learning how to listen. The finding of this study suggests that although the personal listening experience is private, displays of emotion during the concert impact on other audience members. Newcomers seemed to be particularly affected by the outward expression of emotive listening.

Participants suggested that the listening experience is participatory and encompasses a relationship with the musicians and other audience members. The participatory experience appeared to be heightened for audience members because of the in the round seating configuration. Similar findings have been found in Pitts and Spencer's (2008) study of the MitR audience in the Crucible Studio. The effects of other audience members on this personal experience is very much dependent on being part of a live audience and so this study adds to the liveness debate. The personal experience is hugely affected by the sense of liveness and being part of something together (Pitts & Burland 2014: 127).

4.3.2 COMMUNAL LISTENING EXPERIENCE AND COMMUNITY FORMATION

Within this theme, ideas of communal listening and community formation are explored. I will investigate whether classical music concerts can perform a social function for their audience, and ask what importance they place on this in comparison to the aesthetic value of concert going. By choosing to be part of a live

audience and listening with others, audience members are already partaking in communal listening. However, further social value can be gained through concert attendance and a growing community formed by a regular audience. As Cast is a new venue and has attracted new audiences, the formation of a listening community was tracked from its origins. This section will firstly explore the instant communal listening experience received by being part of an audience and sharing in a live experience. Secondly, the social matrix of an audience will be examined; it will be shown that such an environment fosters a community across a regular audience. Finally, the negatives of a listening community will be considered.

<u>Sharing</u>

The communal social experience at concerts contributes to the foundation of an audience community. The sharing aspect of listening together suggests audience members share similar tastes and similarly value this cultural product. By choosing to attend a live event, audience members are choosing to be part of an audience. They do not experience classical music alone, but communally, as shown through this discussion between participants:

> M1: *… if you sat here on your own watching it wouldn't be the same as if you're surrounded by people enjoying it. There is a difference; you would just be sitting here feeling awkward. It would be really awful.*
> F1: *You don't talk to people as you're listening.*
> M1: *No you don't, but it's the physicality of it.*
> M2: *It's the knowledge that other people are around you - it's the community aspect of it.*
> M1: *Yes.*
> (C4 RG FG)

What is particularly interesting about this section of data is that there was no intervention from the interviewer, suggesting that agreement about communal listening was shared and agreed amongst the participants. Collective listening may influence the whole concert experience, and in particular the personal relationship

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with the performers, as listening alone would be awkward. Audience members also described how the performers added to the communal aspect of a concert:

> *being so close to the performers and seeing them interacting and playful when one answers the other. And it's almost a bonding really, you know because you are all there with a common interest and you're all fascinated in different degrees with the one thing that is the focus, so I think it does draw you together* (C1 RG RG).

Here, audience members discuss that although they are not talking during the performance, the fact that they are not alone in this experience is a powerful feeling. The feeling of listening together is also not just concerned with audience members' relationships with other audience members, but also their relationships with the performers.

A large contributory factor to a growing sense of community across an audience was listeners' perceptions that other audience members were the same as themselves, or like-minded: *A fantastic opportunity to see a live performance of classical music in a local venue with great sound, and to share the experience with like-minded people* (C3 RG E). Moreover, participants suggested that the size of an audience in a smaller-sized concert hall put them at an advantage because they were able to recognise others and actively see this happening: *Relatively small audience who can view each other, acknowledging familiar faces and common interests* (C4 FA Q). However, it was important to participants that the concert hall was still full, and that too small an audience would drastically affect the listening community: *Well it would be demoralising if there were only a few of us here* (C4 RG FG). Furthermore, the presence of an audience that filled the concert hall made participants feel part of something valued and sustainable, as seen in this discussion:

> Researcher: *So does the feeling of a full audience make a difference to your experience?*
> F1: *Yes, probably for the better.*

M1:   *It does, yes, and on a practical side if there weren't so many*
           people it would sound totally different - it would be very
           echoey and horrible if there weren't people sat here.
M2:   *I think it is just a good message that it is appreciated.*
General agreement
 (C4 RG FG)

The presence of a full audience suggests that listeners all value classical music. This can encourage a sense of shared identity within this group: *It's that bonding, if you like; you are all here for a reason. I noticed some faces I know and it's that, sort of, I know why they're here, and it is just that common love of something, you know, and it's that shared experience* (C1 RG FG). In summary, then, a clear sense of sharing views, identifying yourself as similar to those around you, and valuing the same cultural product, contributes to community formation in an audience.

The social matrix of a listening community

Concert attendance was largely affected by a sense of others, even if you attend alone you are still able to join in the shared experience of the listening community: *I think that's what you get here, though it's a shared experience, and you have a shared experience once you are in the audience with all the people and then you leave and you're on your own* (C4 RG FG). The sense of a shared experience and the social connections between audience members was particularly present 'in the round' and appeared to promote audience-to-audience relationships during the performance. As one audience members describes it: '*sharing the emotion*' (C4 FA Q).

Social connection can be achieved through the act of listening together as part of a live audience and the collective sense of being amongst like-minded and friendly people. The opportunity for conversation and discussion allows audience members to externalise and verbalise the personal listening experience and react to the music with others. This social matrix is an additional structure by which a community is formed. Social connections are known to be important within the

formation of a community, as group members chose to unite over a shared passion. The sense of community amongst audience members at Cast was significant and was described as supplementing the musical performance:

> *Such a community holds great importance for me when attending Music in*
> *the Round concerts (as it does when I attend other events at Cast), because I*
> *feel that it enhances the intimate communal aspect of the musical experience*
> (C2 RG E).

Not all attenders felt the same about the level of social connection between audience members, and thus interactions with this community can be seen as working on a spectrum. For example, one participant suggested*: for some people, going [to a concert] is a social communal thing, as well as enjoying the music* (C3 RG E). This is in contrast to another listener: *I'm not sure I feel part of any community … I think I am fairly neutral on this, apart from recognising like-minded people who also enjoy music and other arts* (C3 RG E). Although this interviewee does not acknowledge that he feels part of a listening community, he does reference that other people use classical music concerts as a social experience. He described some attributes of a community he enjoys, such as the recognition of like-minded people. He often attends concerts at Cast with his wife, and it would appear they are happy to act as each other's companions away from the wider community:

> *For us it is an experience we share and we enjoy going to concerts as nights*
> *out. I don't think there are any wider social or communal aspects to this for*
> *me and I don't feel part of any section of the audience … I do though think*
> *you are right in suggesting that for some people going out is a social*
> *communal thing as well as enjoying the music* (C3 RG E).

For this participant, the social value gained in concert attendance is sharing this event with his wife. He does acknowledge, however, that for other audience members, the social aspect is developed across an audience rather than exclusively between individuals who attend together. The difference between this

participant's responses and other's suggests that sharing the musical experience with a community of listeners is felt or valued by its members in varying degrees.

For newcomers to classical music, the listening community became increasingly important once they integrated with this group:

> *I don't know about other newcomers' experience of audience relationships, but one of my friends, who turned up last week, came to sit near me and then discovered someone else she knew just along the row. None of us had arranged to meet. I do think that recognition of other regular audience members helps me feel part of the core audience, because I know there'll always be someone to chat to before we go in, (even if I don't actually know them), when we sit down and afterward. Ideally musical events are social occasions too and that fellow feeling will encourage newcomers to become regulars* (C3 RG E).

The presence of social connections, and the confidence to know there will be others to talk to even if you attend alone, seems to be an important tool for newcomers. It even helps them to feel part of a core audience. It is clear that integration into the listening community increases motivation to attend for newcomers and frequent attenders alike.

A common topic of discussion across the data set was the conversations had at concerts. As expected, my questionnaire data suggests that many audience members do converse with other audience members, and lots of conversations take place, as seen in Figure 4.14 below:
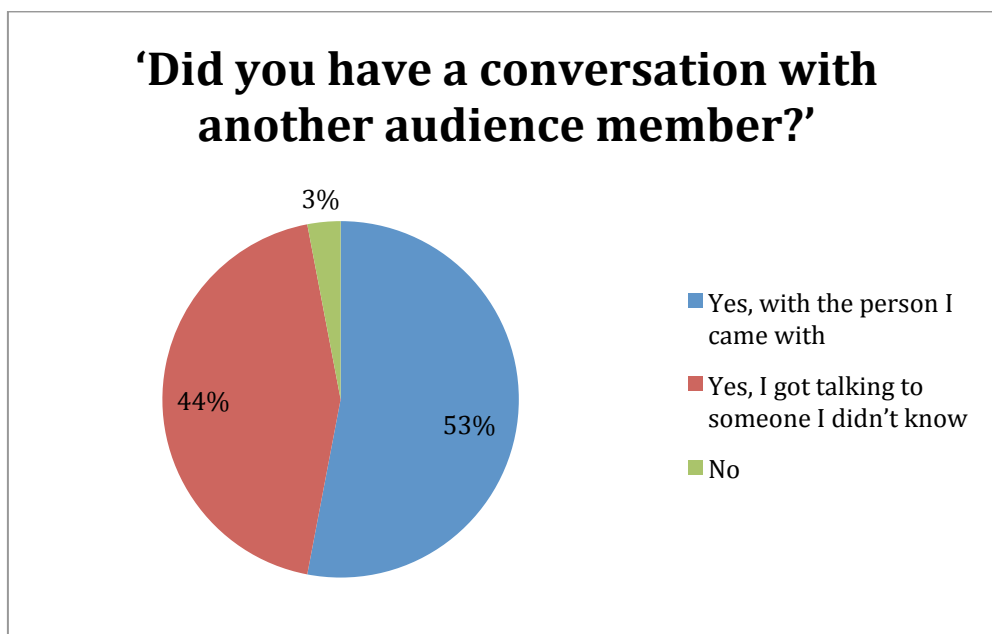
FIGURE 4.13: C3 Full audience questionnaire response

The results show that most audience members choose to partake in the act of conversation at concerts, but it is striking to see such a high proportion of audience members talking to people they had not previously met. This goes to show how crucial the conversations had at concerts are in formulating a social matrix across an audience.

During the concert experience as a whole, audience members alternate between states of socialising and solitude, so the time used to verbalise ideas is important. Discussions at concerts function in a reflective capacity, and allow audience members to turn private personal experiences into a collective experience:

> Researcher: *Just picking up on the conversation point you made there, when you are here do you have conversations about the experience?*
> M1: *We sometimes talk about it.*
> F1: *Yeah we tend to say about the music.*
> (C4 RG FG)

Conversations at concerts seem to be heavily focused on the music performed, but can also be seen as a way to make cultural meaning amongst the community, and the discussions during non-performance times are vital to the community judgement on the performance:

> *If you go to an art gallery to see a piece of art and different people see*
> *different things in the piece of art, and they can discuss it, and music is a*
> *piece of artwork so listen to it. And I think I thought that part and this part,*
> *so you are going to discuss the sort of structure of it as well I think.*
> (C4 RG FG)

The participant suggests that, like going to an art gallery, the discussions about the music played are very much part of the overall experience. Moreover, participants believe that performances at Cast will always be of a high quality and this feeling affects the subject of conversation: *Usually [we talk] about the quality of the performance the kind of music they play and the atmosphere* (C4 RG FG).

I asked how long concerts stay in the memories of the audience members after the event has passed:

> Researcher: *In general how long do the concerts stay in your memory*
>   *after the event?*
> F1:   *I think they last forever, don't they?*
> M1:   *They do yeah.*
> F1:   *I do, and when you hear the music again you think I*
>   *remember I heard that. When you have heard a piece of*
>   *music, it's like seeing a film, you can watch it again.*
> (C4 RG FG)

It would seem firstly that conversations at concerts allow for a collective memory of a concert to be agreed on, as described above. This consequently becomes part of a shared history amongst audience members. Secondly, the discussions about

concerts help them to be remembered: *I think I remember if it really moved me anyway, but it's nice to talk about it and probably helps* (C4 RG FG).

Conversations at concerts seem to have similar functions for both newcomers and regulars. One newcomer described how discussion around concerts added to her concert experience, especially as she attends on her own:

> *I don't have to go with other people; I tend to go alone to a lot of things. But it is quite nice, even if you recognise an acquaintance, it's nice to have that somebody to say afterwards if you see them, 'what did you think to so-and-so'? And you can discuss it with somebody you know, and very often I do discuss it with people I don't know, because you sit next to someone who is on their own and they talk to you back. But I think that's the nice thing about it, people I know that go to other groups that I'm in say 'oh I saw you at so-and-so, what did you think to it?' And you straightaway have something to talk about* (C4 RG FG).

Some audience members describe how the discussions had around concerts challenge them and possibly act as a learning tool: *Such a community is very important. It adds to the experience, as you can share and be stimulated and challenged by other people's views* (C3 RG E). Audience members also commented on the use of spoken informal introductions by musicians as a learning source: *Good communication between audience to audience as well as audience and musicians (*C4 FA Q); *Nice to watch performance closely and to have performers talk to us about their pieces* (C4 FA Q).

Community growth is stimulated by discussions, and classical music concert going offers few opportunities to have these interactions. Because of the set up of these events, the interval becomes a very important time for audience members to transfer their private thoughts had during the concert to other members of the public:

> *When I went out in the interval, I got talking to another lady – I don't know who she was – and her husband. But it is really quite nice, especially when*

you are on your own, that people do start to talk about the concert. Then you
talk about other things and it's really very nice, that (C1 RG FG).

It seems these conversations, as well as functioning as a social tool, are influential in constructing the meaning of the cultural event for the localized community of one arts organisation. This suggests, in answer to the first research question, RQ1, of this thesis, that live concerts can be seen as social and communal events with a community forming across an audience. However, this is very much aided by the opportunity to partake in conversations with other audience members in this community.

Negatives of community

Although the formation of a listening community around a regular concert series in the same venue is portrayed by regular audiences as inherently positive, the negatives of such a listening community must also be considered. This section firstly investigates how different levels of social behavioural and musical knowledge may affect an audience member's ability to integrate with the community. Secondly, by forming a community, those on the outside of this group are potentially alienated. Therefore, ideas around community cliques and integration will be examined. Finally, fears that this community may not be preserved over time are explored.

The concert culture that formed around classical music in the nineteenth -century assumes, and often requires, a level of behavioural knowledge, regarding, for example, when to clap or how to listen correctly. The community suggests that newcomers must comply with social norms and learn the behaviours common to the group. Newcomers to the community can feel that they do not have the appropriate musical knowledge to listen in the same way as other community members: *I concentrated more because I'm not familiar with listening to a lot of this type of music, so I'm a real newcomer getting used to it, and I found that I did concentrate more. I can get distracted* (C1 RG FG).

The social behaviour of the community can be off-putting; a concern raised by members of the community themselves:

> *I think a lot of people are frightened by the words 'chamber music.' Now I seem to remember many years ago on the radio they announced this by calling it music in miniature, does anyone remember music in miniature? I wondered if something of that nature might capture people that have never been to this sort of music before and think it sounds not their thing* (C3 FA AF).

One newcomer to Cast suggested that the language used around classical music should be changed to be more inclusive: *Maybe we just shouldn't label it? It should just be good music* (C4 RG FG).

I also found that newcomers to Cast held a perception that they did not have the level of musical knowledge to engage in conversations with regular community members. However, they did specify that practical knowledge helped them to feel more confident in the social conventions of the community: … *I suppose knowing the likely layout of the musicians and seating helped to choose a preferred seat* (C2 RG E). Therefore, a perceived lack of social and musical knowledge can impact the listeners in a negative way.

A common finding amongst newcomers and regular audience members was the idea that the formation of a listening community would result in the exclusion of some audience members and the formation of cliques: *I might feel a second class music follower if I wasn't in the 'crowd'* (C3 RG E); and that such a clique would deter attendance: *Presently there are cliques in local communities. I have no desire to belong to such groups* (C3 RG E). Some participants even suggested that the sense of an elite group of listeners within a regular audience is something arts organisations are encouraging, and even perpetuating, through their 'friend' schemes*: I have always been aware of a clique element, around the 'friends' at these concerts* (C3 RG E).

Although cliques were seen as undesirable, a more pressing concern that emerged was the need for self-preservation amongst this community, as seen in this discussion:

> F1*: And you are conscious that if there is a small audience it's not going*
> *to last.*
> F2*: But we get few concerts now than we used to.*
> *General agreement*
> F2*: When Ensemble 360 started we used to have more concerts each year*
> *than we do now - they have dropped.*
> F1*: So there aren't enough, are there, to keep their interest.*
> (C3 FA AF)

It would appear that even with a very full audience, the community openly acknowledges and is concerned that there are parties who are under-represented in their audience. The community found the lack of young people in the audience particularly worrying, as they questioned how they would pass classical music onto the next generation: *Well I would, 'cause I think it would encourage the young people and make them feel important, and we are thinking not only of yourself but about the continuity of the music* (C3 FA AF). Some audience members offered their views as to why the community is unable to attract younger listeners:

> *…it seems a bit elite, you know, but I think the way in which the musicians*
> *talk about the pieces and explain them we should have more of that, and I*
> *think having the welcome thing over a drink in one of the rooms where people*
> *could talk a bit about the music and follow it through you … I think being*
> *welcoming, not being stuffy, talking about it you know It's okay not*
> *clapping, but if you clap between the pieces so bloody what? There are some*
> *people staring you down thinking what a faux pas that is, you know* (C3
> FA AF).

The worry surrounding the preservation of this community has encouraged community members to act as advocates trying to attract new members

themselves: *I actively spread the word about 'community events' by posting publicity; encouraging people by word of mouth, and raving about the [MitR] concerts I've attended to all who'll listen!* (C3 FA AF). It is a clear concern of the community that they themselves are not very welcoming to new attenders and so they attempt to counteract this through positive advocacy, and by their open dislike of cliques within the group.

Summary

Previous studies have focused on community formation within festival audiences (Pitts and Spencer 2008; Karlsen 2014). However, the findings of this theme suggest that audiences for classical music concert series can form a community (Pitts *et al.* 2014). In particular, this study has examined the behaviours of an audience community from its origins in a new building. The foundation of this listening community at Cast was built on the idea of sharing and social connection. Participants described that, although they had little interaction with other audience members during the performance itself, the fact that they were listening with others allowed them to feel a strong sense of togetherness. Participants described how they felt similar to other audience members and shared in their views and tastes, a feeling that contributed further to the formation of community.

Once a community had started to form, the inner workings of this group were explored further. It became apparent that a social matrix developed across a listening community, which presented through the act of listening with others who were like-minded and by being able to verbalise the personal experience through conversation. The social connection was showed to be as important for newcomers as it was for regular audience members, and contributed to newcomers integrating with the core audience. Conversation not only seemed vital to the production of a social matrix, but furthermore allowed audience members to construct meaning around this cultural event (for a similar finding see Dearn and Price 2016). However, the structuring of a concert dictates that the available time for conversation is very little compared to the concert itself. This

raises an interesting question: whether musical communities thrive by having these condensed periods of discussion that are predetermined by the structuring of the arts event, or whether this short time for discussion constrains the advancement of this community.

The negative effects of a listening community must also be considered (Benzecry 2011). Although the presence of such a community has been interpreted as inherently positive by most, some participants highlighted some problematic issues with such a community. Firstly, varying levels of social behavioural knowledge of concert culture or musical knowledge introduces a hierarchy amongst the community, which can be off-putting to attenders with little knowledge. This could be detrimental to the community and appear unwelcoming to new members, due to the creation of cliques. Audience members were also concerned with preserving the community, allowing it to be passed through the generations and transcend time. Many audience members described how they adopted positive behaviour and tried to encourage new attenders. The finding of this theme would suggest that far more is at play in a classical music concert than the music performed and that these cultural events hold much social value for attenders. In practice, the findings of this theme demonstrate that arts organisations must consider how to provide space for community formation while keeping the space from becoming overpowering or enclosed, as not all attenders wish to integrate with the community.

4.3.3 FANDOM

Having discussed the short-term community that can form around a live classical music event, this theme explores the fan-like qualities this community may perform. The previous theme has established that classical music can support a community, and therefore the behaviours of classical music communities can be analysed using the critical framework of fandom. Classical music audiences are not readily analysed using the framework of fandom, with other terminology used in the place of 'fan', including 'conservative fanatic, committed listener,

aficionado' (Baker 2007: 20) or 'consumers' (Hand 2011), yet the use of the critical lens of fandom to understand audience behaviours has been called for within the field of audience studies (Pitts & Spencer 2007). It is important to note here that although fans can only exist in a community (Hills 2002), it does not necessarily follow that classical music audiences are a fan community. Rather, their behaviours could be viewed as 'fan-like'.

Community accepting the term 'fan'

The previous themes explored the way in which a community can form across a regular classical music audience. However, although a listening community can be viewed as fans, I asked whether the community accepted this term and classification. Throughout the study I deliberately did not use the term 'fan' nor ask a direct question about fandom until the last concert of the study. This decision was made so that I could observe and analyse behaviours without introducing this term in the first instance. During some of the earlier interviewing process the words 'fan' and 'aficionado' were used by participants unprompted, however, the use of these terms did not prompt a focused discussion until directed in the final concert of the study. The lack of discussion of these terms when they cropped up in early conversations suggests that this sort of terminology was already present in conversations and accepted by audiences, before participants were asked to comment directly on it.

During the last concert in the year-long study, I did ask whether the audience members would associate themselves with the term 'fan' and this brought about much debate. Firstly, the full audience were asked:

'What statement best describes you? Tick all that applies'
I am a fan of classical music [ ]
I am a classical music aficionado [ ]
I am a classical music attender [ ]

The statements chosen in this question included the polarised 'aficionado' and 'fan' but also a more neutral term, 'attender'. The results are as follows (Figure 4.15):
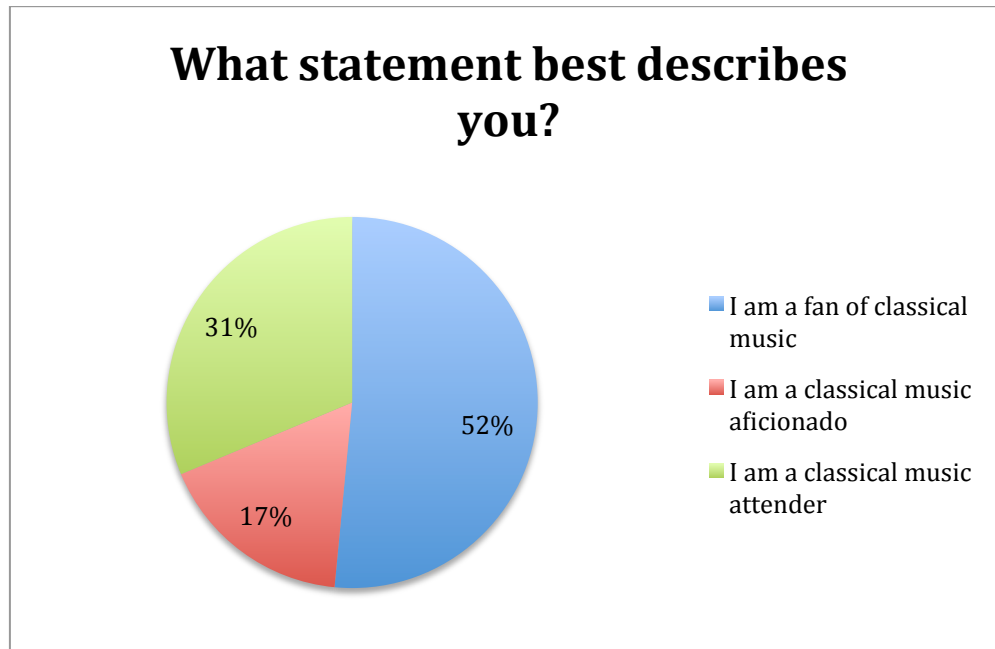
FIGURE 4.14: C4 Full audience questionnaire response

Over half the audience would associate with the term 'fan', with a smaller proportion terming themselves 'aficionados'. It is important to note that when this question was asked as part of an audience questionnaire, participants were able to tick multiple boxes. To see if there was a correlation between the multiple statements in this question, I analysed each possible permutation of the responses. The results of this analysis are shown below, in Figure 4.16:

What statement best describes you? Permutations of responses

- I am a fan and aficionado 0%
- I am a aficionado and attender 0%
- I am a fan and attender 19%
- I am a fan, aficionado and attender 8%
- I am a classical music attender 15%
- I am a classical music aficionado 15%
- I am a fan of classical music 43%
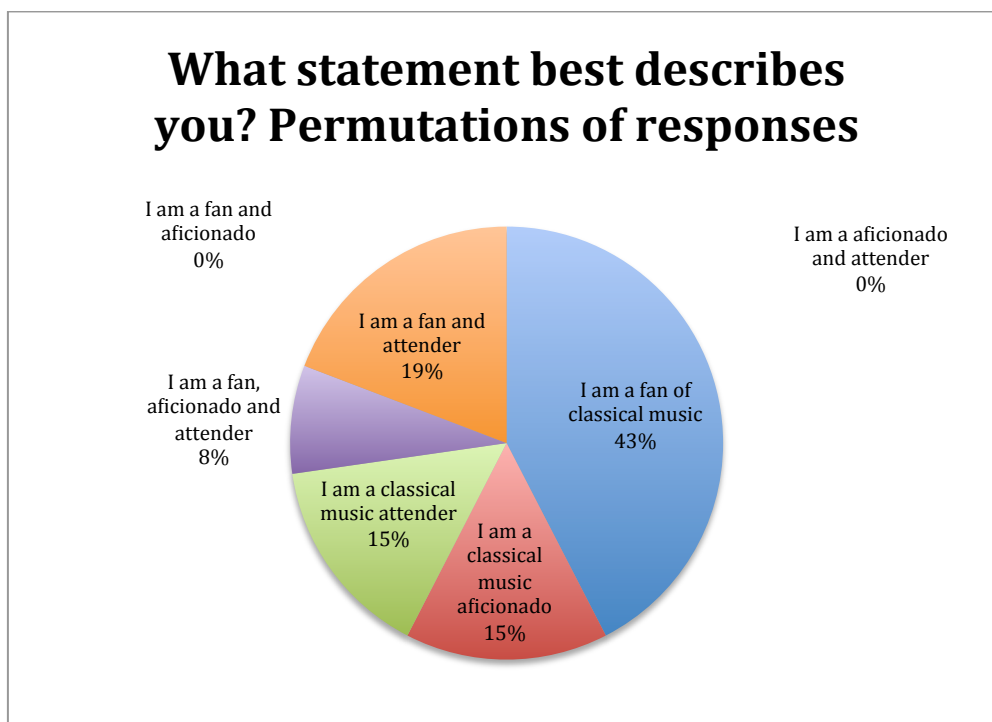
FIGURE 4.15: C4 Full audience questionnaire response

It is interesting that audience members used the terms 'fan' and 'attender' in all permutations but 'aficionado' was not selected with any others. This shows a disparity between how audience members use the term 'aficionado' and the others offered in the question. When the research group was asked the same question most had a positive feeling towards the association of fandom and classical music:

> Researcher: *Would you consider yourselves fans of classical music?*
> General agreement yes
> …
> F1: *Is it based on the word fanatics … so that probably suggests in its full sense fanatic, a bit sort of extreme… I ticked fan because it's just something I like. Like you [referring to other participant] I listen to concerts on Radio 3 or go to Opera North.*
> (C4 RG FG)

Although there was concern about the 'extreme' nature of the word 'fan', this participant still would associate with this classification. She then goes on to list her credentials as to why this term is appropriate to her, not only associating with fandom in classical music but also displaying fan-like qualities.

For some other participants, the term 'fan' being used to describe classical music concertgoers was seen to have more negative connotations than positive. Firstly, some audience members were concerned that 'fan' suggested that appreciation of classical music would be a passing phase, as debated by participants:

F1:	*Well you must be more of a fan than someone who doesn't.*
M1:	*I follow and appreciate it massively.*
Researcher:	*And would you liken those things to the word 'fan'.*
F2:	*No we wouldn't.*
M1:	*You could easily take it the wrong way.*
Researcher:	*Could you describe how that would be?*
M1:	*Someone who at this moment in time is into that thing and may not be into it in a year's time.*

(C4 RG FG)

Associating the term 'fan' with classical music audience members seemed concerning for these participants, who were worried that 'fans' might not behave correctly or might misinterpret what a fan of classical music is. Following from this debate amongst the participants, I asked how a fan of classical music might therefore behave. Audience members based there answers both around the idea of enjoyment: *It's something you like; Exactly, you enjoy it* (C4 RG FG), but also an amount of labour: *Something you devote some time to; to me a fan is like a follower* (C4 RG FG). Although these definitions of the term 'fan' seem quite neutral, the largest concern was based on how others would view the idea that classical music audiences could be fans, because the term is rooted in popular music: *Yes but not fans like pop music* (C4 RG FG). It seems therefore that the concerns shared by the proportion of the audience who would actively not want to associate classical music audiences with fandom were based around confusion as to what this term

would means for this community. However, this was not to say that association with the term 'aficionado' was met without some trepidation:

> *I don't like that term [aficionado]. I didn't even know what it meant that, aficionado, it sounds so pretentious to me. I listen to classical music a lot, I listen to the Radio 3 concerts a couple a weeks, and we are season ticket holders at the City Hall and love it. But I wouldn't say I was a fan particularly.*
> (C4 RG FG)

Interestingly, although this participant is not happy with either the term 'aficionado' or 'fan', she is displaying fan-like qualities by stating her level of participation in the wider classical music community.

Although the term 'fan' was most agreeable for the audience, some rejected this term in preference for the all-knowing 'aficionado' or the more neutral 'listener'. However, in using any of these terms a level of fan-like behaviour was still shown. Audience members were clearly unsure about how to self define themselves and this indicated a level of uncertainty in this group. This difference is taking into consideration that this listening community does not fully accept they are 'fans' of this music, even if they can be theoretically viewed in this way. This further highlights my point that classical music audiences do not work precisely as a fan community, but rather as a listening community who are fan-like in their behaviours.

How fandom presents in this community

Although the audience members of classical music concerts are 'fan-like' rather than 'fans', the critical lens of fandom can still be usefully applied to understand their behaviours. This sub-theme explores the ways in which fandom is performed by community members. Fandom was presented through two structures in this group: firstly, fan behaviours were seen amongst audience members, and secondly, fan behaviours presented between audience, performer and arts organisation. When considering the fandom that emerged between audience

members, one of the most dominant factors shown to promote fan behaviours in this group was a feeling of shared views and values, which in turn contributed to a collective identity for this group.

The longer-term community that formed over the year at Cast allowed audience members to start to feel a level of solidarity with each other: *I think the sharing of views is most important [in the concert experience]* (C3 RG E); *[I enjoy the] company of like minded people* (C4 FA Q). Sharing in a common musical preference helped to promote a sense of shared identity towards the end of the year of study: *We can promote people turning up, that yes you arrive and you will see people that you recognise so that's a sort of identity* (C3 FA AF). The 'in the round' setting also encourages acknowledgement of community behaviours: *You are able to see people's reactions to the music* (C4 FA Q); *we can see members of the audience and interact with the atmosphere* (C4 FA Q). The emotional reaction in audience members, or the discussion of this reaction, can become a performance of fandom, by showing the 'correct' response to the music. However, in a similar manner to the negative aspects of a listening community, feeling such a strong sense of belonging within this group led to some members of the community defining themselves as different to other listeners or other musical communities: *I certainly feel part of an elite group of musical appreciators* (C3 RG E).

In the same way that newcomers can feel on the outside of the audience community, regular audience members held the perception that some newcomers were unable to share in the identity of 'elite musical appreciators': *I have tried bringing others along, but some just do not seem to be able to cope with serious music* (C3 FA AF). The previous overarching theme, 'Space and Place', discussed in section 4.2, showed the ways in which performance venues are instrumental to helping a community to form. Having the space to discuss classical music not only promotes the formation of a short-term community, but also provides the opportunity to display fan-like qualities. Fan behaviours are localized to their community, therefore although translatable, the specific behaviours accepted by one classical music community might not match others: *I have noticed different behaviours. For*

example it is noticeable at the end when some sections of the Sheffield audience stamp their feet;
it's a sort of exhibitionism, which is something I dislike (C3 RG E).

The feeling of such a sense of shared identity within the listening community at Cast forms the foundations for shared fan behaviours within this community to be produced and agreed upon. A primary fan behaviour displayed amongst the participants was the demonstration of knowledge of classical music and the concert culture. Knowledge appeared to be strongly linked with concert experiences, and audience members often described concert going as a 'learning experience'. Displaying a good knowledge of classical music is dependent on knowing appropriate language and terminology. For example, acoustics was a recurrent topic of conversation in the study that requires appropriate knowledge and was mostly commented on by regular attenders: *I still find the acoustics quite difficult to deal with. It is not as round a sound as at the Priory Church* (C1 FA Q). Acoustics were deemed an important factor affecting experience: *Acoustics are of principal importance* (C1 FA Q), and furthermore some regulars passed judgement on how suitable the acoustics were for this type of music: *The acoustics were exciting and the space was initially appropriate to the concert* (C3 FA AF). This reference to a specific technical aspect of the performance space and use of specialized terminology was a way in which regular audience members showed their knowledge of music in a fan-like manner.

Being able to show fan behaviours, such as a level of knowledge or shared views, forces a hierarchy amongst the community with some members performing these behaviours more successfully than others. Some members of the audience felt they did not have an appropriate level of knowledge: *I am not an expert listener, although I attend MitR regularly, but I thought the acoustic deadened the louder passages although you could hear every note clearly* (C1 FA Q). The negatives of fandom are similar to the negatives of a community, such that levels of knowledge and therefore fandom are visible to outsiders: *a lot of them appear to understand music more than I do* (C2 RG E). Although I found that knowledge did not affect the level of enjoyment experienced by audience members, it did affect their ability to perform fan-like behaviours in this listening community. As knowledge of music and the

behavioural conventions of the community are learnt, however, audience members are able to integrate with this community. Furthermore, they are able to make progress in being able to display their place in the hierarchy through fandom, as described by this listener:

> *I would say that my experience improves with each concert as I am learning more. When I began to attend chamber music concerts around 2005 I was one of those people who didn't know when to clap!*
> (C3 RG E)

This participant highlights the change in their behaviour over time and foregrounds their level of learning. Furthermore, the reference to how long this participant has been part of this audience community is a display of fan behaviour.

Knowledge of the social conventions of a particular concert series is also seen to have an impact on an individual's place in the hierarchy of this community. One newcomer described this social knowledge as on a spectrum which is in flux as integration takes place over time: *I do feel part of a developing listening community, in that I see quite a few familiar faces at the concerts. There are people I recognise but don't know, others with whom I am on nodding terms and others with whom I can have a conversation* (C2 RG E).

Just as social knowledge is used as a tool to determine hierarchy with this group, musical knowledge can be seen to be working in the same manner. For this community, having a high level of musical knowledge was understood as having either contextual knowledge of the work performed or musical ability: *When I can see the music I follow it, that's only if you can read music* (C3 FA AF). Both social and musical knowledge are opportunities to perform fandom, and both types of knowledge begin to structure dynamics within the community, some members being more senior than others. Hierarchy was also shown in this community through attendance itself. Audience members described not wanting to miss a concert: *It means a lot to me - there are so few of them, so I try not to miss one* (C3 FA AF). Over the year at Cast, the community of concertgoers built a shared history, and

this knowledge of the past is another potential mechanism to show fandom and hierarchy in this community. Other studies have suggested this may be the case with long established opera audiences (Benzcry 2011). Although this hierarchy structuring mechanism was only becoming apparent towards the end of this study, the potential role of this knowledge in the formation of hierarchies within chamber music audiences is a pressing concern and should form the subject of future studies.

Arts organisation, performer and audience

The relationship between the performer, art organisations and audience members gave many opportunities to display fandom. The performer was very much at the root of fandom. Particularly with arts organisations that have an ensemble in residence, such as MitR, performers can become idolised, and audience members talked about Ensemble 360 in a similar way to that usually reserved for more widely known celebrities: *We came to hear 360 and would still come if it were in a field - A very fine ensemble* (C1 FA Q). This participant uses an abbreviated term for Ensemble 360, which was very common across the study and showed a level of ownership over these performers. The statement also shows absolute admiration for the performers, which can be seen as fan-like.

Participants became quite protective of the performers and often acted as advocates for the ensemble, favourably comparing their standard of playing to others: [Ensemble 360 are] *'world class' chamber musicians playing with much artistry* (C4 FA Q); [Ensemble 360] *must be the best ensemble in the north of England* (C4 FA Q). The positive perception of the performers was perpetuated amongst the community and fosters fandom. Audience members spoke of a desire to meet the musicians in person: *I think that maybe having some kind of opportunity to meet the musicians would be very helpful* (C3 FA AF). Many audience members wished to know more about the personal lives of musicians and often enjoy meetings organised by the arts organisation. In a similar vein to popular music fans, audience members stated preferences for particular members of the ensemble: *The music was wonderful tonight, but having seen many e360 concerts I missed Tim Horton on the piano* (C1 RG FG).

MitR, who provide the concert series and promote the resident ensemble, are also an important factor in encouraging fandom. Arts organisations encourage fan behaviour by offering 'friends' schemes that often rely on financial donations. This gives audience members the ability to easily show their place in the hierarchy within the group, and also allows access to a 'friends' newsletter that includes personal information about the performers. If arts organisations are seen as gatekeepers, these types of actions can be seen as not only legitimising fan behaviours, but also promoting them.

It was a common finding in the study that audience members showed a level of loyalty to MitR, this loyalty was encouraged by a sense of inclusion in the organisation: *We should get people signed up to a friends group, it makes me feel part of an organisation* (C3 FA AF). Other audience members showed their loyalty to the organisation by volunteering: *I am quite happy to turn out for a day and stuff envelopes* (C3 FA AF). Wanting to be included by the organisation and even help through volunteering can be seen as fan-like, but what is particularly relevant to the findings of the study is audience members' self promotion of MitR. Members of the listening community felt the need to market the concert series online, and were concerned when audience members were not given the choice to receive more information about the ensemble as part of their booking process.

Another way fandom presented in this community was through the idea of trust and quality. Audience members trusted that MitR would produce high quality music. Participants described how this gave a level of assurance in the performance. This may indicate that audience members book tickets for a concert because it is presented by MitR, or performed by members of Ensemble 360, without being so influenced by what will be performed. This is certainly fan behaviour and can be likened to booking for a popular music concert without knowing what exactly will be performed. The idea of a quality performance also was shown to alter what was discussed during non-performance times, as seen in this discussion:

I think strangely when you go to concerts you talk about the performers and the performance, but here because they are so good we tend to talk about the music itself and actually how we enjoyed it, that's what we talk about it.
 (C4 RG FG)

Having such trust in an arts organisation, I suggest, stems from viewing them in a fan-like way.

<u>Summary</u>

This theme uses the critical lens of fandom to examine the behaviours of the audience community that developed at Cast, and asked whether classical music audiences could be described as fans. The first sub-theme explored how fandom presented in this community. The findings of this study suggest that fandom presents through two structures: the first between audience members; and the second between audience, performer and arts organisation. The fan behaviours that were displayed amongst audience members grew from a feeling of sharing values and a level of solidarity with each other. Over time this allowed for audience members to share in an identity formed by the listening community. Audience members also displayed knowledge of music, which could be viewed as fan-like, which certainly contributed to the sense of hierarchy within the audience community. Hierarchy within this particular community was dependant on regular attendance, knowledge of music and interaction with the arts organisation. Audience members who held a lot of capital within this were able to assert authority over other members of the community. Such behaviour can be strongly related to fan hierarchy (Benzecry 2011 & 2009; Hills 2002: 46-65). Fan behaviour could also be seen in relation to the performers and arts organisation that presented the concert series. The performers were very much at the root of fandom in this community and allowed for many opportunities to display fan behaviours. Furthermore, audience members were seen to put trust in the musicians and MitR, and assume that the performances would be of great quality irrespective of the repertoire being performed: another aspect of fan behaviour.

As discussed in the previous theme, audience members act as advocates for growing the regular audience and its community, which in itself could be seen as a fan-like behaviour.

In many ways, MitR was shown to legitimise fan behaviour and even encourage it through 'friend' schemes. The implications for arts organisation are encouraging; legitimising audience fan behaviours is a means to secure the financial and social future of the organisation.

Although the behaviours of this listening community have been shown to be fan-like through this study, this did not automatically mean that members of this community would accept being classified as 'fans' of classical music. While over half the audience at the final concert would associate themselves with the term 'fan', others rejected it, even though the community as a whole displayed fan-like qualities. Audience members who termed themselves 'aficionados' were highly offended by the term 'fan', and others preferred the more neutral label of 'attender'. The tension between these two terms for the community highlights many of the problems classical music faces with regards to elitist stereotypes (echoed in opera audiences; Benzecry 2009, 2011).

Cast offers a space in which to anchor the listening community and encourage fan behaviour. The venue for a concert series allows a space to experience the object of fandom but also allows members to partake in conversations about the object. The fan space seemed particularly important to this community as it was linked to the times when concerts occurred, unlike online communities. This community is localised to the fan space, and in the case of classical music audience often does not leave the four walls of the concert hall. Coming to this space in the first place can be seen as a sort of cultural pilgrimage, and by entering the fan space audience members are already showing a level of curiosity about the community that operates in this space. Familiarity and ownership over the fan space gives a level of social comfort to the community. This can allow fandom to be displayed about the fan space as well as the object of fandom that it houses.

4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the opening of new concert venue, Cast, in Doncaster. This study tracked the formation of a new core audience from the opening of Cast. The controlled variable of a new venue has allowed the investigation of how audience members perceive the performance space and how this venue has impacted the way audience members feel about the place they live in. Furthermore, this study examined the personal and collective listening experience and the fan behaviours displayed by audience members.

The first overarching theme investigated space and place within the presentation of live classical music. The impact of venue on audiences is often overlooked in investigation of classical music audiences, and there has been no investigation into audience behaviour at a new venue. The key findings that emerged from this theme were the importance of venue in the concert experience and how audience members build a relationship with the performance space over time.

Cast was also seen to have impact on audience members' perceptions of the place they live in, and to encourage a sense of civic pride (Brown 2013). The introduction of Cast to the town of Doncaster seems, therefore, to have greater significance than just presentation of classical music. Participants felt that this cultural building improved the town and gave them the perception that Doncaster was comparable to other cities. Currently, a measurement of culture is not included in national scales of deprivation and civic pride. I propose that this study and the ways in which Cast has positively impacted the way these people feel about the place in which they live suggests that measurements of cultural experiences should be included in such scales.

The second overarching theme explored audience members' relationships with music both individually and communally. A central research aim of this thesis was to explore the social functionality of a classical music concert for its audience members and to ask how this might encourage a listening community to form around live classical music concert culture. This investigation has taken place in a

new venue, and therefore this study was able to understand the workings of this community from its infancy. The key findings from this theme are that a community did form for this audience over the course of the first year of opening. This suggests that concerts function in a social capacity for their audience, that the listening experience is both personal and communal, and that the social and communal aspect of the concert experience was valued equally to the aesthetic qualities.

As stated previously in Chapter 2, Auslander (2008) suggests that communities are unable to form around cultural events and in fact the audience are little more than a group of people consuming the same cultural product. However, Auslander's views on the live cultural experiences have been directly contested (Barker 2003). Terry O'Sullivan (2009) suggests the cultural products that are consumed construct self-identity and contribute to a sense of community. I suggest the findings of this theme directly contradict Auslander's when it comes to chamber music and show a classical music concert series provides the conditions for a listening community to form.

This study takes the concept of community further and asks whether members of the listening community can be viewed as fans. Moreover, I asked what can be understood by considering classical music audiences as fans and how may fandom present in this community? This study suggests that the socio-cultural practices of audience members at classical music concerts can be viewed as fan-like behaviours. Fandom not only presented in this community through interaction with other audience members, but also through the relationship audience members developed with the performers and the arts organisations. Furthermore, the venue was also shown to be influential in the presentation of fandom in this community. The study also proves the venue's ability to anchor a listening community, and shown to be a fan space, rooting the community and framing the fan experience. However, the term 'fan' seemed problematic for this community and not all participants accepted the association, even if they were shown to be displaying typical fan behaviour. For some participants, the term 'fan' suggested an association with lower art forms, in particular popular music. The debates

around the terminology used to describe classical music listeners highlighted issues around prestige in classical music.

The social aspect of concert going offers opportunities to enter into conversation with other audience members, and this became very important in constructing combined cultural meaning and histories around the concerts at Cast. Although classical music is often thought of as an introspective activity, the findings of this study suggest that audience members move between moments of private to public thought. Conversations between audience members publicly contributed to the formation of community, which has significant implications for art organisations. It is now easier to access high quality recordings of classical music digitally, however audience members chose to experience this music as part of a live audience. The social value attributed to attending a live concert offers an additional aspect to the experience of receiving classical music. Arts organisations could think of providing opportunities for conversation, similar to the audience forum run at Cast, to allow audience members to bond and form friendships within this community. Integration into the community was seen as valued by newcomers as well as regular concertgoers.

However, little is known as to how different venues may encourage community. It was true of this study that the in the round configuration encouraged friendships amongst audience members, yet little was understood of the social spaces in the venue and if this would have been influenced by the physical attributes of the building, for example if it was one or two stories or had multiple bar areas.

Through understanding the fan behaviours of this community, arts organisations can manipulate the additional social reason to attend concerts regularly. Fostering the fan behaviours of the audience community can encourage loyalty to an arts organisation, which may have financial benefits, particularly as arts organisations are reliant on private donations. However, fandom is used as a structuring mechanism to find like-minded people, so arts organisations must negotiate the barriers of creating a closed community. Although Cast is positively affecting concert experience and promoting civic pride, it is only reaching those who use it.

There is still a wider question of audience development where certain demographic groups are engaging with this venue (see next chapter).

CHAPTER 5

FROM BEYONCÉ TO BEETHOVEN: UNDERSTANDING U25S' RELATIONSHIP WITH CLASSICAL MUSIC

5.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter explores the listening experiences of people who are under-represented in the make-up of MitR's regular audience in Sheffield and who therefore can be seen to be on the outside of the audience community discussed in the previous chapter. The underrepresented demographic investigated in this thesis are people under the age of 25 (U25s). Although people under the age of 25 may not be considered young in other cultural industries, when referring to classical music audiences this is the case (Baker 2007). The selection of this age bracket is based on the MitR young person scheme, in which a reduced ticket price of £5 is offered to under 35s. When recruiting participants for this study, I invited anyone under the age of 35 to take part to reflect the 'young person' scheme at my external partner. However, as all the people I recruited were aged 25 or under, I will refer to the participants as 'U25s'. This is a more accurate representation of the data set, while still speaking to the audience development scheme at MitR and most other arts organisations.

Like many other arts organisations, MitR has this scheme to address the lack of this demographic in their core audience. Such schemes are based around the idea that the financial barrier to concert attendance is the most significant for this group of people. Although U35s have signed up to this scheme, this seems not to have resulted in regular attendance as U35s are still underrepresented at MitR's

concerts (MitR box office data). This suggests that other factors are influencing the decision-making process to attend classical music concerts for these people.

By understanding a classical music audience as a working community (Chapter 4), I wish to test what impact such a strong listening community has upon U25s who are typically far away from this culture in their musical tastes and experiences. This chapter investigates the views of U25s who have a strong musical identity themselves, but do not regularly attend classical concerts, and primarily addresses research questions three and four of this thesis and continues to consider research questions five and six:

RQ3: What views do people under the age of 25 have of the current presentation of live classical music, including pre-existing audiences before, during and after attending such an event?

RQ4: To what extent might musical or cultural knowledge affect how this group of U25s are able to integrate as audience members, enjoy the concert experience and the likelihood of their re-attendance?

RQ5: How might performance spaces and concert hall venues affect audience experience?

RQ6: To what extent can the introduction of new audience research methods help the experience of audiences to be better understood?

This study questions the risks and relevance classical music holds for U25s in contemporary society and asks the following sub-questions; what are U25s' perceptions of classical music and the culture that surrounds it; how do classical music concerts compare to more familiar musical experiences and speak to the

musical identity of participants; how easily are participants able to integrate with the pre-existing listening community; and do varying levels of musical knowledge affect the concert experience and foster curiosity around attending concerts? Further to understanding why U25s do not currently attend live concerts, I also consider whether they engage with classical music in any other ways. I consider why U25s are generally not fans of this musical genre, or whether they show their fandom through the consumption of an alternative digital presentation of this music. In so doing, I wish to explore the effect that the established rituals and behaviours bound up with concert culture may have on young people's perceptions of risk in concert attendance.

The participants for this study are predominantly newcomers to MitR concerts and have varying levels of musical knowledge and cultural engagement with high art forms (e.g. classical music, theatre, contemporary dance, opera, fine art, poetry and literature). Table 5.1 below shows the demographic profile of the participants in this study, divided into three bands according to their level of prior musical knowledge and engagement.

TABLE 5.1: Age, gender and level of musical knowledge of participants

Band type	Musical Knowledge	Average age of U25s in Band	Male participants in Band	Female participants in Band
Band 1 (n = 26)	Band 1 represents U25s who are students of classical music and have a very high musical knowledge and engagement with this art form.	18	40%	60%

Band 2 (n = 4)	Band 2 represents U25s who are students of another high art form, English Literature and creative writing, and are culturally engaged with the high arts but have no specific musical knowledge.	24	50%	50%
Band 3 (n = 10)	Band 3 represents U25s who have no knowledge of classical music or other high art forms and have a low level of cultural engagement.	17	44%	56%
All band types combined		**20**	**45%**	**55%**

The data collection investigates three overarching themes: perspectives before the concert, perspectives during the concert and perspectives after the concert (this chapter has also been structured in this way, see figure 5.1). This three-stage approach to data collection with newcomers is a new approach and aims to better understand U25s attendance behaviours in relation to the model presented in Chapter 2, figure 2.1. An introduction to previous literature is given at the beginning of each overarching theme and further discussion of how the findings of this study relate to wider literature can be found at the end of each overarching theme. The findings and discussion of this study will be presented together. Implications for practice will be presented in the concluding section of this chapter (5.5).

Overarching Themes	**Perspectives before the concert (5.2)**	
Themes	**Current musical habits (5.2.1)**	**Risks and Relevance: Understanding expectations and assumptions of concert going (5.2.2)**
Sub - Themes	Previous attendance	Language used around classical music publicity
	Current musical identity and participation	Venue
		Music and concert culture
		Comparison to other cultural experiences and musical genres
		Timelines

Overarching Themes	**Perspectives during the concert (5.3)**		
Themes	**Personal 'in the moment' listening experience (5.3.1)**	**Integration with audience (5.2.2)**	**Integration with concert culture (5.2.3)**
Sub - Themes	Literal versus abstract	Perception of the pre-existing audience	Fully integrated listening behaviour
	Ways of listening	Feeling part of the audience	Learning listening behaviour
	Sense of enjoyment	A social audience	Relationship with still and silent listening
			The live concert experience

Overarching Themes	Perspectives after the concert (5.4)	
Themes	Re-attendance: Reducing risks (5.4.1)	Growing relevance and making changes (5.4.2)
Sub - Themes		The presentation of classical concerts
		Music
		Musical identities
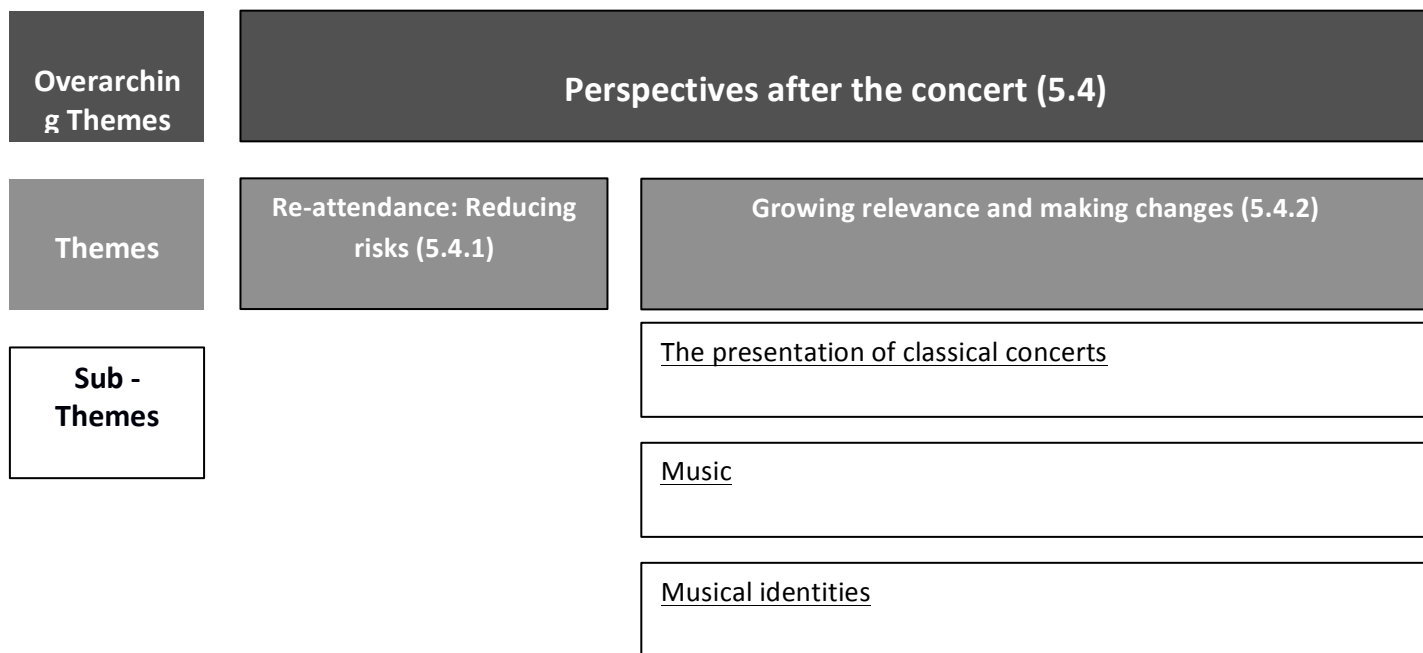
FIGURE 5.1: Chapter Structure

5.2 PERSPECTIVES BEFORE THE CONCERT

Previous literature has explored the experience of new-attenders (Kolb 2000, 2001; Jacob 2000; Kawashima 2000; Radbourne *et al.* 2009; Dobson 2010; Dobson & Pitts 2011); however, not all of this research has focused exclusively on U25s. The study with the age range closest to my own study is the research carried out by Kolb (2000) with participants ranging from 18 to 22 years old, and Jacob (2000) who carried out a study with similarly aged college students. Dobson & Pitts' 2011 study investigates first time attendees aged 21 to 25. Dobson's 2010 study investigated participants aged between 24 and 36; although the average age of participants was older than my own study, they were still largely under the age of 35 and considered young by arts organisations. Other studies of new attendees (Radbourne *et al.* 2009, 2013) consider participants with an age over 25. This study, therefore, contributes to understanding new attendees under the age of 25, encompassing the age ranges of multiple previous studies to give a broader and clearer current view of this group of people.

Some of the studies referenced above have also tried to understand the views of participants before the event, as I have done in this study. Kolb's (2000) study used focus groups before and after participants attended a concert for the first time and states:

> [t]he focus groups held prior to attending the concert concentrated on determining the students' preconceptions of classical music, classical music patrons and the experience of attending a concert. The focus groups after the concert focused on what they liked best and least about the concert and how they felt the concert experience could be improved (15).

The research design of Kolb's study includes similar intentions to the current study with regards to understanding U25s' expectations of concert going. My study, however, used individual questionnaires to ascertain this information before attending, as opposed to qualitative research within a group. The data drawn on in Dobson's 2010 paper was from focus groups carried out after the concert experience. The author did use pre-concert questionnaires, but these did not form part of the resulting data set and were only used to see if participants were appropriate for the study.

With studies relating to new attendees there is often an undercurrent of interest in participants' level of musical knowledge. Dobson (2010) used participants described as 'culturally aware non-attenders', which would be akin to the participants described in this study as Band 2. Dobson also gives a broad overview of the key studies in this field (Radbourne *et al.* 2009; Kolb 2000; Jacob 2000) and suggests a trend in all these studies is the perceived lack of musical knowledge of participants. However, no empirical studies focusing on U25s with varying musical knowledge have previously been carried out. This study will therefore allow for comparisons within a peer group to be made, rather than between generations.

The reason for investigating perceptions before attending the concert in this study is largely connected to the idea of perceived risk. U25s are under-represented in the make-up of regular audiences and therefore may have a different attitude towards attending a classical music concert. Attitudes among U25 newcomers are affected by musical and social factors (Kolb 2000; Dobson & Pitts 2011: 371). Such factors can be seen as levels of positive or negative risk associated with attending classical music events. The decision to attend a concert involves the individual weighing up the positive and negative risks. The factors that might influence this feeling of risk have been explored in previous studies. Colbert *et al.*'s (2001) research with theatregoers categorises risk in four ways: economic risk (the cost of a concert may influence the decision to attend); functional risk (might not enjoy attending); social risk (what the other audience members might be like) and psychological risk (attending will be a reflection of self-identity) (pp. 84-5).

Radbourne *et al.* suggest that the more knowledge attendees have before the event correlates with a stronger likelihood they will enjoy it and choose to attend similar events in the future (2009; 2013). Moreover, some attenders may choose to search for knowledge before attending to reduce feelings of risk (2009: 20). Similarly, Brown and Novak (2007) suggest that feelings of context, which is defined in the study as 'the amount of information and personal experience that the audience member has with the art and artist' (18), affect the level of engagement an audience member might have with the event.

Previous studies of risk have investigated adult audience members' perceptions and not those of U25s; for example, the previously discussed 'relevance tests' (Brown 200; also see Chapter 2). Studies that have investigated U25s have not specifically framed these factors as the weighing of risk, but more as barriers to attendance. Building on the previous studies explored, the following sections investigate: the current musical make-up of participants in this study; how risky attending a concert might be for them; what relevance classical music holds in their everyday life; and finally what their expectations of attending a concert might be.

5.2.1 CURRENT MUSICAL HABITS

This theme investigates the current musical habits of participants in order to find a baseline of musical participation for this study. Firstly, previous knowledge and concert attendance is explored, followed by an investigation of participants' current everyday musical habits.

Previous attendance

The information collected through the pre-concert questionnaire (see Appendix 1) investigated U25s' previous attendance at classical music concerts. Participants were asked if they had ever attended a classical music concert before and the results can be seen below (Figure 5.2):
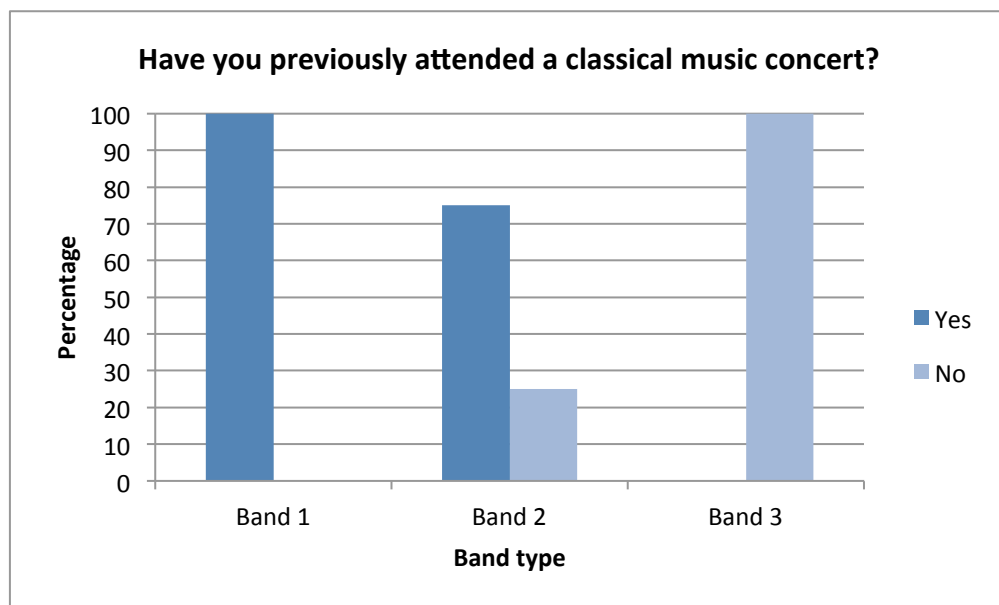
FIGURE 5.2: Graph to show previous concert attendance

A strong relationship between musical knowledge and previous attendance is very apparent here. I expected that Band 1 participants would be the most likely to have previously attended a concert due to the nature of their studies. However, being a student of music does not necessarily dictate that participants would have made the transition from student to audience member. The results of Band 1 are in absolute contrast to participants in Band 3, who are complete newcomers to

live classical music. The majority of Band 2 had attended a classical music concert before, suggesting a cross over in interests of students of the creative arts and music. The participants who had previously attended were asked to state the frequency of these visits in a year. Participants from Band 1 attended an average of 2.55 concerts a year, and those from Band 2 similarly attended an average of 2.33. This would suggest that although U25s in this study have attended concerts before, they have done so infrequently, indicating that attending classical music concerts is not a highly significant part of their everyday life. Participants were also asked with whom they attended these concerts. As no participants from Band 3 had previously attended a concert, the responses for Band 1 and Band 2 are shown in Figure 5.3:
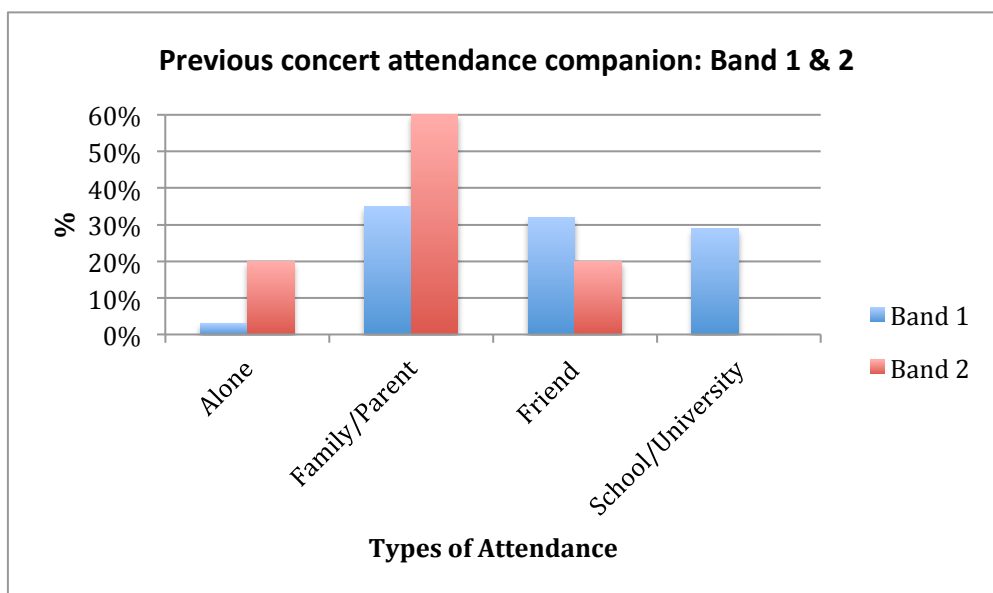
FIGURE 5.3: Band 1&2 previous concert attendance

With only 23% across both bands stating that they had previously attended alone, it was far more likely that participants had attended as part of a group. This may indicate that participants had a lower level of control over the decision to attend, as described by Brown's initiator and responder theory (2004).

Only 45% of participants in Band 1 had attended a MitR concert before, signifying that the concert experienced in this study was new for 73% of all participants. The U25s were asked to comment on how easily they felt they could

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attend a classical music concert by filling in the blank part of the following research question 'It is _ _ _ _ _ (please select below) for me to attend a classical music concert':
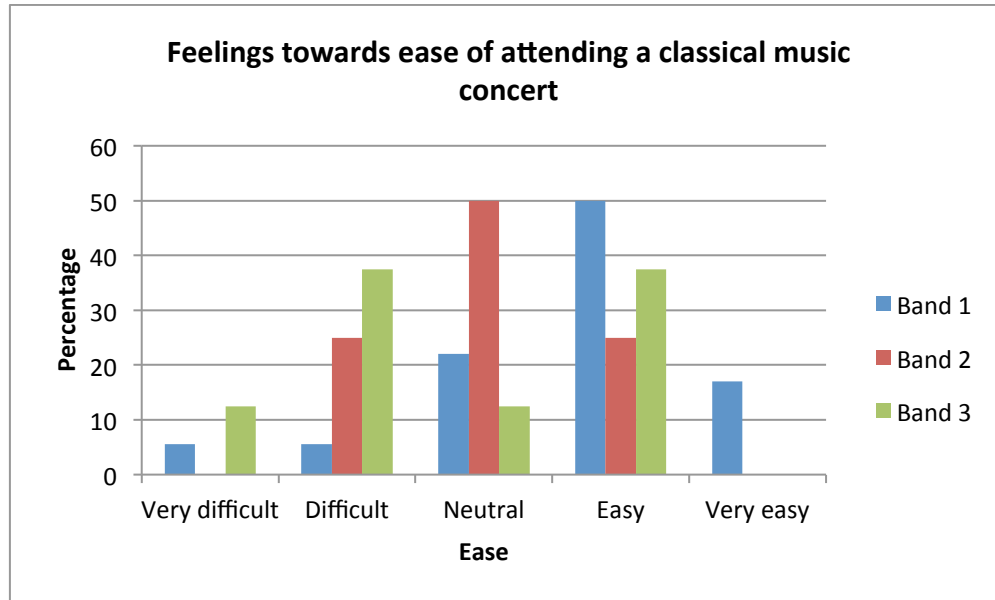
FIGURE 5.4: Ease of concert attendance

Participants in Band 1 perceived concert attendance to be the easiest with 67% of U25s stating it was either 'easy' or 'very easy' to attend. The majority of Band 2 members felt neutral about this issue, with the spread of categories used to answer this question the smallest of any band. Band 3 perceptions of concert attendance are possibly the most surprising, as this is the only group to have no previous attendance at classical music, but 37.5% of the participants felt it would be easy to attend. However, this group also had the largest proportion of U25s who felt it was very difficult to attend (12.5%). The disparity between answers in this band shows a stronger diversity in views in this group with 50% of this band feeling it was very difficult or difficult to attend and the other 50% neutral or easy. Further to this question, the U25s were asked to explain their response to this question through a written comment. Further investigation through the written response of this question showed that amongst Band 1, younger participants still in secondary school felt the biggest concern around attendance was time restriction due to school exams or sporting commitments. Some of the university music students suggested that entry to classical music concerts was particularly easy for them as

they are studying music and concerts were often *'free opportunities'*.

There was also a feeling amongst the music students that they knew this would be a familiar experience: *I've grown up attending and performing in them, and whilst my enjoyment often depends on what's played it's not difficult to go to one* (B1). Some participants from this band had conflicting views, however, and despite past familiarity felt that a live classical music concert was a difficult experience: *I find classical music something you have to concentrate on and I find it hard to concentrate for the length of a concert* (B1). Others described that although easy to attend, there were factors that affected ease of attendance, such as finding a companion to attend with or cost. Participants in Band 2 stated further different factors affecting the ease of attendance. Along with financial and time restrictions, participants also stated a lack of awareness of what is on: *I don't normally know when they're on, but there is lots of theatre I probably should find out* (B2). The written comments from Band 3 further showed disparity in views for this group. Some U25s in this group make a strong value judgement that they will not like this genre of music: *It's not my type of music* (B3). Others have a very open mind about experiences they are unfamiliar with: *I respect all music and acknowledge it as a form of expression* (B3). Some participants from this band also commented on lack of *'opportunity to attend a concert'* (B3). The disparity in responses from this group suggests that perceptions towards ease of attendance are strongly affected by having no previous experience of this type of event.

This section has begun to introduce the previous musical experiences of the U25s in this study. A clear link between levels of musical knowledge and previous engagement with classical music concerts is seen through this data and it would suggest that participants in Band 3 have the lowest reference point when it comes to concert attendance, followed by Band 2.

Current musical identity and participation

To complement the findings regarding previous attendance at classical music concerts, it was also important to gain a more holistic view of wider musical and cultural participation. Participants were asked how often they attend other arts events like jazz concerts, theatre, exhibitions or talks:
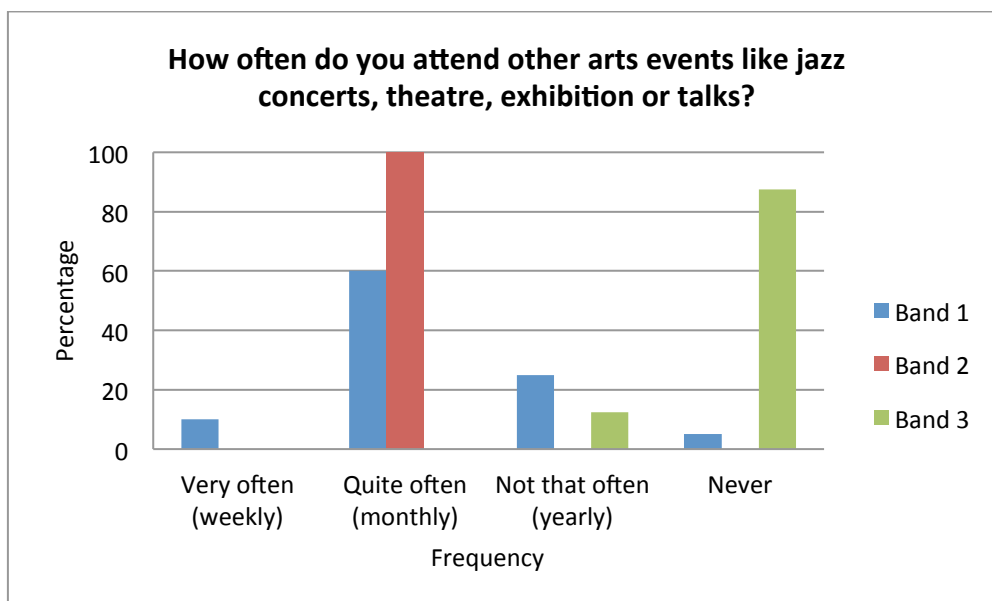
FIGURE 5.5: Attendance of other cultural events

Participants in Band 1 and 2 are shown to have a high cultural engagement with other art forms. This was particularly true for participants in Band 2, who all attended some type of cultural event each month. This finding also suggests that the U25s in Band 1 and 2 are omnivorous in their cultural tastes and experiences (a feature of this age group, see research by Savage & Gayo 2011). The majority of Band 3 members have never experienced an arts event. However, I asked whether these levels of attendance would be different for live popular music events:
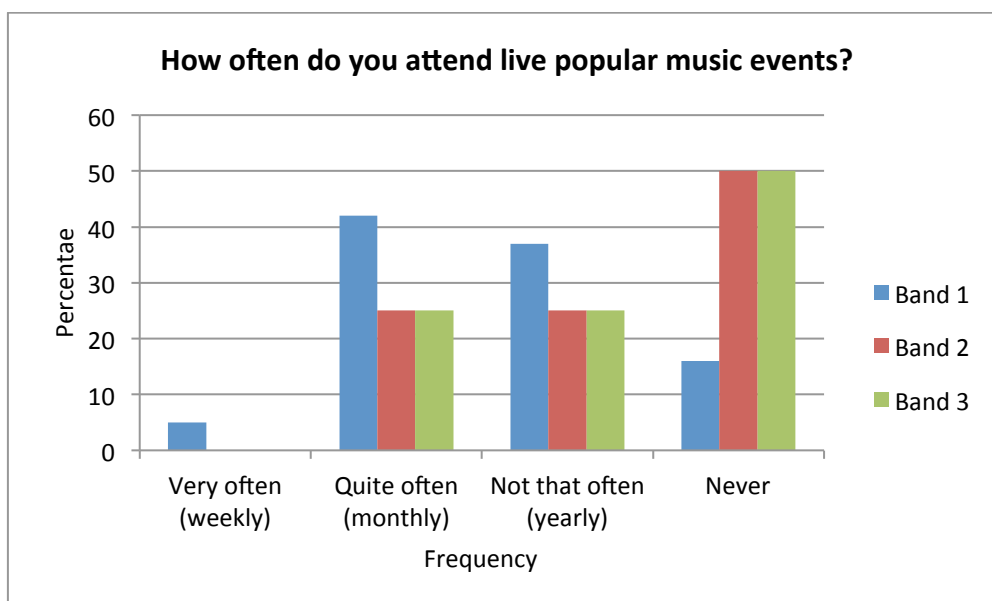
FIGURE 5.6: Attendance of popular music events

Participants from Band 3 did have a stronger engagement with live popular music events compared to other cultural events. However, 50% of U25s in the band still had not attended a popular music event and therefore had very little experience of any live musical event. 50% of participants in Band 2 did engage with live popular music to varying degrees, but this band as a whole engaged with high arts events, excluding classical music concerts, more than popular music events. Students from Band 1 had the highest engagement with live popular music compared to the other U25s in this study and attended popular music events more than classical events.

The findings so far have only considered engagement with live cultural events, but U25s' engagement with recorded music was also investigated. Participants were asked how many hours a day they listen to music on a weekday:
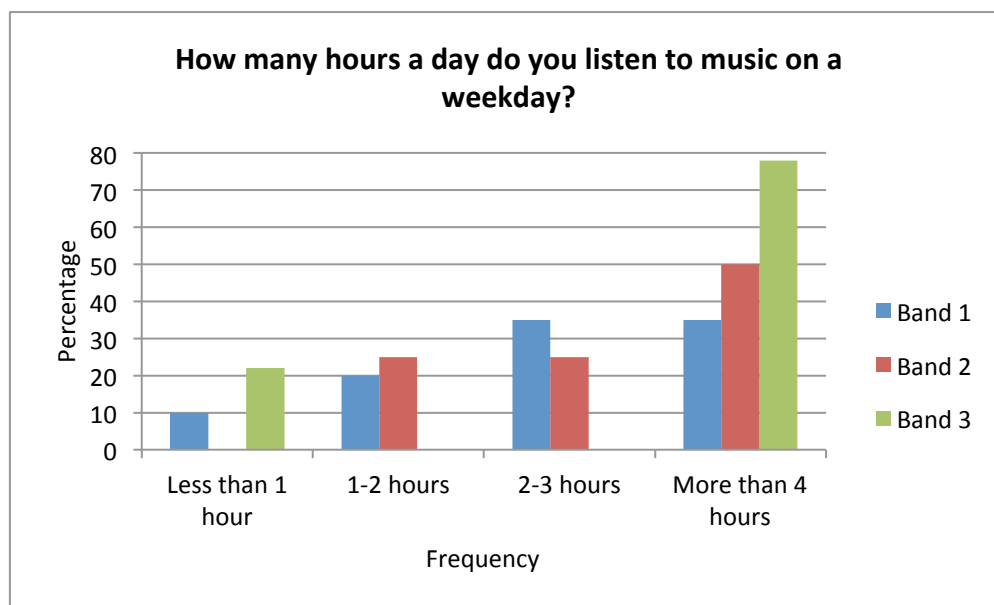
FIGURE 5.7: Time spent listening to music on a weekday

Most striking here is the stark difference in engagement levels with live and recorded music for the U25s in Band 3. The use of recorded music plays an important part in the everyday life of all participants. However, on average, the band that listens to the smallest amount of recorded music was Band 1. These findings are opposite to those regarding live events. For the majority of U25s in this study, listening to music does play a significant part in everyday activities, with 58% of participants also stating that they listened to more music at the weekend.

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The U25s surveyed also placed more importance on listening or playing music compared to other activities such as sports or watching television. On a scale of 1 (prefer other activities) to 6 (prefer music), the average rating was 4.8, showing a strong partiality for musical activities.

When asked whether participants owned an iPod or music-playing device, all the U25s in this study stated that they did. Personal listening devices are not only used to store musical archives, they are often representative of an individual's musical identity (Kibby 2009; Beer 2008). Therefore, I was interested to see whether classical music was included in this archive, and if so, what percentage of the music on this device was classical music:

TABLE 5.2: Table to show music on personal iPod

Band type	Yes, there is classical music on my iPod	Average percentage of classical music on iPod	No, there is not classical music on my iPod
Band 1	75%	20%	25%
Band 2	100%	29%	0%
Band 3	22%	10%	78%

Participants in Band 2 had the most classical music on their iPods. It may have been expected that students of classical music would engage with classical music the most, but with 25% of this band not including classical music as part of their portable musical catalogue, this was shown not to be the case. Band 3 had the largest number of members without classical music on their iPods; this was also the band whose members listened to most hours of recorded music per day. Many of the participants have engaged digitally with classical music, suggesting that attendance at a live concert seems more problematic than the music itself for this group of people.

I also asked whether participants took part in making music as well as listening to it. Participants were asked if they had ever played a musical instrument or sung regularly:
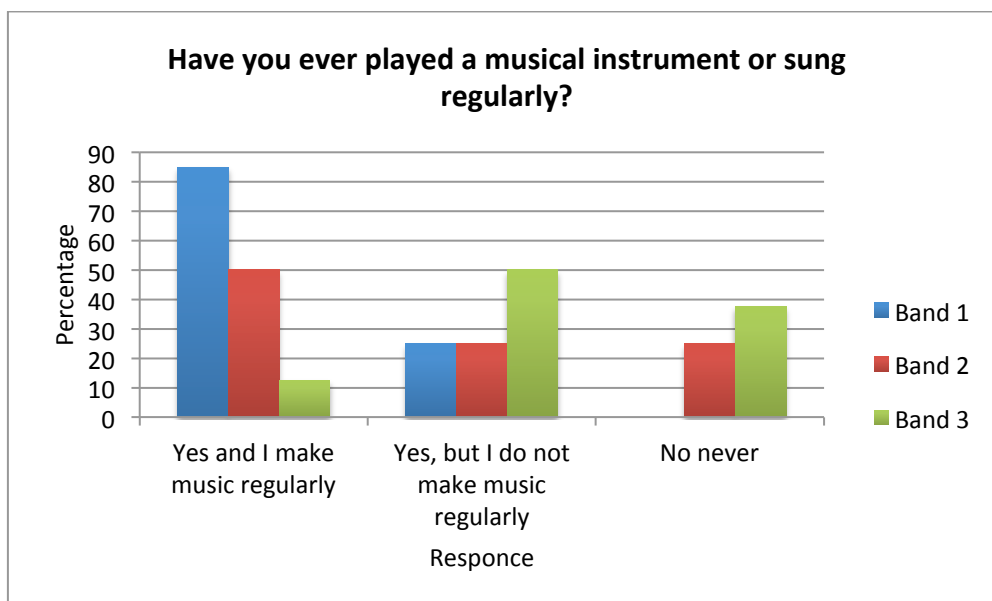
FIGURE 5.8: Musical participation

As expected, the band with the largest proportion of people who make music regularly are the music students (Band 1). However, all bands were represented in this response: members of Bands 2 and 3, who have received no formal musical training, did also participate in music making. The participants were asked how they were introduced to music making and why they decided to learn to play or sing. Participants from Band 1 and 2 mostly described being introduced by a family member: *My mum was a music teacher; I have always been around instruments* (B1). However, routes to musical participation were quite varied even within these bands, for example free school music lessons were a significant way in which participants were introduced to music making. In contrast, participants from Band 3 were the only U25s to describe themselves as self-taught.

I asked further how dependent the U25s were on the use of music in their everyday life and asked how they would feel if they were not able to listen to music for a month. The responses from all participants were negative and it would seem that the U25s were united in this, although to differing degrees:

> *I don't go an hour without listening or singing to music* (B1).
>
> *It would be hell on earth* (B1).
>
> *I often listen to music when I'm travelling or commuting, or when I'm*

writing or working at home (B2).

Not being able to listen to it would leave a noticeable hole in my life (B2).

I would die, as music is my life! (B3).

I would feel very drained of creativity and will become sad (B3).

Music is clearly a very important tool for U25s and the strong emotive language used indicates the level of upset that the possibility of living without it for one month caused, and is testament to how deeply music is ingrained in the identities of U25s. This was true of all bands in this study, which might not have been expected from their previous attendance at musical events.

Further to listening to music, I also asked how often music occurs in the day-to-day conversation of the U25s surveyed:
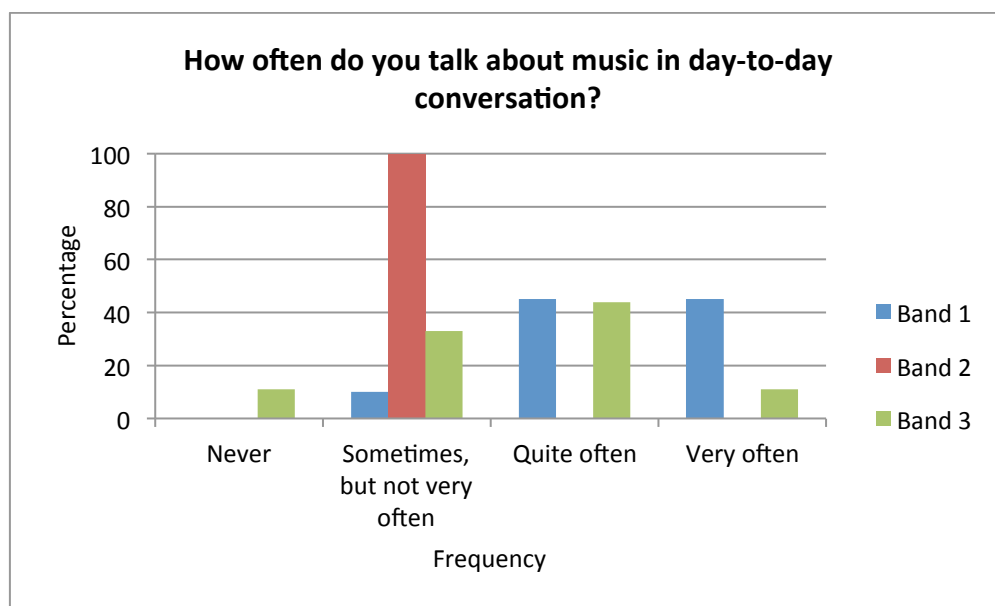
FIGURE 5.9: Amount of daily conversation about music

The U25s in Bands 1 and 3 felt that they spoke the most often about music. The majority of U25s felt that music was to some extent a feature of daily conversation, with only 10% of the participants feeling that they never talked about music. Building on talking about music, I also asked whether the U25s in this study felt a sense of solidarity with their friends when it comes to the type of music they listen to. No U25s in this study felt that all of their friends had the same musical tastes as themselves. However, many participants (88% across all bands) felt that some of

their friends did have the same taste in music. All members of Band 1 felt that some of their friends had the same musical taste, with larger proportions of Band 2 and Band 3 feeling that none of their friends had the same musical tastes as themselves (25% and 12% respectively). These perceptions would suggest that some U25s sort themselves and form friendships around musical tastes (for further information see Dearn 2013; Beer 2013).

This section has begun to build a picture of the musical habits of the U25s in this study. It is evident that U25s have very strong musical identities and music holds a lot of importance for them. Recorded music in particular is used in the everyday life of this group (Bull 2005, 2007). The clear preference for recorded and live music was seen to be popular music. This has significant implications for this study, as the cultural reference points for most U25s in this study are popular music cultures.

5.2.2 RISKS AND RELEVANCE: UNDERSTANDING THE EXPECTATIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF CONCERTGOERS

This theme explores ideas of risk in concert attendance and asks how significant this cultural experience might be for U25s. This theme gathers U25s' views of what they expect to happen during the concert they attend. Firstly, the language used around the marketing of classical music is explored, to show how this frames their expectations of concert going, followed by exploration of their expectations of the venue in which they will listen to the music, the performance itself and other audience members. A comparison with other musical genres and cultural experiences is investigated, which illuminates many assumptions about classical music. Finally, the use of concert timelines, created by the U25s of this study, will explore their expectations of the concert.

Language used around classical music publicity
The process of attending a classical concert often begins with the arts organisation's publicity. In the previous section, it has been observed that some

participants felt they did not know what events were happening in their local area, showing the importance of publicity from arts organisations. The brochure or website is often the first point of communication with potential audience members, and the language used can contribute to the level of risk audience members feel in choosing to attend a concert. The U25s in this study were asked to evaluate the MitR brochure in print at the time they attended a concert. This allowed for two types of brochures to be analysed: the full season brochure and a 'brochure light' (MitR's terminology). The full season brochure is a much more substantial piece of print compared to the brochure light, which is only three pages, as seen in the images below. MitR adopted the term 'brochure light' to describe a reduced and more accessible piece of print. The brochure light was aimed at new and infrequent attenders, including younger people.
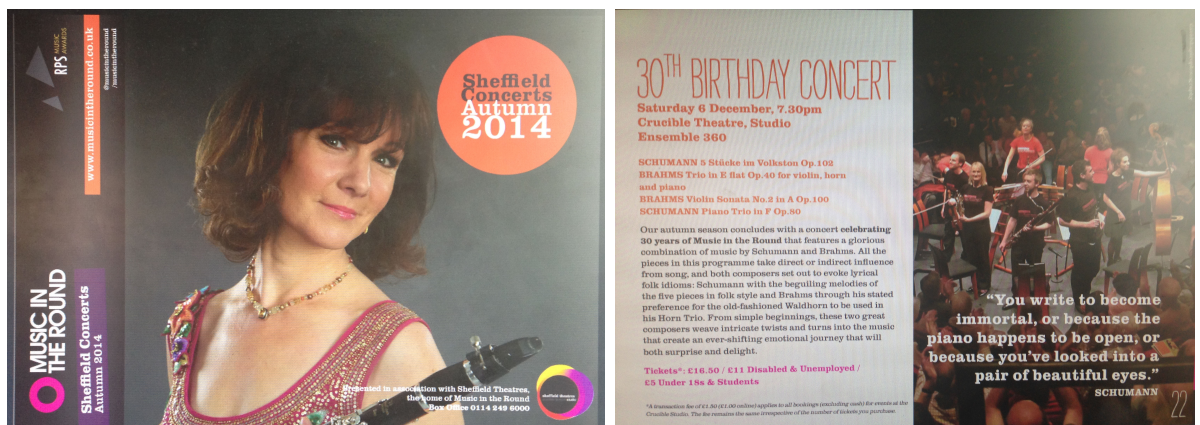
FIGURE 5.10: Digital image of sample pages of the full brochure

FIGURE 5.11: Digital image of sample pages of the 'brochure light'

The adoption of differing brochure styles provided an opportunity to see whether younger audiences find reduced and targeted publicity more appealing. The U25s in this study were asked to answer three questions about the brochures: how eye catching is this publicity to you; do you think the language used in the brochure is easy to understand; and would you pick this up if you walked past it? The responses to these questions are seen below in Table 5.3. A ranking scale between 1 and 6 was used for the first two questions, with 1 showing the lowest agreement with the statement and 6 the highest.

TABLE 5.3: Table to show evaluation of brochures

Band	Brochure type	How eye catching is this publicity to you? (Average)	Do you think the language used in the brochure is easy to understand? (Average)	Would you pick this up if you walked past it?		
				Yes	No	Maybe
Band 1	Full Brochure	2.9	4.8	31%	31%	38%
Band 2	Brochure Light	2.8	4.7	0%	50%	50%
Band 3	Brochure Light	3.6	4.3	22%	11%	67%
All Bands	Both	3.1	4.6	18%	31%	52%

The findings suggest that there was not a significant difference between how the U25s in this study collectively viewed the full brochure and the light brochure. The overall average rating of 4.6 out of 6 suggests that the language used across both types of brochure was quite accessible for all U25s in this study. A lower average of 3.1 out of 6 suggested that the participants felt that the brochures could have been more appealing. There was some support of the brochure light over the full brochure in the last question asked, where 89% of Band 3 participants would definitely or maybe pick up the brochure light. This was in contrast to the 69% of Band 1 participants who would definitely or maybe pick up full brochure. This suggests that the lighter brochure has had some effect in appealing to its target audience. However, there were further subtle trends seen within the bands of U25s sampled. The largest differences across the data were seen between Band 3 and the other two bands. There was a slight increase in how appealing the U25s in Band 3 felt the brochure light looked, and a slight decrease in how accessible the language used was to these participants. This suggests that the reference point of Band 3 participants is different to the other bands when it comes to knowledge of brochures. It is possible that the U25s in this band found the brochure light

more eye catching, as they had less experience of concert series brochures to make a comparison with. However, for U25s with less subject-specific knowledge, even a friendly brochure can still seem confusing, which may add to a sense of increased risk of attendance. It also shows that having no knowledge of higher art forms can make the language used feel less manageable. With only 18% of all the U25s surveyed stating they would definitely pick up a brochure for the concert season, this suggests that a lack of awareness of these events could be quite high for this group of people.

Venue

The study explored U25s' perceptions of and perspectives on the concert hall. Participants were asked to describe what a typical classical music venue might look like. This question aimed to explore assumptions about the venue and what part it might play in negotiating the risks of concert attendance. The music students represented in Band 1 had the most varied response to this question. Some participants suggested that classical music venues are not prescribed and could *'be anything'*. Participants from this band were the only U25s to describe a concert hall in neutral and open terms, such as *'easy to navigate'*. The venue does not, therefore, seem to be acting as a substantial risk factor for these participants. On the other hand, many of the U25s surveyed in Band 1 described concert halls as old and opulent, with the recurrent terms 'big' and 'elaborate' used. The traditional concert hall configuration such as that found at the Upper Chapel was also criticised: *Rows of people getting further away from the connection of the music* (B1). The old-fashioned nature of these concert halls seems far away from more familiar contemporary buildings. Ideas of wealth have been suggested through the elaborate nature of these building, and through the suggestion of hierarchical seating based on wealth and the best experience. The narrative of size runs through all bands, and no concert venues were described as small. These associations may be adding to ideas of how risky attendance may be. These associations with grandeur were more dominant in Bands 2 and 3, often using terms 'grand' or 'posh'. The expectation of classical music venues becomes more risky if U25s do not associate themselves with these attributes, and the venue may

therefore be a contributing factor in choosing not to attend.

To further investigate this trend, the U25s in this study were asked if they believed that classical music venues differ to other arts venues and, if they do, in what aspects. The large majority of U25s in Bands 2 and 3 felt that classical music venues differed greatly from other arts venues. Some music students from Band 1 echoed these sentiments: *All the focus needs to be on the performer without audience interaction* (B1). Here there is also a suggestion that classical music venues may be less social than other arts venues. Yet, there was also a very strong opposing view expressed by other U25s in this band, who felt that there was little difference between the concert hall and other arts venues, and furthermore that they felt passionately that this should be the case: *No and they shouldn't* (B1). The view that the concert hall should not differ greatly from more popular arts venues suggests that participants in this band may have recognised that a venue may act as an obstacle to attendance for U25s.

The findings of this section show that venue is a contributing factor in building expectations around concert going. As a group, music students from Band 1 were most open to the concert hall as a suitable venue for this music. However, the U25s from the other bands, and some of the music students from Band 1, made value judgements about the cultural buildings that house classical music concerts. The associations drawn could be seen to add risks to attendance, as they may not echo the identity of the U25s and seem far removed from better-known arts venues.

Music and concert culture
The U25s' views of the concert they were going to attend as part of this study were also explored. The participants were asked whether they were looking forward to this event and why this might be. All participants stated that they were looking forward to the event, with the exception of one male in Band 2, who stated that he was unsure whether he would like the event and one female in Band 3, who was not looking forward to the genre of classical music. The responses given to this question by the music students in Band 1 had a higher level of musical knowledge

attached:

> *Yes, I have listened to the pieces before and I am interested to see what this performance will bring to my perception of them* (B1).

> *Yes, I like seeing the talent and skill people have spent time nurturing. However, I am not looking forward to the length of it* (B1).

These responses show an appreciation of musical skill and knowledge of some of the pieces performed. Although the last statement is negative, it does show a level of knowledge and familiarity with this art form. Other music students stated that they were unfamiliar with the pieces to be performed, but that this was an attraction for them, as they were interested to *'hear new music'*. Participants in Bands 2 and 3 echoed the feeling of excitement around a new listening experience. Participants in Band 3 were also excited about the unfamiliarly not only of the music played but also of the live concert culture: *Yeah, so I can see different instruments in a different environment and style; I'd like to see how it goes* (B3). The U25s in Band 3 seemed to value the fact they were new attenders to classical concert: *it will be a unique experience for me* (B3); *it's a genre that is different to popular music and a chance to see a different perspective [on music]* (B3). It would appear that lack of knowledge of the music and concert culture fostered positive curiosity for U25s from all bands.

The U25s were asked to describe what they thought the audience might look like at the concert. This was to understand how U25s might perceive the concert culture of classical music and whom these events might attract. The participants from Band 1 described the audience in terms of three traits: knowledge, age, and class. The music students felt that a classical music audience would have a level of knowledge of music and of listening behaviours, describing them as '*attentive*' or '*sophisticated and knowledgeable*'. The U25s seem to be making value judgements about the audience, and it could be that they felt a sense of similarity to the audience. The age of the audience is described by this group as predominately older but with the addition of students. Participants in this group also felt that the audience would have little ethnic or class diversity: *based on previous experience I think the majority will be middle to upper aged Caucasian couples with a few students thrown in* (B1).

These class and ethnicity issues were also raised by U25s in Bands 2 and 3; however, their references to these people were far less deferential than those of the Band 1 participants; for example:

> *Snobby. Self-righteous, upper class, rich, musical, white, probably classical music lovers, not one-off- timers.* (B2).

> *Huge [fat], posh people.* (B3).

Participants from Band 3 had in general fewer pre-formed ideas around what audience members might be like, describing them as *'human'*. The U25s in this study have given varying versions of what they believe a regular audience member to be like. Some of these perceptions have been positive and would suggest a lowering of risk in attendance, as the audience did not seem threatening. However, a large proportion of participants described audience members using negative language, which would indicate that other audience members contribute to a sense of risk for U25s.

Comparison to other cultural experiences and musical genres
The U25s in this study were asked to compare popular music with classical music. As popular music is a reference point for many U25s, it was interesting to see how they compared the two genres. Through the act of comparison, many assumptions about classical music were revealed.

The music students represented in Band 1 gave a variety of responses that can be broadly divided into the four areas discussed below: firstly, a sense that music serves a purpose in relation to participants' mood or environment; secondly, an appreciation of classical music even though they listen to popular music more regularly; thirdly, a clear preference for music that can be danced to; and finally, a type of music that is familiar to the individual. The findings suggest the U25s in this band have different uses for music and give a justification for the use of either popular or classical music in different situations. They can value the difficulty of classical music, although they most often engage with popular music. The preference for popular music seems to stem from wanting to move to the music they listen to. It was also shown that some U25s in this band find it hard to relate

to classical music, and believe they do not have a great deal of knowledge of this topic, which is surprising due to the level at which they are studying music. In contrast, the participants in Band 2 praised classical music for the level of knowledge it seemingly requires to be understood, seeing the challenge required as an engaging, rather than off-putting, facet: *I think it's more reflective and suitable for the inquisitive mind; I prefer classical music because I believe it requires more skill and it doesn't offer itself to the listener easily*.

Participants from Band 3, who largely showed a preference for popular music, compared popular and classical music with phrases such as: *I prefer popular music because I find classical slow*; *Rock is better because I can get into it and most of my family like it*. Like Band 1, Band 3 U25s are attracted to faster music that speaks to their self-identity. However, although some members of Band 3 drew such comparisons between popular and classical music, it should be noted that some members of Band 3 did not undertake a comparison due to a lack of familiarity with classical music:

> *I don't really know; I like all sorts of music* (B3).
> *Never really listen to it so don't really have an opinion* (B3).

These responses do not show a strong resistance to classical music, only a feeling that these U25s are unable to compare it to other types of music through a lack of knowledge.

A further comparison the U25s in this study were asked to make was between live music events and recorded music. All music students from Band 1 felt they preferred a live experience to a recorded one. This was particularly because of the visual nature of a live music event: *I think you engage more with it as a human action* (B1). The participants in this band placed a lot of value on the visual element and the pre-concert sense of anticipation of live music, even at the expense of quality: *the atmosphere is amazing, which makes me prefer live music even if the quality is worse* (B1). Moreover, some participants spoke of being more invested in a live musical event, as they had to have made some commitment to attend: *Live music is better but requires*

an investment of money and effort to get there and find people to go with (B1). However, the forward planning required to attend a live event, was criticised by other Band 1 participants. Participants in Band 2 also described this balancing of the added value of a live event with its convenience. This band also highlighted the possibility of mistakes in live performances or, as one young person from Band 2 suggested, *'potential imperfections'*. These imperfections seemed to excite members of Band 2, which is in contrast to members in Band 1, who felt these imperfections lowered the quality of the performance. Responses from those in Band 3 were quite different to those of the rest of the data set. This was the only band in which an equal number of participants expressed a preference for recorded music over live music — *I prefer watching them on YouTube* (B3)—although some members of this band did state a preference for live music events due to their added atmosphere. The lack of experience of live music events by U25s in this band may have contributed to the responses given.

Timelines

As part of the questionnaire completed before the concert, the U25s in this study were asked to complete a timeline of what they were expecting the concert experience to be like. This method of data collection allowed U25s to focus on different stages of attendance, rather than being asked to generalise the concert experience as a whole. Moreover, using the distinctive arts-informed thinking behind the timeline question, participants were given the choice to use a combination of drawing or writing to express their expectations of the concert experience on a line with a start and end point.

Participants from Band 1 gave the most detail about the overall concert experience in their timeline. The timeline in Figure 5.12 for example shows a sense of anticipation about the concert and the friendly nature of this experience:

START

END

You have been contacted by a researcher and invited to a concert

looking forward to a different type of music

A friendly and happy vibe from all of the people who are attending

Sitting in the theatre looking forward to listening to the talented musicians

drawn into the music

seeing how passionate they look when playing

Enjoying sharing my experience and feed back

FIGURE 5.12: Band 1 timeline

This timeline shows that the participant felt a strong sense of social interaction throughout the concert experience: firstly, in the description of the 'friendly and happy vibe' of the other audience members when entering this environment; and secondly, in the description of enjoying verbalising their opinions of the concert At the end of the concert. The social aspect of concert going was also suggested in the timeline below. This music student described meeting a friend and talking to other audience members as part of the concert experience:

START

END

Meet friends & walk to concert

Concert begins

Applause – possibly talk from musicians

You have been contacted by a researcher and invited to a concert

Talk to other audience members & sit down

15 min interval

Leave
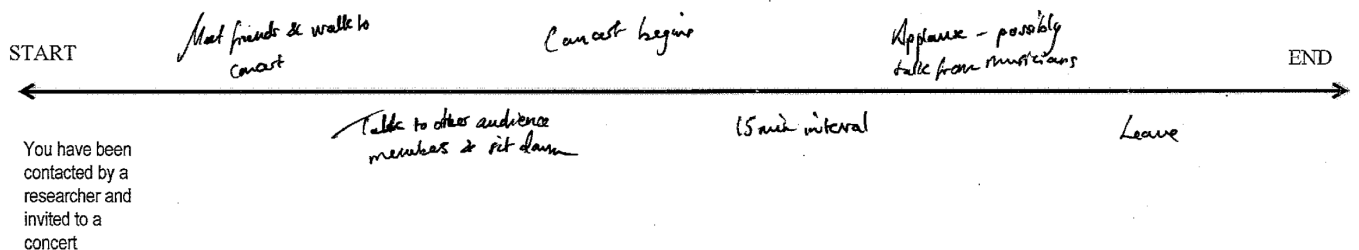
FIGURE 5.13: Band 1 timeline

It could be suggested that this participant would not consider concert going as a solitary act, both through attending with a companion and through expected social interaction at the event.

Other music students in Band 1 did not describe the concert experience as explicitly social, but expressed an analytical aspect, as seen in figures 5.14 and 5.15.

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START   sit   watch   Break   watch   leave.   END

Analysis.

You have been
contacted by a
researcher and
invited to a
concert
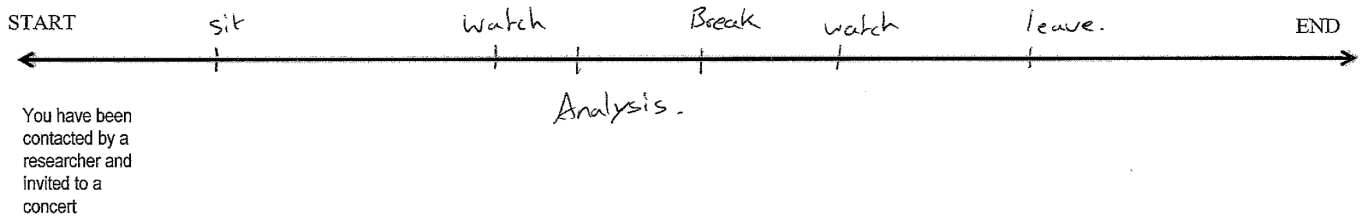
FIGURE 5.14: Band 1 timeline

START   END

You have been
contacted by a
researcher and
invited to a
concert

Research what is
going to be played
so I am more familiar

Watch performance

Intervals. Information
given by performer
before each piece

Note down
important parts of
performance in order
to construct a review
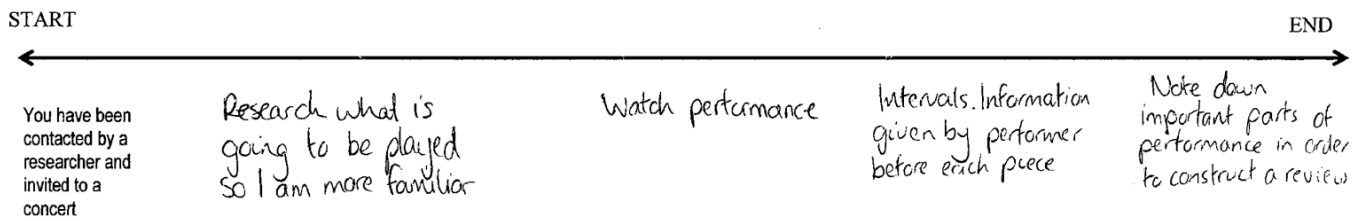
FIGURE 5.15: Band 1 timeline

The timelines above suggest that U25s in this band are actively listening in a
critical way, which was not represented in any other bands. This band was also
singular in describing the activity of seeking further knowledge of the music
played, however not all U25s in this band gave such a positive account of their
listening behaviours. One participant showed an expected varying level of interest
and concentration throughout the concert as seen in the figure below:

Enjoyment of
music and
possible emotional
reaction

Excitement   Interest

Slight
lack
of concentration

Generally
music played
near end is
very engaging

START   END

You have been
contacted by a
researcher and
invited to a
concert
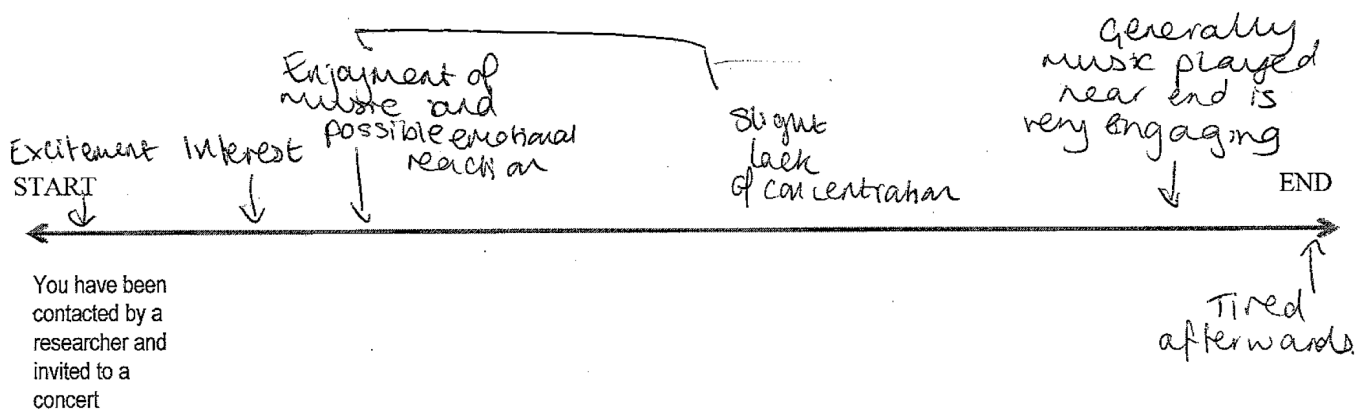
Tired
afterwards

FIGURE 5.16: Band 1 timeline

The suggestion of a lack of concentration and a feeling of tiredness after the concert indicates that this participant feels that concert going requires audience members to listen actively. This links to the timelines in figures 5.14 and 5.15 that suggest that for these U25s, there is an expectation of analytical listening.

The U25s represented in Band 2 did not show any musical expectation of the concert experience itself, but all participants from this band used the timeline to describe the research process they would partake in at the concert:
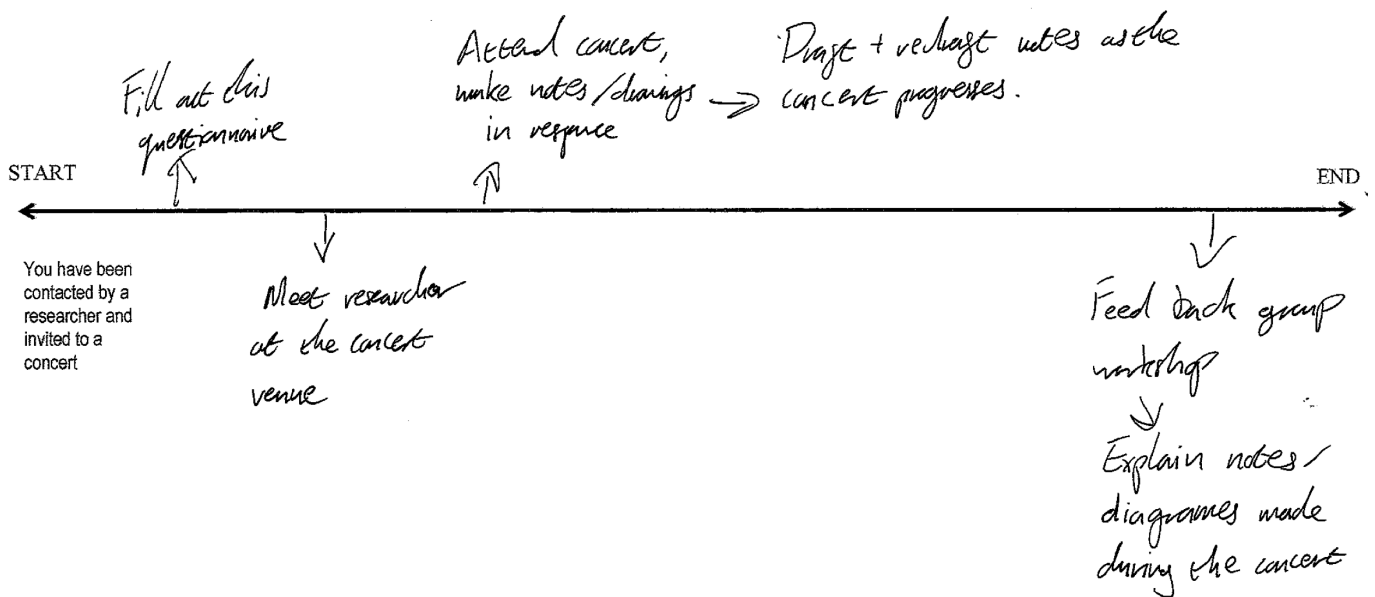
FIGURE 5.17: Band 2 timeline

This suggests that for these U25s, expectations around this particular concert were bound up with the research I was undertaking around it. Through the depiction of the research process on the timelines, there is a suggestion either that these participants did not want to share their expectations of the concert, or they had little knowledge of what to expect. It is certainly true for this particular band.

In contrast to the previous bands explored, the U25s in Band 3 gave yet another set of responses to this question, which fell into two categories. The first was a sense of the unknown and a suggestion of little or no expectation of the event:
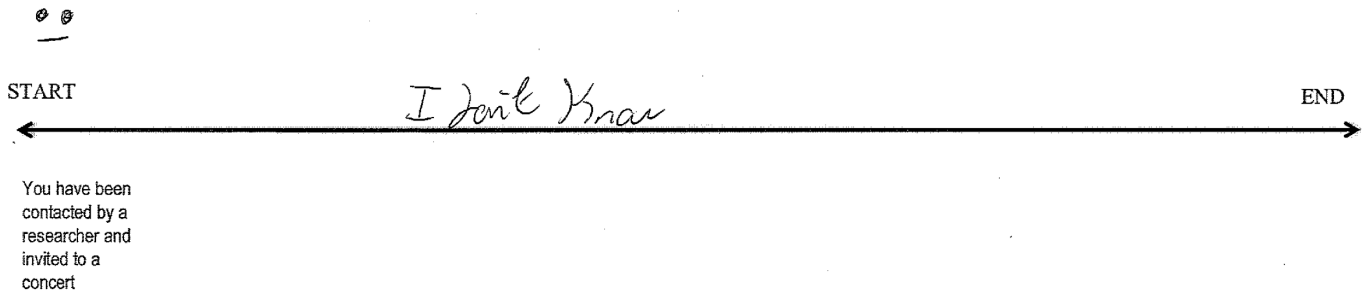
FIGURE 5.18: Band 3 timeline

The second set of responses built on this feeling of uncertainty and described ideas
of anxiety, unease, and apprehension:
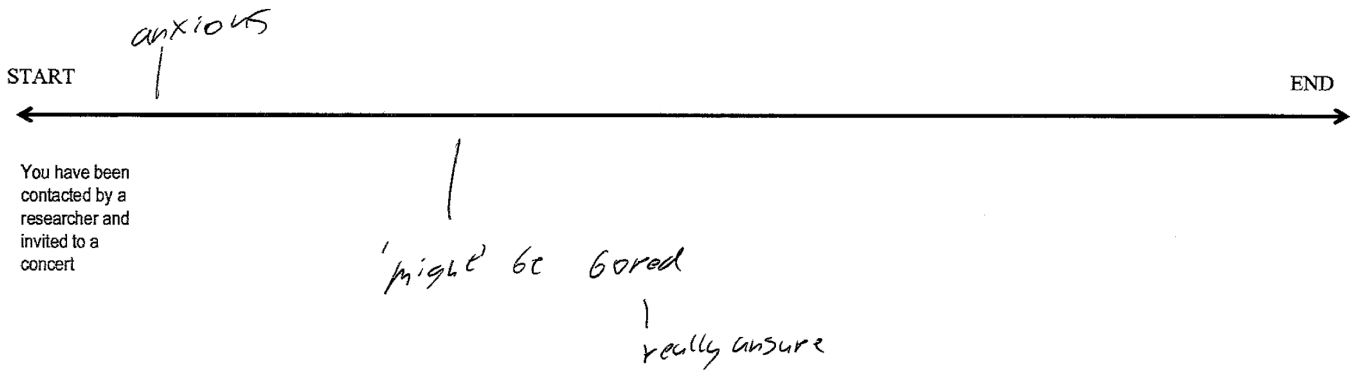
FIGURE 5.19: Band 3 timeline
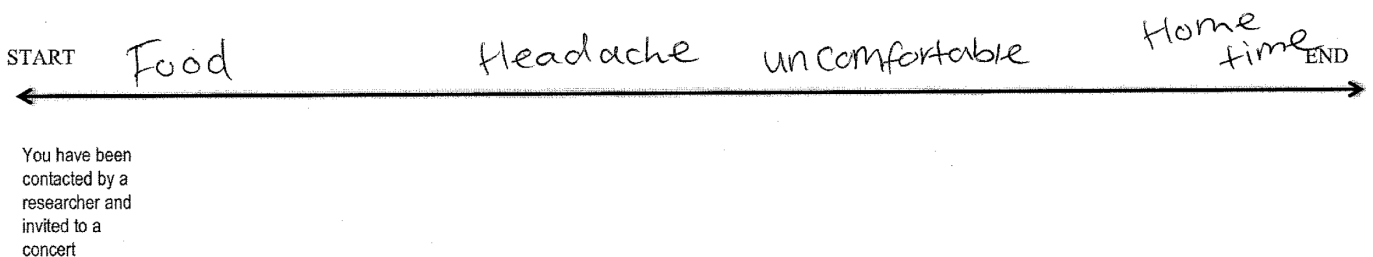
FIGURE 5.20: Band 3 timeline

These timelines suggest that the U25s in this band are unsure of what will happen
at the event and that this causes worry. Moreover, there is a sense among these

U25s at this stage that they will not enjoy the concert, which may be boring or uncomfortable. Certainly, for this band of U25s there is a great deal of risk associated with attending this cultural event. The U25s represented in Band 1 felt that concert going included a level of socialising and analytical work. Participants from Band 2 were the only band to make reference to the research that was happening as part of this concert experience. Their responses only show expectations of the research process and not that of the listening experience. The U25s from Band 3 showed the most uncertainty around what to expect from attending a concert. Furthermore, the anticipation of this experience was expressed in negative terminology focusing on potential feelings such as anxiety or boredom.

The use of the timelines has shown how different groups form different expectations around concert attendance. The expectations of a live classical music concert have been shown to be varied, but related to the amount of musical knowledge and engagement a young person might have. The timelines have future potential as an arts-informed way of understanding audience expectations, and they make a new contribution to the ways in which research with non-attenders has previously been carried out. They could offer arts organisations new ways of understanding the preconceptions that surround attending a concert, with the simplicity of administering and analysing the information making this a useable tool for marketing managers and concert promoters.

Summary
The findings of this theme support and develop the assumptions made in Kolb's 2000 study of U25s. Although other studies have considered perspectives towards classical music concerts prior to attending (Brown & Novak 2007), my thesis addresses these perspectives with young participants. Kolb's findings suggest that U25s have a preference for social activities. Kolb describes these social activities as 'visiting a pub or dance club' (16), activities that would always be 'fun'. My study suggests that although social activities are important for U25s, they also consider listening to or playing music important, especially compared to other activities

such as sports or watching television. Kolb's results suggested that U25s 'considered [it] especially important to have the opportunity to meet new people, especially members of the opposite sex. They all agreed that the opportunity to socialize had priority when choosing a social activity' (16). This was the feeling of the majority of the participants in the current study for whom classical music concerts did not fulfil this function. However, some U25s from Band 1 did feel that a classical music concert was, to some extent, a social event where people were able to socialise. This is shown through the timeline responses they gave. Like Kolb's study, this study also investigated U25s' preconceptions of current audience members. Both studies found that U25s believed concert attendees were typically older, white and middle or upper class. Kolb suggests that '[d]espite these stereotypes, the students did not have a negative bias against the audience, with only one student using the term "pompous and stuffy"' (17). This was not the case for my own study, and far more responses, particularly from U25s in Bands 2 and 3, were negative. Conversely, participants from Band 1 in this study gave kinder descriptions of audience members, showing a sense of affiliation. Kolb also asked participants to make comparisons between classical and popular music. Her interviewees did not focus so much on the ability to dance to popular music as my participants did, but the feeling was that popular music could not be interpreted incorrectly, as classical music could. The idea that there is a correct way to listen to classical music was therefore present in both studies. Kolb's pre-concert research briefly touches on the musical interests of the young interviewees, but does not present a coherent overview of the current musical habits of U25s. My study further investigates the ways in which U25s view and use music in their everyday lives.

Ideas of risk were also investigated in Kolb's study: the U25s interviewed in her study felt that classical music had no 'relevance to their lives' and attending a concert was a 'potential risk' because it could be a 'boring evening'. My study suggests similar findings for participants from Band 3, but participants in Band 2 and 1 felt attendance to be far less risky. The findings of my study also speak to the work of Alan Brown (2004) and his assumption that audience members fall into two categories: initiators and responders. Many of the U25s in Band 1 describe

how they have been to a classical music concert before, therefore reducing the sense of risk associated with re-attendance, but this has often been with a family member, partner, or teacher, suggesting that they may have attended for the first time in the role of a responder and not an initiator.

This theme has built a picture of U25s' previous experiences of live classical music and current musical habits. The expectations and preconceptions of U25s have also been explored in order to better understand the amount of risk U25s associate with concert attendance, and how relevant such a cultural event may be compared to other social activities on offer.

Previous engagement with classical music concerts was correlated with musical knowledge, with only participants in Band 2 (25%) and 3 (100%) not having previously attended a concert. For those participants who had attended a concert before, this act was seen as very infrequent and not a significant part of chosen actives. The findings have shown that all U25s have a very strong musical identity and that music holds great importance in their lives. A proportion of participants' peers share the same musical tastes, and listening to recorded music can be seen as a significant part of everyday life for people of this age. Music is also a recurrent topic of conversation. There was also a distinction made between live and recorded music. U25s in all bands showed a preference for live music events, with the exception of some participants in Band 3, who preferred recorded music. Engagement with both live and recorded classical music was shown to be relatively small. Classical music therefore, did not make up a large proportion of the constructed identity of the U25s in this study.

The findings of this study also allowed the expectations of the U25s in this study to be explored. This investigation was based around factors that could present a perceived level of risk for attendance. U25s' views of the language used around classical music were explored. As this is often the first conversation between arts organisations and potential audience members, publicity was shown to contribute to levels of perceived risk in attendance for U25s. Although the majority of U25s in this study found the language used to be accessible, participants from Band 3

with little musical knowledge still found terminology in the brochure light to be confusing. The concert venue was also seen to add risk to attendance for U25s. Music students from Band 1 had the most positive expectations of a concert venue, but some U25s in both this band and the other bands made value judgements about how cultural buildings reflected on the identities of the audience. A lack of knowledge about the music performed seemed to foster positive curiosity amongst U25s. Music students in particular had expectations of concert attendance relating to an appreciation of the skill of the performers and composer.

The preconceptions U25s had of other audience members were based on four traits: knowledge, age, class, and ethnicity. Music students were often more positive in their description of other audience members compared to the other bands, particularly when it came to the class and ethnicity of other audience members. The U25s in Band 3 showed a greater amount of uncertainty in their ideas of what audience members might be like. Certainly the ways U25s perceive other audience members, either positively or negatively, contributes to feelings of risk in attendance.

The timelines created by the U25s in this study illuminated many deeply embedded assumptions about concert attendance and classical music more widely. The findings show how widely these expectations vary across U25s and how these assumptions are influenced by musical knowledge and past engagement. The music students in Band 1 were the only participants in the study to describe the event as social and who listened in an analytical way. This is in contrast to those participants in Band 3 who felt worried about attending a concert because it was unfamiliar and they were concerned it would be boring.

5.3 PERSPECTIVES DURING THE CONCERT

This theme explores the outcomes of the concert experience and how this relates to the expectations held by U25s. The key factors investigated in this section are the personal 'in the moment' listening experience of U25s, how well they were able to integrate with other audience members, and the extent to which they were able to participate in concert culture. Previous research has investigated U25s' views on other audience members and the culture that surrounds classical music (Kolb 2009, Dobson 2010, Dobson & Pitts 2011). This research has acknowledged how levels of cultural knowledge affect the newcomer's experience (Dobson 2010; Dobson & Pitts 2011). Dobson and Pitts investigated U25s with a similar knowledge level to the Band 2 participants in this study; this section builds on that study by also investigating Band 1 and 3 participants with differing knowledge bases. The aim is to understand what happens when U25s listen to this type of music. Little or no research has empirically studied the listening experience of U25s simultaneously with the performance.

5.3.1 PERSONAL 'IN THE MOMENT' LISTENING EXPERIENCE

This sub-theme explores the ephemeral experiences that take place in the heads of participants during the listening experience. The findings of this section are primarily taken from the Write-Draw data collected during the concert, and the Tell phase that allowed participants to explain the concert card they created. The results have been grouped into three sections: the literal and abstract ideas presented through the concert cards, the way in which the U25s listened, and the sense of enjoyment they felt.

Literal versus Abstract

Looking at the Write-Draw responses, this section presents trends indicative of all bands of participants. The Write-Draw cards collected varied greatly and showed that explaining a listening experience is difficult, and is inherently personal to the individual. The ways in which the U25s in this survey responded to this task can illuminate the ways in which listening occurs for these people. The responses collected can be categorised as either a literal depiction of the experience, an

abstract depiction that was often metaphorical, or a combination of the two.

Literal responses often included depictions of performers, musical instruments or emotions felt. For example, the concert card displayed in Figure 5.21, below, shows the changing emotional state of the participant during the concert. This is a literal representation of how the participant felt when listening. The Write side gives a description of the quality of the musicians playing, description of the venue and statements relating to the emotions of the participant. Concert cards were often descriptive and spoke of the concert surroundings as well as the participants' feelings (also see F2, F6, F8, F17, F19, F31, F32, F25, F38, F43 - Appendix 3).
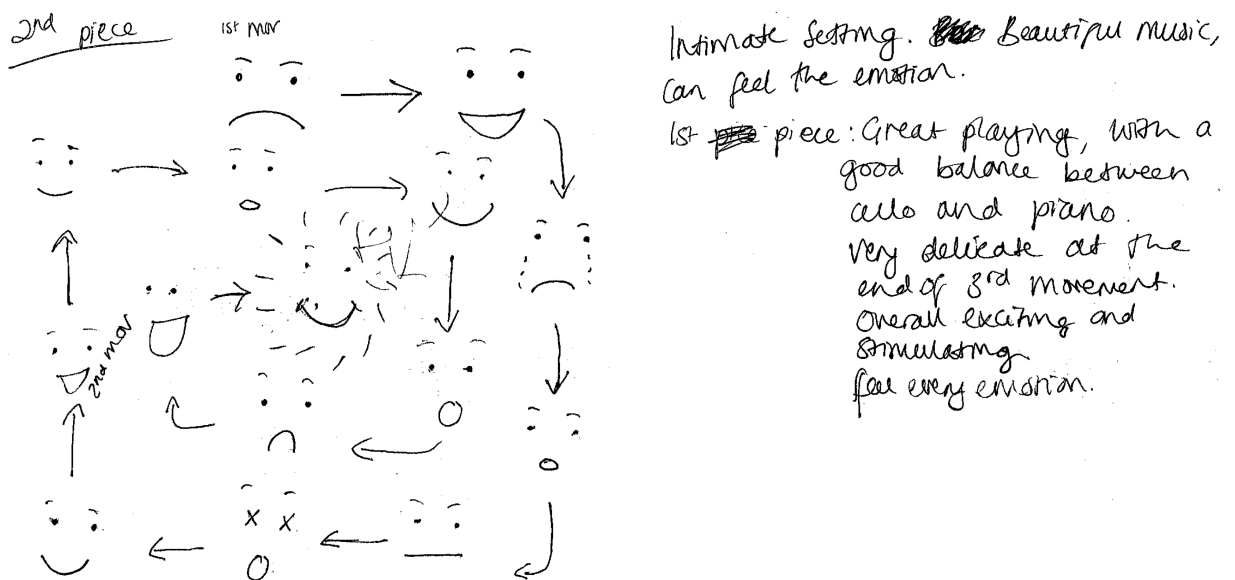
FIGURE 5.21:Band 1 Concert Card

Abstract responses had no exact relationship with the concert performance but often showed an internal significance when explained, exemplified in figures 5.22 and 5.23 (Also see F10, F12, F14, F16, F28, F30, F41, F42, F50, F52, F53, F54 - Appendix 3).

FIGURE 5.22:Band 1 Concert Card   FIGURE 5.23:Band 2 Concert Card
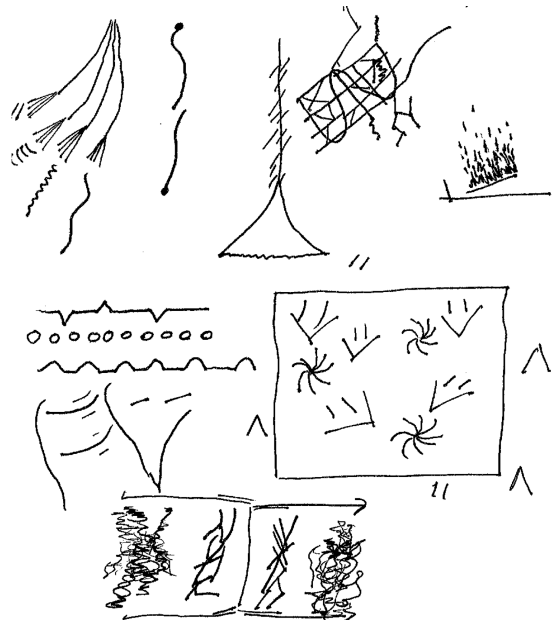
During the Tell phase of the method, the participant gave an interpretation of the Write side of the concert card shown in Figure 2.23: *It was to visualise the pieces, and how each section flowed into the next really well. I wasn't really thinking about it* (B1). This participant describes the way in which the music washed over them and how no distinct thought came to mind. This feeling could be likened to absorbed listening (Clarke 2005). This type of unconscious abstract response was in contrast to others in this category. Another participant gave more explicit reasons for each abstract part of the Draw side they had created:

> *I am not that good at drawing; they depict moments during the performance.*
> *Like when the string broke on the bow and the idea here of things splitting*
> *and changes… That was when the piano was playing with the oboe and*
> *there was a clicking coming and they were creating similar sounds at different*
> *times. So there are sharp things and round things and a balance of the two…*
> *That smiles inside a window and sad faces and eyes on the outside because*
> *in his intro he was taking about it being written for Christmas but all I*
> *could think of was being outside in the cold looking in* (B2).

The Tell phase of this method was crucial in understanding the intended meaning

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of the abstract responses. This participant was able to relive very specific moments he felt during the performance. He also suggests that the introduction that the musicians had given prior to one of the pieces had affected his thoughts.

The responses that encompassed both literal and abstract ideas were often a literal picture, for example a landscape, yet they were used as a metaphor to describe the listening experience (See F4, F20, F24, F55 - Appendix 3).
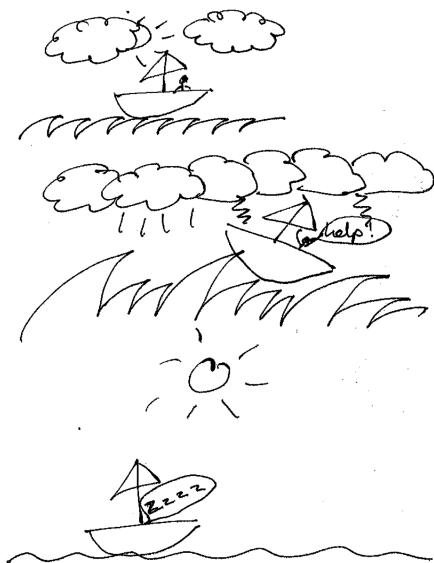
FIGURE 5.24:Band 2 Concert Card   *FIGURE 5.25:Band 2 Concert Card*

The participant who had created the Draw side shown in Figure 5.24, for example, described his figural drawing as a metaphor for the music: *I think the thing about the sea, it had more to do with the mood associated with it and I think there's a lot of mystery surrounding it too. You don't know what is underneath it, the darkness and intrigue. So I often think of the sea when I am listening to music* (B1). The listening experience evoked the feeling of mystery that brought the image of the sea to mind. Although the image was easy to identity as a tangible thing, the metaphor behind the choice of this image gave the most information about the individual's listening experience. The written responses also used literal words with a metaphorical meaning (See F56, F60, F62). Other responses relied more heavily on a metaphorical understanding and showed the ways in which the mind can wander during a

listening experience, as the participant described the Draw side shown in Figure 2.25: *The cat wearing a scarf was when the Chopin piece was playing because I thought it was mysterious. I thought if you saw a cat wearing a scarf you would think "what is going on here?!"* (B3). This also suggests that the Tell phase was useful in understanding the meaning behind both the written and drawn responses.

The different approaches taken by the U25s in this study to represent their listening experience suggests that although perspectives during the concert can be placed in loose categories, they are never exactly the same. There was also no correlation between the number of literal, abstract or combined concert cards in each band of young people researched. This shows that knowledge did not factor into how the U25s depicted their listening experience.

Ways of listening

The Write-Draw responses show that U25s from each band described different ways of listening to the classical music performed. The music students from Band 1 described their listening as analytical, which echoes their expectations of how they would listen. For example, one participant stated on the Write side of their concert card:

> *Made the most of crescendos and climax points, soloists really worked*
> *together well, especially where dynamics are concerned. Much attention to*
> *detail regarding articulation and the differences between light and dark*
> *sections of the pieces*
> (B1).

This example shows the analytical tools that music students are using to understand what they are hearing (also see F17, F33, F43 - Appendix 3). However, the U25s from Bands 2 and 3 did not make the same musical quality judgements when listening. One participant from Band 2 includes the word '*complicated*' on the Write side of their concert card and another '*who is listening?*' This shows a level of uncertainty when it comes to how the music heard should be understood. For those in Band 3, this uncertainty grew to an acknowledgement of

not knowing how to understand the music: *what is the point of classical music: to create feeling within people. On some of the melodies I felt very confused as to what feeling was being wakened in me. The moments where it was really hitting me were amazing* (B3: F68). Levels of musical knowledge certainly changed the ways in which U25s felt they listened and understood the music performed. It seemed that music students felt they had a way in which to understand the music and rate its quality, whereas U25s in Bands 2 and 3 were unsure how to go about this process.

It was not the case, however, that musical knowledge affected whether the participants felt engaged or bored during the listening experience. The drawings presented in Figure 5.27, below, make up part of the Draw responses from U25s in Band 1, suggesting a lack of engagement with the performance at points.
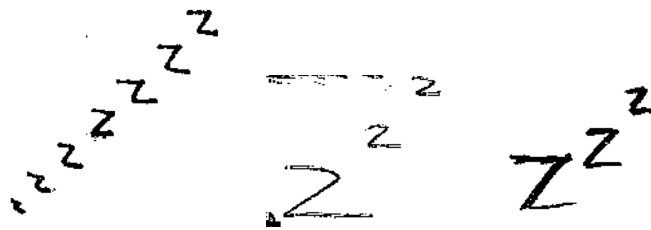
FIGURE 5.26: Band 1 concert card – boredom

When asked to explain these views further, participants described themselves '*drifting off*' and '*losing focus*' during the performance. One participant suggested a factor that contributed to this feeling of boredom was similarity in repertoire:

> Male B1: *I switched off a bit.*
>
> Researcher: *Ok and why did you switch off?*
>
> Male B1: *The horn piece was quite same-ie.*

Participants from Band 3 also expressed a similar feeling of boredom:

> Researcher: *Were you bored at any point?*
>
> Female B3: *A bit.*
>
> Researcher: *Why do you think that was?*

<blockquote>
Female B3:   *Umm, it was like… sad − I don't like sad music.*
</blockquote>

The lack of engagement for this participant was based around a disconnection with the type of repertoire performed and the emotions it evoked.

Emotion was used repeatedly to explain how U25s listened during the concert across all bands. Both positive and negative emotions were reported in shaping the way U25s listened to the music (see F11, F12, F13, F21, F34, F25, F41, F49 - Appendix 3). The Draw side of the concert card and the participant's description of it during the Tell phase displayed in Figure 5.27 suggest a struggle with the emotions felt during the performance.

<blockquote>
I don't see images, I feel as if I see more the emotion so like if I am feeling the emotion so it's like how you felt like a cloud and how you felt kind of under the emotion then occasionally you were above it and your then your back down under it and then you break free of it that kind of thing (B1).
</blockquote>

FIGURE 5.27: Draw and Tell of Band 1 participant

The participant describes only occasionally being able to reach a level of absorbed listening and suggesting a sense of needing to manage personal emotion. Some U25s stated that the changing internal emotional state felt during a concert could be very uncomfortable:

<blockquote>
Male B3:   *Right, there were moments where it was sad then it just flipped on me. I don't like that because I can't chill to it, do you know what I mean.*

Researcher: *So were any bits relaxing?*
</blockquote>

Male B3:   *I didn't find it constant. It flipped up on me too much, I*
             would rather it was constant. I know some people like it. I
             didn't like it.

Not knowing what emotional state to expect during the listening experience seemed to be alienating to some U25s. This sense of constant emotional change was also described as in great contrast to how other types of music make U25s feel.

Other U25s in the same band also stated that the personal emotions felt during a concert brought to mind other events or images.

'Aaron Copland's piece was very poetic and conveyed various emotions such as sorrow, joy and the feeling you get when you remember something from a long time ago'.

FIGURE 5.28: Draw and Tell of Band 3 participant

The sad emotions this particular piece of music evoked in the participant brought to mind images of war rooted in the past. Although the written response contributed to understanding the drawn response, the Tell phase of the method gave further meaning to this response, with the U25 stating: *I drew a poppy because I was thinking about that during the Copland, it was like the instruments that play at the remembrance service that I watched on TV* (B3). This suggests that the images and emotions that came into the minds of participants during the concert were rooted in current experiences and cultural references. The different responses given to during this exploration of the ways in which U25s listen to music during the concert also seemed to be based on how confident U25s felt in sharing this personal experience, which was common across all bands.

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<u>Sense of enjoyment</u>

The participants in the study also described varying levels of enjoyment as part of their concert experience. Before the concert, participants from Band 1stated that they expected to enjoy the concert. For some members of this band, their expectation matched the outcome of the concert experience, as seen in this dialogue:

Researcher: *Did you enjoy the concert tonight?*

Female B1: *Yeah, I really enjoyed it*

Researcher: *Ok, what did you enjoy about it?*

Female B1: *I liked the music ... I liked the pieces they were playing; I thought they were really expressive. They played them really well and they were both really dramatic and it was fun to watch.*

Researcher: *Cool, so did it change from listening to the score?*

Male B1: *Yeah*

Female B1: *It was nice how they sort of said something beforehand as well; they made eye contact...that made quite a difference.*

Male B1: *They were quite visually exciting performers because it can get a bit dull.*

The responses given by this group of music students suggests that they firstly derived enjoyment by liking the music played. Additionally, the visual element of the performance aided engagement for these participants and gave them a sense that they were less bored than if they had listened to a recorded version of the music. However, others from this band described how moments of absorbed listening were also combined with boredom:

Male B1: *I think it had its moments. I thought like 'wow that is really good', and then some moments well I was just watching I wasn't really experience anything. I am not saying it was bad, just for me personally I was just watching and then I was like 'wow'.*

Researcher: *So what were the bits that made you go 'wow'?*

Male B1:   *Umm, especially when he was playing really fast and*
               crossing his hand, basically his technicality was 'wow'.

This participant was impressed by the technical ability of the player and this added to the sense of enjoyment, although absorbed listening could not be maintained throughout the concert. There also seems to be a limitation in the language used to describe moments of absorbed listening, with only the word 'wow' being used. The music student's enjoyment of the concert therefore seemed to be based on an understanding of the music and the technical ability of the players and further suggests they were listening in an analytical way.

Participants from Bands 2 and 3, who did not have musical knowledge or knowledge of the concert experience, found the most enjoyment in experiencing something for the first time: *It was fun and interesting. It wasn't something I had personally been to before* (Male B2); *I actually, surprisingly, enjoyed it. I really did* (Female B3). Moreover, for these participants the fact that this new experience was enjoyable was a change from what some had expected. Participants from Band 3 had the most disparate responses to how well received this experience was. Some suggested their experience was very enjoyable and spoke of how they listened in a very active way, evoking strong imagery:

Researcher: *How did you find the concert?*

Male B3:   *Good*

Female B3:   *An immersive experience*

Researcher: *Why do you say that?*

Female B3:   *Because for every single piece I heard, there was a visual in*
               head say like a little animated sequence of what was going
               on.

Male B3:   *I sort of thought that.*

For these participants, the fact that they had little knowledge of what to expect from a concert and lacked musical knowledge to unpick the music did not seem to

effect their enjoyment. The experience was described as an internal reaction to the music linked with mental imagery that was very pleasant. In contrast, another participant from Band 3 described a very unenjoyable experience in which no aspect of the concert seemed to be engaging:

FIGURE 5.29: Draw and Tell of Band 3 participant

Female B3: *I drew a house on a hill. I can't draw. It is an abandoned house … I was absent.*

Researcher: *Did you not enjoy it?*

Female B3: *No.*

Researcher: *Why?*

Female B3: *Not my type of music and it is not for me.*

Although this participant still describes how the concert experience brought images to mind, it was very negative imagery. Although in this case the expectation that the concert would not be enjoyable was matched in the outcome of the concert, it could also be the case that this participant had already decided

that she was not going to enjoy the concert, so retained her negative emotional state when producing her Write-Draw response. Others in this band shared the preconception that they were not going to enjoy the concert, but the data collected during the concert showed they had had a 'journey' from believing this music was not for them to enjoying the concert experience. There was also, however, a continued feeling that this type of music did not speak to the personal tastes of these participants.

The findings of this section show that the majority of participants did enjoy the experience of concert going. However, these feelings of enjoyment were not always constant and were mixed with feelings of boredom or unengaged listening (similar to the findings of Jacobs 2000). The majority of the findings support Thompson (2007) and Dobson's (2010) individual findings that previous knowledge did not affect the ability to enjoy a concert. However, these studies did not investigate participants who lacked any previous cultural engagement, akin to the participants in Band 3 in this study. It was true that in this band there was some displeasure in attending the concert, which could have been through a lack of knowledge but also through a lack of personal association with this type of music.

5.3.2 INTEGRATION WITH AUDIENCE

This sub-theme explores how well the U25s in this study felt they were able to integrate with other audience members. In this section I investigate the U25s' perceptions of the pre-existing community of listeners; whether they were able to feel part of the audience, accepted and comfortable in this environment; and finally, to what extent the participants felt that this was a social event.

Perceptions of the pre-existing audience

All participants were asked to state what they thought the audience might look like before they attended the concert. They were then asked if their preconceptions matched what they experienced when they attended the concert. Participants

from Band 1 felt that the audience looked as they had anticipated. Although they anticipated that the majority of the audience would be older than themselves, they also expected to see some young people: *I would say old or middle aged and maybe some younger people scattered around* (Female B1). Music students were the only group of U25s that expected to see a number of younger people in the audience make-up. Furthermore, there was an agreement that the age of other audience members did not affect them:

Male A:	*It was mostly just older people I think; I didn't see anyone under 30.*
Researcher:	*Did that put you off in anyway?*
Male A:	*Not really, I wasn't really bothered.*
Male B:	*I did see a few younger people.*
Researcher:	*How does it make you feel when you see other people similar to your own age?*
Male B:	*I don't think age is a problem.*

Participants in Band 1 were the only band to describe a lack of concern with the age of other audience members. They found it easy to integrate with other audience members, possibly because they had a clearer expectation that other audience members would be older, or, this could suggest a greater sense of affiliation with regular audiences. Although younger than most other regular audience members, music students did have a level of musical knowledge that may allow for easier integration. Members of Band 2 and 3 felt that their expectations of an older audience were in line with their concert experience.

Participants from Band 3 were the only band to describe the audience members using other factors such as race:

> *I saw one black person there and I think we were the only people that were under the age of about 45…. I find going into a classical concert quite a hostile environment; people aren't always that welcoming.*
> (Female B3)

This participant felt very negative about other audience members and suggested they are not diverse demographically and that they were also unapproachable. Using the word 'hostile' to describe her concert attendance also suggests this participant felt the concert experience was intimidating, and that regular audience members contributed to this feeling. This was in great contrast to another participant from Band 3, who stated that because of the friendly nature of other audience members, her perception of the pre-existing audience had changed:

Researcher: *What did you think about the other audience members?*

Female B3: *They weren't what I expected them to be like.*

Researcher: *What did you expect them to be like?*

Female B3: *Older, sort of what I imagine middle class to look like and be like. But that said, a lady approached us [participant and younger child] at end and said 'you have sat really well and you should think about taking up an instrument' and she was really chatty which I wouldn't have expected really.*

By an audience member approaching this participant and commending on her 'good listening', she felt more included. However, this act came as a surprise to the participant, which suggests that she may also have expected concerts to be a 'hostile environment' like other Band 3 members. This encounter with an audience member could have been patronising, however, the confirmation that this participant listened well clearly came as a comfort. It could be then that the regular audience are important gatekeepers for newcomers, particularly those in under-represented groups, letting them know they are 'doing listening' correctly. Arts organisations could harness and encourage the relationship between newcomers and regular audience members further through buddying schemes.

Members of Band 3 were the only participants to describe feeling differently towards the pre-existing audience once they had attended a concert. They were also the only band to have differing experiences of other audience members during the concert in both a positive and a negative way. Band 2 participants felt

that their expectations that the audience would be older were proved correct. Band 1 participants also agreed that their expectations proved correct; however their idea of the pre-existing audience included much more detail than that of Band 2 participants. They not only used the word 'old' to describe the other audience members, but also 'middle- aged' and younger. Giving a far broader definition of the pre-existing audience they experienced suggests a better relationship with them, and a greater open-mindedness to joining the audience community.

Feeling part of the audience

The participants were asked to explain how they felt attending the concert as part of a group of younger people, and how other audience members reacted to them. Members from Band 1 had the most positive response to this question suggesting that although they stuck out in the audience this was something to be praised:

> Researcher: *How did that make you feel as a group of U25s?*
> Female B1: *I thought we stuck out a bit, but it makes us look good.*
> Female B1: *Yeah, like they always ask you things. I don't know I think they are quite intrigued that you are actually here.*

The music students suggested that they enjoyed being noticeably different from regular audience members and the increased conversation with that audience that occurred as a result. This could also suggest that participants from Band 1 make assumptions about the sorts of status or capital classical music attendance may bring them with other groups of people. Further to feeling positive about their difference to other audience members, one music student suggests how regular audience members may feel about young attenders: *I think it is a good thing, I think they really value you* (Male B1). This suggests that these younger people are aware that the regular audience place importance on them and this knowledge makes them feel a legitimate and valued part of the audience. Participants from Band 2 also felt that they were able to integrate with the audience although not to the same extent as members of Band 1: *There was no sense of alienation or that we weren't supposed to be there* (Male B2).

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In contrast, most members of Band 3 felt quite uneasy in this environment:

> Female B3: *Yeah, there were all pensioners there.*
> Researcher: *How did that make you feel?*
> Female B3: *It made me feel a bit isolated.*

This participant felt she was in some way different to other audience members. Feeling removed from the audience was only exacerbated by the presence of a community among pre-existing audience members: *most the crowd knew each other like people were waving to each other. It was obviously quite a cliquey environment* (Female B3). She felt she was   on the outside of the audience community, isolated and unable to penetrate this group. Participants in Band 3 were the only U25s to feel this way, which suggests lack of knowledge of classical music and concert going did contribute to a lack of integration with the audience. However, there was an exception to this trend:

> Researcher*: The people that were around you in that concert, how did
> they make you feel today?*
> Female B3*: At ease sort of, I don't normally get on with people my age I
> have always got on with people that are older than me. It
> was like I showed respect for them and they could possibly
> show respect for me for attending.*

This particular contributor suggests a feeling much more similar to those expressed by members of Band 1, whereby this U25 felt valued by other audience members. However the participant still seems to express uncertainty about their acceptance by the pre-existing audience community, unlike most members of Band 1.

A large proportion of the U25s surveyed as part of this research project had the same ethnicity as the regular audience, therefore, they did not discuss this factor in describing how well they felt they integrated with other audience members; only the differences in age were discussed. However, one Afro-Caribbean Band 1

participant included the factor of race in describing how comfortable she felt in this environment. Her concert card included references to the UK:
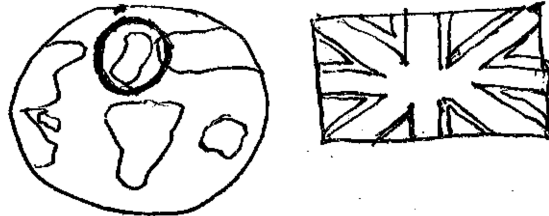
FIGURE 5.30: Draw of Band 1 participant

The programme for the concert did not include any British composers. The participant was invited to explain her concert card during the Tell phase and she said: *I don't really listen to this type of music; I just thought it was really… British.* Although subtle, it is possible that this participant felt it harder to integrate with other audience members not only because of her difference in age but also her ethnicity.

The majority of Band 1 and 2 participants felt part of the audience and comfortable in the environment of the concert. Members of Band 1 further justified feeling part of the regular audience by stating that regular audience members valued them and would often start a conversation with them. This feeling seems to add more legitimacy to their attendance. Those U25s with no musical knowledge in Band 3 gave a mixture of responses, some of which included a feeling of inclusion and some of isolation. Although for most the U25s in this study, any awareness of difference was based around age, it was also true that ethnicity was significant in how well integrated the U25s felt.

A social audience

For regular audience members, concert attendance has been shown to be highly social (see Chapter 4). The U25s were asked whether they had had conversations with other audience members. For participants from Bands 1 and 2 this was almost exclusively the case:

Researcher: *Did you speak to any audience members tonight?*

Male A: *Yes*

Researcher: *What did you talk about?*

Male A: *Well she asked me why I was here and what I was doing with the paper [concert card] and if I was going to be a performer. Yeah, we just talked about classical music, she was really nice. She said it was interesting to see and she was really happy to see a lot of younger people here.*

(B1)

Researcher: *Did you talk to any other audience members?*

Female A: *I talked to someone behind me.*

Researcher: *What did you speak about?*

Female A: *About Russia – she was a Russian graduate.*

Researcher: *Anyone else?*

Male A: *We spoke amongst each other.*

Researcher: *What did you speak about?*

Male A: *we were exchanging anecdotes about going to music*

Male B: *and expectations.*

(B2)

In both cases the participants describe 'highbrow' conversations based on an area of pre-existing knowledge. Even when talking with other audience memebers, the conversations are based on previous music attendance. These types of conversations help the participant to feel comfortable in the concert environment.

The social aspect of the audience was also apparent in some of the Write-Draw data created by these participants. For example, this Band 1 participant depicts people encircling a tree, which is used as a metaphor for the music performed:

FIGURE 5.31: Draw of Band 1 participant

For this participant, the concert functioned as a social event with the opportunity to be part of an audience. Some participants from Band 3 described a similar act of socialising with other audience members: *the chap we got sat next to was really friendly and was talking to us about the pianist* (Female B3). In this case the audience member described is helping to integrate this newcomer with the audience and learn about the music. However, like the divide between Band 3 participants as to whether they felt part of the audience, there was also a disparity in how communicative participants felt other audience members were, as seen in the discussion below:

Researcher: *Did you talk to any of the other audience members?*

Female A: *No, they were up themselves and wouldn't talk to us.*

Researcher: *Did anyone try and talk to you?*

Male A: *No*

Researcher: *Did that bother you?*

Female B: *To a certain extent it bothered me.*

Researcher: *Why was that?*

Female B: *I think pensioners or middle-aged people judge our age group as rebellious bad people.*

(B3)

For these Band 3 members, not only was this event unsocial but the lack of interaction they had with other audience members was concerning. Whether these perceptions of U25s are held or not by regular audience members, these U25s felt judged and shunned.

In summary, U25s from all bands found attending a classical concert a social event, mostly though talking to other audience members or within the group of U25s they attended with. For participants from Bands 1 and 2, most of these conversations were based on previous cultural knowledge. Once again, Band 3 had a disparity across responses, with some U25s having a positive social encounter with other audience members, which was used as a tool for learning about what they were about to experience, while others felt disengaged from other audience members and judged by them.

5.3.3 INTEGRATION WITH CONCERT CULTURE

This theme explores how well the U25s were able to integrate with listening behaviours and concert culture during their concert experience. Some participants showed that they were already fully integrated with such behaviours and others described learning these behaviours as part of the concert experience. Those who wanted to learn how to listen were often affected by how familiar they were with the music played. Finally, the relationship with still and silent listening is investigated.

Fully integrated listening behaviour

The only U25s who described feeling very confident with correct listening behaviours before the concert were a small proportion of music students from Band 1. These people made reference to how to listen correctly to classical music:

> Researcher: *So audience members should be knowledgeable? What did*
> *you mean by that?*
>
> Female A: *Know enough to appreciate it, like everyone seemed to know*
> *not to clap in between movements.*

Male A: *Who knows the formalities and sticks to them.*
(B1)

This statement suggests that in order to listen in a correct way audience members need an appropriate level of knowledge and understanding of the music performed and the listening conventions established at live concerts. The female participant suggests that if enough musical knowledge is not obtained then the audience member might not be able to 'appreciate' the music performed. Both participants suggest an understanding of listening conventions is required, such as clapping at the correct moment. The male participant takes this understanding further by also making the point that the knowledge of these 'formalities' is not enough, but that audience members must also abide by these rules. These behaviours seem to perpetuate elitist traditions in classical music. Furthermore, these music students often showed annoyance if these conventions were broken:

Researcher: *Was there anything that disappointed you about the concert*
             tonight?
Female A: *Yeah, someone next to me coughed and it completely ruined*
             the ending, like right before the final chord.
(B1)

This response echoes the feeling that certain people were not listening in the correct way explored in the previous chapter. The ability to listen in the correct manner allows these U25s to show knowledge and group themselves as correct in their listening behaviours. There was also a feeling amongst this small set of music students that the U25s who did attend concerts were likely to be students of music: *nowadays, people our generation don't come, unless you're a music student they don't care about classical music. The culture has completely changed* (Male B1). The music students in this study appear to be making a value judgement about people their own age who are not music students. The way in which this small set of Band 1 members spoke about listening behaviour seems to be strongly set, and does not seem to be inclusive of newcomers. The findings of this small subset seem to speak to those of a much more regular attendee and could be the case that the musical education

received by this set of people has contributed to these feelings. It seems that integration with listening behaviours for these music students was not difficult, as they believed they already had appropriate knowledge of how to listen to the music performed and were able to partake in the listening conventions.

Learning listening behaviour

The majority of the U25s felt quite differently about listening behaviours and described how they felt they needed to improve these skills. Some participants from Band 1 suggested that they copied other audience members to help them understand these conventions during the concert experience:

> Researcher: *Did you know the formalities?*
>
> Male A: *I knew not to clap but besides that it was guesswork.*
>
> Male B: *I sometimes didn't know when it had finished and stuff but I did not even think about clapping until someone else did.*
>
> Researcher: *So you copied other audience members?*
>
> Male B: *Yeah.*
>
> Researcher: *Did you actively know you were doing that?*
>
> Male B: *I just didn't want to make a fool of myself so...*
>
> (B1)

The participants talked about how they were uncertain of how to perform listening behaviours in the correct way. Male A shows some knowledge of listening behaviours, but also alludes to a sense of needing to learn more about them. Male B felt he needed to be prompted by other audience members in order to fulfil listening conventions correctly, suggesting uncertainty about what these listening behaviours might be. There is also a suggestion of slight social anxiety relating to doing any of the listening conventions incorrectly. This seems to be an added worry for a newcomer and suggests a hierarchy between this person's listening behaviours and others in the audience. It could be that this U25 felt slightly threatened by other audience members. One Band 3 member experienced an audience member teaching her how to improve on her personal listening:

> Female A: *But the lovely guy sitting next to us was saying in this piece*
>   *there is a lovely bit that goes really quiet and you can*
>   *hear one hair being played the way he was describing it. I*
>   *was then listening out for that part where it was really quiet.*
>   *But otherwise I wouldn't have known to listen for that.*
>
> Researcher: *So this guy you met in the audience made a difference to your*
>   *experience?*
>
> Female A: *Oh massively.*
>
> (B3)

This statement suggests that the regular audience member suggested to this newcomer that there is a best practice way of listening that the participant might not currently understand. This assumption did not seem to concern the newcomer and actually the listening education given by the regular audience member was perceived by the participant to hugely improve their personal listening experience. This finding also suggests that U25s are often searching for a way to learn how to listen better. One Band 2 member explained this struggle:

> Researcher: *Did anything disappoint you?*
>
> Male A: *If anything, I was disappointed in myself for not being able*
>   *to let the music wash over.*
>
> Researcher: *So did you feel you listened well?*
>
> Male A: *Maybe not. Maybe I haven't been trained to listen to that*
>   *kind of music currently.*
>
> (B2)

This participant feels that the way he listened during the concert he attended was incorrect or at a lower level than others. The participant suggested that he believes that to listen to classical music effectively a level of training is required. Such desire for self-improvement seemed to be based on a frustration with how this participant felt during the concert. This participant has the preconception that there is a level of optimum listening that he seems unable to access. It is questionable what such a listening state might be like, but it is interesting that this

U25 felt that there was room for improvement in how he listens. This description of the personal listening experience was not uncommon in other accounts collected as part of this study.

Familiarity with the repertoire was found to be a factor that affected the listening state achieved during the concert by the U25s. Participants from all bands talked about not knowing what feelings would occur next during the listening experience: *I think sometimes you didn't quite know what the next emotion was going to be and how long it would last* (Female B1). Participants in Band 3 seemed the most uncertain about how to listen to classical music:

> *I understand what I am listening for when I listen to other types of music. I know where they build up and certain complicated bits but with classical music I don't particularly know what I am listening for.*
> (Female B3)

The issue here seems to be about more than just having little or no familiarity with the particular repertoire, but about a lack of reference points when listening to this type of music. Not being able to identify structural markers in classical music in the same way that they understood that a verse notifies the recurrence of a chorus in popular music song was frustrating to listeners. This lack of knowledge of how to do listening was openly acknowledged by many U25s in this study.

Relationship with still and silent listening

A substantial factor affecting classical music audiences is the adoption of still and silent listening (Sennett 2002, Dearn & Price 2016). For many newcomers this listening experience was far removed from anything experienced before:

> *It's weird everyone doesn't talk during the performance, the open mic nights I go to at pubs and stuff you are encouraged to talk to people* (Male B2).

Being part of a silent audience is unlike many other cultural experiences: this type of listening was uncommon for most of the U25s and was experienced as being

quite jarring for some participants. A sense of the need to integrate with this style of silent listening was present for many participants during the performance and was referenced in many Write-Draw cards and longer works written by the creative writers:

The faintest of exhalations;
a tsunami in its own right.

FIGURE 5.32: Longer creative writing Band 2

'The audience never seem like they enjoy the concert very much whilst the musicians are playing (maybe its because they're concentrating on the music) I'm not used to seeing audiences with no emotion.'

FIGURE 5.33: Write and Draw of Band 1 participant

The still and silent listening seemed to be jarring, but further to this it was harder to copy other audience members' actions. Unlike other musical genres, in which audience members are encouraged to show emotion, the lack of this within a classical audience seems unsettling to U25s. Others described how this listening culture seemed to add pressure to listen in the right way, and if they did not this would be very quickly recognised:

I feel like if I coughed or rumbled my bag or if I stood up to adjust myself people are looking "oh what is he doing" or like I kind of didn't like that, that made me feel uncomfortable like I couldn't really move or like express myself or anything like that because I felt like people were just going to judge me.
(Male B1)

I felt like there were eyes watching me, like I was being judged silently. I didn't like it.
(Female B3)

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For all U25s in the study, there was a strong resistance to still and silent listening. Both groups of participants felt judged by other audience members during the concert because they were listening incorrectly. Yet for some U25s the still and silent listening was a pleasurable experience. Band 3 participants suggest it allowed for *'more focused'* listening that helped to *'absorb [the music] more'*. A participant from Band 2 also felt this style of listening behaviour was appropriate for the style of music: *I am not uncomfortable with silence. I think it fits with the music and the type of people that go to that music* (Male). However, in suggesting that this type of listening suits a regular classical audience, the participant suggests that he may not associate himself with that audience.

Compared with their divergent views on other features of the concert, views of still and silent listening were similar amongst all U25s studied. It appears that the still and silent listening conventions of classical music concerts evoke worry for the majority of U25s in this study. This concern was mostly derived from a feeling that other audience members would judge the participants for listening incorrectly. Learning still and silent listening seemed to be made more difficult by being unable to read the audience's emotions. Although most of the U25s felt uneasy during the concert because of the listening conventions, there were some who welcomed them, feeling they were able to access more concentrated listening.

The live concert experience

This sub-theme investigates how the U25s were able to integrate with the audience of a live classical music concert. This section explores factors not concerned with listening behaviours but still dependent on live listening, such as the relationship formed with the performers and venue.

The U25s in this study felt that during the concert they built a personal relationship with the performers. The visual element contributed to the live experience being far more engaging than a recorded equivalent:

I really like to witness the body in the performance because there is so much more to offer when there are interpreting the piece in front of you, there body language is so important to the way it comes across. It is true what people say that there cannot be two renditions that are exactly the same – something will always change. I think that creates a personal feeling about the performance that I really liked. (Female B2)

I found it sort of weird but entertaining watching the performers, watching them look at each other and their facial expressions and things like that and little eye looks at each other when they were doing things. (Male B3)

All participants described benefits of experiencing classical music live. The music students from Band 1 described a feeling of being invited by the performers to join them in reflecting the emotions in the music. What was most attractive to the participant from Band 2 was the idea that one would not receive the same product twice, and this participant seemed more connected to the performance because of this. The participant from Band 3 appeared to have a level of uncertainty about how he felt about watching musicians, such that he describes it as 'weird but entertaining'. As no U25s from Band 3 had attended a classical music concert before, it could also be that this feeling of uncertainty was connected with having no expectations of how the musicians might perform; however, the interaction between musicians did become interesting to this participant.

The participants described both positive and negative feelings towards the performers' communication with the audience. Music students from Band 1 talked about the surprising but positive experience of performers talking to the audience:

Male A: *The interaction was good*
Researcher*: Were you expecting that?*
Male A*:*   *No, I wasn't really expecting him to talk at all. But he seemed to make everything really light-hearted; the fact he was playing something extremely hard and he was like "oh it*

Researcher*: And how does that make you feel?*

Male A: *You feel more connected and comfortable*

Male B: *Inspired I'd say*

(B1)

The participants used emotive words in this discussion, such as 'inspired' and 'connected'. The feeling of musicians talking to the audience and inviting them to understand what to expect from the piece performed had the greatest effect on participants from Band 1, this is likely to be because they had the musical knowledge to understand what was said. However, this was not exclusive to Band 1, with one female participant from Band 3, who did not experience the performers making conversation at the start of the concert said:

> *If you go and see a rock concert people come out and say "hi everyone thanks for coming" it can get a bit sterile to come in sit down clap play and go. A bit of history would have been good to give it a bit of context.*
> (B3)

This particular U25 actually is displaying an active preference for more information prior to listening to the music.

Not all U25s had a positive encounter with the performers. This finding was only seen in participants from Band 3 and often was based on dissatisfaction with the fact that the musicians played music they had not composed. One male participant felt he could not connect with the performer:

> *Language is not adequate to explain it but she [flautist] didn't have it. We could talk about the music all day but it is not the music, it is the performance. That song or melody was not written for the women on stage. No one is going to play Beethoven like Beethoven can. That's the X Factor, no one knows what it is, and it's just the X Factor.* (Male B3)

This participant agreed that the live performance of the music is a significant part of the overall performance, but in this case it was negative. Although unable to explain what it was about the performer that did not resonate with him, other than not having played her own material, it is interesting that, in trying to explain why this was, he decided to use the popular music television show the X Factor as a cultural reference point. This participant sees value in performers being able to write and perform their own work. Using popular music as the basis for understanding the performer and composer relationship means that, in the eyes of this U25, this classical musician is no better than a tribute band performing a cover version of the piece. Starting with a completely contrasting understanding of musical authenticity, this U25 found it hard to connect with a performer who was not performing her own work.

The U25s also highlighted a strong relationship with the venue that housed the concert. In this study, the U25s either attended a concert at the Crucible (a multi-purpose theatre venue) or Upper Chapel (a Methodist Church) as concerts are presented in both venues throughout the MitR concert series. Members of Bands 1 and 2 attended a concert at the Crucible, and Band 3 members attended Upper Chapel. The findings of the concerts held in the Crucible studio will be explored first. This particular venue is configured in the round and this was one of the greatest factors affecting the U25s' relationship with this venue. For most music students, who had the greatest previous experience of attending classical concerts, the in the round setting was a new and positive experience, as seen below:

> *I think [the in the round setting] is more appealing, I'm just so aware when I am in a big concert hall of sitting and everyone can see my head and I if I move I am so aware that everyone behind you is "Oh they are moving". I just feel so stuck, I don't know why.* (Female B1)

> *I liked how it was circular, apart from when I looked up and I could see the audience on the other side because that freaked me out slightly. It was like I was looking at them and they were looking at me so I had to keep my glance down. It nice because they seemed more natural compared to head on and a flat stage set above the audience.* (Female B2)

The findings from Band 1 and 2 participants would suggest that the in the round configuration of the venue helped to alleviate issues of feeling constrained by concert etiquette. Venues that are head-on seem to bring up issues of listening correctly more than those in which the audience are seated in a circular configuration. The Band 2 participant quoted above also highlighted another finding seen across both Bands 1 and 2: the in the round setting also encourages other audience members to become part of the experience. The circular nature of the venue also encourages a lack of hierarchy among audience members. This was very important for the U25s, many of whom were first-time attenders at this venue. The Band 2 participant quoted above welcomed being on the same level as the performers and not below them. One Band 1 participant described this more equal seating as creating *'no bad seat'* in the venue.

The size of the venue also affected enjoyment. There was a strong finding from members of both Bands 1 and 2, that the smaller, 250-seat studio had a positive impact on the concert experience: *I thought it was really cool and you were a lot closer together and less distant than a big concert hall. I liked it a lot better* (Male B1). There was a suggestion that the venue helped this participant feel better integrated with other audience members, and a stronger relationship formed between the performer and the audience. Another participant suggests further benefits: *the big ones are a lot more prestigious so there is a lot more tension which does kind of add to the wow effect of it but it also makes it tenser and less enjoyable* (Male B1). This also suggests that the smaller venue eases tensions relating to attending the concert and this lessens the associations U25s might make between classical music concerts and elite culture.

The venue also has the ability to negatively affect the concert experience. The concerts that took place in Upper Chapel supported the findings shown above because the venue was a little large and it was often hard to see the performers. In the case of this adapted space, participants commented on the religious connotations of this cultural building, as seen in this discussion:

> Researcher*: Did anything disappoint you about the concert?*
> Female A*: It was in a church.*

> …
>
> Researcher: *Did you not like the church?*
>
> Female A: *Because I am not religious. I don't really like going in them.*
>
> (B3)

The venue in this case works as a barrier to enjoyment due to its other purpose, and using it as an adapted space for a concert does not sit well with this U25. If a venue has such negative connotations for an U25, it only adds to the risk felt in attending such an event.

In summary, the relationship the U25s were able to build with the concert venues seemed significant in adding or reducing the perceived risk of attendance. Particularly influential in reducing risk was a smaller venue, configured in the round and a dedicated performance space.

Summary

This theme has investigated the experiences and perceptions of U25s during a classical concert. Building on previous research, this theme has explored the personal listening experience by gathering the perspectives of U25s during a classical concert. It has also highlighted the ability to integrate with other audience members and the pre-existing concert cultures as key factors affecting participants' experiences.

The findings of Kolb's 2000 study suggest 'all [participants were] very uncomfortable that everyone in the audience seemed a generation or two older than themselves' (4). This was not entirely true of my own study. I agree that some members of Band 3 felt isolated and intimidated by older audience members however the majority of U25s from all bands felt little separation from the regular audience due to age difference. In particular, music students from Band 1 enjoyed being visually different from others in the audience as they felt they 'looked good' and were 'valued' by the regular audience. My study does support Kolb's assertion that attending a concert allows for '[participation] in a form of social ritual' (2000:

5). However, what was unclear from Kolb's study was how newcomers may go about joining in with these rituals, how successful they were at it, and whether they viewed these events as social. Certainly for music students and students of other high art forms, they both expected and then experienced social aspects during the concert. These mostly consisted of conversations either with other audience members or with the group they attended with. Often based on pre-existing cultural knowledge, including of classical music, these conversations added to the participants' enjoyment and were not hard to access for this group. Participants in Band 3 had a mixed experience in which there was either no social interaction or social interaction that was based on informal learning from more experienced, knowledgeable audience members (similar finding to Dobson & Pitts, 2011). This band did not expect the event to be social, but for those able to access these rituals it added much value; as Kolb states, a 'lack of communication between the musicians, conductor and audience [is] confusing' for younger newcomers (2000: 6). In my study, social rituals added value because it was hard to learn from or copy other audience members when they showed little emotion during the concert.

Previous studies have understood newcomers' concert experiences in relation to their prior knowledge of this event. Dobson's 2010 study suggests that a 'lack of knowledge exacerbated [U25s] problems relating to levels of appreciation' (122). Although disparate in their responses, members of Band 3—who had the least musical and cultural knowledge and experience in this study—did, in general, show great appreciation of the event and were able to integrate with other audience members, the music, and concert culture. Some U25s from Band 3 were also the most open-minded about the concert experience due to having few expectations of this event. The other portion of Band 3 participants, however, felt disengaged, showing that part of the reluctance to listen is personal and knowledge- based. Dobson's study also found that individuals who 'regularly engage in cultural activities' might not 'immediately understand and engage in classical concert' (2010: 122). The findings in this study indicate that the U25s in Band 2 are similar to those in Dobson's study, and acted like the U25s in Band 1,

as they were able to engage with classical concerts in a similar way.

Some studies have suggested factors that affect the concert experience with regular audiences; however, these findings can also be applied to the question of how well these U25s were able to integrate with this culture. Particularly resonant is Radbourne *et al.*'s (2009: 13) work showing the importance of 'collective engagement', a feeling of connection with the performer and other audience members. Other studies have found that U25s feel on the outside of this culture and feel that regular audience members are far more knowledgeable and 'get it' (Dobson & Pitts 2011: 372; Jacobs 2000: 137-8). Jacobs suggests that the reception of a concert should itself be thought of as a performance, with all attendees performing the act of an audience member. Jacobs implies that for U25s with less knowledge of listening conventions this might give rise to 'performance anxieties' (137). For the majority of U25s in this study performance anxiety was present, albeit on a spectrum and varying with aspects of the concert experience.

The 'in the moment' listening experience was shown to vary across all participants. During the concert, most participants expressed a level of enjoyment, with some using metaphors to describe great emotion and absorbed listening; however, some also communicated feelings of boredom and disengaged listening. Unlike other sub-themes, these findings were seen across all three bands, suggesting levels of knowledge did not affect the ability to have a positive personal listening experience. However, the largest proportion of U25s who had a disengaged listening experience were from Band 3, the band with the smallest amount of knowledge and association with classical music. Participants from Band 3 were also the only U25s in this study to describe a feeling of isolation and a lack of integration with other audience members. However, members of the same band were also the only U25s to state that their ideas of what the pre-existing audience might be like changed positively once they had attended the concert.

The U25s in Bands 1 and 2 were most likely to integrate with other audience members, with music students stating that although they were not able to fully

integrate they felt valued by the regular audience. Band 1 participants were the most complimentary about the regular audience, describing them in much broader and inclusive terms than any other bands. Participants from this band were also confident about integrating with concert culture and correct listening behaviours. However, most U25s felt that listening behaviours still needed to be learnt and refined, many feeling frustrated that they were unable to listen 'correctly'. Still and silent listening behaviours were concerning for all U25s in the study. The concerns around still and silent listening were based on the feeling that other audience members would judge the U25s for not listening correctly. Such a culture also made it harder for U25s to learn classical music listening conventions by copying other audience members, unlike in other musical genres.

U25s in all bands found the concert to be a social event, mostly though the act of talking to other audience members or, more crucially, by attending as a group with other U25s. In this case, participants from Bands 1 and 2 who had relevant cultural knowledge acted in a different way from those in Band 3. Members of Band 1 and 2 often based conversations on previous cultural knowledge, whereas those in Band 3 used their lack of knowledge to speak to other audience members. Those who did have conservations in Band 3 described their experience as a tool for learning about what they were about to listen to, with regular audience members describing how to listen and giving a musical context.

Building a relationship with the performer and performance space was also found to be influential in affecting the personal listening experience of U25s. Feeling connected and involved with the musician added much value to the listening experience, but members of Band 3 also described feeling a lack of association with the performer. The concert hall was also found to contribute to the negative feeling of risk when attending a concert in a building that was unfamiliar or already had negative connotations for the participant.

5.4 PERSPECTIVES AFTER THE CONCERT

This theme explores the U25s reflections after they had attended a classical music concert. Firstly, this theme seeks to understand how the risk of attending could be reduced and the relevance of classical music for this group of people increased. Secondly, the ways in which the participants' perceptions of classical music changed is investigated. Key studies considering U25s have tended to use post-concert focus groups to understand the perceptions of this group of attenders (Kolb 2000; Dobson 2010; Dobson & Pitts 2011). This theme builds directly on the findings of these studies.

5.4.1 FUTURE ATTENDANCE: REDUCING RISKS

This sub-theme explores the U25s perspectives on attending a classical music concert and what factors may positively affect the decision to attend by reducing the risks of attendance. After they had attended the concert, the participants were asked how likely they felt they would be to return to a classical music concert. Over 90% of U25s in this study felt they would return, but with some caveats. The most dominant factor affecting re-attendance was time available and the feeling that other activities had a greater priority:

> Researcher: *Would you come again?*
> Female: *Yes, if I got the chance.*
> Researcher: *What would you say are the biggest issues stopping you from*
>   *coming?*
> Male: *Time more than anything. Especially in the middle of the*
>   *day I would probably feel I should be something more*
>   *constructive with my time.*
> (B2)

This extract suggests that concert attendance has a lower priority than other cultural activities for U25s, and is seen as an unproductive activity. This could suggest that U25s attach very little value to classical music attendance. In order for U25s to re-attend, they commented that they would need a level of support in

committing to this choice:

> *I would definitely like too, but whether I'd get round to doing it is another*
> *thing. If I could just be teleported here like once a week I would love to do*
> *that but it's like getting round to doing it, like finding out what is going on*
> *and having time.*
> (Female B1)

> *I thought it was free and a good opportunity to come and see what happens. I*
> *think we would [come again], if the opportunity arose* (Female B3)

The participants have little objection to attending a classical music concert in the future, however, the intent is outweighed by the difficulty in deciding what to attend and then committing to this action. For this project, the U25s were supported in the choice to attend, and this seemed a significant factor attending, along with the lack of financial obligation. For participants from Band 3 the cost of attending, particularly for the first time, was a very important barrier:

> *I thought it would cost quite a lot of money and we tend to avoid things that*
> *cost quite a lot of money. You know what I mean, we might of hated it and*
> *left in the first 20 minutes ... we could of just been gone and if I had just*
> *paid £20 for a ticket I would have been pretty annoyed.* (Female, B3)

For this participant, having little knowledge of what a classical music concert may be like made the financial risk much more than for those in other bands. In particular, the cost of attendance was not seen as a large contributor to the risk of attending again for music students:

> Researcher: *Let's talk about the cost of coming to a concert. The price of*
> *a ticket here for students is £5, how does that compare to*
> *other things you do in an evening?*
> Female: *It's cheaper than the cinema.*
> Researcher: *And is price a factor when you're choosing social events?*

Female: *Absolutely.*

Male: *It's cheaper than getting drunk.*

(B1)

These music students say that attending a classical music concert is cheaper than other cultural and social events, which suggests that for this band cost did not add dramatically to the risk of re-attendance. One Band 3 participants described how she had been surprised how low the cost could be:

> *I was looking through your leaflet and some of them were not that expensive – they were cheaper than I thought, so it is not something I would say no to*
> (B3).

For members of Band 3, attending a concert as part of this research project allowed them to learn what a classical concert entails. This participant actively picked up marketing literature as part of her concert experience, and this contributed to reducing the perceptions of financial risk of attending in the future because she knew what to expect. For those from Band 2, placing less priority on attending a classical concert compared to other activities increased the risk that they would not attend further concerts. For Band 1 participants however, re-attendance seems to hold a relatively low risk. Yet, turning this intent to attend into a reality was where the risk lay for this group.

Each band perceived the levels of risk associated with re-attendance differently. However, common across all bands in this study was the feeling that attending again as part of a group with other U25s would substantially reduce the risk of attending in the future:

> Researcher: *Tell me if you would go to a classical concert again?*
>
> Male A: *Depends.*
>
> Researcher: *What does it depend on?*
>
> Male A: *If it was just down to me I won't go but say if there was another outing or someone I knew wanted to go, I would*

probably tag along.

(B3)

Not only did attending as a group contribute to this participant wanting to attend again, he was also looking for a companion to instigate this activity. Like Alan Brown's 'initiators' and 'responder' theory, this is a strong case of a responder wanting the guidance and security found by joining with an initiator. In this case, the research project, described as an 'outing' from college, acted as the initiator. This finding was similar amongst Band 2 participants; however this definition was varied for Band 1. For music students, not only did they want to attend as a group, but this group of people needed to be appreciators of, and knowledgeable about, music:

> *It was quite nice because we are all music students, so we can actually all appreciate this sort of music together. Whereas I wouldn't be able to with like, some of my friends from home because they just wouldn't want to do it, but actually it's quite nice that we can appreciate it.* (Female B1)

Researcher:	*How did you feel coming as a group, would you like to come on your own?*
Male A*:*	*I would come with someone else.*
Male B*:*	*And someone who actually liked music, like I wouldn't come with someone that only listened to popular music or didn't really talk about it or anything like that. You know what I mean it would have to be someone who was as musically inclined as I was.*

(B1)

For music students, another layer is added to the selection of the group, based on the musical identities and tastes of peers. If music students only want to re-attend with other musical U25s, reducing the risk of attendance, this will increase risk for all other bands with no specific musical knowledge. This feeling may only further perpetuate the perception that all audience members are knowledgeable. Like

members of Band 1, the members of Band 2 believe that their knowledge of the high arts may make it less risky for them to attend classical music as a group:

> *There is a levelling of the playing field when you can read a poem and enjoy it. Then I feel more comfortable going into an environment like that. I wonder if that is part of the problem; the sense of obligation when you go there you are supposed to enjoy it in a different way somehow or that there is a different enjoyment that you are missing out on…but I think there is a sense that if you are doing it another way you are doing it wrong like you're watching it in a wrong way which is certainly something I think I had prior to going into education but now it's a sense that all art is available and to be had and to be enjoyed.* (Male B2)

For this participant there is a suggestion that other Band 2 members showed a level of knowledge and like-mindedness in their appreciation of the arts. The feeling of attending in a group based on knowledge also speaks to the impact of familiarity of repertoire in the risk of re-attendance. Participants from Band 1 had the fewest inhibitions about re-attending, based on having familiarity with what was going to be played. When it comes to the decision-making process of re-attendance, however, members of Band 1 felt they did also require additional knowledge:

> Researcher: *What do you look for when you might book for a classical concert?*
>
> Female A: *It is what they are playing.*
>
> Female B: *Yeah, I couldn't name one famous musician. But I could know a composer. But if I was going to go I would just Google so I could find out as opposed to just going to one I knew.*
>
> Male A: *Maybe if I heard some big giant classical performer was coming I would do.*
>
> (B1)

It would appear therefore, that for even the most knowledgeable band in this study, lacking familiarity with the repertoire does increase the risk associated with re-attending. Feeling familiarity with the repertoire was also described as reducing the risk of attendance for U25s in the other bands:

Male A: *That's what I am saying with classical you can't catch the flow, and it is annoying after a while.*

Researcher: *Do you think if you knew the piece of music better, do you think you would feel the flow better?*

Male A: *Of course, if your mum makes you eat porridge all the time you start liking porridge.*

(B3)

Feeling unsure about what to listen for can make the concert experience uncomfortable, and in turn increase the riskiness of future attendance. Gaining familiarity with classical repertoire can be seen as an influential factor that could reduce the riskiness of future attendance for U25s with all levels of musical knowledge.

In summary, the level of riskiness of re-attendance and the factors that contributed to that sense of riskiness were seen to be quite different for each band of U25s in this study. A contributing factor is knowledge of what will happen at this event and also the level of importance individuals place on a classical music event. The only reluctance to re-attend was expressed by participants from Band 3, suggesting that having little knowledge of this event increased risk for this band substantially. For those open to re-attendance in Band 3, being about to attend for the first time as part of a free research project allowed them to gain some of this knowledge and inform themselves about future events. Common for all participants in this study was the feeling that attending as part of a group of people similar to them would reduce risk significantly.

5.4.2 GROWING RELEVANCE AND MAKING CHANGES

This theme explores how the opinions of the U25s might change, and whether
their interest in classical music could increase. The findings were based around
changes to the presentation of classical concerts, with more populist repertoire
written by present day composers with a similar age to those in the study and the
self-identity of U25s and their peers.

The presentation of classical concerts
Across all bands, the U25s in this study highlighted the length of the classical
music concert as a factor they would alter to some extent:

> *I think you have to concentrate harder with classical music because it is more*
> *complex and the concert is longer than popular music so you have to*
> *concentrate for longer so sometimes I find it a little bit tiring.*
> (Male B1)

> Researcher: *What do you think about the length of the concert?*
> Female A: *I had enough.*
> Male A: *Near the end I did get kind of bored.*
> Female B: *It was too long.*
> Female C: *It dragged for me.*
> (B3)

For the participants in this study, the length of the concert was found to be an
influential negative factor in concert attendance. This is based on the feeling that
listening to this type of 'complex' music requires 'concentration', which requires
hard work, particularly for the duration of a classical music concert. Once
engagement with listening in this way has been lost, boredom and frustration with
the length of the concert occurred for the U25s.

Comparing this cultural experience to other more popular music that U25s attend

more regularly and use as cultural reference point for listening behaviours, makes classical concerts seems especially hard in other aspects too. For example, one concert culture that was compared to popular music was the act of clapping:

> Female*: Sometimes I find it a bit insulting that you don't clap [between movements] when they have just done this massive thing.*
> Male*: It is a bit odd really, I think like I get that you don't want to interrupt [the performers] whole flow but in other genres sometimes I start clapping half way through the song.*
> Female*: So clap upon appreciation.*
> (B1)

Only being able to show appreciation at prescribed times during a concert seems to be unnatural for U25s, suggesting they feel constrained by current classical music practices and want to show appreciation when they, feel it, as is the norm in live popular music or jazz.

Along with concert conventions, the U25s also questioned the presentation of classical music. Although they agreed that the presentation of live classical music was far more visually stimulating than recorded music, there was still a lack of visual stimulation for U25s:

> *[Live popular music] have lot of visuals background and elements from other disciplines. I sometimes think if you listen to classical music on its own its sort of missing some of those elements that you could bring in nowadays.*
> (Male B3)

Aspects of live music performances, such as videos and lighting, seem to be missing from classical music. This can make the culture of classical music seem more alien and removed from current musical practices for U25s. Further to including more visuals, some participants expressed a preference for a more interactive and social version of classical music:

[Popular music] is a lot more sociable. There is a lot more things to do, and if you know the music you can sing along it's that sort of thing. Whereas here, you're in a concert and you do have to watch what is going on instead of joining in – it's not as interactive as popular music. (Female B1)

The still and silent listening behaviours dominant at classical concerts stop any opportunities for interactions with the performance. Although MitR includes a spoken introduction to concerts, which regular audience members have described as very inclusive (see Chapter 4), for U25s even this attempt to welcome audience members into the performance was unsuccessful. At other cultural events, audience participation is very common and is truly interactive, where audience members have the same agency to respond as the performer. Further to the interactive behaviours present at a live event, U25s are also used to interacting with the experience online. Some participants felt that the way they conduct themselves at a classical music event was very different to other cultural experiences:

Female*:*   *I would not feel comfortable taking a selfie in there.*

Male*:*   *Yeah, I really wanted to take a picture of us tonight but I looked around and thought not.*

Researcher*:*   *What made you not take a selfie then?*

Male*:*   *We would have been frowned on.*

Female*:*   *Kept thinking I want to be tweeting about it but I didn't feel comfortable. It would have been awesome to have the stage in the background and we could have posted a picture and it would have gone to all our friends?*

…

Female*:*   *It would be cool to set up an area where it said 'take your selfies here'.*

Researcher*:*   *Do you think people would engage with that?*

Female*:*   *Yeah, if I'd of seen a sign saying 'take your selfie here' if anyone else looks down their nose I can just point to the sign and it isn't me being inappropriate.*

(B3)

These participants clearly want to act as they would at any other live cultural event, but the culture at a classical music concert made them feel uncomfortable and unable to do this. They were also seeking the legitimisation of their usual behaviour from arts organisations, for example, by providing an area to interact with social media. The U25s in this study are the first generation to grow up fully submerged in social media, and therefore being unable to engage with this ritual at a classical concert again makes this event feel far removed from their common experiences.

In summary, this section explores the changes that the U25s in this study would make to the presentation of current classical music concerts. U25s would rethink the length of the concert and conventions around clapping and showing appreciation. These opinions are linked with the feeling that current classical music could be more interactive. It was felt there was a lack of visuals, including the use of other multi-sensory disciplines. Moreover, concerts could be more social and inclusive experiences, similar to other music events. There was a feeling that U25s would like to share the concert experience online, but they felt social media conventions needed to be better embedded into concert culture to feel comfortable interacting with social media when attending a concert. However, these changes in presentation must also be considered in relation to regular attenders and the possible detrimental effect some might have on their listening experience.

Music

Another area explored by the U25s in this study was changes in repertoire. Participants from Band 1 in particular felt that they would like to see more populist repertoire:

> Researcher: *So what would you like to see?*
> Male A: *I would like to see some Einaudi.*
> …
> Male B: *Yeah, something like The Piano Guys off YouTube would*

be good.

(B1)

The sway towards a more populist repertoire is based on the current musical knowledge and cultural reference points for U25s. Particularly important is the online culture of suggested music that is found on YouTube, iTunes, or Spotify. Often, the classical music that is most popular on online platforms like YouTube is adapted versions of classical music, or popular music in a classical arrangement, like The Piano Guys. Online listening behaviour often relies on playlists made by others; however, it is unlikely that a 'relaxation' or 'chill' playlist on Spotify, for example, would contain classical music from the canon, but is far more likely to include populist renditions, classical music made popular by film, or popular music that samples classical. If this is what U25s become familiar with as a 'classical' genre, as it is often categorised, then more traditional classical music would seem removed from what they consider classical music. Populist repertoires also seemed linked to the preference for a shorter concert:

> Researcher: *If you could plan the concert tonight, would you do anything differently if you were totally in charge?*
>
> Male A: *I think I might have just some of the movements, because I found a lot of it didn't really grab me and then there would just be one movement that I really liked.*
>
> (B2)

This type of listening behaviour is more akin to popular music habits, where it is acceptable to listen to one song from an album and not listen to the tracks in any particular order. It is also far more common in populist classical concerts, where it is usual to play the more familiar movement from a work.

The U25s in this study were also asked to comment on how connected they felt to music written many years ago, and played by performers much older than the participants:

It would be interesting because I feel like classical music might have been lost
in translation for a lot of people because I feel like classical music was a big
phase but then it was grown out of. Maybe if it returned it would change the
music industry so people would appreciate other genera more, because I feel
too many people are into the pop music and they praise the celebrity.
(Female B3)

Researcher: *Would you feel any differently if the music being played were*
             written today by people our age?

Male A: *Yes.*

Researcher: *Why?*

…

Male A: *I think the expectations would be a lot different*

Researcher: *What do you mean by that?*

Male A: *Because with stuff like Beethoven it is kind of tried and*
             tested isn't it. I don't want to make it sound really cheap but
             it's obviously stood the test of time. With newer music you
             kind of open with it, it's a bit more of a gamble I guess you
             have different expectations. You're just like I will go and see
             what this is like.

(B1)

The findings of this study suggest that either younger players or younger current composers would increase the relevance of classical music for U25s. With more current composers, the expectations around this type of music would be less than with established composers. This could also be because there is a levelling of the playing field when a work is new to a whole audience. The Band 3 participant above also hopes that classical music will become more popular with her peers. She suggests the listening habits of her peers have become too commercialised, dependent on the public opinion of the musician, and not on the music they perform. Throughout the investigation of changes made to classical music itself, very little about the music is changed just the parameters of its presentation. By requesting a more populist repertoire, this is not necessarily changing classical

music but asking for performances of music that are more familiar to this group of people, even if this means just one movement of a complete work is played. The U25s in this study also feel the relevance of classical music would increase if the composers or players were similar in age to themselves. By listening to music composed by a contemporary, the quality of classical music is not changed, but this allows U25s to feel a closer association with this musical culture.

Musical Identities

A further issue highlighted by the U25s in this study was the feeling that younger generations may find it harder to associate their self-identity with classical music:

> Male A: *I think people our age respond to the rebellious thing.*
> *Successful music like hip-hop is rebellious because it talks*
> *about big tits and big bums and it's rebellious because we*
> *are not supposed to be talking about that so it's cool and*
> *earns that status. Reggie is talking a lot about marijuana;*
> *it's rebellious and becomes cool. Techno is associated with*
> *ecstasy and raves so it becomes cool. When we look at*
> *classical, what does it have? Nothing.*
>
> (…)
>
> Female A: *I feel like young people don't really respect classical music.*
>
> (B3)

This discussion suggests that classical music does not speak to popular culture in the same way as other music genres. The musical identity of U25s has been proven to have substantial effects on how this group formulate friendships and construct self-identity (Dearn 2013). For the participants from Band 2 and 3, who do not study classical music, it is unlikely that the culture that surrounds classical music will contribute to self-identity, and therefore it may fight against it. The music students in this study did associate themselves with classical music, however they felt like other peers did not value this musical identity:

> *People have asked me what degree I am doing and I say music and they're*
> *like 'is that even a real degree'. That doesn't help.* (Male B1)

The feeling that other peers do not value or accept classical music could dissuade U25s from openly performing this aspect of their identity. Such a sense seemed to be confirmed when some Band 3 participants spoke of how they actively did not want to associate themselves with classical music culture:

> Female A: *for me that would mean adhering to that culture and I don't*
>   *see myself as part of that culture.*
> Male A: *people feel like its not relevant or for them.*
> (B3)

The feeling that this musical culture is not for U25s seems to stem from the feeling that this music is complex and intelligent, as discussed above. The musical culture therefore can seem intimidating:

> Researcher: *What do you think might be off-putting about concerts then?*
> Male A: *I think feeling afraid of something they consider as high art.*
>   *I think there is a big barrier for certain types of people.*
> Female A: *one of the things with classical music, is unless you know*
>   *what you are talking about you are going to sound really*
>   *thick so it is possible best to avoid talking about it so you*
>   *don't say something...*
> (B2)

This suggests that for some U25s, they have a very strong belief that classical music is not to their taste. Nor does the concert culture reflect their personal identity, but often this is because of a lack of familiarity and knowledge of this musical culture. However, for those who do openly associate part of their musical tastes with classical music, there was frustration that their friends and peers did not share this musical identity:

I tried to get some of my friends to come with me. People had never been to such a thing before … We got out of there and thought it was a brilliant performance and I had all these things to say about how it made feel and I asked them what they thought about it and they were indifferent. Nothing happened for them there wasn't any kind of reaction to what happened and it made me really upset … I felt really awkward … for me it was a disappointment that for some people that I thought were my friends it didn't have the same effect. I just couldn't understand why, these people read books, they were doing English lit, they were artistically inclined. (Female B2)

For this participant there was a feeling that her friends and academic peers should have similar musical tastes to her own. The fact that they did not created a strong reaction, further displaying how sensitive U25s are to musical tastes. There is also the assumption here that because these U25s were students of a high art form they should cross over to enjoy classical music, however this is clearly not always the case. This Band 2 member has acted as an initiator in this situation, encouraging responders similar to her to attend as a group. In this case, she openly performed a preference for classical music. This could be seen as a considerable risk for U25s, not only because of the possibility of being rejected by peers but also because of the fact they might not like it, in turn showing a disparity between musical tastes and identities. Furthermore, other participants voiced a concern that other peers would comment on their participation in classical music:

Researcher: *Do you think you'll tell any of your friends you have been tonight?*

Female: *Oh yeah, because they have all had a laugh at me for coming here.*

Researcher: *Oh no, why?*

Female: *Because it is classical music.*

(B3)

There is a level of stigma attached to classical music for this group of people and the feeling that U25s are not only sometimes judged during concerts but also for

attending them. On the other hand, others wanted to openly share this musical experience with others:

> *I will probably tell my parents to be fair. They will be proud of me like 'Oh*
> *you have done something cultural'. I will get brownie points for it.*
> (Male B3)

This participant described wanting to tell an older generation about his classical music participation, as he feels they would value this. He did not talk about attending a concert amongst his peers; therefore this suggests that showing a preference for this music to other U25s is risky.

Although changing the general opinion of classical music in youth culture is far more difficult than other more practical modifications. There seems to be a disparity between classical music and youth culture, such that popular culture encourages difference and unconformity. Classical music does not speak so directly to mass youth culture, particularly because it is not a common musical preference for this group of people. This was shown to have implications for U25s' musical identity, as it may be harder to openly perform this music preference compared to more accepted musical genres. U25s that do accept classical music as part of their musical identity risk other peers making value judgements about them. It is also the case that even if U25s wish to share this musical taste with others they may not enjoy this music, showing differences between the musical identities in a group of friends, which can be problematic. Musical identities therefore, is a sensitive issue but one that has great influence in either increasing or reducing the relevance of classical music for U25s.

Summary
Building on Kolb's 2000 study, some participants in this study were also shown to have issues with defining the genre of classical music. Those in Kolb's study were reported to be 'surprised' that populist works, often made familiar by film or television, were in fact classical music (2000: 18-9); yet the findings presented in this study also show that the digital presence of music may have confused the term

'classical music' further for U25s. The participants in the current study felt that classical concerts were too long and echoed Kolb's findings that 'ten minutes was as long as anyone could be expected to listen to a single piece of music' (2000: 20). Kolb's study also comments on U25s' position towards the lack of visual stimulation during concerts. Building on the findings of Kolb's study, the participants of the current study have become far more integrated with multi-sensory live experiences, including the use of digital disciplines. Although Kolb's findings did suggest a 'visually boring stage' the concerns of her participants were to do with the performers' dress and uncomfortable seating, whereas the participants of the current study felt unable to use social media comfortably and felt the lack of supplementary audio visuals common in other genres (2000: 20). Kolb's study does consider U25s suggested improvements for concerts (23-5). However, the findings of Kolb's study do not raise many points similar to my study. Many comments in Kolb's study were based on a change in venue, however this was not found to be an issue in my research. Other studies have suggested that knowledge does affect concert experience (Dobson 2010; Dobson & Pitts 2011). However, this study suggests that knowledge was also found to be a substantial factor affecting the likelihood of re-attendance.

This theme has focused on aspects affecting the potential re-attendance of U25s: what risks may be felt by participants and consequently, which changes to classical music might increase the likelihood of re-attendance. The large majority of participants felt they would be open to attending a concert in the future, however this would be a low priority. Factors that would reduce the risks described by all bands in this study included attending with a group—although music students were selective about the nature of this group— and greater familiarity with the repertoire.

When asked how the participants in this study would alter current classical music concerts, the responses fell into three categories: the presentation of classical music, the music itself, and the musical tastes of participants and their peers. The changes to the presentation of classical music included reducing the length of

pieces and concerts, raising the level of interaction during the performance, and supporting online activity. The changes to the music itself were smaller compared to the changes required of concert culture. Often, the changes did not include changes to musical qualities, but rather the familiarly U25s have with it, which is why more populist repertoires were requested. The relevance of classical music would also be increased if U25s could feel more affinity with the genre, for example, through younger players or works composed by living composers. The musical identity of participants and the wider perceptions of youth culture around classical music were seen to have great implications for the U25s in this study. In particular, for those who showed a preference for classical music, there was a perception that this was not going to be valued or accepted by peers. Some participants spoke about actively not wanting to adhere to classical music culture even if they enjoyed this music, protecting their self-identity.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explored classical music concert perceptions of U25s with varying degrees of musical and cultural knowledge. A three-stage approach has been taken to understand the concert experience of this group of people: perceptions before the concert, perceptions during the concert and perceptions after the concert. This new way of researching U25s has allowed participants to relay their perspectives at each stage of the concert process in real time. This includes the decision-making process before the concert, which is bound up with preconceptions and expectations, the personal listening experience during the concert itself, and feelings after the event has taken place. Researching in this way has allowed participants to change their views during the concert-going process, and is not dependent on longer-term memory to recount this experience.

This study has sought to understand U25s' views of current presentation of live classical music in the concert hall, and whether musical or cultural knowledge affects this concert experience. Before the concert, previous engagement with classical music concerts was the largest factor affecting the expectations and

motivations for attendance, with only participants in Band 2 (25%) and all of Band 3 new to concert going. A large majority of the participants in this study had engaged with classical music digitally, but classical music was not dominant in the constructed musical identity of the U25s in this study. Assumptions about the concert experience seen through the timelines created by the U25s further displayed the disparity between those in Band 1 and 2 who had cultural knowledge and those in Band 3 who had no engagement with the arts. The preconceptions held by the U25s in this study were therefore influenced by musical knowledge and past engagement with the arts.

During the concert the ability to enjoy the in the moment listening experience was not affected by knowledge, with the majority of participants expressing emotional and absorbed listening at some point in the concert. Although all bands were able to access this type of engaged listening, those with more musical and cultural knowledge were able to maintain this listening state for a larger proportion of the concert, giving them a more positive overall experience. However, participants from all bands reported disengaged listening and feelings of boredom at points through the concert.

Many similarities can be seen across all bands when analysing the individual listening experiences, however, when it comes to the concert experience, including integrating with other audience members and concert hall etiquette, the responses varied greatly. The U25s in Band 1 and 2 were most likely to integrate with other audience members, with music students also feeling valued by the regular audience. Participants from Band 1 were also most confident with integrating with concert culture and displaying correct listening behaviours. Participants from all bands expressed worry about listening incorrectly and being judged by other audience members for it. Certainly there was a feeling that the listening culture needed to be learned, and that the participants, found this much harder due to the still and silent listening, whereas less physical cues were given to the newcomers by regular attenders.

Attending a concert was viewed, to some extent, as a social event by the U25s in this study. Participants in Bands 1 and 2 were able to ascertain a stronger level of this communal feeling however, participants from all bands did speak to other audience members. This was used as a tool for learning, particularly for those in Band 3. However, one of the most influential factors in encouraging U25s to feel social and communal at this event was attending with a group of peers. This factor was one of the most significant in reducing the risks associated with re-attendance for U25s. Others included changing aspects of the current presentation of classical music, increasing either familiarity with classical music or performing more populist repertoire, and growing the relevance of classical music amongst U25s so that associating with this musical preference is more accepted and valued by peers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter will summarise the key findings of this thesis, tying together the two strands of data collection, and discuss the subsequent conclusions. The second section offers a critical evaluation of the research, with a personal reflection and a discussion of the limitations of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the practical implications of this research project for arts organisations. This includes recommending developments to current audience development plans and appraising the relationship between the researcher and arts organisation in this project, informing future collaborations. The chapter is then concluded by further recommendations for this area of study and a closing statement.

6.1 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR AUDIENCE STUDIES

This research project sought to understand the personal lived experience of audiences for live classical music. This included regular, infrequent and new audience members, and encompassed groups that were represented and underrepresented in the typical make-up of chamber music audiences. The empirical investigation of classical music audiences is still a developing field. By exploring the six related research questions below, this study has built on the theoretical literature in this field by introducing a longitudinal study investigating audience community formation and feelings of civic pride during a concert series in a newly built venue (building on Pitts 2005), applying arts-informed visual methodology to the study of audience experience (building on Baxter 2010; Hartel 2014, 15), and understanding new audiences with differing cultural engagement (building on Dobson & Pitts 2011; Kolb 2000).

6.1.1 KEY FINDINGS

Application of new methodology

The question of how to understand audience experience is central to this thesis. For the reasons outlined previously in Chapters 2 and 3, the established methods used in this field have some notable weaknesses: they are not able to capture data simultaneously with the performance, they rarely use nonverbal reasoning, and participants have become very familiar with the methods, prompting standardised responses. The application and evaluation of novel methods in this study therefore makes a new contribution to the field of cultural audience studies, by addressing the issues of methods that take place after the event, rely on the literacy of participants, and are over-familiar to them. In this research project, longitudinal research in Doncaster over a year allowed trends to develop in real time, offering much more than a snapshot of one concert in one point in time. Explorations of change over time were also present in the research in Sheffield by seeking the options of U25s before, during, and after a concert experience. Both modes of data collection have also relied on a visual element, through arts-informed methods.

The Write-Draw data produced a diverse range of responses, from which key trends were evident. The drawn data included literal representations of the concert experience as well as metaphors and abstract ideas. However, the Write-Draw data collected with the newcomers in Sheffield and regular listeners in Doncaster was quite varied. The responses by the U25s were often more fragmented, showing little expectation of what was going to come next in the concert experience. The regular listeners, who had more understanding of the concert experience, were able to give a linear response, responding to the experience as a whole rather than segments as they happened, showing a level of cultural knowledge and familiarity.

The social and communal aspect of the concert experience was also seen through the Write-Draw data: participants drew, for example, other audience members or a group of people holding hands in a circle. When asked to explain these drawings during the Tell phase, a nuanced understanding of different interactions within a classical music audience was given. The social and communal value of musical experience has been suggested as less significant than other aesthetic or learning values (Dearn and Price 2016), but responses captured through this mode of data collection have highlighted this overlooked aspect of the experience.

Through its simultaneity with the performance, the Write-Draw method is able to capture feelings not visible through more conventional talk-based and retrospective methods (Boydell *et al*. 2012). In particular, the fleeting and changing experiences taking place 'inside the heads' of listeners, which could otherwise be thought of as non-observable, adds valuable insight to understanding audience experience. The method was able to capture changing emotional states throughout the concert, showing the journey-like process that happens through this time for listeners. Moreover, the Tell phase of this method allowed for the opportunity to reflect on this experience.

Participants in both studies felt this method added to and enhanced the experience (also seen in Hartel 2015), allowing participants to focus their attention and listening during the concert. This reflection stage of the research design can also been seen to add to understanding and learning about this experience, allowing participants to make and reinforce cultural meaning (see Kolb 1984, model of experiential learning). Particularly applicable for the still and silent classical music listening culture (Sennett 2002), this method allowed audiences to transfer private thoughts to others in the community of listeners (Dearn and Price 2016). In doing so, very sensitive and personal topics could be explored in a safe environment with other new listeners.

The Write-Draw-Tell method has been newly applied to the study of classical music audiences, offering new insight and reaching a deeper understanding of audience experience. This method has been successful in three ways: offering a new and less familiar way in which to respond to the concert experience; bypassing the technical language and reference points of classical music to give the option to respond in a non-verbal fashion; and providing opportunity to respond to the experience in real time rather than relaying this information through the partial lens of memory. Although this method proved to be most effective with the U25 newcomers in this study, it was also shown to be a useful tool with regular audiences. Being asked to respond visually as well as verbally during the concert allowed for new reports of the concert experience to be explained through unfamiliar means, which addresses issues of the over-socialisation of research participants (Pitts 2005; Hennion 2001).

Participants in this study reported feeling much more freedom in answering the research questions and this allowed for a greater sense of ownership over their responses. The use of the Write-Draw-Tell method allowed the interviewees to feel empowered when explaining their Concert Cards that only they fully understood and were the expert in. This allowed a deeper relationship to form between researcher and participants, fostering a 'relational curiosity' (Phillips 2015) between the two parties where both were exploring ideas for the first time. I suggest these types of participatory arts-informed methods allow participants to feel more actively involved in interpreting the research question and inspire them to respond in a deeper and more creative manner. Understanding the individual experiences of classical music audiences is vital to its progression and therefore sourcing participants who are not only willing, but also eager and curious to answer a set of research questions adds value to this investigation.

I believe the new application of the Write-Draw-Tell method, along with other arts-informed creative research techniques, has been hugely successful in understanding the experiences of audiences from a new viewpoint.

<u>People</u>

Previous research has recognised the social value of attending live classical concerts (Brown 2002; ACE 2004; Radbourne *et al.* 2013), however these studies often focused on this factor as primarily important for infrequent or underrepresented demographics. For regular audience members, it is more common for the literature to accredit their attendance with more aesthetic and learning motivations (Brown 2004). Research has also suggested that being part of a festival audience is a 'collective experience' and contributes to a sense of community (Pitts 2005). However, this thesis has gone further in investigating the social element of concert by asking whether a community forms across a regular audience in a concert series, and furthermore, what the nature and practices of such a community might be. Previous authors have called for more understanding of classical music communities and how effectively a newcomer may integrate with them (Pitts & Spencer 2008, 237).

Therefore, the building of a new venue in Doncaster allowed a unique opportunity to study the formation of an audience from its origin, which included people who had been regular attenders of chamber music in Doncaster and others who were newcomers but were the same age demographic as a regular audience. The case study at Cast showed that over the course of a year a community did form across a regular audience that included the integration of newcomers. After establishing this finding, I was able to implement the second research question and understand the inner workings of this community using the lens of fandom. The words 'fan' or 'fan-like' are not terms readily associated with audiences for chamber music; however, through the findings presented in this study I have shown that the application of this term to the behaviours of classical music audiences is highly informative. Most stigmas around the term 'fan' were based on popular culture connotation and the differences seen in popular music listening cultures and those of classical music audiences (Sennett 2002; Small 1998). I have made a clear distinction that although the community of listeners that surround

classical music can be seen as fans, this does not necessarily make this group of people a fan community, but rather a community with fan-like behaviours.

This study has shown that classical music audience communities are a potential site for fandom. However, the fan behaviours this community presented were somewhat different to those of other listening communities and therefore this thesis has contributed to a new definition of a classical music fan. The presentation of fandom in the community demonstrated at Cast was based around a feeling of affiliation with the arts organisations, resident musicians and new venue. Fandom within this community was also largely structured by knowledge of these factors as well as of the music itself (echoed in opera audiences; Benzecry 2009, 2011). Understanding the audience's behaviours in this way brings this listening culture closer to that of other musical genres, showing that they are working in similar ways. Using music in a fan-like way is widely accepted in popular music (Duffett 2013) and used to form friendships when young (Dearn 2013). Understanding the motivations of audiences members considered fans has implications for the ways in which classical music is programmed, marketed and preserved. These implications are explored further in section 6.3.

Following on from understanding the fan-like community that surrounds a concert series it is also important to consider how this might impact those who consider themselves on the outside of this culture. The YouTube generation have grown up in an age of technological advancements that have allowed younger people to be 'plugged in' to the popular music scene in many diverse ways (Bull 2005). Popular music has become a backdrop for contemporary society and this has allowed U25s to develop strong musical identities that are often outwardly expressed through fandom (Bennett 2000). Using the notion of fandom as a common language between both studies, this strand explores the views of U25s who do not attend classical concerts regularly, but have a strong musical identity themselves.

The connection between U25s and regular audience members is interesting, as the study of regular fan-like audience members at Cast showed that this audience had great concern about preserving this culture and particularly about actively seeking the recruitment of new younger members. Yet the U25s study provided contrasting evidence that the practices of this culture can be seen as off-putting, as can the lack of relevance of classical music to this group more generally. U25s have grown up in a multimedia-saturated society, which is far removed from the culture of live classical music (Wall 2013).

This study showed the significance of music in the everyday lives of this group of people, and these participants were typical of their age group in having developed a very strong musical taste, often shared with peers and friendship groups (Dearn 2013). However, classical music was shown not to feature very heavily in the musical identities of the U25s in this study. Therefore, the experience of classical music was often compared to more familiar popular music. The traditional method of presenting classical music was found to be problematic for this age group due to its current length, lack of audience interaction during the performance—particularly online social media interaction—and having little familiarity with the music performed. Classical music had a perceived lack of relevance for U25s as it was seen as hard for those in the study to associate with this music and even if they did, to share in this musical preference was seen as detrimental to self-identity. Due to the decline of support for music education in the national curriculum, future generations will have fewer opportunities to become familiar with this type of music, and it will be harder to grow the relevance of a genre that is little-known and understood by this group of people.

This research study differentiated the group of U25s in the study by their musical and cultural knowledge and engagement. Although other studies have investigated U35s (Kolb 2000, 2001; Jacob 2000; Dobson 2010; Dobson & Pitts 2011), no study has looked at all three bands of younger people presented in this study. This was with a view to understand how such knowledge may influence the enjoyment of this concert experience, but also how well they are able to integrate with the

concert culture and pre-existing audience. Such knowledge may also be seen as the cultural reference point they hold; as explained above, this has become more important with the lack of music education. The study showed the preconceptions the U25s held towards the risk attached to concert attendance was related to previous engagement with concerts. The risk attached to choosing to attend a classical music concert was based on the language used to describe classical music, the concert venue, and U25s having little knowledge of the works performed. Value judgements were also made about other audience members, assuming that they would be knowledgeable, older, middle class, and white, which certainly contributed to a feeling of risk.

The way in which data was collected before, during, and after their experience was a new and distinctive approach to researching this demographic. Despite their prior reservations, during the concert most U25s did enjoy the experience and showed a variety of ways of listening, which echoes the findings of other studies that have found that knowledge of music has not affect newcomers' ability to enjoy a concert (Thompson 2007; Dobson 2010). However, despite the cultural or musical knowledge held by members of some bands, members of all bands in this study did also experience disengaged listening, suggesting that knowledge was not required for U25s to enjoy the act of listening but did influence confidence in that listening and ability to integrate with other audience members. Building a relationship with the performer and performance space was also found to be influential in affecting the personal listening experience of U25s. The U25s in this study were not opposed to re-attending but this would be a low cultural priority. Uncovering the potential adaptations that could be made to the presentation and communication around classical music contributes to changing perceptions around this music culture for this demographic.

Experience model

Although literature around the audience experience is rich, I suggest by this thesis that considers both regular, infrequent and new attends requires a new

consolidation and interpretation of existing literature in the field of audience studies. Moreover, understanding how the experience model below may function differently for the people that use it.

Although literature around audience experience is rich, my focus on regular, infrequent and new attenders highlights some ways in which audience experiences may be theorised in a different way. Rather than considering the audience process as a one-way linear structure, engagement with this process could be seen in a dynamic, circular fashion. Within this dynamic cycle is contained a broader definition of audience experience, one that includes audience motivations, expectations and concert experience. Such a model enables recognition of the connections between and interdependence of these factors, which is important to this research because it allows for audience experience to be understood from the decision to attend, often the time of booking, through to the point of re-attendance at a later concert. This gives a much wider view of concert attendance, not one that only includes a snapshot of the concert itself, but the journey to this point and beyond.

The model below shows the possible interaction of motivations, expectations and experience in concert attendance:
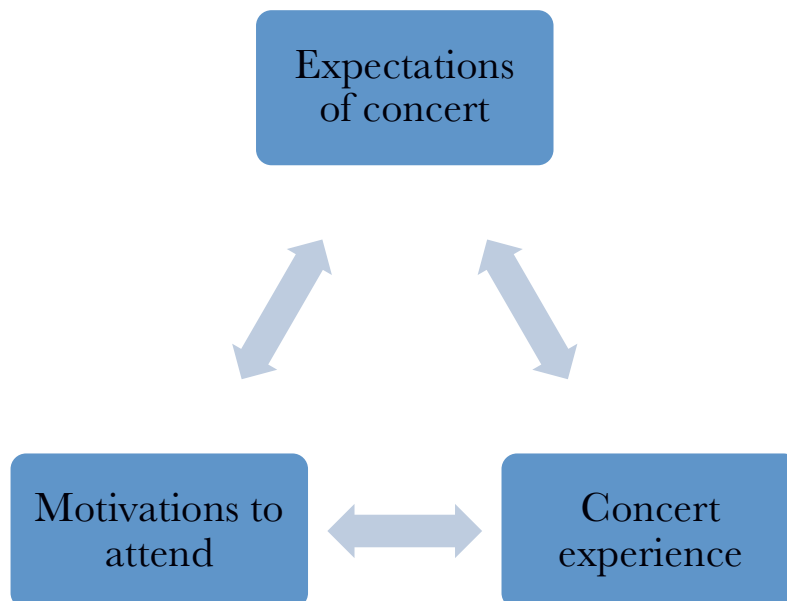
FIGURE 6.1: Diagram of attendance behaviour model

It is important to note the multi-directionality of the circle and the fact that audience members might have different starting points. It is also important to point out that the connections within this circle may become strengthened by positive experiences at classical music concerts but weakened by negative ones. This model encompasses factors described in other authors' work (Radbourne *et al.* 2013*;* Brown & Novak 2007) but adds the concept of a dynamic cycle. The attendance behaviour model has been used to inform the research design of this project, exploring whether and how the cycle works differently for regular audience members and U25s new to classical music. The model is also echoed in the approach taken to the collection of data for this study, including the use of longitudinal research and data collected before, during and after the concert experience (for more information see Chapter 3).

When looking at the factors affecting audience experience in more detail there are many contributing factors which I suggest fall into two categories: musical and social. When researching audiences, authors have noted the importance of social factors in contributing to a positive experience (Pitts 2005; Brown and Novak 2007; Radbourne *et al.* 2013). Yet in some models of audience experience social and musical interactions are seen as quite separate. However, I suggest social and musical factors interact with one another throughout a concert and are of equal importance in contributing to audience experience (Dearn and Price 2016). Figure 6.2 shows the possible overlap between musical and non-musical aspects of concert experience, including aspects affecting motivation and expectations.

Musical

Social/Non-Musical

Programme

Personal internal enjoyment when listening

Visual aids, including performers and performance space

Knowledge and familiarity of music

Conversations and connections between performer and audience

Listening as part of audience and not alone

Joint appreciation

Personal enjoyment of social interaction during non-performance time

Community and belonging

Loyalty and moral responsibly

Knowledge and familiarity of social behaviours

FIGURE 6.2: Diagram of factors affecting concert

Figure 6.2 shows that, in general, it is very hard to separate social and musical aspects when investigating audience experience, and it recognises the live listening experience as multifaceted. All of the factors included in this model have the ability to affect concert experience in a positive or negative manner for different people. The model describes how some of the intrinsic benefits of audience experience are only obtained through live classical music concert attendance; however, being part of a concert audience can also have a negative effect for its members. For example, tensions can arise when individual private experience happens as part of a larger collective (O'Sullivan 2009): it is very easy to distract other audience members from an absorbed state, as stated by Burland and Pitts (2014). A further negative effect of being part of an audience might occur when

the feeling of not belonging to a social group at a cultural event acts as a barrier to future attendance.

Gaining a clear understanding of why people attend concerts and the experiences they will have will allow for a comparison with those who do not attend. The combination of these two models shows us the factors that ascertain whether the circle (Figure 6.1) of concert attendance continues or stops. If elements of the concert experience described in Figure 6.2 are missing or negative this will have huge impacts for Figure 6.1 and will stop the cyclical process. In this research project, I have applied these models to regular and non-attenders. For regular audience members the circle increases in strength with every cycle, yet for those who do not attend regularly the circle is very weak or might not exist at all due to a missing element. So having this conceptual understanding of how the different parts of experience interact is important when we begin the journey towards better understanding why certain groups attend less than others and how those who attend less can be encouraged to attend more. The implications of these models for arts organisations are further explored in section 6.3.1.

Place

This research question, although most dominant in the data collected in Doncaster, has been explored in both strands of data, and sought to understand the effect of venue on audience members. This study has shown that venues are a significant factor affecting audience enjoyment. The participants in both the Sheffield and Doncaster studies valued the 'in the round' configuration offered at MitR as it allowed them to feel close to the performers and experience their 'liveness', through the ability to see facial expressions or hear breathing. The configuration also allowed for a greater sense of being involved in the performance. Cast was shown to alter or frame the moods of audiences, allowing for more focussed listening and an escape from the outside world. The empirical research findings suggest that the performance space itself, and not the foyer, acts as this mood framer (Small 1998). This study has also shown that having a choice

of where to sit through unreserved seating gives a level of power to control their listening experience back to the audience. This can lead audience members to become advocates for a particular venue, which has implications for the future attendance of arts events.

The concert hall was also shown to act as a social space for its audiences. This study has shown the ways in which Cast was significant in promoting social integration between audience communities, and conversations often included talking about the venue. Social areas of a concert hall away from the performance space itself can be seen to be encouraging audience bonding and cohesion. In contrast, the same factors can feel problematic to newcomers, with the concert hall shown to add risk to U25s perceptions of attending a concert. U25s in this study felt the cultural significance of these buildings did not match with their previous cultural experiences and therefore did not speak to their personal identity.

Further to the importance of venue in concert experience, Cast in Doncaster has also positively influenced the way audience members felt about the place they lived in, encouraging a level of civic pride and worth. Feelings towards this building were firstly based around ideas of improvement, which grew a sense of pride in regular users of this building. Naturally, once this building had become an object of value audiences wanted to promote awareness and protect it from misuse. This feeling of strong protectiveness suggests quite how much value is placed on this building and illuminates feelings of entitlement. Many participants felt that other regions would be surprised to see such a cultural hub in Doncaster. Over the year of this study Cast developed into an integral part of Doncaster's identity. This suggests that concert halls can positively affect the perception of a deprived town and unite a group of people in this place. However, although the addition of Cast has been hugely positive for those using this facility, linking back to how the U25s in this study felt uncertain about concert halls, there is a question of whether such venues impede audience development and whether these cultural buildings are only used by a sub-section of society.

6.2 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

This study is based on the findings of empirical research and, as such, has experienced various limitations. This is a largely qualitative study that perceives value in a deep understanding of a small population. However, the sample used in this study is smaller than that of a quantitative investigation, and consequently the findings may not necessarily be assumed to hold for a wider population. Further to this, the population of participants in this study is fixed in one geographical region and based at one arts organisation. This said, the purpose of this thesis is to value the individual experience and therefore, like other qualitative studies, its strength lies in having an enriched understanding of a proportion of audience members and this allows relevant trends to be presented (Willig 2008).

The two phases of this study highlighted some of the challenges of recruitment for qualitative research with audiences. Securing a high number of participants was not always possible, particularly when recruiting infrequent attenders or newcomers. Although this limits the size of the study, it is interesting within itself that I had an influx of regular audience members wanting to participate, but newcomers were much harder to recruit. It is easier to see why U25s might be harder to recruit given their educational commitments, but even when given a free and assisted route in, some still resisted or even dropped out. The difficulty in recruiting those in Bands 2 and 3 versus Band 1 shows that participation in this type of study says something about motivations for attending classical music concerts, as participants need to see a level of value or relevance in this research to commit to taking part. This is could be significant for other audience studies, where participants may be similarly invested in the activity and the spectrum of views represented therefore reduced. I believe this further shows the value of researching people most removed from this activity.

As discussed, talking about internal feelings and experience is difficult, and the new methods applied in this study certainly overcame some of these issues. However, the methods used also had their own problems. Using longitudinal methods as part of this study also creates limitations, as the length of time was confined by the restraints of the research project; if this study had continued for a

longer period it might have yielded different results (a limitation common to all longitudinal studies).

To participate in a year-long study is also a far greater commitment for audience members than a single research event, and therefore I did experience some participants dropping in and out. Despite these restrictions, longitudinal methods are still able to capture small changes in a developing environment, and allow research participants to develop and change their thinking over time, which has great benefits. For example, in this study we saw changes in perceptions held before, during, and after concert attendance, and the gradual evolution of audience cohesion and communal behaviours in a new venue.

In evaluating the Write-Draw-Tell method, it must be noted that there was a level of reluctance to adopt this method and some of the data set included incomplete or blank cards. Some participants felt anxious about their artistic ability, even though the informal and loose terms a 'visual' and 'verbal' response were used to reassure participants that the quality of their response was not dependent on drawing capability. Reason (2008) explains that unless adults are very skilled in drawing, this activity is perceived as for children, such that '[c]hildren themselves consider all children to be competent at drawing, which they perceive as an ordinary rather than specialised activity. This is broadly reversed amongst adults, who learn from around 10 onwards that they "can't draw"' (2008: 4). The same lack of confidence was seen in the written and verbal responses. However, using multiple modes of data collection allowed this method to accommodate the needs of the research participants and allowed them to communicate their ideas in the most comfortable medium.

A further potential limitation of this method is that it could be argued to have in some way altered the arts experience from that of a 'normal' listener and may have been distracting for both participants and other listeners. Some U25s remarked how other audience members had 'told them off' for creating a Write-Draw response during the performance and not listening 'correctly'. This may have added to their sense of riskiness regarding attending a future event. However,

other participants in the study talked about how the Write-Draw card was a starting point for conversation with other audience members.

A further limiting factor is the lack of established analytical frameworks to handle this type of data. Although the application of arts-informed methods is growing in many disciplines, most rely on one source —Rose 2007—to inform the analysis of their studies. However, Rose's book, *Visual Methodologies,* mostly deals with discovered, rather than specially created images. Moreover, there is a philosophical debate around the use of specially created images in the investigation of cultural audiences. In this project, I have moved towards a hybrid, using the Write-Draw data as a metaphor for discussion while at the same time analysing the created data. In assessing the value of this method, it is true that some areas may need further consideration before the wide use of this method in this form. However, the use of arts-informed methods in this study of classical music audiences has set a precedent regarding how to apply this method and offers an example of analysing this type of data, contributing to growing the methodological toolkit available to other audience researchers.

Asking participants to take part in the Write-Draw-Tell research is an accessible task that reduces the risk of attending and allows newcomers to engage with something they feel comfortable with as well as attending something unknown. The positive aspect of this study is that researchers are often trying to find certain groups of people to partake in this type of research and this method allows people to attend with peers. My research has shown attending in such groups to be a very positive experience for U25s of all bands. The choice of qualitative research in this study also allowed participants to reflect on their experience, and often this made them feel more empowered, and gave them the time and space to process this experience.

6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR ARTS ORGANISATIONS

This study also has practical implications for this project's external partner and the arts industry more widely. These outcomes fall into two parts: audience development for both younger audiences and the strengthening of regular audiences, and the wider implications of having an academic researcher situated in an arts organisation.

6.3.1 AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

Audience development is most often viewed as the retention and increased attendance of a regular audience, as well as the introduction of new attenders (Baker 2007). During the collaboration with MitR, I have seen the ways in which audience development is at the forefront of arts organisations' thinking when planning future concert series and is used to evaluate the success of arts organisations, along with financial outcomes and quality of performances. Audience development within arts organisations is also used to support funding applications. However, in-house research units at arts organisations may not have the resources to carry out intensive qualitative research of the type seen in this study, nor want to consider this type of data (Price 2015). I will explore what the findings of this study could mean practically for my external partner and how this has led them to make evidence-based changes in their organisation.

Chapter 4 of this thesis investigated the formation of an audience community in a new venue, giving a unique opportunity to understand an audience community from its origins. Previous research (Pitts 2005; Pitts & Spencer 2007) found that an audience community formed around MitR's May Festival. A concert series takes place over a longer period and therefore creating and retaining an audience community may be more challenging than throughout a one-week festival. The findings at Cast suggest that, for these audience members, the social value of concert going is equal to that of the aesthetic value of attending, and this finding has implications for audience development at Cast.

I would therefore recommend that arts organisations provide spaces for this social bonding to happen and opportunities for audience members to discuss concerts.

This could be in the form of a 'second interval' after the end of the concert. The interval at Cast was seen as an important time to meet people and form a consensus across an audience as to the quality of the performance or taste for the repertoire. If audience members are attending alone it is difficult to do this after the second half and therefore creating a 'second interval environment' for audience members to partake in this social act could be conducive to strengthening the audience community (building on Pitts 2009).

In this study, the behaviours of the audience were analysed through the lens of fandom. It is important to understand classical music audiences as fans because this will have direct implications for booking habits, whereby the desire to attend a concert may be based less on repertoire (this is more common for newcomers and U25s) and more on an understanding of concerts as events in a social calendar. A concert series forms a constant succession of meetings for this group of people and therefore this may surpass other factors, such as repertoire in importance. Such audience behaviours therefore feed into the concertgoer's attendance behaviour model, which includes varying motivations, expectations, and experiences of concert attendance, stated above.

For those regular audience members for whom this cycle already works strongly, aspects of fandom can only strengthen this cycle. The result of this is that even if the quality of the concert experience did not match expectations, the social motivation based in fandom would perpetuate the cycle of concert attendance behaviour.

Once they are aware of how fandom presents in a particular audience community, arts organisations would be able to promote such fandom. This would allow classical music to work in similar way to popular music, whereby the more importance is placed on artist rather than repertoire when booking. The friend's scheme operated by MitR and other similar organisations therefore becomes a hierarchical statement about an attender's loyalty to this cultural project and does

show fandom. However, the dilemma remains that growing fandom for this group of people is valuable but can also work against those who do not attend regularly.

A secondary approach to audience development considered in this section therefore is how classical music may be presented in a way that is more relevant for a younger audience. The findings of this thesis demonstrate that the audience attendance model works very efficiently for some audience members but is certainly contributing to risk associated with concert attendance for others. People's routes into classical music will start from a different place on the cycle, particularly those U25s who are arriving from a different cultural reference point. Through the data collected with U25s, expectations of a concert are seen as the largest barrier, as low expectations of a concert reduce motivations to attend. However, this research shows that the concert participants actually experienced as part of a research project allowed for a change in this cycle. One of the most significant factors to increase relevance and reduce risk around re-attending found in this study is to attend as a group of peers. Moreover, regular attenders were seen as a learning and social resource for U25s and therefore another risk reduction method that arts organisation could employ is an audience buddy scheme.

For U25s, one of the greatest issues was the length of a concert, much longer than other cultural events they were used to attending. Programming was also challenging, with this group of people asking for more familiar repertoire. U25s are also used to being part of a live experience that allows for participation online as well as in the geographical space of the performance. U25s want to be able to communicate during a live experience, which questions the strong traditions of appreciating classical music in a still and silent way. I feel that changing the listening culture of concerts is potentially difficult and it may be that dedicated concerts are needed for this. However, being able to communicate during a concert is something that art organisations could accommodate. Many U25s in this study felt that they wanted to communicate about their concert experience through social media but felt very unsure whether this was 'allowed'. It is therefore

necessary for arts organisations – and their regular audiences – to legitimise new behaviours or rituals in concert attendance, for example online check-in points or 'selfie' areas. However, arts organisations may resist these changes or struggle to introduce new behaviours while still preserving the concert culture enjoyed by regulars (Baker 2007).

These two contrasting case studies of regular older audiences and irregular younger audiences illustrate the dual priorities that arts organisations need to negotiate. It is clearly positive to encourage a community across an audience, even contributing to the development of fandom in a regular audience. Increasing loyalty around a concert series is an attractive financial option for an arts organisation in the short term, however this has implications for those on the outside in the longer term. It was interesting in Doncaster that a new community formed around a new venue that included new attenders and regular attenders from the old venue. This research therefore suggests that venue is a far more influential audience development tool than may have been previously considered.

Growing an audience community based on the like-mindedness of people is advantageous until this group of people seem to be excluding others. U25s are the next generation of audiences and this research shows that musical and cultural knowledge substantially affects the experience and reception of such music. Therefore, for arts organisations the most beneficial modes of audience development for younger audiences vary across the three bands of U25s included in this study. For students of music, motivation to attend is the highest of all U25s in this study, however they are concerned about accommodating concert attendance in their busy social life. The findings of this research suggest that attending with a group of peers would increase chances of attendance for U25s. For those who are culturally engaged but not musical educated, the debate here was that although they were very open to such a cultural experience, live classical music was in competition with other cultural events, due to their limited funds and time. Therefore, it would be beneficial to encourage a relationship between art forms to increase the value of classical music concerts for this group, using classical music as a stimulus for creative writing, for example.

For those U25s with no previous cultural engagement, the motivations to attend such an event are the most far removed from those of traditional audiences. However, this group of people were most open-minded as regards this event and had no taste judgments. Therefore, a very different approach is needed here. For younger people, a change in the presentation of classical music would be more attractive to them, and rather than helping them to attend a standard presentation concert I would recommend building concerts that take on the rituals of more popular music cultures with these people in mind. Rather than just placing a live concert in a popular music venue, it would be a question of changing audience behaviours, encouraging participation on social media and programing shorter and lighter concerts. It is in the hands of art organisations to legitimatise new behaviours for younger audiences.

6.3.2 A RESEARCHER IN AN ARTS ORGANISATION

Through the awarding of an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA), MitR has had an in-house researcher for the past three years, highlighting the benefits of sustained, in-depth investigations. In this section I explore firstly how the audience research carried out on this project has also acted as audience development, and secondly, I will reflect on the benefits and challenges of this partnership and present the lessons learnt for future collaborations.

This thesis is a strong advocate for audience research as audience development. An in-house researcher does a lot more than help the organisation to learn about itself; audience research can support attendance by participants:

> The rewards of the work you've done with Doncaster are many;
> it's given us a good understanding of how our audience viewed
> the move to a brand new venue, it's given us usable evidence of
> increased civic pride in the area which can be used by ourselves
> and the venues with funders, it's brought in some new regular
> audience members through initial direct and meaningful

contact, it's helped our audience to trust us by giving them a
platform to be listened to during a time of change. All of this and
helped me to learn some valuable lessons that I would apply in
any future similar circumstances (Tracy, Project Manager).

In the case of regular audience members, throughout the year of research at Cast,
I fed back findings to MitR, allowing them to understand audience feelings and
tailor the experience to the audience forming there. The first year of concert
attendance at Cast was also considerably changed by the research, as every
concert included a full audience questionnaire as well as an audience forum. The
comments from audience members about their experiences of participating in the
research suggests that these audience members have felt a great sense of
ownership over this concert series, as they feel they have been part of the
conversations around it. MitR also commented on this:

> I think you have helped us see very clearly the potential of
> qualitative research as an audience development tool. I think, as
> with many things, we were aware of this intuitively, but not
> explicitly and we are now clear that it provides an important
> way of engaging with a range of different audiences more
> profoundly and understanding their view point differently. This
> in turn helps us to improve how we communicate with those
> different groups (Deborah, Executive Director).

> I've always seen and valued the role that outcomes of research
> has to play in improving our work and developing our audiences
> but now I see that the research process is equally, if not more,
> valuable as it enables a direct way-in to an audience which
> allows a mutual trust and respect to develop and for all to work
> to a shared message (Tracy).

A CDA researcher is positioned to bridge the gap between research happening in the commercial and academic worlds. The findings of this research will allow the external partner to learn more about their audiences and also gives access to a body of knowledge of current research trends. Therefore, the benefits of a CDA student in an arts organisation may not only be the final report of findings, but also the day-to-day conversations had in the office over the duration of the study. For a small charity arts organisation it is the case that such a student is useful in the running of the office and can aid in marketing-based tasks: 'certainly the decisions around the timing of lunchtime concerts was based on research undertaken in Autumn 2013' (Deborah). In my experience, having an audience scholar specialised in audience behaviours at a particular organisation was used by the external partner, echoing Matt Hills' scholar or 'aca' fan (2002:2). This collaboration has allowed for research projects to happen that may be outside the usual remit of an organisation. However, it is the case that arts organisations do need to give time and resources in kind. It is also the case that external partners may have concerns about the findings of their researchers and what may be published about their practices. However, in my experience this has only been a positive outcome and this was echoed by MitR: 'the challenges for us were limited because of the hands-on role you played' (Tracy). Researchers from the academic field are in a position to introduce new research questions and ways of measuring outcomes, without the pressures faced by an audience agency who need to deliver particular outcomes to gain future commissions. The knowledge exchange between researcher and partner was also perceived to be beneficial by MitR:

> [This collaboration has] given us the evidence we needed to
> show that a more hands-on bespoke person-centred approach to
> relationship building (with audience, musicians, promoters alike)
> is invaluable and that is already helping a shift in the way the
> organisation thinks at its top levels in terms of how we work with
> our partner venues nationally. I think that as an organisation we
> now ask ourselves questions that we wouldn't have done
> previously which means the legacy will live on (Tracy).

Such collaborations between industry partner and academics, I suggest, are the strongest way in which audience experience can be best understood and ultimately improved. For future research and researchers, I suggest that becoming embedded in an organisation has great advantages. Working in this collaborative way has provided a potential new model of knowledge exchange, in which academics are equipped with practical insight into an organisation, and vice versa.

6.4 OUTLOOK FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis has studied community formation, the importance of venue in concert experience and its ability to prompt civic pride, and the wider social impact of a concert hall in a deprived area and in developing new audiences for classical music. Moreover, it has evaluated the views of U25s, revealing the research potential of further investigations into the methods used to measure cultural experiences. I conclude by making recommendations for future research not covered in this project or revealed as holding potential for future development.

I believe that underpinning this study with arts-informed creative research methods has generated new and insightful findings. From the use of visual timelines to the full Write-Draw-Tell method, these approaches offer researchers a new addition to the methodological toolkit when working with audiences. Therefore, the scope of this method in future research is wide, and its limitations are in themselves questions for future research, developing the methods introduced in this study further. It could be possible to use the Write-Draw-Tell techniques digitally; this would allow correlations to be made between exact points in the performance and responses given. Although some studies have used digital aids to measure audience experience simultaneously with the concert (McAdams *et al.* 2004-slider system; Bennett 2014-tweeting during concerts; Stevens *et al.*'s 2009 personal digital assistants), these methods do not rely on creativity and visual

responses, and in some cases cannot respond to the varying literacies of adults and young people.

As classical music moves forward, in particular for younger generations, there is important research to be done around how technology may be integrated into the concert experience (Walmsley 2016). It may be that arts organisations may wish to use the analytical aspect that the Write-Draw-Tell technique can offer during the performance by introducing live 'tweet seats' as part of the concert experience; such research is already happening in popular music (Bennett 2014). Further research around online communities for classical music and their relation to fandom in audiences could be developed further in later projects.

A developed Write-Draw-Tell method also has the ability to aid cultural policy development. Currently, most national studies rely on quantitative measures to explain the value of cultural experiences (for example, DCMS Taking Part Research; Arts Council England 2015; Knott 2015), and some national measures do not even include cultural factors (for example, indices of deprivation DCLG, 2015). To give a more accurate view of cultural experiences, widespread qualitative measures could be used to understand the individual value of cultural experiences. In some areas of policy, the use of arts-based creative research methods has been praised for 'uncovering hidden perspectives, adding empathic power and strengthening participants' voices' ('Arts for Health and Wellbeing', Public Health England 2016:10). This suggests that the use of the Write-Draw-Tell method may have wider application in understanding experiences of interest to academia, industry, or at a policy level.

Continuing the study of current audiences for classical music will allow for an understanding of why this type of event matters for this group of people. However, there are still many demographic groups who do not engage with classical music, and future investigation into new audiences is necessary to preserve this listening culture. Therefore, there is vital research to be done around developing new audiences for the future. Very little literature deals with culturally unengaged

young people. This is where the work needs to be done and this research project has been shown to be a positive audience development tool for this group of people. Cuts to music education in schools means it falls to arts organisations to take on more outreach programmes to fill this gap.

This is a very uncertain time for the arts generally, recently hit by cuts in European Union funding, and facing uncertain future funding provision from the UK government. Within current policy there is a move towards the cultural sector becoming a self-sufficient industry (The Warwick Commission 2015). Research is needed to see if such initiatives are successful in moving towards this point. Collaborations between audience scholars, arts organisations, and educational practitioners are needed to move this forward.

Another finding of this research that has been strongly implied in several areas of this thesis but not directly addressed is the question of how cultural education attributed to class has impacted the listening experience or levels of attendance. Although throughout this study, I have collected data that begins to understand this question, this was not one of my central research questions at the beginning of the study. Therefore, I cannot claim that a systematic piece of research was carried out during this study on the impact of class on participation in classical music. However, I suggest that areas within this thesis are strong indicators of the value of researching this unexplored theme in more detail in future research.

Related to developing new audiences is the importance of venue to a place. The civic pride formed around Cast's building over its first year was overwhelming, but this may not be the case over a longer period of time. The longer-term impact of Cast for people in this area is something that should be measured over a much longer period. Little is known about how civic pride around cultural buildings affects people in society. The Arts Council report 'Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture' (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016) leaves many unanswered questions, and in a time of reduced funding of classical music in the regions, understanding the functions of concerts halls is significant.

6.5 CLOSING STATEMENT

This thesis placed audiences at the forefront of an investigation of classical music, rebalancing attention away from those composing and performing music and towards those who listen to and licence such a performance. By presenting the lived experiences of the participants of this study, the empirical findings of this thesis have contributed to understanding the workings of a audience community that are fan-like in their behaviours, and has shown the importance of venue in supporting the formation of a community and the impact such a listening community has on those outside.

For U25s, for whom classical music was often distant from their own musical taste and identity, attending a concert was, for the majority, an enjoyable experience. However, this feeling of enjoyment was greatly aided by specific musical and cultural knowledge, which allowed for familiarity with how to listen, an ability to integrate with other audience members, and an understanding of concert rituals. Yet the most significant factor affecting future attendance for this group of people was the ability to attend as part of a group of peers, as they did in this research project.

This thesis has made a significant contribution in the introduction of a new method to the field of audience studies. The Write-Draw-Tell technique has contributed to resolving issues with methods used in previous studies, in particular the time between experiencing the event and reporting on it.

This thesis has shown the value and unique nature of a PhD based on collaboration between an academic institution and industry external partner. By establishing an effective partnership between these two stakeholders, I have begun to bridge the gap between these two established research fields. Through this project, I have managed to get two parties with different motivations to agree on a set of research questions that have benefited both my external partner and my academic field. I feel this thesis is much stronger because of this collaboration, representing a diverse range of views and showing the value of differing organisations learning from each other: I encourage practitioners and academics

to work collaboratively.

Through the issues raised in this thesis, the personal value of experiencing live classical music has been indicated. The willingness to dedicate a few hours to silent listening may seem disjointed from fast-paced contemporary society. But by understanding what happens to differing audience members when they take their seat, organisations can seek to change the way in which classical music is communicated about and presented to a live audience, and cohesion across an audience may be developed to match the ever-changing needs of classical music audiences today.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRES

Example from Strand 1 data collection in Doncaster

Audience questionnaire from Concert 1:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect your ideas and views about the new performance space, Cast, with the aim to better understand the impact of this new venue on the Music in the Round audience in Doncaster. The data collected from this questionnaire will be used by a researcher at The University of Sheffield working with Music in the Round on an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Awards called Music, Place and People. As well as being used in an academic project the data collected will also be shared with Music in the Round and Cast to inform their audience development and marketing. The data will be treated with sensitivity at all times by all party's involved and will be used anonymously in any reports or publications arising from this research.

Question 1: Previous attendance

Have you previously attended a Music in the Round concert in Doncaster?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, approximately how many concerts per year?

1 [ ]   2 [ ]   3 [ ]   4+ [ ]

How often do you attend other arts events at a different venue (concerts, theatre, exhibition, talks) in the city?

Very often (weekly) [ ]   Quite often (monthly) [ ]   Not that often (yearly) [ ]   Never [ ] (please continue to question 2)

What were the biggest positive or negative differences between Cast and the last venue you visited?

The last venue I visited was: ……

The differences I noticed between that venue and Cast were:

……

……

Question 2: A little about you

Please indicate your age category
Under 18 [ ]   18-25 [ ]   26-35 [ ]   36-45 [ ]   46-55 [ ]   56-65 [ ]   66-75 [ ]   0ver 75 [ ]

Please indicate your gender
Female [ ]   Male [ ]

Have you ever played or sung regularly?
Yes I make music regularly [ ]   Yes I used to make music regularly [ ]   No never [ ]

How did you travel to the concert today?

……

What is your postcode?

……

Question 3: I will be asking you how you felt at different stages of your concert experience at Cast
Please circle the number to show your rating – (1 = no wasn't true for me at all, 10 = yes this was extremely true for me)

When I booked my tickets

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all					this was extremely true for me			Yes,	
I did not consider the venue in my choice to book for the concert	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Being unfamiliar with the venue made me think twice about booking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was already familiar with the repertoire being played and this mattered more than being familiar with the venue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
As soon as I had booked my tickets I felt excited to see the new venue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

As I travelled to Cast

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all					this was extremely true for me			Yes,	
I wanted to talk about Cast as I was feeling excited about seeing a new venue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I didn't think about the venue at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was thinking about the music that would be played	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

What were your expectations of the venue at this point?

………

………

As I walked towards the entrance of Cast

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all					this was extremely true for me			Yes,	
I felt a wave of anticipation and excitement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt a wave of nervousness and unknowing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was visually scanning where to go next in the building	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I found myself talking or thinking about the venue as I walked towards it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Did you comment on the venue as you walked towards it; if so what did you say?

………

………

As I entered the entrance hall at Cast

What three words best describe your first impressions of the venue?

_____   _____   _____

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all									Yes, this was extremely true for me
I felt frustrated that I did not know where everything was	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt a change in myself as I entered the building	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt walking into the building made me feel excited for the concert I was attending	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt lost	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was searching for people I knew	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I wanted to talk to others before I entered the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I spoke to someone else about the venue in this time before entering the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I could feel a sense of atmosphere in this area	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I didn't like hanging around in the entrance area for too long as I just wanted to get to the performance space and find a seat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I enjoyed exploring a new place and this added to my concert experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

What did you do as you entered Cast?

……

……

As I entered the Second Space (Studio) at Cast

What three words would you use to best describe the Second Space (Studio) in Cast?

_____   _____   _____

As I entered the Second Space (Studio) my mood was

……

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all									Yes, this was extremely true for me
I felt like I was stepping into a special space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt confused by the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all									Yes, this was extremely true for me
I noted a change in my behaviour as I entered the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I took my time when deciding where to sit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was searching for people I knew to sit next to	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I wanted to talk to others about the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

What were the most important factors that you considered when deciding where to sit?

………

………

How did sitting 'in the round' feel at this point?

………

………

When I was settled in my seat waiting for the concert to start

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all									Yes, this was extremely true for me
I felt like I was just waiting for the concert to start and wasn't sure what to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I became very aware of who was sitting opposite me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt like I needed to talk more quietly than I did in the entrance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I could feel the atmosphere building in the space in preparation for the performance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
As soon as I had found a seat I remained silent until the concert began	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The seating configuration felt a little strange to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I started a conversation with people around me that I didn't know	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I found myself looking around the performance space and noticing things	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I found myself looking at other audience members during this time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

What were the things that you noticed as you sat in the performance space?

………

………

Once the concert had started

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all								Yes, this was extremely true for me	
The performance space distracted me from the performance itself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I found myself looking at other audience members more than the performers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The seating arrangement made me feel closer to the music	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I wished I had picked another seat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I didn't like such an intimate venue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The repertoire played really suited the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt the performance included me as an audience member as opposed to separating me from it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I would have preferred to be in a much larger concert hall where I was further away from the performers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I didn't really think about the performance space at all whilst music was being played	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The performance space allowed me to truly relax and be absorbed in the music	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

During the interval

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all								Yes, this was extremely true for me	
I wanted to stay in my seat in the performance space to maintain my relaxed mood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I wanted to go into the brighter entrance and socialise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The venue seemed to have more importance to me during this break in the music	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I hoped to explore more of the venue during this time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

After the concert had finished and I began to exit Cast to travel home

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all								Yes, this was extremely true for me	
I wanted to exit as quickly as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I felt myself looking around at the venue to try and take it all in before I left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I could feel a change in mood as I left the performance space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I was just concerned with getting home as quickly as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Statement	No, this wasn't true for me at all								this was extremely true for me	Yes,
I wanted to continue talking with people about the concert	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I had positive conversations about the venue as I left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

As I left Cast my mood was

………

Was there anything that disappointed you about the venue tonight?

………

………

………

………

What importance would you place on the performance space when rating or evaluating your concert experience?

………

………

………

………

How did Cast impact on your listening state?

………

………

………

What three words would you use to best describe your concert experience at Cast?

_____   _____   _____

Describe in 3 words how you felt about sitting 'in the round' by the end of the concert experience?

_____   _____   _____

Thank you for completing this questionnaire; please return the questionnaire in the freepost envelope provided.

Example from Strand 2 data collection in Sheffield

Questionnaire given to all three bands of U25s before attending a concert:

Question 1: Previous attendance

Have you attended a classical music concert before?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes:

Approximately how many concerts last year?

1 [ ]   2 [ ]   3 [ ]   4+ [ ]

Who have you attended these concerts with?

....

What was your first experience of concertgoing?

....

....

How many Music in the Round concerts have you previously attended?

None (0) [ ]   1 [ ]   2 [ ]   3 [ ]   4+ [ ]

How often do you attend other arts events like jazz concerts, theatre, exhibition or talks?

Once a week [ ]   Once a month [ ]   Once a year [ ]   Never [ ]

How often do you attend live popular music events?

Once a week [ ]   Once a month [ ]   Once a year [ ]   Never [ ]

Question 2: How important is music to you?

On a typical weekday how many hours do you listen to music (live or recorded)?

Less than 1 hour [ ]   1-2 [ ]   2-3 [ ]   4+ [ ]

If you answered 4+ how many hours do you listen for? .... hours

Does this amount of time change at the weekend?

Yes, I listen to less music [ ]   No, it stays the same [ ]   Yes, I listen to more music [ ]

How often do you talk about music in day-to-day conversation?

Never [ ]   Sometimes, but not very often [ ]   Quite often [ ]   Very often [ ]

Would you prefer to listen to or play music compared to other activities such as sports or watching TV?

I prefer other activities   1   2   3   4   5   6   I prefer listening to or playing music

How would you feel if you were not able to listen to music for a month?

....

....

Do you own an iPod/music playing device (eg. MP3/CD Player)?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, do you have any classical music on it?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If yes, what percentage of music would you say was classical music?

…………….. %

Would you agree that your friends have the same taste in music as you?

Yes, all of them [ ]   Maybe some do [ ]   No, none of them do [ ]   Don't know [ ]

How does popular music compare to classical music for you? Do you prefer one to the other?

……

……

How does seeing a live music event compare to recorded music? Do you prefer one to the other?

……

……

Have you ever played a musical instrument or sung regularly?

Yes and I make music regularly [ ]   Yes, but I do not make music regularly [ ]   No never [ ]

If yes, how were you introduced to music making? Why did you decide to learn to make music?

……

……

Question 3: A little about you

Please indicate your age   Please indicate your gender

……………………. Years   Female [ ]   Male [ ]

Question 4: Views of classical music

Are you looking forward to the Music in the Round concert you are attending and why might that be?

……

……

Could you describe to me what you think the audience will be like at that concert?

……

……

Please fill in the blank: It is _ _ _ _ _ (please select below) for me to attend a classical music concert?

Very difficult [ ]   Difficult [ ]   Neutral [ ]   Easy [ ]   Very easy [ ]

Could you explain why this is?

……

……

……

Question 5: What are you expecting?

Please produce a timeline of what you are expecting to experience during the concert you are attending. You could draw it or write it or anything in between.

START

You have been contacted by a researcher and invited to a concert

END
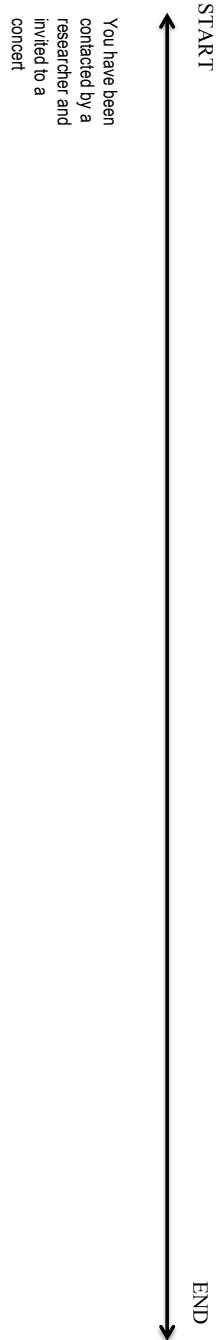
Question 6: What do you think of classical music venues?

Could you describe what a typical classical music venue looks like, in your opinion?

....

....

....

Are classical music venues any different to other arts events venues? If yes, what is different?

....

....

....

Question 7: How well does classical music talk to you?

How eye catching is this publicity to you?

Not very eye catching   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very eye catching

Do you think the language used in the brochure is easy to understand?

Not very easy   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very easy

Would you pick this up if you walked past it?

Yes [ ]   Maybe [ ]   No [ ]

If you could redesign classical music concerts what might they look like?

I would want the venue to be: ....

....

I would like the type of pieces that are played to be: ....

....

I think the length of the concert should be...

Other things I would change are: ....

....

....

APPENDIX 2: FOCUS GROUPS

Although questions varied for all interviews, in particular for the Write-Draw data, a semi structured interview schedule was followed. Some example questions follow.

Example from Strand 1 data collection in Doncaster

Focus group question schedule for concert one:

In the entrance:

- Ok so I want to track back and think about where traveling to the concert tonight, did you find yourselves talking about the venue at all?
- What did you talk about?
- Did do feel excited as you were traveling in?
- So do you think that was just about the music being played or people you were going to see or seeing the venue
- What would you say your expectations of the venue were before you arrived?

Facing them to look out the glass windows at entrance:

- So describe to me how you were feeling as you walked towards the building
- What where the things you noticed
- Did you feel any change in your mood as you walked towards the building
- Did you comment on the venue as you walked towards it, what did you say?

Turning the group to face the entrance:

- So describe to me your first impressions of the venue
- Did you feel a change in your mood at all?
- What did you do first once you had arrived here?
- Did you ever talk about the venue in this area?
- Did you feel frustrated at all that you didn't know where everything was, did you feel lost at all?
- Were you keen to say in this area for long?
- Where did you go from this point could you show me?
- What where you doing at this time, did you talk to anyone, have a drink?
- How were you feeling at this point (ask as walking towards the performance space)?

Arrive at the entrance performance space:

- What are your feelings about this space – what jumped out to you first?
- What did you do from this point?
- Could you show me where you were sitting?
- How did you decide where to sit?
- Did you like having the chose of where you could sit?
- Did you actively choose to sit near people you near people you knew?
- Do you think you will sit in the same place next time?
- How did it feel coming into a new space, did you feel confused or thrown that you didn't know what it was going to look like?
- Do you feel like your behavior or mood changed when you entered this area?
- So what did you do when you were waiting for the concert to start?
- Why did you decide to do that?
- Did you find yourself looking at anything?
- Did you just feel like you were waiting for the concert to start at all or was this just another part of the concert experience a time where you could talk to people?
- Could you feel any atmosphere in the room as it began to fill up – if yes what was that like?

Ok so now I want to imagine the lights are going dull and everyone is going silent:

- How do you feel in that time when we are all just waiting for the performers to come on

So now picture the performers have come on and the concert has started:

- Do you think you had any thoughts about the space when you were listening?
- How did you feel sitting in the round?
- Did you find the space distracting at all?
- Did you maybe like looking around at the building or other audience members then focusing back on the performers?
- Did this space allow you to feel close to the music
- Did you enjoy being so close to the performers and in a space?
- Did you feel included in the performance
- What did you do during the interval where did you go?
- How did the change or no change in space feel
- Did the venue seem to be more important to you during this time?

Regulars:
- How do you feel having your concert series uprooted and placed in a new venue?

- Has it changed any of your normal concert behaviors?

Newcomers:
- What were you impressions of the people that attend regularly?
- Do you think you will be talking about it on your way home?

Example from Strand 2 data collection in Sheffield

Focus group example questions schedule for all bands:

- Could you explain what you have created on your Write-Draw cards?
- Had you heard the piece before?
- Tell me what you thought of the concert tonight?
- Do you think if the presentation of the music were different it would have improved your experience?
- Would you re-attend?
- What did you think about the length of the concert?
- Do you think levels of knowledge of the piece might affect your experience?
- What do you think about having to sit down to listen to this music?
- Would you feel any differently if the music being played were written today by people our age?
- Did you speak to any other audience members?
- Did anything disappoint you about tonight?
- Do you think classical music is relevant to people our age?
- Why might people feel it's not relevant to them?
- How does this compare to a popular music experience?
- If you were in charge what changes would you make to the concert tonight?

APPENDIX 3: WRITE-DRAW DATA

Example of blank Write-Draw Card

Side One (draw)

Please produce a **visual** response to the concert

Side Two (write)

Please produce a **verbal** response to the concert

Write-Draw Data

F1

F2
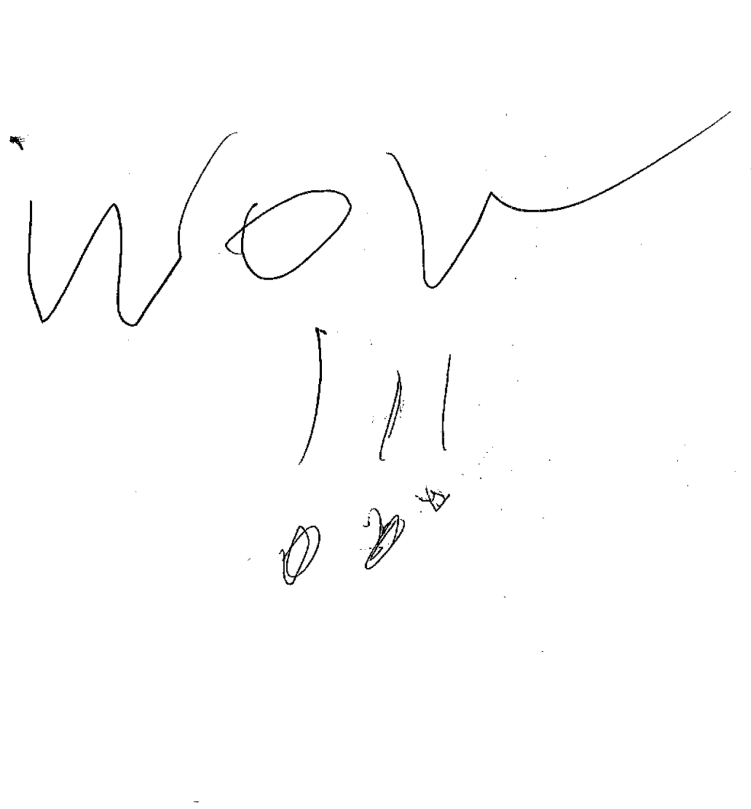
F3

- Banter
- Interesting
- Incredible
- Pleasing.
- ~~Bliz~~ Bliss
- acquired taste
- Phone call interruption...

F4
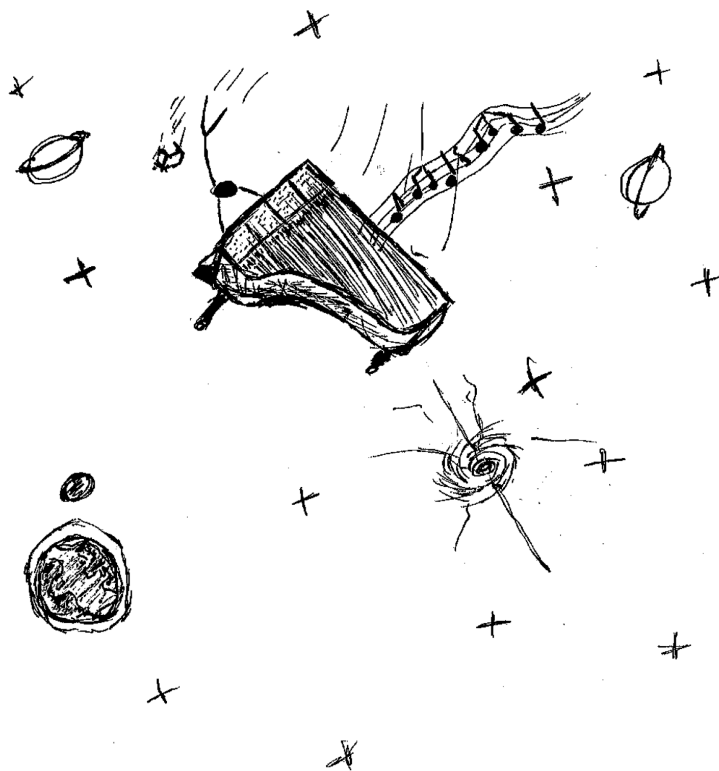
F5

Passion   Calm

Authenticity   Relaxing

Great Banter   Elegant

Moving   well polished shoes

Striking

~~—~~

Swagger

F6

F7

Ding-a-ling   Seamless
Pretty Good   Correct.
Inspiring
Wow   Unreal

F8
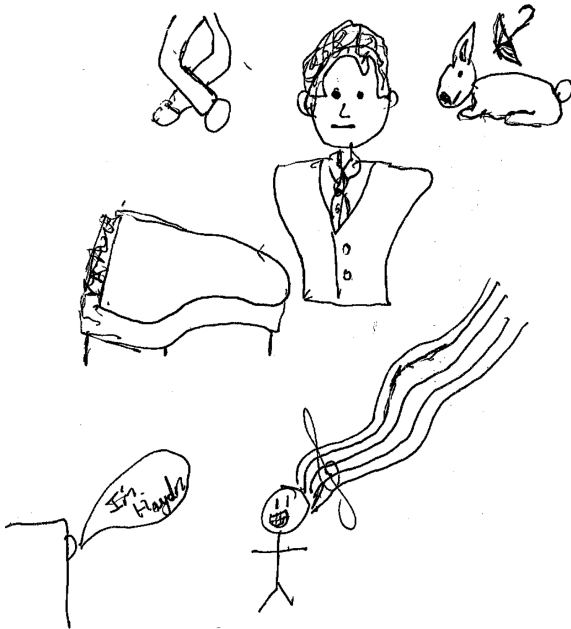
F9: BLANK

F10

F11
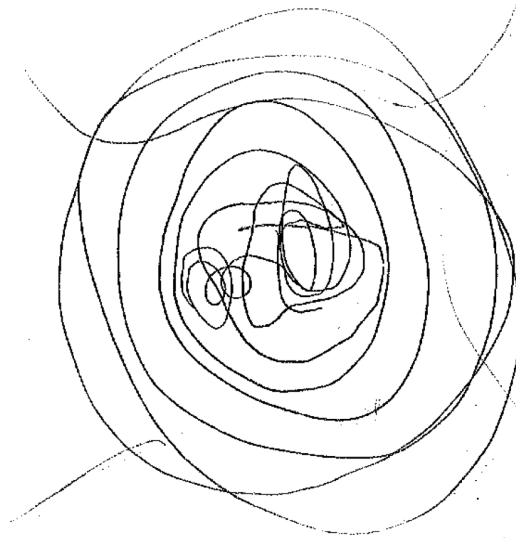
Very ~~~~ emotional
strong
urging

F12
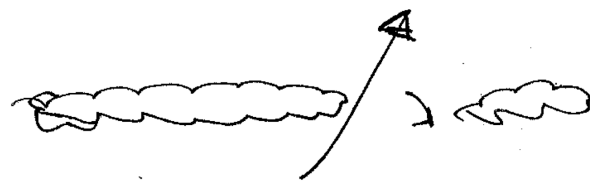
F13

- energetic
- emotional
- contrasting.
- deep.
- dramatic

F14

F15: BLANK

F16

F17
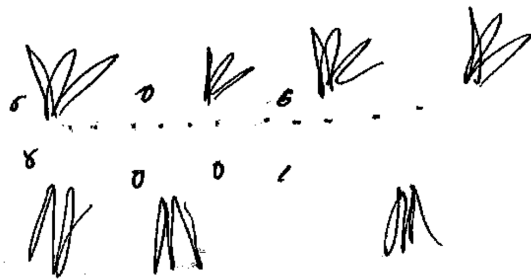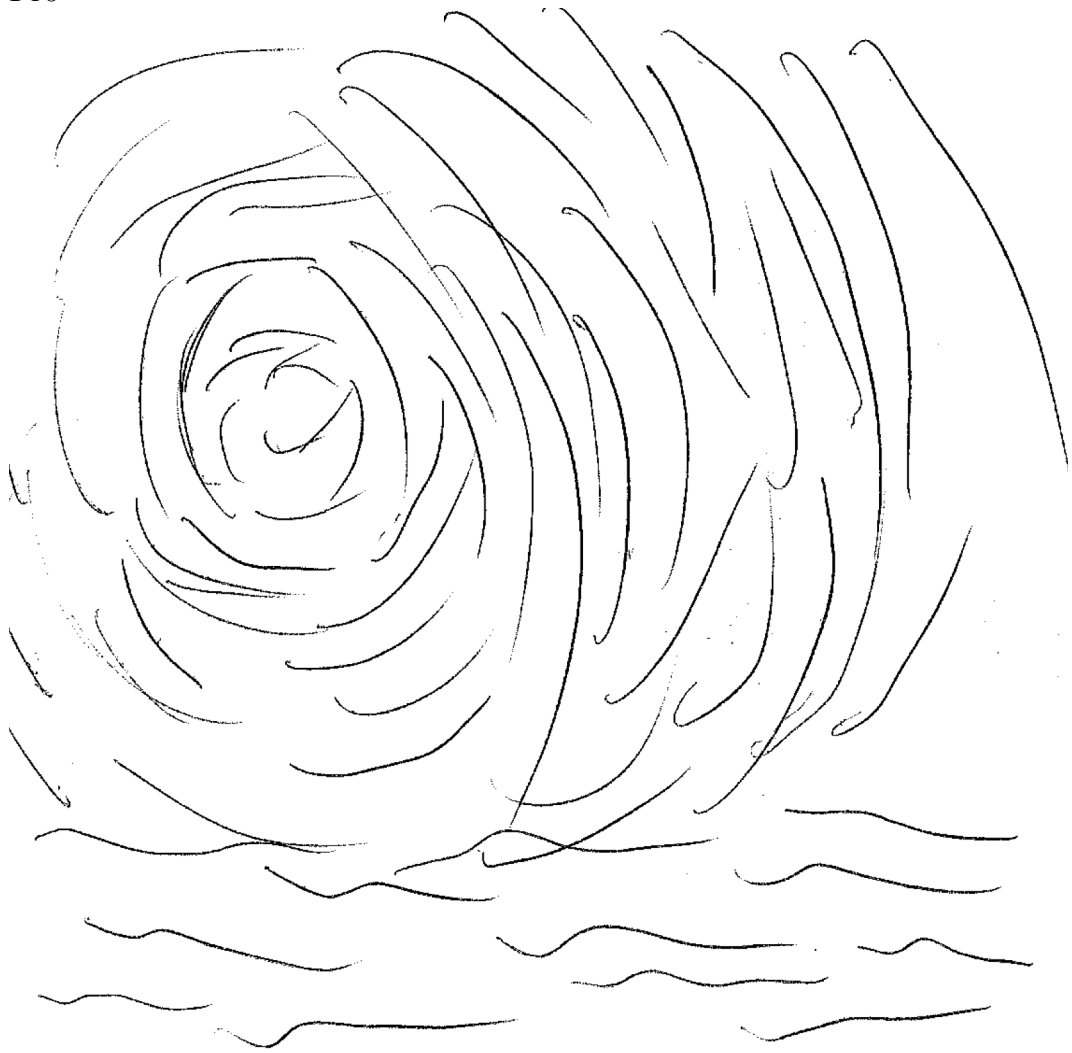
Both musicians are extremely passionate about the Sonatas and you could tell by how expressive they were in their playing

F18

F19

Soloists brought across their passion for the music in an expressive way.

Really liked how they gave some background to the pieces and the moods beforehand then portrayed these emotions in their playing.

Made the most of crescendo's and climax points, soloists really work together well, especially where dynamics are concerned. Much attention to detail regarding articulation & the differences between light and dark sections of the pieces.

F20
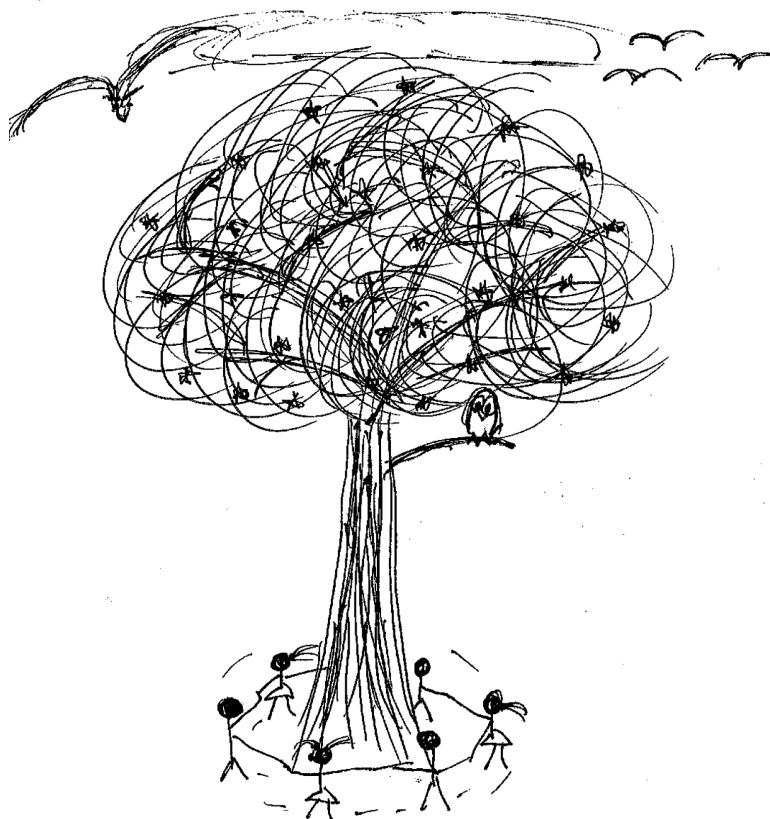
F21

Wide range of emotions being
shown through the music.
Great range of dynamics
and expression.
They were so involved in
the music, and because they
were in their performance, we were
very involved in the music music
too. The surprises in the music
really took you by surprise.

F22

F23
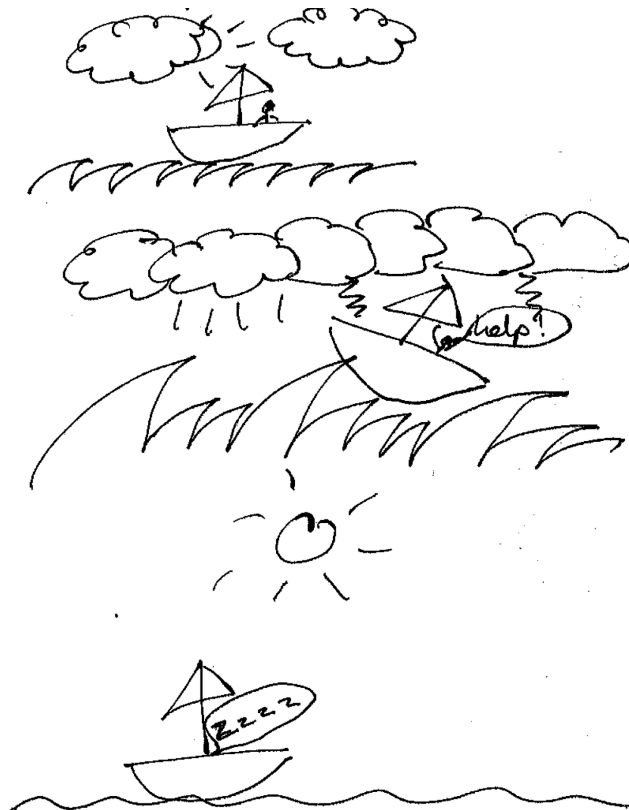
- Dramatic
- Exciting
- Expressive

F24

303
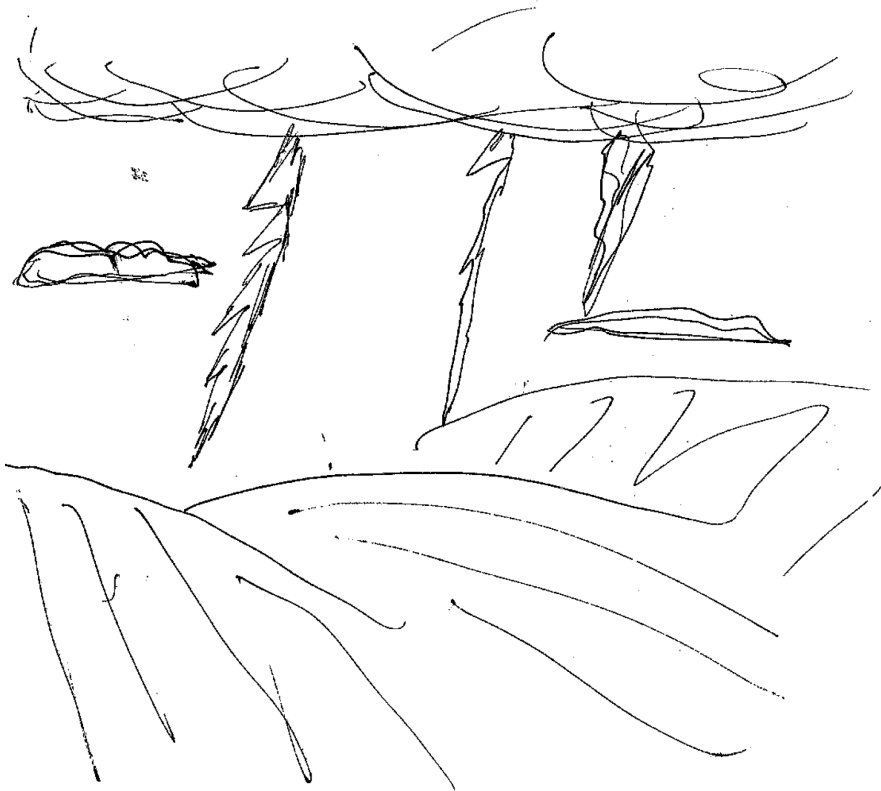
F25

It was an exquisite display of musical brilliance. With exceptionally talented performers and a wonderful set of repertoire this concert made for an ~~beautiful~~ outstanding evening. Such an outstanding performance really reflected the brilliant work that Music in the Round do. Thank you!

F26
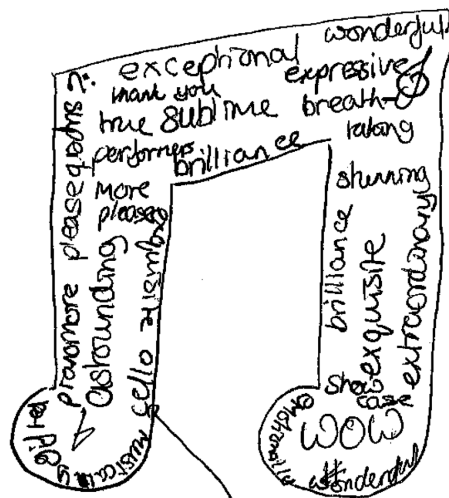
All of these things wrapped up in pure music!

F27

UNIQUE

F28
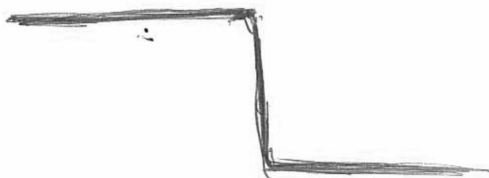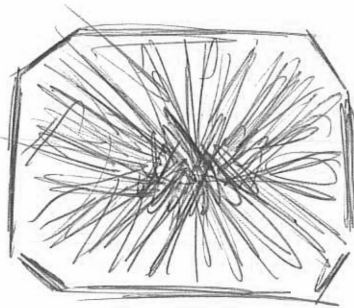
F29

F30

F31

Awesome!

F32

F33

Intimate setting. ~~Beu~~ Beautiful music,
can feel the emotion.

1st ~~piece~~ piece: Great playing, with a
good balance between
cello and piano.
Very delicate at the
end of 3rd movement.
Overall exciting and
stimulating.
feel every emotion.

F34

2nd piece   1st mov

308
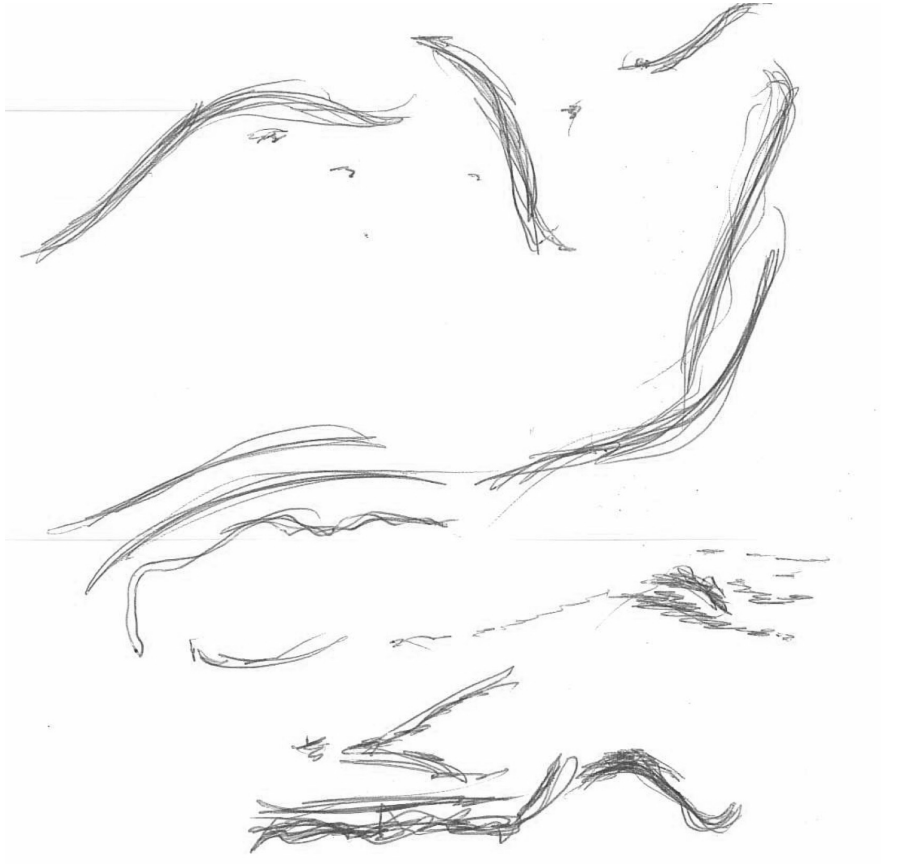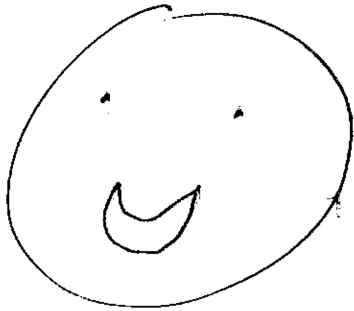
F35

Schumann 1st mov = Strong sense of contrasts and
dynamics
Good piano volume without lid.

2nd mov = good use of acoustics
intesity of interest and attention
from audience - quiet dynamics,
tone, rubato and expression give
this. Calming

3rd mov = less contrast
Cello and piano more polyphonic
Solo Cello. - Start & end

4th mov = Contrast between bright
and mournful sections of
movement. fast and slow
rhythms also content

5th mov = Sound volume very good
from both instruments

F36

1st mov.

2nd mov =

3rd mov =

4th mov =

5th =

F37

I think the piece of music
that was played had alot
of character. The different
tones had a different emotion
and you could also tell
this by the expression on
their face.

F38

F39
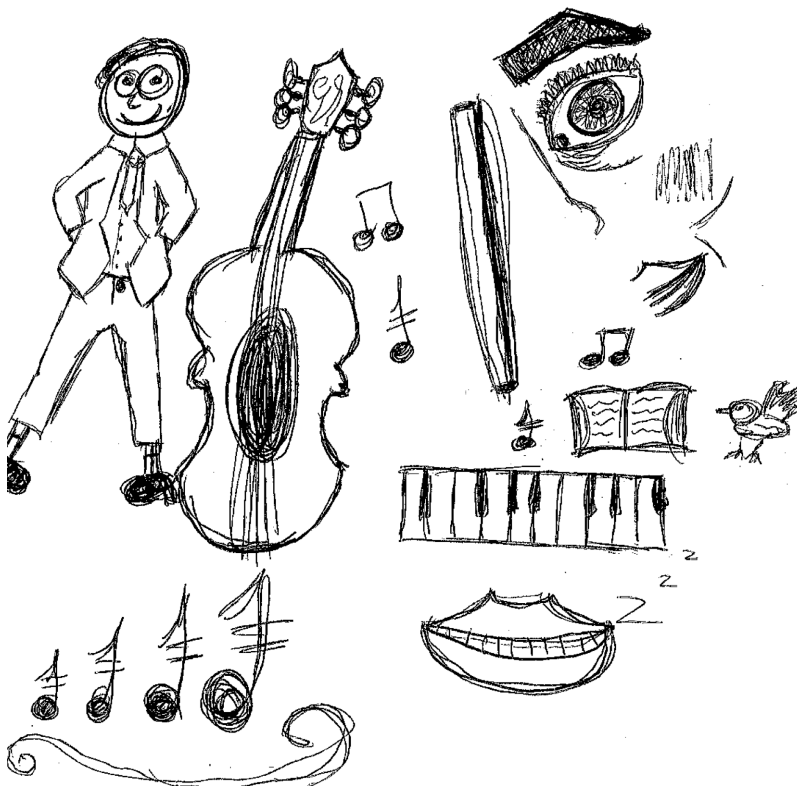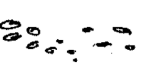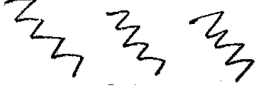
Mvt 1: A very real piece - the cello and piano take it in turns to tease or mock the other

Mvt 2: Placid piece, sad, feels as if something is ending

Mvt 3: Similar, very yellow, as if someone is leaving or something is finishing

Mvt 4: Grand - rich in tone and feel. Darker colour.

Mvt 5: Anger / agitation. Impatience. Threatening. A bristling sense of annoyance.

F40

Mvt 1: Red lines peaking in sharp mountain shapes

Yellow pebbles bubbling water

Forrest - muddy brown floor

Mvt 2: Yellow flowers. Yellow lines
Red, brown, black - darkness. Dark wood
Large old manor house. Lots of books.
A calm stretch of water.

Mvt 3: Yellow predominantly, red and green in places
Boats leaving a harbour

Mvt 4: Blues, rich reds, wealth - rich people, grandeur

Mvt 5: Dark colours, flies buzzing around an angry

311

F41

Limping, but working towards something.
Dark, macabre and brutal. Moments of
lightness/. Maintains darkness but more
/soothing. Gently flows
Like a ship sailing in good winds.
Dipping in and out of the waters./
Whole feel is more informal than expected
Acoustics are well suited to ensemble
and type of music/.
Return to stranger & more brutal tones
& and melodies! Virtuosic/
Use of sheet music surprising but
not overly so.

F42

F43

I liked the ### Schuman. ### had a clear, playful
sense of character, a sense of structure and
a memorable rhythm. The second movement as well,
was somehow aesthetically pleasing to me. It
made sense; I felt I could hear what the
music was saying rather than just the notes. I
liked the ### feel of this movement.
I did not like the Brahms. There were moments
of vaguely interesting ideas, but overall I had
no sense of any emotion in the piece, and very
little intellectual interest. It went on for ages in
a ### rambling way. This is a reflection on
the pieces themselves, as the performances were
superb.

F44
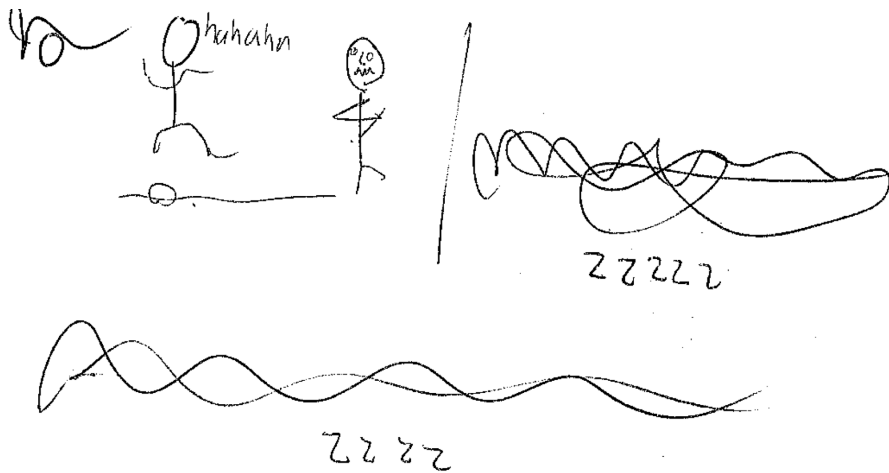
F45

The two instrumentalists were very clearly talented and I could tell that they have practiced for many hours to perfect their craft. I enjoy the passion displayed in their body language and facial expression, you can tell that they really love what they do and have worked hard to get to where they want to be. I think it's good that they know the 'background information on the pieces as it shows that they are interested in all aspects of their genre of music. The audience never seem like they enjoy the concert very much whilst the musicians are playing (maybe it's because they're concentrating on the music) but I'm not used to seeing audiences with no emotion. I also think that I enjoyed the Shum Schumann pieces that the cellist and pianist played rather than the other group, in the first half.
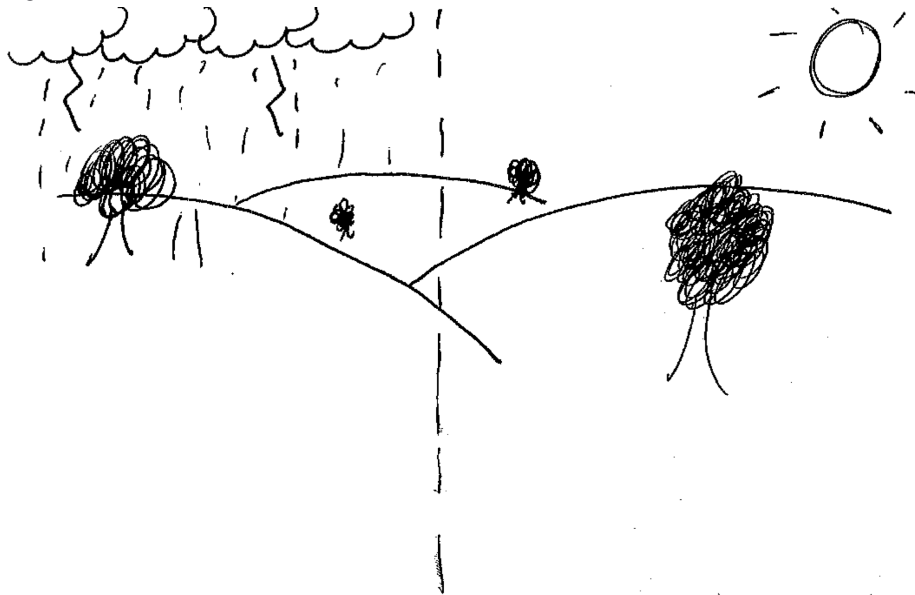
F46
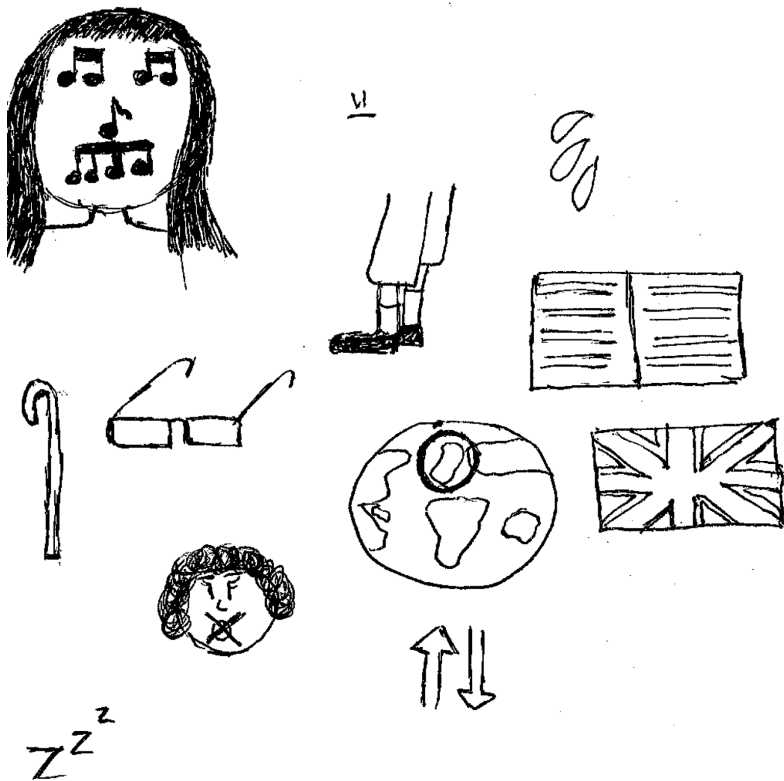
F47

many conflicting / varying emotions:

- happiness
- pride
- sad
- thoughtful / reflective

and atmospheres:
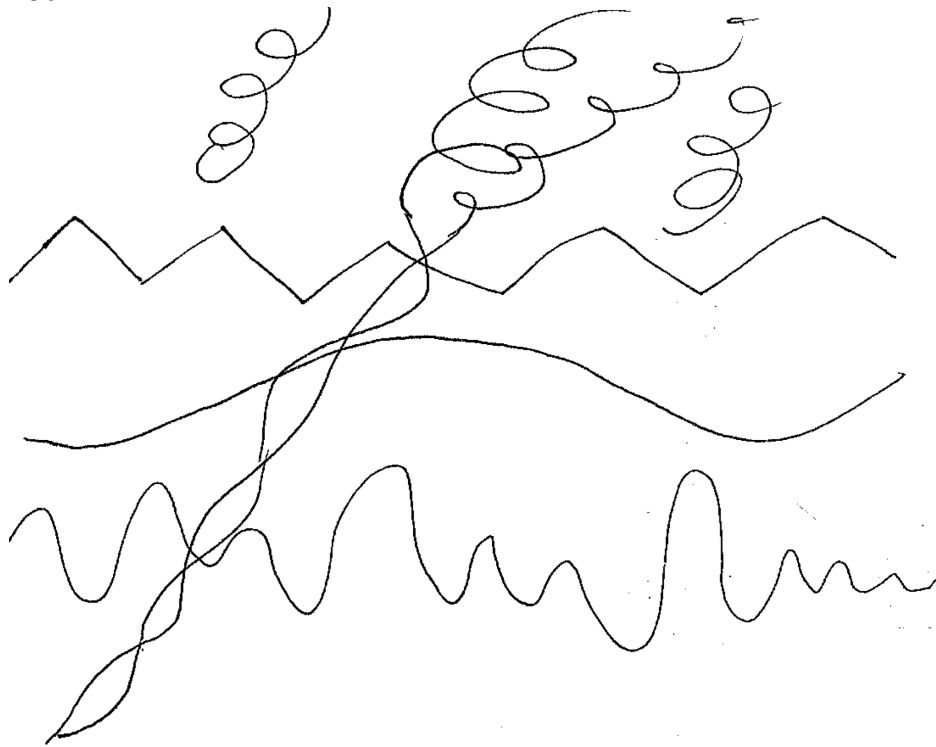
- ghostly
- calm
- peaceful
- joy

F48

F49

Gradual build up of emotion.
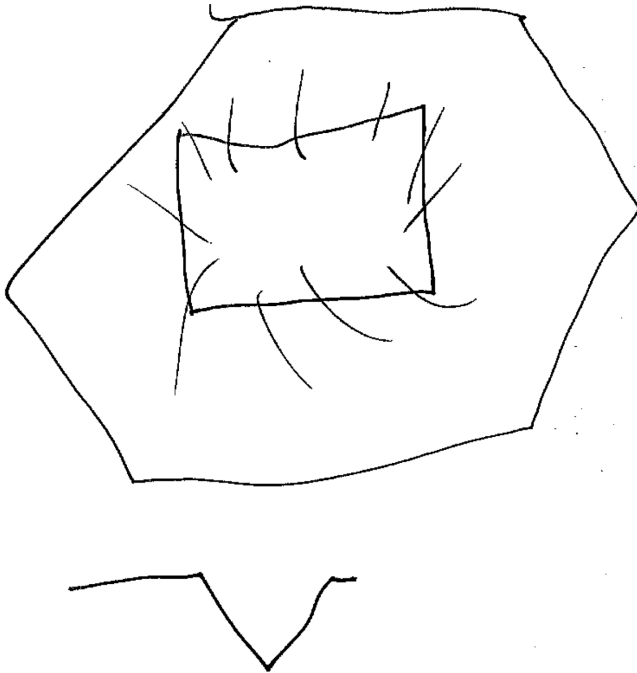Contrast - light and shade
Conversation

F50

F51

enticing

engaging.

F52

F53

AND HOW IS IT THAT I

AND HOW IS IT THAT I?

a gesture of my commitment

AND HOW IS ITTHAT I AM

There is something tangible to be found here. And how is it that I ...?

F54

Pristine air, how is it that I? Tidying belly counting kills of air: breathing crane tidying in pristine air. There is something tangible here. Archaeological air, tunneling, and how is it that I? The breathing kills in pristine air, and the rabid tunneling of cranes. The drilling, tunneling of pristine air over belly skin; tangibility through trees and bathtub basins. Polarised eyes tidying and how is it that they ...? Joan of Arc bellringing in the pristine air: Godiva sunrise of archaeological tunneling. Where is the crane — feather skin, looking for itself telehua pristine molecules of air who is listening?

318

F55
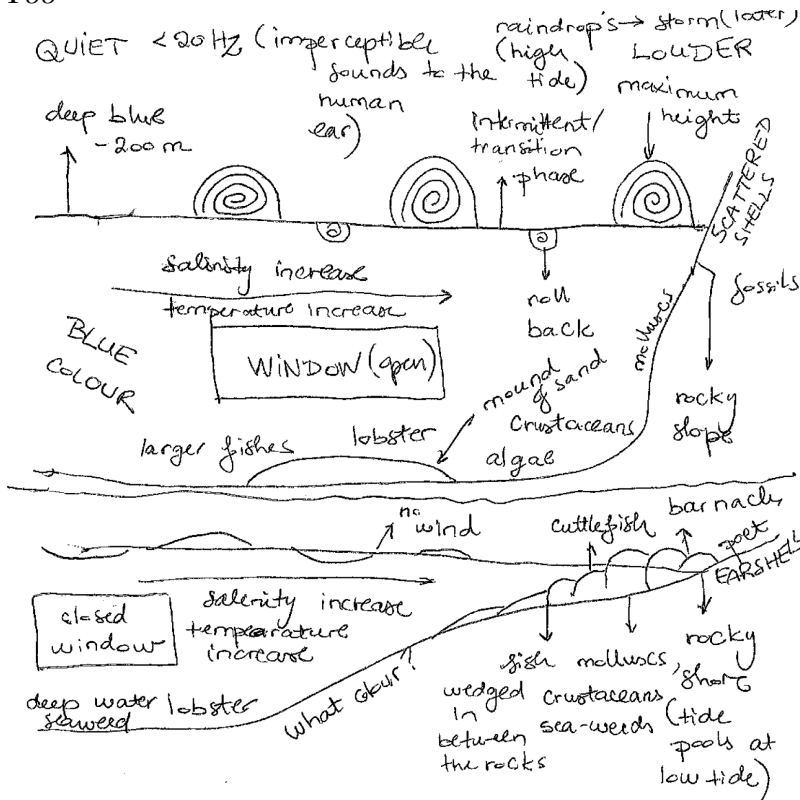
F56

We heard the sea through shells, and I listened for the shore to crumble into it. It made no noise. I knew that microscopic particles were peeling off the surface of the coast with each wave they bled a little. We heard the shore through shells, the hum of particles loose and drowned, unnoticing the wind, we weighed our visitor-centre maps down with shells, a limpet crowned the corner on the left created islands where there was perhaps an island and all the eroded particles settled down on that patch, the sand swelled into a circularity, a mass formed underneath just off the coast of Cornwall, the current carved spirals mimicked the shells, the noise so low that whole mounds got moved before the fishes noticed, on a constant rise the sea bed was lifting itself up and out copying the limpet on my map, reshaping myself, unnoticing the storm and tide.

F57

F58

It is green? the vivid smile that opens a sharp
horizon. [map change from smooth movement.
Dellar, pop, ragger and screech. A happy year.
Arms pull thin light across heavy veins, and
the body slumps back on the pillow.
Content. Right about the smell caught in
There's something outside the window, looking in.
It listens and smiles; ear pushed against
glass that feels like there might be something
alive inside.
Hold it with the pulse in your head.
Inevitable — of course it did,
deep in a mind too full to hear — this is an exhalation.

F59

F60

Steps of different sizes
Snakes, menacing, crawling
everything moving wyling
Mosquitos - rain picking
Glowing feathers
Blobs, changing
Love or Sadness?
The short amount of happyness to
dispair ratio
moving interconecting.
complicated

Bounce, interlock
Celtic art

F61

F62

happy and sad styles

good and bad

without good there can be no bad
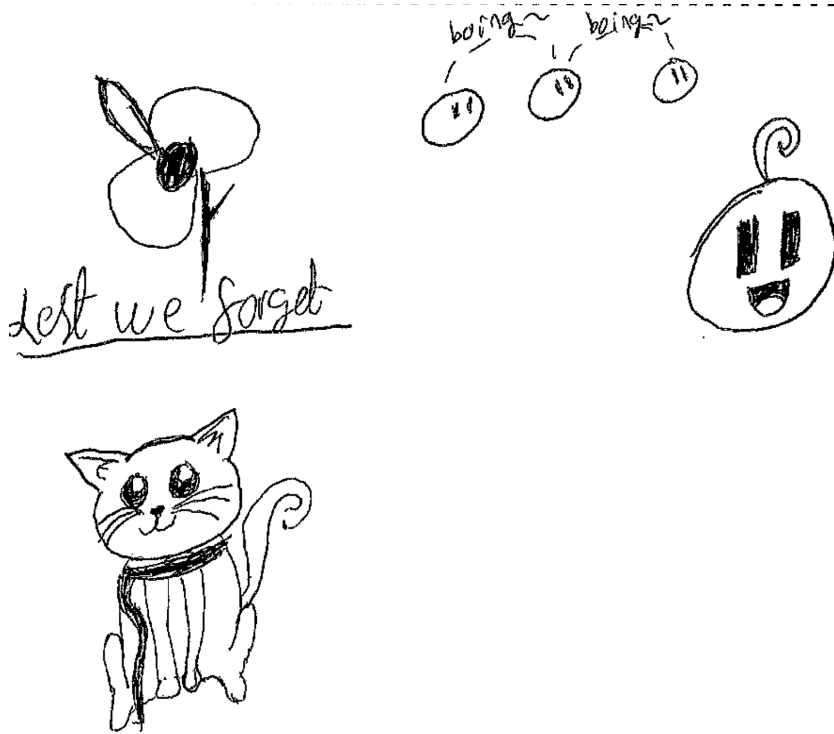
without bad there can be no good

F63

Don't like this kind of music
it burns my ears
it's not for me...

I can't draw XD

F64: BLANK

F65

F66

Aaron Copland's Piece was very poetic and conveyed various emotions such as sorrow, joy and the feeling of you get when you remember something from a long time ago.
Samuel Barber's Piece was also fairly poetic and expresses sadness in a very unique way.
Fryderyk Chopin's Piece was very interesting and had a mysterious feel to it as well as having a calming effect.
Antonín Dvořák's Piece is very happy and slightly childlike. It gave off a feeling of an image of a puppy bounding up to someone in a park with a ball in its mouth.

F67

I think all music is form of expression, *appreciate it.* what bothered me about this performance and many other classical shows is you kept announcing you were playing other music.

The instrument you are using's sound doesn't seem to change that much.

There comes transitions in your music where I feel there is need for more powerful instruments. *(& that when I)*

The one after the first still piano one sent me onto nice vibes.

F68

I enjoyed second live of first one. *energy you brought often*

I definitely prefer the more darker sounding classicals.

When it goes too upbeat I find it overwhelming Sort of reminds me of Harry Potter.

I can definitely see myself attending certain classical shows in future however I do feel it would have to be a very specific type of classical if that makes sense.

I also think classical music belongs more to ~~music~~ movies.

What is the point of classical music: to create feeling within people. On some of the melodies I felt very confused as to what feeling was being created in me.

The moments where it was really hitting me were amazing.

F69

garden
full
of flowers
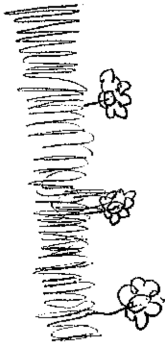
F70

- Calming

- Relaxing

- felt like
I was in
a fairytale

- Deep

- peaceful

- memorable

- It was a really
nice experience
and I really
enjoyed it.

- Very entertaining

326